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Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters
Follow-up to the outcome of the Millennium Summit

## Note verbale dated 20 July 2005 from the Permanent Mission of Costa Rica to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

The Permanent Mission of Costa Rica presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to enclose a document, entitled "Elections by fatigue: some considerations on the proposed election procedure for new permanent members of the Security Council", prepared by the Government of Costa Rica as a contribution to the current efforts to reform and revitalize the Security Council and the United Nations at large.

The Permanent Mission of Costa Rica would like to request that the document enclosed be distributed as a document of the General Assembly under agenda items 53 and 55.

# Annex to the note verbale dated 20 July 2005 from the Permanent Mission of Costa Rica to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General 

## Elections by fatigue: some considerations on the proposed election procedure for new permanent members of the Security Council

As noted by the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, "the effectiveness of the global collective security system, as with any other legal order, depends ultimately not only on the legality of decisions but also on the common perception of their legitimacy ...". In this context, the overriding goal of all efforts to reform the Security Council must be to make the Council more legitimate and, therefore, more effective. Therefore, when we consider proposals for the expansion of the Security Council and, in particular, proposals for the possible creation of new permanent members (for example A/59/L. 64 and A/59/L.67), we must examine whether those initiatives would enhance the legitimacy of the Security Council.

If there were a broad agreement to enlarge the Security Council in the category of permanent members, the selection of the new permanent members would not be contentious: their names would arise naturally from the general and overwhelming agreement that one or more States are qualified to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security to such a high degree that their continuous presence in the Council is not only desirable but indispensable. Conversely, a contentious electoral process, with aggressive and even negative campaigning, lobbying and secret bilateral deals, could jeopardize the legitimacy of the Council as a whole and weaken the collective security mechanism on which we all depend.

The legitimacy of new permanent members would be open to even more question if they are elected after many rounds of voting, increasing their support slowly, round by round, not because of their inherent merits but due to the exhaustion of the General Assembly. This scenario, the election of new permanent members by fatigue, is, in fact, quite likely to occur under some of the proposals currently under consideration, that foresee an open-ended electoral process - a process without any limits on the maximum number of rounds permissible.

Statistical evidence on the elections to fill non-permanent seats in the Security Council throws some light on the proposed procedure to select new permanent members, even though the stakes in those elections are much lower. The evidence shows, specifically, that elections by fatigue are in fact quite common. Out of the 60 elections for non-permanent seats held in the period from 1946 to 2004, in only 28 elections were the available seats filled in the first round of voting. In the other 32 elections, the General Assembly held an average of 13 rounds of votes. Some elections were particularly dramatic. The 1955 election required 36 rounds of votes and took over two months, from 14 October to 20 December. The 1959 election required 52 rounds of voting, scattered from 12 October to 12 December. These two elections concluded when the candidates agreed to share the mandate, so that each one occupied the non-permanent seat for one year. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ The 1979 election saw an

[^0]unprecedented 155 rounds of voting. The General Assembly was forced to continue the election the following year, after the date at which the new member was supposed to have taken its seat in the Council. Eventually, both candidates withdrew in favour of a third State, which was endorsed to occupy the seat in question (see table attached).

Elections by fatigue can take a heavy toll on the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Security Council. Commenting on this situation, and to cite an earlier example, Sir Pierson Dixon, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland said at the eleventh session of the General Assembly:
"We all remember with discomfort the protracted difficulties with which we met at the tenth session in filling one of the non-permanent seats on the Security Council. That was an unpleasant experience and led to much criticism of the United Nations. (...) Of course we do not want anything of the kind to happen again. However, I believe that it probably will unless some remedial action is taken. And conceivably the difficulties that have in the past applied to only one of the non-permanent seats might spill over to others of them. That is a very disquieting prospect." (General Assembly, 622nd meeting, eleventh session, 17 December 1956)
The discomfort and disquieting prospects mentioned by Sir Pierson would be even greater if what it is at stake in a protracted election is the unusual privilege of occupying a permanent seat in the Security Council.

Furthermore, it should be noted that, under the proposed rules for the election of new permanent members, a protracted electoral process might occur even if there is only one candidate running for each available seat. Even if they do not face any opposition, the candidates might, for one reason or another, be unable to obtain the required majority of two thirds of the Member States of the United Nations.

The open-ended character of the electoral process creates another problem: that there is no pre-established workable agreement that could serve to end an otherwise protracted electoral process. Unlike the elections for non-permanent seats, in which the candidates may agree to share the mandate, taking one year each, a permanent seat, by its nature, cannot be divided, even if candidates wish to do so. Moreover, the candidates cannot withdraw in favour of a consensus third State because, as contemplated in some proposals, only those States that submit their candidature at the start of the process are eligible. Under these conditions, the General Assembly might be faced with a difficult choice: either to elect by fatigue a State that most would prefer not to see as a permanent member, thus eroding the legitimacy of the Security Council as a whole, or leaving empty one of the new permanent seats, thus calling into question the validity of the whole exercise.

Costa Rica is convinced that the threat of elections by fatigue to the legitimacy of an enlarged Security Council is of such magnitude that it is indispensable to adopt proper safeguards to ensure that, if the General Assembly decides to create new permanent members, there would be a minimum number of rounds and that only those States that enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of Member States would ever become permanent members.

In raising the need for proper safeguards, Costa Rica is not endorsing the proposed enlargement of the Security Council in the permanent member category, but simply seeking to ensure that the proposed election procedure be as credible and as legitimate as possible.

## Enclosure

## Elections for non-permanent members of the Security Council: a comprehensive review 1946-2004

The following table contains 3 columns: the first column chronologically orders the elections for non-permanent members by General Assembly session and meeting [General Assembly sessions are identified in bold type as UNGA followed by the respective number; meetings are identified by the corresponding number and date]. The second column contains the total number of rounds of voting for each election and details each election round, with the number of valid votes, the number of abstentions and an indication as to whether the round of voting was restricted or unrestricted. The third column lists the results by number of votes received, with those Member States that receive the required two-thirds majority or more identified in bold type. In some cases, additional information is offered, such as withdrawal of candidatures, agreements between candidates to share the two-year term and other information that was considered relevant.

## Elections for non-permanent members of the Security Council: a comprehensive review 1946-2004

| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1946 UNGA1 | 4 Rounds |  |
| $4^{\text {th }} 12-01-46$ | Round 1:51 votes | Brazil 47, Egypt 45, Mexico 45, Poland 39, Netherlands 37, Canada 33, Australia 28, Iran 6, Norway 5, Czechoslovakia 4, Denmark 2, Belgium 1, Ethiopia 1, Greece 1, Luxembourg 1, New Zealand 1, Turkey 1, Yugoslavia 1 |
|  | Round 2: 51 votes, restricted | Australia 27, Canada 23 |
| $5^{\text {th }} 12-01-46$ | Round 3: 51 votes, restricted | Australia 28, Canada 23 [withdrew] |
|  | Round 4:51 votes, restricted | Australia 46, Canada 3 |
| 1946 UNGA1 | 1 Round |  |
| 48 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 19-11-46 | Round 1: 54 votes | Colombia 51, Syria 45, Belgium 43, India 13, Norway 4, Canada 1, Cuba 1, Greece 1, Turkey 1 |
| 1947 UNGA2 | 12 Rounds |  |
| $92^{\text {nd }} 30-09-47$ | Round 1: 57 votes | Argentina 41, Canada 41, Ukrainian SSR 33, India 29, Czechoslovakia 8, Uruguay 8, Chile 2, Ethiopia 1, Greece 1, Guatemala 1, Philippines 1 |
|  | Round 2: 56 votes, restricted | Ukrainian SSR 29, India 24 |
| 93 ${ }^{\text {rd }} 30-09-47$ | Round 3: 56 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Ukrainian SSR 29, India 25 |
|  | Round 4:57 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Ukrainian SSR 30, India 25 |
|  | Round 5: 57 votes, restricted | Ukrainian SSR 33, India 23 |
|  | Round 6:57 votes, unrestricted | Ukrainian SSR 34, India 22 |
|  | Round 7: 57 votes, unrestricted | Ukrainian SSR 33, India 23 |
| 94 ${ }^{\text {th }} 01-10-47$ | Round 8: 56 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Ukrainian SSR 31, India 23 |
|  | Round 9:57 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Ukrainian SSR 32, India 24 |
| 96 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 20-10-47 | Round 10: 55 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Ukrainian SSR 29, India 24 |
|  | Round 11:57 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Ukrainian SSR 30, India 25 [withdrew] |
| $109^{\text {th }} 13-11-47$ | Round 12: 54 votes, 15 abstentions, unrestricted | Ukrainian SSR 35, India 2 |
| 1948 UNGA3 | 4 Rounds |  |
| $149^{\text {th }} 08-10-48$ | Round 1: 53 votes | Cuba 52, Norway 44, Egypt 30, Turkey 23, Denmark 3, Pakistan 2, New Zealand 1, Siam 1, Sweden 1 |
|  | Round 2: 56 votes, restricted | Egypt 34, Turkey 20 |
|  | Round 3: 56 votes, restricted | Egypt 36, Turkey 19 |
|  | Round 4: 57 votes, restricted | Egypt 38, Turkey 19 |
|  |  |  |
| 1949 UNGA4 | 2 Rounds |  |
| 231 ${ }^{\text {st }}$ 20-10-49 | Round 1:58 votes | Ecuador 57, India 56, Yugoslavia 37, Czechoslovakia 20, Afghanistan 1, Philippines 1 |
|  | Round 2: 59 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Yugoslavia 39, Czechoslovakia 19 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1950 UNGA5 | 14 Rounds |  |
| 290 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 29-09-50 | Round 1: 59 votes | Brazil 57, Netherlands 47, Turkey 32, Lebanon 30, Sweden 2, Yemen 2, Bolivia 1, Burma 1 |
|  | Round 2: 60 votes, restricted | Turkey 34, Lebanon 26 |
|  | Round 3: 60 votes, restricted | Turkey 36, Lebanon 24 |
|  | Round 4: 60 votes, restricted | Turkey 35, Lebanon 25 |
|  | Round 5: 60 votes, unrestricted | Turkey 36, Lebanon 24 |
|  | Round 6: 60 votes, unrestricted | Turkey 33, Lebanon 26 |
|  | Round 7: 60 votes, unrestricted | Turkey 35, Lebanon 35 |
|  | Round 8: 60 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Turkey 35, Lebanon 24 |
| 291 ${ }^{\text {st }}$ 29-09-50 | Round 9:58 votes, restricted | Turkey 33, Lebanon 25 |
|  | Round 10: 60 votes, restricted | Turkey 36, Lebanon 24 |
|  | Round 11: 60 votes, unrestricted | Turkey 35, Lebanon 25 |
|  | Round 12: 60 votes, unrestricted | Turkey 36, Lebanon 24 |
| $294{ }^{\text {th }} 07-10-50$ | Round 13: 60 votes, unrestricted | Turkey 33, Lebanon 27 [withdrew] |
|  | Round 14: 60 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Turkey 53, Lebanon 4 |
|  |  |  |
| 1951 UNGA6 | 12 Rounds |  |
| $349^{\text {th }} 06-12-51$ | Round 1: 60 votes | Chile 57, Pakistan 55, Greece 30, Argentina 1, Australia 1, Byelorussian SSR 26, Colombia 1, El Salvador 1, Philippines 1 |
|  | Round 2: 60 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Greece 30, Byelorussian SSR 29 |
|  | Round 3: 60 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Greece 30, Byelorussian SSR 29 |
|  | Round 4:60 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Byelorussian SSR 30, Greece 29 |
|  | Round 5: 60 votes, unrestricted | Byelorussian SSR 32, Greece 24, Philippines 3, El Salvador 1 |
|  | Round 6: 60 votes, unrestricted | Byelorussian SSR 31, Greece 25, Philippines 3, El Salvador 1 |
|  | Round 7: 60 votes, unrestricted | Byelorussian SSR 33, Greece 24, Philippines 3 |
|  | Round 8: 60 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Byelorussian SSR 32, Greece 27 |
| $356^{\text {th }} 20-12-51$ | Round 9:58 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Greece 36, Byelorussian SSR 20 |
|  | Round 10:59 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Greece 35, Byelorussian SSR 20, Sweden 2, Burma 1 |
|  | Round 11:59 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Greece 38, Byelorussian SSR 17, Sweden 2, Burma 1 |
|  | Round 12: 59 votes, 4 abstentions, restricted | Greece 39, Byelorussian SSR 16 |
|  |  |  |
| 1952 UNGA7 | 1 Round |  |
| 389 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 25-10-52 | Round 1: 60 votes | Colombia 58, Lebanon 58, Denmark 56 |
|  |  |  |
| 1953 UNGA8 | 8 Rounds |  |
| 450 ${ }^{\text {th }} 05-10-53$ | Round 1: 60 votes, 1 abstention | Brazil 56, New Zealand 48, Turkey 32, Poland 18, Philippines 17, Czechoslovakia 2, Ecuador 2, Mexico 1 |
|  | Round 2: 60 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Turkey 38, Poland 20 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1953 UNGA8 | Round 3: 60 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Turkey 37, Poland 22 |
| continued | Round 4: 60 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Turkey 36, Poland 23 |
|  | Round 5: 60 votes, unrestricted | Turkey 31, Poland 18, Philippines 11 |
|  | Round 6: 60 votes, unrestricted | Turkey 33, Poland 16, Philippines 11 |
|  | Round 7: 60 votes, unrestricted | Turkey 35, Poland 15, Philippines 10 |
|  | Round 8: 60 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Turkey 40, Poland 19 |
| 1954 UNGA9 | 1 Round |  |
| 492 ${ }^{\text {nd }} 06-10-54$ | Round 1: 58 votes | Iran 56, Peru 56, Belgium 52, Burma 1, Haiti 1, India 1, Panama 1 |
| 1955 UNGA10 | 36 Rounds |  |
| 534 ${ }^{\text {th }} 14-10-55$ | Round 1: 59 votes, 1 abstention | Cuba 53, Australia 42, Poland 34, Philippines 33, Indonesia 2, Thailand 2, South Africa 1, Yugoslavia 1 |
|  | Round 2: 59 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Philippines 35, Poland 23 |
|  | Round 3: 59 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Philippines 38, Poland 20 |
|  | Round 4:59 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Philippines 36, Poland 20 |
|  | Round 5: 59 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Philippines 30, Yugoslavia 25, Poland 1, Yemen 1 |
|  | Round 6: 59 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Philippines 29, Yugoslavia 28 |
| 535 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 19-10-55 | Round 7:59 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Philippines 31, Yugoslavia 27 |
|  | Round 8: 59 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Philippines 30, Yugoslavia 28 |
|  | Round 9:59 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Philippines 31, Yugoslavia 27 |
| 538 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 27-10-55 | Round 10:57 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Philippines 30, Yugoslavia 24 |
|  | Round 11:58 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Philippines 30, Yugoslavia 25, India 1 |
|  | Round 12: 59 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Philippines 32, Yugoslavia 24, India 2 |
| $540^{\text {th }} 08-11-55$ | Round 13: 59 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Philippines 30, Yugoslavia 28 |
|  | Round 14: 59 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Philippines 31, Yugoslavia 27 |
|  | Round 15:59 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Philippines 31, Yugoslavia 26 |
|  | Round 16:59 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Philippines 29, Yugoslavia 27 |
|  | Round 17:59 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Philippines 27, Yugoslavia 26, India 1, Uruguay 1, Yemen 1 |
|  | Round 18:59 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Philippines 29, Yugoslavia 26, Bolivia 1, Burma 1, Liberia 1 |
|  | Round 19:59 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Yugoslavia 26, Philippines 25, Burma 2, Bolivia 1, Liberia 1 |
|  | Round 20:59 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Philippines 29, Yugoslavia 27 |
|  | Round 21:59 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Philippines 30, Yugoslavia 27 |
| 551st ${ }^{\text {st }} 06-12-55$ | Round 22: 58 votes, restricted | Philippines 30, Yugoslavia 28 |
|  | Round 23:59 votes, unrestricted | Philippines 30, Yugoslavia 27, Greece 1, Czechoslovakia 1 |
|  | Round 24: 59 votes, unrestricted | Philippines 31, Yugoslavia 28 |
|  | Round 25: 59 votes, unrestricted | Philippines 32, Yugoslavia 25, Iceland 1, Sweden 1 |
|  | Round 26:59 votes, restricted | Philippines 33, Yugoslavia 26 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1955 UNGA10 | Round 27: 59 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Philippines 32, Yugoslavia 26 |
| continued | Round 28:59 votes, restricted | Philippines 32, Yugoslavia 27 |
|  | Round 29:59 votes, unrestricted | Philippines 29, Yugoslavia 25, Greece 1, Iceland 1, Sweden 1, Syria 1 |
| 558 ${ }^{\text {th }} 16-12-55$ | Round 30: 68 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Philippines 35, Yugoslavia 28, Sweden 2, Uruguay 1 |
|  | Round 31: 70 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Philippines 36, Yugoslavia 30, Sweden 2, Greece 1 |
|  | Round 32: 70 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Philippines 40, Yugoslavia 28 |
|  | Round 33: 70 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Philippines 37, Yugoslavia 32 |
|  | Round 34: 70 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Philippines 37, Yugoslavia 31 |
| 559 ${ }^{\text {th }} 16-12-55$ | Round 35: 69 votes, 10 abstentions, unrestricted | Yugoslavia 34, Philippines 19, Spain 2, Bulgaria 1, Italy 1, Sweden 1, Yemen 1 |
| $560^{\text {th }} 20-12-55$ | Round 36: 70 votes, 13 abstentions, unrestricted | Yugoslavia 43, Philippines 11, Finland 1, Sweden 1 [one-year agreement between Philippines and Yugoslavia] |
|  |  |  |
| 1956 UNGA11 | 4 Rounds |  |
| $612^{\text {th }} 07-12-56$ | Round 1: 75 votes, 1 abstention | Philippines 51, Czechoslovakia 20, Afghanistan 1, Spain 1, Yugoslavia 1 [end of one-year term Yugoslavia] |
| $612^{\text {th }} 07-12-56$ | Round 1: 77 votes | Colombia 73, Iraq 69, Sweden 41, Spain 32, India 3, Italy 2, Brazil 1, Ireland 1, Liberia 1, Mexico 1, Norway 1, Yemen 1 |
|  | Round 2: 79 votes, restricted | Sweden 47, Spain 32 |
|  | Round 3: 77 votes, restricted | Sweden 49, Spain 28 |
| $627^{\text {th }} 19-12-56$ | Round 4: 77 votes, unrestricted | Sweden 71, Spain 5, Italy 1 |
|  |  |  |
| 1957 UNGA12 | 1 Round |  |
| $695^{\text {th }} 08-10-57$ | Round 1: 78 votes | Panama 74, Canada 72, Japan 55, Czechoslovakia 25, Argentina 1, Brazil 1, Chile 1, Dominican Republic 1, India 1, Italy 1, Sudan 1 |
|  |  |  |
| 1958 UNGA13 | 1 Round |  |
| $775^{\text {th }} 08-10-58$ | Round 1:79 votes | Argentina 78, Italy 76, Tunisia 74, Iran 2, Finland 1, Greece 1 |
|  |  |  |
| 1959 UNGA14 | 52 Rounds |  |
| $825^{\text {th }} 12-10-59$ | Round 1: 80 votes | Ecuador 77, Ceylon 72, Poland 46, Turkey 36, Burma 1, Canada 1 |
|  | Round 2: 81 votes, restricted | Poland 43, Turkey 38 |
|  | Round 3: 81 votes, restricted | Poland 45, Turkey 36 |
|  | Round 4:81 votes, unrestricted | Poland 46, Turkey 35 |
|  | Round 5: 81 votes, unrestricted | Poland 46, Turkey 34 |
|  | Round 6:81 votes, unrestricted | Poland 46, Turkey 34, Jordan 1 |
|  | Round 7: 81 votes, restricted | Poland 48, Turkey 33 |
|  | Round 8: 81 votes, restricted | Poland 47, Turkey 34 |
|  | Round 9: 81 votes, restricted | Poland 48, Turkey 33 |
|  | Round 10: 81 votes, unrestricted | Poland 47, Turkey 34 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1959 UNGA14 | Round 11: 80 votes, unrestricted | Poland 45, Turkey 35 |
| continued | Round 12: 81 votes, unrestricted | Poland 46, Turkey 35 |
| $826^{\text {th }} 12-10-59$ | Round 13: 81 votes, restricted | Poland 46, Turkey 34 |
| 827 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 13-10-59 | Round 14: 81 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Poland 43, Turkey 36 |
|  | Round 15: 80 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Poland 44, Turkey 34 |
|  | Round 16: 82 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Poland 41, Turkey 35, Yugoslavia 2, Sudan 1 |
|  | Round 17: 82 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 40, Turkey 36, Yugoslavia 3, Libya 1, Sudan 1 |
|  | Round 18: 82 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Poland 38, Turkey 35, Yugoslavia 7 |
|  | Round 19: 82 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Poland 43, Turkey 37 |
|  | Round 20: 81 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Poland 44, Turkey 35 |
|  | Round 21: 82 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Poland 44, Turkey 36 |
|  | Round 22: 82 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 42, Turkey 35, Yugoslavia 4 |
|  | Round 23: 82 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 41, Turkey 34, Yugoslavia 6 |
|  | Round 24: 81 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 38, Turkey 35, Yugoslavia 7 |
|  | Round 25: 82 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Poland 43, Turkey 36 |
| $830^{\text {th }}$ 19-10-59 | Round 26: 80 votes, restricted | Poland 44, Turkey 35 |
|  | Round 27: 81 votes, restricted | Poland 41, Turkey 40 |
|  | Round 28: 82 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 41, Turkey 40 |
|  | Round 29: 81 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Turkey 41, Poland 39 |
|  | Round 30: 82 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 41, Turkey 40 |
|  | Round 31: 82 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Turkey 42, Poland 39 |
| $835^{\text {th }} 08-11-59$ | Round 32: 75 votes, restricted | Poland 39, Turkey 36 |
|  | Round 33: 79 votes, restricted | Turkey 41, Poland 38 |
|  | Round 34: 80 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Turkey 43, Poland 36 |
|  | Round 35: 81 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 40, Turkey 40 |
|  | Round 36: 81 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 40, Turkey 39, 1 Finland |
|  | Round 37: 81 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Turkey 42, Poland 38 |
| 839 ${ }^{\text {th }} 17-11-59$ | Round 38: 81 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Poland 42, Turkey 38 |
|  | Round 39: 82 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Poland 42, Turkey 39 |
|  | Round 40: 82 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 39, Turkey 39, Luxembourg 2, Ireland 1 |
|  | Round 41: 82 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 40, Turkey 36, Ghana 1, Iceland 1, Ireland 1, Luxembourg 1, Ukrainian SSR 1 |
|  | Round 42: 82 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Poland 40, Turkey 39, Greece 1 |
|  | Round 43: 82 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Poland 42, Turkey 39 |
| $845^{\text {th }} 01-12-59$ | Round 44: 77 votes, restricted | Poland 40, Turkey 37 |
|  | Round 45: 79 votes, restricted | Turkey 40, Poland 39 |
|  | Round 46:80 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Poland 40, Turkey 37 |
|  | Round 47: 82 votes, unrestricted | Poland 42, Turkey 40 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1959 UNGA14 | Round 48: 82 votes, unrestricted | Poland 41, Turkey 41 |
| continued | Round 49:81 votes, restricted | Turkey 42, Poland 39 |
| 853 ${ }^{\text {rd }} 11-12-59$ | Round 50: 78 votes, restricted | Poland 41, Turkey 37 |
|  | Round 51: 78 votes, restricted | Poland 41, Turkey 37 |
| $857^{\text {th }} 12-12-59$ | Round 52: 80 votes, 4 abstentions, unrestricted | Poland 71, Turkey 3, Greece 1, Yemen 1 [one-year agreement between Poland and Turkey] |
|  |  |  |
| 1960 UNGA15 | 14 Rounds |  |
| 941 ${ }^{\text {st }} 09-12-60$ | Round 1: 85 votes, 3 abstentions | Turkey 74, Liberia 4, Poland 2, United Arab Republic 1 [end of one-year term of Poland] |
| 941 ${ }^{\text {st }} 09-12-60$ | Round 1: 94 votes, 1 abstention | Chile 74, United Arab Republic 74, Portugal 50, Liberia 32, Ethiopia 6, Ghana 5, Jordan 3, Nigeria 3, Cuba 2, Cote d'Ivoire 2, Panama 2, Cameroon 1, Canada 1, Dominican Republic 1, El Salvador 1, Guinea 1, Morocco 1, Norway 1, Saudi Arabia 1, Venezuela 1 |
|  | Round 2: 98 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Portugal 49, Liberia 47 |
|  | Round 3: 99 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Liberia 51, Portugal 46 |
|  | Round 4: 99 votes, unrestricted | Liberia 50, Portugal 42, Burma 1, Ghana 1, Netherlands 1, Norway 1, Spain 1, Sweden 1 |
|  | Round 5: 99 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Liberia 53, Portugal 39, Austria 2, Netherlands 1, Nigeria 1, Norway 1, Sweden 1 |
|  | Round 6:98 votes, unrestricted | Liberia 54, Portugal 39, Austria 4, Norway 1 |
|  | Round 7: 98 votes, 5 abstentions, restricted | Liberia 55, Portugal 38 |
| 959 ${ }^{\text {th }} 20-12-60$ | Round 8: 94 votes, 4 abstentions, restricted | Liberia 45, Portugal 43 |
|  | Round 9: 94 votes, restricted | Liberia 48, Portugal 46 [Portugal withdraws in favor of Ireland] |
|  | Round 10: 94 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Liberia 45, Ireland 36, Portugal 7, Cyprus 3, Ghana 1, Nigeria 1 |
|  | Round 11: 94 votes, unrestricted | Liberia 48, Ireland 38, Portugal 4, Cyprus 2, Mali 1, Nigeria 1 |
|  | Round 12: 94 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Liberia 44, Ireland 40, Portugal 3, Cyprus 2, Dahomey 1, Ghana 1, Nigeria 1 |
|  | Round 13: 93 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Ireland 45, Liberia 45 |
|  | Round 14: 93 votes, 7 abstentions, unrestricted | Liberia 76, Ireland 5, Portugal 2, Cyprus 1, Nigeria 1 [one-year agreement between Liberia and Ireland] |
|  |  |  |
| 1961 UNGA16 | 10 Rounds |  |
| 1044 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 30-10-61 | Round 1: 103 votes, 2 abstentions, | Ireland 83, Romania 10, Dahomey 1, Ghana 1, Philippines 1 [end of one-year term of Liberia] |
| $1044^{\text {th }} 30-10-61$ | Round 1: 103 votes | Venezuela 96, Ghana 88, Romania 58, Philippines 47, Nigeria 3, Austria 1, India 1, Guinea 1, New Zealand 1, Netherlands 1 |
|  | Round 2: 102 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Philippines 52, Romania 49 |
|  | Round 3: 102 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Philippines 54, Romania 48 |
| 1053rd ${ }^{\text {rd }} 14-11-61$ | Round 4: 98 votes, unrestricted | Romania 49, Philippines 47, India 1, Japan 1 |
|  | Round 5: 102 votes, unrestricted | Romania 54, Philippines 47, India 1 |
|  | Round 6: 102 votes, unrestricted | Romania 53, Philippines 48, India 1 |
|  | Round 7: 103 votes, restricted | Romania 52, Philippines 49 |
|  | Round 8: 103 votes, restricted | Romania 55, Philippines 48 |
|  | Round 9: 103 votes, restricted | Romania 53, Philippines 50 |
| 1068 ${ }^{\text {th }} 01-12-61$ | Round 10:97 votes, 5 abstentions, unrestricted | Romania 75, Philippines 16 [one-year agreement between Philippines and Romania] |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1962 UNGA17 | 2 Rounds |  |
| $1154^{\text {th }} 17-10-62$ | Round 1: 105 votes, 2 abstentions, | Philippines 95, Nigeria 2, Norway 2, Afghanistan 1, Romania 1 [end of one-year term of Romania] |
| $1154^{\text {th }} 17-10-62$ | Round 1: 109 votes | Brazil 91, Norway 85, Morocco 57, Nigeria 30, Iran 28, Afghanistan 5, Ethiopia 2, Burma 1, Haiti 1, Israel 1, Mauritania 1 |
|  | Round 2: 109 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Morocco 73, Nigeria 35 |
| 1963 UNGA18 | 12 Rounds |  |
| $1246^{\text {th }}$ 18-10-63 | Round 1:109 votes, 1 abstention | Côte d'Ivoire 92, Bolivia 86, Czechoslovakia 63, Malaysia 56, Indonesia 1, |
|  | Round 2: 109 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Czechoslovakia 55, Malaysia 52 |
|  | Round 3: 109 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Czechoslovakia 55, Malaysia 52 |
|  | Round 4: 110 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Czechoslovakia 54, Malaysia 54 |
|  | Round 5: 110 votes, unrestricted | Czechoslovakia 56, Malaysia 51, Cambodia 1, Lebanon 1 |
| 1252 ${ }^{\text {nd }}$ 25-10-63 | Round 6: 111 votes, unrestricted | Malaysia 56, Czechslovakia 55 |
|  | Round 7: 110 votes, unrestricted | Malaysia 58, Czechoslovakia 52 |
|  | Round 8: 110 votes, restricted | Czechoslovakia 56, Malaysia 54 |
|  | Round 9: 110 votes, restricted | Czechoslovakia 56, Malaysia 54 |
|  | Round 10: 109 votes, restricted | Czechoslovakia 58, Malaysia 51 |
|  | Round 11:110 votes, unrestricted | Czechoslovakia 56, Malaysia 53, Honduras 1 |
| $1254{ }^{\text {th }} 01-11-63$ | Round 12: 102 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Czechoslovakia 89, Malaysia 10 [one-year agreement between Czechoslovakia and Malaysia] |
| 1964 UNGA19 | 2 Rounds |  |
| $1313^{\text {th }}$ 29-12-64 | Round 1: Consultations by the President | Malaysia [end of one-year term of Czechoslovakia] |
| $1313^{\text {th }} 29-12-64$ | Round 1: Consultations by the President | Netherlands, Uruguay, Jordan, Mali |
| $1315^{\text {th }} 30-12-64$ | Round 2: Consultations by the President | Jordan, Mali [one-year agreement between Jordan and Mali] |
| 1965 UNGA20 | 1 Round |  |
| 1392 ${ }^{\text {nd }} 10-12-65$ | Round 1: 115 votes | Argentina 113, Bulgaria 108, Nigeria 107, Mali 105, Uganda 102, New Zealand 101, Japan 98, Mauritania 4, Somalia 3, Ceylon 1, Ethiopia 1, Guinea 1, Liberia 1, Madagascar 1, Pakistan 1, Spain 1, Thailand 1, United Republic of Tanzania 1 |
| 1966 UNGA21 | 1 Round |  |
| 1462 ${ }^{\text {nd }} 11-11-66$ | Round 1:119 votes | Brazil 114, Canada 114, Ethiopia 109, Denmark 108, India 82, Syria 42, Sweden 3, Italy 1, Kenya 1, Pakistan 1, Senegal 1, Somalia 1 |
| 1967 UNGA22 | 1 Round |  |
| $1595{ }^{\text {th }} 06-11-67$ | Round 1:118 votes | Pakistan 118, Senegal 110, Algeria 108, Hungary 105, Paraguay 101, Romania 3, Albania 2, Tunisia 2, Uruguay 2, Chile 1, Cyprus 1, Congo 1, Congo Democratic Republic 1, Cuba 1, Dahomey 1, Ecuador 1, Madagascar 1, Malawi 1, Morocco 1, Peru 1, Yugoslavia 1 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1968 UNGA23 | 1 Round |  |
| 1709 ${ }^{\text {th }} 01-11-68$ | Round 1:126 votes | Nepal 120, Finland 119, Colombia 118, Zambia 115, Spain 110, Italy 5, Cuba 1, Guinea 1, Haiti 1, Ireland 1 |
| 1969 UNGA24 | 1 Round |  |
| 1787 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 20-10-69 | Round 1: 126 votes | Poland 121, Burundi 118, Sierra Leone 117, Nicaragua 103, Syria 101, Cuba 6, Peru 3, Togo 3, Lebanon 2, Tunisia 2, Botswana 1, Brazil 1, Haiti 1, Iraq 1, Israel 1, Japan 1, Jordan 1, Kenya 1, Mali 1, Mongolia 1, Panama 1, United Arab Republic 1, Yugoslavia 1 |
| 1970 UNGA25 | 1 Round |  |
| 1885 ${ }^{\text {th }} 16-10-70$ | Round 1: 113 votes | Argentina 109, Italy 108, Belgium 104, Somalia 104, Japan 102, Democratic Republic of Congo 2, Austria 1, Burma 1, Fiji 1, Haiti 1, India 1, Luxembourg 1 |
| 1971 UNGA26 | 1 Round |  |
| 1993 ${ }^{\text {rd }}$ 23-11-71 | Round 1: 116 votes | Yugoslavia 112, Sudan 111, Guinea 109, Panama 108, India 107, Peru 2, Chile 1, Ethiopia 1, Fiji 1, Israel 1, Pakistan 1, Tunisia 1 |
| 1972 UNGA27 | 1 Round |  |
| 2070 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 20-10-72 | Round 1:118 votes | Peru 116, Austria 115, Indonesia 115, Kenya 112, Australia 109, Haiti 1, Pakistan 1 |
| 1973 UNGA28 | 1 Round |  |
| $2153{ }^{\text {rd }} 15-10-73$ | Round 1: 125 votes | Mauritania 120, Cameroon 120, Iraq 116, Byelorussian SSR 112, Costa Rica 104, Cuba 5, Jamaica 3, Romania 2, Honduras 1, Iran 1, Libya 1 |
| 1974 UNGA29 | 1 Round |  |
| $2266{ }^{\text {th }} 11-10-74$ | Round 1: 129 votes | Sweden 127, Italy 125, Guyana 123, Tanzania 122, Japan 121, Liberia 2, Bolivia 1, Brazil 1, Congo 1, Cuba 1, Finland 1, India 1, Nigeria 1, Zambia 1 |
| 1975 UNGA30 | 8 Rounds |  |
| 2384 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 20-10-75 | Round 1: 140 votes | Romania 137, Dahomey 133, Panama 132, Liberia 126, India 60, Pakistan 59, Philippines 25, Cuba 2, Argentina 1, Bolivia 1, Morocco 1, Nigeria 1, Rwanda 1, Senegal 1, Sierra Leone 1, Venezuela 1, Yugoslavia 1, Zambia 1 |
|  | Round 2: 140 votes, 4 abstentions, restricted | Pakistan 76, India 59 |
|  | Round 3: 140 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Pakistan 73, India 64 |
|  | Round 4: 140 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Pakistan 78, India 59 |
| 2385 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 20-10-75 | Round 5: 139 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Pakistan 60, India 54, Philippines 20, Bhutan 1 |
|  | Round 6: 135 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Pakistan 72, India 58, Papua New Guinea 1 |
| 2386 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 21-10-75 | Round 7: 137 votes, 4 abstentions, unrestricted | Pakistan 75, India 58 [withdrew] |
| 2387 ${ }^{\text {th }} 23-10-75$ | Round 8: 136 votes, 8 abstentions, restricted | Pakistan 123 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1976 UNGA31 | 1 Round |  |
| $40^{\text {th }}$ 21-10-76 | Round 1: 138 votes | Venezuela 136, Mauritius 134, India 132, Canada 126, Federal Republic of Germany 119, Finland 2, Austria 1, Belgium 1, Bhutan 1, Burundi 1, Chile 1, Cuba 1, Denmark 1, Greece 1, Iceland 1, Kenya 1, Luxembourg 1, Madagascar 1, Philippines 1, Portugal 1, Spain 1, Turkey 1, Yugoslavia 1 |
| 1977 UNGA32 | 5 Rounds |  |
| 93 ${ }^{\text {rd }}$ 24-10-77 | Round 1: 145 votes, 1 abstention | Czechoslovakia 131, Kuwait 130, Bolivia 115, Gabon 103, Niger 85, Nigeria 84, Jamaica 13, Cuba 3, Argentina 1, Iraq 1, Oman 1, Poland 1, Zambia 1 |
|  | Round 2: 146 votes, restricted | Nigeria 83, Niger 62 |
|  | Round 3: 146 votes, restricted | Nigeria 89, Niger 57 |
|  | Round 4: 144 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Nigeria 92, Niger 49 |
|  | Round 5: 145 votes, 16 abstentions, unrestricted | Nigeria 96, Niger 27, Cuba 2, Angola 1, Senegal 1, Tanzania 1 |
|  |  |  |
| 1978 UNGA33 | 5 Rounds |  |
| $50^{\text {th }} 10-11-78$ | Round 1:149 votes | Jamaica 145, Zambia 144, Norway 118, Bangladesh 84, Portugal 84, Malta 81, Japan 65, Comoros 1, Peru 1 |
|  | Round 2: 149 votes, restricted | Bangladesh 87, Portugal 77, Malta 70, Japan 61 [withdrew] |
| $51^{\text {st }} 10-11-78$ | Round 3: 142 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Bangladesh 125, Portugal 81, Malta 59, Japan 2 |
|  | Round 4: 145 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Portugal 93, Malta 51 |
|  | Round 5: 146 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Portugal 99, Malta 45 |
|  |  |  |
| 1979 UNGA34 | 155 Rounds |  |
| $47^{\text {th }}$ 26-10-79 | Round 1: 148 votes | Tunisia 143, Niger 140, German Democratic Republic 133, Philippines 131, Cuba 77, Colombia 68, Yugoslavia 2, Bulgaria 1, Democratic Yemen 1, Jordan 1, Libya 1, Romania 1, Zaire 1 |
|  | Round 2: 148 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 66 |
|  | Round 3: 147 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 78, Colombia 66 |
|  | Round 4:148 votes, 4 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 65 |
|  | Round 5: 147 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 80, Colombia 61, Peru 2, Brazil 1 |
| 48 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 26-10-79 | Round 6: 145 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 80, Colombia 62 |
|  | Round 7: 148 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 84, Colombia 60 |
|  | Round 8: 147 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 83, Colombia 61 |
|  | Round 9: 147 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 63 |
|  | Round 10: 148 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 66 |
|  | Round 11: 148 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 80, Colombia 65 |
|  | Round 12: 147 votes, 4 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 64 |
|  | Round 13: 147 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 65 |
| 50 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 30-10-79 | Round 14: 142 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 74, Colombia 65 |
|  | Round 15: 148 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 66 |
|  | Round 16: 148 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 66 |



| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1979 UNGA34 | Round 54: 147 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 80, Colombia 62, Brazil 1, Mexico 1, Nicaragua 1 |
| continued | Round 55: 147 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 84, Colombia 59, Brazil 1, El Salvador 1 |
|  | Round 56: 147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 84, Colombia 62 |
|  | Round 57: 145 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 62 |
|  | Round 58: 147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 84, Colombia 62 |
| 98 ${ }^{\text {th }} 11-12-79$ | Round 59:147 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 57, Uruguay 1 |
|  | Round 60:147 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 86, Colombia 58, Suriname 1, Uruguay 1 |
|  | Round 61:146 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 83, Colombia 58, Suriname 2, Honduras 1, Uruguay 1 |
|  | Round 62:146 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 85, Colombia 60 |
|  | Round 63: 146 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 82, Colombia 61 |
|  | Round 64: 145 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 61 |
|  | Round 65: 146 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 82, Colombia 58, Brazil 1, El Salvador 1, Honduras 1, Suriname 1 |
|  | Round 66: 144 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 58, Brazil 2, Chile 1 |
|  | Round 67: 146 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 57, Brazil 3. Suriname 1 |
|  | Round 68: 146 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 60 |
|  | Round 69: 141 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 58 |
|  | Round 70: 147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 82, Colombia 64 |
| $102^{\text {nd }} 13-12-79$ | Round 71: 145 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 63 |
|  | Round 72: 146 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 82, Colombia 60, Brazil 1 |
|  | Round 73: 146 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 85, Colombia 57, Chile 1, Peru 1, Suriname 1 |
|  | Round 74: 148 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 59 |
|  | Round 75: 147 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 91, Colombia 55 |
|  | Round 76: 149 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 91, Colombia 55 |
|  | Round 77: 149 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 89, Colombia 58 |
|  | Round 78: 145 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 86, Colombia 57 |
|  | Round 79:145 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 82, Colombia 62 |
| 106 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 17-12-79 | Round 80: 149 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 89, Colombia 58 |
|  | Round 81: 147 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 89, Colombia 56 |
|  | Round 82: 148 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 89, Colombia 57 |
|  | Round 83: 147 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 90, Colombia 54 |
|  | Round 84:148 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 89, Colombia 55, Peru 2, Argentina 1 |
|  | Round 85: 148 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 56, Peru 2, Costa Rica 1 |
|  | Round 86: 147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 90, Colombia 56 |
|  | Round 87: 147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 91, Colombia 55 |
|  | Round 88: 149 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 95, Colombia 53 |
|  | Round 89: 144 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 54, Peru 1 |
|  | Round 90: 147 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 89, Colombia 56, Peru 1 |


| General <br> Assembly <br> Session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1979 UNGA34 | Round 91: 144 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 86, Colombia 56, Peru 1 |
| continued | Round 92: 147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 89, Colombia 57 |
|  | Round 93: 144 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 87, Colombia 56 |
|  | Round 94: 145 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 90, Colombia 54 |
| $108^{\text {th }}$ 18-12-79 | Round 95: 148 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 58, Peru 1 |
|  | Round 96: 147 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 84, Colombia 84, Peru 2 |
|  | Round 97: 146 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 82, Colombia 60, Peru 3 |
|  | Round 98: 147 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 82, Colombia 62 |
|  | Round 99: 148 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 86, Colombia 60 |
|  | Round 100: 148 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 58 |
|  | Round 101: 147 votes, unrestricted | Cuba 87, Colombia 51, Peru 9 |
|  | Round 102: 146 votes, unrestricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 47, Peru 16, Guatemala 1, Guyana 1 |
|  | Round 103: 147 votes, unrestricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 44, Peru 23, Panama 1 |
|  | Round 104: 148 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 86, Colombia 60 |
|  | Round 105: 145 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 54 |
|  | Round 106: 146 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 87, Colombia 57 |
|  | Round 107: 145 votes, unrestricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 52, Peru 10 |
|  | Round 108: 144 votes, unrestricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 55, Peru 7, Brazil 1, Chile 1, Saint Lucia 1 |
|  | Round 109: 147 votes, unrestricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 60, Brazil 2, Peru 2, Chile 1, Mexico 1 |
|  | Round 110: 147 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 86, Colombia 59 |
|  | Round 111: 147 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 87, Colombia 58 |
|  | Round 112: 147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 58 |
| 109 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 19-12-79 | Round 113: 146 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 85, Colombia 57, Ecuador 1, Peru 1, Uruguay 1 |
|  | Round 114: 146 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 85, Colombia 56, Uruguay 2, Brazil 1, Ecuador 1 |
|  | Round 115: 146 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 83, Colombia 56, Haiti 2, Uruguay 2, Brazil 1, Ecuador 1 |
| $110^{\text {th }}$ 19-12-79 | Round 116: 142 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 82, Colombia 59 |
|  | Round 117: 142 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 86, Colombia 54 |
|  | Round 118: 147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 92, Colombia 54 |
|  | Round 119:149 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 56 |
|  | Round 120:148 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 84, Colombia 59, Mexico 2, El Salvador 1 |
|  | Round 121:148 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 86, Colombia 60, Honduras 1 |
|  | Round 122: 147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 57 |
|  | Round 123: 149 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 91, Colombia 57 |
|  | Round 124:148 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 88, Colombia 58 |
| $112^{\text {th }}$ 27-12-79 | Round 125:147 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 83, Colombia 60, Ecuador 1, Uruguay 1 |
|  | Round 126:149 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 85, Colombia 61, Ecuador 1, Uruguay 1 |
|  | Round 127: 149 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 85, Colombia 61, Ecuador 1 |


| General <br> Assembly <br> Session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1979 UNGA34 | Round 128: 149 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 85, Colombia 62 |
| continued | Round 129:149 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 84, Colombia 63 |
|  | Round 130:148 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 65 |
| $113^{\text {th }}$ 27-12-79 | Round 131: 146 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 83, Colombia 59, Costa Rica 1, Honduras 1 |
|  | Round 132: 147 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Cuba 82, Colombia 63, Costa Rica 1 |
|  | Round 133: 148 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 64 |
|  | Round 134: 148 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 65 |
|  | Round 135: 148 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Cuba 83, Colombia 64 |
|  | Round 136:149 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 83, Colombia 63 |
|  | Round 137: 148 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 80, Colombia 64, Venezuela 1 |
|  | Round 138: 147 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 80, Colombia 62, Venezuela 2 |
|  | Round 139:148 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 80, Colombia 62, Venezuela 2, Barbados 1 |
|  | Round 140:143 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 78, Colombia 62 |
|  | Round 141:146 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 81, Colombia 63 |
|  | Round 142: 146 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 83, Colombia 61 |
|  | Round 143: 145 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 63, Mexico 1 |
| $118^{\text {th }}$ 31-12-79 | Round 144: 138 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 73, Colombia 61, Mexico 2 |
|  | Round 145: 143 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 78, Colombia 60, Mexico 2, Peru 1 |
|  | Round 146: 144 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 82, Colombia 59 |
|  | Round 147: 143 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 79, Colombia 61 |
|  | Round 148:144 votes, 5 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 78, Colombia 61 |
| $119^{\text {th }} 04-01-80$ | Round 149:139 votes, 4 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 69, Colombia 63, Honduras 1, Mexico 1, Peru 1 |
|  | Round 150:141 votes, 5 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 70, Colombia 64, Mexico 1, Panama 1 |
|  | Round 151: 145 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Cuba 74, Colombia 66, Mexico 1, Panama 1 |
|  | Round 152: 146 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 74, Colombia 70 |
|  | Round 153: 146 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 72, Colombia 71 |
|  | Round 154: 146 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Cuba 74, Colombia 69 [both withdrew in favor of the endorsement of Mexico] |
| $120^{\text {th }} 07-01-80$ | Round 155: 144 votes, 8 abstentions, unrestricted | Mexico 133, Cuba 3 |
| 1980 UNGA35 | 22 Rounds |  |
| 41 ${ }^{\text {st }}$ 20-10-1980 | Round 1: 151 votes | Japan 141, Uganda 134, Spain 109, Ireland 107, Costa Rica 89, Malta 74, Guyana 9, Nicaragua 6, Panama 2, Zimabawe 2, Chad 1, Grenada 1, Senegal 1 |
| $42^{\text {nd }}$ 20-10-80 | Round 2: 145 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Costa Rica 74, Guyana 70 |
| $43^{\text {rd }} 21-10-80$ | Round 3: 151 votes, 6 abstentions, restricted | Costa Rica 90, Guyana 47 |
|  | Round 4: 151 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Costa Rica 86, Guyana 36, Nicaragua 22, Cuba 4, Barbados 1, Chile 1, Peru 1 |
|  | Round 5: 151 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Costa Rica 87, Nicaragua 30, Guyana 25, Cuba 2, Dominican Republic 2, Panama 1, Peru 1 |
|  | Round 6: 151 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted | Costa Rica 86, Nicaragua 40, Guyana 19, Dominican Republic 3, Cuba 1 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1980 UNGA35 | Round 7: 151 votes, 5 abstentions, restricted | Costa Rica 86, Nicaragua 60 |
| 47 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 24-10-80 | Round 8: 148 votes, 5 abstentions, restricted | Costa Rica 81, Nicaragua 62 |
|  | Round 9: 147 votes, 5 abstentions, restricted | Costa Rica 82, Nicaragua 60 |
| $51^{\text {st }} 04-11-80$ | Round 10: 135 votes, 3 abstentions, unrestricted | Costa Rica 82, Panama 16, Guyana 12, Nicaragua 10, Saint Lucia 4, Brazil 3, Cuba 2, Barbados 1, Grenada 1, Peru 1 |
|  | Round 11: 143 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Costa Rica 84, Panama 38, Guyana 8, Nicaragua 7, Brazil 2, Cuba 1, Guatemala 1, Haiti 1 |
|  | Round 12: 143 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Costa Rica 83, Panama 25, Guyana 18, Nicaragua 10, Brazil 4, Cuba 2 |
|  | Round 13: 144 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Costa Rica 85, Panama 57 |
| $57^{\text {th }} 11-11-80$ | Round 14: 150 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Costa Rica 75, Panama 73 |
|  | Round 15: 147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Panama 75, Costa Rica 71 |
|  | Round 16: 150 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Panama 79, Costa Rica 62, Guyana 3, Barbados 1, Cuba 1, Ecuador 1, Nicaragua 1, Trinidad and Tobago 1 |
|  | Round 17: 149 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Panama 83, Costa Rica 62, Barbados 1, Ecuador 1, Guyana 1 |
|  | Round 18: 147 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Panama 85, Costa Rica 59, Barbados 1, Ecuador 1 |
|  | Round 19:147 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Panama 88, Costa Rica 58 |
|  | Round 20: 146 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Panama 91, Costa Rica 53 |
|  | Round 21:147 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Panama 93, Costa Rica 52 |
| $61^{\text {st }} 13-11-80$ | Round 22: 140 votes, 5 abstentions, unrestricted | Panama 111, Costa Rica 16, Cuba 2, Bolivia 1 |
|  |  |  |
| 1981 UNGA36 | 1 Round |  |
| $35^{\text {th }} 15-10-81$ | Round 1: 153 votes | Togo 141, Guyana 140, Jordan 140, Zaire 140, Poland 139, Romania 5, Dominican Republic 3, Angola 2, Cuba 2, Mozambique 2, Algeria 1, Ethiopia 1, Hungary 1, Mongolia 1, Pakistan 1, Peru 1, Saint Lucia 1, Senegal 1, Singapore 1, Yugoslavia 1 |
| 1982 UNGA37 | 3 Rounds |  |
| $36^{\text {th }}$ 19-10-82 | Round 1: 153 votes | Zimbabwe 138, Pakistan 127, Netherlands 100, Malta 94, Nicaragua 92, New Zealand 77, Dominican Republic 59, Sierra Leone 6, Barbados 1, Benin 1, Comoros 1, Congo 1, Cyprus 1, Denmark 1, Ghana 1, India 1, Senegal 1 |
|  | Round 2: 155 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Netherlands 103, Malta 102, Nicaragua 99, New Zealand 66, Dominican Republic 55 |
|  | Round 3: 155 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Malta 111, Nicaragua 104, Dominican Republic 50, New Zealand 43 |
|  |  |  |
| 1983 UNGA38 | 1 Round |  |
| $40^{\text {th }} 31-10-83$ | Round 1: 155 votes | Upper Volta 145, India 142, Ukrainian SSR 130, Egypt 125, Peru 106, Barbados 38, Algeria 24, Mexico 4, Japan 2, Sri Lanka 2, Yugoslavia 2, Argentina 1, Bahamas 1, Bangladesh 1, Bulgaria 1, Byelorussian SSR 1, Cuba 1, Libya 1, Mongolia 1 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1984 UNGA39 | 11 Rounds |  |
| $33^{\text {rd }} 22-10-84$ | Round 1: 158 votes | Australia 146, Denmark 145, Trinidad and Tobago 142, Thailand 99, Ethiopia 85, Somalia 70, Mongolia 59, Ecuador 6, Austria 6, Venezuela 2, Barbados 1, Dominican Republic 1, Finland 1, Federal Republic Germany 1, Haiti 1 |
|  | Round 2: 158 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Thailand 100, Ethiopia 84, Somalia 72, Mongolia 54 |
| $34^{\text {th }}$ 22-10-84 | Round 3: 158 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Thailand 103, Ethiopia 82, Somalia 74, Mongolia 51 |
|  | Round 4: 158 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted | Thailand 106, Ethiopia 83, Somalia 72, Mongolia 49 |
| 77 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 28-11-84 | Round 5: 152 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Ethiopia 81, Somalia 68, United Republic of Tanzania 2 |
|  | Round 6: 149 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Ethiopia 77, Somalia 66, Kenya 2, United Republic of Tanzania 2 |
|  | Round 7: 150 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted | Ethiopia 76, Somalia 67, United Republic of Tanzania 3, Kenya 2, Cameroon 1 |
|  | Round 8: 151 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Ethiopia 79, Somalia 70 |
|  | Round 9: 152 votes, restricted | Ethiopia 78, Somalia 72 |
|  | Round 10: 152 votes, restricted | Ethiopia 75, Somalia 75 [both withdrew in favor of endorsement of Madagascar] |
| 105 ${ }^{\text {th }} 18-12-84$ | Round 11:147 votes, 11 abstentions, unrestricted | Madagascar 126, Kenya 4, Comoros 3, Burundi 1, Mali 1, Morocco 1 |
| 1985 UNGA40 | 4 Rounds |  |
| $38^{\text {th }} 17-10-85$ | Round 1:148 votes, 1 abstention | Bulgaria 135, Congo 133, Venezuela 131, United Arab Emirates 126, Liberia 87, Ghana 45, Cameroon 7, German Democratic Republic 2, Pakistan 2, Syria 2, Bangladesh 1, Bolivia 1, Burundi 1, Cuba 1, Dominican Republic 1, Gabon 1, Jamaica 1, Japan 1, Mexico 1, Mozambique 1 |
|  | Round 2: 156 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Ghana 81, Liberia 70 |
|  | Round 3: 154 votes, restricted | Ghana 94, Liberia 59 |
|  | Round 4: 156 votes, restricted | Ghana 109, Liberia 46 |
|  |  |  |
| 1986 UNGA41 | 1 Round |  |
| $40^{\text {th }} 17-10-86$ | Round 1: 154 votes | Zambia 154, Argentina 143, Italy 143, Federal Republic of Germany 111, Japan 107, India 36, Sweden 16, Ireland 14, Bolivia 3, Argentina 1, Belgium 1, Belize 1, Cuba 1, Finland 1, Greece 1, Lesotho 1, Malaysia 1, Mexico 1, Netherlands 1, Senegal 1, Sudan 1 |
| 1987 UNGA42 | 2 Rounds |  |
| $40^{\text {th }}$ 20-10-87 | Round 1: 158 votes | Brazil 151, Yugoslavia 146, Nepal 144, Senegal 132, Algeria 104, Morocco 61, Nigeria 2, Benin 1, Guyana 1, India 1, Libya 1, Pakistan 1, Romania 1 |
|  | Round 2: 158 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted | Algeria 113, Morocco 42 |
| 1988 UNGA43 | 3 Rounds |  |
| $37^{\text {th }} 28-10-88$ | Round 1: 157 votes | Colombia 154, Ethiopia 144, Canada 127, Malaysia 104, Finland 100, Greece 77, Bangladesh 55, Somalia 3, Cuba 2, Bahamas 1, Mauritius 1, Sudan 1 |
|  | Round 2: 158 votes, restricted | Malaysia 143, Finland 99, Greece 56, Bangladesh 5 |
|  | Round 3: 157 votes, restricted | Finland 110, Greece 47 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1989 UNGA44 | 1 Round |  |
| $34^{\text {th }}$ 24-10-89 | Round 1: 157 votes | Cuba 146, Democratic Republic of Yemen 140, Romania 136, Cote d'Ivoire 135, Zaire 128, Yemen 6, Argentina 1, Barbados 1, Costa Rica 1, Ghana 1, India 1, Mali 1, Niger 1, Poland 1, Zambia 1 |
| 1990 UNGA45 | 1 Round |  |
| $36^{\text {th }} 09-11-90$ | Round 1: 154 votes | Austria 150, Ecuador 149, Zimbabwe 146, Belgium 143, India 141, Sri Lanka 2, Australia 1, Spain 1, Hungary 1, Iran 1, Japan 1, Liechtenstein 1, Mexico 1, Peru 1, Tanzania 1, Sweden 1, Venezuela 1, Yugoslavia 1 |
| 1991 UNGA46 | 1 Round |  |
| $32^{\text {nd }} 17-10-91$ | Round 1:161 votes | Cape Verde 158, Japan 158, Venezuela 154, Hungary 149, Morocco 148, Nigeria 2, Argentina 1, Honduras 1, Tunisia 1, Yugoslavia 1 |
| 1992 UNGA47 | 3 Rounds |  |
| $48^{\text {th }}$ 11-11-92 | Round 1:173 votes | Diibouti 170, Brazil 168, Pakistan 161, Spain 118, Sweden 109, New Zealand 108, Iran 1, Nigeria 1 |
|  | Round 2: 173 votes, restricted | New Zealand 99, Sweden 74 |
|  | Round 3: 172 votes, restricted | New Zealand 117, Sweden 55 |
| 1993 UNGA48 | 4 Rounds |  |
| $43^{\text {rd }}$ 29-10-93 | Round 1: 176 votes | Oman 174, Argentina 169, Rwanda 153, Czech Republic 113, Guinea-Bissau 82, Belarus 62, Burundi 2, Honduras 1 |
|  | Round 2: 176 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Czech Republic 127, Nigeria 105, Guinea-Bissau 68, Belarus 47 |
|  | Round 3: 176 votes, 1 abstention, restricted | Nigeria 116, Guinea-Bissau 59 |
| 44 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 29-10-93 | Round 4: 162 votes, 8 abstentions, restricted | Nigeria 119, Guinea-Bissau 33 [withdrew] |
| 1994 UNGA49 | 1 Round |  |
| 40 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 20-10-94 | Round 1:170 votes | Honduras 170, Botswana 168, Italy 167, Germany 164, Indonesia 164, Australia 1, Japan 1 |
| 1995 UNGA50 | 1 Round |  |
| 53 ${ }^{\text {rd }} 08-11-95$ | Round 1: 177 votes | Chile 168, Egypt 159, Republic of Korea 156, Guinea-Bissau 128, Poland 128, Benin 60, Albania 48, Ghana 1, Mexico 1, Tunisia 1 |
| 1996 UNGA51 | 2 Rounds |  |
| 39 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 21-10-96 | Round 1: 181 votes | Kenya 172, Sweden 153, Japan 142, Portugal 112, Costa Rica 105, Australia 91, Bolivia 73, India 40, Colombia 1, Dominican Republic 1 |
|  | Round 2: 181 votes | Costa Rica 167, Portugal 124, Australia 57, Bolivia 5 [withdrew] |
| 1997 UNGA52 | 1 Round |  |
| $30^{\text {th }} 14-10-97$ | Round 1: 174 votes | Bahrain 172, Gabon 171, Gambia 169, Brazil 167, Slovenia 140, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia 30, Argentina 1, Zambia 1 |


| General Assembly session | Election rounds | Candidate countries and votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1998 UNGA53 | 1 Round |  |
| 33 ${ }^{\text {rd }} 08-10-98$ | Round 1: 176 votes | Malaysia 174, Argentina 171, Namibia 167, Canada 131, Netherlands 122, Greece 87, Chile 1, Philippines 1, Senegal 1, Zimbabwe 1 |
| 1999 UNGA54 | 4 Rounds |  |
| 34 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 14-10-99 | Round 1: 172 votes | Bangladesh 172, Tunisia 172, Mali 171, Jamaica 171, Ukraine 92, Slovakia 79 |
|  | Round 2: 171 votes, restricted | Ukraine 98, Slovakia 72 |
|  | Round 3: 170 votes, restricted | Ukraine 113, Slovakia 57 [withdrew] |
|  | Round 4: 168 votes, 6 abstentions, restricted | Ukraine 158, Slovakia 3 |
|  |  |  |
| 2000 UNGA55 | 4 Rounds |  |
| 32 ${ }^{\text {nd }} 10-10-00$ | Round 1:173 votes | Colombia 168, Singapore 168, Ireland 130, Norway 114, Italy 94, Mauritius 95, Sudan 69 |
|  | Round 2: 173 votes, restricted | Mauritius 102, Norway 100, Italy 70, Sudan 65 |
|  | Round 3: 172 votes, restricted | Mauritius 110, Norway 110, Italy 62, Sudan 58 |
|  | Round 4: 173 votes, restricted | Norway 115, Mauritius 113, Italy 57, Sudan 55 |
|  |  |  |
| 2001 UNGA56 | 2 Rounds |  |
| 23 ${ }^{\text {rd }} 08-10-01$ | Round 1: 178 votes | Guinea 173, Cameroon 172, Syrian Arab Republic 160, Bulgaria 120, Mexico 116, Dominican Republic 60, Belarus 53, Dominica 1 |
|  | Round 2: 178 votes, restricted | Mexico 138, Dominican Republic 40 |
|  |  |  |
| 2002 UNGA57 | 1 Round |  |
| 20 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ 27-09-02 | Round 1:183 votes | Angola 181, Germany 180, Spain 180, Chile 178, Pakistan 172, India 1 |
|  |  |  |
| 2003 UNGA58 | 1 Round |  |
| $42^{\text {nd }} 23-10-03$ | Round 1:182 votes | Benin 181, Philippines 179, Algeria 178, Brazil 177, Romania 174, Argentina 1, Poland 1, Republic of Korea 1 |
|  |  |  |
| 2004 UNGA59 | Round 1 |  |
| $32^{\text {nd }} 15-10-4$ | Round 1:189 votes | Argentina 188, Greece 187, United Republic of Tanzania 186, Japan 184, Denmark 181, Bhutan 1 |
|  |  |  |


[^0]:    ${ }^{\text {a }}$ In commenting on a "gentlemen's agreement" to share the mandate in the Security Council, Mr. Mishra, Permanent Representative of India, stressed that such an agreement "is a private arrangement between two delegations and that it cannot, under the Charter, bind the Assembly". (General Assembly, 1245th meeting, eighteenth session, 1 November 1963).

