ARTICLE 23

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TEXT OF ARTICLE 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect six other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members, however, three shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

1. Article 23 (1) specifies which five Members of the United Nations are to be permanent members of the Security Council and provides for the election of six non-permanent members for fixed terms.

2. So far as the provisions relating to non-permanent members of the Security Council are concerned, the relevant rules of procedure applicable to elections to principal organs have been adopted by the General Assembly and candidates have been regularly elected each year at sessions of the General Assembly for appropriate terms. The General Survey gives an account of these elections in chronological order.

3. Changes thus effected in the composition of the Security Council by the General Assembly in accordance with Article 23 have, on occasion, been preceded or followed by discussion of problems related to compliance with the Charter requirement of "equitable geographical distribution". This question is presented in the Analytical Summary of Practice by means of a table showing the distribution of non-permanent seats.

1/ See Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly (United Nations Publication, Sales No.: 1954.I.17). Chapter XII, Plenary meetings, Conduct of business: Elections, rules 94-96; Chapter XV, Elections to principal organs, General provisions, rules 140 and 141; the Security Council, rules 143-145. Where a candidate had not obtained the required majority after a series of ballots had been taken in accordance with rule 96, the General Assembly has on occasion proceeded to other business and postponed the taking of further ballots (G A (II), Plen., vol. I, 94th mtg., p. 329).

2/ On occasion the President has ruled such discussion out of order (G A (IV), Plen., 231st mtg., para. 7).
Paragraphs 4-6

on the Security Council for the years 1946-1955, together with an account of proceedings of the General Assembly at which certain considerations related to this question were discussed. Since the General Assembly has on no occasion made a declaration as to whether the particular election of non-permanent members satisfied the Charter requirement of "equitable geographical distribution", the material relating thereto is not presented as constituting a pronouncement by the General Assembly on this particular point.

4. Concerning the provisions relating to the permanent members, the view was advanced on one occasion 3/ in the General Assembly that nobody had the right to define which were the permanent members in any way other than that defined in the Charter. The question of the composition of the Security Council with regard to its permanent members arose in the Council on various occasions in consequence of specific proposals for the seating of the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the representative entitled to occupy the seat of China. A proposal was also submitted to deal with this problem in a general form by amending the provisional rules of procedure. The proceedings of the Security Council relevant to that question are treated in the Analytical Summary of Practice.

I. GENERAL SURVEY

5. During its first session, the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting on 12 January 1946, on the first ballot elected Brazil, Egypt, Mexico, the Netherlands and Poland as non-permanent members of the Security Council, Australia and Canada receiving the highest number of votes short of the required two-thirds majority. As the second ballot was inconclusive, the representative of Canada withdrew his country's candidature at the 5th plenary meeting on 12 January 1946, and Australia was elected as the sixth non-permanent member. The General Assembly decided by a simple majority vote that Australia, Brazil and Poland should sit as members of the Security Council for a term of two years, and Egypt, Mexico and the Netherlands for a term of one year. To take the place of Egypt, Mexico and the Netherlands upon the expiration of their term of office, the General Assembly, at its 32nd plenary meeting on 19 November 1946, elected Belgium, Colombia and Syria on the first ballot.

6. At its second session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members as the terms of office of Australia, Brazil and Poland were to expire on 31 December 1947. At its 92nd plenary meeting on 30 September 1947, the General Assembly on the first ballot elected Argentina and Canada. On the second ballot the Ukrainian SSR received 29 votes and India 24. Further ballots were taken at the 93rd plenary meeting on the same day, and when the seventh ballot was inconclusive, the Assembly voted to adjourn. Balloting was resumed at the 94th and 95th plenary meetings on 1 October and 20 October 1947 respectively, when four further ballots were inconclusive. At the 109th plenary meeting on 13 November 1947, the President of the Assembly announced that he had received a communication from the representative of

3/ A draft resolution was submitted proposing a recommendation "to the permanent members of the Security Council - the People's Republic of China, France ...". It was pointed out that the addition of the word "People's" before the words "Republic of China" in the draft resolution was tantamount to a rewriting of the provisions of Article 23 (1) of the Charter, and that no one had the right to define the permanent members of the Security Council in any way other than that used in the Charter. The amendment was rejected by 40 votes to 8, with 9 abstentions (G A (V), Plen., vol. I, 302nd mtg., paras. 13-15, 69 and 70).
7. At its third session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members as the terms of office of Belgium, Colombia and Syria were to expire on 31 December 1948. At its 149th plenary meeting on 8 October 1948, the General Assembly on the first ballot elected Cuba and Norway. The second and third ballots were inconclusive, and on the fourth ballot Egypt was elected, receiving 38 votes as against 19 received by Turkey.

8. At its fourth session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members as the terms of office of Argentina, Canada and the Ukrainian SSR were to expire on 31 December 1949. At its 231st plenary meeting on 20 October 1949, the General Assembly on the first ballot elected Ecuador and India as non-permanent members. On the second ballot, Yugoslavia, having received 39 votes as against 19 received by Czechoslovakia, was elected.

9. At its fifth session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members as the terms of office of Cuba, Egypt and Norway were to expire on 31 December 1950. At its 290th plenary meeting on 29 September 1950, the General Assembly on the first ballot elected Brazil and the Netherlands as non-permanent members of the Security Council. Thirteen further ballots were taken for the third place on the Council. After the thirteenth ballot, the candidature of Lebanon was withdrawn by its representative and on the fourteenth ballot Turkey was elected at the 294th plenary meeting on 7 October 1950.

10. At its sixth session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members as the terms of office of Ecuador, India and Yugoslavia were to expire on 31 December 1951. At its 349th plenary meeting on 6 December 1951, the General Assembly elected Chile and Pakistan on the first ballot, and at the 356th plenary meeting on 20 December 1951, on the nineteenth ballot, Greece was elected receiving 39 votes, against 16 received by the Byelorussian SSR.

11. At its seventh session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members as the terms of office of Brazil, the Netherlands and Turkey were to expire on 31 December 1952. At its 389th plenary meeting on 25 October 1952, the General Assembly on the first ballot elected Colombia, Lebanon and Denmark.

12. At its eighth session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members as the terms of office of Chile, Greece and Pakistan were to expire on 31 December 1953. At its 450th plenary meeting on 5 October 1953, the General Assembly on the first ballot elected Brazil and New Zealand. Seven further ballots were held for the third place, and on the eighth ballot Turkey obtained 40 votes as against 19 received by Poland and was elected.

13. At its ninth session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members as the terms of office of Colombia, Denmark and Lebanon were to expire on 31 December 1954. At its 492nd plenary meeting on 6 October 1954, the General Assembly on the first ballot elected Belgium, Iran and Peru.

II. ANALYTICAL SUMMARY OF PRACTICE

A. The question of the "equitable geographical distribution" of elected seats

14. It has been stated in the General Assembly that the principle of "equitable geographical distribution" in elections to the Security Council is one of the most
important features of the structure of the United Nations, and that the United Nations as a whole, and each of its Members in particular, should take the utmost interest in ensuring the proper constitution of the Security Council on this basis. 4/

15. At the first session of the Assembly, the view was expressed by representatives of two permanent members of the Security Council that, since there were States which belonged to a specific geographical region without necessarily belonging to a particular group within that region, it was impossible to admit the principle of geographical representation, as that would lead to a state of affairs where some Members would be privileged and others excluded. Some representatives declared that they retained freedom to exercise their discretion in such matters on future occasions; one of them considered that this would be a "safeguard vital as a precaution against any possible injustice". 5/

16. On various occasions, reference has been made in the General Assembly by the representative of a permanent member of the Security Council to "an oral agreement -- known as a gentlemen's agreement, because it was an agreement by word of honour and was not recorded in any documents" which he described as having been concluded in London in 1946, "whereby the seats were to be distributed among the non-permanent members of the Security Council in accordance with a fixed plan. By the terms of that agreement, the permanent members of the Security Council undertook to support the election to the Council of candidates nominated by the countries of the five main regions of the world. In accordance with that plan it was agreed that in the election of non-permanent members support would be given to two countries from the Latin-American region, so that that region would have two seats, while one seat would be allotted to the British Commonwealth, one to the Middle East, one to Western Europe and one to Eastern Europe". 6/

17. The following table 7/ shows the distribution of non-permanent seats on the Security Council for the years 1946-1955:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>Poland</th>
<th>Egypt</th>
<th>Mexico</th>
<th>Netherlands</th>
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<td>1946</td>
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<td>1950</td>
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4/ G A (VIII), Plen., 450th mtg., paras. 17-19. See also G A (VI), 1st Com., 453rd mtg., para. 18 and 469th mtg., para. 17, for discussion of this principle in connexion with problems of establishing an international atomic control organ within the framework of the Security Council.

5/ G A (I/1), Plen., 5th mtg., pp. 88 and 89.

6/ G A (VIII), Plen., 450th mtg., para. 19.

7/ The three non-permanent members underlined at the bottom of each column are those whose terms of office were (or are, in the case of 1955) to expire at the end of the year. Those elected by the General Assembly to replace them appear at the top of the next column without underlining. Both groups are presented in alphabetical order.
18. Not all Members of the United Nations have been in agreement that the non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly were, in all cases, representative of specific geographical areas, particularly in the case of Eastern Europe since 1950. The following paragraphs provide a summary of the proceedings of the General Assembly on those occasions when, during the election by the General Assembly of non-permanent members of the Security Council, it has been questioned whether the distribution of seats was being effected on an equitable geographical basis.

1. Election of the Ukrainian SSR at the second session of the General Assembly

19. At its second session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members to the Security Council to replace Australia, Brazil and Poland. At its 92nd plenary meeting on 30 September 1947, Argentina and Canada were elected on the first ballot, the Ukrainian SSR and India receiving the highest number of votes short of the required two-thirds majority. Eleven further ballots were held before a decision was reached on the third non-permanent member of the Council. On the same day, at the 93rd plenary meeting, a representative stated that the Slav countries had an indisputable right to have their own representative in the Security Council in addition to the representative of the Soviet Union. At the 109th plenary meeting on 13 November 1947, the President of the Assembly announced that India desired to withdraw its candidature for a seat on the Security Council. The representative of India stated that India's candidature for a seat on the Security Council was based solely on its desire to see that this principal organ of the United Nations, on which special responsibilities were laid, was fully representative of all the important regions of the world; with the retirement of Australia from the Council, the Indian Ocean area would be left wholly unrepresented. India did not agree that proper representation would be achieved by secret diplomacy in accordance with an arrangement privately arrived at between some of the Powers, and challenged this arrangement. On the other hand, it was not India's desire that the work of the General Assembly should be held up by continuing a deadlock which seemed to offer no chance of immediate solution. It was for these reasons that the Indian delegation had decided to withdraw from the contest. 8/

Decision

At the 109th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 13 November 1947, the Ukrainian SSR, having obtained on the twelfth ballot the required two-thirds majority, was elected 2/ a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

8/ For texts of relevant statements, see G A (II), Plen., vol. I, 93rd mtg.: USSR, pp. 323-327; 96th mtg.: Czechoslovakia, p. 357; 109th mtg.: India, pp. 749 and 750.
2. Election of Yugoslavia at the fourth session of the General Assembly

20. At its fourth session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members to the Security Council to replace Argentina, Canada and the Ukrainian SSR. At its 231st plenary meeting on 20 October 1949, Ecuador and India were elected on the first ballot, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia receiving the highest number of votes short of the required two-thirds majority. Before the ballot was taken, a representative requested the Assembly to take into account not only Article 23 of the Charter, but also the gentleman's agreement which, he said, had been consistently applied during the previous elections in 1946, 1947 and 1948. After the ballot, the view was expressed that the elections had been held in a way contrary to the principle of geographical distribution since Yugoslavia did not represent the countries of Eastern Europe. It was also stated that there had been violation of the firmly established tradition that candidates for non-permanent membership were always nominated by the States belonging to the geographical area concerned. 10/

Decision

At the 231st plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 20 October 1949, Yugoslavia, having obtained on the second ballot the required two-thirds majority, was elected 11/ a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

3. Election of Greece at the sixth session of the General Assembly

21. At its sixth session the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members to the Security Council to replace Ecuador, India and Yugoslavia. At its 353rd plenary meeting on 6 December 1951, Chile and Pakistan were elected on the first ballot, the Byelorussian SSR and Greece receiving the highest number of votes short of the required two-thirds majority. Eighteen further ballots were held before a decision as to the third non-permanent member of the Council was reached. At the 353rd plenary meeting on 13 December 1951, a representative drew attention to the principle of equitable geographical distribution, and to the gentleman's agreement "by virtue of which the East European group of States is legally entitled to have one representative among the non-permanent members". 12/

Decision

At the 356th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 20 December 1951, Greece, having obtained on the nineteenth ballot the required two-thirds majority, was elected 13/ a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

4. Election of Turkey at the eighth session of the General Assembly

22. At its eighth session, the General Assembly had to elect three non-permanent members to the Security Council to replace Chile, Greece and Pakistan. At its 450th meeting on 5 October 1953, Brazil and New Zealand were elected on the first ballot, Poland and Turkey receiving the highest number of votes short of the required two-thirds majority. Seven further ballots were held before a decision as to the third non-permanent member of the Council was reached. Before the first ballot was

10/ For text of relevant statement, see G A (IV), Plen., 231st mtg., para. 10.
11/ Ibid., para. 9.
12/ For text of relevant statement, see G A (VI), Plen., 353rd mtg., paras. 10-13.
13/ G A (VI), Plen., 356th mtg., para. 15.
taken, a representative stated that the "gentleman's agreement" had been faithfully observed with respect to every region except Eastern Europe. Countries from other regions had been nominated for seats as non-permanent members not in a haphazard way, but according to a definite system, with the approval and in the name of a majority of the countries belonging to the geographical region concerned, a practice not observed, however, in the case of Eastern Europe. 14/

Decision

At the 450th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 5 October 1953, Turkey, having obtained on the eighth ballot the required two-thirds majority, was elected 15/ a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

B. The question of the verification or determination by the Security Council of its composition in accordance with the terms of the Charter

23. Article 23 of the Charter prescribes that the Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations, each of which is to have one representative on the Security Council. By rules 13, 15, 16 and 17 of the provisional rules of procedure, the Security Council has made provision for ascertaining that the Council is composed of duly accredited representatives. Under rule 13, the head of Government or the Minister of Foreign Affairs of each member of the Security Council is entitled to sit on the Council without submitting credentials.

24. Before the first session of the Council on 17 January 1946, the Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission requested the permanent members to send him the credentials for their representatives. With regard to the non-permanent members, the following procedure has been followed: the Secretary-General notifies each Member of its election by the General Assembly and requests it to name a representative and to communicate the credentials of the representative in accordance with rule 13 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council.

25. The credentials of newly appointed representatives are communicated to the Secretary-General, who examines them and submits a report to the Council for approval in accordance with rule 15. These reports are issued as Council documents, but since 1948 they have not been placed on the provisional agenda of the Council, which, in the absence of any action on its part, is considered to have approved them.

26. The question of the composition of the Security Council in accordance with the terms of the Charter has arisen in connexion with the question of the seating of the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the representative entitled to occupy the seat of China as a permanent member of the Council. Consideration of this question has involved discussion on whether the matter fell within the scope of the rules on credentials. The question has come before the Council in procedural forms not covered by those rules, and has been dealt with by the Council on each occasion in accordance with the requirements of the particular procedural form in which it was posed on that occasion.

14/ For text of relevant statement, see G A (VIII), Plen., 450th mtg., paras. 22-24.
15/ Ibid., para. 33.
27. On 10 January 1950, the question was placed before the Council in the form of a draft resolution 16/ under which the Council would not recognize the credentials of the representative of China, and would exclude him from the Council. This draft resolution was rejected. 17/ In the course of the discussion, the rights of the representative of China in the exercise of the presidency of the Council, under rule 18, were also challenged. On 13 January 1950 a formal proposal 18/ was made to suspend rule 18 in view of the fact that only five members of the Council, besides the representative of China, had voted against his exclusion from the Council. The proposal was also rejected 19/ by the Council. On 1 August 1950, the matter was placed before the Council as an item on the provisional agenda. Prior to the discussion on the adoption of the agenda, the President made a ruling 20/ that "the representative of the Kuomintang group seated in the Security Council does not represent China and cannot therefore take part in the meetings of the Security Council". The decision of the President was overruled. 21/ On 3 August 1950, the Council decided 22/ not to include the proposed item in the agenda.

28. In addition to the various occasions when the question of verifying the composition of the Council has centred on specific proposals regarding the representation of China, the question has also been placed before the Council in the general form of a draft rule of procedure. On 17 January 1950, a draft amendment 23/ to the provisional rules of procedure was introduced which would insert a new rule establishing a uniform procedure to govern any question arising with regard to the recognized government of any particular member of the Council. The Council, in accordance with the conclusions reached by the majority of the Committee of Experts, decided 24/ to postpone a decision on the proposed new rule.

29. The following cases summarize, respectively, the first instance when the question of the representation of China was raised before the Council, and the consideration of the proposed new rule of procedure on objections to credentials.

1. Decision of 13 January 1950 in connexion with the question of the representation of China

30. At the 459th meeting on 10 January 1950, the representative of the USSR expressed his support of a statement by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China objecting to the representation of China being exercised by the representative then sitting within the Council. The representative of the USSR introduced a draft resolution 25/ under which the Council would decide not to recognize the credentials of the representative in question and to exclude him from the Security Council. The proposer of the draft resolution did not question whether the credentials of the representative then seated were, or were not, in order, but stated that the latter had no legal rights or reasons whatever to sit on the Security Council since he represented neither China nor the Chinese people.
31. The representative of China, whose rights were challenged, stated that the question before the Council was not a matter of credentials, but of the very right of his Government to be represented at all. He, therefore, considered that the question raised was not procedural but was a political question "of the utmost importance". Other representatives, on the other hand, argued that this question should be decided on the basis of rule 17 of the provisional rules of procedure. In the view of another representative, the issue was not the technical question of verifying the identity of the signatory or confirming the name in the document. He thought that what was fundamental was to know "whether the authority which issues or withdraws such credentials possesses the necessary qualifications to do so". A number of representatives also referred to the question of the connexion between the recognition of one Government by another, and the latter's acceptance of the credentials of the representative of the former Government for purposes of seating him on the Council. 26/

Decision

At the 461st meeting on 13 January 1950, the USSR draft resolution was rejected. 27/ There were 3 votes in favour, 6 against and 2 abstentions.

2. Decision of 28 February 1950 in connexion with a proposed uniform procedure to deal with objections to the right of any person to represent a Council member

32. At the 460th meeting on 12 January 1950, the representative of India mentioned certain defects in the Security Council rules regarding representation and credentials, and suggested that amendments to those rules were called for. At the 462nd meeting on 17 January 1950, the Council had before it a letter 28/ from the representative of India enclosing draft amendments to the rules in question. The letter stated, in part, that "none of the rules indicates what is to be done when any question arises as to which is the recognized government of any particular State". There was a danger that different organs of the United Nations might decide such questions in their own different ways. A uniform procedure was, therefore, desirable to avoid conflicting decisions. Certain draft amendments were enclosed, including the following proposed new rule to be inserted after rule 17:

"Where the right of any person to represent, or to continue to represent, a State on the Security Council, or at a meeting of the Security Council, is called in question on the ground that he does not represent, or has ceased to represent, the recognized government of that State, the President of the Council shall, before submitting the question to the decision of the Council, ascertain (by telegraph if necessary) and place before the Council, so far as available, the views of the governments of all the other Member States of the United Nations on the matter."

26/ For texts of relevant statements, see S C, 5th yr., No. 1, 459th mtg.: President (China), p. 3; Ecuador, p. 7; USSR, pp. 3 and 4; United Kingdom, p. 6; United States, pp. 5 and 6; No. 2, 460th mtg.: China, pp. 8 and 9; France, pp. 4-6; USSR, pp. 12 and 15; United States, p. 6; Yugoslavia, pp. 2 and 3; No. 3, 461st mtg.: President (Cuba), pp. 7-9; Ecuador, pp. 1-5.

27/ S C, 5th yr., No. 3, 461st mtg., p. 9.

33. At the same meeting, the Indian proposal was referred to the Committee of Experts. In its report, 29/ submitted on 14 February 1950, the Committee accepted the basic assumption "that the right of the Security Council to deal with any issue relating to the representation or credentials of its members was not open to question". However, three different opinions had been expressed:

(1) The question was raised whether the Committee was the proper organ of the United Nations to study the matter;

(2) Those in favour of the new rule were of the opinion that the Security Council might formulate a new rule which, if reasonable and advantageous, might be adopted eventually by the other organs of the United Nations;

(3) It was the opinion of the majority that the question under consideration was of such a nature that the General Assembly should be the organ of the United Nations to initiate the study and to seek uniformity and co-ordination with regard to the procedure governing representation and credentials. 30/

34. The Committee recommended that the Security Council "should not, for the moment, take any decision on the proposed amendment" to add the draft rule after rule 17.

Decision

At the 468th meeting on 28 February 1950, the Council adopted 31/ without dissent the conclusions reached by the Committee of Experts.


30/ The question "Recognition by the United Nations of the representation of a Member State" was submitted to the General Assembly at its fifth session by the representative of Cuba (G A (V), Annexes, a.i. 61, pp. 1-3, A/1292 and A/1308). At its 325th plenary meeting on 14 December 1950, the General Assembly adopted resolution 396 (V) on this agenda item. For proceedings in connexion with resolution 396 (V), see also in this Repertory under Article 10.

31/ S C, 5th yr., No. 10, 468th mtg., p. 11.