Security Council Elections 2021

Introduction: The 2021 Elections

On 11 June, the 75th session of the UN General Assembly is scheduled to hold elections for the Security Council. The five seats available for election in 2021, according to the regular distribution among regions, will be as follows:

- two seats for the African Group (currently held by Niger and Tunisia);
- one seat for the Group of Asia and the Pacific Small Island Developing States (Asia-Pacific Group) (currently held by Viet Nam);
- one seat for the Latin American and Caribbean Group (GRULAC, currently held by Saint Vincent and the Grenadines); and
- one seat for the Eastern European Group (currently held by Estonia).

The Western European and Others Group (WEOG) is not contesting any seats this year, as its two seats, held by Ireland and Norway through 2022, come up for election every other year. The five new members elected this year will take up their seats on 1 January 2022 and will serve until 31 December 2023.

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Six member states—Albania, Brazil, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Gabon, Ghana, and the United Arab Emirates—are currently running for the five available seats. Five out of the six candidates have served on the Council previously: Brazil has served ten times; Gabon and Ghana both three times; the DRC twice; and the United Arab Emirates once. (For candidates' prior term dates, please see the table below). Albania has never served on the Council. Only the African Group has a contested election this year. Since 2010, 78% of candidates have run uncontested.

The table below shows the number of seats available by region in the 2021 election, the declared candidates, and their prior terms on the Council.

Brazil is one of only two elected mem-

last contested election in the African Group was in 2011, when three candidates (Mauritania, Morocco and Togo) ran for the two seats allotted to the Group. In 2013, Nigeria and The Gambia were contesting one seat, but The Gambia dropped out before the election.

This year, three candidates (the DRC, Gabon and Ghana) are contesting the two seats available to the African Group. According to the rotation pattern in the African Group, the West Africa sub-region and the Central Africa sub-region were expected to propose one candidate each in the 2021 elections. Ghana is the candidate from the West Africa sub-region this year. However, two candidates from the Central Africa sub-region are running: the DRC and Gabon. Chad, also a member of the Central Africa sub-region, withdrew its candidature on 4 May due to the

REGION	SEATS AVAILABLE IN 2021	CANDIDATES AND PRIOR COUNCIL TERMS
Africa	2	The DRC (1982-1983, 1990-1991); Gabon (1978-1979, 1998-1999, 2010-2011) and Ghana (1962-1963, 1986-1987, 2006-2007)
Asia-Pacific[1]	1	United Arab Emirates (1986-1987)
Latin America and Caribbean	1	Brazil (1946-1947, 1951-1952, 1954-1955, 1963-1964, 1967-1968, 1988-1989, 1993-1994, 1998-1999, 2004-2005, 2010-2011)
Eastern Europe	1	Albania (never served)

bers with ten or more previous terms: upon taking its seat in 2022, it will match the record of Japan, which has had eleven prior Council terms. Albania, a UN member state since 1955, is among 63 UN member states—32.6% percent of the total membership—that have never been on the Council.

African Seats[2]

Three non-permanent seats are always allocated to Africa. One seat comes up for election during every even calendar year, and two seats are contested during odd years. Although there have been exceptions, elections for seats allocated to Africa are usually uncontested, as the African Group maintains an established pattern of rotation among its five sub-regions (North Africa, Southern Africa, East Africa, West Africa and Central Africa), as described in greater detail below. This pattern has been interrupted from time to time: last year, Djibouti and Kenya (both from East Africa sub-region) contested the single African seat, and this year, the DRC entered the race in May. Prior to 2020, the

political situation in the country.

The process of selection and endorsement of candidatures for the African Group takes place within the AU structures. At the organisation's 38th Ordinary Session in February, the AU Executive Council endorsed the candidatures of Gabon and Ghana [EX. CL/Dec.1107- 1125(XXXVIII)]. However, the DRC has questioned the validity of the Executive Council endorsement of Gabon. In a note verbale circulated to all UN members on 18 May, the DRC stated that the 34th Summit of the Heads of State and Government of the AU decided on 7 May that consultations should continue at the regional level (Central Africa sub-region) to achieve compromise on the single candidate from this sub-region. It observed that the "Assembly of Heads of State and Government…is the supreme decision-making and policy-making body of the African Union".

The DRC also maintained that the 4 February draft decision of the Executive Council had noted that "the issue regarding the seat allocated to the Central Africa region remains

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[1]Arab countries are a sub-group within the Asia-Pacific Group

[2]After the publication of this report, the DRC informed the UN Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly on 7 June that it had withdrawn its candidature from the Security Council elections.

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unresolved…The three candidates, Chad, DRC and Gabon, have not yet reached consensus on one single candidate…This request shall be referred back to the Central Africa region for further consultations and nomination of one single candidate".

The final version of decisions of the Executive Council published on the official AU website indicates that Ghana and Gabon are endorsed candidates [EX.CL/Dec.1107- 1125(XXXVIII)]. It does not make any reference to the contested candidacies within the Central Africa sub-region. In its note verbale, the DRC said that the text of the decisions of the Executive Council had been modified and that it would seek further clarifications on this.

The DRC has further argued that its candidacy for the Central African seat should be given priority based on the AU principles of frequency and rotation when considering candidatures for the UN Security Council. The DRC last served on the Council in 1990-1 and Gabon in 2010-11. The DRC also emphasised that it submitted its candidacy in October 2019, before Gabon did so in December 2020.

Gabon

Gabon became a member of the United Nations after gaining its independence in 1960. It has served on the Security Council three times (1978-1979, 1998-1999 and 2010-2011). The AU endorsed its candidature at the organisation's 38th Ordinary Session in February 2021.

If elected, a key priority for Gabon would be the resolution of crises and conflicts in Africa, which constitute a significant share of the Security Council's work. Within the framework of the "Silencing the Guns in Africa" initiative, it emphasises the importance of the fight against the illicit trafficking of small arms and light weapons in Central Africa and the Sahel. It hosts the UN Regional Office in Central Africa (UNOCA) and serves as the Headquarters of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), reflecting its important role in the region. It also highlights its role as a troop-contributing country in the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA). In this connection, it attaches great importance to enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of UN peacekeeping.

Gabon has expressed support for enhanced partnership between the UN and the AU in the context of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. It has underscored that this partnership should be backed by predictable, viable and flexible funding for peacekeeping operations carried out by the AU within the framework of a UN mandate.

Gabon has expressed its desire to advance the women, peace and security agenda by advocating for the empowerment of women in peace processes through the effective implementation of the landmark resolution 1325 (2000).

It underscores the importance of Security Council efforts to fight terrorism and to support the work of the relevant Security Council Sanctions Committees in this regard. It further encourages international efforts to help build the capacity of developing countries to combat terrorism.

Gabon intends to promote the Council's efforts to address climate vulnerability and insecurity. It currently serves as the Coordinator of the Committee of African Heads of State and Government on Climate Change (CAHOSCC) and champions the African Adaptation Initiative (IAA).

As at 31 March, Gabon contributes 453 personnel to UN peace operations, primarily to the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA).

Ghana

Ghana joined the UN in March 1957, days after gaining its independence. It has served on the Security Council three times (1962-1963, 1986-1987 and 2006-2007). It was endorsed by the AU at the organisation's 38th Ordinary Session in February 2021.

Ghana has a long history of contributing to UN peacekeeping operations dating back to the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC) in the early 1960s. It highlights the importance of implementing the recommendations of the 2015 report of the High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations by focusing on the primacy of politics and strengthening strategic planning and force generation, among other measures.

If elected to a term in 2022-2023, Ghana commits itself to promoting the Council's conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction efforts. It emphasises the importance of integrating the three pillars of the UN's work—peace and security, development and human rights—in order to avert the outbreak, escalation and recurrence of conflict.

It underscores its commitment to the women, peace and security agenda. In this respect, it has said that it will push for the enhanced participation of women in peace processes and operations.

Ghana emphasises its efforts to combat violent extremism. It notes that the Accra Initiative—started by Ghana, Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, and Togo in 2017—strives to stop the expansion of terrorism from the Sahel, while counteracting organised crime. It also underscores the importance of enhanced relations between the UN and regional and sub-regional organisations to promote international peace and security. The current chair of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Ghana highlights its role as a mediator on the continent, such as during the political crises in Togo and Mali in 2018 and 2020, respectively.

As a member of the Security Council, Ghana could also be expected to support efforts to address non-traditional threats to peace and security such as climate change and pandemics.

As at 31 March, Ghana is the tenth highest contributor to UN peacekeeping operations, with 2,283 peacekeepers deployed predominantly in the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA). Ghana is also home to the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), which was established by Ghana's Ministry of Defence in 1998; according to its website, KAIPTC is "mandated to train military, police, and civilian personnel for multidimensional peacekeeping and peace support operations in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) region, Africa and beyond".

Democratic Republic of the Congo

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) became a UN member state immediately after its independence in 1960 and has served on the Security Council two times (1982–1983 and 1990–1991).

In the early years of the DRC's independence, the UN deployed one of its first and largest peacekeeping operations, the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC), to respond to the crisis in the country. Subsequently, the situation in the DRC has been a long-standing item on the agenda of the Security Council. The sanctions committee established pursuant to resolution 1533 (2004) concerning

the DRC oversees the sanctions measures imposed by the Security Council. The DRC is also host to the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO), which was previously called the UN Organization Mission in the DRC (MONUC) (1999-2010) and is among the largest and most long-lasting UN peace operations. It has been deployed in the country for more than two decades.

As noted, the DRC contests the AU's endorsement of Gabon and Ghana as candidates for the two African seats in 2022-2023, saying that it was the first member state in the sub-region to present its candidature for the forthcoming term.

The DRC is the current chair of the AU. In this capacity, President Félix Tshisekedi is involved in facilitating the AU-led tripartite negotiation process on the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD). The DRC's campaign for membership of the Security Council stems from its desire to enhance its international image and play a role in regional cooperation and integration. In this regard, it prioritises the search for a lasting political solution to the conflicts between the communities of eastern DRC and the promotion of good neighbourly relations with countries of the Great Lakes region.

The DCR is not currently a troop- or police-contributing country.

Asia-Pacific Seat

One of the two Council seats allocated to the Asia-Pacific Group comes up for election every odd calendar year. The United Arab Emirates is running unopposed for the single Asia-Pacific Group seat this year. It will also fill the Arab Swing Seat, which alternates every odd calendar year between the Asia-Pacific Group and the African Group. The Arab Swing Seat, described in greater detail below, is being vacated by Tunisia on 31 December 2021.

United Arab Emirates (UAE)

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) became a UN member state in 1971 after gaining its independence that year. The last time it served on the Security Council was in 1986-1987. The League of Arab States and the Asia-Pacific Group endorsed its candidature in 2012 and in 2020, respectively.

The UAE has emphasised that, if elected, it will seek to promote dialogue to resolve conflicts, to advance gender equality and women's empowerment in peace and security efforts, and to push for the implementation of the youth, peace and security agenda in the Security Council. As part of its campaign, the UAE has noted its long-standing support of UN Women, including by serving on its Executive Board between 2013-2018, and its call for the Security Council to hear from youth leaders about peace and security issues in their societies.

It has also highlighted its goal to spur innovation by encouraging the Council to consider the impact of technology, particularly artificial intelligence, on peace and security. It has noted its support for the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Digital Cooperation in 2018, and the potential of digital technologies to enhance international cooperation.

Addressing the security impacts of climate change is another goal of the UAE. It has emphasised the need for the Council to enhance engagement with small island developing states that face heightened risks due to climate change. As part of its campaign, it has noted that Abu Dhabi hosts the headquarters of the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), an intergovernmental organisation which is driving cooperation among more than 180 countries to accelerate renewable energy adoption and support nations that are most vulnerable to climate change.

The UAE further underscores its desire to be a voice for dialogue and moderation in the Middle East. In this connection, it has indicated its interest to help sustain political will and advance multilateral cooperation to combat terrorism and extremism. It has also expressed a keen interest in advancing continued efforts to achieve a more robust non-proliferation regime in the Middle East and around the world.

The UAE is not currently a troop- or police-contributing country.

The GRULAC Seat

Two non-permanent seats are allocated to Latin America and the Caribbean, with one coming up for election every year. Since 2007, candidates for the GRULAC seat have generally run unopposed (with the exception of El Salvador's submitting its candidacy just days before the 2019 election on 7 June and receiving six votes, with 185 going to the GRULAC-endorsed candidate, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines). In 2006, elections for the GRULAC seat on the Security Council for the 2007-2008 term were inconclusive after 47 rounds of voting over several weeks. With the General Assembly unable to decide between Guatemala and Venezuela, Panama agreed to stand and was elected in the 48th round as the compromise candidate. The process lasted from 16 October until 7 November. As a result of this experience, an informal understanding developed among GRULAC members to avoid contested elections, starting with the 2007 elections for the 2008-2009 term. Since then, Mexico (2008), Brazil (2009), Colombia (2010), Guatemala (2011), Argentina (2012), Chile (2013), Venezuela (2014), Uruguay (2015), Bolivia (2016), Peru (2017), and the Dominican Republic (2018) have all been sole candidates for the GRULAC seat on the Security Council, until the 2019 experience. This year, Brazil is running unopposed as the GRULAC-endorsed candidate for the seat currently held by Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

Brazil

Brazil is a founding member of the United Nations. Since 1946, it has served ten terms as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. If elected to an 11th term, it will tie Japan as the elected member with the largest number of Council tenures. Brazil last served on the Council in 2010-2011.

As a Council member, Brazil has vowed to foster the Security Council's role in conflict prevention and resolution in accordance with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, with an emphasis on respect for the sovereignty of member states. It highlights mediation and preventive diplomacy as tools to prevent crises from escalating into conflicts. It underscores the importance of promoting peacebuilding efforts resulting from agreements monitored by the United Nations, and highlights its active support for the Peacebuilding Commission, which it chaired in 2014.

Brazil further emphasises its long-standing contribution to UN peacekeeping, including its participation in peace operations in Haiti, Lebanon and the DRC. Brazil supports mandates that recognise the interdependence of security, development and conflict prevention. It also underscores the need for such mandates to be realistic, clear and consistent with the means and resources available for peacekeeping missions. Brazil emphasises its determination to fight against

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sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) while reaffirming its support for the UN's "zero tolerance" policy. It also notes the importance of integrating the women, peace and security agenda into the UN's peacekeeping and peacebuilding work.

Brazil attaches particular importance to cooperation between the UN and regional organisations. In its own region, this includes cooperation between the UN Security Council and the Organization of American States in dealing with the situations in Haiti, Colombia and Venezuela. It also encourages enhanced cooperation between the UN Security Council and the AU Peace and Security Council.

As a Portuguese-speaking country, it has indicated its keen interest to enhance the role of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) in the promotion of international peace and security.

As at 31 March, Brazil contributes 71 personnel to UN peace operations.

Eastern European Seat

One seat on the Council is allocated to Eastern Europe. This seat comes up for election every odd calendar year.

Albania

Albania became a UN member state in 1955 and has never served on the Security Council. It announced its candidacy for the 2022-2023 term in 2009.

In its campaign, Albania has indicated that it would bring to the Security Council the perspective of a small country with a constructive foreign policy and a consistent commitment to multilateralism.

Albania has centred its campaign around five key priorities that it would seek to advance in the Council: women, peace and security; human rights; countering violent extremism; climate and security; and working methods.

Albania underscores the importance of women's participation in political processes, as well as in peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts. If elected, Albania has said that it would bolster the Council's efforts to hold accountable perpetrators of conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence, including through sanctions and ad-hoc justice mechanisms.

Albania has underscored its strong commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights. In this context, it has said that it would seek to enhance synergies between the Security Council and the Human Rights Council. It espouses briefings by UN special mandate holders and relevant civil society actors on human rights issues.

It underscores the importance of addressing all drivers of violent extremism. It has said that it intends to bring to the Council its own positive experience of religious harmony and respect for cultural differences, referring in its campaign to its success in combatting intolerance among religious and ethnic groups.

It notes the importance of collective action to combat transnational threats, and it emphasises the importance of Council efforts to address the links between climate change and security. It views climate change as a significant security threat that is likely to get worse without action.

Albania also highlights its commitment to improving the working methods of the Council, to help promote its effectiveness, accountability, and transparency.

As of 31 March, Albania contributes two personnel to UN peace operations.

Potential Council Dynamics in 2022

The ongoing tensions among the major powers can be expected to persist and colour Council dynamics in 2022. These divisions are likely to continue to make it difficult for the Council to gain traction on Israel/Palestine, Myanmar, Syria, and Ukraine, among other issues.

At the same time, widespread agreement is expected to remain on the fundamental value of UN peace operations. While there may be disagreements about elements of specific mandates and concerns among donor countries about the cost of peace operations, the large majority of resolutions mandating these operations continue to be adopted unanimously. There is no indication that this trend will change.

As troop-contributing countries and a host country, the African candidates—the DRC, Gabon and Ghana—could be expected to demonstrate a keen interest in the ongoing discussions about the role of the Council in designing and overseeing the mandates of peacekeeping operations and efforts to improve their effectiveness and efficiency. The need for more predictable, flexible and sustainable funding for AU peace operations is a long-standing concern—highlighted by Gabon during its campaign—that could be raised by African members again in 2022. In this regard, following the adoption of resolution 2568 reauthorising the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in March 2021, the African Council members and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (the A3 plus one) issued a joint explanation of vote expressing their disappointment that UN assessed contributions were not included in the resolution as one of the possible options for more secure funding for AMISOM.

Tensions over the scope of the Council's mandate can be expected to remain in 2022. Some members believe that issues such as food security and climate change, among others, are within the Council's mandate of maintaining international peace and security. In this regard, several candidate countries have explicitly highlighted the promotion of climate change and security as an envisioned priority of their Council terms. While they will find support from several members, they will encounter resistance from others. For example, although most of the Council and aspiring members such as Albania, Gabon, Ghana, and the UAE espouse a role for the Council on climate change and security matters, China, Russia, India, and aspiring member Brazil have long had reservations about the Council's work on this issue, especially at the thematic level.

The Council's profile in efforts to fight terrorism and violent extremism could be raised in 2022, as this issue features in the campaign platform of several candidate countries. Ghana is keen to forestall the expansion of terrorism from the Sahel region, while Gabon has also indicated an interest on this issue, possibly spurred by the threat in its own sub-region. In their campaigns,

Albania and the UAE have also noted the importance of countering violent extremism.

Efforts to implement the women, peace and security agenda in earnest are likely to continue in 2022, with several of the candidate countries setting this as a priority of their Council tenures. In 2022, elected members Ireland and Mexico can be expected to continue as the chairs of the Informal Experts Group on Women, Peace and Security, which has been very active to date in 2021. Among the permanent members, the UK, France and the US can be expected to remain strong proponents of this issue. Other member states, such as China and Russia, will probably continue to maintain that this agenda item should not be expanded to post-conflict situations and that the issue of gender equality should not be under the Council's purview.

Depending on the trajectory of international efforts to emerge from the pandemic, the Council may continue to address the impacts of COVID-19 with implications for international peace and security. During the past year, several Council members have held signature events during their presidencies focusing on the pandemic, and the Council has adopted two resolutions (S/RES/2532 and S/RES/2565) and one presidential statement (S/PRST/2021/10) seeking to address its effects.

Many members have lamented the absence of face-to-face meetings and in-person diplomacy occasioned by New York City's COVID-19 regulations. As the city recovers, members are increasingly able to meet in person to negotiate texts and discuss thorny issues. Into 2022, Council members can be expected to consider whether or not to retain any of the COVID-necessitated working methods adopted since March 2020.

The Process of Election

Elections to the Council, as with other principal organs of the UN, require formal balloting even if candidates have been endorsed by their regional group and are running unopposed. A Council candidate country must always obtain the votes of two-thirds of the member states voting at the General Assembly session. This means that at least 129 votes are required to win a seat if all 193 UN member states vote. Member states that abstain are considered not voting. Under Article 19 of the UN Charter, a member state can be excluded from voting as a result of arrears in payment of financial contributions. At press time, three members (the Central African Republic, the Republic of Congo and Iran) are not permitted to vote in the General Assembly because of their arrears.

Member states vote for five candidates representing the various regional groups in each round of voting. If no candidate obtains the required number of votes in the first round of a contested election, voting in the next round is restricted to the candidates that received the most votes. In this restricted ballot, the number of countries included is limited to twice the number of vacant seats. For example, if one seat is available, only two countries can contest this round—the two that received the most votes. Any votes for other candidates during this restricted voting round are considered void. This restricted voting process can continue for up to three rounds of voting.

If no candidate has then garnered the required number of votes, unrestricted voting is reopened for up to three rounds. This pattern of restricted and unrestricted voting continues until a candidate is successful in securing the required two-thirds majority.

In theory, it is possible that a country running unopposed might not garner the required number of votes of those present in the General Assembly in the first round of voting. Such a country may then be challenged in subsequent rounds by hitherto undeclared candidates and could ultimately fail to obtain a seat. However, this has never happened.

Historically, there have been several instances in which extended rounds of voting were required to fill a contested seat. This was more common before the Council's enlargement from 11 to 15 members in 1966 when it led to several agreements to split terms, such as the 1961-1962 term, split between Liberia and Ireland. Since 1966, such situations have been resolved by the withdrawal of one of the contenders or the election of a compromise candidate, with the sole exception being the 2016 agreement between Italy and the Netherlands to split the 2017-2018 term. A summary of the recent voting in General Assembly elections for non-permanent seats on the Security Council is contained in Annex 3 of this report.

Regional Groups and Established Practices

For purposes of election to the Security Council, the regional groups have been governed by a formula set out in General Assembly resolution 1991 A (XVIII), which was adopted in 1963 and took effect in 1966. The main feature of the resolution was to amend the UN Charter to increase the number of Council members from 11 to 15. Under this resolution, the seats previously assigned to the African and Asia-Pacific states were combined. In reality, however, the determination of candidates for election to the African and Asia-Pacific seats operates separately, and this report reflects that customary practice.

Article 23 of the Charter, which establishes the number of Council members, also specifies the criteria that the members of the General Assembly are to apply when considering which countries should be elected to serve on the Council. It provides that due regard shall be "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".

The Charter does not define equitable geographical distribution, stipulate how it should be achieved, or suggest the composition of appropriate geographical groups. However, the principle of equitable geographical distribution gave rise to the establishment of regional electoral groups as a vehicle for achieving that goal. The regional groups, as they now operate, are as follows:

Regional Groups and Established Practices

African Group	54 members
Asia-Pacific Group	54 members
Eastern European Group	23 members
GRULAC	33 members
WEOG	28 members

The US is not a member of any group but attends meetings of WEOG as an observer and is considered a member of this group for electoral purposes. In May 2000, Israel became a WEOG member, initially on a temporary basis, and permanently in 2004. This enables it to put forward candidates for election by the General Assembly to various UN bodies.

African Group

Most of the groups have internal selection processes based on informal understandings. The African Group's process is more formal: it has adopted the rules of procedure of the AU's Ministerial Committee on Candidatures within the International System to endorse candidates to occupy the three African seats on the Council. Subregional groups within the African Group tend to follow a rotation system, though there have been some departures from this scheme.

The process of selecting a candidate in the African Group usually follows a defined path, in accordance with the AU rules of procedure cited above. First, the subregional groups select the potential candidate countries and forward their names to the African Group for endorsement. The African Group submits all candidate countries' names to the Committee on Candidatures of the African Group in New York: at this stage, subregional organisations may add their endorsement before the list goes to the AU Ministerial Committee on Candidatures. This committee follows its written rules of procedure in selecting candidates.

Today, every member of the African Group is a member of the AU (African Group member Morocco was an exception until 2017, when it became an AU member after having left the Organisation of African Unity [OAU], the AU's precursor, in 1984). The AU Executive Council makes the final decision on which members to endorse during an AU summit meeting. Despite the written rules of procedure for candidate selection, some countries have in the past submitted their candidature directly to the AU Ministerial Committee on Candidatures, bypassing the process in New York.

The African rotation generally follows a systematic cycle based on the following principles:
- Northern Africa and Central Africa rotate running for one seat every odd calendar year;
- Western Africa runs for one seat every odd calendar year; and
- Eastern Africa and Southern Africa rotate running for one seat every even calendar year.

Broad adherence to this system has meant that African candidates generally run on "blank slates", or uncontested. This is not always the case, however. The 2011 election saw three candidates (Mauritania, Morocco and Togo) run for two seats, as Mauritania had decided to contest Morocco's candidature for the Northern Africa/Arab swing seat rather than wait its "turn" in the rotational cycle. Morocco prevailed, as did Togo, which won the seat allocated by the

African Group to the West Africa subregion. When Sudan was the endorsed candidate in 2000, Mauritius decided to contest the seat and won the election to the Council. In 2020, Djibouti contested the seat allocated to the East Africa region but lost to Kenya, which was the endorsed candidate.

In addition to rival candidates emerging within a given subregional grouping, there have been times when countries that can claim to straddle more than one geographic region have shifted from one subgroup to another. For example, Mauritania became a member of the North Africa subgroup in 2004, having previously been in the West Africa subgroup.

A factor that seems to be coming into play is the growing desire by some member states in the region to be elected more regularly than the—admittedly informal—rotation system would allow. Nigeria was elected for the 2014-2015 term after having been a Council member in 2010-2011. South Africa was on the Council in 2007-2008, in 2011-2012, and most recently for the 2019-2020 term. By declaring their candidacies ahead of their turn, these countries need to either persuade other candidates to withdraw or face a contested election.

Asia-Pacific Group

In 2011, the Asian Group officially changed its name to the Group of Asia and the Pacific Small Island Developing States, also known as the Asia-Pacific Group. The name change reflects the fact that more than 26 percent of the group's members are Pacific island countries.

The Asia-Pacific Group has no formally established practices of rotation to fill the two seats, one of which becomes available every year. While it has the same number of countries as the African Group, the Asia-Pacific Group's wide geographic span—from the Middle East to Polynesia—has led to much looser regional coordination.

Until the mid-1990s, there was a fairly consistent South Asian presence on the Council, with Bangladesh, India, Nepal, and Pakistan rotating seats. In practice, South Asian countries rarely run against each other. One exception occurred in 1975 when India and Pakistan contested the same seat and eight rounds of voting were needed before Pakistan prevailed.

Since 1958, Japan has also been a regular presence on the Council. When it completed its last term at the end of 2017, Japan had accumulated 22 years on the Council, the most of any non-permanent member. Since 1966, it has never been off the Council for more than six consecutive years.

The absence of a formal rotation system has meant that countries frequently compete for the Asia-Pacific seat regardless of whether a candidate declares itself far in advance or not. While larger member states have tended to declare their candidacy closer to the election year, smaller candidate countries from the region have tended to announce their decision to run many years ahead of time. The only subgroup within the Asia-Pacific Group that endorses its candidates is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), made up of Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet Nam.

The Arab Swing Seat

There is an established practice that spans the Asia-Pacific and African Groups. As discussed in greater detail in Annex 2, General Assembly resolution 1991 A (XVIII) provided five seats for "Asia and Africa", and in practice, the seats have been divided into three

seats for Africa and two for Asia. In 1967, after Jordan ended its two-year term in what had been the Middle East seat, there was a year with no Arab state on the Council, which coincided with the Six-Day War. It appears that at some point there was an informal agreement, although there are no known records, that one seat would be reserved for an Arab state and that Asia and Africa would take turns every two years to provide a suitable candidate. As a result, this seat is often called the "Arab swing seat". An Arab country has always occupied a seat on the Council since 1968.

Eastern European Group

The Eastern European Group is the smallest regional group, consisting of 23 member states, with an election for one seat every odd calendar year. This is also the group that has expanded the most in recent decades, with 15 new members added since 1991 because of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the splitting of both Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Today, 11 of its countries are EU members, and four—Albania, the Republic of North Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia—are candidates for EU membership, with Bosnia and Herzegovina considered a "potential candidate". An Eastern European seat was included in the permanent members' "gentlemen's agreement" in 1946 (see Annex 2), but soon thereafter, the meaning of that agreement was contested, with the Soviet Union and the West vying for 20 years to place their preferred candidates in this seat. The seat also became hotly contested among new member states that lacked a clear regional grouping. (For example, in 1955, when there was no Asian seat, the Philippines competed for a seat with members of the Eastern European Group. When voting remained deadlocked between Yugoslavia and the Philippines after 36 rounds, the two countries agreed to accept a split term: Yugoslavia served on the Council in 1956 and the Philippines in 1957.)

Latin American and Caribbean Group

After the expansion of the Council and the reorganisation of the regional groups that occurred as a result of General Assembly resolution 1991 A (XVIII), the Latin American Group incorporated the Caribbean states, several of which were members of the British Commonwealth, and became the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States (GRULAC). It currently has 33 members.

Like most of the other groups, GRULAC has no formal rules regarding rotation. For much of the last 60 years, non-Caribbean countries have tended to dominate regional representation. Historically, the group was often able to reach consensus on "clean slates". However, the group has also produced two of the most protracted and bitterly contested voting sessions in UN history. The 1979

contest between Colombia and Cuba went to 154 rounds before Mexico was elected as a compromise candidate in the 155th round, a process that lasted from 26 October 1979 until 7 January 1980. As noted above, elections for the GRULAC seat on the Security Council in 2006 were inconclusive after 47 rounds of voting over several weeks beginning on 16 October. With the General Assembly unable to decide between Guatemala and Venezuela, Panama agreed to stand and was elected in the 48th round on 7 November as a compromise candidate. This experience led to the informal understanding among GRULAC members to avoid contested elections, starting with the 2007 elections for the 2008- 2009 term.

Brazil has served the highest number of terms among GRULAC members, with a total of 20 years on the Council.

Western European and Others Group

With 28 members, WEOG is the second smallest regional group, and two seats become available to it every even calendar year. Strictly speaking, it is not a geographical group, as it comprises Western Europe plus "others", but its members share broadly similar political values and levels of economic development. The "others" subgroup is made up of three members of what was previously called the British Commonwealth Group. The British Commonwealth Group grew rapidly in the late 1950s as states in Africa and Asia became independent. Most of these newly independent states joined either the Asian or African group or GRULAC. Australia, Canada and New Zealand became the "others" in WEOG. Israel is the other non-European state that participates in WEOG. With France and the UK as members and the US attending meetings as an observer, WEOG includes three of the five permanent members of the Council. (The Holy See is an observer in WEOG.)

WEOG practices what might be called an open-market approach to elections, which produces a pattern of regularly contested candidatures that is likely to remain highly competitive in the coming years.

There are three subgroups within WEOG: the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden), CANZ (Canada, Australia and New Zealand), and Benelux (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg). There are informal understandings within the Nordic and CANZ subgroups that have encouraged members to support each other's campaigns.

In its first term on the Council (1951- 1952), Turkey served as the Middle Eastern Council member. It occupied the Eastern European seat twice (1954-1955 and 1961) and has since run for the WEOG seat. Turkey participates fully in both the WEOG and Asia-Pacific Group but for electoral purposes is considered a member of WEOG only.

The 2017-2018 Split Term

Article 23(2) of the UN Charter states that the non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. Split terms started to appear in the late 1950s because of disagreements regarding regional rotation and associated Cold War politics and to accommodate the aspirations of newly independent countries. Two candidates would occasionally agree to split a term

following multiple rounds of inconclusive voting. The member elected first would relinquish its term after one year on the Council, thus enabling the holding of a by-election to fill the vacant seat.

By-elections are in line with Rule 140 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly, which states: "Should a member cease to belong to a Council before its term of office expires, a by-election

The 2017-2018 Split Term

shall be held separately at the next session of the General Assembly to elect a member for the unexpired term".

As discussed earlier, the practice of splitting terms has only occurred once since the mid-1960s when the non-permanent membership of the Council was enlarged from six to ten and regional representation was introduced. (For further background, see "Security Council Elections: Italy and the Netherlands Agree to a Split Term", What's in Blue, 29 June 2016: http://www.whatsinblue. org/2016/06/security-council-elections-italyand-the-netherlands-agree-to-a-split-term.php.)

In the 2016 elections, three candidates— Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden—ran for the two available WEOG seats. During the first round of voting, on 28 June, Sweden received more than the necessary two-thirds majority of votes to be elected (134). Thus, Italy and the Netherlands contested the second seat. After five inconclusive rounds of balloting, they were deadlocked at 95 votes each, well short of the 128 votes needed to win. The two countries then announced they had agreed to split the two-year term, whereupon the meeting was suspended; this was formalised on 29 June 2016 by a letter from the WEOG chair to the president of the General Assembly (A/70/964). The letter indicated that the Netherlands had withdrawn its candidacy in favour of Italy, which WEOG endorsed as the group's only candidate. In a stand-alone vote on 30 June 2016, Italy was elected. The Netherlands then ran as the sole and endorsed WEOG candidate in a by-election held on 2 June 2017, the same day as the regular elections for non-permanent members of the Council for the 2018-2019 term, and Italy relinquished its seat on 31 December 2017.

Russia and Egypt, a non-permanent member during the 2016-2017 term, outlined their concerns about the arrangement between Italy and the Netherlands in letters to the president of the General Assembly (A/70/971 and A/70/974). Both said they viewed the agreement to split the term as an exceptional case that should not set a precedent. They argued that a practice of split terms would have a negative impact on the functionality and efficiency of the Security Council in its responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Russia noted that the last time a decision had been taken on splitting a term had been more than 50 years earlier, following which the Council's workload had greatly increased, and said it was "gravely disappointed by the inability of the Western European and other States to designate a candidate by consensus, which has led to the current stalemate".

Becoming a Candidate

The path most candidate countries follow in announcing and pursuing their bids for the Council usually begins by informing members of its regional (or subregional) group of its intention to run, and seeking their support. The group's endorsement then becomes an important factor in the next step. (The more complex process within the African Group is described above.)

A candidate country then formalises its intention to seek a Council seat by notifying the rotating monthly chair of its respective regional group in New York. This is done in writing, specifying the two-year term the country seeks. The chair then incorporates that information into the UN candidacy chart of the regional group, which is maintained by each group and reviewed at monthly group meetings. Most candidate countries then prepare a circular note to all missions in New York informing them of the candidacy. Most also send a note to the Secretariat or the president of the General Assembly, or both, although this is not required by the General Assembly's rules of procedure.

As the relevant election year approaches, the regional group may decide to give its endorsement, and, nearer to the election date, the chair of the regional group will inform the president of the General Assembly whether elections will be contested or not. This allows the Secretariat to prepare documentation for the election process.

Campaigning for the Council

Candidates seek voting pledges from member states, often years in advance of the election, and may continue to do so up until the vote. Campaigning for the Council can involve significant investments of time and financial resources, although funds brought to bear vary greatly depending on a number of factors, including the wealth of the candidate and whether the candidacy is contested. (Candidates predictably tend to spend less in unopposed elections.) Last year, due to COVID-19, the candidates had to quickly move most of their election-related events to a virtual platform.

Commitments are sought in writing, orally, or both. Votes are cast by secret ballot, making it impossible to determine whether member states have kept their promises. There are several reasons why pledges may be broken. A high-level official in the capital may pledge the country's vote to a particular candidate but fail to convey the commitment to the permanent mission to the UN in New York, where the votes are cast. Or, if there is a change in government, the new government may not consider itself bound by the pledges of a previous administration. Given the secrecy of the ballot, there are incentives to pledge support to all candidates in a competitive election. Knowing that commitments are not always secure, some candidate countries persistently cultivate those countries that have already promised to vote for them, seeking reassurance that they have not changed their minds. Candidates often seek pledges from member states at many levels of government.

As candidate countries generally focus their campaigns on influencing the voting decisions of diplomats in member state capitals

Campaigning for the Council

and at UN headquarters, their foreign minister and permanent representative to the UN in New York play significant roles in the campaign process. Additionally, particularly in contested elections, many candidates employ special envoys, usually former senior government officials or diplomats, who travel to capitals seeking voting pledges from high-level officials. Depending on their campaign strategies and resources, candidate countries may use multiple envoys, often focusing their efforts on regions where they lack strong diplomatic representation.

To secure voting commitments from member states, candidate countries may volunteer, or be asked for, inducements. For example, a candidate may offer development assistance to a member state in seeking its vote, or it may promise that while on the Council, it will bring attention to or avoid an issue of concern to that member state. Arranging trips to the candidate's capital or holding workshops on (uncontroversial) issues of interest in attractive locations have been used by several candidates in recent years to raise the profile of their campaign and attract permanent representatives, who will cast the actual vote, to these events. So-called "swag bags" filled with items imprinted with the logo of the candidate may be distributed within UN circles to increase campaign visibility. Until recently, permanent representatives were customarily offered gifts on election day by most candidates, even those running unopposed. On 8 September

2017, however, the General Assembly adopted resolution 71/323 on the revitalisation of the work of the General Assembly, which decided that "on the day of election…the campaign materials distributed in the General Assembly Hall…shall be limited to a single page of information regarding the candidates, with a view to preserving the decorum of the Assembly". The following year, on 17 September 2018, resolution 72/313 welcomed the "efficient implementation" of this provision and decided "to continue to consider, within the Ad Hoc Working Group [on the Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly], the potential concept and scope of guidelines on how to conduct the election campaigns by Member States, with a view to improving the standards of transparency and equity".

As contested elections may continue for several rounds, candidates try to ensure that member states that voted for them in the first round continue to do so while also attempting to secure support from uncommitted members. Some member states have said when they commit their vote to a candidate that they do so for the duration of the electoral process, regardless of the number of rounds. In protracted elections that come down to two candidates vying for a single seat, however, member states will often eventually shift their vote if it appears that their candidate of choice is losing ground and seems unlikely to prevail.

UN DOCUMENTS ON SECURITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Security Council Documents

S/2018/1024 (13 November 2018) was a letter to the president of the Security Council from the elected ten and incoming five members advocating a more equal distribution of work among all members.

S/2017/507 (30 August 2017) was the updated compendium of Security Council working methods.

S/2016/619 (15 July 2016) was a note by the Council president concerning transitional arrangements for newly elected Council members, which among other matters called on Council members to agree provisionally on the appointment of chairs of subsidiary bodies by 1 October.

General Assembly Documents

A/73/PV.89 (7 June 2019) was the record of the 2019 election of five non-permanent members.

A/RES/72/313 (17 September 2018) was on the revitalisation of the work of the General Assembly and welcomed the "efficient implementation" of this provision and decided "to continue to consider, within the Ad Hoc Working Group [on the Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly], the potential concept and scope of guidelines on how to conduct the election campaigns by Member States, with a view to improving the standards of transparency and equity".

A/72/PV.93 (8 June 2018) was the record of the 2018 election of five non-permanent members.

A/RES/71/323 (8 September 2017) was on the revitalisation of the work of the General Assembly and decided that "on the day of election…the campaign materials distributed in the General Assembly Hall…shall be limited to a single page of information regarding the candidates, with a view to preserving the decorum of the Assembly".

A/71/PV.86 (2 June 2017) was the record of the 2017 election of five non-permanent members.

A/70/PV.108 (30 June 2016) was the record of the 2016 elections for the remaining non-permanent member from WEOG.

A/70/974 (30 June 2016) was a letter from Egypt expressing its understanding that the agreement between Italy and the Netherlands to split the 2017-2018 term would not lay the ground for future practice and would have no legal or procedural implications on future elections to the Security Council.

A/70/971 (30 June 2016) was a letter from Russia expressing the position that the exceptional case of the agreement between Italy and the Netherlands to split the 2017-2018 term would not set a precedent, arguing that this practice would have a negative impact on the Security Council's efficiency.

A/70/964 (29 June 2016) was a letter from the chair of WEOG saying that Italy and the Netherlands had agreed to split the term, with Italy serving in 2017 and the Netherlands in 2018, requiring a by-election for the remainder of the term.

A/70/PV.107 (28 June 2016) was the record of the 2016 elections of the non-permanent members for the remaining candidates from WEOG when Italy and the Netherlands announced that they would split the term.

A/70/PV.106 (28 June 2016) was the record of the 2016 elections of four non-permanent members.

A/70/PV.33 (15 October 2015) was the record of the 2015 elections of non-permanent members.

A/69/PV.25 (16 October 2014) was the record of the 2014 elections of non-permanent members.

A/RES/68/307 (18 September 2014) decided that elections of the non-permanent members of the Security Council would take place about six months before the elected members assumed their responsibilities.

A/59/881 (20 July 2005) was a note verbale from Costa Rica containing information on elections from 1946 to 2004.

A/RES 1991 A (XVIII) (17 December 1963) was the resolution adopting amendments to the Charter on the composition of the Council and establishing the allocation of seats to various regions.

GAOR 1st Session, Part I, 14th Plenary Session and Part II (12 January 1946) was the first election of non-permanent members.

UN DOCUMENTS ON SECURITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Other

Charter of the United Nations, http://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/

A/520/Rev.15 and amendments 1 and 2 are the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly, including amendments and additions.

Repertory of Practice of the United Nations Organs, Supplement no. 6, Volume III on Article 23 (1979-1984).

See http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/ for the online version of the Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council. (The Repertory and the Repertoire are different resources.)

Useful Additional Resources

David L. Bosco, *Five to Rule Them All: The UN Security Council and the Making of the Modern World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Andrew Boyd, *Fifteen Men on a Powder Keg: A History of the UN Security Council*, (New York: Stein and Day, 1971).

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith, *"The Pernicious Consequences of UN Security Council Membership"*, Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 54, no. 5 (2010), 667-686.

Terrence L. Chapman and Dan Reiter, *"The United Nations Security Council and the Rally 'Round the Flag Effect"*, Journal of Conflict Resolution, vol. 48, no. 6 (2004), 886-909.

Axel Dreher et al., *The Determinants of Election to the United Nations Security Council*, CESifo Working Paper Series, no. 3902 (2012).

Jared Genser and Bruno Stagno Ugarte, eds., *The United Nations Security Council in the Age of Human Rights*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Edward C. Luck, *Reforming the United Nations: Lessons from a History in Progress*, International Relations Studies and the United Nations Occasional Papers, no.1 (2003).

David M. Malone, *"Eyes on the Prize: The Quest for Nonpermanent Seats on the UN Security Council"*, Global Governance, vol. 6, no. 1 (2000), 3-23.

Norman J. Padelford, *"Politics and Change in the Security Council"*, International Organization, vol. 14, no.3 (1960), 381-401.

Ruth B. Russell, *A History of the United Nations Charter: The Role of the United Nations*, 1940-1945, (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1958).

Bruce Russett, ed., *The Once and Future Security Council*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997).

Loraine Sievers and Sam Daws, *The Procedure of the UN Security Council*, Fourth Edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) and its update website www.scprocedure.org.

Bruno Simma et al., eds., *The Charter of the United Nations*, A Commentary, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Ramesh Thakur, ed., *What is Equitable Geographic Representation in the Twenty-first Century?*, International Peace Academy, the United Nations University Seminar Report, 26 March 1999.

Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, eds., *The Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Taking Stock, Moving Forward: Report to the Foreign Ministry of Finland on the 2012 Elections to the United Nations Security Council, International Peace Institute, April 2013.

Rules of Procedure of the AU Ministerial Committee on Candidatures within the International System, Doc.EX.CL/213 (VIII), African Union, (2006).

United Nations Handbook 2017-2018, New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, (2017).

Annex 1: Rules and Process for Election to the Council: Relevant Charter Provisions and Rules of Procedure

Charter Provisions on Election to the Council

The UN Charter, in Article 23, specifies the number of non-permanent members to be elected, as amended in 1963:

The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council…

Article 23(2) also stipulates the length of their term:

The non-permanent members…shall be elected for a term of two years.

The practical impact of rotation occurring every two years is mitigated by staggering the cycle, so that the General Assembly elects five members each year for the stipulated two-year period. This was determined by rule 142 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

Despite the specification of a two-year term, there have been exceptions when members have served shorter terms. There have been one-year terms, either to establish the required rotational cycle or to break electoral deadlocks.

Article 23(2) also contains a provision that ensures that no member can become a de facto permanent member by being re-elected to serve continuously in the Council:

A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

This is further reinforced by Rule 144 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly, which also says that a retiring member of the Council is not eligible for immediate re-election.

In addition to the provisions cited above, the Charter specifies the criteria that the members of the General Assembly shall apply when considering which countries should be elected to serve on the Council. It provides in Article 23 that due regard shall be:

…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.

"Contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security" is often interpreted in this context as the personnel or financial contributions for peacekeeping operations and peace processes. "Contribution to the other purposes of the Organization", by contrast, is a very wide term. In recent years, most discussions regarding Article 23 at the General Assembly have focused on the

Annex 1: Rules and Process for Election to the Council: Relevant Charter Provisions and Rules of Procedure

criteria of equitable geographical distribution, with issues related to the candidates' contribution to international peace and security being left aside.

A key procedural provision of the Charter that is relevant to Security Council elections is Article 18(2). This requires a two-thirds majority vote in the General Assembly on important questions. Under that article, election to the Council is defined as an important question.

In addition, Article 18(3) defines the required majority by reference to members present and voting. This refers to members casting an affirmative or negative vote. Members who abstain from voting are considered not voting.

Relevant Rules of Procedure

Voting, especially during elections to the Security Council, can sometimes produce tense and dramatic situations on the floor of the General Assembly. In such circumstances, understanding the relevant rules of procedure can become very important.

Rule 88 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly indicates that once the president of the General Assembly announces the commencement of voting, the process can only be interrupted on a point of order regarding the conduct of the vote. Furthermore, explanations of vote are not permitted when votes are cast by secret ballot.

Elections are governed by Rules 92, 93 and 94 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly.

Under Rule 92, elections to the Council are held by secret ballot. Nominations are not required. Countries simply declare their intention to run, sometimes many years ahead, either by circular note to all members of the UN or to the chair of their regional grouping, or both.

Rule 93 sets out the procedure that applies when there is only one vacancy to be filled and no candidate obtains the required two-thirds majority in the first ballot. It provides that:

…a second ballot shall be taken, which shall be restricted to the two candidates obtaining the largest number of votes…if a two-thirds majority is required, the balloting shall be continued until one candidate secures two-thirds of the votes cast…

What this first part of Rule 93 means is that if there are more than two candidates and there is no clear winner on the first ballot, the lower-polling candidates drop out and the contest then continues to a second ballot between the top two candidates. The effect of Rule 93 is that voting simply continues until one candidate prevails, either by securing the required majority or because the other withdraws.

If neither candidate receives the required majority on the second and third ballots, Rule 93 says that after the third inconclusive ballot, votes may be cast for "an eligible … Member". This allows new candidates to come into the process, and the fourth ballot is therefore technically referred to as an unrestricted ballot. (It also allows any candidate excluded after the first restricted ballot to come back again.)

If a result is not achieved after three of these unrestricted ballots, Rule 93 requires that the pool again be reduced to the top two. This cycle then repeats until a result is achieved. The emergence of new candidates during the unrestricted stage is rare but not unprecedented. If a trend is starting to emerge in one direction after a succession of inconclusive ballots, it is not unusual for the candidate with fewer votes to withdraw

Rule 94 is similar to Rule 93 but is applied when there are two or more seats to be filled

When two or more elective places are to be filled at one time under the same conditions, those candidates obtaining in the first ballot the majority required shall be elected.

Rule 94 also specifies that if additional rounds of voting are required, the pool is reduced by a formula that says that remaining candidates should not be more than twice the number of places available.

Annex 2: Historical Background

When the UN was established in 1945, the Charter provided for 11 members of the Security Council: five permanent members and six elected members.

Article 23(2) included a provision that in the first election of Council members, three members would be chosen for a period of one year so that in the future three new members could be elected annually. This was decided by drawing lots for the one- and two-year terms.

In the first election, on 12 January 1946, the following countries were elected: Australia, Brazil, Egypt, Mexico, the Netherlands and Poland. The pattern of geographical distribution was: two seats for Latin America, one for the Middle East, one for Eastern Europe, one for Western Europe, and one for the British Commonwealth.

The interpretation of what equitable geographic distribution should mean in terms of seats was based on an informal agreement among the permanent members, sometimes known as the London Agreement. From the start there was a lack of agreement about what had been agreed to. The US saw the 1946 formula as applying only to the first

election, but the Soviet Union maintained that there had been a gentlemen's agreement of a more general nature for the future meaning of geographic distribution.

The Charter clearly specifies a two-year term for elected members of the Council, but in addition to the 1946-1947 period, split terms started to occur in the late 1950s until the Council was enlarged in 1966. This was driven in part by fallout from the disagreement over regional rotation and associated Cold War politics. But the aspirations of newly independent countries was also an important factor. The first example of this was seen in 1955 when the Philippines and Poland contested a seat. After four inconclusive ballots, Poland withdrew and Yugoslavia declared its candidacy. However, the stalemate continued, and after two months and more than 30 rounds of voting, it was informally agreed that the Philippines would withdraw and that Yugoslavia would resign after one year, at which point the Philippines would run as the only candidate for that seat. Over the next few years, this became a common occurrence.

By the early 1960s, there was a growing acceptance that the original

Annex 2: Historical Background

composition of the Council had become inequitable and unbalanced. Between 1945 and 1965, UN membership rose from 51 to 117 member states, with the proportion of Asian, African and Caribbean states increasing from 25 percent to about 50 percent. On 17 December 1963, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1991 A (XVIII), which contained amendments to the Charter to address the issue by increasing the number of elected members to ten. The resolution also dealt with the issue of geographic distribution, which was resolved as follows:

• five elected members from the African and Asian states (this was subsequently subdivided in practice into two seats for the Asian Group and three seats for the African Group);

• one from the Eastern European states;
• two from the Latin American states (this included the Caribbean); and
• two from the Western European and other states (this included Australia, Canada and New Zealand).

At the same time, Article 27 was altered so that resolutions of the Council required the vote of nine members instead of seven. This also meant that for the first time the permanent members could be outvoted by non-permanent members, although only on procedural questions, which are not subject to vetoes by permanent members, and when the permanent members choose not to cast a veto.

Annex 3: Results of Recent Elections for Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council

The left-hand column lists the year and the UN General Assembly Session in which the voting was held, as well as the number of the plenary meetings (the ordinal numbers) and the date of meetings. The middle column reflects the highest number of votes and abstentions in a given round of elections. (The number of votes cast to fill the different seats in a given round is not always the same.) Candidate countries that won the election are in bold.

2007 UNGA62	**3 ROUNDS**	
26th 16-10-07	Round 1: 190 votes, 4 abstentions	**Burkina Faso** 185, **Viet Nam** 183, **Libyan Arab Jamahiriya** 178, Costa Rica 116, Croatia 95, Czech Republic 91, Dominican Republic 72, Mauritania 2, Senegal 1
	Round 2: 190 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted	Costa Rica 119, Croatia 106, Czech Republic 81, Dominican Republic 70
	Round 3: 189 votes, 9 abstentions, restricted	**Croatia** 184, **Costa Rica** 179, Czech Republic 1, Dominican Republic 1
2008 UNGA63	**1 ROUND**	
28th 17-10-08	Round 1: 192 votes, 6 abstentions	**Mexico** 185, **Uganda** 181, **Japan** 158, **Turkey** 151, **Austria** 133, Iceland 87, Iran (Islamic Republic of) 32, Madagascar 2, Australia 1, Brazil 1
2009 UNGA64	**1 ROUND**	
20th 15-10-09	Round 1: 190 votes, 7 abstentions	**Nigeria** 186, **Gabon** 184, **Bosnia and Herzegovina** 183, **Brazil** 182, **Lebanon** 180, Iran (Islamic Republic of) 1, Liberia 1, Sierra Leone 1, Togo 1, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of) 1
2010 UNGA65	**3 ROUNDS**	
28th 12-10-10	Round 1: 191 votes, 5 abstentions	**India** 187, **Colombia** 186, **South Africa** 182, **Germany** 128, Portugal 122, Canada 114, Pakistan 1, Swaziland 1
	Round 2: 191 votes, restricted	Portugal 113, Canada 78
	Round 3: 184 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted	**Portugal** 150, Canada 32
2011 UNGA66	**17 ROUNDS**	
37th 21-10-2011	Round 1: 193 votes, 2 abstentions	**Guatemala** 191, **Morocco** 151, **Pakistan** 129, Togo 119, Mauritania 98, Azerbaijan 74, Slovenia 67, Kyrgyzstan 55, Hungary 52, Fiji 1
	Round 2: 193 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted	Togo 119, Slovenia 97, Azerbaijan 90, Mauritania 72
	Round 3: 193 votes, 1 abstention, restricted	**Togo** 131, Slovenia 99, Azerbaijan 93, Mauritania 61

Annex 3: Results of Recent Elections for Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council

38th 21-10-11	Round 4: 192 votes, 1 abstention, restricted	Slovenia 98, Azerbaijan 93
	Round 5: 193 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted	Azerbaijan 98, Slovenia 93, Hungary 1
	Round 6: 193 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted	Azerbaijan 96, Slovenia 95, Estonia 1
	Round 7: 193 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted	Azerbaijan 100, Slovenia 91, Estonia 1
	Round 8: 191 votes, 1 abstention, restricted	Azerbaijan 110, Slovenia 80
	Round 9: 191 votes, 1 abstention, restricted	Azerbaijan 113, Slovenia 77
39th 24-10-11	Round 10: 193 votes, restricted	Azerbaijan 110, Slovenia 83
40th 24-10-11	Round 11: 193 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted	Azerbaijan 110, Slovenia 82
	Round 12: 193 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted	Azerbaijan 111, Slovenia 81
	Round 13: 192 votes, 1 abstention, unrestricted	Azerbaijan 111, Slovenia 80
	Round 14: 192 votes, 1 abstention, restricted	Azerbaijan 110, Slovenia 81
	Round 15: 193 votes, restricted	Azerbaijan 117, Slovenia 76
	Round 16: 193 votes, restricted	Azerbaijan 116, Slovenia 77
	Round 17: 193 votes, 24 abstentions, unrestricted	**Azerbaijan** 155, Slovenia 13, Hungary 1
2012 UNGA67	**2 ROUNDS**	
27th 18-10-2012	Round 1: 193 votes, 8 abstentions	**Argentina** 182, **Rwanda** 148, **Australia** 140, Luxembourg 128, Republic of Korea 116, Finland 108, Cambodia 62, Bhutan 20, United Republic of Tanzania 3, Barbados 1, Cuba 1, Democratic Republic of the Congo 1
	Round 2: 192 votes, restricted	**Republic of Korea** 149, **Luxembourg** 131, Finland 62, Cambodia 43
2013 UNGA68	**1 ROUND AND A SPECIAL ELECTION**	
34th 17-10-2013	Round 1: 191 votes, 5 abstentions	**Lithuania** 187, **Chile** 186, **Nigeria** 186, **Chad** 184, **Saudi Arabia** 176 (declined), Senegal 2, The Gambia 2, Lebanon 1, Croatia 1
61st 6-12-2013	Round 1: 185 votes, 4 abstentions	**Jordan** 178, **Saudi Arabia** 1
2014 UNGA69	**3 ROUNDS**	
25th 16-10-2014	Round 1: 193 votes, 10 abstentions	**Angola** 190, **Malaysia** 187, **Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela** 181, **New Zealand** 145, Spain 131, Turkey 109, Democratic Republic of the Congo 1, Brazil 1
	Round 2: 193 votes, restricted	Spain 120, Turkey 73
	Round 3: 192 votes, 1 abstention, restricted	**Spain** 132, Turkey 60
2015 UNGA69	**1 ROUND**	
33rd 15-10-2015	Round 1: 192 votes, 14 abstentions	**Senegal** 187, **Uruguay** 185, **Japan** 184, **Egypt** 179, **Ukraine** 177
2016 UNGA70	**6 ROUNDS**	
106th 28-06-2016	Round 1: 191 votes, 8 abstentions	**Ethiopia** 185, **Bolivia** 183, **Sweden** 134, Netherlands 125, Kazakhstan 113, Italy 113, Thailand 77, Colombia 1, Cuba 1, Belgium 1
	Round 2: 193 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted	**Kazakhstan** 178, Netherlands 99, Italy 92, Thailand 55
	Round 3: 190 votes, 3 abstentions, restricted	Netherlands 96, Italy 94
107th 28-06-16	Round 4: 191 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted	Netherlands 96, Italy 95
	Round 5: 190 votes, 2 abstentions, unrestricted	Netherlands 95, Italy 95
108th 30-06-16	Round 6: 184 votes, 6 abstentions, unrestricted	**Italy** 179, Netherlands 4, San Marino 1

Annex 3: Results of Recent Elections for Non-Permanent Members of the Security Council

2017 UNGA71 86th 02-06-2017	**1 ROUND** Round 1: 192 votes, 5 abstentions	**Poland** 190, **Côte d'Ivoire** 189, **Kuwait** 188, **Peru** 186, **Equatorial Guinea** 185, **Netherlands** 184, Argentina 1, Guinea 1, Morocco 1
2018 UNGA72 93rd 08-06-2018	**1 ROUND** Round 1: 190 votes, 8 abstentions	**Dominican Republic** 184, **Germany** 184, **South Africa** 183, **Belgium** 181, **Indonesia** 144, Maldives 46
2019 UNGA73 89th 07-06-2019	**2 ROUNDS** Round 1: 193 votes, 4 abstentions	**Viet Nam** 192; **Niger** 191; **Tunisia** 191; Estonia 111; Romania 78; **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines** 185; El Salvador 6; Georgia 1; Latvia 1
	Round 2: 193 votes, 2 abstentions, restricted	**Estonia** 132; Romania 58
2020 UNGA 74 17-06 2020*	**2 ROUNDS** Round 1: 192 votes, 0 abstentions	Djibouti 78; **India** 184; **Ireland** 128; Kenya 113; **Mexico** 187; **Norway** 130
18-06-2020*	Round 2: 191 votes, 0 abstentions	**Kenya** 129; Djibouti 62

*General Assembly decided "to hold the election of non-permanent members of the Security Council in June 2020, simultaneously, without holding a plenary meeting of the General Assembly" A/74/L.67