

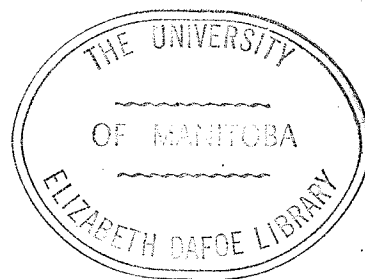
THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

VOTING PATTERNS IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Being a Thesis submitted to the School of
Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba,
for the Degree of Master of Arts in the
Department of Political Science and
International Relations

by

Peter Fotheringham
Winnipeg, Manitoba
August, 1962.



VOTING PATTERNS IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

A Comparative Study of Voting Behaviour in the
General Assembly from January 1946 to December 1959.

Peter Fotheringham

August, 1962.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to show how the Members of the United Nations voted on the political items discussed in the General Assembly from the commencement of the first regular session in January 1946 through to the end of the fourteenth regular session in December 1959. In particular the composition of several distinct voting alliances have been analysed with a view to estimating the source and the strength of the support for the main protagonists in the various political issues. The thesis is based upon the roll-call voting which took place in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly.

The introduction to the thesis fulfils two important functions. First, it gives an outline of the

main themes to be developed in the thesis. Secondly it details the official documents of the United Nations which form by far the major source of material upon which this thesis is based.

The first result of the analysis of roll-call voting was one which determined the form of the thesis itself. It was found that all of the items discussed in the Assembly which could be described as political belonged naturally to two main themes in international politics since the end of the Second World War, viz., the Cold War and Anti-Colonialism. Therefore the main results of the thesis consist in an estimation of the support given to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the first theme, and to the various protagonists, e.g., Netherlands, France, the Union of South Africa, and Indonesia, Greece, Tunisia, on the second theme.

The first chapter explains the method of determining 'political' items, the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, and the nature of the Membership of the Assembly during the period covered. The second chapter analyses roll-call voting on items in the Cold War. The third chapter analyses roll-call voting on items related to Anti-Colonialism. The fourth chapter presents a statistical summary of voting relationship between the

U.S.S.R. , the U.S.A., and various representative states. Finally a brief conclusion summarises the main findings of the analysis.

The first conclusion is of a general nature. There was a considerable degree of consistency in voting behaviour, particularly on Cold War items. And there was a strong connection between voting behaviour on Cold War items and on the items related to Anti-Colonialism.

The definitive characteristic of roll-call voting on Cold War issues was the almost complete opposition of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The most important conclusion to emerge from the analysis of roll-call voting in this category was the overwhelming capacity of the U.S.A. to defeat the U.S.S.R. In fact from the third session onwards the U.S.S.R. and its fellow-members in the Soviet bloc were virtually isolated in the Assembly on several important items. This tendency continued through to the end of the fourteenth session. The U.S.A. was strongly and consistently supported by the great majority of Latin American, Western European, and White Commonwealth states, and by China, Liberia, Israel, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey. A majority of the Asian states and the Arab states tended to abstain frequently on these items. Particular changes in voting behaviour by individual states are described in the text. Several states such

as Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Laos, Japan, and Pakistan also voted often with the U.S.A. though their behaviour was not as consistent as that of the Latin American states. The U.S.S.R. derived considerable support from beyond the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia on one item only, viz., the question of the representation of China.

The definitive characteristic of roll-call voting on items related to Anti-Colonialism was the consistent lack of agreement between the Asian and Arab states on one hand and the Western European and White Commonwealth states on the other. But voting behaviour was generally more flexible than that on the Cold War items. There was no isolation of any one state or group of states except on the items relating to the Union of South Africa. In fact one of the features on roll-call voting on this category was the importance of the two-thirds majority rule which operated in favour of France and the Netherlands and their supporters.

Generally the Asian and Arab states voted with the Soviet bloc against the Western European and White Commonwealth states. The Latin American states split into three fluctuating groups; one supported the Asian and Arab, i.e., the anti-colonial, states; the second supported the Western European states; and the third

tended to abstain. But the Latin American states like the members of all the groups tended to vary their voting behaviour on the items in this category more than on items on the Cold War. Nevertheless a consistent pattern does emerge from voting behaviour on these two political themes.

The majority of Western European and White Commonwealth states voted similarly on the items in both categories. A similar tendency characterised the behaviour of the Arab and Asian states. And as a result of their respective stands on the Cold War and Anti-Colonialism the Western European and White Commonwealth states rarely voted with the Arab and Asian states on the 375 roll-call votes concerning these two categories. The U.S.A. voted with the first two groups most of the time; but tended to abstain when France, the Netherlands, or the Union of South Africa was under attack in the Assembly. The Latin American states voted with the U.S.A. on Cold War items, and a majority of them did not vote against the Western European and White Commonwealth states on colonial items. The voting alliance between the Soviet bloc and the Asian and Arab states on colonial issues coupled with the high propensity to abstain of the latter states on Cold War issues led to such states as India and Egypt having a closer voting identity with the U.S.S.R. than with the U.S.A.

And India voted even less with the United Kingdom than with the U.S.A.

These then, are the basic patterns in the Assembly. The thesis is mainly concerned with establishing these patterns, elaborating on the deviations from them, and with estimating the support given by the members of the various groups to the main protagonists in each group.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	(iii)
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER	
1 VOTING METHODS	10
(i) Voting Procedure	10
(ii) Classification of Votes	14
(iii) The Two-Thirds Rule, Unanimity, and Absenteeism	21
(iv) Groups	30
2 THE COLD WAR	36
(i) Early Disputes	36
(ii) Korea, Hungary, and Suez	67
(iii) Admission and the Representation of China	124
(iv) Peace, Disarmament, and French Nuclear Testing	144
3 ANTI-COLONIALISM	165
(i) Palestine and the Italian Colonies	166
(ii) Questions Relating to South Africa	193
(iii) Dutch and French Colonialism	222
(iv) Cyprus	248

	Page
CHAPTER	
4 A STATISTICAL SUMMARY	258
5 CONCLUSION	266
APPENDIX A	272
APPENDIX B	289
BIBLIOGRAPHY	299

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Documents of the General Assembly according to Session of Issue	8
2	Dates of Duration of Every Session, with the Number of Plenary Meetings and Roll-Call Votes	13
3	Distribution of the 650 Roll-Calls among the Subject Categories	20
4	Operation of the Two-Thirds Rule with respect to Individual Sessions	22
5	Operation of the Two-Thirds Rule with respect to Subject Categories	23
6	Distribution of Roll-Calls where No State Opposed the Majority among the Subject Categories	25
7	Absenteeism, 1946-1956	27
8	Absenteeism, 1956-1959	28
9	Increase in Assembly Membership by Sessions	35
10	Distribution of Roll-Call Votes on the Spanish Question	36
11	Propensity to Abstain on the Greek Question	51
12	Propensity to Abstain on Violation of Human Rights by the U.S.S.R. and East European States	56
13	Voting Behaviour on Chinese Political Independence, Showing Opposition to U.S.A.	62
14	Propensity to Abstain of Asian States on Early Cold War Items	65

Table		Page
15	Propensity to Abstain of Arab States on Early Cold War Items	65
16	Distribution of 36 Roll-Call Votes on Korean Question	68
17	Pro- U.S.A. Behaviour by 16 States on (A/1426) Regarding Korean Question	76
18	Pro- U.S.S.R. Behaviour by 6 States on (A/1426) Regarding Korean Question	76
19	Behaviour of 12 States Voting with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on Different Parts of (A/1426)	76
20	Propensity to Abstain on Korean Question, on 23 Roll-Calls	89
21	Behaviour of 9 States on Hungarian Amendments (A/L124)	103
22	Behaviour of 18 States which did not vote 100% with U.S.A. on Final 4 Roll-Calls in 11th Session on Hungarian Question	107
23	Behaviour of 20 States not Voting 100% with U.S.A. on Hungarian Question in 13th and 14th Sessions	108
24	Propensity to Abstain on Hungarian Question as a Whole	110
25	% Opposition to U.S.S.R. on Hungarian Situation	114
26	% Opposition to U.S.S.R. on Korean Question	114
27	Distribution of 38 Roll-Call Votes on Admission of New Members	124
28	Voting Behaviour on Chinese Representation up to 10th Session, Showing Opposition to U.S.A.	133

Table		Page
29	Distribution of 25 Roll-Call Votes on Disarmament	149
30	Propensity to Abstain on Soviet Resolution (A/723) on Disarmament	152
31	Behaviour of States Opposing or Abstaining on Resolution (A/4280) Condemning French Nuclear Testing	159
32	Distribution of 33 Roll-Call Votes on Palestine Question	166
33	Voting Behaviour on Palestine Question in Seventh Session	178
34	Distribution of 22 Roll-Call Votes on Question of Treatment of Indians in South Africa	193
35	Support for Union of South Africa on Treatment of Indians, up to 5th Session, 1946-1950	203
36	Propensity to Abstain on Question of Treatment of Indians in South Africa, 1946-1959	204
37	Distribution of 24 Roll-Call Votes on Question of Apartheid	205
38	Voting Behaviour on Apartheid on 7th Session, Showing Various Degrees of Support for Union of South Africa	208
39	Voting Behaviour on Resolution (A/2857) in the 9th Session (Apartheid)	214
40	Voting Behaviour on (A/3962) in 13th Session, Showing Opposition to Assembly Majority (Apartheid)	218
41	Support for Union of South Africa on Apartheid, 7th - 14th Sessions	220
42	Propensity to Abstain on Apartheid, 7th - 14th Sessions	221

Table		Page
43	Voting Behaviour on Indonesian Question, Showing Opposition to Assembly Majority	222
44	Voting Behaviour on West New Guinea in 11th and 12th Sessions, Showing Deviations from Policies of Groups in the Assembly	229
45	Voting Behaviour of Latin American States in 11th and 12th Sessions on West New Guinea	230
46	Distribution of 24 Roll-Calls on French North Africa	232
47	Voting Behaviour on Moroccan Question in 8th Session, Showing Support for France	238
48	Voting Behaviour of Latin American States on French North Africa, 8th - 14th Sessions	245
49	Voting Behaviour on French North Africa, 8th - 14th Sessions, Showing Sympathy for French Position	246
50	Voting Behaviour of Latin American States on the Cyprus Question, 9th - 12th Sessions	252
51	Voting Behaviour of Asian States on the Cyprus Question, 9th - 12th Sessions	253
52	Relation of the U.S.A. to the Assembly's Decisions	273
53	Relation of the U.S.S.R. to the Assembly's Decisions	274
54	Relation of the United Kingdom to the Assembly's Decisions	275
55	Relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.	276

Table		Page
56	Relations between the United Kingdom and the U.S.A.	277
57	Relations between Brazil and the U.S.A.	278
58	Relations between Mexico and the U.S.A.	279
59	Relations between Sweden and the U.S.A.	280
60	Relations between India and the U.S.A.	281
61	Relations between India and the U.S.S.R.	282
62	Relations between India and the United Kingdom	283
63	Relations between Egypt and the U.S.A.	284
64	Relations between Egypt and the U.S.S.R.	285
65	Relations between Ghana and the U.S.A.	286
66	Relations between Ghana and the U.S.S.R.	286
67	Relations between Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R.	287
68	Relations between Yugoslavia and the U.S.A.	288
69	Relations between India and Afghanistan, 1956-1959	291
70	Relations between India and Burma, 1956-1959	291
71	Relations between India and Cambodia, 1956-1959	292
72	Relations between India and Ceylon, 1956-1959	292
73	Relations between India and China, 1956-1959	293
74	Relations between India and Indonesia, 1956-1959	293

Table		Page
75	Relations between India and Iran, 1956-1959	294
76	Relations between India and Israel, 1956-1959	294
77	Relations between India and Japan, 1956-1959	295
78	Relations between India and Laos, 1956-1959	295
79	Relations between India and Malaya, 1957-1959	296
80	Relations between India and Nepal, 1956-1959	296
81	Relations between India and Pakistan, 1956-1959	297
82	Relations between India and Philippines, 1956-1959	297
83	Relations between India and Thailand, 1956-1959	298
84	Relations between India and Turkey, 1956-1959	298

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to show how the Members of the United Nations have voted on the various and diverse international political issues which have been discussed,¹ and to some extent, judged by the General Assembly between January 1946 and December 1959. This judgement is reflected in the adoption or rejection of draft resolutions pertaining to the different issues. In particular the composition of majorities and minorities when decisions are taken by the Assembly have been examined to ascertain how the Members stand up to be counted on two main themes in international politics since the end of the Second World War, viz., the Cold War and Anti-Colonialism. The voting patterns presented in this thesis are based upon an analysis of roll-call voting in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly.²

The purpose of the first chapter is threefold. First it explains which roll-call votes have been analysed in succeeding chapters. Secondly it describes the voting procedures of the General Assembly. Finally some

-
1. The meaning of the term political issue is defined on pp.16-19 below.
 2. Roll-call voting is explained on p.10 below.

background information on the voting sample and on the Members of the Assembly is given to facilitate the reading of the main text.

A brief examination of the nature of the political items on the agendas of the General Assembly in the period covered showed that all of them could be included in two main themes, viz., the Cold War and Anti-Colonialism. Accordingly the bulk of this thesis consists of an analysis of voting behaviour on these two themes.

One feature of the voting analysed in this study has been the heavy and consistent defeat of the U.S.S.R.'s point-of-view on such political items as the Korean question and the Hungarian question. The isolation of the Soviet bloc on several items was a relatively early development in roll-call voting in the General Assembly. Hence the propensity to abstain on items in the Cold War has been an important indicator of the strength of the support given to the U.S.A. in the General Assembly. The reader must judge for himself how for voting alignments in the Assembly reflect real political forces and alliances in the world outside.

In the second chapter therefore, which discusses items belonging to the Cold War, a number of questions are asked. What states are the strongest supporters

of the U.S.A? What states are the weakest supporters? The almost constant opposition of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on roll-call votes on items relating to the Cold War increases the justification for using such roll-call votes to analyse and evaluate the voting behaviour of individual Members in relation to the Cold War. But this study is not only concerned with a net evaluation of the position of individual Members over a period of time in relation to one main theme. An indication of how the proportion of the Assembly voting with the U.S.A. varies according to the particular item and according to the particular period of time has also been sought.

The second main theme in the political items subjected to roll-call voting can be fairly described as Anti-Colonialism. The composition of majorities and minorities when roll-call votes are held on such issues as West New Guinea or French North Africa has been radically different from that on issues relating to the Cold War. The main questions to be answered in the third chapter of this thesis which discusses items involving the theme of Anti-Colonialism again concern the composition of majorities and minorities when decisions are made. What states are most

consistently in opposition to the Assembly majority in this category? What have been the main trends in voting behaviour on these items?

In this way voting patterns are discovered. The patterns are derived from the fact that certain Members tend to vote in a similar manner on items which possess for them a particular common interest. The composition of groups of Members voting similarly varies according to the nature of the items of common interest.

The fourth chapter presents information derived from a statistical analysis of the total of 650 roll-call votes held in the plenary meetings throughout the period covered in this study. In particular the relation of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to the Assembly majority has been calculated, followed by an analysis of the statistical relation, in this sample of roll-call voting, of certain representative Members to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

A brief conclusion sums up the main results obtained from the analysis of voting behaviour on the two main political themes.

The principal source of material for this thesis have been United Nations Documents. The American authority on United States influence on voting behaviour at the United Nations, Robert Riggs, gives a useful

account of United Nations Documents in the bibliography to his work on that subject.¹

The voting statistics have been derived from the verbatim records of the plenary meetings of the General Assembly. These records are published in the Official Records of the General Assembly. The verbatim record of every plenary meeting since the beginning of 1950 has been published separately. The records of each plenary meeting of any one session form a volume in the sense that the paging of the separate records is continuous throughout the one session. But the number of every plenary meeting is derived from its position not in any plenary session but in the overall scheme, i.e., the opening plenary meeting of the first part of the first regular session is listed as the first plenary meeting in the Official Records of the General Assembly while the closing plenary meeting of the fourteenth regular session is officially cited as the 859th plenary meeting in the Official Records.

The verbatim records of plenary meetings prior to 1950 are published in the Official Records but in volume form. There is one volume for each of the four regular sessions and two special sessions in this period.

1. Robert Riggs, Politics in the United Nations, pp. 189-190.

The records of the plenary meetings give some of the motives which lead certain Members to vote as they do. However since only a limited number of delegates of Member states explain their votes in speeches in the General Assembly the verbatim records of such speeches do not explain the behaviour of every Member at every vote. The particular information gathered from these verbatim records as far as this study is concerned is the complete records of how every Member behaves when a roll-call vote on any item discussed is requested. Whenever a roll-call vote is discussed in the second and third chapters of this study the number of the plenary meeting in which that roll-call vote was held is included in the text, as is the session to which the plenary meeting belonged.

The second source consulted and referred to in the text is best described by R. Riggs. "In addition to the Official Records, heavy reliance has been placed upon other documents issued to the Assembly...."¹ These documents are of three kinds, viz., draft resolutions introduced directly into the Assembly by Members, reports of the main and other committees which contain the texts of draft resolutions to be adopted or rejected by the General Assembly in plenary session, and amendments to

1. Ibid, p. 189.

such draft resolutions. Sidney Bailey has described these documents in his work on the General Assembly. "Most of the documents issued in connection with the Assembly have a symbol A/ and a number; some of these documents are issued as supplements or annexes to the official records of the General Assembly."¹ Draft resolutions sponsored by Members may also have as a symbol A/L and a number.² When more than one draft resolution is included in a committee report the particular number of the resolution under discussion is included in the text; e.g. a draft resolution may be draft resolution (A), (B), or (C), or draft resolution (1), (11), or (111), in any committee's report. The approximate boundaries in the numeration of such documents according to the separate sessions of the Assembly since 1946 are indicated in Table 1. The texts of the draft resolutions and of amendments thereto are the important indicators of the points-of-view of the sponsors and, when they are accepted or rejected, of the majority in the Assembly.

1. Sidney D. Bailey, The General Assembly of the United Nations, pXX.

2. The symbol A/L indicates that the particular Assembly document has a limited circulation.

TABLE I.

Documents of the General Assembly according
to Session of Issue.

Session	Initial Document issued in the session	Final Document issued in the session
First, First Special, and Second	A/1	A/519
Second Special, and Third	A/520	A/900
Fourth	A/901	A/1119
Fifth	A/1200	A/1799
Sixth	A/1800	A/2122
Seventh	A/2123	A/2403
Eighth	A/2404	A/2644
Ninth	A/2645	A/2891
Tenth	A/2892	A/3104
Eleventh and two Emergency Sessions	A/3105	A/3593
Twelfth	A/3594	A/3802
Thirteenth	A/3803	A/4092
Fourteenth	A/4093	A/4351

Many roll-call votes and draft resolutions are fully reported in the Yearbook of the United Nations. But this coverage is not comprehensive, e.g., when there is more than one roll-call vote on a particular draft resolution only the final roll-call vote may be fully described.¹ And rejected draft resolutions are seldom described in full with respect either to text or to roll-call voting.

Eighty-four tables have been constructed to illustrate voting patterns. Many of these tables illustrate how a Member has voted on a particular draft resolution or part of a resolution. The symbol A always denotes that the Member concerned abstained, while the symbol Ab denotes that the Member was absent when the vote was held. The symbol Y denotes a vote in favour of adoption of the subject of the roll-call, while the symbol N denotes opposition to such adoption. These symbols also indicate whether the Member concerned opposed or supported the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R., or any state of particular interest, depending on the manner in which the latter states voted on the particular resolution described in the table.

1. Thirteen Yearbooks have been published to cover the period under examination in this thesis.

CHAPTER I

VOTING METHODS

(i) Voting Procedure

The normal method of voting in the General Assembly is defined in rule 89 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly, viz., "The General Assembly shall normally vote by show of hands but any representative may request a roll-call."¹ There is an important difference between the two forms of voting. In the show-of-hands vote only totals are officially recorded whereas in a roll-call vote the action of every state is officially recorded. This means that official records of how every state votes are available for only a proportion of the total number of votes in the Assembly. T. Hovet has calculated that 21.6% of the votes held in the plenary and main committee up to the end of the thirteenth session were roll-call votes.² This is an important limitation to the extent of any analysis of voting behaviour. However it is commonly acknowledged that important disputes are usually subjected to roll-call voting whereas less important ones are decided by show-of-hand votes. This is not an exclusive tendency by any means but, since the Member states themselves determine the method of voting, and since they request roll-call

1. United Nations Document A/3660 and Corr.1., September, 1957.

2. Thomas Hovet, Jr., Bloc Politics at the United Nations, p.14.

votes to stress the importance of particular subjects of voting, roll-call voting can be used to provide a fairly accurate reflection of the voting patterns on important issues in the General Assembly.

This study is confined to an analysis of roll-call voting because there is no access to the unofficial records which are made by delegations in the General Assembly of voting on show-of-hands votes.

T. Hovet has calculated that 1,908 roll-call votes had been held in the plenary and main committees of the General Assembly up to the end of the thirteenth session.¹ This total is too great for the scope of this study; in addition many roll-call votes held in the main committees are repeated in the plenary meetings. Therefore some method of constructing a manageable sample of roll-call voting, which would allow the aims of this study to be realised, had to be devised. It has been decided, with these aims in mind, to confine the study to the exclusive total of 650 roll-call votes which have been held in the plenary sessions of the General Assembly from 10th January 1946 to 15th December 1959, i.e., from the first plenary meeting of the first session to the final plenary meeting of the fourteenth session. Therefore several important roll-call votes which have not been repeated in the plenary meetings have not been analysed. But, given

1. Ibid, p.14.

that there is a greater likelihood of a state's final position at any given time being reflected in the plenary roll-call than in a committee roll-call, and the greater importance given to plenary meetings, reflected in a higher attendance at plenary meetings, it seems justifiable to claim that a valid overall picture of voting behaviour and therefore a reflection of international politics in the outside world can be obtained from an analysis of roll-call voting in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly.

Table 2 gives the dates of duration of the fourteen regular sessions, two special sessions, and three emergency special sessions in the period covered along with the number of plenary meetings and roll-call votes in each session. The first part of the first session was held in London. The first part of the third session was held in Paris. Every other plenary meeting has been held in New York. Normally the great majority of plenary meetings occur in the three months following the opening meeting in September though the final meeting is frequently held over till the Members gather for the next regular session. The Assembly usually convenes on the third Tuesday in September but four of the regular sessions did not convene on that Tuesday.

TABLE 2.

Dates of Duration of Every Session, with the Number of Plenary Meetings and Roll-Call Votes.

Session	No of. Opening Plenary	Date of Meeting	No of Closing Plenary	Date of Meeting	No of Roll Call Votes	No of Plenary Meeting
1 part (i) Regular	1	10th Jan. 1946	33	14th Feb. 1946	17	33
1 part (ii) Regular.	34	23rd Oct. 1946	67	15th Dec. 1946	19	34
1st Special	68	28th Apr. 1947	79	15th May. 1947	6	12
2nd Regular	80	16th Sept. 1947	128	29th Nov. 1947	32	49
2nd Special.	129	16th Apr. 1948	135	14th May. 1948	7	7
3rd Regular.	136	21st Sept. 1948	219	18th May. 1949	97	84
4th Regular.	220	20th Sept. 1949	276	10th Dec. 1949	64	57
5th Regular.	277	19th Sept. 1950	332	5th Nov. 1950	53	66
6th Regular.	333	6th Nov. 1951	375	5th Feb. 1952	25	43
7th Regular.	376	14th Oct. 1952	431	28th Aug. 1953	49	56
8th Regular.	432	15th Sept. 1953	472	20th Sept. 1954	26	41
9th Regular.	473	21st Sept. 1954	515	17th Dec. 1954	31	43
10th Regular.	516	20th Sept. 1955	560	20th Dec. 1955	36	45
1st Emergency ¹	561-63, 565-567	1st Nov. 1956	572		7	7
2nd Emergency ²	564, 568-571		573	10th Nov. 1956	14	6
11th Regular.	574	12th Nov. 1956	677	13th Sept. 1957	45	104
12th Regular.	678	17th Sept. 1957	731	14th Dec. 1957	35	54
3rd Emergency Special.	732	18th Aug. 1958	746	21st Aug. 1958	0	15
13th Regular.	747	16th Sept. 1958	794	13th Nov. 1959	33	48
14th Regular.	795	15th Sept. 1959	857	12th Dec. 1959	54	63
TOTAL					650	857

1. The First Emergency session consisted of 7 plenary meetings viz 561, 562, 563, 565, 566, 567, 572.
2. The Second Emergency session consisted of 6 plenary meetings viz 564, 568-571, 573.

(ii) Classification of Votes

There is a distinction between substantive and procedural issues. A substantive issue is one arising out of a draft proposal or a draft resolution in whole or part. A procedural issue is usually concerned with including items on the agenda, determining the question of a two-thirds majority and motions to adjourn. But many procedural issues, particularly on including items on the agenda, are of such political importance that it is pointless to differentiate between substantive and procedural issues as such. In the text procedural roll-call votes are described along with the substantive roll-call votes, and the importance of both kinds is evaluated there.

The majority of roll-call voting has been on substantive issues, particularly on draft resolutions in whole or in part. A draft resolution, before adoption or rejection, usually consists of one or more preambular paragraphs and one or more operative paragraphs. A roll-call vote may be requested on any paragraph, (or any phrase). A preambular paragraph may refer to Articles of the United Nations Charter, to principles of international law, to previous resolutions adopted by the Assembly, and to communications to the Assembly from officials and organs of the United Nations

and from Member states. In general the preambular paragraphs described the background of the matter dealt with in the operative part of the resolution. Preambular paragraphs are important either because they, by recalling previous resolutions, define the basis of a prospective settlement or, by noting reports or communications they imply some degree of judgment or blame with respect to certain Members. Preambular paragraphs may therefore be the subject of roll-call voting because certain states object to references to previous resolutions or to communications to the Assembly, or because other states wish to stress the importance of such references to the issue in question. Operative paragraphs may refer to some type of action which the Assembly is competent to take such as the establishment of a subsidiary organ. Or they may make recommendations that Member states perform some action, i.e.; the Assembly, appeals to, invites, urges, etc., alternately they may contain expressions of opinions such as the Assembly affirms, commends, declares, deplores, regrets, etc.

A draft proposal of which there have been very few, is usually introduced directly into the Assembly by a Member state and concerns e.g. the participation of non-Members in Assembly debates.

Another important subject of roll-call voting are amendments to resolutions. Unlike resolutions only Member states can sponsor amendments in plenary meetings. The source of resolutions may be committee reports or Member states. Most resolutions of course are initially sponsored by Members but are discussed in committee where they may be accepted, modified, or rejected, before being discussed in plenary meetings as resolutions from the committee concerned. The U.S.S.R. in particular has re-introduced into plenary meetings resolutions which have been more or less decisively rejected in committee meetings.

The source of resolutions subject to roll-call voting in whole or in part is related to the problem of categorising the various and diverse issues which are the subject of resolutions. It is impossible to discuss every roll-call vote as it occurred; it is much more enlightening to consider the voting in relation to generalised subject categories which enable patterns in voting behaviour to be discerned. How are these generalised subject categories to be chosen?

The first step consisted in calculating the number of roll-call votes on each agenda item for the nineteen sessions discussed in this study. The result

is a list of items as varied as those dealing with the use of Spanish as a working language in the General Assembly, the application of Japan for admission to the Civil Aviation Organisation, the situation in South West Africa, and the use of bacterial warfare by United Nations forces in Korea. Many of these items can be said to possess a political, and an economic, and a legal, nature.

However these items are discussed in the Yearbook of the United Nations under five generalised subject categories, viz., Political and Security Questions; Economic, Social and Humanitarian Questions; Questions relating to the Trusteeship System and Non-Self Governing Territories; Administrative and Budgetary Question; and Legal Questions. In the early editions of the Yearbook one category, Functions and Organisation of the United Nations, included questions relating to United Nations organs and questions of an administrative or budgetary nature. But from the 1950 edition of the Yearbook, questions relating to United Nations organs are included under Political and Security Questions, while a separate category deals with Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

In the main this division corresponds to the system of Main Committees of the General Assembly of which there are six. These committees are named

Political and Security; Economic and Financial; Social, Humanitarian and Cultural; Trusteeship including non-self governing territories; Administrative and Budgetary; and Legal. These committees are numbered one to six respectively, and are referred to as the First Committee, the Second Committee, etc. However certain draft resolutions from the Second and Third Committees may be discussed along with those from the First Committee because all these resolutions form an integral part of an important political issue in the General Assembly, e.g., the Korean question. Therefore the system of categorising the roll-call votes analysed in this study follows predominately the system which appears in the Yearbook of the United Nations rather than the Committee system of the General Assembly.

The items which are discussed under the heading "Political and Security Questions" in the Yearbook of the United Nations are the items which make up the various "political" issues analysed in this study. The one exception to this scheme is the allocation of items relating to organs of the United Nations, discussed in "Political and Security Questions" in later editions of the Yearbook, to the category described in early editions of the Yearbook as "Functions and Organisation of the United Nations". There are fourteen roll-call votes on such items.

Three hundred and seventy-five roll-call votes were held on political issues beginning with the problem of relations with Franco Spain in the first session and ending with the problem of Tibet which was first discussed in the fourteenth session. Seventy-nine roll-call votes were held on economic, social, and humanitarian items. One hundred and eighteen roll-call votes were held on items relating to the trusteeship system and non-self governing territories. Finally seventy-eight roll-call votes were held on items belonging to the other categories described above, i.e., Functions and Organisation, Legal Questions and Administrative and Budgetary Questions. Table 3 illustrates the distribution of the total of 650 roll-call votes among the three main categories and the other categories. Only political issues are analysed, but the fourth chapter gives a statistical analysis of the whole sample. Table 3 indicates the importance of political items in the Assembly's agendas. Fifty-seven per cent of the roll-call votes in the plenary sessions were on political items; and no other category took up even 20% of the total.

TABLE 3

Distribution of the 650 Roll-Calls among the Subject Categories.

Session	Political and Security Category	Economic and Social Category	Trustee-ship Category	Other Categories
First-part(i)	1	8	1	7
First-part(ii)	5	4	7	3
First Special	6	0	0	0
Second Regular	16	2	7	7
Second Special	7	0	0	0
Third Regular	56	10	10	21
Fourth Regular	31	19	12	2
Fifth Regular	35	1	12	5
Sixth Regular	11	5	7	2
Seventh Regular	26	12	9	2
Eighth Regular	14	3	8	1
Ninth Regular	15	3	10	3
Tenth Regular	20	0	6	10
First Emergency	6	0	0	0
Second Emergency	15	0	0	0
Eleventh Regular	36	3	5	1
Twelfth Regular	22	2	6	5
Thirteenth Regular	23	4	3	3
Fourteenth Regular	30	3	15	6
TOTAL	375	79	118	78

(iii) The Two Thirds Rule, Unanimity and Absenteeism.

An important part of voting procedure concerns the extent of the majority required for the adoption of a resolution in whole or in part.

Rule 85 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly states "Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the Members present and voting. These questions shall include: Recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security,....., the Admission of New Members to the United Nations,....., questions relating to the operation of the Trusteeship System, and budgetary questions."¹

Rule 87 states "Decisions of the General Assembly on questions other than those provided for in rule 85, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the Members present and voting."²

In forty-five roll-call votes the subject of the roll-call has been rejected because it failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. In the event of a tie

1. United Nations Document, A/3660 and Corr.1., September, 1957.

2. Ibid.

when a simple majority is required the subject of the vote is not adopted. For a Member to be counted as "present and voting" it must vote positively or negatively. When a Member abstains it is not considered to be "voting."

Tables 4 and 5 illustrate the distribution of roll-call votes which involve the rejection of a resolution in whole or in part because of failure to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

TABLE 4

Operation of Two-Thirds Rule with
respect to Individual Sessions.

Session	No of roll-call votes where the rule applied
2nd Regular	2
2nd Special	1
3rd Regular	8
4th Regular	1
5th Regular	4
6th Regular	2
7th Regular	6
8th Regular	4
9th Regular	4
11th Regular	1
12th Regular	3
13th Regular	1
14th Regular	8
TOTAL	45

TABLE 5

Operation of Two-Thirds Rule with
respect to Subject Categories.

Category	No of roll- call votes
Political and Security	25
Trusteeship	18
Legal	1
Economic and Social	1
TOTAL	45

Thirteen of these roll-call votes dealt with Anti-Colonial issues, in particular with French North Africa and West New Guinea. On no less than thirty-three occasions the United Kingdom voted against a simple majority of the Members present and voting, yet managed to prevent, along with other states, the adoption of a resolution or part of a resolution to which it objected.

Eighty-three roll-call votes, out of the total of 650, have led to the adoption of resolutions or parts of resolutions without there being any positive opposition. But the number of states abstaining has varied considerably. On twenty of these roll-call votes there were no abstentions either, though in most cases one or two Members were absent. Three-quarters of the roll-call votes in this group of twenty, where one can truly say that there was unanimity in the Assembly, dealt with the item of admitting states to Membership of the United Nations.

Table 6 demonstrates the distribution of such roll-call votes among the categories for the whole sample of 650 roll-call votes. Only six per cent of the roll-call votes in the political security category were of this description if one leaves aside the roll-call votes on Admission to the United Nations.¹ There were proportionately fewer such roll-call votes in the political and security category than in the other two main subject categories.

1. See below, pp. 124-130.

TABLE 6

Distribution of Roll-Calls where No State Opposed
the Majority among the Subject Categories.

Category	No of roll-call votes with no positive opposition	Percentage within the category
Political and Security	38	9.8
Economic and Social	17	22
Trusteeship	21	18.2
Other	7	9.8
TOTAL	83	12.7

The sum of the states abstaining, supporting a resolution, and opposing a resolution, does not always equal the membership of the General Assembly at the time the roll-call vote was being held. The difference is accounted for by the fact that several states were not present in the Assembly when the roll-call vote was held. Occasionally states which were present did not participate in the voting. This usually entailed a protest against an item being discussed; but France and the Union of South Africa protested by not appearing in the Assembly. Therefore the number of absences and non-participations by any one Member are added together in Tables 7 and 8 which show the extent to which Members have tended to be absent up to the end of the tenth regular session, and from the beginning of the first emergency session to the end of the fourteenth session.

Eight states took part in every roll-call vote up to the end of the tenth session, viz., Australia, Brazil, China, New Zealand, Norway, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A. There were 462 roll-call votes in this period. Sixteen states were admitted to the General Assembly on December 1955. Only four of these viz., Ceylon, Hungary, Roumania, and Spain took part in the remaining six roll-call votes in the tenth session. Ceylon, Roumania, and Spain all were absent when one of these roll-call votes were held.

TABLE 7

Abstenteeism, 1946-1956.

No. of Absences	States	
80 and over	Costa Rice,	El Salvador
	Paraguay	
60 -79	Guatemala	Haiti
	Honduras	Panama
	Union of South Africa	
40 - 59	Iceland	Nicaragua
20 -39	Afghanistan	Ecuador
	Ethiopia	France
	Iraq	Lebanon
	Liberia	Luxembourg
	Thailand	Turkey
	Yemen	
10 - 19	Bolivia	Burma
	Colombia	Cuba
	Mexico	Pakistan
	Peru	Saudi Arabia
	Syria	Uruguay
3 - 9	Argentina	Dominican Republic
	Egypt	Greece
	India	Iran
	Israel	Philippines
	Turkey	Venezuela
1 - 2	Belgium	Canada
	Chile	Denmark
	Indonesia	Netherlands
	Sweden	Soviet Bloc (but for the Ukraine)

TABLE 8
Absenteeism, 1956-1959.

No. of Absences	States	
50 and over	Union of South Africa	
20 - 49	France	
	Hungary	
	Jordan	
	Morocco	
	Nicaragua	
10 - 19	Bolivia	
	Ethiopia	
	Laos	
	Lebanon	
3 - 9 ¹	Haiti	Costa Rica
	Honduras	El Salvador
	Iceland	Greece
	Nepal	Iran
	Panama	Israel
	Philippines	Liberia
	Libya	Luxembourg
	Paraguay	Peru
	Saudi Arabia	Sudan
	Tunisia	Yemen
	Yugoslavia	

1. The remaining Members were absent on fewer than three occasions when roll-call votes were held in this period from the first emergency session in November, 1956.

Absenteeism was most prevalent ^malong the Latin American states up to the end of the tenth session.

In the second period, from the first emergency session to the end of the fourteenth session, the Union of South Africa was absent fifty-four times out of 188 roll-call votes. Only ten states were absent on ten occasions or more. France, Hungary, and the Union of South Africa were absent when items which concerned them intimately were being discussed. No fewer than thirty-three states were present and participated in each of the 188 roll-call votes in the period.

There was therefore a falling-off in the tendency towards absenteeism in the later sessions especially where the Latin American states were concerned. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. did not miss any roll-call votes through absenteeism. But the Soviet bloc 'did not participate' in one roll-call vote on the Korean situation. On the other hand France and the Union of South Africa did not attend when their policies were under attack. The Union of South Africa was in a position similar to the U.S.S.R. in that it was virtually isolated in the Assembly. But France was absent when its allies were managing to prevent the adoption of draft resolutions offensive to France.

(iv) Groups

There are several criteria for the composition of groups of states which might be expected to vote identically or almost identically in certain situations. The content of the groups would vary with the nature of the item in question. However this study is not primarily concerned with bloc or group politics in the General Assembly.¹ But it is convenient and enlightening to discuss the agreements and disagreements among certain defined groups of states. These groups have been chosen in the light of experience in determining the most convenient and enlightening way of describing voting behaviour on the political issues discussed in this thesis. The groups are based in part upon geographical location, and in part upon other factors which tend to unite certain states when they vote on certain issues. The latter groups include the Arab states, the Soviet bloc, and the White Commonwealth states. The former groups include the African states not accounted for by the Arab states and the White Commonwealth states, the Asian states, the Latin American states, and the Western European states. The U.S.A. is not included in any group.

1. For an account of 'bloc' politics c.f. T. Hovet, Bloc Politics at the United Nations.

The Soviet bloc is acknowledged to be the only bloc at the United Nations, i.e., "its members almost always act in unison".¹ It consisted of six members up to the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform in June 1948. In this study therefore, the Soviet bloc comprises six members through to the end of the second special session; it then comprises five members till the admission to the General Assembly of four more members in December 1955, i.e., during the tenth session. The original five members, apart from Yugoslavia, were Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine and the U.S.S.R. The additional members were Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Roumania. Hungary and Roumania took part in roll-call voting in the tenth session. Albania and Bulgaria did not.

The Arab states numbered five up to the admission of Yemen on 30th September 1947, i.e., prior to the second roll-call vote in the second regular session. The five were Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Therefore there were six Arab states in the General Assembly from the plenary meeting in the second regular session through to the 555th plenary meeting in the tenth session. Jordan and Libya were admitted to the General Assembly at this point.² But the group of eight members lasted only

1. Sidney D. Bailey, "The General Assembly of the United Nations," p.28

2. Jordan took part in subsequent roll-call voting in the tenth session.

till the 574th plenary meeting in the eleventh session when Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia were admitted. The group was subsequently reduced to ten members from the beginning of the third emergency special session when the United Arab Republic replaced Egypt and Syria in the General Assembly.

The White Commonwealth states numbered five throughout the nineteen sessions. The members are Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the United Kingdom. The number of Latin American states also remained constant throughout the period discussed in this study. The twenty original Members of the United Nations from Latin America were Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The African states not included in the Arab group or the White Commonwealth group had numbered only four by the end of the fourteenth session. Ethiopia and Liberia were original Members of the United Nations. Ghana was admitted at the 668th plenary meeting in the eleventh session.¹

1. Ghana took part in only the final roll-call vote of the eleventh session.

Guinea was admitted at the 789th plenary meeting in the thirteenth session, and participated in the final six roll-call votes in that session.

Only five Asian states were original Members of the United Nations, viz., China, India, Iran, Philippines, and Turkey.¹ Afghanistan and Thailand had been admitted to the United Nations by the end of the second part of the first regular session but Thailand took no part in the roll-call voting in that session being admitted on 15th December 1946; Afghanistan voted throughout the second part of the first session, being admitted on the 19th November 1946. Pakistan was admitted on 30th September 1947 so that eight Asian states took part in all but the first roll-call vote in the second regular session. Burma was admitted on the 19th April 1948 but did not participate in voting till the beginning of the third session. Israel was admitted at the 207th plenary meeting and voted in the final twenty-five roll-call votes in the third session. Indonesia was admitted on 28th September 1950 so that eleven Asian states were Members of the General Assembly from the second roll-call vote in the fifth session through to the thirtieth roll-call vote at the 555th plenary meeting in the tenth session when Cambodia, Ceylon, Laos, and Nepal were admitted.

1. Unless otherwise stated, and always when the line-up on a roll-call vote is being discussed, the China referred to is Nationalist China.

Ceylon was the only new state to take part in the remaining six roll-call votes in that session. Japan was admitted at the 623rd plenary meeting so that sixteen Asian states took part in the final seventeen roll-call votes in the eleventh session. Finally Malaya was admitted on 17th September 1957 so that seventeen Asian states were Members from the second roll-call vote in the twelfth session to the end of the period covered in this study.

Seven Western European states were among the fifty-one original Members, viz., Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands and Norway. Iceland and Sweden were admitted on 19th November 1946 and both took part in roll-call voting from the first roll-call in the second part of the first session. These were therefore nine Western European states through to the thirtieth roll-call vote in the tenth session. Austria, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain were admitted at this point. Only Spain participated in roll-call voting in the tenth session. There were therefore fifteen Western European states from the beginning of the eleventh session.

Table 9 illustrates the increasing Membership of the General Assembly.

TABLE 9

Increase in Assembly Membership by Sessions

Session	Membership at Commencement	Membership at Termination
1st Regular (i)	51	51
1st Regular (ii)	51	55
1st Special	55	55
2nd Regular	55	57
2nd Special	57	58
3rd Regular	58	59
4th Regular	59	59
5th Regular	59	60
	Membership	Constant
10th Regular	60	76
First and Second Emergency	76	76
Eleventh	76	81
Twelfth	81	82
Thirteenth	81	82
Fourteenth	82	82

CHAPTER II

THE COLD WAR

(i) Early Disputes

Roll-call voting on several items in the Cold War was completed by the end of the sixth session thereby affording the opportunity of illustrating the early development of voting patterns on this important political theme. The first item, the question of Franco Spain, is most important in showing the influence of the Cold War on a political issue which was not a source of disagreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. at the first session of the General Assembly.

The Spanish Question.

Sixteen roll-call votes have been held on the issue of "Relations with Franco Spain." Table 10 illustrates the distribution of these roll-call votes.

TABLE 10

Distribution of Roll-Call Votes on the Spanish Question.

Session	Number of Roll-Call Votes
1	2
2	3
3	8
5	3
TOTAL	16

The source of the problem was Spain's behaviour during the Second World War. The history of the roll-call voting on the subject in the Assembly was most remarkable for the intrusion of the Cold War.

At Potsdam and San Francisco pronouncements had been made to the effect that Spain did not possess the necessary requirements for admission to the United Nations Organisation. At the twenty-sixth plenary meeting in February 1946 a resolution (A/40), sponsored by Panama, was adopted by 46 votes to 2, El Salvador and Nicaragua opposing the resolution. The resolution recalled the pronouncements of Potsdam and San Francisco, and, in endorsing these statements, recommended that Members should act in accordance with them in the conduct of their relations with Spain.

At the fifth-ninth plenary meeting in December 1946 a First Committee resolution (A/241) calling for the withdrawal of Members' Ambassadors and Ministers plenipotentiary from Madrid, and debarring Spain from membership of international agencies connected with the United Nations, was adopted by 34 votes to 6, with 13 absentions. Argentina, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Peru opposed this resolution. The states which abstained included three Latin American states, viz., Colombia, Cuba, and Honduras; four Arab states, viz., Egypt, Lebanon,

Saudi Arabia, and Syria; and Afghanistan, Canada, Greece, the Netherlands, Turkey, and the Union of South Africa.

In the second session three roll-call votes were held at the 118th plenary meeting on the paragraphs of a First Committee resolution (A/479). The Soviet bloc at this time was demanding strong action against Spain. The first paragraph noted that the Secretary-General had informed the Assembly of the steps taken in pursuance of the Assembly's recommendations in December 1946. The second reaffirmed the resolution adopted in December 1946, which is described above. The third paragraph expressed the confidence that the Security Council would exercise its responsibilities as soon as it considered the situation in Spain to warrant this exercise. The second paragraph was not adopted because it failed to obtain the required two-third majority.

Twenty-eight states supported the adoption of each of the three paragraphs. Eight Latin American states voted in this way, viz., Chile, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The Soviet bloc also supported every paragraph, while China, Ethiopia, India, Iran, and Liberia joined with New Zealand and the United Kingdom in voting in this way. Finally seven European states, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Luxembourg, Norway, and Sweden, brought the total to twenty-eight states.

Eight states abstained all together, viz., Afghanistan, Colombia, Ecuador, and Pakistan; and four Arab states, viz., Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia. Five Latin American states opposed the adoption of every paragraph, viz., Argentina, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Peru. Bolivia supported the first two paragraphs but abstained on the third. Greece, Turkey, and the Union of South Africa abstained twice but opposed the second paragraph. The important voting behaviour leading to the rejection of the second paragraph, was carried out by the eight states which supported the first and third paragraphs but opposed the second paragraph. Brazil, Honduras, and Nicaragua voted in this way along with Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, Philippines, and the U.S.A. The voting on the second paragraph was 29 in favour, 16 against, with 8 abstentions.

At the 214th plenary meeting in the third session one roll-call vote was held on a resolution (A/852), sponsored by Bolivia and Brazil, and seven roll-call votes were held on one resolution (A/860) sponsored by Poland. The Bolivian-Brazilian resolution represented an attempt, in view of the rejection of the paragraph in the second session, to have the Assembly confirm that Members therefore had full freedom of action as regards their diplomatic relations with Spain. The resolution failed

to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority; 26 nations voted in favour, 15 against, and 16 abstained. The opposition came from the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, Australia, India, Israel, New Zealand, and Norway, and four Latin American states, viz., Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, and Uruguay. Twelve Latin American states supported the resolution, as did the six Arab States, and Greece, Iceland, Liberia, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, and the Union of South Africa. Six Western European states abstained, viz., Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Sweden; Afghanistan, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Ethiopia, Haiti, Iran, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A. also abstained. Costa Rica and Cuba were absent throughout the roll-call voting in this session.

The Polish resolution recommended harsher measures against Franco Spain, including an arms boycott and an end to the signing of new treaties and agreements with Spain. The voting was on the first seven paragraphs which did not include any recommendations but recalled the previous pronouncements, the sufferings of the Spanish people, and which considered the government of General Franco to have been imposed with the aid of the Axis Powers.

Every paragraph was rejected by a considerable margin. The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia supported every paragraph and obtained support on all but the seventh paragraph; but this support never amounted to more than four states. France and Guatemala both voted five times with the Soviet bloc. India and Israel supported the paragraph asserting the help of the Axis Powers in establishing the government of General Franco. The seventh paragraph which was rejected by 46 votes to 6, with 4 abstentions, considered the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom to have violated previously adopted resolutions by strengthening their political and economic relations with Franco Spain. Burma, Haiti, Israel, and Uruguay abstained on this paragraph but all except Israel abstained completely on the roll-call voting on this resolution, i.e. on each of the seven paragraphs.

On the first six paragraphs the number of abstentions varied between thirteen and twenty. Nine states abstained on each of these paragraphs including four Asian states, viz., Afghanistan, Burma, Iran, and Thailand, and Australia, Ethiopia, Haiti, New Zealand, and Uruguay. Twenty-six states opposed every paragraph. Eleven Latin American states voted in this way, viz., Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. Every European states except France also



opposed the adoption of each of these paragraphs, as did Canada, China, Pakistan, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A.

Chile, Panama, and the Philippines abstained five times. Ecuador, Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria abstained once only, while Iraq, Liberia, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen abstained two or three times. India abstained five times but supported the third paragraph; Israel abstained four times, supported the third paragraph, and opposed the fifth.

In the fifth session three roll-call votes were held at the 304th plenary meeting on an Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/1473). The first paragraph of this resolution proposed to revoke the recommendation, made in 1946, that states withdraw their Ambassadors from Madrid. The second paragraph proposed to revoke the recommendation, again made in 1946, to debar Spain from membership in international agencies connected with the United Nations organisation. The first paragraph was adopted by 38 votes to 10, with 12 abstentions; the second paragraph was adopted by 39 votes to 10, with 11 abstentions. Finally the voting on the resolution as a whole was identical to that on the first paragraph. Australia supported the second paragraph but abstained on

the first paragraph and on the resolution as a whole. Ten states opposed the resolution in whole and in part. Guatemala, Israel, Mexico, and Uruguay joined the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia in opposition to the resolution. Eleven states abstained completely, viz., Burma, Cuba, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, India, Indonesia, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The remaining thirty-eight states supported the resolution in whole and in part.

This completed the roll-call voting on this issue. However, when Spain was admitted to membership in December 1955, two states abstained on the resolution proposing that Spain be admitted. Mexico and Belgium were the only states present in the Assembly not to support the resolution.

The important point to be noted in the roll-call voting on this paragraph was the intrusion of the Cold War into an issue which derived from the 1930s. Riggs notes that the United States was never at ease concerning any of the measures taken against Spain at any time.¹ Israel's behaviour can be explained by that state's natural antipathy towards any state which had collaborated with Nazi Germany. This antipathy was illustrated when one

1. Riggs, op.cit. pp.94-96.

roll-call vote was held on the possibility of holding free elections with a view to uniting East and West Germany. Israel was the only state to vote with the Soviet bloc against the establishment of a committee to examine the possibility.

The Latin American states tended towards one of two extremes. El Salvador opposed the measures against Spain from the first roll-call vote; and Argentina, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, and Peru acted in this way from the second vote. Guatemala consistently supported harsh measures against Spain; Mexico and Uruguay also tended strongly to vote this way but neither supported the Polish resolution (A/860). Cuba abstained or was absent when twelve of the sixteen votes were held. Ecuador abstained three times in the second session and once in the third, but otherwise voted identically with Argentina. Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Venezuela voted identically with El Salvador from the third session onwards. Chile, Haiti, and Panama joined El Salvador in the fifth session after mainly abstaining in the third session.

In the fifth session only Guatemala, Israel, Mexico, and Uruguay voted with the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia against the U.S.A. and sixteen Latin American states in an attempt to prolong diplomatic sanctions

against Spain. Burma, Ethiopia, India, and Indonesia were the only African or Asian states not to oppose the U.S.S.R. in the fifth session. Even Afghanistan, after abstaining eleven times prior to the fifth session, supported ending the measures against Spain. The others states which did not vote with the U.S.A. in the fifth session included France, which had always been a bitter opponent of Franco Spain, and Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and New Zealand and the United Kingdom who had also tended to support harsh measures and to oppose or at least abstain when attempts were made to end such measures. But when the Soviet bloc attempted to condemn states for intercourse with Spain only four states failed to vote with the U.S.A. against the bloc and Yugoslavia.

The Greek Question.

Eleven roll-call votes were held on the subject of "Threats to the Territorial Integrity and Political Independence of Greece," Three of these were held in the second session, one in the third session, and seven in the fourth session. The problem derived from the guerrilla warfare being waged in northern Greece which led to charges by Greece that Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia were aiding the guerrillas. The Soviet bloc replied that the situation, though it constituted a threat to peace as a

result of frontier incidents between Greece and that country's northern neighbours, was caused by foreign interference in Greek internal affairs. The presence of British troops in Greece constituted the foreign interference referred to by the Soviet bloc. The content of the resolutions which were the subject of roll-call votes concerned the cause of the situation and measures to solve the problem. But only one roll-call vote, the first, was on a resolution not submitted by a member of the Soviet bloc. And on eight out of the eleven roll-call votes the Soviet bloc obtained no positive support, at all apart from Yugoslavia in the third and fourth sessions.¹ The roll-call votes on this problem therefore are of prime interest as the first major occasion where the Soviet bloc is virtually isolated in the Assembly. Greece, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A. were opposed to the Soviet bloc on every roll-call vote which makes it possible to regard the number of abstentions by any one state as an indication of that state's support in the Assembly for the U.S.A. on this item of the Cold War, the greater the number of abstentions the smaller the support for the U.S.A.

1. Yugoslavia is not considered a member of the bloc following its expulsion from the Cominform in June 1948.

The first roll-call vote in the second session was held at the 100th plenary meeting on a resolution contained in the report of the First Committee (A/409). The resolution which was adopted by 40 votes to 6, with 11 abstentions, noted a report of a commission of investigation which had found, by a majority, that Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia had given assistance to the guerrillas; it called on these three states not to perform such actions and to co-operative with Greece in settling their disputes; and it instituted a United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans to assist the four governments in complying with its recommendations and to observe how far they did so. Five Arab states, viz., Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen abstained as did Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Afghanistan, Guatemala, and India were the other states which abstained.

The opposite point of view was contained in a resolution (A/411) submitted by Poland which called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and military missions from Greece, and requested all the governments concerned to report to the Secretary-General on the progress made. This resolution was defeated by 34 votes to 7, with 16 abstentions. Egypt voted with the six members of the Soviet bloc; and China, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan joined the remaining ten states which had abstained on the First Committee's resolution.

The third roll-call vote in the second session saw the defeat by 41 votes to 6, with 10 abstentions, of the resolution (A/416) submitted by the U.S.S.R., The resolution emphatically blamed the Greek authorities for the frontier incidents and attributed the situation in general to foreign interference; a solution was to be approached through the co-operation of the four governments most intimately concerned. The opposition to the U.S.S.R. increased to forty-one states when China, Ethiopia, and Pakistan, and Denmark, Norway, and Sweden voted with the U.S.A.. Egypt reverted to abstaining along with Afghanistan, Guatemala, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen.

The single roll-call vote in the third session was held at the 167th plenary meeting on the third operative paragraph of a resolution (A/729) submitted by the U.S.S.R. The paragraph which requested the Greek Government not to discriminate against the people of Albanian and Macedonian origin, was rejected by 37 votes to 7, with 10 abstentions. The Philippines supported this paragraph as did Yugoslavia. Afghanistan, Burma, Denmark, Ecuador, Haiti, Iraq, Liberia, Paraguay, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela abstained. India was absent.

There were seven roll-call votes at the 264th plenary meeting in the fourth session on a resolution (A/1063) submitted once again by the U.S.S.R.¹ There was one roll-call vote on the preamble and the first paragraph, one roll-call vote on the second paragraph and sub-paragraph (a), and one roll-call vote each on sub-paragraphs (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f). The provisions in the resolution included an appeal to the conflicting parties to cease military operation with a view to normalising the situation; a recommendation for a general amnesty; the holding of general and free parliamentary elections, to be supervised by representatives of the U.S.S.R, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A.; the establishment of a joint commission to supervise frontiers with Greece; the cessation of military assistance to the Greek Government and a time limit on the withdrawal of foreign troops; and the dissolution of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans. Yugoslavia supported the Soviet bloc six times but voted against the proposal for the establishment of a joint commission to supervise frontiers, including Yugoslavia's frontier, with Greece. Haiti and Yemen supported the appeal for the cessation of military operations; twenty-three states abstained on

1. Costa Rica was absent when all seven roll-call votes were held.

this part of the resolution. In contrast sub-paragraph (c), dealing with the Special Committee on the Balkans, was rejected by 51 votes to 6, with 1 abstention. Israel abstained on every roll-call vote.

Nine states abstained on at least four out of seven roll-call votes. Table II illustrates the behaviour of those states which abstained more than once on this item either prior to the fourth session or in the fourth session. Burma, China, Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia, Paraguay, and Venezuela abstained once prior to the fourth session. The Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Peru, and the Philippines abstained once in the fourth session.

The only Members to vote with the Soviet bloc apart from Yugoslavia were Egypt, Haiti, Philippines, and Yemen. Seven states abstained more than five times out of the eleven roll-call votes held; these states were, in order of the number of abstentions, Afghanistan, Guatemala, India, Yemen, Israel, Ecuador, and Saudi Arabia. Iran, Syria, and Uruguay abstained five times. The only Western European state not to support the U.S.A. completely in the fourth session was France.

Sixty-eight per cent of the Assembly opposed the Soviet bloc on the eleven roll-call votes held on this item. Seventeen per cent of the Assembly abstained.

TABLE ¹²
II

Propensity to Abstain on the Greek Question

State	Abstentions Prior to 4th Session	Abstentions in 4th Session.	Total
Afghanistan	4	5	9
Argentina	0	3	3
Colombia	0	4	4
Denmark	3	0	3
Ecuador	2	4	6
Egypt	2	0	2
France	0	2	2
Guatemala	3	6	9
Honduras	0	2	2
India	3	6	9
Iran	2	3	5
Iraq	3	1	4
Israel	0	7	7
Lebanon	3	1	4
Mexico	0	4	4
Norway	2	0	2
Pakistan	1	2	3
Saudi Arabia	4	2	6
Sweden	2	0	2
Syria	3	2	5
Thailand	0	3	3
Uruguay	0	5	5
Yemen	3	5	8

The Violation of Human Rights in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.

During the third and fourth sessions seven roll-call votes were held on resolutions dealing with events in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. Five of the votes occurred in the third session.

Three roll-call votes dealt with the "Violation of fundamental human rights" by the U.S.S.R. with respect to the prevention of Soviet women married to other nationalities to leave the U.S.S.R. to join their husbands. A Soviet proposal to delete the recommendation in the General Committee's report (A/653) that this item be placed on the agenda of the third session was defeated at the 142nd plenary meeting by 30 votes to 7, with 17 abstentions. Burma voted with the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia. Denmark, France, Luxembourg, and the Union of South Africa abstained along with five Arab states; Lebanon opposed the Soviet proposal. Eight African and Asian states also abstained, viz., Afghanistan, China, Ethiopia, Iran, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey. India and Liberia voted with the U.S.A. in opposing a proposal which would have prevented discussion of the item.

Two roll-call votes were held at the 197th plenary meeting when the Assembly debated this item. A Chilean amendment (A/828) which supplemented a resolution in the

report of the Sixth Committee (A/787) and the resolution itself were adopted in separate roll-call votes by 39 votes to 6, with 11 abstentions. The resolution recommended to the government of the U.S.S.R. that it withdraw the measures it had adopted which prevented or coerced the wives of citizens of other nationalities from leaving the U.S.S.R. to join their husbands. Such practices were held to be contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter. The Chilean amendment was necessitated by the adoption and signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The resolution had been drafted with references to the draft Declaration of Human Rights, i.e., prior to the adoption of the draft Declaration. No state apart from the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia opposed the adoption of the amendment or the resolution. The eleven states which abstained on these two-roll-call votes included nine states, viz., Afghanistan, China, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Saudi Arabi, Syria, the Union of South Africa, and Yemen, which had abstained on the Soviet attempt to delete the item from the agenda. Burma and India also abstained on the amendment and the resolution.

Three roll-call votes were held in the third session at the 203rd plenary meeting on one Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/844) which dealt with the

observance of fundamental freedoms and human rights in Bulgaria and Hungary. The Assembly had been asked by Bolivia to discuss this topic in view of alleged persecution of the clergy in these countries. There was one roll-call vote on the first part of the preambular paragraph, another on the remainder of the preamble and on the one operative paragraph, and a final roll-call vote on the resolution as a whole. The first part of the preamble merely stated that one of the purposes of the United Nations was to achieve international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. This part was adopted by 40 votes to 0, with 9 abstentions. Czechoslovakia and Byelorussia voted for this part, while Poland, Ukraine, and the U.S.S.R. abstained. Afghanistan, Burma, India, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Venezuela also abstained. The remainder of the preamble noted that the governments of Bulgaria and Hungary had been accused before the Assembly of acts contrary to the purposes of the United Nations. The operative paragraph 'most urgently' drew the attention of the two Governments to their obligations under the Peace Treaties, and 'decided' to retain the question on the agenda of the fourth session.

The voting on both the remaining part of the resolution and on the resolution in its entirety was 34 votes in favour, 6 votes against, with 9 abstentions. Afghanistan, Burma, Iran, India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Venezuela, and Yemen abstained. Nine states were absent when these votes were held.

The single roll-call vote in the fourth session at the 232nd plenary meeting led to the adoption of an Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/1023) by 47 votes to 5, with 7 abstentions. The resolution noted that the refusal of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Roumania, to co-operate in efforts to examine the 'grave' changes had justified the Assembly's concern; one paragraph in the resolution asked the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on four questions relating to the peace treaties. The states which abstained were Afghanistan, India, Israel, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Yugoslavia.

This was the final roll-call vote on this item. Table 12 gives the propensity to abstain for those states which abstained more than once on either of the items. There were seven roll-call votes in all.

TABLE 12

Propensity to Abstain on Violation of Human
Rights by the U.S.S.R. and East European States.

State	Item referring to the U.S.S.R.	Item referring to the -East European states	Total Abstentions
Afghanistan	3	4	7
Burma	2	3	5
China	3	0	3
India	2	4	6
Iran	3	2	5
Iraq	3	0	3
Pakistan	3	3	6
Saudi Arabia	3	4	7
Syria	3	3	6
Union of S.Africa	3	0	3
Venezuela	0	3	3
Yemen	3	3	6

Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Israel, Luxembourg, Poland, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia each abstained once. Sixty-two per cent of the Assembly, including the U.S.A., voted against the Soviet bloc on the item dealing with the U.S.S.R.'s policy while 22.9% of the Assembly abstained. On the item referring to Bulgaria, Hungary, and Roumania 65.7% of the Assembly opposed the Soviet bloc on the three roll-call votes in which the Soviet bloc voted against the U.S.A., i.e. this figure does not include the part of resolution (A/844) which was adopted without any votes cast against it. Only once did another member, viz., Burma, besides Yugoslavia vote with the Soviet bloc. An interesting abstention on the item referring to the U.S.S.R. was the Union of South Africa. It was noticeable that China abstained on the reference to the U.S.S.R. but not on the references to Eastern Europe while Philippines and Thailand hardly abstained at all. Egypt tended to support the U.S.A. but Saudi Arabia and Syria had a high propensity to abstain.

Germany.

One solitary roll-call vote has been held on the subject of the division of Germany. In the sixth session an Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/2021)

sought to solve the problem by proposing the establishment of a commission to ascertain whether the two zones of Germany were ready for free elections. The resolution requested all authorities to assist the commission. The resolution was adopted at the 356th plenary meeting by 45 votes to 6, with 8 abstentions. Israel was the only state to oppose the resolution apart from the Soviet bloc. Four Asian states abstained, viz., Afghanistan, Burma, India, and Indonesia. But although nineteen Latin American states supported the resolution, Argentina abstained because of a fear that the action prompted by the resolution would lead to an interference in the internal affairs of a state. The Soviet bloc opposed the resolution on such grounds. Sweden also abstained as did Yugoslavia and Yemen.

Charges of American Aggression.

Two roll-call votes have been held on an item concerning alleged aggression by the U.S.A. In the sixth session a resolution (A/2031) sponsored by the U.S.S.R. was rejected at the 350th plenary meeting by 41 votes to 5, with 11 abstentions. The resolution attempted to have the U.S.A. 'condemned' for the 1951 Mutual Security Act as subversive and aggressive in the international sense; the U.S.A. was recommended to repeal the Act.

The states which did not vote with the U.S.A. included Guatemala in addition to six Asian states and four Arab states, viz., Afghanistan, Burma, India, Indonesia, Iran, and Pakistan, and Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen.

In the eleventh session, at the 655th plenary meeting, a General Committee recommendation (A/3533) that an item, "Question of aggressive acts by U.S.A. constituting a threat to peace and security," be not placed on the agenda of the eleventh session was adopted by 52 votes to 13, with 12 abstentions. Hungary was absent, but Egypt, India, Jordan, Syria, and Yugoslavia joined the Soviet bloc in opposing the recommendation. Once again six Asian states abstained; viz., Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Nepal, and Pakistan. Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, and Yemen also abstained as did Finland. Iraq, Lebanon, and Libya voted with the U.S.A.

The Political Independence and Territorial Integrity of China.

Nationalist China complained to the General Assembly in September 1949 that the U.S.S.R. had violated the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of August 14th, 1945 and the Charter of the United Nations. Four roll-call votes were held on this item of which two occurred during the 273rd plenary meeting in the fourth session, one during

the 314th plenary meeting in the fifth session, and one during the 369th plenary meeting in the sixth session. The Soviet bloc received more support on this item than on the items referring to Greece and to the observance of human rights in Eastern Europe. The numbers of states abstaining was also higher. In fact Riggs notes that the U.S.A. had great difficulty in obtaining support for its point-of-view on this item, especially when it wanted to criticise the U.S.S.R. severely.¹

In the fourth session two roll-call votes were held on the second of two First Committee resolutions (A/1215). The first part of this resolution was deemed procedural; it referred the item to the Interim Committee of the Assembly for continuous study in the light of the first resolution which asked all states to respect China's territorial integrity. The second part of the resolution asked for Interim Committee to bring the item to the attention of the Secretary-General if the Committee deemed it necessary; this part was judged to be of a substantive nature. The first part was adopted by 25 votes to 4, with 16 abstentions.² The second part was adopted by 29 votes to 7, with 20 abstentions. The

1. Riggs, op. cit., p.101.

2. Czechoslovakia and thirteen other states were absent.

Soviet bloc opposed the Assembly majority each time; the Union of South Africa and Yugoslavia opposed the second part of the resolution.

In the fifth session one roll-call vote was held on resolution (A) in the First Committee report (A/1563); the resolution instructed the Interim Committee to continue inquiry on the item and to report to the Assembly at its next regular session. This resolution was adopted by 35 votes to 17, with 7 abstentions. In the sixth session one roll-call vote was held on a First Committee resolution (A/2098) which found that the U.S.S.R. had obstructed the efforts of the National Government of China to re-establish Chinese national authority in Manchuria, and declared that the U.S.S.R. had failed to carry out the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance. The resolution was adopted by 25 votes to 9, with 24 abstentions.

Table 13 illustrates fully the behaviour of those states which did not vote with the U.S.A. on one or more of the roll-call votes on this item. N denotes opposition to the U.S.A. Y denotes agreement with the U.S.A. The Soviet bloc of five states opposed the U.S.A. each time, apart from Czechoslovakia's one absence. This behaviour is not included in Table 13.

TABLE 13

Voting Behaviour on Chinese Political Independence,
Showing Opposition to U.S.A.

State	A/1215 part 1	A/1215 part 2	A/1563	A/2098
Afghanistan	A	A	A	A
Argentina	Ab	Y	Y	A
Australia	A	A	N	A
Belgium	Ab	Y	A	A
Brazil	A	A	Y	Y
Burma	Ab	A	N	N
Canada	A	A	N	A
Colombia	A	Y	Y	Y
Denmark	Ab	A	N	A
Egypt	A	Y	Y	A
Ethiopia	Ab	A	Y	A
France	Y	Y	A	A
Guatemala	Ab	Ab	Y	A
Iceland	Ab	Ab	N	A
India	A	A	N	N
Indonesia	Not yet admitted		A	N
Iran	Y	Y	Y	A
Israel	Y	A	N	N
Iraq	A	A	Y	Y
Luxembourg	Y	Y	A	A
Mexico	A	A	Y	A
Netherlands	A	A	A	A
New Zealand	Y	Y	Y	A
Nicaragua	A	Y	Y	Y
Norway	A	A	N	A
Pakistan	Y	Y	A	A
Philippines	Y	A	Y	Y
Saudi Arabia	Y	Y	Y	A
Sweden	A	A	N	A
Syria	Y	A	Y	A
Thailand	A	A	Y	Y
Union of S.Africa	Ab	N	N	Ab
United Kingdom	A	A	N	A
Venezuela	Ab	A	Y	Y
Yemen	A	A	Y	A
Yugoslavia	Ab	N	N	A

The U.S.A. depended heavily on Latin American support on this item. Guatemala and Mexico each voted with the U.S.A. once only but every other Latin American state voted at least three times with the U.S.A. But support for the U.S.A. from the Western European states was meagre. Only Greece voted four times with the U.S.A.. Only New Zealand of the White Commonwealth states voted even once with the U.S.A.. China and Turkey did however support the U.S.A. each time, while Iran, Liberia, Pakistan, Philippines, and Thailand voted two or three times with the U.S.A.. Iran and Pakistan did not however support the resolution which explicitly found the U.S.S.R. to have obstructed another state in its attempt to establish its sovereignty over part of its territory. The Arab states gave the U.S.A. considerable support however, and no Arab state voted against the U.S.A.

The United Kingdom representative expressed in debate a point-of-view which was fairly general among the states which did not support the U.S.A. on this item. This point-of-view included an unwillingness to take sides on the civil war in China; and later it was felt that further discussion on the subject was useless as the situation in China already had become part of history. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were to vote consistently against the U.S.A. on the item of Chinese representation. And the United Kingdom acted in this way in the fifth session.

Only 47.8% of the Assembly, including the U.S.A. opposed the Soviet bloc on this item while 22.9% of the Assembly abstained. And in addition to the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia several states, not just one state, voted against the U.S.A.

The important fact about roll-call voting on the items discussed in this early period was the ability of the U.S.A. and its supporters in the Assembly to defeat the U.S.S.R. by a comfortable majority. The item concerning Chinese political independence however saw a substantial drop in the number of Members voting with the U.S.A. and an increase in the number of Members, outside of the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, voting against the U.S.A. The Spanish question was of a different nature in that it did not concern actions by the U.S.S.R. or East European communist states.

Tables 14 and 15 illustrates the propensity to abstain of Arab and Asian on three of the items discussed in this section, viz., the Greek question, the items referring to violation of human rights, and the item concerning Chinese political independence. Twenty-two roll-call votes were held on these items. Afghanistan and India had by far the highest propensity to abstain among the Asian states followed by Iran, Israel, and Pakistan.

TABLE 14Propensity to Abstain of Asian States on Early Cold War Items ¹

	Greek Question	Violation of human rights.	Chinese Political Independence	Total
China	1	3	0	4
Afghanistan	9	7	4	20
Burma	1	5	1	7
India	9	6	2	17
Indonesia	Not yet admitted		1	
Israel	7	1	2	10
Pakistan	3	6	2	11
Philippines	1	1	1	3
Thailand	3	1	2	6
Turkey	0	1	0	1
Iran	5	5	1	11

TABLE 15

Propensity to Abstain of Arab States on Early Cold War Items.

Egypt	2	1	2	5
Iraq	4	3	2	9
Lebanon	4	0	0	4
Saudi Arabia	6	7	1	14
Syria	5	6	2	13
Yemen	8	6	3	17

1. There were twenty-two roll-call votes on the three items included in Tables 14 and 15.

Burma had a relatively low propensity to abstain because it supported the U.S.A. on the Greek question. Turkey abstained once only while Philippines, China, and Thailand had low propensities to abstain. Indonesia was not admitted until the beginning of the fifth session. Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Syria also had high propensities to abstain. But Egypt and Lebanon gave considerable support to the U.S.A. in this early period. Iraq occupied an intermediate position. The only states to consistently tend to abstain were Asian or Arab states.

The Latin American states were strong supporters of the U.S.A., a fact emphasised by the voting figures on the issue of Chinese political independence. Guatemala tended to diverge considerably from the group's behaviour especially on the Spanish and Greek questions. Several other Latin American states, in particular Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, and Uruguay, abstained between three and six times out of nine roll-calls on the Greek question. Venezuela abstained three times on the charges against the Eastern European states concerning violation of human rights. But only Guatemala, and, to a lesser extent, Mexico diverged at all significantly from the group's strong support for the U.S.A.

(ii) Korea, Hungary and Suez

The General Assembly had to deal with two very important developments in the Cold War when hostilities broke out in Korea in 1950 and in Hungary in 1956. Voting on the Korean question provides an opportunity to examine the behaviour of Members over a lengthy period of time. The Hungarian question can be used to confirm or dispute the patterns developed both in the earliest issues and on the Korean question. The Suez question, debated in the Assembly at the same time as the Hungarian question, affords an interesting comparison since France, Israel, and the United Kingdom were the Members under attack, not the U.S.S.R.

Korea.

The problem of the independence of Korea, a legacy of the Second World War, was brought before the General Assembly by the U.S.A. in September 1947. The problem was subsequently magnified by the outbreak of hostilities in the summer of 1950. The involvement of United Nations forces in Korea makes this problem one of the most important of the issues which are discussed in this study. This important is reflected in the thirty-six roll-call votes held on the problem and its various

aspects. Table 16 illustrates how the thirty-six roll-call votes have been distributed.

TABLE 16

Distribution of 36 Roll-Call Votes on Korean Question

Session	Number of Roll-Calls
2	2
3	1
5	17
6	1
7	9
8	1
9	2
12	1
13	1
14	1
TOTAL	36

There are several points to be noted about these thirty-six roll-call votes. The Soviet bloc were alone in opposition to the Assembly majority on no fewer than twenty-five occasions, i.e. on 69.5% of the roll-call votes. And this same groups of five Members was the source of twenty of the roll-call votes, i.e., through the presentation of draft resolutions and amendments to the Assembly. In the fifth session the U.S.S.R. requested a roll-call vote on the three recitals and seven operative paragraphs which made up the Soviet bloc's draft resolution

(A/1426) dealing with the problem of the independence of Korea in the light of the Korean War. The ten roll-call votes on this resolution provided eight of the eleven occasions when the Soviet bloc was not alone in opposition to the Assembly majority. The voting on the parts of this resolution will be described in detail below because it illustrates the various degrees of opposition to the Soviet position, and the different voting policies of the Members with respect to the nature of each part. Some Members abstained on or supported the "harmless" provisions of the resolution such as an expression of hope for a cease-fire. The differences in policy will be illustrated completely below.

There was one draft resolution adopted during the fifth session with no votes cast against it; the Soviet bloc did not participate. The other interesting point of note is the voting behaviour of some members of what T. Hovet describes as the Asian-African Caucusing Group, led by India, which "concerned itself primarily with efforts to mediate the Korean dispute."¹ At this time the group is more appropriately known as the Asian-Arab group. Its "mediation" is reflected in its large propensity to abstain on the roll-call votes on the

1. Hovet, op. cit., p.79.

Korean question. Hovet gives the membership of this group in the fifth session as follows: Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen. It will be shown that some have a greater propensity to abstain than others.

The first roll-call vote was held at the beginning of the second session on a General Committee recommendation (A/392) that the "Problem of the Independence of Korea" be included in the agenda of the second session. The recommendation was adopted by 41 votes to 6, with 7 abstentions. The Soviet bloc of six alone opposed the inclusion. The abstaining members were Afghanistan, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Yemen had not been admitted to membership of the United Nations Organisation at this time so that every Arab state abstained on inclusion of the item of Korea in the second session. The Asian states, apart from Afghanistan, supported inclusion at this point.

When the item was discussed at the 112th plenary meeting one roll-call vote was held on the resolution (A/477) sponsored by the U.S.S.R. which urged the simultaneous withdrawal from Korea of the forces of both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. This action was to take place early in 1948 so that the Korean people themselves could by their own endeavours establish a "National

Government of Korea." The resolution was defeated by 34 votes to 7, with 16 abstentions. Egypt was the sole addition to the Soviet viewpoint, but dissatisfaction with the United States position on the problem was shown by the addition of three Scandinavian states, viz., Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; three Latin American states, viz., Guatemala, Haiti, and Mexico; and Iran, Liberia, Thailand, and Yemen to the six states which, with Egypt, had abstained on the roll-call vote on inclusion.

There was a single roll-call vote at the 187th plenary meeting in the third session on a First Committee resolution (A/788) which asked the Assembly to recognise the Government of South Korea following democratic elections there, to support the establishment of a Temporary United Nations Commission to facilitate the reunification of Korea; and the resolution recommended the withdrawal of the occupying powers. The resolution was adopted by 48 votes to 6, with 1 abstention. Yugoslavia voted with the Soviet bloc which now numbered five; Yugoslavia had been expelled from the Cominform prior to the commencement of the third session of the General Assembly. Sweden was the sole abstaining state.

A radical change in the importance of the Korean question to the Assembly occurred when it was discussed

during the fifth session following the outbreak of hostilities. At the 294th plenary meeting there were twelve roll-call votes on three resolutions sponsored by the U.S.S.R. or the Soviet bloc as a whole. Ten were held on one resolution (A/1426) sponsored by the whole bloc. The resolution consisted of three recitals or preambular paragraphs and seven operative paragraphs. No paragraph was adopted; there was therefore no need for a vote on the resolution as a whole. There was however considerable variation in the margin by which each paragraph was rejected. Three recitals and two of the operative paragraphs drew the support of at least fourteen states; one was supported by twenty-two states. But the remaining five operative paragraphs were rejected by wide margins, e.g., the fifth operative paragraph was rejected by 48 votes to 5, with 7 abstentions. Such paragraphs contained the essence of the Soviet proposals on settlement of the problem.

The preambular paragraphs noted that a unified independent Korea state had not been created, that the principal task of the United Nations Organisation was to secure the peaceful settlement of disputes, and that the aim of the Assembly was to re-establish peace and security in Korea and the Far East. The first operative paragraph recommended an immediate cease-fire; the second operative

paragraph recommended that the Government of the U.S.A. and other Governments with troops in Korea withdraw these troops. The third paragraph recommended all-Korean elections to the National Assembly; the free elections would be organised and conducted by a joint commission composed of North and South Koreans as provided for in the fourth paragraph. The fifth paragraph recommended that a United Nations Committee with representation for states bordering on Korea be established to observe the conduct of the elections. These five paragraphs were heavily defeated; on an average forty-six states voted against each paragraph, eight abstained, and six supported adoption. The third paragraph, the first to refer to elections, drew the support of Indonesia and Iran in addition to Yugoslavia which supported the first and fifth operative paragraphs. Several states voted with the Soviet bloc on the sixth and seventh operative paragraphs. The sixth, which recommended that the Economic and Social Council draw up plans to give economic and technical aid to the stricken Korean people, was defeated by 33 votes to 16, with all abstentions; while the seventh, which recommended that the Security Council consider the question of admitting Korea to membership of the United Nations Organisation after the establishment of the all-Korean Government, was defeated by only 25 votes to 22, with 13 abstentions.

It is enlightening to give in full the four types of voting action on this resolution. These actions indicate to some extent the strength of the support given to the U.S.A. stand on the Korean question in the Assembly. Seven Latin American states and seven Western European states joined Canada, China, New Zealand, Thailand, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, and the U.S.A. in opposing the adoption of every preambular and operative paragraph. The Latin American states were Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Panama, and Paraguay. The Western European states were Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and Sweden. Such states can be said to have been the strongest supporters of the United States at this time. The second type of voting also indicated strong support for the United States position in that the sixteen states concerned never once voted with the U.S.S.R. though they did abstain on at least one occasion. However one should not read too much into the fact of abstention on this resolution alone. The United Kingdom abstained four times, yet that state was one of strongest supporters of the U.S.A. in the Cold War both in the Assembly and, more importantly, outside the Assembly. The fact that the United Kingdom did abstain is interesting in that this

action corresponded to a reluctance to support the United States position on the representation of China in the same session and on the issue of Soviet violation of Chinese independence in the fourth, fifth, and sixth sessions.

The sixteen states and the number of times each abstained are described in Table 17.

The great support given to the United States by the Latin American states is illustrated by these first two types of voting action. Hesitancy in such support was shown to the greatest degree by Argentina, then by Uruguay and Venezuela. Mexico was the only Latin American state not included in the two types of voting behaviour described above.

There were six states which voted at least once with the Soviet bloc and which did not vote at all with the U.S.A. Table 18 illustrates the support given to the U.S.S.R. by these Members of whom four were Arab states.

The final type of voting action concerned the twelve states which opposed the adoption of one or more paragraphs, supported the adoption of others, and abstained when the remaining roll-call votes were held. These states and their voting actions are described in Table 19.

TABLE 17

Pro-U.S.A. Behaviour by 16 States on (A/1426)
Regarding Korean Question

State	No. of Abstentions	State	No. of Abstentions	State	No. of Abstentions
Argentina	6	El Salvador	2	Uruguay	4
Brazil	1	Guatemala	1	Australia	3
Chile	3	Haiti	2	France	1
Cuba	3	Honduras	1	Norway	2
Ecuador	2	Peru	1	U.Kingdom	4
		Venezuela	4		

TABLE 18

Pro-U.S.S.R. Behaviour by 6 States on (A/1426)
Regarding Korean Question

State	Votes with U.S.S.R.
Afghanistan	4
Egypt	6
Saudi Arabia	4
Syria	5
Yemen	5
Yugoslavia	6

TABLE 19

Behaviour of 12 States Voting with the U.S.A. and
the U.S.S.R. on Different Parts of (A/1426)

State	Voted with U.S.S.R.	Voted with U.S.A.	Abstained
Burma	5	1	4
Ethiopia	1	6	3
India	5	1	4
Indonesia	7	3	0
Iran	5	4	3
Iraq	4	5	1
Israel	4	4	2
Lebanon	2	2	6
Liberia	4	6	0
Mexico	1	7	2
Pakistan	1	5	4
Philippines	1	6	3

Ethiopia, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, and Philippines gave minute support to the Soviet proposals. Iraq, Iran, Israel, and Liberia gave considerable support, either forty or fifty per cent, but also opposed at least forty percent. Whereas Burma, India, and Indonesia gave much greater support than opposition to the U.S.S.R.'s proposals.

Paragraph-by-paragraph voting brings to light certain differences in attitudes which are not so obvious when a resolution is voted on as a whole.

Of the twenty-three roll-call votes still to be discussed, there was only one in which the Soviet position received any positive support. Nevertheless the number of abstentions varied considerably between nothing and ten before the influx of new Members from 1955 onwards, and between four and seventeen after 1955.

Two resolutions, (A/1427) and (A/1428), each sponsored by the U.S.S.R. and put to a roll-call vote at the same plenary meeting as the ten roll-call votes described above, were defeated by 52 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions, and by 55 votes to 5. The first resolution urged the Assembly to stop the "barbarous bombing" in Korea by the U.S.A. Syria, Yemen, and Yugoslavia abstained. Therefore, but for the Arab states, every grouping in the

Assembly outside of the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia opposed this resolution. This opposition became unanimous, including Yugoslavia, when the second resolution was put to a roll-call vote. The U.S.S.R. urged the Assembly to disband the United Nations Commission on Korea on the grounds that all United Nations action in Korea was illegal.

At the 302nd plenary meeting on 3rd November 1950 one of the most important decisions taken by the General Assembly was settled by a roll-call vote on a First Committee resolution (A/1456). This resolution is known as the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution. Strictly speaking this is not part of the Korean question, the provisions of the resolution being of universal application. In the United Nations Year Book (1950) the resolution is included under the heading "Measures for Strengthening World Peace." But the experience of the Korean question is so bound up with the drawing-up and adoption of the resolution that it is justifiable, and convenient, to discuss the resolution along with the resolutions which mention explicitly events in Korea. The resolution proposed that procedure for convening a special session to deal with threats to world peace be set up; that Members train armed forces which could be made available for service as United Nations forces

on the recommendation of the Security Council or of the General Assembly. It was this latter provision which aroused reservations among certain Members of the Assembly. Another important clause proposed that the Assembly make recommendation on any situation involving threats to peace and security if the Security Council was failing to act.

It was adopted by 52 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions. Riggs notes that several of the smaller states were pleased to see the Assembly's prestige and power increase.¹ But India abstained because of the implications of the passing of such a resolution when hostilities were actually occurring in Korea. Argentina also abstained, because of doubts that the Assembly was competent to pass such a resolution.

At the 314th plenary meeting on the 1st December 1950 an amendment (A/1579) submitted by the U.S.S.R. to a resolution (A/1567), sponsored by the Joint Second and Third Committees, was defeated by 50 votes to 5, with 1 abstention. The subject of the Committees' resolution was the "Rehabilitation of Korea." But the sense of the Soviet amendment was to the effect that there was no need for rehabilitation in Korea as a result of aggression by the armed forces of North Korea because the U.S.A., not

1. Riggs, op. cit., pp. 121-123.

North Korea, was the real aggressor. Only Yugoslavia abstained, although three Latin American states and Lebanon were absent. The Asian and Arab states opposed the amendment thus reflecting their mediatory vote which on several issues other than Korea involved a reluctance to condemn any particular state outright in any resolution which might be adopted by the Assembly. Such reluctance has not been shown on such issues as Apartheid, Suez, or French North Africa. Two of three roll-call votes with respect to Red China's actions in Korea illustrated this reluctance also. These roll-call votes, one each on resolutions from the First Committee, brought the roll-call voting on Korea in the fifth session to an end.

At the 324th plenary meeting on 14th December 1950 the First Committee's resolution (A/1717) was adopted by 52 votes to 5, with 1 abstention. The resolution did not mention Red China, but, 'noting' the grave situation in the Far East, it requested the President of the General Assembly to constitute a group of three persons, including himself, to determine the basis for a satisfactory ceasefire in Korea. China abstained and two Latin American states were absent.

However, at the 327th plenary meeting on 1st February 1951 the First Committee resolution (A/1770) was adopted by 44 votes to 7, with 9 abstentions. The

resolution explicitly condemned the People's Republic of China for aggressive interference in Korea. It also called on the Government of that state to cease its aggression.

Burma and India opposed the adoption of this resolution while Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Yemen, and Yugoslavia abstained. The resolution also called upon all states to lend every assistance to the United Nations action in Korea. The abstaining members took the view that all peaceful means of resolving the conflict had not yet been exhausted. India felt that the passing of such a resolution would help merely to prolong the struggle indefinitely. Sweden was the only state outside of the Asian and African continents to abstain on this condemnation.

On 18th May 1951 at the 330th plenary meeting, the First Committee resolution (A/1802) was adopted by 47 votes to 0, with 9 abstentions. The resolution, on the subject of "Additional Measures to be Employed to Meet Aggression in Korea," recommended that Members apply a limited embargo on the shipment of goods to areas under the control of the People's Republic of China. The embargo referred to materials which can be called 'strategic'. The Soviet bloc did not participate in this vote. Five Asian states, Afghanistan, Burma, India, Indonesia, and

Pakistan, abstained as did two Arab states, Egypt and Syria, and Sweden, Thailand and Philippines did not share their Asian companions' fear that such measures would merely aggravate the situation.

The solitary roll-call vote in the sixth session at the 375th plenary meeting led to the adoption of a resolution (A/2114) from the combined First Committee and Joint Second and Third Committees. The resolution recommended that the Assembly postpone discussion on the Korean problem until after a cease-fire had been reached. The resolution was adopted by 51 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions. Chile and Yemen abstained, while Peru and the Union of South Africa were absent.

There were nine roll-call votes in the seventh session. Three of these dealt with the special problem of the use of bacterial warfare. The charge that United Nations forces had used germ warfare in Korea had been brought by the U.S.S.R. The U.S.A. subsequently demanded that the issue be discussed at the General Assembly at the 386th plenary meeting. Two roll-call votes were held on proposals by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The Soviet proposal that representatives of the People's Republics of China and North Korea be invited to take part in discussions on the subject was defeated by 46 votes to 5, with 7 abstentions. Four Asian states, Burma, India,

Indonesia, and Iran; two Arab states, Egypt and Yemen; and Argentina abstained. Then, given that decision, the United States proposal that the item be discussed in the Assembly was adopted by 53 votes to 5, with 0 abstentions. Afghanistan and Pakistan were absent.

A First Committee resolution (A/2384) which proposed the establishment of a Commission to investigate the charges was adopted at the 428th plenary meeting in April 1953. The voting was 51 to 5, with 4 abstentions. Burma, India, Indonesia, and Saudi Arabia abstained.

Five of the remaining six roll-call votes in the seventh session concerned the subject of the "Rehabilitation of Korea." Three roll-call votes were held on Soviet amendments to a First Committee resolution (A/2278), one vote on the resolution itself, and one vote on a Soviet resolution. The source of the resolution prior to its adoption by the First Committee was India. The resolution requested that the President of the General Assembly communicate to the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China the proposals which were considered as forming a just and reasonable basis for an agreement so that an immediate cease-fire would ensue.¹

The resolution was adopted, following the roll-call votes on the Soviet amendments, by 54 votes to 5, with 1 abstention. China, the solitary state to abstain,

1. The proposals included the establishment of a commission to supervise the cease-fire.

did so because the Commission was to include representatives of Czechoslovakia and Poland.

The amendments (A/L117) proposed to replace paragraphs in the resolution so that the belligerents would be urged to cease fire at once, that a commission would be established to secure a peaceful settlement, and that it would be affirmed that prisoners would at all times be treated humanely.

Each amendment was rejected by 46 votes to 5, with 9 abstentions. Despite the fact that India had an intimate interest in the resolution that state and other Asian states abstained when the Soviet amendments were put to the vote. Burma abstained because the amendments were held to bear no logical connection to the resolution. The nine abstaining states were Afghanistan, Burma, India, Indonesia, and Iran, and four Arab states, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen.

A Soviet resolution (A/L118) was rejected by 40 votes to 5, with 11 abstentions. Argentina and Pakistan joined the nine states which had abstained on the three amendments. The resolution proposed the establishment of a commission for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question; the basis of the settlement was to be the unification of Korea to be effected by the Koreans themselves under the commission's supervision. The final roll-call vote in the seventh session dealt with the issue

of atrocities committed by United States military authorities against Korean and Chinese prisoners-of-war. A Soviet resolution (A/2355) requested the inclusion of this item in the next session. It was defeated at the 411th plenary meeting in December 1952 by 45 votes to 5, with 10 abstentions. Argentina opposed adoption so that the ten abstaining states were composed of the eleven states which abstained on the Soviet resolution (A/L118) described immediately above with of course the exception of Argentina.

The single roll-call vote in the eighth session also dealt with atrocities in Korea but the accused on this occasion were the North Koreans. A resolution (A/L169) sponsored by the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, France, Turkey, and Australia expressed grave concern at charges of such atrocities and condemned such acts. The voting was 42 to 5, with 10 abstentions. India was absent when this vote was held but Iraq and Yugoslavia abstained. Iraq had previously voted successively with the U.S.A. on thirteen roll-calls; while Yugoslavia had voted with the U.S.A. nine times in the seventh session. The other eight states to abstain were Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen.

Two roll-call votes on the Korean question were held in the ninth session. The first reaffirmed the

objectives of the United Nations as the achievement by peaceful means of a unified, independent and democratic Korea, and requested the Secretary-General to place the item on the provisional agenda of the tenth session. The First Committee resolution (A/2853) containing these objectives was adopted at the 510th plenary meeting by 50 votes to 5, with 4 abstentions. Burma, India, Indonesia, and Syria abstained.

The second roll-call vote in the ninth session led to the adoption at the 509th plenary meeting of a sixteen-power resolution (A/L182) on the subject of the imprisonment of United Nations personnel in violation of the Armistice Agreement. The resolution, which set out the details of the imprisonment and condemned the actions of the People's Republic of China in this matter, was adopted by 47 votes to 5, with 7 abstentions. Afghanistan, Burma, India, Indonesia, Syria, Yemen, and Yugoslavia abstained.

In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth sessions one roll-call vote was held on a similar resolution submitted by the First Committee. The resolution which reaffirmed the objectives of the United Nations called upon the communist authorities concerned to accept these objectives and to make them effective; it was adopted by a

similar count in each session, viz., 54 votes to 9, with 16 abstentions; 54 votes to 9, with 16 abstentions; and 54 votes to 9, with 17 abstentions. The Soviet bloc had been increased from five to nine states with the admission of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Roumania.

Eleven states abstained in every session. Five Asian states, Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, India, and Indonesia consistently abstained. Finland acted similarly, as did Ghana and Sudan. Yugoslavia, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen brought the number up to eleven. Egypt and Syria, combining as the United Arab Republic, abstained consistently also, but counted for one vote only in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions.

Nepal, Morocco, and Ceylon brought the total of abstentions to sixteen in the twelfth session. Two Arab states, Iraq and Libya, supported the resolution in the twelfth session.

In the thirteenth session the five states, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon, Morocco and Ceylon brought the total to seventeen. In the fourteenth session Guinea, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon, and Nepal abstained. Ceylon supported the resolution in this session, while Tunisia did not abstain at all.

Table 20 illustrates the voting records of the states which abstained on the roll-call votes following the ten roll-call votes on the Soviet resolution (A/1426) in the fifth session which are fully described above.

In the final three sessions 66.6% of the Assembly voted with the U.S.A. The states which abstained ten times or more on the final twenty-three roll-call votes were, in decreasing order according to the number of abstention, Indonesia, Burma, India, Yemen, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria. But one must note that not one single state, not even Yugoslavia, voted with the Soviet bloc in the last three sessions. This continued the trend which commenced in the fifth session following the exhaustive roll-call voting on the Soviet resolution (A/1426). It was interrupted once only when Burma and India voted against condemning Communist China for aggressive interference in Korea. Cambodia, Finland, Ghana, and Sudan abstained each time on this issue though they were admitted to the United Nations after most of the roll-call votes had already been held. Table 20 emphasises the consistent support given to the U.S.A. by the Latin American, Western European, and White Commonwealth states. The great majority of states which abstained were African, Arab, and Asian Members.

TABLE 20

Propensity to Abstain on Korean Question,
on 23 Roll-Calls.

State	No.of abstentions
Afghanistan	12
Argentina	3
Burma	14
Cambodia	3
Ceylon	2
Chile	1
China	2
Egypt	10
Finland	3
Ghana	3
Guinea	1
India	14
Indonesia	15
Iran	6
Iraq	3
Lebanon	2
Libya	2
Morocco	2
Nepal	2
Pakistan	5
Saudi Arabia	11
Sudan	3
Sweden	2
Syria	12
United Arab Republic	2
Yemen	14
Yugoslavia	8

Hungary.

The situation in Hungary was first discussed in the Assembly at the second emergency special session convened on the 4th November 1956. The great importance of the issue to the Assembly was shown in the thirty-three roll-call votes which had been held by the end of the fourteenth session. Fifteen were held in the second emergency session; fourteen were held in the eleventh regular session; and two were held in each of the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions. The voting behaviour on this issue can be divided into four categories according to the source of the roll-call vote. The nature of the subject of any roll-call vote depended to a large extent on its source.

Three votes were held on inclusion of the item, one in each of the eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth sessions. Four votes were held on amendments by Hungary to a four-power resolution on the subject of humanitarian assistance to the Hungarian people. Four roll-call votes were held on amendments and resolutions by states which can be said to have taken a mediatory role, viz., India, Ceylon, and Indonesia, and Austria. Finally twenty-two roll-call votes were held on resolutions submitted by the U.S.A. and its strongest supporters on this issue. The United Nations Yearbook (1956) differentiates between resolutions dealing

with the political situation in Hungary and those with the problem of humanitarian assistance to the Hungarian people. However the most suitable division of resolutions, especially with respect to the number of abstentions, is between those resolutions which were strongly critical of the rule of the governments of the U.S.S.R. and of Hungary, and those which were much less so. The latter referred to the matter of assistance mainly, but not all resolutions on assistance were non-controversial.

The issue of humanitarian assistance to the Hungarian people when no reference was made to the actions of the Hungarian or Soviet governments gave the interesting spectacle of the Soviet bloc not acting like a bloc, i.e., the Members did not vote identically. Neither, however, did they at any time oppose one another. But several, abstained at least once while the others supported or opposed resolutions on this particular part of the Hungarian question. Poland voted with the U.S.S.R. on twenty-nine of the thirty-three roll-calls.

There is a similarity between roll-call voting on the Hungarian question and on the Korean question in that the Soviet bloc was isolated in the Assembly in opposition to many of the resolutions adopted. However Yugoslavia alone voted with the U.S.S.R. on thirteen occasions from

the beginning of the roll-call voting in the eleventh session. Yugoslav opposition to the U.S.S.R. was considerably less than it had been on the Korean question. In fact Yugoslavia did not vote against the U.S.S.R. at all in this issue.

No fewer than thirty-four states voted identically with the U.S.A. on the fifteen roll-call votes held in the second emergency session. Sixteen Latin American states, eleven Western European states, four White Commonwealth states, and China, Pakistan, and Turkey acted in this manner. These states did not support or abstain on the Indian attempts to pass compromise resolutions which were non-critical of the U.S.S.R.'s part in the Hungarian situation. Only Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Venezuela, of the Latin American states, did not give the U.S.A. complete support. Austria, Finland, Portugal, and Spain were the Western European states to give less than complete support. The Union of South Africa was the sole White Commonwealth state which did not vote identically with the U.S.A. However it will be shown below that several states voted more than twelve times with the U.S.A. in this session.

The importance of Latin American support to United States superiority in the Assembly is illustrated by the fact that sixteen of the thirty-four states which gave

one hundred per cent to the U.S.A. in this session were Latin American.

The first resolution to be decided by a roll-call vote was a United States resolution (A/3286) which was severely critical of the actions of the U.S.S.R. with respect to the situation in Hungary. The resolution, which "condemned the use of Soviet Military Forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert its rights," and called upon the U.S.S.R. to cease the introduction of additional armed forces and to withdraw all its forces without delay, was adopted at the 564th plenary meeting on the 4th November 1956, by 50 votes to 8, with 15 abstentions. The resolution also called upon the Governments of Hungary and the U.S.S.R. to permit observers. But this provision which by itself would have attracted states which frequently abstained on this item was offset by the severe criticism of the U.S.S.R. Therefore six Asian states abstained, viz., Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and Nepal. Seven Arab states abstained, viz., Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen. Finland and Yugoslavia brought the number of states which abstained up to fifteen.

Fifteen states voted with the thirty-five states noted above in support of the resolution. Seven of these

U.S.A

states voted with the fourteen times in this session, abstaining on but one paragraph in a five-power resolution (A/3316) which will be described immediately below. These states were Israel, Mexico, Nicaragua, Portugal, Spain, the Union of South Africa, and Venezuela. Three other states, Iran, Laos, and Thailand, voting in support of (A/3286), also voted with the U.S.A. fourteen times. But they abstained on an Asian amendment later on in the session. But this put these three Asian states into a different category in relation to the Cold War than the six Asian states which abstained on this resolution and subsequent ones. Haiti, Liberia, and Philippines supported this resolution which brought the total support up to forty-eight. Liberia and Haiti supported the U.S.A. thirteen times. Philippines supported the U.S.A. fourteen times but opposed it once. Cambodia was the forty-ninth state to support this resolution; Cambodia, however, abstained nine times in the second emergency session, supported the U.S.A. five times, and opposed the U.S.A. once. Austria was the fiftieth state to support the resolution; while abstaining eight times and opposing the U.S.A. once, Austria did vote six times with the U.S.A. Finland, having abstained on this resolution, did finish this session with the same number of abstentions, supporting votes, and opposing votes vis-a-vis the U.S.A. as Austria. Cambodia

and Austria and Finland, therefore fall into a category differentiated both from full or almost full support for the United States position and from the unaligned type of category containing India, Indonesia, etc., and the majority of the Arab states.

There were eleven roll-call votes on the resolution (A/3316) sponsored by five states, viz., Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Peru, and Pakistan. There were votes on five preambular paragraphs, on four operative paragraphs with two on the fourth, and on the resolution as a whole. On six roll-call votes fifty or more states voted against the U.S.S.R.; on four, forty-eight or forty-nine states opposed the U.S.S.R.; but only thirty-nine states supported the adoption of operative paragraph three. On the vote on the second operative paragraph and on the resolution as a whole the nine members of the Soviet bloc were joined in opposition by India, Ceylon, and Yugoslavia in the first instance and by India and Yugoslavia in the second. This resolution was in the same vein as the United States resolution already passed by the Assembly, a fact which led the Austrian delegate to state that Austria would abstain on the voting on this resolution. In fact Austria abstained eight times but supported three of the paragraphs; Austria did however abstain on the resolution as a whole.

The abstentions on the ten paragraph votes and on the whole resolution pointed to an interesting difference between the Arab and several Asian states. Whereas, Burma, Ceylon, India abstained on most of the roll-call votes on this resolution, several of the Arab states abstained when all eleven roll-call votes were held. Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen acted in this way. But the only Asian states to do so were Afghanistan and Indonesia.

Iraq abstained on two paragraph votes but supported the resolution as a whole; in fact Iraq voted with the U.S.A. eleven times in this session. The second paragraph of the operative part of the resolution called for free elections to be held in Hungary under United Nations auspices. Ceylon, India, and Philippines opposed this paragraph, as did Yugoslavia, on the grounds that it was not legal for the United Nations to call upon an admitted Members to submit to elections. The fact that twenty-four states abstained showed that several states shared India's misgivings on this part of the resolution at least. The states which abstained in addition to the nine states which have already been noted as abstaining each time were Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Haiti, Iraq, Israel, Liberia, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Poland, Portugal, Spain, the Union of South Africa, and Venezuela. India.

did not support the U.S.A. at all on any part of this resolution but Burma, Ceylon, and Nepal did so at least once though not more than three times. India and Yugoslavia opposed adoption of the resolution as a whole while all the Arab states except Iraq; Austria and Finland; Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia and Nepal; and Haiti, abstained on the resolution as a whole.

At the 571st plenary meeting there was one roll-call vote on an amendment (A/3325) by Ceylon, India, and Indonesia to a United States resolution (A/3319). The resolution, though dealing with the humanitarian aspect of the question, was explicit in calling upon the U.S.S.R. to cease interfering with the transportation and distribution of food and medical supplies urgently required by the Hungarian people and to allow the United Nations' representatives to carry out their relief duties. The resolution also asked the Secretary-General to make arrangements with all interested Governments for the donation of emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary.

The Asian amendment proposed to delete the reference to interference by the U.S.S.R., the call to cease such interference, and generally all references to the U.S.S.R. The amendment was defeated by 45 votes to 18, with 12 abstentions. Poland and Roumania voted for

the amendment, but the remaining seven members of the bloc abstained, along with Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Laos, and Thailand. The support for the amendment consisted of Austria, Finland, and Yugoslavia, seven Asian states and six Arab states, and Poland and Roumania. The Asian states were Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and Nepal. Egypt and Iraq were the only Arab states not to support the amendment.¹

The resolution was then adopted by 53 votes to 9, with 13 abstentions. The opposition came from the Soviet bloc alone, while the 13 abstaining states were Asian and Arab, apart from Yugoslavia, viz., Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and Cambodia; and Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen.

The final roll-call vote to the emergency session led to the adoption by 67 votes to 0, with 8 abstentions, of an Austrian resolution (A/3324). The Assembly thereby resolved to undertake on a large scale immediate aid for the affected territories by providing food and clothes supplies; but no mention was made of the cause of the suffering requiring such alleviation. Hungary and Poland voted for this resolution. The seven other members of the Soviet bloc abstained, as did Liberia.

There was greater variety in voting action in the eleventh session. The decision to include the item of the

1. The Arab states numbered eight at this point.

situation in Hungary was taken in the 576th plenary meeting on 13th November when the General Committee recommendation (A/3343) to this effect was adopted by 62 votes to 9, with 8 abstentions. Only Yugoslavia and Afghanistan joined six Arab states in abstaining. The Arab states were Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen. Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Sudan, and Tunisia voted for inclusion, as did the Asian states.

There were nine roll-call votes at the 587th plenary meeting on 21st November 1956. A Cuban resolution (A/3357/Corr 2) considered that Soviet deportation of Hungarian nationals necessitated greater urgency in attaining Soviet and Hungarian compliance with resolutions previously adopted by the Assembly, called upon the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to cease such deportations, and requested the Secretary-General to keep the Assembly informed as to compliance with the provisions of the resolution.

The fourth paragraph of the preamble cited the United Nations Charter, the principles of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and the Treaty of Peace with Hungary as justifying the Assembly's concern and passing of the provisions of the resolution. This paragraph was adopted by 38 votes to 10, with 31 abstentions.

The thirty-one states which abstained included four Latin American states, viz., Bolivia, Chile, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala; three Asian states, viz., Iran, Laos, and Thailand; and three European states, viz., Greece, Norway, and Sweden; these states had voted either completely or predominantly with the U.S.A. up to this point. Ethiopia, Liberia, and the Union of South Africa also abstained. Ethiopia was absent when fourteen roll-call votes had been held in the second emergency session, but Liberia and the Union of South Africa had voted with the U.S.A. on all but one or two roll-call votes in that session. Iraq was the only Arab state not to abstain on this preambular paragraph, while Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and Nepal continued to abstain. The large number of abstentions indicated concern at the mention of the Genocide Convention in the resolution.

The resolution was then adopted as a whole by 55 votes to 10, with 14 abstentions. Afghanistan, Finland, India, and Indonesia, and the Arab states but for Iraq abstained. Yugoslavia voted with the Soviet bloc on the two roll-call votes on this resolution.

Two roll-call votes were held on a resolution (A/3368) sponsored by India, Ceylon, and Indonesia. The resolution, noting charges and denials of the deportation of Hungarian nationals, urged Hungary to accede to the

request made by the Secretary-General "without prejudice" to its sovereignty, and requested the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly without delay. One vote was held on the paragraph containing the phrase "without prejudice to its sovereignty". The Secretary-General had requested the Hungarian Government to co-operate in clarifying the situation. The phrase was adopted by 43 votes to 6, with 30 abstentions. The six states opposing the inclusion of the phrase in the resolution were Chile, Colombia, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, and Pakistan. Four Soviet satellites, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Roumania, abstained, but the remainder of the bloc supported inclusion of the phrase.

The abstaining states also included eleven Latin American states, six Western European states, and Cambodia, China, Ethiopia, Israel, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, and the Union of South Africa. The U.S.A. supported inclusion of the phrase.

The resolution as a whole was then adopted by 57 votes to 8, with 14 abstentions. Poland abstained thereby reducing the opposition to eight members of the Soviet bloc. Five Latin American states, viz., Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Paraguay, and China, Ethiopia, and Yugoslavia also abstained. And five

Arab states, with a very high propensity to abstain on the Hungarian question as a whole, abstained on this resolution, viz., Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen.

There were roll-call votes on four Hungarian amendments (A/L214) to a four-power resolution (A/3374). The sponsors were Argentina, Belgium, Denmark, and the U.S.A. The resolution concerned the issue of assistance to the Hungarian people; it was couched in essentially non-controversial terms. Noting the grave situation described in the report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and considering the high rate of refugees from Hungary, the resolution thanked the Secretary-General and the Office of the High Commissioner for their actions in helping refugees, asked them to continue their efforts and requested Members to make contributions to this end. The first amendment which proposed the deletion of the second and third preambular paragraphs of the four-power resolution was defeated by 61 votes to 9, with 9 abstentions. The paragraph concerned had used the terms "grave situation," and "high rate of flow" of refugees. The second amendment proposed to revise the fourth preambular paragraph. This amendment was defeated by 58 votes to 10, with 11 abstentions. Jordan supported the amendment. The third amendment proposed a new

operative paragraph calling for Governments to secure the repatriation of Hungarian Nationals who had become refugees. This amendment was defeated by 56 votes to 12, with 12 abstentions. Jordan, Syria, and Yugoslavia supported the Soviet bloc. The fourth amendment proposed to revise the fourth operative paragraph, by asking Governments to assist refugees pending their return to Hungary. This amendment was defeated by 55 votes to 12, with 12 abstentions. Jordan, Syria, and Yugoslavia again voted with the Soviet bloc.

Fifty-five states opposed every amendment, while six Arab states, viz., Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Yemen, abstained each time. Ceylon, Iraq, Iran, Nepal, and Tunisia opposed every amendment. Table 21 illustrates the behaviour of those Asian and Arab states which did not vote consistently one way on these amendments.

TABLE 21¹

Behaviour of 9 States on Hungarian Amendments (A/L124)

State	Amendment			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Afghanistan	N	N	A	A
Burma	N	N	A	A
Cambodia	N	N	N	A
India	N	A	A	A
Indonesia	N	A	A	A
Lebanon	N	A	A	A
Jordan	A	Y	Y	Y
Syria	A	A	Y	Y
Yugoslavia	A	Y	Y	Y

1. Y denotes support for the Hungarian amendment, while N denotes opposition.

The resolution as a whole was then adopted by 69 votes to 2, with 8 abstentions. Hungary and Roumania alone opposed adoption, while the remaining seven members of the bloc abstained as did Sudan. The Arab states apart from Sudan voted for the adoption of this resolution. This vote completed the roll-calls held at the 587th plenary meeting.

Subsequently, at the 608th plenary meeting on 4th December, a fourteen-power resolution (A/3413) noted the failure of the U.S.S.R. to comply with the Assembly's request for it to desist from intervention in Hungary's national affairs. The resolution was adopted by 54 votes to 10, with 14 abstentions. Yugoslavia voted with the Soviet bloc.

At the 618th plenary meeting on 12th December 1956 the twenty-power resolution (A/3436/Rev.2) was adopted by 55 votes to 8, with 13 abstentions. The resolution went as far as to say that the U.S.S.R. violated the Charter of the United Nations by using armed force against the Hungarian people and called for the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces and the admittance of United Nations observers. The sponsors included Chile, Thailand, Denmark, Ireland, Pakistan, Philippines, and the U.S.A. Hungary was absent when the vote was held.

At the 636th plenary meeting on 10th January 1957 a twenty-one power resolution (A/3487/Rev.1) was adopted by 59 votes to 8, with 10 abstentions. The Assembly thereby established a special committee to obtain information of Soviet intervention. Hungary was absent.

Finally at the 677th plenary meeting on 14th September 1957 the Assembly adopted a thirty-seven power resolution (A/3658/Add 1.) by 60 votes to 10, with 10 abstentions. The resolution further condemned the U.S.S.R. and placed the item of the Hungarian situation on the provisional agenda of the twelfth session.

Table 22 gives the voting behaviour of the states which abstained at least once during the final four roll-call votes in the eleventh session.

The Table shows that Afghanistan, Egypt, Finland, India, Saudi Arabia, and Syria abstained consistently in the eleventh session after the initial rush of roll-call voting in November. However, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Nepal, and Tunisia all voted at least twice with the U.S.A. Indonesia, Jordan, Sudan, and Yemen abstained three times. Yugoslavia supported the U.S.S.R. twice.

In both the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions one roll-call vote was held on inclusion and one on a similar resolution sponsored ^{by} thirty-seven and twenty-four powers respectively. The General Committee recommendation

(A/3926) to include the situation in Hungary on the agenda was adopted at the 452nd plenary meeting in the thirteenth session by 61 votes to 10, with 10 abstentions. At the 787th plenary meeting the thirty-seven power resolution (A/L255) which denounced the execution of Imre Nagy and deplored the refusal of the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and Hungary to collaborate with the United Nations' representative by 54 votes to 10, with 15 abstentions.

The General Committee recommendation (A/4294) was adopted at the 84th plenary meeting in the fourteenth session by 51 votes to 10, with 15 abstentions. Finally at the 851st plenary meeting a twenty-four power resolution (A/L273) calling on the Governments of the Soviet Union and Hungary to co-operate with the United Nations representative was adopted by 53 votes to 10, with 17 abstentions.

Yugoslavia voted with the Soviet bloc on each occasion. Table 23 illustrates the propensity to abstain on these roll-call votes in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions. Yugoslavia's behaviour on this item in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions contrasted with that on the Korean question when Yugoslavia abstained.

TABLE 22

Behaviour of 18 States which did not vote
100% with U.S.A. on Final 4 Roll-Calls in
11th Session on Hungarian Question¹

State	A/3413	A/3436	A/3487	A/3658
Afghanistan	A	A	A	A
Burma	A	Y	Y	Y
Cambodia	Y	A	Y	Y
Ceylon	A	Y	Y	A
Cuba	Y	Y	A	Y
Egypt	A	A	A	A
Finland	A	A	A	A
India	A	A	A	A
Indonesia	A	A	Y	A
Jordan	A	A	A	Y
Morocco	A	A	Y	Y
Nepal	Y	Y	Y	A
Saudi Arabia	A	A	A	A
Sudan	A	A	A	Y
Syria	A	A	A	A
Tunisia	A	Y	Y	Y
Yemen	A	A	Ab	A
Yugoslavia	N	A	A	N
No. of Abstentions	14	13	10	10

1. Y denotes vote with the U.S.A. States.

TABLE 23

Behaviour of 20 States not voting 100% with
U.S.A. on Hungarian Question in 13th and
14th Sessions.¹

State	Thirteenth Session		Fourteenth Session	
	Inclusion	Resolution	Inclusion	Resolution
Afghanistan	A	A	A	A
Ceylon	A	A	A	A
Ethiopia	Y	A	A	A
Finland	A	A	A	A
Ghana	Y	A	A	A
Greece	Y	A	Y	Y
India	A	A	A	A
Indonesia	A	A	A	A
Iraq	A	A	A	A
Lebanon	Y	A	Ab	A
Libya	Y	A	A	A
Morocco	Y	A	A	Ab
S.Arabia	A	A	Ab	A
Sudan	Y	A	A	A
United Arab Rep.	A	A	A	A
Yemen	A	Ab	A	A
Nepal	A	Y	Y	Y
Guinea	Not yet admitted		A	A
Israel	Y	Ab	A	A
Jordan	Y	Y	Ab	A

1. Y denotes a vote with the U.S.A.

No other Member voted with the Soviet bloc in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions. But seven states abstained completely. Afghanistan, Ceylon, Finland, India, Indonesia, Iraq, and the United Arab Republic acted in this way. Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya, and Sudan opposed the U.S.S.R. by voting for inclusion in the thirteenth session but these states abstained thereafter. Guinea, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen did not vote against the U.S.S.R. though the two Arab states were absent once and Guinea was eligible to vote in the fourteenth session only. Lebanon voted against the U.S.S.R. once only while Israel abstained in the fourteenth session. Jordan's voting behaviour also changed in the fourteenth session, i.e. away from support for U.S.A.

Table 24 sums up the propensity to abstain on this item for all states which abstained more than three times. By dividing the number of abstentions by every Member according to the four sessions concerned changes in voting policies can be perceived. Ten states abstained twenty times or over out of thirty-three roll-call votes. Egypt abstained twenty-seven times before the admission of the United Arab Republic reduced Arab representation in the Assembly to ten. Syria abstained twenty-three times in this period. The United Arab Republic then abstained the four times that roll-call votes were held on this item in the thirteenth and fourteenth regular sessions.

TABLE 24

Propensity to Abstain on Hungarian Question as a Whole

State	Emergency Session	11th Session	13th Session	14th Session	Total
Number of Abstentions					
Afghanistan	13	9	2	2	26
Austria	8	1	0	0	9
Burma	10	4	0	0	14
Cambodia	9	4	0	0	13
Ceylon	11	4	2	2	19
Egypt	14	12	See United Arab Republic		26
Ethiopia	0	3	1	2	6
Finland	8	6	2	2	14
India	11	9	2	2	24
Indonesia	13	8	2	2	25
Iraq	4	0	2	2	8
Israel	1	2	0	2	5
Jordan	13	8	0	1	22
Laos	3	1	0	0	4
Lebanon	12	5	1	1	19
Libya	12	6	1	2	21
Morocco	Not yet admitted		1	1	11
Nepal	9	2	1	0	12
Saudi Arabia	13	12	2	1	28
Syria	13	10	See United Arab Republic		23
Sudan	Not yet admitted		1	2	13
Yemen	13	10	1	2	27
Yugoslavia	11	11	0	0	16
United Arab Republic	See Egypt and Syria		2	2	4

Four other Arab states abstained twenty times or over, viz., Jordan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. Lebanon abstained nineteen times; Morocco and Sudan abstained eleven and thirteen times respectively but were not Members in the second emergency session. But Tunisia abstained only three times and not at all in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions. Iraq abstained eight times but this state's behaviour changed considerably after the eleventh session.¹ Jordan on the other hand voted twice with the U.S.A. in the thirteenth session but not at all in the fourteenth session. Israel abstained twice in the fourteenth session but only three times previous to that session.

Afghanistan, India, and Indonesia each abstained more than twenty times while Ceylon abstained on nineteen occasions. Burma, Cambodia, and Nepal abstained between twelve and fourteen times but Nepal was the only one to abstain even once in the thirteen and fourteenth sessions. Laos abstained but four times while the other Asian states abstained, i.e., they did not vote against the U.S.S.R., even less. Austria and Finland both abstained eight times in the second emergency session but whereas Finland abstained twelve times thereafter Austria abstained once only. Yugoslavia abstained sixteen times but of course had commenced voting with the U.S.S.R. in the eleventh session. Ethiopia gave little support to the U.S.A. apart from the eleventh session.

1. Iraq abstained fully in the two final sessions after voting frequently with the U.S.A. beforehand.

Tibet

Another situation involving the interference of a powerful communist state in the affairs of a smaller nation was that created by the Communist Chinese invasion of Tibet. Voting on this item gives an interesting comparison to the Korean and Hungarian issues. Roll-call voting on the situation in Tibet was confined to the fourteenth session. This issue therefore was the final item belonging to the Cold War which is discussed in this study. While it followed the pattern which, with greater or less deviation, characterised all the items included in this category, there were a number of interesting abstentions.

At the 826th plenary meeting the General Committee recommendation (A/4237) that the item of Tibet be placed on the agenda of the fourteenth session was adopted by 43 votes to 11, with 25 abstentions. Indonesia and Yugoslavia joined the Soviet bloc in opposing the recommendation. However, compared to the voting on the Korean and Hungarian questions in this session, the number of abstentions was relatively high. The total of twenty-five abstentions included every Arab state, while five Asian states, viz., Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, and Nepal, also abstained, as did Ghana, Guinea and Liberia. However France, Portugal, and Spain; Finland; the Dominican Republic and Peru; and the Union of South Africa also abstained. India did not participate in the vote.

When the discussion on the item was concluded at the 834th plenary meeting, a resolution (A/L264), sponsored by Malaya and Ireland, was adopted by 45 votes to 9 with 26 abstentions. The resolution merely called for respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people. Twenty of the twenty-five states which abstained on the inclusion vote abstained on the resolution. Jordan, Liberia, Peru, and Tunisia, however, supported the resolution while Guinea was absent. Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, and Yugoslavia also abstained while the total of twenty-six abstentions was made up by Belgium and the United Kingdom.

Fifty-three and one half per cent of the Assembly opposed the Soviet bloc on the two roll-call votes held on this item. No Member outside the Soviet bloc opposed adoption of the resolution. But the number of Members abstaining was considerably higher than those abstaining on the Korean and Hungarian questions in the same session. However there was little indication on these two main questions that the average support for the U.S.A. was falling, after the tenth session.

Tables 25 and 26 illustrate the average percentage opposition to the U.S.S.R. on the Korean and Hungarian questions on roll-call votes in which the U.S.A. opposed the U.S.S.R. The Hungarian question shows a considerable drop in this opposition in the fourteenth session when

TABLE 25% Opposition to U.S.S.R. on Hungarian situation.

<u>Session</u>	<u>% of Assembly opposing U.S.S.R.</u>
Second Emergency	65.3%
Eleventh Regular	69.8%
Thirteenth "	71.3%
Fourteenth "	63%

TABLE 26% Opposition to U.S.S.R. on Korean question

<u>Session</u>	<u>% of Assembly opposing U.S.S.R.</u>
Second Session	66.8%
Fifth Session	71.3%
Seventh Session	79%
Ninth Session	80%
Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sessions	66.6%

Israel, Jordan, Guinea, and Lebanon joined the states abstaining on this item. The Korean question indicates an decrease in opposition to the U.S.S.R. after 1955. But this opposition was still immense when compared to the minute support achieved by the U.S.S.R.

Suez, and the United Nations Emergency Force.

Twelve roll-call votes were held on the Suez question, six of which were held during the first emergency special session in November 1956 and the remaining six during the eleventh regular session. Ten of the roll-call votes were on resolutions presented directly in the Assembly by Members themselves, and two were on amendments to such resolutions. Only one roll-call vote ended in defeat for the subject of the vote, viz., a Belgian amendment to a twenty-power resolution during the eleventh session.

The first subject of a roll-call vote was a United States resolution (A/3250) which was adopted at the 562nd plenary meeting by 64 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions. This resolution, noting Israel penetration deep into Egyptian territory, British and French military operations against Egyptian territory, and the interruption of traffic in the Suez Canal, urged all parties to agree to an immediate cease-fire and to withdraw all forces behind lines arranged by armistice agreements. The resolution also recommended

all Member states to refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the resolution, and requested the Secretary-General to observe and report compliance with the resolution.

Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, and France and Israel, opposed the adoption of this resolution on the grounds that the combatants' actions had been determined by Egyptian provocation on the Israeli side, and by the need for police action of some sort on the British and French side. Belgium, Canada, Laos, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the Union of South Africa abstained. Luxembourg was absent when the vote was held. At the 563rd plenary meeting on 4th November 1956 a nineteen-power resolution (A/3275) was adopted by 59 votes to 5, with 12 abstentions. The nineteen-powers were either Asian, Arab, or African. The resolution noted with regret the failure of certain parties to comply with the provisions of the United States resolution, and reaffirmed the terms of that resolution calling upon the parties concerned to comply with its provisions immediately. The Secretary-General was authorised immediately to arrange a cease-fire and to report compliance not later than twelve hours from the time of adoption of the resolution. The same five states which had opposed adoption of the United States resolution opposed adoption of the nineteen-power

resolution. But only Austria, Greece, Ireland, Spain, and Italy of the Western European states supported adoption; Canada also supported adoption. Nine Western European states, including Finland, and the Dominican Republic, Laos, and the Union of South Africa, abstained.

At the same plenary meeting a Canadian resolution (A/3276) was adopted by 57 votes to 0, with 19 abstentions. This resolution requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Assembly within forty-eight hours a plan for the setting up of an United Nations Emergency Force to secure and maintain a cease-fire. The nine Members of the Soviet bloc abstained, as did Australia, Austria, Egypt, France, Israel, Laos, New Zealand, Portugal, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom.

At the 565th plenary meeting on 5th November a resolution (A/3290) sponsored by Canada, Colombia, and Norway was adopted by 57 votes to 0, with 19 abstentions. This resolution established a United Nations Command for an emergency international force and appointed Major-General Burns as Chief of the Command. Voting was identical to that on the Canadian resolution (A/3276).

At the 567th plenary meeting on 7th November a seven-power amendment was adopted by 65 votes to 0, with 12 abstentions. The sponsors comprised Argentina, Burma,

Ceylon, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia and Sweden. The resolution established an Advisory Committee to aid the Secretary-General in planning the Emergency Force in addition to defining the basic tasks and forms of the Force. The Soviet bloc, Egypt, Israel, and the Union of South Africa abstained.

Finally at the same plenary meeting a nineteen-power resolution (A/3309) with the same sponsors as resolution (A/3275) was adopted by 65 votes to 1, with 10 abstentions. Israel alone opposed adoption of the resolution which called 'once again' upon Israel to withdraw its forces behind the armistice lines established by the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 24th February 1949. It also called upon the United Kingdom and France to withdraw their forces from Egyptian territory.

For the six roll-call votes held in the first emergency session the average opposition to adoption consisted of two states. Israel opposed the Assembly majority on three occasions, and the three Commonwealth states and France opposed twice. The states which did not vote against the United Kingdom were Western European states, in particular the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal; Laos, and the Union of South Africa. The Soviet bloc abstained on two of the resolutions dealing with the employment of a United Nations Emergency Force.

During the eleventh session one amendment was defeated and three resolutions were adopted. At the 594th plenary meeting on 24th November 1956 a Belgian amendment (A/L215) was defeated by 37 votes to 23, with 18 abstentions. This amendment, to a twenty-power resolution (A/3385 Rev), attempted to soften the wording of the resolution which criticised the failure of France and the United Kingdom to withdraw the majority of their combined forces from Egyptian territory.

It is enlightening to list the thirty-seven states opposing the amendment as they can be regarded as the severest critics of the British, French, and Israeli actions. The whole Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, every Arab state; the Asian states apart from China, Israel, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey; Ethiopia, Greece and Liberia; and three Latin American states, Bolivia, El Salvador, and Guatemala, opposed the amendment. But twelve Latin American states,¹ and Austria, Finland, Philippines, Spain, and the U.S.A. abstained. Support for the amendment came from ten Western Europe states, the whole White Commonwealth; four Latin American states, viz., Brazil, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Peru; and China, Thailand, and Turkey.

1. Nicaragua was absent.

The resolution, which reiterated the Assembly's call to France, Israel, and the United Kingdom to withdraw their forces and to comply with the provisions of previously adopted resolutions, was adopted by 63 votes to 5, with 10 abstentions. The resolution was sponsored by Arab, African, and Asian states. Opposition was offered by the three states most intimately involved in the action against Egypt and the two Commonwealth states which consistently voted with the United Kingdom throughout the roll-call voting on the Suez Question, viz., Australia and New Zealand. Five Western European states, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and Portugal, abstained with Canada, China, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and the Union of South Africa. On 19th January 1957 at the 642nd plenary meeting two roll-call votes were held on a twenty-five power resolution (A/3501/Rev 1) which dealt with the failure of Israel to comply with previously adopted resolutions. One roll-call vote was held on operative paragraph two which requested the Secretary-General to continue attempts to secure the complete withdrawal of Israel in accordance with the provisions of previous resolutions. The paragraph was adopted by 68 votes to 2, with 8 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted by 74 votes to 2, with 2 abstentions. France and Israel opposed adoption of both the paragraphs and whole resolution, while Cuba and Costa Rica abstained on both occasions.

Two seven-power resolutions (A/3517) and (A/3518) were adopted at the 652nd plenary meeting on 2nd February 1957.¹ The first resolution deplored the non-compliance of Israel to complete its withdrawal behind the armistice line and called upon Israel to do this. The resolution was adopted by 74 votes to 2, with 2 abstentions. France, although not mentioned in this resolution, continued to vote with Israel; Luxembourg and Netherlands abstained. The second resolution called on Egypt and Israel scrupulously to observe the provisions of the 1949 General Armistice Agreement, and then considered that the United Nations Emergency Force ought to be placed on the demarcation line. This resolution was adopted by 56 votes to 0, with 22 abstentions. The states abstaining comprised the Soviet bloc,² every Arab state, Israel and France and the Netherlands. This vote concluded the voting on the Suez situation. But there were ~~four~~ roll-call votes on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force.

At the 596th plenary meeting on the 26th November 1956 a resolution (A/3383/Rev 1/Annex) submitted by the Secretary-General was adopted by 52 votes to 9, with 13 abstentions. The Soviet bloc opposed the resolution

-
1. The sponsors were Brazil, Colombia, India, Indonesia, Norway, United States, and Yugoslavia.
 2. Hungary was absent.

because its members held that the creation of the Emergency Force was the Security Council's exclusive prerogative. Other states maintained that France, Israel, and the United Kingdom ought to pay the costs of the Force. Cambodia, Israel, Luxembourg, the Union of South Africa, and eight Latin American states abstained. The Latin American states comprised Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Paraguay. The resolution established a Special Account to finance the Emergency Force.

At the 721st plenary meeting, in the twelfth session a twenty-one power resolution (A/L235 and Add.1) was adopted by 51 votes to 11, with 19 abstentions. This resolution decided that expenses authorised were to be borne by Members in accordance with the regular scale of assessments. The Soviet bloc again opposed adoption as did Chile and Ecuador. Several Latin American states maintained that the scale of assessments was neither equitable or fair. Ten Arab states;¹ four Asian states, viz., Cambodia, China, Nepal, and Malaya; and Ethiopia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Panama abstained.

Two roll-call votes were held on this subject during the thirteenth session. At the 780th plenary meeting a Special Political Committee resolution (A/3989), which was adopted by 51 votes to 9, with 18 abstentions asked that

1. Jordan supported the resolution.

appropriate steps be taken by the fifth Committee to finance the continuing operation of the Emergency Force. All foreign troops had by this time been withdrawn from Egyptian territory, and the Emergency Force's main task was to maintain order along the Gaza Strip. Once again there were protests from both the Soviet bloc and certain Latin American states concerning the financing of the operation, and the Arab states abstained but for Tunisia.¹ Chile, Honduras, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela joined the eight Arab states and Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Nepal, and Philippines in abstaining on this resolution.

Finally at the 790th plenary meeting a Fifth Committee resolution (A/4072), which authorised the Secretary-General to spend 19 million dollars to finance the Emergency Force's costs in Egypt, was adopted by 42 votes to 9, with 27 abstentions. Costs were to be borne by Members in accordance with the regular scale of assessments. Twelve Latin American states abstained, declaring that the costs ought to be shared almost fully by the permanent members of the Security Council who had particular interests in a peaceful Middle East. Eight Arab states, four Asian states, and Ethiopia, Greece, Portugal also abstained.² India however supported all the resolutions which referred to the operation of the Emergency Force. The Soviet bloc alone opposed such resolutions though the Arab and Latin American states tended to abstain frequently.

1. Sudan was absent.

2. Morocco and Sudan were absent. The Asian states were Afghanistan, China, Nepal, and Philippines.

The Assembly majority on the twelve roll-call votes on the Suez question proper was 80% of the total membership in the first emergency session, and 78% in the eleventh session.

iii. Admission of New Members and the Representation of China

The roll-call voting on the admission of states to the United Nations Organisation is divided into two periods. With the admission of sixteen states in December 1955 unanimity became common. But in the earlier period the voting reflected the stalemate created by the veto over admission in the Security Council. Table 27 describes the distribution of the thirty-eight votes held on this item.

TABLE 27.

Distribution of 38 Roll-Call Votes on
Admission of New Members

Session	No. of votes
2nd	6
3rd	5
6th	2
7th	2
10th	17
11th	5
12th	1
TOTAL	38

At the 118th plenary meeting in the second session six roll-call votes were held on a resolution (A/471) from the First Committee recommending the admission of Iceland, Portugal, Jordan, Italy, Finland, and Austria. The Assembly recommended admission in each case although the number of states abstaining varied slightly. Forty states supported every recommendation. Eight states opposed every recommendation. Ethiopia and India joined the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia in acting in this way. The Philippines joined the opposition to the recommendation on Portugal only. Afghanistan abstained on the recommendation on Ireland; Guatemala, Haiti, and Pakistan abstained on the recommendation on Portugal thereby making the support for that state the least gained by any of the candidates for membership. Pakistan abstained on the recommendation on Italy, while New Zealand abstained on the recommendation on Austria. Finland and Jordan were supported by every state apart from the eight listed above and five absent states.

At the 142nd plenary meeting in the third session one roll-call votes was held on a recommendation by the General Committee (A/653) that the admission of Italy be considered. The real issue was the Assembly's competence to deal with admission given the Security Councils prerogative in the matter.

Poland proposed that the item of Italy's admission, recommended by the General Committee for inclusion, be excluded from the agenda for the third session. The proposal was rejected by 29 votes to 16, with 10 abstentions. The states which voted with the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia were Australia, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, Pakistan, and Belgium, Denmark, France, Norway, and Sweden.

At the 177th plenary meeting one roll-call vote was held on resolution (J) in the Ad Hoc Political Committee's report (A/761) which referred to Ceylon. The report contained resolutions referring to several countries but only the one referring to Ceylon was put to a roll-call vote. The resolution requested the Security Council to reconsider at the earliest possible moment the application of Ceylon for membership. The resolution was adopted by 41 votes to 6, with 0 abstentions. Yugoslavia voted with the Soviet bloc.

At the 191st plenary meeting two roll-call votes were held on the question of Israel's admission. The General Committee recommendation that the Assembly include the question on its agenda was adopted by 46 votes to 7, with 3 abstentions. The opposition came from the six Arab states and Burma, while Afghanistan, Greece, and Thailand abstained. Pakistan then proposed that the question be referred to the First Committee. This proposal

was adopted by 31 votes to 18, with 7 abstentions. The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, Australia, China, France, New Zealand, and the U.S.A., and seven Latin American States opposed the proposal. Canada, Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Philippines abstained. The seven Latin American states opposing the proposal were Chile, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, and Uruguay. At the 207th plenary meeting an Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/855) was adopted by 37 votes to 12, with 9 abstentions. The resolution declared that Israel was a peace-loving state and decided to admit Israel to membership in the United Nations. Ethiopia and five Asian states joined the six Arab states in opposing the resolution; the Asian states were Burma, Afghanistan, India, Iran, and Pakistan, Greece, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, Brazil and El Salvador, and Thailand and Turkey abstained.

Two roll-call votes on admission were held in the sixth session. A Fourth Committee resolution (A/1990) recommended that Italy be admitted immediately to allow that state to fulfil its duties as a member of the Trusteeship Council. The recommendation was adopted by 54 to 5, with 1 abstention at the 352nd plenary meeting. Ethiopia, which abstained, was the only state apart from the five members of the Soviet bloc which did not support the resolution. At the 370th plenary meeting a First Committee

resolution (resolution (II) in A/2100) which noted the increasing general sentiment in favour of the universality of the United Nations and recommended the Security Council to reconsider the applications of thirteen states for membership in the United Nations failed to obtain the two-thirds majority required for adoption. The voting was 22 in favour, 21 against, with 16 abstentions. The Soviet bloc supported this resolution along with Afghanistan, Argentina, Burma, Denmark, Egypt, Ethiopia, Greece, India, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Norway, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Yemen, and Yugoslavia. Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Iceland, Iran, Liberia, Mexico, New Zealand, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay abstained. The U.S.A. opposed the resolution supported by 13 Latin American states, and by China, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey.

At the 410th plenary meeting there were two roll-call votes on resolutions in the Ad Hoc Political Committee's report (A/2341). Paragraph one in resolution (A) which proposed to establish a Special Committee to make a detailed study of the question of the admission of States to membership in the United Nations was adopted by 48 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions. Resolution (B) which, noting that ten members of the Security Council had supported a resolution

recommending the admission of Japan and claiming Japan to be a peace-loving state, asked the Security Council to take note of such claims, was adopted by 50 votes to 5, with 4 abstentions. The Soviet bloc opposed the Assembly majority on both occasions. The states which abstained changed completely between the two votes. Afghanistan, Burma, India, Indonesia, Liberia, and Pakistan abstained on the first vote. Guatemala, Iraq, Philippines, and Sweden abstained on resolution (B).

In the tenth session seventeen roll-call votes were held when sixteen states were admitted to the United Nations following the package deal. The Ad Hoc Political Committee's resolution (A/3079) contained recommendations on sixteen states. But the first roll-call vote at the 552nd plenary meeting asked the Security Council to admit to membership the sixteen states about whom no problem of objection arose. The resolution was adopted by 52 votes to 2, with 5 abstentions. China and Cuba opposed the resolution while Belgium, France, Greece, Israel, and U.S.A. abstained.

Nine of the states were admitted without any opposition or abstentions. Ireland, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Cambodia, and Laos enjoyed this freedom from opposition.

The communist states, Albania, Hungary, Roumania, and Bulgaria, were admitted over the protests of two states,

China and Cuba. In addition Greece opposed Albania's admission, and abstained when the three other communist states were admitted. Belgium abstained once only, viz., on Albania's admission. The Dominican Republic, Netherlands, Philippines, and the U.S.A. abstained on the admission of every communist state.

Israel opposed the admission of Jordan and abstained on Libya's admission. Belgium and Mexico abstained on Spain's admission.

At the 574th plenary meeting in the 11th session, Sudan, Morocco, and Tunisia were admitted as a result of the adoption of 3 resolutions, (A/3326), (A/3327) and (A/3328), sponsored by twenty-three Afro-Asian powers. The voting was unanimous.

At the 623rd plenary meeting the unanimous acceptance of a 51-power resolution (A/3460) led to the admission of Japan. Then at the 668th meeting the unanimous adoption of a resolution (A/3569) sponsored by members of the Commonwealth led to the admission of Ghana.

Finally at the 678th plenary meeting in the twelfth session the unanimous adoption of another Commonwealth resolution (A/3655) led to the admission of Malaya.

Representation of China.

The average support attained by the Soviet bloc in the question of the representation of China has been greater than in any other item in the Cold War category.

The matter was first raised during the fifth session when India sponsored a resolution (A/1365) which simply proposed that the seat in the United Nations Organisation belonging to the Republic of China be granted to the People's Republic of China because that Government was the only legal representative of the Chinese people.¹ The resolution was defeated at the 277th plenary meeting by 33 votes to 16, with 10 abstentions. The voting behaviour on this item up to the tenth session is illustrated in Table 28. However the American position gained least support in the fifth session, when in addition to the Asian states which voted with the Soviet bloc, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom supported the resolution, and Canada and France abstained. This action corresponded with the United Kingdom's voting against the U.S.A. on the item of "Violations of Chinese Political Independence and Territorial Integrity."²

There were three votes on the report of the Credentials Committee (A/2234) in the seventh session. Paragraph one of this resolution requested that the Assembly approve the report which included references

-
1. Red China is officially known as the People's Republic of China. Nationalist China is officially known as the Republic of China.
 2. See below, pp.59-64.

to credentials of all states in the Assembly; but paragraph two recommended the postponement of all proposals regarding the representation of China. Paragraph one was adopted by 35 votes to 5, with 20 abstentions. But paragraph two was adopted by 42 votes to 9, with 9 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was then adopted by 42 votes to 7 with 11 abstentions. In Table 28 only the second roll-call vote is included as this was the one most directly pertaining to the subject of this section. The voting took place during the 689th plenary meeting.

A United States resolution (A/L177) was adopted at the 473rd plenary meeting in the ninth session by 43 votes to 11, with 6 abstentions. The Assembly thereby decided not to consider at the ninth session any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. A similar resolution (A/L195) was adopted at the 516th plenary meeting in the tenth session by 42 votes to 12, with 6 abstentions.

Table 28 shows that up to the tenth session, Burma, India, and Sweden consistently voted with the Soviet bloc and that Denmark, Norway, and Yugoslavia voted with the Soviet bloc in the fifth, ninth, and tenth sessions. The core of the abstaining states were the Arab states and Afghanistan.

TABLE 28¹

Voting Behaviour on Chinese Representation
up to 10th Session, Showing Opposition to U.S.A.

State	5th Session (A/1365)	7th Session (A/2234) para. 2.	9th Session (A/L177)	10th Session (A/L195)
Afghanistan	N	A	A	A
Argentina	A	Y	Y	Y
Bolivia	Y	A	Y	Y
Burma	N	N	N	N
Canada	A	Y	Y	Y
Denmark	N	Y	N	N
Ecuador	A	Y	Y	Y
Egypt	A	Y	A	A
France	A	Y	Y	Y
Guatemala	A	A	Y	Y
India	N	N	N	N
Indonesia	Not yet admitted	A	A	N
Israel	N	N	Y	A
Lebanon	A	Y	Y	Y
Netherlands	N	Y	Y	Y
Norway	N	Y	N	N
Saudi Arabia	A	A	A	A
Soviet bloc	N	N	N	N
Syria	A	A	A	A
Sweden	N	N	N	N
United Kingdom	N	Y	Y	Y
Yemen	A	A	A	A
Yugoslavia	N	A	N	N

1. N denotes opposition to adoption of the resolution in question and therefore to the U.S.A.
Y denotes agreement with the U.S.A.

In this period the average support for the U.S.A. was 67% of the Assembly membership; for the Soviet bloc it was 20%; and 11% of the membership abstained. The first roll-call vote, i.e., the vote in the fifth session, resulted in the average over-all United States support being less than the average for the three votes in the seventh, ninth, and tenth sessions, viz. 70%.

Four roll-call votes were held on this item in the eleventh session. The whole situation had changed as a result of the increase in Membership. At the 578th plenary meeting an Indian proposal to adjourn debate on the item till the following day was defeated by 34 votes to 33, with 11 abstentions. At the 580th plenary meeting three substantive roll-call votes were held; two on Indian amendments (A/L2110) to the General Committee resolution (A/3350) and one on the resolution itself.

The General Committee proposed that the Assembly decide not to include in the agenda the item proposed by India, i.e., the representation of China; and not to consider at the eleventh session any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China, i.e., Nationalist China, or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, i.e. Red China.

The first Indian amendment proposed to debate 'not' in the Committee's first recommendation thereby including

the item in the agenda. The amendment was defeated by 45 votes to 25, with 9 abstentions. The second Indian amendment proposed to delete the Committee's second recommendation altogether. This amendment was defeated by 47 votes to 24, with 8 abstentions. The Committee's resolution was then adopted as a whole by 47 votes to 8, with 24 abstentions.

Forty-five states, including the U.S.A. and China, voted identically on the three substantive roll-call votes in this session. Twenty-four states voted against the U.S.A. Seven states abstained on the three roll-call votes.

The consistent support for the U.S.A. and China came from nineteen Latin American states, the five White Commonwealth states, ten European states, and a group of nine states from Asia and Africa, viz., Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Morocco, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey.

The seven states which abstained were Israel, Laos and Portugal; and four Arab states, viz., Jordan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia.

The twenty four states which opposed the U.S.A. and China were the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia; six Asian states, viz., Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and Nepal; four Arab states, viz., Egypt, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen; and Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden.

Mexico and Lebanon both abstained on the first Indian amendment but both voted with the U.S.A. on the second Indian amendment and on the Committee resolution as a whole. Cambodia supported the first Indian amendment but abstained on the two following roll-call votes.

Lebanon and Iraq voted with the U.S.A. as they did on other issues in the Cold War at this time. It is to be noted that in this session Morocco supported the U.S.A. There were no changes among the Members supporting the opposing side in the sessions preceding the tenth. But states which had abstained or had tended to abstain did commit themselves. Afghanistan, Egypt, Syria, and Yemen voted with the Soviet bloc while Israel and Saudi Arabia continued to abstain.

There were four substantive roll-call votes on this item at the 686th plenary meeting in the twelfth session. One vote was held on an Indian amendment that the Assembly accede to an Indian request to place the item of Chinese representation on the agenda. Three votes were held on the resolution in the General Committee report (A/3670). Paragraph one recommended rejection of the Indian request noted above; paragraph two was identical to the second paragraph in the Committee's resolution in the eleventh session, i.e., it dealt with the inclusion of Red China and the exclusion of Nationalist China.

The Indian amendment was rejected by 43 votes to 29, with 9 abstentions. The first paragraph of the Committee resolution was adopted by 46 votes to 28, with 7 abstentions. The second paragraph and the resolution as a whole were both adopted by 47 votes to 27, with 7 abstentions.

Forty-two states, including the U.S.A. and China, voted identically on the four roll-call votes. Once again nineteen Latin American states voted identically with the U.S.A. and China as did four Commonwealth states; the Union of South Africa was absent. Eight European states voted identically, and Greece abstained once only, viz., on the Indian amendment. Nine states from Asia and Africa also voted identically with the U.S.A. and China, viz., Iran, Iraq, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Malaya, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey.

The decrease of three in the number of states voting consistently with the U.S.A. against the U.S.S.R. was due to the dropping out of Ethiopia, Greece, Ireland, Morocco, and the Union of South Africa from this group, and the addition of Japan and Malaya, both new Members, to the group. The Union of South Africa happened to be absent when the voting was held; and Greece abstained on the Indian amendment only. Ethiopia voted for the Indian amendment and against the first paragraph of the Committee resolution; but this state also voted with the U.S.A. on the second paragraph of

the resolution and on the resolution as a whole. Ethiopia therefore voted to include discussion of the item but emphasised opposition to any proposals to exclude Nationalist China.

Ireland and Morocco, however, changed respectively from complete and majority support for the U.S.A. to complete support for the U.S.S.R.¹ Jordan and Libya joined the states giving majority support to the U.S.A; these states which either supported the U.S.A. or abstained comprised, in the twelfth session, Greece, Jordan, Libya and Mexico. Pakistan's behaviour resembled that of Ethiopia in that while these two states did vote against the U.S.A. they gave that nation more support than they gave to the U.S.S.R. and India on this item.

Twenty-seven states voted identically against the U.S.A. in the twelfth session. Morocco joined the four Arab states which had voted in this manner in the previous session, while Ireland raised Western European support for the Soviet point-of-view to five states. Ghana, a new Member, voted identically with the U.S.S.R., and thereby increased the number of states voting in this manner by three. The seventeen states, besides the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, comprised one African state, i.e., Ghana, five Arab states, six Asian states, and five Western European states.

1. Complete support means voting four times in four roll-calls with the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. Majority ~~support~~ means voting two or three times in four roll-calls with one or other of the protagonists.

Five states abstained completely, viz., Israel, Laos, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia. Cambodia again supported the Indian amendment but abstained thereafter.

Five roll-call votes occurred in the thirteenth session, an event which led to a decrease in the number of states completely supporting the U.S.A. On the other hand complete support for the Soviet position increased by one.

The votes were held at the 755th plenary meeting. Two roll-call votes were held on a seven-power amendment (A/L245) to a resolution in the report of the General Committee (A/3926), and three votes were held on the resolution. The sponsors of the amendments were Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal, and the United Arab Republic. The first part of the amendment proposed that the Assembly accede to rather than reject the requests that the item be placed on the agenda; the second proposed to delete the provision not to consider proposals to exclude the Republic of China or to seat the People's Republic of China. The first amendment was defeated by 40 votes to 29, with 12 abstentions; the second was defeated by 41 votes to 29, with 11 abstentions. The increase of one in support for the United States position on the second amendment was due to the fact that three states, Ethiopia, Lebanon, and New Zealand, opposed the second amendment but abstained on the first while two states, Malaya and Peru, opposed the first but abstained on the second.

Paragraph one of the Committee resolution was then adopted by 40 votes to 28, with 12 abstentions. This was the paragraph referring to the request for inclusion of the item. The second paragraph, referring to inclusion and exclusion, was adopted by 42 votes to 28, with 11 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted by 44 votes to 28, with 9 abstentions. Several states, while unwilling to vote against India on the issue of whether or not to discuss the item, were unwilling to consider excluding Nationalist China.

Thirty-eight states voted identically against the Soviet bloc. This entailed a decrease of four from the previous session. The states voting identically against the U.S.A. increased by one. Iraq changed from full support for the U.S.A. to full support for the Soviet bloc. Cambodia changed from a predominantly abstaining position to one of complete support for the Soviet bloc. But Egypt and Syria combining into the Union Arab Republic reduced the net increase to one. Therefore seven Asian states, one African state, and five Arab states supported the U.S.S.R. as did Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Norway, and Sweden.

Complete support for the U.S.A. and China came from eighteen Latin American states, four White Commonwealth states, six European states, and eight Asian and African states. Jordan and Pakistan now gave full support to the

U.S.A. but Iraq, Liberia, and Malaya's behaviour reduced the complete support of the Asian and African states from nine to eight. However Liberia and Malaya while abstaining twice did vote three times with the U.S.A. Mexico increased its abstentions to three but voted for the second paragraph of the resolution and the resolution as a whole. Peru abstained twice, on the second amendment and the second paragraph of the resolution. New Zealand abstained on both roll-call votes referring to inclusion of the item on the agenda, i.e., on the first amendment and on the first paragraph of the resolution. But the Union of South Africa voted identically with the U.S.A. The reduction in complete support by European states from eight to six resulted from the actions of Austria and Iceland who both abstained completely. Greece also changed from majority support for the United States position to abstaining fully. Libya changed from majority support for the U.S.A. to supporting both amendments but abstaining all together on the resolution. Israel, Laos, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia continued to abstain completely, so that eight states abstained completely on this item in the thirteenth session.

Five roll-call votes were also held on the item in the fourteenth session. In this session both sides

increased their consistent support. Thirty-eight states voted with the U.S.A. and China. Twenty-nine states voted against the U.S.A. Eight states abstained.

The voting took place at the 803rd plenary meeting. Two votes were held on the Nepalese amendments (A/L261), and three were held on the General Committee resolution (A/4214). The resolution was identical to the one in the thirteenth session. And the amendments by Nepal were identical to the seven-power amendments in the previous session.

Latin American support for the United States position was reduced by one to seventeen. Peru voted identically with the U.S.A., but Venezuela abstained on both references to inclusion of the item on the agenda. And Cuba abstained altogether. But Laos changed from abstaining completely to voting identically with the United States. And Greece also acted in this way. Liberia changed from majority support to complete support for the United States. This raised the number of states voting identically against the Soviet bloc to forty. Malaya, Mexico, and New Zealand voted exactly as they had voted in the thirteenth session. But Ethiopia changed from majority support for the U.S.A. to support for the Indian request for inclusion of the item on the agenda while abstaining on the specific references to Red and Nationalist China; i.e. Ethiopia did not vote once with the U.S.A.

Guinea's admission raised the opposition to the U.S.A. to twenty-nine. Iraq continued to support the Soviet bloc, while Lebanon and Jordan continued full support for the U.S.A. Libya abstained completely in this session along with Austria, Cuba, Iceland, Israel, Laos, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia.

The roll-call voting on this item has been illuminating in pointing out changes in voting policy with respect to the Cold War for whatever reason. The behaviour of Iran, Japan, Laos, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey contrasted with that of Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and Nepal.¹ Malaya tended to support the U.S.A. and China. Lebanon and Jordan's behaviour contrasted with that of Morocco, Sudan, the United Arab Republic, and Yemen. Iraq changed to the Soviet side, while Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia abstained. Libya had given the U.S.A. majority support in the earlier sessions. Finland voted with the Scandinavian states but for Iceland, and Ireland also voted with the Soviet bloc. Austria however abstained on this item. Liberia's behaviour contrasted with that of Ghana and Guinea while Ethiopia tended towards abstaining after giving the U.S.A. majority support.

It has been noted that the proportion of the Assembly voting with the Soviet Union of this issue prior to the eleventh session was 20% of the Assembly's membership with

1. Israel was the only Asian state to abstain all-together on this item.

67% of that membership opposed^{to} the Soviet bloc and those Asian states which were its strongest supporters on this issue. In the fourteenth session 35% of the membership opposed the U.S.A., 10% abstained, while 49% consistently opposed the Soviet bloc. The remaining 6% voted with the U.S.A. two or three times in each session but also abstained once or twice e.g., Mexico and New Zealand.

(iv) Peace, Disarmament and French Nuclear Testing.

This section deals with items which are related to the general theme of the maintenance of peace and security in the world. Three roll-call votes were held on the general subject of measures to maintain peace. Thirty-two roll-call votes were held on the related items concerned with Atomic Energy and with Disarmament.

One roll-call vote was held on each of two resolutions, (A) and (B), in the First Committee's report (A/2049) at the 359th plenary meeting in the sixth session. The report dealt with the subject of maintaining international peace and security. Resolution (A), Following the adoption of the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution in the previous session, recommended Members to maintain armed forces which could be employed by the United Nations, and also to obtain through participation in other international

bodies all possible support for collective measures undertaken by the United Nations. The resolution was adopted by 51 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions. Yugoslavia voted against the Soviet bloc on this resolution but Argentina, India, and Indonesia abstained.

Resolution (B) merely recommended that the Security Council hold periodic meetings to consider way to relieve international tension and to promote friendly relations between countries. It was adopted by 57 votes to 0, with 2 abstentions. Argentina abstained again, and was joined this time by China.

In the twelfth session a resolution (A/3802) from the First Committee, which called upon all states to make every effort to strengthen international peace, and to develop friendly relations, and to settle disputes by peaceful means, was adopted by 77 votes to 0, with 1 abstention, viz., China,

Atomic Energy and Disarmament.

Two related items which have appeared regularly on the agenda of the General Assembly concern the "Uses of Atomic Energy" and the "Regulation and Reduction of Armaments." Roll-call voting on the first item has been confined to the third, fourth, and fifth sessions. The grounds of common interest between the two items were close

enough to lead to the dissolution of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments and the establishment of one Commission to carry out their functions.

The Soviet bloc alone opposed the Assembly majority on three of the seven roll-call votes arising out of the reports of the Atomic Energy Commission; and on two occasions the bloc's stand was supported by Yugoslavia only. The remaining two roll-call votes led to different line-ups because an Indian compromise amendment was the subject of the voting.

The Assembly considered three reports of the Atomic Energy Commission during the third session. These reports contained a plan for control of the uses of atomic energy, including inspection. The U.S.S.R. opposed strongly such plans and demanded the immediate signing of draft conventions on the prohibition of atomic weapons and on the establishment of effective international control over atomic energy. A Soviet resolution (A/C.1/310) to this effect was defeated at the 157th plenary meeting by 40 votes to 6, with 5 abstentions. Afghanistan, India, Iran, Ethiopia, and Venezuela abstained while Yugoslavia voted with the Soviet bloc. There then followed two roll-call votes on an Indian amendment (A/700) which proposed that the recommendations of the Commission be adopted in

substance only; the amendment also included more specific instructions for the Commission. Fifteen states opposed both paragraphs, including the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Ten states, including Poland and Yugoslavia, abstained on both paragraphs. Belgium, Ecuador, Syria, and Venezuela supported India each time, while Afghanistan, Australia, China, and Ethiopia supported the second paragraph which was rejected by 15 votes to 9, with 26 abstentions. The first paragraph was rejected by 31 votes to 5 with 15 abstentions. The consistent rejections of the Indian attempt at mediation came from Argentina, Haiti, Honduras and Nicaragua; Canada and the U.S.A.; Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden; Saudi Arabia; and four members of the Soviet bloc. The states which did not oppose either paragraph comprised Mexico, Panama and Peru; France, Poland and Yugoslavia; and Egypt, Yemen, Liberia, and Philippines. There was therefore little pattern to the voting on the Indian amendment. No fewer than seven states were absent.

At the 254th plenary meeting in the fourth session three roll-call votes were held on one Soviet resolution (A/1120). The first two paragraphs which claimed that full responsibility for the failure to give effect to resolutions adopted in the first session lay with the Governments of the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. and that these two Governments continually opposed the aim of an immediate prohibition of

atomic weapons, were both defeated by 51 votes to 5, with 1 abstention. The single abstention was Yugoslavia. The third paragraph, which would have instructed the Atomic Energy Commission to proceed immediately with the preparation of a draft convention for the prohibition of atomic weapons and one for the control of atomic energy, was rejected by 41 votes to 6, with 10 abstentions.

Yugoslavia supported the Soviet proposal while Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, and Iran abstained with two Latin American states, Costa Rica and Mexico; Egypt, Iraq, and Yemen, and Israel.

In the fifth session one roll-call vote was held at the 323rd plenary meeting on an eight power resolution (A/1668) which recommended the appointment of a committee to study the advisability of establishing a new combined agency to better co-ordinate the work of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments. The resolution was adopted by 47 votes to 5, with 3 abstentions. Indonesia and Pakistan joined Yugoslavia in abstaining.

The voting on the item of Atomic Energy, therefore, can justifiably be included in the Cold War category. Two of the five votes which saw the Soviet bloc isolated apart from active or passive support from Yugoslavia, found the whole Assembly against the Soviet proposals, while only

four states abstained more than once. Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, and Iran abstained twice.

Twenty-five roll-call votes have been held on the Question of Disarmament. Table 29 illustrates the distribution of these roll-call votes.

TABLE 29

Distribution of 25 Roll-Call Votes on Disarmament.

Session	Number of Roll-Call Votes
3rd Regular	8
12th "	5
13th "	2
14th "	10
TOTAL	25

Seven of these votes in the fourteenth session concerned the specific case of French nuclear tests in the Sahara, and were therefore of an entirely different nature from the ones held previous to the fourteenth session. The three other votes in the fourteenth session were also significantly different from earlier roll-call votes, since they were related to the French testing, a fact illustrated by the composition of the group of states which abstained. In the third and twelfth sessions the Soviet bloc was isolated frequently, an event which justifies including this item under the heading of the Cold War.

Eight roll-call votes were held on one Soviet resolution (A/723) at the 163rd plenary meeting in the third session. Every paragraph in this resolution was rejected by a wide margin. Yugoslavia voted with the Soviet bloc on every occasion but only three other states voted with the bloc. Venezuela supported the third preambular paragraph, while India, Mexico, and Venezuela supported the fourth preambular paragraph. The average number of states abstaining on each roll-call vote was eleven. The resolution, consisting of five preambular paragraph and three operative paragraphs, after noting that practically nothing had been done to implement resolutions adopted in the first session, that prohibition of atomic energy for war aims was a task of the first importance, that a general substantial reduction of armaments would strengthen peace and aid economic progress, that the Great Powers had the main responsibility for maintenance of peace and security, and that the desire to strengthen the cause of peace was a motive for its recommendation, recommended the permanent members of the Security Council to reduce by one third all existing land, naval, and air forces, that atomic weapons intended for aggression be prohibited but not those for defensive purposes, and the establishment within the framework of

the Security Council of an international control body to supervise the implementation of the measures for the reduction of armaments and armed forces.

Table 30 illustrates the behaviour of the states which abstained at least once during the roll-call voting on the Soviet resolution, i.e., those states which did not vote identically with the U.S.A. Argentina, Iran, Iraq, and Yemen abstained each time. Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Syria, and Venezuela abstained on at least five of the eight roll-call votes. France abstained three times. Cuba, Egypt, Honduras, India, Liberia, Mexico, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Saudi Arabia each abstained twice. On average 58% of the Assembly, including the U.S.A. voted against the Soviet bloc in this session while 19% abstained. Five states were absent when the roll-call votes were held.

There were no further roll-call votes in the plenary meetings of the Assembly until the twelfth session. Of the five roll-call votes held in this session four can be compared to the voting in the third session in that the Soviet bloc was isolated. The fifth vote led to the rejection of an Indian resolution; the voting in this case was significantly different from that on all the other roll-call votes in the third and twelfth sessions.

TABLE 30

Propensity to Abstain on Soviet Resolution
(A/723) on Disarmament.

State	Number of Abstentions
Afghanistan	7
Argentina	8
Canada	1
Colombia	1
Cuba	2
Egypt	2
Ethiopia	5
France	3
Honduras	2
India	2
Iran	8
Iraq	8
Lebanon	6
Liberia	2
Mexico	2
Netherlands	1
New Zealand	2
Philippines	2
Saudi Arabia	2
Syria	6
Uruguay	2
Venezuela	5
Yemen	8

There was one roll-call vote each on two resolutions (A/3729) presented by the First Committee. The first resolution took as a basis for its recommendations the belief that immediate steps could be taken for partial measures of disarmament; it urged states to reach a disarmament agreement providing for the immediate suspension of nuclear testing with prompt installation of effective international control including inspection posts in the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A. The resolution also urged the reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons, and of armed forces and conventional armaments. The second resolution requested the Disarmament Commission to make recommendations on the nature of the information to be disseminated to make public opinion aware of effects of modern weapons and the necessity of reaching a disarmament agreement providing effective measures of control. The first resolution was adopted by 56 votes to 9, with 15 abstentions, but the second, considerably less controversial, was adopted by 71 votes to 9, with 1 abstention.

The Indian resolution (A/L232) called for the establishment of a scientific technical commission to recommend a system of inspection and called upon states to suspend testing was rejected at the 718th plenary meeting by 34 votes to 24, with 20 abstentions. The support for the resolution came from the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia;

Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal and Iran; Egypt Morocco, Sudan and Syria; Finland, Ghana, Guatemala, and Mexico. Afghanistan abstained as did several Arab states. The opposition came from thirteen Latin American states; eleven European states;¹ four White Commonwealth states,² China, Israel, Pakistan, Philippines, Turkey, and the U.S.A.

A Soviet resolution (A/L230) was defeated at the 719th plenary meeting by 46 votes to 9, with 24 abstentions. The resolution proposed to replace the Disarmament Commission by a Permanent Disarmament Commission composed of all United Nations members.

Finally a six-power resolution (A/L231/Rev 1) was adopted at the same plenary meeting by 60 votes to 9, with 11 abstentions. This resolution proposed the enlargement of the Disarmament Commission by the addition of fourteen states. Table I illustrates the propensity to abstain in this session.

The average opposition to the U.S.S.R. on the four roll-call votes apart from the one on the Indian resolution was 58 states or 70% of the Assembly, while 13 states, or 16% of the membership, abstained. No state voted with the Soviet bloc. There was considerable variation in the number of abstentions.

-
1. Ireland, Sweden, and Austria abstained.
 2. Union of South Africa was absent.

In the thirteenth session, at the 779th plenary meeting, a First Committee resolution (A/3974/Corr I/Rev I) was adopted by 49 votes to 9, with 22 abstentions. This was resolution (A) in the Committee's report. The resolution urged the suspension of nuclear testing while the Geneva talks were in progress. The Soviet bloc above opposed the resolution. The states which abstained were mainly African, Asian, or Arab. But Austria, Finland, France, Israel, Sweden, and Yugoslavia also abstained. Ethiopia and Ghana; the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen; and Afghanistan, India, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia, Japan, and Nepal; were the other states which did not vote with the U.S.A. on this resolution.

At the same meeting a fourteen-power resolution (A/L250) was defeated by 41 votes to 27, with 13 abstentions. The sponsors included seven Asian states, four Arab states, two African states, and Yugoslavia. The resolution called for the immediate discontinuance of nuclear testing pending the establishment of an international control system. The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, seven Asian states, seven Arab States, and Ethiopia, Finland, and Ghana voted for adoption. The states which abstained were Austria, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Malaya, Mexico, New Zealand, Sweden, and Tunisia.

The three roll-call votes in the fourteenth session not directly mentioning French nuclear testing are described following the discussion of that issue because the resolutions which were the subject of the roll-call votes were drafted with that testing in mind.

French Nuclear Testing.

Seven roll-call votes were held at the 840th plenary meeting on a First Committee resolution (A/4280). There were roll-call votes on the third, seventh, eighth, and ninth preambular paragraphs, the first and second operative paragraphs, and on the resolution as a whole.

The eighth and ninth preambular paragraphs were rejected since they failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. But the remaining paragraphs and the resolution as a whole were adopted. The adopted preambular paragraphs expressed deep concern over the dangers of such testing, and recognised the concern among the peoples of Africa. The first operative paragraph expressed deep concern over the intentions of the French Government, the second asked that Government to desist from testing. The two rejected preambular paragraphs claimed that it must be borne in mind that France could not assume responsibility for the protection of the threatened territories, and that the Assembly should consider the

special responsibility of the United Nations for the health and well-being of the dependent peoples of Africa, Table 31 illustrates the propensity to abstain on the roll-call voting on this resolution, and the support given to France. Four Latin American states, viz., Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Peru, and France, Luxembourg, and Portugal, and the Union of South Africa, opposed every paragraph and the resolution as a whole.¹ Eight states voted negatively except on the seventh preambular paragraph. Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain, the United Kingdom and the U.S.A., and Honduras abstained on the seventh preambular paragraph; Israel supported that paragraph.

Voting on the eighth and ninth preambular paragraphs was 36 to 30, with 16 abstentions, and 39 to 25, with 18 abstentions, respectively. These two paragraphs therefore did not obtain the required two-thirds majority. Table 31 illustrates the behaviour of those states which, though not voting with France on all or all but one roll-call votes, did abstain on or oppose the two preambular paragraph, thereby contributing to their rejection. In addition to the states already enumerated, nine states opposed both the preambular paragraphs, viz., Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Chile, China, Colombia, Ecuador,

1. The behaviour of these states is not included in Table 31.

El Salvador, and Uruguay. Five other states, Austria, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, and Paraguay, opposed the eighth preambular paragraph while abstaining on the ninth.

Four states abstained when every roll-call vote was held, viz., Greece, Haiti, Laos, and Thailand. Five states abstained on three or more paragraphs, viz., Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. These states supported the paragraphs other than those on which they abstained. Canada abstained once only, while New Zealand abstained twice. The states not listed in Table 31 voted for every paragraph and the resolution as a whole.¹

Of the fifteen European states Iceland and Ireland were the least favourable to the French position. Cambodia abstained but once; however Laos and Thailand were two Asian states which abstained completely. Pakistan, a state comparable to Thailand in its alliance with the West, supported every paragraph. Cuba was the only Latin American state not to abstain at least once. In fact Latin American support, active and passive in the sense of abstaining, was very strong. Canada and New Zealand abstained only three times in all in contrast to the other three members of the White Commonwealth.

1. I.e., apart from the eight states which opposed every paragraph and the resolution as a whole.

TABLE 31¹

Behaviour of States Opposing or Abstaining
on Resolution (A/4280) Condemning French
Nuclear Testing.

State	Voting Behaviour
Argentina	A A N N A A A
Australia	N A N N A A A
Austria	A A N A A
Belgium	N A N N N N N
Bolivia	A A N N
Cambodia	A
Canada	A
Chile	N A N N A A A
China	A A N N A A A
Columbia	A N N N N N A
Costa Rica	A A A A A A
Denmark	A A A A A
Ecuador	A A N N
El Salvador	A A N N A A A
Finland	A A A A A
Greece	A A A A A A A
Guatemala	N A N A N A
Haiti	A A A A A A A
Honduras	N A N N N N N
Iceland	A
Ireland	A A
Italy	N A N N N N N
Laos	A A A A A A A
Mexico	A A N A
Netherlands	N A N N N N N
New Zealand	A A
Norway	A A A
Panama	N N A
Paraguay	A A N A A A A
Spain	N A N N N N N
Sweden	A A A A
Thailand	A A A A A A A
Turkey	A A A A A A A
United Kingdom	N A N N N N N
U.S.A.	N A N N N N N
Uruguay	N A N N N A A
Venezuela	A A

1. N denotes opposition to the adoption of the particular part of the resolution and therefore support for France.

Following the item referring particularly to French testing there were two roll-call votes on the general problem.

In the fourteenth session one roll-call vote was held on a motion by El Salvador that all items on Disarmament be considered separately. This motion was adopted by 42 votes to 0, with 38 abstentions. Most of the Latin American and Western European states abstained, as did the U.S.A. and the White Commonwealth states.

There was one roll-call vote at the 840th plenary meeting on a First Committee resolution (A/4286) on the subject of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. The resolution, which suggested that the Disarmament Commission consider appropriate means of preventing the spread by means of an international agreement subject to inspection and control, was adopted by 68 votes to 0, with 12 abstentions. China, France, and Peru abstained along with the Soviet bloc.

At the 842nd plenary meeting, resolution (B) in the First Committee's report (A/4290) on the subject of suspension of nuclear testing was adopted by 60 votes to 1, with 20 abstentions. The resolution appealed to the states concerned to continue the existing voluntary suspension of tests and appealed to other states to

desist from testing. Franco opposed adoption. The abstaining states were all allies of the U.S.A. The only Asian states to abstain were China, Israel, and Turkey; six Latin American states also abstained, viz., Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru. The Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A. also abstained on this resolution as did seven Western European states, viz., Belgium, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain.

One roll-call vote was held in the thirteenth session on the subject of Outer Space. A First Committee resolution (A/4009) recommended the establishment of an Ad Hoc eighteen member committee to study the peaceful uses of outer space. The Soviet bloc alone opposed adoption while nineteen states abstained. Included in this total were nine Arab states,¹ six Asian states,² Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, and Guinea.

X X X X X X

Three outstanding characteristics of roll-call voting on Cold War items emerge from an examination of the items discussed in the first section of this chapter, i.e., the Spanish question, the Greek question, the question of fundamental freedoms in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.,

1. Tunisia supported the resolution.

2. The Asian states were Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, and Indonesia.

and the question of Chinese political independence. And these were to be confirmed, by voting first on the Korean question, then on the Hungarian question. First, the U.S.A. had in every instance but one a comfortable two-thirds majority behind it in its consistent opposition to the U.S.S.R.¹ Secondly, the Soviet bloc was not merely severely outnumbered by the states voting with the U.S.A., it was also virtually isolated in the Assembly apart from Yugoslavia and the intermittent support of one or two states. Thirdly, there was a considerable degree of consistency among the group of states which abstained fairly often in the early life of the General Assembly.

This pattern developed during roll-call voting on this Spanish question; it was most apparent in the voting on the Greek question and the question of fundamental freedoms in Eastern Europe. A consistent propensity to abstain in this early period characterised the behaviour of several Asian and Arab states. And most of the states which abstained moderately usually came from these groups also. The pattern was to some extent disrupted by roll-call voting on the question of Chinese political independence. One roll-call vote on this item saw the U.S.A.'s majority reduced to within one vote of the minimum number required for a two-thirds majority. In particular the Western European states failed to consistently support the U.S.A. on this item while some

1. The item on Chinese political independence saw a reduction in the U.S.A.'s majority, and consequently an increase in support for the U.S.S.R.

of them, and some of the White Commonwealth states, voted against the U.S.A. at least once. The states with the highest propensities to abstain, as illustrated in Table 14 and 15, were Afghanistan, India, Israel, Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen.¹ Several Latin American states abstained on the Greek question but not significantly thereafter.

Voting on the Korean question largely corresponded to this pattern. And when many new Members were admitted from the tenth session onwards the ones which tended to abstain were either Asian or Arab states. The other states to abstain were Ghana and Guinea, and Finland. But whereas almost all Latin American states, Western European states, and White Commonwealth states voted with the U.S.A. on almost every occasion, the Asian and Arab (and African,) states were divided into three loose groupings. Several states had high propensities to abstain; several states had moderate propensities to abstain; and several states voted consistently with the U.S.A., e.g. Israel, Pakistan, Philippines, and Thailand.

This particular pattern developed further with voting on the Hungarian question; the composition of the various groups was perhaps best illustrated by voting on the question of Chinese representation. But voting on this latter item was an exception to the general trend. The

1. Israel did not abstain at all frequently on later items in the Cold War.

Suez question and the question of French nuclear testing were of a different nature from the majority of items included in the Cold War, viz., the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. were not in almost constant opposition. But the question of Chinese representation was much closer to the heart of the Cold War. The bulk of the Latin American states, Western European states, and White Commonwealth states, continued to vote overwhelmingly with the U.S.A. A minor breach in this behaviour was caused by the actions of Denmark, Norway, Finland, Ireland, and Sweden who voted with the Soviet bloc. But many of the Asian, Arab, and African states which had abstained on Cold War items now voted with the Soviet bloc. And as a result, the U.S.A. did not have a two-thirds majority over the U.S.S.R. But since the voting was on General Committee recommendations which do not require a two-thirds majority for adoption, and on resolutions and amendments sponsored by Asian states supporting the U.S.S.R., a two-thirds majority was never required.

The basic patterns continued right up to the end of the fourteenth session with minor deviations which are enumerated in the text above.

CHAPTER III

ANTI-COLONIALISM.

There are three distinct types of issue which involve the theme of Anti-Colonialism. The first type of issue was inherited by the United Nations from the League of Nations and from the ending of the Second World War. Two items of this type were debated in the General Assembly during the early sessions, and were subjected to a relatively high degree of roll-call voting, viz., the Palestine question, and the question of the disposal of the former Italian colonies. The second type of colonial issue followed the first type in the Assembly's history when disputes arose over, in particular, Dutch rule in the East Indies, and French rule in North Africa. A third type of issue which can justifiably be included in a chapter dealing with Anti-colonialism derived from the racial policy pursued by the government of the Union of South Africa.

Voting on the first type of issue was concluded during the seventh session. Voting on the second type commenced in the third session and continued through to the end of the period covered in this thesis. Finally, voting on items relating to South Africa was continuous from the second part of the first session.

(i) Palestine and the Italian Colonies.

Palestine

The problems arising from the situation in Palestine at the end of the Second World War led to the General Assembly devoting two special sessions and much time to the general situation and then to the special situation of Jerusalem. The work of the Assembly was dictated by events in the area; events which although in some measure prompted by decisions of the Assembly led to these decisions not being implemented. The problem at first was notable for the agreement of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the methods of solving the problem; but later on it was notable for the failure of the U.S.A. to have its wishes implemented. The importance of the item was reflected in the thirty-three roll-call votes held upto the seventh session. Table 32 shows the distribution of this total.

Table 32.

Distribution of 33 Roll-Call Votes on Palestine Question

Session	Number of roll call votes
First special	6
Second Regular	1
Second special	7
Third regular	4
Fourth regular	11
Fifth regular	1
Seventh regular	3
Total	33

The principal figures in the Assembly's debates were the Arab states, and, following its admission during the third session, Israel.

The first special session was convened at the request of the United Kingdom. The single item on the agenda of that session was one providing for "constituting and instructing a special committee to prepare for the consideration of the Question of Palestine at the second regular session"¹. However, at the seventy-first plenary meeting, one roll-call vote was held on an Arab proposal that an additional item be included on the agenda. This item was to be "The termination of the mandate over Palestine and the declaration of its independence".² The proposal was rejected by 24 votes to 15, with 10 abstentions. Nineteen states which opposed the proposal voted together on the total of six roll-call votes in the first special session; these states also voted with the Assembly majority in this session. The real issue concerned the competence of the committee set up to prepare for consideration of the Palestine question at the second regular session to deal with what amounted to one particular solution of the problem.

The five Arab states were supported by four members of the Soviet bloc, Afghanistan, Argentina, Cuba, India, Iran, and Turkey. Czechoslovakia and Poland abstained as did Bolivia,

1. Yearbook of the United Nations, 1946-47, p.277.

2. Ibid, p.273.

Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, and Mexico. Chile, Philippines, the Union of South Africa, Uruguay, and Venezuela voted with the nineteen states referred to above. These nineteen states, which voted four times against the five Arab states, comprised four White Commonwealth states; five Latin American states, viz., Brazil, Ecuador, Honduras, Panama and Paraguay; seven European states; and China, Liberia, and the U.S.A.

Two roll-call votes were held at the seventy-ninth plenary meeting. A resolution submitted by Czechoslovakia and Poland proposed that the Jewish Agency for Palestine be invited to state its views before the plenary. It was rejected by 39 votes to 8, with 7 abstentions. The Soviet bloc was supported by Chile and the Union of South Africa. Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, Thailand, and Uruguay abstained. Iceland, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, and Panama voted with the nineteen states enumerated above on this occasion and on the remaining four roll-call votes in this session; all four had been absent when the first roll-call vote was held. Subsequently a resolution (A/305) sponsored by Byelorussia and several Latin American states was adopted by 44 votes to 7, with 3 abstentions. The resolution proposed that the First Committee grant a hearing to the Jewish Agency. The Arab states opposed this proposal also and were supported by two states which voted every time with them in this session, viz., Afghanistan and Turkey. India, Iran, and Thailand abstained.

Also at the seventy-ninth plenary meeting, a resolution (A/307) submitted by the First Committee was the subject of three roll-call votes. The first paragraph, which gave the membership of the special committee, was adopted by 40 votes to 0, with 13 abstentions. The Soviet bloc abstained along with the Arab states, Afghanistan, and Turkey. The following eight paragraphs, dealing with the terms of the special committee's tasks, and then the resolution as a whole, were adopted in two roll-call votes in which 45 states voted in favour, 7 against, and 1 abstained, each time. Thailand abstained both times. And the Arab states, and Afghanistan and Turkey opposed the Assembly majority.¹

Only one roll-call vote was held on this question in the second regular session, but it was an important one. At the 128th plenary meeting an Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/516) was adopted by 33 votes to 13, with 10 abstentions. The resolution recommended that a "Plan of Partition with Economic Union" be the solution of the Palestine problem. The partition was to consist of an Arab state, a Jewish state, and an international regime for Jerusalem. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. voted together in support of this resolution. The opposition came from the six Arab states, Afghanistan, Cuba, Greece, India, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey. Six Latin American states, China, Ethiopia, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia abstained. The six Latin American states were Argentina, Chile,

1. Five Arab states were Members of the United Nations during the first special session. Yemen's admission in September 1947 raised Arab representation to six.

Colombia, El Salvador, Honduras and Mexico, Only Honduras had voted every time with the U.S.A. in the first special session.

A second special session, instigated by the Security Council, was held in April and May 1948. The voting on the seven roll-call votes in this session was notable for the large numbers of abstentions. An average of twenty-six states abstained on five amendments to a resolution submitted by sub-committee ten of the First Committee. The subject of the voting was the temporary administration of Jerusalem. The session had been called because implementation of the plan of partition had been impossible due to non-cooperation from Jews and Arabs.

The U.S.A. had proposed a temporary settlement in the form of an international trusteeship. This proposal was defeated in the sub-committee. The U.S.A. then proposed a trusteeship for the limited area of Jerusalem.

The resolution (A/C.I./298)¹ recommended that Jerusalem be temporarily placed under the authority of the United Nations, in particular of the Trusteeship Council, and that its territorial integrity be assured by the United Nations; the arrangement was to terminate on 31st December 1949.

1. The symbol A/C.I./ indicates that this is a document of the First Committee. The resolution was referred directly to the General Assembly without being discussed or voted on in the First Committee. This procedure accounts for its retaining the citation of the First Committee.

Two Mexican amendments were adopted by 15 votes to 11, with 28 abstentions, and 14 votes to 11, with 28 abstentions. These amendments made minor alterations to the wording of the resolution. Three amendments by the U.S.A. to the resolution were adopted by 17 votes to 11, with 26 abstentions, 19 votes to 12, with 23 abstentions, and 17 votes to 12, with 25 abstentions, respectively. The first amendment recommended that the Trusteeship Council appoint the proposed United Nations Government of Jerusalem. The second and third amendments dealt with the source of funds to pay for the proposed United Nations Administration in Jerusalem.

However the recommendations of the sub-committee were rejected when they failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. Twenty states supported the recommendations, but fifteen states opposed, and nineteen states abstained. Fifteen states abstained completely on the six roll-call votes related to the resolution (A/C.1./298). Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Ecuador, Greece, Haiti, India, Norway, Thailand, Philippines, the United Kingdom, and Venezuela acted in this way. Nine states supported the amendments and the resolution, and nine states opposed them. The U.S.A. was supported by Brazil, France, Honduras, Iceland, Liberia, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, and Sweden. The six Arab states and Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Turkey opposed the U.S.A. on the six roll-call votes. Three states, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Paraguay,

were absent throughout the roll-call voting in this session. Cuba and Iran tended to support the Arab states while Byelorussia, Ethiopia, Ukraine, the U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia voted with the Arab states once or twice. Czechoslovakia and Poland abstained six times. Belgium, Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, Peru, the Union of South Africa, and Uruguay tended to support the U.S.A.

Finally a First Committee resolution (A/552) was adopted by 31 votes to 7, with 16 abstentions. Thereby the Assembly provided for a Mediator to arrange for the necessary public services in Palestine, to assure the protection of the Holy Places in Palestine, and to promote a peaceful adjustment to the new situation by all parties concerned. The Soviet bloc and Cuba opposed this resolution, while the six Arab states, and Australia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Greece, Haiti, Mexico, Peru, Thailand, and Venezuela abstained.

In May 1948 a state of Israel was proclaimed following the termination of the British mandate, and invading Arab forces were promptly defeated. In the fourth session the problem was discussed against the background of these events, the assassination of Count Bernadotte, and a report, based upon the recognition of Israel as a viable entity, by the Swedish Mediator's successor, R. Bunche.

At the 186th plenary meeting in the third session, three roll-call votes were held on three amendments to a First Committee resolution (A/776). One roll-call vote was held on

the resolution itself which proposed to establish a Conciliation Commission of three members to assist the governments concerned to achieve a final settlement of the problem and to assume all functions previously conferred upon the Mediator. The Jerusalem area was to be placed under U.N. control, and was to have the freest possible access. Two amendments to the resolution were defeated. A Polish amendment (A/804) which proposed that the Conciliation Commission consist of five members instead of three was defeated by 47 votes to 6, with 5 abstentions. The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia was alone in opposition while Burma, Guatemala, India, Liberia, and Mexico abstained. A joint amendment (A/789) proposed for the deletion of the preamble which referred to previous resolutions, and the deletion of a sub-paragraph calling for the Commission to promote good relations between Israel and the Arabs of Palestine and the neighbouring Arab states. The amendment, whose sponsors included Australia, Brazil, and France, was adopted by 46 votes to 8, with 3 abstentions. The Soviet bloc, and Yugoslavia, and Guatemala and Philippines opposed the amendment while Bolivia, Costa Rica, and Mexico abstained. An El Salvador amendment (A/801) which proposed that Nazareth be included in the international area was defeated by 17 votes to 11, with 29 abstentions. The Arab states but for the Lebanon, and Afghanistan, Burma, China, Greece, Iran, Liberia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., and Uruguay

opposed this amendment while nine Latin American states, Denmark, and Lebanon supported it. The resolution was then adopted by 38 votes to 15, with 8 abstentions. The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, the six Arab states, Afghanistan, Cuba, and Pakistan opposed the resolution, while Bolivia, Burma, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, India, Iran, and Mexico abstained.

The Conciliation Commission's recommendations would have entailed partition of Jerusalem between Israel and Jordan with special provision for United Nations supervision of the Holy Places. But when the problem was discussed at the fourth session several states supported a plan for a fuller internationalist regime than that envisaged by the Conciliation Commission.

There were eleven roll-call votes on the problem at the 275th plenary meeting in the fourth session. A procedural motion that debate be adjourned was rejected by 34 votes to 14, with 11 abstentions. A resolution (A/1241) sponsored by Uruguay, which proposed that debate on the question be adjourned and a special session called for further consideration of the question, was rejected by 34 votes to 20, with 5 abstentions.

There followed nine roll-call votes on an Ad Hoc Political Committee's resolution (A/1222) which represented the views of those states which were not satisfied with the recommendations of the Conciliation Commission. The U.S.A. urged acceptance of the Commission's recommendation on the

grounds that the United Nations could not administer Jerusalem as envisaged in the Ad Hoc Political Committee's resolution (A/1222) with Jews and Arabs both opposing the plan.

The resolution stated the intention of the Assembly to be that Jerusalem be placed under a permanent international regime which would guarantee protection of the Holy Places. The city of Jerusalem was to be administered by the United Nations, in particular by the Trusteeship Council; the area of the city was defined. The second section of the resolution called upon the states concerned to approach the problem with good will and according to the terms of this resolution itself. There was little deviation in voting on the parts of this resolution.

Thirty-seven states voted affirmatively on the nine roll-call votes on the Committee's resolution. Fourteen states voted negatively each time, viz., Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Guatemala, Iceland, Israel, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

Chile, Honduras, New Zealand, Panama, and Thailand abstained each time. Only three states did not vote consistently on this resolution. The Dominican Republic supported two parts and abstained thereafter. Mexico supported five parts and abstained four times. The Netherlands abstained seven times but opposed two parts. Chile, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, Philippines, and Thailand supported the

Uruguayan resolution while Turkey abstained.

At the 326th plenary meeting in the fifth session an Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/1724) failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. Thirty states voted in favour, 18 against, and 9 abstained. The resolution, which followed on the failure of the trusteeship plan due to non-cooperation from the peoples and governments concerned, sought to promote "further consultations with Israel and Jordan¹ regarding the protection of the Holy Places."

Twelve of the fourteen states which had consistently opposed the Ad Hoc Political Committee's resolution (A/1241) in the fourth session opposed this resolution also, although Canada and Costa Rica both abstained in the fifth session. But Australia and Nicaragua, opposed the resolution in the fifth session instead of supporting it as they had done in the fourth session while Honduras, Netherlands, New Zealand, and Thailand opposed instead of abstaining, either completely or almost completely as they had done in the previous session.

The Soviet bloc, India and Mexico joined Canada and Costa Rica in abstaining.

Finally at the 406th plenary meeting in the seventh session roll-call votes were held on two Philippines amendments (A/L34) and one Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/2310). The resolution called upon the parties to honour fully their undertaking to refrain from any acts of hostility against each

1. Riggs, op. cit., p. 134

other, reaffirmed the principle that the Governments concerned had the primary responsibility for reaching a settlement, and in operative paragraph four urged the Governments concerned to enter negotiations at an early date "bearing in mind the resolutions as well as the principal objections of the United Nations on the Palestine Question".

The first part of the Philippines amendment proposed to reword the fourth operative paragraph so that the negotiations would be conducted "on the basis of" the resolutions of the United Nations on the Palestine question. The phrase 'on the basis', if it had been adopted, would have limited the range of solutions to the Palestine question. But it failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority; 26 states voted in favour, 24 against, and 10 abstained. The rest of the amendment, which singled out in particular the "principle of the internationalisation of Jerusalem" as one of the bases of negotiation, also failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority since 28 states voted in favour, 20 against, and 12 abstained. Finally the resolution itself failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority when 24 nations vote in favour, 21 against, and 15 abstained.

Thirteen states voted identically against both parts of the Philippines amendment and for the Committee's resolution, while fifteen states voted identically on support of both parts of the amendment and against the resolution. Israel and the

U.S.A. voted in the former group along with Denmark, Ecuador, Iceland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Sweden, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay. The six Arab states were joined by Afghanistan, Bolivia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, and Thailand in voting against Israel and the U.S.A. each time.

Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Liberia, and Mexico abstained completely. The Soviet bloc voted negatively each time while Brazil voted affirmatively each time. Seven states, viz., Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Peru, and Philippines supported the amendment but abstained on the resolution. Australia, Canada, France, and Nicaragua abstained on the second part of the amendment but otherwise voted with Israel and the U.S.A. Table 33 sums up the behaviour of the ten states whose behaviour has not yet been described.

Table 33.

Voting Behaviour on Palestine in Seventh session.

State	1st Philippines Amendment	2nd Philippines Amendment	Resolution A/2310
Burma	A	A	Y
Chile	N	Y	N
China	Y	A	Y
Costa Rica	A	Y	A
Cuba	N	Y	Y
Luxembourg	A	A	Y
Paraguay	A	Y	Y
Turkey	Y	N	A
Venezuela	A	Y	A
Yugoslavia	Y	N	Y

Only Chile voted against the Committee's resolution which had the support of Israel and the U.S.A.

No further roll-call votes were held on this item. Both parts of the Phillipines amendment, designed to conciliate the Arabs, and the resolution itself, which sought a solution through the co-operation of the parties concerned, failed to obtain the required two-third majority. The Arab states were supported by six Asian states while no Asian state supported Israel. Israel's main supporters came from three groups, viz. the Latin American states, the Western European states and the White Commonwealth states; but Israel did not obtain anything like the full support of these three groups.

Ecuador, Panama, and Uruguay were the Latin American states most favourable to the Israeli point-of-view in the seventh session followed by Brazil, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Paraguay. On the other hand Bolivia and El Salvador completely supported the Arab states, while Chile voted with them against the Ad Hoc Political Committee's resolution, and Argentina, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Peru voted for both parts of the Philippines amendment.

No Western European state supported the Arab states completely; indeed only Belgium voted against Israel and the U.S.A. though Greece abstained completely in the seventh session. And the White Commonwealth states were also strong supporters of Israel and the U.S.A.

It has already been noted that there was a great deal of abstaining on roll-call votes on this item. Nevertheless an important voting pattern can be seen, particularly in the later stages of the debates on this item. Firstly, the Arab states were supported by the Asian states. Secondly, Israel tended to be supported by states from Western Europe and the White Commonwealth. As a result, the majority of Arab and Asian states seldom found themselves voting with the Western European and White Commonwealth states.

The Former Italian Colonies.

Like the Palestine question, the problem concerning the disposal of colonies formerly held by Italy derived from the ending of the Second World War. But the United Nations had to deal with this problem because France, the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., and the United Kingdom failed to agree on how to solve the problem. Under the terms of the Treaty of Peace with Italy the four allied powers were to determine jointly the final disposal of ~~Libya~~^{Libya}, Eritrea and Italian Somoliland. They failed to agree, and so, under the terms of the Treaty, the problems reverted to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Twenty-six roll-call votes were held on this problem of which sixteen were held during the third session, seven during the fourth, and three during the fifth session.

The first roll-call vote was held at the 175th plenary meeting in the third session on a recommendation of the General Committee (A/775) that the item of "The Disposal of the former Italian Colonies" be referred to the Ad Hoc Political Committee for consideration. The recommendation was rejected by 31 votes to 11, with 9 abstentions. States opposing the recommendation did so on the grounds that it was important enough to be discussed in the plenary as soon as possible.

Although the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia supported the recommendation the other five states to do so represented three groups in the Assembly, viz., Egypt of the Arab states, Denmark and Norway of the Western European states, and Australia and the United Kingdom of the White Commonwealth states. Afghanistan, Belgium, Burma, Canada, Colombia, India, Luxembourg, Philippines, and Sweden abstained.

The item subsequently came before the General Assembly at the 216th to the 219th plenary meetings with the question being reviewed "on the basis of the report submitted by the First Committee (A/873)."¹ Draft resolution (A) in this report consisted of four preambular paragraphs and four operative paragraphs and was the subject of thirteen roll-call votes at the 218th plenary meeting.

The first operative paragraph, including three sub-paragraphs, dealt with Libya. First an Iraqi amendment (A/875)

1. Yearbook of the United Nations, 1948-49, p. 261.

proposing that Libya be granted immediate independence was rejected by 27 votes to 23, with 7 abstentions. The U.S.A., thirteen Latin American states, eight Western European states, and every White Commonwealth state opposed the amendment while the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, every Arab state, the Asian states but for Israel and Thailand, i.e., eight Asian states, and Costa Rica, Haiti, and Liberia supported this amendment. Ethiopia, Israel, Sweden, Thailand, and five Latin American states abstained.

The first paragraph of the operative part recommended that Libya become an independent state "ten years from the date of adoption of this resolution unless the General Assembly then decides that this step is not appropriate at that time." An Egyptian amendment (A/885) proposing that the phrase referring to a possible change of opinion by the General Assembly be omitted was adopted by 35 votes to 16, with 8 abstentions. Six Latin American states, the whole White Commonwealth, and five Western European states opposed the amendment but Denmark, Greece, Norway, and the U.S.A. supported it. Sweden again abstained, as it was to abstain completely on the roll-call votes related to the First Committee's resolution. The remaining seven states to abstain were Latin American. A further Egyptian amendment (A/885) proposing that in the interim period a united Libya be placed under the International Trusteeship System was defeated by 41 votes to 10, with 8 abstentions. The resolution

(A/873) proposed that in the interim period the parts, Cyrenaica, Fezzan, and Tripolitania, be placed separately under the International Trusteeship System. The Egyptian amendment also proposed that Egypt and Saudi Arabia be included among the administering authorities. Only the six Arab states, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, and Philippines supported the Egyptian amendment. China, Ethiopia, Haiti,,Israel, Liberia, Sweden, Turkey, and Thailand abstained.

Sub-paragraph (a) of the first operative paragraph of the First Committee's resolution, viz., that Cyrenaica be placed under the International Trusteeship System with the United Kingdom as the "Administering Authority", was then adopted by 36 votes to 17, with 6 abstentions. Sub-paragraph (b) which referred to Fezzan in similar terms but with France as the "Administering Authority" was adopted 36 votes to 15, with 7 abstentions. But the reference to Tripolitania, viz., that it be placed under the Trusteeship system by the end of 1951 with Italy as the "Administering Authority", and with the United Kingdom to continue a temporary administration up to 1951, was rejected because it failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority, thirty-three states voting in favour, seventeen against, with 8 abstentions. Fourteen states opposed every paragraph viz., the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, the six Arab states, Burma, and Pakistan. China, Sweden and Iran abstained each time. Afghanistan abstained on sub-paragraph (a) and was

absent till the final roll-call vote on this question in the third session. Guatemala, Haiti, and Israel opposed the reference to Cyrenaica, and India and Philippines abstained, but the two-thirds majority was obtained with two votes to spare, i.e., 36 to 17. Guatemala, Israel and Haiti did not oppose the reference to Fezzan but Philippines did. Israel, India, Thailand, and Turkey abstained with China, Iran, and Sweden. The two-thirds majority had 3 votes to spare, i.e., 36 to 15. But Haiti, India, and Philippines joined the fourteen states listed immediately above, and eight states abstained so that the reference to Tripolitania failed by one vote to obtain the two-thirds majority, i.e., 33 to 17. Ethiopia, Liberia, and Turkey abstained for the first time, joining China, Iran, Israel, Sweden, and Thailand. The opposition was aroused by Italy's nomination as the "Administering Authority" for Tripolitania.

A Mexican amendment to the last clause of the first paragraph involving a change in phraseology to allow for the rejection of Italy as an Administering Authority was adopted by 21 votes to 7, with 29 abstentions. The paragraph had concluded by asking the administering Powers to co-ordinate their activities with a view to prevent anything which might prejudice the realisation of an independent Libyan state. Only the Soviet bloc, Argentina, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia opposed the amendment. But support for it came only from five Latin American

states, seven Western European states, the whole White Commonwealth and Ethiopia, Liberia, Turkey and the U.S.A. Subsequently the last clause as amended was adopted by 21 votes to 9, with 28 abstentions, Ecuador joining the opposition.¹

Four roll-call votes were held on the second operative paragraph which referred to Italian Somaliland. A joint amendment (A/891) sponsored by Argentina, Brazil, and Peru to a Liberian amendment (A/886) was rejected by 39 votes to 3, with 16 abstentions. The Liberian amendment had proposed that the territory be placed under the International Trusteeship System with Italy as Administering Authority "for a period of fifteen years". The Latin American amendment proposed a period of twenty-five years. Only the sponsors supported their amendment. Seven Latin American states, six Western European states, and Iran, the Union of South Africa, and the U.S.A. abstained. The second paragraph of the resolution, which proposed "that the former Italian Somaliland be placed under the International Trusteeship System with a view to its independence, with Italy as the Administering Authority", was rejected when it failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. Thirty-five states voted in favour, but nineteen states voted against. China, Iran, Israel and Sweden abstained again.

The fourteen states which had opposed the resolution's references to Libya did so again, viz., the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, the Arab states, Burma, and Pakistan. They were

1 The aim of the Mexican amendment was to 'save' the resolution despite the rejection of Italy as an "Administering Authority."

joined by Haiti, India, Pakistan, and Philippines again, and, for the first time, by Ethiopia and Liberia.

Two roll-call votes were held on the First Committee's recommendations on Eritrea, viz., that Eritrea, except for the western province, be incorporated into Ethiopia. The third operative paragraph which contained this recommendation was adopted by 37 votes to 11, with 10 abstentions. Once again, the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia opposed adoption as did Burma and Pakistan. But only two Arab states, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and the Union of South Africa also opposed the paragraph. Syria and Yemen abstained but Egypt and Iraq supported the paragraph. China, India, Israel, Sweden, and four Latin American states also abstained. Egypt then sponsored an amendment which proposed that the western province of Eritrea be incorporated into the Sudan. This amendment was defeated by 28 votes to 22, with 8 abstentions. Support came from the six Arab states and the U.S.A., six Western European states, and Argentina, Canada, Ethiopia, Liberia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden abstained along with Chile, Haiti, India, Iran, and Thailand.

Finally draft resolution (a) was put to a roll-call vote as amended by the Egyptian and Mexican amendments. It was rejected by 37 votes to 14, with 7 abstentions. Support came from the White Commonwealth states but for the Union of South Africa which voted against; five Western European states, viz.,

Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Netherlands, and Norway; and Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia, Turkey and the U.S.A.. Belgium, China, Iran Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Sweden, and Thailand abstained. France voted against the resolution, the only Western European state to do so, Eighteen Latin American states, the six Arab states, the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, five Asian states, viz., Burma, India, Israel, Pakistan, and Philippines, and France and the Union of South Africa opposed this resolution as a whole.

Consequently Pakistan sponsored a resolution (A/889) which proposed the establishment of a special committee to examine the whole question and to submit a report to the Secretary General by 1 September 1949. It was defeated at the plenary meeting by 28 votes to 21, with 9 abstentions. Support came from the six Arab states, seven Asian states, and Australia Denmark, Haiti, Liberia, New Zealand, Norway, the United Kingdom and the U.S.A.. Canada, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Greece, Iceland, Panama, Sweden, Turkey, and the Union of South Africa abstained. An attempt by three Latin American states, Cuba, Costa Rica, and Uruguay, to break the deadlock, failed when their resolution (A/892/REV 1), which proposed to establish an interim committee to find the facts of the problem, was defeated by 27 votes to 21, with 11 abstentions. No fewer than seventeen of the twenty-one supporters were Latin American states. Canada, France, the Union of South Africa, and the U.S.A. also supported this resolution. Bolivia, El Salvador,

and Honduras abstained as did China, Ethiopia, Greece, Liberia, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and Turkey.

Subsequently, by show of hands vote, a Polish resolution (A/896) was adopted. The Assembly thereby decided to postpone further consideration of the item until the fourth regular session. The various opinions in the Assembly which led to the defeat of the First Committee's resolution are summed up by R. Riggs. "Communist delegations demanded administration of trusteeships through organs of the United Nations rather than by individual states. A number of Latin American states were determined to press Italian claims, while Arab members opposed continued Italian administration for any part of the former colonies and urged a solution involving independence at the earliest practicable moment".¹

When the item was discussed at the fourth session seven roll-call votes were held at the 250th plenary meeting. The discussion centered around a First Committee report (A/1089/Corr1) which included four separate draft resolutions, (A), (B), (C), and (D). Only resolution (A) was the subject of roll-call voting. Section (A) of this resolution recommended independence for Libya, consisting of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan, by 1 January 1952 at the latest. A Polish amendment (A/1110.Rev2) proposed that independence be granted by 1 January 1951. The

1. Riggs, op.cit., p. 137.

amendment was rejected by 37 votes to 14, with 7 abstentions. The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, the six Arab states, Afghanistan, and Philippines supported this amendment. El Salvador, Ethiopia, Iran, Israel, Pakistan, Sweden, and Thailand abstained. A second Polish amendment referred to the second paragraph of section (B) in the First Committee's draft resolution which dealt with the Italian Somaliland; the amendment proposed reducing the period till full independence for the area became effective from ten years to three years. The amendment was defeated by 35 votes to 16, with 7 abstentions. Once again the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia supported the Polish amendment but only Egypt, Iraq, and Yemen of the Arab states joined them. Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Liberia, and Pakistan however voted with the Soviet bloc in support of this amendment and Burma, Israel, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, and Thailand abstained. Finally a third Polish amendment with respect to Eritrea was rejected by 36 votes to 10, with 12 abstentions. The amendment proposed that Eritrea be granted independence three years after the institution of a United Nations Trusteeship for that territory. Only Afghanistan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen joined the Soviet bloc this time. Yugoslavia opposed the amendment. The abstaining Members comprised five Latin American states, and Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Philippines, Sweden, and Thailand.

There followed four roll-call votes on the text of the First Committee's resolution itself. Section (A) which referred to Libya was adopted by 49 votes to 0, with 9 abstentions. The Soviet bloc, France, New Zealand, and Sweden abstained. Section (B) referring to the Italian Somaliland was adopted by 48 votes to 7, with 3 abstentions. This section provided for an independent sovereign state ten years from the date of approval of a Trusteeship agreement by the General Assembly. The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, and Ethiopia, opposed this section while Liberia, New Zealand, and Sweden abstained. Section (C) which proposed a special investigating committee to prepare a report on the problem of Eritrea was adopted by 47 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions. Only the Soviet bloc voted against this proposal by Ethiopia, Greece, Liberia, Philippines, Sweden, and Yugoslavia abstained.

Finally resolution (A) as a whole was adopted by 48 votes to 1, with 9 abstentions. Ethiopia was the only state to oppose the resolution while France, New Zealand, and Sweden joined the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia in abstaining.

At the 307th plenary meeting in the fifth session one roll-call vote was held on an Egyptian amendment which referred to the development of Libya towards self-government. A draft resolution proposed that a representative Libyan National Assembly be called by 1 January 1951 to this end. The Egyptian amendment proposed that the Assembly be "elected" as well as "representative". The amendment failed to obtain the required

two-thirds majority but twenty-four states supported it. However the combination of eight Western European states, six Latin American states, the White Commonwealth states, and the U.S.A. was easily able to prevent the amendment being adopted since fifteen states abstained. The support for the amendment¹ came from the five Arab states present when the vote was held; the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, seven Asian states, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama, and Uruguay.

At the 316th plenary meeting the question of Eritrea was the subject of two roll-call votes. An Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/1561) proposed that Eritrea be given an autonomous identity within a federation with Ethiopia. The draft resolution was adopted by 46 votes to 10, with 4 abstentions. The Soviet bloc, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Pakistan opposed this resolution while Israel, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, and Uruguay abstained. Poland then submitted a resolution (A/1564/Covr1), the first paragraph of which recommended that Eritrea be granted independence within three years. The paragraph was rejected by 36 votes to 10, with 14 abstentions. The Soviet bloc, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia supported this resolution. The number of abstentions increased considerably with five Arab states, Afghanistan, Argentina, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Sweden, Uruguay, and Venezuela not voting against the Polish resolution. Yugoslavia voted against the U.S.S.R. both times in this meeting.

1 Lebanon was absent.

This completed the roll-call voting on the item. An interesting feature was the behaviour of the Latin American states particularly in the fifth session when the states voting with the Soviet bloc were limited mainly to members of the Latin American group. Haiti had been instrumental in preventing the adoption of that part of resolution (A/873) in the third session which recommended an Italian administration of Tripolitania when every other Latin American state supported that recommendation. Subsequently eighteen Latin American states opposed the resolution as a whole since Italy was no longer included as one of the administering states. The principle opposition to the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom in the third session came from the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, the Arab states, and from Burma and Pakistan, with India and Philippines also opposing the recommendations on occasion.

The Arab states therefore were prominent in opposition to the U.S.A. and its allies in these two early items involving the theme of 'colonialism'. But the role of the U.S.A. in these two items in contrast to the remaining items in this chapter testifies to the particular nature of the Palestine question and the Italian colonies question. The next two items to be discussed in this item saw the Arab and Asian states much more successful in their opposition to the Western European and White Commonwealth states.

(ii) Questions Relating to South Africa.

Forty-six roll-call votes have been held on two issues in which the Union of South Africa has been intimately concerned, viz., "The Treatment of Peoples of Indian Origin," and the general issue of "Race Conflict in South Africa," i.e.

Apartheid. The former issue was discussed at the request of India during the second part of the first session. The latter issue first arose in the Assembly at the seventh session, being discussed at the request of thirteen Arab and Asian states.

Treatment of Indians

There have been twenty-two roll-call votes on this subject, distributed among the sessions as shown in Table 34.

Table 34

Distribution of 22 Roll-Call Votes on Question
of Treatment of Indians in South Africa

Session	Number of Roll-Call Votes
1	3
2	2
3	1
5	8
6	1
7	1
8	1
11	1
12	2
13	1
14	1
TOTAL	22

Three main periods can be distinguished in the roll-call voting in this issue. In the first two sessions the South

African point-of-view drew considerable support, sufficient in fact to ensure the defeat of India and her supporters on two of the six roll-call votes during this period which ended in 1947. In the fifth session eight roll-call votes were held on one resolution; support for South Africa had fallen considerably and that state voted against the Assembly majority on every roll-call vote. In the third period, from the sixth to the fourteenth sessions, support for the South African point-of-view was confined to two roll-call votes in which one single state, once France and once Italy, voted with South Africa. In this period South Africa twice opposed the Assembly majority alone; and on four occasions South Africa was absent when the roll-call vote was taken so that there was no positive opposition to the Assembly decision. There were some interesting abstentions however. The roll-call vote in the third session was similar to those held in the third period.

The three roll-call votes in the second part of the first session were held in the fifty-second plenary meeting. The first roll-call vote was procedural in that it dealt with the applicability of the two-thirds majority rule to this item. It was decided by 29 votes to 24, with 1 abstention, that this type of majority was required. This first roll-call vote constituted the high point in South Africa's ability to gain support for its point-of-view. Twelve Latin American States, eight European states, the five Commonwealth states, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Turkey, and the U.S.A. voted that the two-thirds

majority was required. France abstained. The opposition consisted of the eight remaining Latin American states,¹ the four remaining Arab states, the Soviet bloc of six states, four Asian states,² Ethiopia, and Liberia.

South Africa put her point of view in an amendment (A/205) which proposed that the International Court of Justice be asked for an advisory opinion on whether the matter before the Assembly was essentially within South African domestic jurisdiction. The amendment was defeated by 31 votes to 21, with 2 abstentions. France supported the opposition to the South African proposal. The eight states which had voted with the Union of South Africa on the procedural vote but which did not do so on that state's substantive proposal were the Dominican Republic, Iceland, Lebanon, Norway, Panama, and Uruguay, all of whom opposed the proposal, and Afghanistan and Bolivia who both abstained.

The Indian view-point was expressed in a resolution (A/105) which was adopted by 32 votes to 15, with 7 abstentions. This resolution was the cause of future dissension in that, being used as a basis for resolutions, it prejudiced any hope of successful negotiation through expressing the opinion that

-
1. The eight Latin American states to vote against the Union of South Africa, were Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, and Venezuela.
 2. There were six Asian Members of the United Nations when this vote was held.

the treatment of Indians should be in conformity with international obligations and the relevant provisions of the Charter. South Africa refused to accept the resolution as a basis for discussion since acceptance would imply an admission that the Union Government had broken the agreements and violated the principles of the Chapter. Support for the South African point of view dropped from twenty-one states to fifteen when Australia, Brazil, Denmark, Ecuador, Sweden, and Turkey abstained. Afghanistan voted with India on this occasion. R. Riggs notes that the U.S.A., desiring a less provocative resolution, unsuccessfully played the role of mediator at this time.¹

No progress was attained during the second session because both resolutions subjected to roll-call voting were rejected at the 120th plenary meeting. A First Committee resolution (A/492) which called for a round-table conference on the basis of the previous session's resolution (A/105) was defeated because it failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. The voting was 31 votes in favour, 19 against, with 6 abstentions. France and Iceland still voted with India but Australia, Brazil, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden voted with South Africa. Six Latin American states abstained; Turkey voted with India.

Brazil, and Cuba, Denmark, and Norway sponsored a compromise resolution (A/494) which called for a round-table

1. Riggs, op. cit., p. 126.

conference without referring to the first session resolution (A/105). But this resolution was defeated by 29 votes to 24, with 3 abstentions. Again France and Iceland voted against their West European neighbours, and Turkey continued its support of the Indian position. The Latin American states were the major source of increases and decreases in the support for both sides. Colombia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, and Mexico consistently supported India. Argentina, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Paraguay consistently supported South Africa while Brazil and Peru also voted with South Africa frequently in this early period.

The single roll-call vote in the third session was held on resolution (B) contained in the report of the First Committee (A/863). This resolution noted the application made by India regarding the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa as well as the Union Government's case, and it invited the Governments of India, Pakistan, and the Union of South Africa to hold a round-table conference "taking into account the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights". There was no reference to the first session resolution but South Africa maintained that the reference to the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights would be interpreted as a suggestion that in the past South Africa had not observed the principles of these documents. This roll-call

vote really belongs to the third period because the resolution was adopted by 47 votes to 1, with 10 abstentions. The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, Argentina and Paraguay, and Greece and the United Kingdom abstained.

Eight roll-call votes were held in the fifth session at the 315th plenary meeting on an Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/1458). One roll-call vote concerned the first three paragraphs of the preamble, with another roll-call being held on the fourth and final paragraph of the preamble. One roll-call vote was held on each of the first, second, and fourth operative paragraphs. And two roll-call votes were held on the third operative paragraph.

The first three preambular paragraphs recalled previously adopted resolutions. The fourth preambular paragraph considered that a policy of racial segregation was necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination. The first operative paragraph recommended a round-table conference. The second recommended the establishment of a commission of three members in the event of failure to hold the conference before April 1, 1951, the commission to assist the parties in carrying through appropriate negotiations. The fourth paragraph comprised a decision to include the item on the agenda of the sixth regular session. The third paragraph called on the three Governments to refrain from taking any steps which would prejudice success, and particularly mentioned in this category

the implementation of the Group Areas Act which the South African Parliament enacted in 1950. The paragraph on racial discrimination drew strongest opposition.

Every paragraph was adopted. The winning majority varied between fifty and twenty-nine states, while the minority varied between thirteen and three states. The resolution as a whole was adopted by 33 votes to 6, with 21 abstentions. The opposition, and the abstentions, were prompted by the explicit condemnation of the Group Areas Act.

Twenty-seven states supported every part of the resolution, then the resolution as a whole. Every Arab state, nine Asian states, eight Latin American states, Ethiopia, Iceland, Lebanon, and Yugoslavia behaved in this way. The Latin American states were Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, and Panama. Israel and Turkey were the only Asian states not to vote this way. Nicaragua was absent when the first two roll-call votes were held, but supported the remaining parts which were subject to roll-call voting.

Three states, Belgium, Luxembourg, and South Africa, voted against the majority on every roll-call. Three states, Australia, Greece, and the Netherlands, opposed the resolution as a whole and several of the paragraphs, and abstained on the remaining paragraphs.

The concern of several Latin American states about the question of the Assembly's competence and about the efficacy of the proposed measures was shown when seven abstained on the

reference to the Group Areas Act. The Latin American states which showed most disapproval of the terms of this resolution were Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, and Venezuela. Tables 35 and 36 indicate the opposition to the parts of the resolution and the source of the abstentions on this item in the fifth session. It can be seen that the great majority of states which abstained or opposed parts of the resolution were members of three groups in the Assembly, viz., the Latin American states, the Western European states, and the White Commonwealth states. Israel, Turkey, and the U.S.A., and the Soviet bloc, were the only Members outside these three groups not to support fully the provisions of the resolution.

In the third period single roll-call votes were held on six resolutions submitted by an Ad Hoc Political Committee and a Special Political Committee. And in each of the eleventh and twelfth sessions one roll-call vote was held on the General Committee recommendation that the item be placed on the agenda of the session in question.

The Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/2046) was adopted in the sixth session by 44 votes to 0, with 14 abstentions. The Assembly thus provided for the establishment of a special commission to help the parties to negotiate; it also called on the South African Government to suspend its implementation of the Group Areas Act. However, even this provision failed to arouse any support for South Africa's point-of-view.

In the seventh session the Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/2257), adopted at the 401st plenary meeting, by 41 votes to 1, with 15 abstentions, established a United Nations Good Offices Commission to arrange and assist negotiations. South Africa opposed the adoption of this resolution. The same committee's resolution in the eighth session (A/2533) repeated the main themes of previous resolutions in particular, and in addition "considered" that the Government of South Africa was not keeping its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. Seventeen states abstained.

Italy joined with South Africa in opposing the General Committee's recommendation (A/3350) to include the item on the agenda of the eleventh session. Thirteen states abstained. A similar recommendation (A/3670) was adopted in the twelfth session when France voted with South Africa. The numbers of abstentions increased to sixteen. A Special Political Committee resolution (A/3732) was adopted by 64 votes to 0, with 15 abstentions at the 723rd plenary meeting. This resolution, which set the pattern for similar resolutions from the same committee in the following two sessions, first noted that reports on the situation among the three states concerned had been received from India and Pakistan. The resolution then expressed regret that the Union of South Africa had not acted in accordance with previous resolutions which the Assembly had adopted. Finally an appeal was made to the South African Government to participate in negotiations with the governments of India and Pakistan.

In the thirteenth session the resolution (A/4051) was adopted at the 783rd plenary meeting by 69 votes to 0, with 10 abstentions. In the fourteenth session the resolution was adopted by 66 votes to 0, with 12 abstentions, at the 852nd plenary meeting.

Table 35 shows that twenty-four states abstained at least once from the sixth session onwards, a period which is most notable for the isolation of South Africa in the Assembly on this item. Three states, viz., Nicaragua, Norway, and Peru, abstained once only from the sixth session, while Colombia, Denmark, Italy, and Sweden abstained twice. Greece and Venezuela did not abstain after the eighth session. Argentina and Turkey abstained five times but both voted with the Assembly majority in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions. Argentina has been described by Houston as one of the staunchest supporters of the principle of domestic jurisdiction in the Assembly.¹ The Dominican Republic abstained six times; this state also had a high propensity to abstain on the question of Apartheid. The bulk of the passive resistance to the anti-colonial states came from Western European states viz., Belgium, Finland, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain. The White Commonwealth states also had a high propensity to abstain on this item. China abstained five times from the eleventh session onwards after having voted completely with India upto this point. The U.S.A. voted with India from the sixth session.

1. J.A. Houston, Latin America in the United Nations, p.97.

TABLE 35.

Support for Union of South Africa on Treatment
of Indians, upto 5th Session, 1946-1950.¹

State	Number of Votes with South Africa.	
	1st Session - 3rd Session	5th Session.
Afghanistan	1	0
Argentina	5	1
Australia	4	6
Belgium	5	8
Bolivia	1	0
Brazil	4	1
Canada	5	0
Costa Rica	5	0
Cuba	1	0
Denmark	4	0
Dominican Republic	2	1
Ecuador	3	0
El Salvador	5	0
France	0	1
Greece	5	5
Iceland	1	0
Lebanon	1	0
Luxembourg	5	8
Netherlands	5	3
New Zealand	5	0
Nicaragua	5	0
Norway	3	0
Panama	1	0
Paraguay	5	1
Peru	4	0
Sweden	4	0
Turkey	2	0
United Kingdom	5	2
U.S.A	5	1
Uruguay	2	0

1. Only France and Italy voted with the Union of South Africa following the fifth session.

TABLE 36.

Propensity to Abstain on Question of Treatment
of Indians in South Africa, 1946 - 1959

State	Number 1st - 4th Sessions.	of 5th Session.	Abstentions Sixth Session Onwards.
Afghanistan	1	0	0
Argentina	1	5	5
Australia	1	2	8
Belgium	0	0	8
Bolivia	4	0	0
Brazil	1	2	0
Canada	0	5	6
Chile	1	0	0
China	0	0	5
Colombia	0	4	2
Costa Rica	0	6	0
Cuba	1	0	0
Denmark	1	4	2
Dominican Republic	1	3	6
Ecuador	2	1	0
El Salvador	0	1	0
Finland	Not yet	admitted	5
France	1	0	7
Greece	1	3	3
Israel	0	3	0
Italy	Not yet	admitted	5
Luxembourg	0	0	8
Nicaragua	0	0	1
Netherlands	0	5	8
New Zealand	0	6	6
Norway	0	3	1
Paraguay	1	2	0
Peru	1	8	1
Portugal	Not yet	admitted	5
Soviet bloc	1	6	0
Spain	Not yet	admitted	5
Sweden	1	5	1
Turkey	1	3	5
United Kingdom	1	3	8
U.S.A	1	0	0
Uruguay	1	1	0
Venezuela	1	5	3

This issue, similar in many ways to the related issue of Apartheid, found the Assembly strongly united against the policy of the Union of South Africa.

Apartheid.

Twenty-four roll-call votes have been held on the item, "Race Conflict in the Union of South Africa," since it was first raised at the seventh session. These roll-call votes are distributed among the regular sessions of the Assembly as shown in Table 37.

Table 37

Distribution of 24 Roll-Call Votes
on Question of Apartheid

Session	Number of Roll Call Votes
7	6
8	4
9	4
11	1
12	2
13	6
14	1
Total	24

The voting-action on this issue can be divided into two periods. Up to and including the roll-call votes in the ninth session the opposition to the Assembly majority was quite strong though it varied between one and seventeen states. The average opposition was eight states; and the average number of states which abstained was eleven. The opposition, i.e. the number of states voting with the Union of South Africa, fell considerably from the eleventh session onwards, as did the number of states which abstained. The average number per roll-call vote was four and seven respectively. However this decline was not so pronounced as was the case in the voting on the issue of the "Treatment of People of Indian Origin". The Union of South Africa did not vote with the Assembly majority on any roll-call vote, and was absent when the last seven roll-call votes were held.

In the first period, i.e. in the seventh, eighth, and ninth sessions, a definite pattern of roll-call voting can be distinguished. In each session there was one roll-call vote on inclusion; in each of the first two sessions there was one roll-call vote on a South African attempt to have the Assembly admit its own incompetence to deal with this subject. In the seventh session there was one roll-call vote of a procedural nature on whether or not to reverse a ruling of the President that a proposal of the Union of South Africa that the Assembly should decide itself incompetent to deal with the item under Article two, paragraph seven, of the Charter was in order. In each session also there were two or three roll-call votes on parts of

a resolution from the Ad Hoc Political Committee. In every session the support for inclusion of the item and the opposition to the South African proposal was greater than the support for adoption of the resolution in whole or in part.

In the seventh session at the 381st plenary meeting, the President's ruling was reversed by 41 votes to 10, with 8 abstentions. The General Committee's recommendation, contained in its report (A/2225/Rev.1), was adopted by 45 votes to 6, with 8 abstentions. And the South African motion (A/L124), which was an attempt to have the Assembly declare itself unable to adopt resolutions on this subject under rule eighty of the rules of procedure, i.e. domestic jurisdiction, was defeated at the 401st plenary meeting by 43 votes to 6, with 9 abstentions. Table 38 shows the behaviour of the twenty-one states which did not vote against the Union of South Africa on each occasion. Only three states, Australia, France, and the United Kingdom, voted with the Union of South Africa on each of the three roll-calls in question. And seven of the twenty-one states opposed the Union of South Africa on two occasions. The Dominican Republic, Turkey, and Venezuela were the only states outside of Western Europe and the White Commonwealth not to vote against the Union of South Africa at least once.

There then followed at the 401st plenary meeting two roll-call votes on resolution (A) submitted by the Ad Hoc

TABLE 38.

Voting Behavior on Apartheid in the Seventh Session, showing Various Degrees of Support for Union of South Africa.

State	Votes with S. Africa.	Votes against S. Africa.	Abstentions.
Argentina	0	1	2
Australia	3	0	0
Belgium	2	0	1
Brazil	0	2	1
Canada	1	0	2
Colombia	1	2	0
Cuba	0	2	1
Dominican Republic	0	0	3
France	3	0	0
Greece	0	1	2
Iceland	0	2	1
Israel	0	2	1
Luxembourg	2	0	1
Netherlands	1	0	2
New Zealand	2	0	1
Nicaragua	0	1	2
Peru	0	2	1
Turkey	0	0	3
United Kingdom	3	0	0
U.S.A.	1	2	0
Venezuela ¹	0	0	1

1. Venezuela was absent twice.

Political Committee in its report (A/2276). Operative paragraph one which proposed the establishment of a commission of three members to study the racial issue with due regard to the provisions of the Charter, the commission to report to the Assembly at the eighth session, was adopted by 35 votes to 17, with 7 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was then adopted by 35 votes to 1, with 23 abstentions.

Every Western European state, the White Commonwealth but for Canada, and the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Peru, and Turkey opposed the operative paragraph. Canada abstained along with Argentina, China, Colombia, Paraguay, the U.S.A. and Venezuela. When the vote was held on the resolution as a whole only the Union of South Africa voted negatively. The remaining sixteen states which had opposed the first operative paragraph of the resolution abstained along with the seven states which had abstained on that paragraph. The resolution went on to invite the Government of the Union of South Africa to extend its full co-operation to the commission and decided to retain the question on the provisional agenda of the eighth session.

There was one roll-call vote at the same plenary meeting on Resolution (B) of the Ad Hoc Political Committee's report. This resolution affirmed that governmental policies of Member states which were not directed towards the goals of harmony and respect for human rights were contrary to Article

fifty-six of the Charter. As a result the support for this resolution came from fourteen Latin American states, China, Pakistan, Israel, Canada, U.S.A., Netherlands, and the four Scandanavian states viz., Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. The Union of South Africa opposed the resolution, but the thirty-four abstentions included side-by-side the arch-colonial powers, viz., Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom, and the Arab and Asian states which led the opposition to South Africa's racial policy from the time when the issue was first introduced by these states at the beginning of the seventh session. The Asian and Arab states abstained on this resolution because the operative paragraphs did not explicitly mention the Union of South Africa. The Indian representative declared that therefore the resolution had no direct bearing on the issue under discussion. The voting on this resolution pointed to a difference between the Latin American states which had been voting with the Asian and Arab states on this issue in that the Latin American states supported the second resolution but the Asian and Arab states did not because of its universality.

In the eighth session the General Committee recommendation to include the item on the agenda that session, contained in the Committee's report (A/2477), was adopted at the 435th plenary meeting by 46 votes to 7, with 7 abstentions. The roll-call votes on the South African resolution (A/L172), and

the Ad Hoc Political Committee resolution (A/2610) were held at the 469th plenary meeting.

Voting on the General Committee's recommendation and the South African resolution was similar, the resolution being defeated by 42 votes to 8, with 10 abstentions. The resolution proposed that the Assembly, having regard to Article two, paragraph seven, of the Charter would decide that it had no competence to adopt the Ad Hoc Political Committee's resolution. Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, and the United Kingdom voted with the Union of South Africa on both roll-calls. New Zealand opposed inclusion of the item but abstained on the South African resolution. Colombia and Greece both supported the South African resolution, and Colombia abstained on the vote on inclusion.¹ Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Netherlands, Peru, Turkey, and Canada, Panama, and the U.S.A. abstained on the South African resolution only.

One roll-call vote was held on the fourth paragraph in the Ad Hoc Political Committee's resolution. This paragraph requested the United Nations Commission to continue its study of the development of the racial situation in the Union of South Africa. Then one roll-call vote was held on the resolution which again invited the South African Government to negotiate. The paragraph was adopted by 38 votes to 15, with 7 abstentions; the resolution was adopted by 38 votes to 11, with 11 abstentions. The states which did not support the resolution in whole and in part were the same in both cases,

1. Greece, however, supported inclusion of the item.

There were three types of voting action on this issue. There were those states which more or less consistently supported the South African position, those which consistently opposed it, and those which varied their voting action. This division is illustrated for the complete voting action on this issue in Tables 41 and 42. The five states of the White Commonwealth, Belgium, Colombia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands voted against the fourth paragraph and the resolution as a whole. China, Denmark, Panama, and Sweden voted against the fourth paragraph but abstained on the resolution as a whole. Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Norway, Peru, Turkey, the U.S.A., and Venezuela abstained on both occasions.

In the ninth session the General Committee recommendation, in its report (A/2733), to include the item on the agenda for that session was adopted at the 473th plenary meeting by 50 votes to 6, with 4 abstentions. This roll-call vote indicated an increase in support for inclusion over the seventh and eighth sessions. Argentina, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela voted for inclusion leaving Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom to oppose inclusion. The Dominican Republic, Netherlands, New Zealand, and Turkey abstained.

But there was considerable opposition to the provisions in the Ad Hoc Political Committee's resolution (A/2857) when

three roll-call votes were held on the resolution at the 511th plenary meeting. One roll-call vote was held on the fifth preambular paragraph which noted the profound conviction of the United Nations Commission that the policy of Apartheid constituted a grave threat to peaceful relations between ethnic groups in the whole. One roll-call vote was held on the sixth operative paragraph which requested the Commission to keep the problem of racial conflict in South Africa under review. And one roll-call vote was held on the resolution as a whole. The preambular paragraph was adopted by 38 votes to 11, with 11 abstentions; the operative paragraph was adopted by 35 votes to 16, with 9 abstentions; and the resolution as a whole was adopted by 40 votes to 10, with 10 abstentions.

Australia, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom voted with the Union of South Africa three times. Argentina, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Peru, and Venezuela abstained three times. Table 39 illustrates the behaviour of the other states which did not vote against the Union of South Africa each time. Again it is noticeable that the great majority of states not voting against the Union of South Africa on each occasion are either Latin American, Western European, or members of the White Commonwealth.

In this period upto and including the ninth session fourteen roll-call votes were held on the problem. The Union of South Africa opposed the victorious Assembly majority each time. This state was joined in opposition by, in order of

TABLE 39¹Voting Behaviour on Resolution (A/2857) in the
Ninth Session.

State	Preambular Paragraph	Operative Paragraph	Resolution as a whole
Brazil	N	N	A
Canada	A	N	N
China	A	N	A
Colombia	A	N	N
Cuba	N	N	A
Israel	Y	N	Y
Norway	A	A	Y
Panama	Y	A	Y
Sweden	N	A	Y
Thailand	Y	A	Y
Turkey	A	N	A
U.S.A.	A	N	A

- 1 N denotes vote with the Union of South Africa
 Y denotes vote against the Union of South Africa

strength of support, Australia and the United Kingdom, New Zealand, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Colombia, Canada, Greece, and Sweden. Greece, however ceased supporting South Africa, even spasmodically, in the ninth session, and commenced opposing the Union of South Africa in every roll-call vote from the first roll-call vote in the ninth session.

The states which abstained most in this period were the Dominican Republic, Turkey, Argentina, Venezuela, Peru, and the U.S.A., Canada, Netherlands, and Norway. Tables 41 and 42 illustrate the states which abstained and/or supported the Union of South Africa two, three, and four times, i.e. the states which opposed South Africa on a majority of occasions but not on all occasions. In the second period, as has been noted, the absolute number of states generally opposing the Assembly majority and the number of states abstaining both declined. However in the eleventh and twelfth sessions the absolute numbers of states opposing or abstaining on the inclusion vote did not decline but actually increased over the previous sessions. However support for inclusion also increased relatively and absolutely.

In the eleventh session at the 578th plenary meeting the General Committee recommendation (A/3350) to include the item was adopted by 61 votes to 8, with 7 abstentions. In the twelfth session at the 682nd plenary meeting the General Committee's recommendation (A/3770) was adopted by 65 votes

to 8, with 9 abstentions. The states which opposed the inclusion in both sessions were the six states which had consistently done so, i.e. Union of South Africa, Australia, and United Kingdom, and Belgium, France, and Luxembourg, and Portugal. Italy opposed inclusion in the eleventh session, and Spain did so in the twelfth. Turkey, New Zealand, the Dominican Republic, Netherlands, and Finland abstained in both session. In the eleventh session Colombia and Spain also abstained, and in the twelfth session Argentina, Australia, Canada, and Italy also abstained.

In the twelfth session one roll-call vote was held in the 723rd plenary meeting on a resolution (A/3722) submitted by the Special Political Committee. This resolution affirming that 'racial segregation' involved racial discrimination, 'deplored' the Union of South Africa's refusal to comply with previously adopted resolutions, and appealed to that government to revise its policy of racial segregation. It was adopted by 59 votes to 6, with 14 abstentions. The Union of South Africa was absent. Portugal voted consistently after its admission with Belgium, France, and Luxembourg, and Australia and the United Kingdom on this issue and the related issue of the "Treatment of People of Indian Origin". The fourteen states abstaining in the twelfth session were Austria, Finland, Italy, Netherlands, and Spain; Argentina, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru; New Zealand and Canada, and Turkey and the U.S.A.

In the thirteenth session six votes were held at the 778th plenary meeting on a resolution (A/3962) submitted by the Special Political Committee. The Union of South Africa was absent throughout. But support for its position dropped considerably. The voting on the preamble, the four operative paragraphs, and on the resolution as a whole is illustrated in Table 40.

It is noticeable that Luxembourg abstained consistently instead of opposing the resolution in part and in whole as it had been doing. Belgium and Portugal were ^{the} most consistent states in opposition followed by France, Australia, and the United Kingdom. The resolution, adopted as a whole by 70 votes to 5, with 4 abstentions, expressed regret and concern that the Government of South Africa had not yet responded to appeals of the Assembly that it reconsider governmental policies which impaired the right of all racial groups to enjoy the same rights and fundamental freedoms.

In the fourteenth session a similar resolution (A/4271) from the same committee was adopted by 62 votes to 3, with 7 abstentions at the 838th plenary meeting. The United Kingdom and France and Portugal opposed adoption, and Belgium, Finland, Italy, Netherlands, and Luxembourg, and Canada and the Dominican Republic abstained. Ten states, including Australia and the Union of South Africa, were absent.

TABLE 40.

Voting Behaviour on A/3962 in 13th Session,
showing Opposition to Assembly Majority.

State	Preamble	Operative Paragraphs				Resolution as a whole.
		1	2	3	4	
Australia	N	A	A	A	N	N
Belgium	N	A	N	N	N	N
Canada	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dominican Republic	A	A	A	A	A	A
Finland	A	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
France	N	Y	N	A	N	N
Italy	A	A	A	A	Y	A
Luxembourg	A	A	A	A	A	A
Netherlands	A	Y	Y	Y	A	A
New Zealand	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Portugal	N	A	N	N	N	N
Spain	A	A	A	A	A	A
United Kingdom	N	A	A	A	N	N

Tables 41 and 42 illustrate the support given to the Union of South Africa and the propensity to abstain on this item. From the eleventh session onwards the opposition to the Assembly majority comprised Australia, Belgium, France, Portugal, and the United Kingdom. The Union of South Africa was absent when roll-call votes were held on this item from the twelfth session onwards. It is to be noted that many states stopped supporting the Union of South Africa or abstaining before roll-call voting was recommenced during the eleventh session. In particular Canada and New Zealand voted against Australia and the United Kingdom in the final two sessions. The Dominican Republic was the only Latin American state to abstain consistently though Argentina, Peru, and Venezuela had abstained frequently in the earlier sessions. Finland, Italy, and Spain abstained frequently following their admission to the Assembly during the tenth session. Luxembourg and the Netherlands abstained on this item from the eleventh session in contrast to Belgium who voted against the Assembly majority throughout the period covered in this thesis.

These two items related to the Union of South Africa gave the Asian and Arab states, i.e. the 'anti-colonial' states, their greatest victories in the General Assembly. But voting behaviour on West New Guinea and French North Africa was to lead to the frustration of the 'anti-colonial' states.

TABLE 41.

Support for the Union of South Africa
on Apartheid¹ 7th - 14th Sessions.

State	7th	Votes in support of South Africa			Total
		8th & 9th	11th & 12th	13th & 14th	
Australia	4	8	3	3	18
Belgium	3	8	3	5	19
Canada	1	4	0	0	5
Colombia	1	5	0	0	6
France	4	8	3	5	20
Greece	1	3	0	0	4
Luxembourg	3	8	3	0	14
Netherlands	2	5	0	0	7
New Zealand	3	6	0	0	9
Portugal	Not yet admitted		3	6	9
Sweden	1	2	0	0	3
United Kingdom	4	8	3	4	19

¹ Brazil, China, Cuba, Denmark, Turkey, and the U.S.A. each voted twice with the Union of South Africa; but none of these states did so following the ninth session.

TABLE 42.
The Propensity to Abstain on Apartheid, 7th-14th
Sessions.

State	Number of Abstentions				Total
	7th	8th & 9th	11th & 12th	13th & 14th	
Argentina	4	7	2	0	13
Australia	2	0	0	3	5
Austria	Not yet admitted		2	0	2
Belgium	3	0	0	2	5
Brazil	1	1	0	0	2
Canada	4	2	2	2	10
China	2	3	0	0	5
Colombia	2	2	1	0	5
Cuba	1	1	0	0	2
Denmark	1	4	0	0	5
Dominican Republic	5	8	3	7	23
Finland	Not yet admitted		3	3	6
France	2	0	0	1	3
Greece	4	0	0	0	4
Iceland	2	0	0	0	2
Israel	1	0	0	0	1
Italy	Not yet admitted		2	3	5
Luxembourg	3	0	0	7	10
Netherlands	3	3	3	4	13
New Zealand	3	2	3	1	9
Nicaragua	4	0	1	0	5
Norway	1	4	0	0	5
Panama	0	3	0	0	3
Paraguay	2	0	0	0	2
Peru	2	7	1	0	10
Spain	Not yet admitted		2	6	8
Sweden	1	2	0	0	3
Turkey	5	7	3	0	15
United Kingdom	2	0	0	3	5
U.S.A.	2	5	1	0	8
Venezuela	4	7	0	0	11

(iii) Dutch and French Colonialism
Indonesia and West New Guinea.

Two roll-call votes of a procedural but important nature were held on the Indonesian question in the third session at the 190th plenary meeting. A Norwegian proposal for a provisional postponement of debate on the item was defeated by 40 votes to 10, with 6 abstentions. Following this, a General Committee recommendation (A/829) that the item be included on the agenda for the third session was adopted by 41 votes to 3, with 12 abstentions. Table 43 sums up the voting action of the states which did not support the Assembly majority on one or other of the roll-call votes.

TABLE 43.

Voting Behaviour on Indonesian Question,
showing Opposition to Assembly Majority.

State	Norwegian Proposal	Committee Recommendation
Argentina	A	A
Belgium	Y	N
Canada	A	Y
Denmark	Y	A
Dominican Republic	A	A
France	Y	A
Greece	Y	A
Luxembourg	Y	A
Netherlands	Y	N
Norway	Y	A
Peru	A	A
Sweden	Y	A
Turkey	A	A
Union of S. Africa	Y	N
United Kingdom	Y	A
U.S.A.	A	Y
Venezuela	N	A

There were no more roll-call votes on this issue, the problem being resolved at the Round Table Conference at the Hague from August to November 1949. Indonesia was admitted to membership of the United Nations on September 28th, 1950. The opposition to the Netherlands on this item comprised the six Arab states, eight Asian states, the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, fifteen Latin American states, and Australia, Ethiopia, Liberia, and New Zealand. Venezuela voted with these states on the Norwegian proposal, and Canada and the U.S.A. voted with them on the General Committee's recommendation.

There were nine roll-call votes on the item of West New Guinea.¹ Four were held in the ninth session, one in the tenth session, two in the eleventh session, and two in the fourteenth session. One vote in each session was held on the issue of inclusion. The remaining roll-call votes were on First Committee resolutions. The source of the dispute was an Indonesian claim that West New Guinea had always been an integral part of its territory. States therefore voted according to either their stands on the issue of colonialism generally, or to their considered opinions as to the most expedient method of solving the particular case.

Whereas the Netherlands was unable to muster support sufficient to prevent the item being included on the agenda of each session, that state did obtain enough support to

1. West New Guinea is also known as West Irian.

prevent the adoption of any of the First Committee's resolutions. The two-thirds majority rule meant that the simple majority in support of Indonesia was insufficient to pass the resolutions.

The General Committee's recommendation (A/2733) that the item be included on the agenda was adopted at the 476th plenary meeting in the ninth session by 39 votes to 11, with 10 abstentions. Australia, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and seven Western European states opposed inclusion. Four Latin American states, viz., Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Peru, and Venezuela, and Canada, China, Ethiopia, Iceland, New Zealand, and the U.S.A. abstained. Greece voted with the Asian and Arab states which voted for inclusion.

At the 509th plenary meeting three roll-call votes were held on parts of a First Committee resolution (A/2831). The preambular paragraph, which merely recalled the history of Indonesian independence and the problem of West New Guinea and stated co-operation and friendship to be the desire of both parties obtained 34 votes; but 21 states opposed adoption and 5 states abstained. Voting on the first and second operative paragraphs was 34 votes to 23, with 3 abstentions, and 33 votes to 23, with 4 abstentions, respectively. The first paragraph expressed the hope that both Governments would endeavour to find a solution in conformity with the Charter; the second requested the parties to report progress to the Assembly at its tenth session.

Four White Commonwealth states, eight European states, seven Latin American states, Israel, and Turkey opposed adoption on each occasion. The Latin American states were Brazil, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru. Greece voted for each paragraph, in opposition to the remaining Western European countries. Three states abstained on each occasion, viz., Guatemala, Haiti, and the U.S.A. Canada and China abstained on the preambular paragraph but opposed adoption of the operative paragraphs. Mexico abstained on the second operative paragraph after supporting the preambular and the first operative paragraphs. Sixteen Latin American states had supported inclusion of the item but only ten supported the resolution in whole and in part. The six Arab states, the Asian states but for China, Israel and Turkey, the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, and Ethiopia, Greece, and Liberia also supported the resolution in whole and in part.

The single roll-call vote in the tenth session at the 532nd plenary meeting was held on the General Committee's positive recommendation (A/2985) on inclusion. The recommendation was adopted by 31 votes to 18, with 10 abstentions. This represented an increase of seven in support of the Netherlands over the inclusion vote in the ninth session. Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama voted with the Netherlands on this occasion as did Iceland and Israel. France, however, was absent. Cuba and Honduras had

not voted with the Netherlands upto this point. Five other Latin American states, viz., Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela, abstained as did Canada, China, Greece, Turkey, and the U.S.A.

The increase in Assembly Membership during the tenth session made no difference to the essential pattern in this item. At the 578th plenary meeting in the eleventh session opposition to the General Committee's recommendation (A/3350) remained at eighteen states though there were changes in the composition of the opposition from the corresponding roll-call vote in the tenth session. Fourteen states abstained. The increase in Membership brought Finland, Italy, and Portugal to support the Netherlands. France and Chile also voted against inclusion in this session; Austria abstained but Greece voted for inclusion in this session as did Ireland and Spain. Liberia and Costa Rica abstained instead of supporting inclusion. However Cuba and Panama supported inclusion, i.e. voted against the Netherlands, in contrast to their opposition to inclusion in the previous session; and Colombia, Honduras, and Nicaragua abstained instead of opposing inclusion. The number of states supporting the inclusion of this item increased considerably to forty-seven. However a resolution (A/3505) by the First Committee was defeated at the 664th plenary meeting though the voting was 40 votes in favour, 25 against, with 13 abstentions. The resolution proposed a good offices commission to assist in negotiations. Every Arab state, eleven Asian

states, six Latin American states, eight members of the Soviet bloc,¹ and Ethiopia, Greece, Liberia, and Yugoslavia, supported the resolution. The five White Commonwealth states, twelve Western European states, six Latin American states, and China and Israel opposed the resolution while seven Latin American states, and Cambodia, Finland, Laos, Spain, Turkey, and the U.S.A. abstained. The behaviour of the Latin American states in the eleventh and twelfth sessions is illustrated fully in Table 45.

At the 682nd plenary meeting in the twelfth session the Assembly decided by 49 votes to 21, with 11 abstentions, to include the item on its agenda for that session when it adopted the General Committee's recommendation (A/3670). But the First Committee resolution (A/3757) failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority at the 724th plenary meeting. The resolution proposed that the Secretary-General assist the parties to further the achievement of a solution in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter. Forty-one states supported the resolution, but twenty-nine states opposed the resolution, while eleven states abstained.

The line-up on the final roll-call vote was quite representative of the overall voting behaviour on this item. The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, every Arab state, twelve Asian states, five Latin American states, and Ethiopia, Ghana,

1. Hungary was absent.

and Greece voted against the Netherlands. Thirteen Western European states, including the Netherlands, nine Latin American states, the White Commonwealth, and China and Israel opposed the 'anti-colonial' states. Philippines was absent so that Cambodia, Laos, and Turkey, who abstained, were with Israel, the only Asian states not to oppose the Netherlands. Finland was the only Western European state apart from Greece not to support the Netherlands. Six Latin American states also abstained as did Liberia and the U.S.A.

Table 44 illustrates the voting behaviour in the eleventh and twelfth sessions of those states which did not vote consistently with the majorities of the various groups to which they belong. The Arab states in their entirety consistently opposed the Netherlands. Austria, Ireland, and Spain supported the Netherlands completely in the twelfth session but Finland abstained on this item while Greece voted against the Netherlands on each occasion. Canada abstained when roll-call votes were held on whether or not to include the item on the Assembly's agenda; but Canada did not with the other members of the White Commonwealth when roll-call votes were held on the First Committee's resolutions. Israel voted against Indonesia in both sessions. The only other Asian state to oppose Indonesia was China. But Cambodia, Laos, and Turkey tended to abstain frequently. The U.S.A. abstained completely.

TABLE 44.^{1.}

Voting Behaviour on West New Guinea in
11th and 12th Sessions, showing Devia-
tions from Policies of Groups in the
Assembly

State	<u>Eleventh</u> Inclusion	<u>Session</u> Resolution	<u>Twelfth</u> Inclusion	<u>Session</u> Resolution
Austria	A	N	N	N
Cambodia	Y	A	A	A
Canada	A	N	A	N
China	A	N	A	N
Finland	N	A	A	A
Ireland	Y	N	N	N
Laos	Y	A	A	Y
Liberia	A	Y	Y	A
Spain	Y	A	N	N
Turkey	A	A	A	A
Israel	N	N	N	N
Greece	Y	Y	Y	Y

1. Y denotes a vote in favour of adopting the resolution on the recommendation on inclusion, and therefore it denotes opposition to the Netherlands. Correspondingly N denotes support for the Netherlands.

TABLE 45.¹

Voting Behaviour of Latin American States in
11th and 12th Sessions on West New Guinea.

State	Eleventh Session		Twelfth Session	
	Inclusion	Resolution	Inclusion	Resolution
Argentina	Y	A	A	N
Bolivia	Y	Y	Y	Y
Brazil	A	N	Y	N
Chile	N	A	N	N
Colombia	A	Ab	Y	N
Costa Rica	A	Y	Y	Y
Cuba	Y	N	Y	N
Dominican Republic	N	N	N	N
Ecuador	Y	Y	Y	A
El Salvador	Y	Y	Y	Y
Guatemala	Y	Y	Y	Y
Haiti	Y	Y	Y	Y
Honduras	A	N	N	N
Mexico	Y	A	Y	A
Nicaragua	A	N	N	N
Panama	Y	A	Y	A
Paraguay	A	A	A	A
Peru	A	N	Y	N
Uruguay	Y	A	Y	A
Venezuela	A	A	A	A

1. Y denotes a vote in favour of adopting the resolution on the recommendation on inclusion, and therefore it denotes opposition to the Netherlands. Correspondingly N denotes support for the Netherlands.

Table 45 shows that the Dominican Republic was the only Latin American state to give full support to the Netherlands in the eleventh and twelfth sessions. On the other hand Bolivia, El Salvador, Haiti, and Guatemala voted each time with Indonesia. Chile, Honduras, and Nicaragua voted in the main with the Netherlands while Costa Rica and Ecuador voted with Indonesia three times out of four. Paraguay and Venezuela abstained completely while the remaining Latin American states varied their behaviour considerably. But there was an increase in Latin American support for the Netherlands in the twelfth session. It is to be noted that the Latin American states were prepared to put the item on the agenda of the Assembly but that they were also reluctant to support the adoption of resolutions offensive to the Netherlands.

French North Africa.

There have been twenty-four roll-call votes on the disputes arising from the relationship between France and the three North African territories of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. Roll-call voting on the Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian questions has been essentially similar to that on the question of West New Guinea in that the anti-colonial states were unable to obtain the two-thirds majority required for the adoption of resolutions which were offensive to the French point-of-view. France was absent when nineteen of the twenty-

four roll-call votes were held. The Arab states led the opposition to France. Table 46 gives the distribution of the roll-call votes among the sessions and the particular territory under consideration.

TABLE 46.

Distribution of 24 Roll Calls on French
North Africa

Session	Item	Number of Roll call votes
6th	Morocco	2
7th	Morocco	2
8th	Morocco	6
8th	Tunisia	2
9th	Morocco	1
10th	Algeria	1
11th	Algeria	1
13th	Algeria	3
14th	Algeria	6
Total		24

The states which voted with France outnumbered the states which opposed France on one occasion only, viz., the second roll-call vote in the seventh session. There were wide fluctuations in the roll-call voting, particularly when Algeria was the subject. Four preambular paragraphs of one resolution sponsored by Pakistan in the fourteenth session were adopted by margins in the range of 55 votes to 3, with 22 states abstaining. But the resolution as a whole failed

to obtain two-thirds majority support. Therefore the important roll-call votes are those which saw the defeat of resolutions offensive to France.

In the sixth session, at the 354th plenary meeting, a Bolivian request for the adjournment of debate on a General Committee recommendation not to include the item of Morocco on the Agenda for that session was refused by 28 votes to 22, with 7 abstentions. The request was made to allow tempers to cool and Members to consider the issue for a few days. France, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A. voted for the adjournment but were defeated by the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, the Arab states, seven Asian states, and Canada, Denmark, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Liberia, Mexico, and Sweden. However when the Committee's recommendation (A/1950) was put to a roll-call vote it was adopted by 28 votes to 23, with 7 abstentions. Only China of the states which had voted with France on the procedural roll-call did not do so on this occasion; China abstained. Canada, Cuba, Denmark, Honduras, Iceland, Norway, and Uruguay voted with France on this occasion. In the sixth session therefore when the important vote was held which divided the states into two groups, one found eight Western European states, four White Commonwealth states, thirteen Latin American states, and Israel, Turkey, and the U.S.A. opposing the six Arab states, seven Asian states, the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, and Ecuador, Ethiopia, Guatamala,

and Mexico. Argentina, Chile, China, El Salvador, Greece, Liberia, and Thailand abstained in this session. The Union of South Africa was absent.

There were two roll-call votes at the 407th plenary meeting in the seventh session. A First Committee resolution (A/2325) expressed confidence that the French Government would endeavour to further the fundamental liberties of the people of Morocco and appealed to the parties to create an atmosphere of goodwill. However eleven Latin American states presented an amendment (A/L135) which softened the provisions of the resolution by expressing a hope for negotiations towards developing free political institutions in Morocco, with due regard to legitimate right and interests. This clause was to replace one recommending negotiations to achieve self-government. The amendment was adopted by 29 votes to 8, with 22 abstentions. Support for the conciliatory tone of the resolution was forthcoming from eighteen Latin American states; six Western European states, viz., the four Scandinavian states and Greece and the Netherlands; three White Commonwealth states; and Israel and the U.S.A. The majority of the states opposing the position adopted by France in the sixth session abstained on this roll-call vote but the Soviet bloc, Guatemala, Pakistan, and Yemen voted against adoption. The twenty-two abstaining states included those which did so

out of respect for France, and those which gave way to the necessity of passing the amendment adopted in order to save some of the provisions of the Committee resolution. Thus the five remaining Arab states and nine Asian states abstained with China, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Liberia, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia. The resolution was then adopted by 45 votes to 3, with 11 abstentions. Opposition came from Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Union of South Africa. The states abstaining comprised Australia, El Salvador, Guatemala, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet bloc.

The basic conflict in the Assembly was between the African, Arab, and Asian states which wanted the Assembly to affirm the right of the territories to full independence in the immediate future, and those which considered that the participants could negotiate a mutually satisfactory settlement. The latter did not wish to pass resolutions which might prejudice the chances of so doing. Such states, as Belgium and the Union of South Africa were motivated more by the desire to uphold the notion of domestic jurisdiction than by the fear of prejudicing negotiations. France held all discussion illegal under the terms of the Charter.

Six roll-call votes on the Moroccan question were held at the 455th plenary meeting in the eighth session on one First Committee resolution (A/2526). One roll-call vote was held on each of six paragraphs. But the fourth and sixth paragraphs failed to obtain the two-thirds majority required for adoption. The fourth paragraph considered the mere fact of inclusion of the item proved that free political institutions were not yet developed in Morocco. The sixth paragraph, which was also the only operative paragraph, renewed an appeal for the reduction of tension and urged that the right of Moroccan people to free democratic political institutions be ensured. The other paragraphs recalled previous resolutions and defined the motives of such resolutions, and recognised, in the fifth paragraph, the right of the people of Morocco to complete self-determination in conformity with the Charter.

On average fifteen states opposed the paragraphs of this resolution and thirty-five states supported these paragraphs. But voting on the fourth and sixth paragraphs was 31 in favour to 23 against, and 32 in favour to 22 against respectively; five states abstained each time.

Nine Asian states, every Arab state, four Latin American states, and Ethiopia and Liberia supported every paragraph. The Asian states were Afghanistan, Burma, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, Philippines, and Thailand.

Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, and Uruguay were the Latin American states to support fully the 'anti-colonial' states. The Soviet bloc of five states abstained on the second paragraph but supported the adoption of every other paragraph.

Eight states voted against every paragraph. Three of these were obviously to be expected to do so in the light of their past voting on this issue, viz., Belgium, Luxembourg and the Union of South Africa. But the remaining consistent opposition came not from Western Europe but from Latin America. Chile, Colombia, Nicaragua, Panama, and Paraguay opposed every paragraph.

Thirteen states voted against the two paragraphs of strategic importance while opposing or supporting or abstaining when the other paragraphs were voted on by roll-call. Seven of these were Latin American states which made it clear at this point that the Latin American group diverged in their attitude towards the problems arising out of colonialism. Houston makes the point that the Latin American states did not vote consistently in matters involving the principle of domestic jurisdiction, either individually or collectively.¹ Table 47 illustrates the behaviour of the thirteen states which voted against the

1 J.A. Houston, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

fourth and sixth paragraphs.

TABLE 47.

Voting behaviour on Moroccan Question
in 8th Session, showing Support for
France.

State	Number of votes against adoption	Number of votes for adoption	Number of abstentions
Australia	4	0	2
Brazil	2	4	0
Costa Rica	2	4	0
Cuba	2	2	2
Dominican Republic	5	0	1
Ecuador	2	2	2
Honduras	2	0	4
Netherlands	4	0	2
New Zealand	4	2	0
Peru	2	4	0
Turkey	2	0	4
United Kingdom	3	0	3
U.S.A.	3	2	1

Two states, Canada and Greece, opposed adoption of paragraph four but abstained when paragraph six was put to a vote. Canada and Greece did not oppose any other paragraph. One state opposed the adoption of paragraph six but abstained on paragraph four, viz., Haiti. Haiti abstained five times. Three states abstained on both strategic paragraphs; Israel abstained five times, El Salvador abstained six times, and Venezuela abstained twice. Venezuela supported

the remaining paragraphs. Argentina supported paragraph six but abstained on paragraph four. Finally, France stayed away from the meeting.

The two votes in the eighth session on the Tunisian Question were held at the 457th plenary meeting. An Icelandic amendment (A/L166) to a First Committee resolution (A/2530) was adopted by 32 votes to 16, with 11 abstentions. The amendment deleted third paragraph of the preamble noting failure to achieve the objectives of a previously adopted resolution and the second operative paragraph which recommended that the existing state of martial law in Tunisia be terminated.

Nine Latin American states joined Australia, Belgium, Israel, Luxembourg, Netherlands, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom in opposing adoption. The Latin American states were Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and Paraguay. Five Latin American states, viz., Argentina, Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, and Uruguay supported the amendment as did the four Scandinavian states, the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, the six Arab states, nine Asian states including China, and Ethiopia and Liberia. The remaining six Latin American states, Canada, Greece, New Zealand, Turkey, and the U.S.A.

abstained. The resolution was then rejected when it failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority despite the Icelandic amendment which made the resolution less offensive to the French point of view. The voting was 31 in favour, 18 against, with 10 abstentions. Argentina abstained instead of supporting the Arab states; and Turkey and the U.S.A. opposed the resolution instead of abstaining as they had done on the Icelandic amendment. The resolution had recommended that all "necessary steps" be taken to ensure the realisation by the Tunisian people of their right to full sovereignty; it also recommended immediate negotiations.

The final roll-call vote on the Moroccan question was held at the 514th plenary meeting in the ninth session. A First Committee resolution (A/2876), which expressed confidence that a satisfactory solution of the Moroccan problem would result from negotiations between France and Morocco, was adopted by 55 votes to 0, with 4 abstentions. France was absent, and Australia, Belgium, the Union of South Africa and the United Kingdom abstained.

In the tenth session at the 530th plenary meeting a General Committee recommendation (A/2980) not to include the item of Algeria on the agenda for that session was defeated by 28 votes to 27, with 5 abstentions. Twelve Latin American states, the White Commonwealth, seven European states, and Israel, Turkey and the U.S.A. voted for the recommendation. France was present for the roll-call vote. China, El Salvador, Ethiopia,

Iceland and Paraguay, abstained.

This was the first time that Ethiopia did not vote with the Arab states. Greece was the solitary Western European state voting with the six Arab states, the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, and eight Asian states. Argentina and Costa Rica joined the four Latin American states which had consistently supported the Arab position, viz., Bolivia, Guatemala, Mexico, and Uruguay. Liberia also opposed the Committee recommendation.

The single roll-call vote at the 652nd plenary meeting in the eleventh session led to the adoption of a nine-power resolution (A/L220) which noted loss of life in Algeria and expressed the hope, that, in a spirit of co-operation, a peaceful, democratic and just solution would be found. Seventy-five states supported the resolution. Only the United Kingdom abstained though Costa Rica, Hungary, France, and the Union of South Africa were absent.

Three roll-call votes were held at the 792nd plenary meeting in the thirteenth session. A Ceylonese motion proposed to delete a paragraph from a First Committee resolution (A/4075). The resolution called for negotiations between the Provisional Government of Algeria and the French Government and took note of the willingness of the Provisional Government to negotiate. The resolution also recognised the right of the Algerian people to independence and urged a solution in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. The Ceylonese motion proposed the deletion of the paragraph referring to the

Provisional Government's willingness to negotiate. The motion was carried by 38 votes to 0, with 43 abstentions. Austria, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, the U.S.A. and the Union of South Africa supported the motion along with ten Latin American states, eleven Asian states, eight Arab states, and four African states. There followed a procedural roll-call vote on the motion that separate votes be taken on certain parts of the resolution. The motion, sponsored by the Dominican Republic, was defeated by 36 votes to 8, with 37 abstentions.

When the roll-call vote was taken to the resolution as a whole, the voting was 35 votes in favour, 18 against, with 28 abstentions. The resolution thus failed to obtain the two-third majority required for adoption. The White Commonwealth, five European states, six Latin American states, and Israel and Laos opposed adoption. The six Latin American states were Brazil, Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Paraguay. Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and Portugal opposed the resolution.

The fourteen remaining Latin American states abstained, as did the United States, Turkey and China. The Asian states which abstained were Cambodia, Japan, Philippines and Thailand. Seven European states abstained, viz., Austria, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Spain and Sweden. Ireland and Greece both voted for adoption of the resolution along with the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, all the Arab states, nine Asian states including

Malaya and Pakistan, and four African states.

In the fourteenth session at the 856th plenary meeting, seven roll-call votes were held on a resolution (A/L276) sponsored by Pakistan. Four roll-call votes led to the adoption by wide margins of five preambular paragraphs. The first and second preambular paragraphs were voted on together, and were adopted by 55 votes to 3, with 22 abstentions. The next three preambular paragraphs were adopted in separate roll-call votes by 55 votes to 4, with 21 abstentions, respectively. The paragraphs recalled the two resolutions previously adopted by the Assembly, Article 1 (2) of the Charter, and expressed deep concern with the continuance of hostilities in Algeria. The Union of South Africa and Peru opposed every preambular paragraph; the Dominican Republic opposed the first and second paragraphs, and the third, while Honduras opposed the third paragraph.

The first operative paragraph recognised the right of the Algerian people to self-determination; it was adopted by 58 votes to 1, with 21 abstentions. The second operative paragraph urged the holding of pourparlers with a view to arriving at a peaceful solution on the basis of self-determination and the principles of the Charter. It was adopted by 40 votes to 16, with 25 abstentions. But the resolution as a whole failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority when, although 39 states voted in favour, 22 states voted against and 20 abstained. France was absent.

The sixteen states which voted gainst the second operative paragraph were four White Commonwealth states, six European states, five Latin American states, and Israel. The European states were Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain; and the Latin American states were Brazil, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Peru. Australia abstained on this paragraph.

The six states which joined with the sixteen in opposing the resolution as a whole were Australia, Ecuador, Honduras, Laos, Nicaragua, and Paraguay. The twenty states which abstained included seven Western European states, viz., Austria, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, and Norway; and six Latin American states, viz., Bolivia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, and Uruguay; and Cambodia, China, Iran, Japan, Thailand, Turkey, and the U.S.A.

Thirty-nine states voted for every paragraph in this resolution. The Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, ten Arab states, nine Asian states, and four African states voted in this way as did Argentina, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, Sweden, and Venezuela.

Tables 48 and 49 illustrate the behaviour of the states which prevented the adoption of resolutions on this issue. The five roll-call votes chosen include three from the eighth session and one each from the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions. Table 48 includes Latin American states only. Table 49 includes several states which were admitted to the Assembly during and after the tenth session.

TABLE 48.

Voting behaviour of Latin American States
on French North Africa, 8th-14th Sessions.¹

State	8th Session		A/2530	13th Session	14th Session
	A/2526 Para.4.	Para.6.		A/4075	A/L276
Argentina	A	Y	A	A	Y
Bolivia	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Brazil	N	N	A	N	N
Chile	N	N	A	N	N
Colombia	N	N	N	A	N
Costa Rica	N	N	A	A	A
Cuba	N	N	N	N	Y
Dominican Rep.	N	N	N	N	N
Ecuador	N	N	N	A	N
El Salvador	A	A	A	A	A
Guatamala	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Haiti	A	N	N	A	A
Honduras	N	N	N	A	N
Mexico	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Nicaragua	N	N	N	N	N
Panama	N	N	N	A	Y
Paraguay	N	N	N	N	N
Peru	N	N	A	A	N
Uruguay	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Venezuela	A	A	A	A	Y

1. The roll-call votes on A/2530, A/4075, and A/L276, were on the resolutions as a whole. N denotes opposition to the resolution and therefore support for France.

TABLE 49.

Voting Behaviour on French North Africa, 8th-14th Sessions,
Showing Sympathy for French Position.

State	8th Session		13th Session		14th Session
	A/2526 Para.4	Para.6	A/2530	A/4075	A/L276
Australia	N	N	N	N	N
Belgium	N	N	N	N	N
Canada	N	A	A	N	N
China	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Denmark	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Greece	N	A	A	Y	A
Iceland	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Iran	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
Israel	A	A	N	N	N
Luxembourg	N	N	N	N	N
Netherlands	N	N	N	N	N
Norway	Y	Y	Y	A	A
New Zealand	N	N	A	N	N
Philippines	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Sweden	Y	Y	Y	A	Y
Thailand	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Turkey	N	N	N	A	A
Union of South Africa	N	N	N	N	N
United Kingdom	N	N	N	N	N
U.S.A.	N	N	N	A	A

States which were admitted during or after the tenth Session.

Austria	A	A
Cambodia	A	A
Finland	A	A
Ireland	Y	A
Italy	N	N
Japan	A	A
Laos	N	N
Portugal	N	N
Spain	A	N

N denotes opposition to the adoption of the resolution in question and therefore support for France.

On the basis of these five roll-call votes it can be seen that the strongest Latin American support for the French and European stand came from the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Paraguay; then from Brazil, Chile, Honduras, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Panama, and Peru. Panama and Cuba however supported the final resolution to be defeated. Costa Rica and Haiti also belonged to this group which either abstained or supported the French position. El Salvador abstained through-out while Venezuela abstained on each resolution except the final one, Argentina abstained three times but supported the anti-colonial states twice. Guatemala, Bolivia, Mexico, and Uruguay supported the anti-colonial powers to the thirteenth session; Mexico abstained once. Uruguay abstained in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions as did Bolivia and Guatemala.

Australia, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom, and Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, joined the three Latin American states, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Paraguay, as the states opposing adoption on each occasion. Laos opposed adoption on each occasion it was eligible to vote. Thailand, Cambodia, and Japan abstained on the final two roll calls. Iran abstained on the final vote.

The Scandinavian states generally, after supporting the Arab states, changed to abstaining in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions though Sweden abstained only in the

thirteenth session.

Austria and Finland abstained when they were eligible to vote in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions. Spain abstained in the thirteenth session, but voted with the majority of European states in the fourteenth session. Ireland abstained in the fourteenth after supporting the resolution in the previous session; Greece acted in this way also but in the earlier sessions abstained or voted against the majority of the European states. Italy and Portugal joined with Belgium as soon as they gained membership. The United States tended to abstain after supporting the European states earlier. Turkey and China both abstained in the thirteenth and fourteenth sessions but whereas Turkey had voted with the Western European states in the eighth and ninth sessions China had voted against them.

(iv) Cyprus.

Only four roll-call votes have been held on the problem of Cyprus; two were held in the ninth session, and one each in the tenth and twelfth sessions. This item is interesting in that the United Kingdom was the subject of criticism from a European state, viz, Greece.

The first roll-call vote at the 477th plenary meeting in the ninth session concerned an Iraqi motion that debate on the issue of whether or not the item of "Self-determination for Cyprus" was to be included on the agenda for that session be

postponed for a few days. The object of the postponement was to give delegates more time to study the arguments by both sides. The voting ended in a tie of 24 votes to 24, with 12 abstentions. Therefore the motion was not carried. Support for the motion came from nine Latin American states; six Western European states, three Commonwealth states, five Asian and African states, and the U.S.A. Though the United Kingdom abstained, Greece opposed the motion.

The second roll-call vote at this plenary meeting was more important; it dealt with the General Committee recommendation (A/2733) that the item be included. Just as the Netherlands could not muster sufficient support to prevent inclusion of the question of West New Guinea so the United Kingdom could not prevent the inclusion of this item. The recommendation was accepted by the 30 votes to 19, with 11 abstentions. The five White Commonwealth states, the Western European states but for Greece and Iceland, and Liberia and Turkey opposed inclusion as did five Latin American states, viz., Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, and Peru. Five Latin American states abstained, viz., Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Panama, and Venezuela. The United States also abstained as it did frequently on issues concerning 'colonialism'. But India, Iran, Pakistan, Ethiopia, and Iraq also abstained.

China voted with Greece on this issue as did Iceland.

The Greek support came mainly from the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, the Arab states but for Iraq, and the Asian states but for India, Iran, Pakistan, Israel, and Turkey. But ten Latin American states supported Greece, though it is important to note this was a vote on inclusion, not on a political judgement on the item.

In the tenth session, at the 521st plenary meeting, a roll-call vote was held on a General Committee recommendation (A/2980) not to include the item on the agenda of the tenth session. This vote followed the adoption, in the preceding session, of a resolution which proposed not to consider the item further. The General Committee recommendation was adopted by 28 votes to 22, with 10 abstentions. The opposition to this recommendation was offered by the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, Iceland and Greece, the Arab states apart from Iraq, Afghanistan, and eight Latin American states, viz., Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Uruguay. The abstaining states included seven Asian states, viz., Burma, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, and Philippines; the Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, and Haiti. Iraq, Liberia, Pakistan, and Thailand voted with the United Kingdom in this session.

The item was again discussed in the General Assembly at the twelfth session. At the 731st plenary meeting, a First Committee resolution (A/3794) failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. The resolution, originally drafted by Greece,

expressed concern that not enough progress had been made and hoped that the principle of self-determination would be applied. The voting was 31 in favour, 23 against, with 24 abstentions. The states voting with Greece included the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, seven Arab states, Iceland and Ireland, Indonesia, Ethiopia, and Ghana and eight Latin American states. The majority of the Asian states abstained; there was a general feeling that the issue could best be solved by negotiations between the parties involved, that direct United Nations intervention might only complicate the problem. Iran and Pakistan voted with the United Kingdom, as did eight Latin American states, ten European states, the four White Commonwealth states, and Turkey. Austria and Finland abstained along with the eleven remaining Asian states, six Latin American states, Iraq, Liberia, China, Israel, and the United States.

Table 50 illustrates the voting behaviour of the Latin American states on this issue. The three roll-call votes referred to are those on inclusion in the ninth and tenth sessions and the one on the resolution (A/3794) in the twelfth session.

Only Chile and Colombia voted consistently with the United Kingdom. But the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Peru each voted twice with the United Kingdom. Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Guatemala consistently

TABLE 50

Voting behaviour of Latin American States
on the Cyprus Question, 9th-12th Sessions¹

State	Number of Votes with Greece	Number of Votes with United Kingdom	Number of Abstentions
Argentina	1	1	1
Bolivia	2	0	1
Brazil	0	1	2
Chile	0	3	0
Colombia	0	3	0
Costa Rica	3	0	0
Cuba	1	1	1
Dominican Republic	0	2	1
Ecuador	3	0	0
El Salvador	3	0	0
Guatamala	3	0	0
Haiti	2	0	1
Honduras	1	1	1
Mexico	2	0	1
Nicaragua	1	2	0
Panama	1	1	1
Paraguay	0	2	1
Peru	0	2	1
Uruguay	2	1	0
Venezuela	0	1	2

1. Three of the four roll-call votes on Cyprus are included in this table. The roll-call vote on the Iraqi motion in the ninth Session is not included.

TABLE 51.

Voting behaviour of Asian States
on the Cyprus Question, 9th - 12th Sessions.¹

State	Number of Votes with Greece	Number of Votes with United Kingdom	Number of Abstentions
Afghanistan	2	0	1
Burma	1	0	2
China	1	0	2
India	0	0	3
Indonesia	2	0	1
Iran	0	1	2
Israel	1	0	2
Pakistan	0	2	1
Philippines	1	0	2
Thailand	1	1	1
Turkey	0	3	0

1. Three of the four roll-call voters on Cyprus are included in this table. The roll-call vote on the Iraqi motion in the ninth session is not included.

voted with Greece while Bolivia, Haiti, Mexico, and Uruguay each voted twice with Greece against the United Kingdom.

The U.S.A. abstained twice on this item. Iceland supported Greece each time while Ireland voted with Greece in the twelfth session.¹ Table 51 illustrates the behaviour of the Asian states on this item. Afghanistan and Indonesia voted with Greece on two occasions. Only Iran, Pakistan, Thailand, and Turkey voted with the United Kingdom. But the main voting tendency among the Asian states on this item was to abstain.

X X X X X

It can be seen that voting behaviour on items related to the general theme of Anti-Colonialism has been much less uniform than that on items related to the Cold War. The items related to the Union of South Africa's racial policies were notable for the decisive defeat in the Assembly of the few Western European and White Commonwealth states which supported an often absent Union of South Africa. On the other hand the Palestine question ended in a stale-mate while the items on French North Africa and West New Guinea saw the frequent application of the two-thirds majority rule.

1. Ireland was admitted to the United Nations during the tenth session and therefore missed the first three roll-call votes on the question of Cyprus.

Nevertheless there was a certain amount of consistency in the voting alignments on the items involving Anti-Colonialism. In particular while there was no situation to compare with the almost constant opposition of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in the Cold War several states from different groups, e.g. India and the United Kingdom, seldom voted together on any of the items in this field.

The Arab states were the focal points on both the Palestine question and the problem of the Italian colonies. The complicated alignments on these two items have been detailed above.¹ From the fourth session onwards the states which voted with Israel against the Arab states were largely drawn from three groups, viz., the Western European states, the White Commonwealth states, and the Latin American states. The U.S.A. of course voted with Israel. However there was little cohesion within the various groups. And there were many abstentions on the majority of roll-call votes on this item.

The two-thirds majority rule came into operation several times when roll-call votes were held on the question of the Italian colonies. Consistent opposition to the Assembly majority came from the Arab states, the Soviet bloc, and Burma and Pakistan. India, Philippines, and Yugoslavia frequently supported the Arab states.

1. See pp.166-192 above.

There was a definite voting pattern on the two items relating to the Union of South Africa. The Union of South Africa was isolated in the Assembly from the sixth session onwards on the item dealing with the treatment of Indians in South Africa; and from the ninth session onwards the number of states which on average voted in support of the Union of South Africa on Apartheid was four. A considerable number of states abstained on both items in every session; but this number tended to drop as time passed. The Assembly majority was composed of the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia, all the Arab states, most of the Asian states, and several Latin American and Western European states. Whatever support the Union of South Africa obtained was drawn from the Latin American, Western European, and White Commonwealth states. And it was members of these three groups which had the highest propensities to abstain. It must be remembered however that such states as Canada, Greece, and Mexico voted more or less frequently with India on these items. China, Israel, Turkey, and the U.S.A. also abstained on occasion.

The items on French North Africa and West New Guinea showed clearly the basic conflict of Anti-Colonialism. The Soviet bloc supported the great majority of Arab and Asian states in their attempts to pass resolutions offensive to France and the Netherlands. The Western European and White Commonwealth states, with minor deviations, supported France

and the Netherlands. China, Israel, and Turkey, followed by Cambodia and Laos tended to abstain frequently and to vote against the other Asian states.

The Western European states to deviate most from the group's behaviour were Greece and Finland. The U.S.A. had a relatively high propensity to abstain on these issues but seldom voted against France or the Netherlands.

A considerable majority in most groups either voted consistently for the adoption of resolutions objected to by such states as Belgium, France and the United Kingdom or voted consistently against such adoption. But the Latin American states were split into three groups. One group comprising Costa Rica, Bolivia, Uruguay, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Guatemala, and Mexico tended to vote with the Asian and Arab states but these also abstained fairly often. Another group comprising Colombia, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Chile, and Nicaragua tended to support the Western European states. The remaining states voted even less to a consistent pattern than those above. And there was considerable variation according to the item under consideration.

The importance of the two-thirds majority rule was emphasised throughout the period. It now remains to show how the patterns put forward in the second and third chapters are reflected in the statistical relationships between several representative states.

CHAPTER 4

A STATISTICAL SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate statistically the relations among certain Members of the General Assembly. These Members have been chosen as representatives of the seven groups referred to throughout this thesis and which have been defined in chapter one.¹ Tables 52-68 give a session-by-session account of the agreements and disagreements among the various members with respect to the total of 650 roll-call votes in the plenary meetings from January 1946 to December 1959. These tables are included in Appendix A.²

Tables 52, 53, and 54 give an account of the voting behaviour of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom with respect to the decisions taken by the Assembly. Table 52 shows that the U.S.A. voted in agreement with the decisions taken by the Assembly on 74.6% of the 650 roll-call votes held in the over-all period;³ the U.S.A.'s point-of-view was rejected on only 13.2% of the roll-calls. From the first emergency special session

-
1. See pp.30-35 above.
 2. See pp.272-288 below.
 3. In the great majority of such occasions the U.S.A. voted with a majority of the states present and voting. But it is also possible that the successful states in the Assembly constituted only a minority of the states present and voting, i.e., when the two-thirds majority rule came into operation to prevent the adoption of certain resolutions in whole and in part.

in November 1956 to the end of the fourteenth session the U.S.A.'s success rate rose to 80.3% while the failure rate was a mere 4.8% in this period. The U.S.A.'s propensity to abstain was higher in the period from the first emergency special session than it was overall, viz., 14.9% and 12.2%.

Table 53 shows an entirely different story for the U.S.S.R. That state had an overall success rate of 38.8% while its failure rate was 50.8% overall. The U.S.S.R. lost ground in the Assembly from the first emergency special session to the end of the fourteenth session when its failure rate rose to 54.2%; its success rate was 38.8% in this period. The U.S.S.R. therefore tended to abstain less as time went by; overall the U.S.S.R.'s propensity to abstain was 10.4% while it was 7.5% from the first emergency special session.

The record of the United Kingdom was much closer to that of the U.S.A. than to that of the U.S.S.R. as Table 54 indicates. And there was a greater success rate for the first emergency special session than for the whole period. Overall the United Kingdoms success and failure rates were 61.8% and 20% respectively. In the period from the first emergency session, which includes 188 roll-call votes, the success rate increased to 70.8% while the

failure rate fell to 13.3%. The United Kingdom also tended to abstain less in the later period than over all, the rate falling from 18.2% to 16.9%.

A comparison of agreement and disagreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. shows that these two states disagreed more than 50% of the time, viz., 57.6% overall, and 53.9% from the first emergency special session. Overall these two states agreed, i.e. they voted identically, on 20.4% of the 650 roll-call votes while from November 1956 they agreed on 23.9% of the 188 roll-call votes in this period. A session-by-session account of the agreements and disagreements between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. is given in Table 55. When one of the states was absent or one abstained they can be said to be neither agreeing nor disagreeing. The number of such occasions in each session is included in the figure for "Abstentions" since one of the states abstained frequently while the other voted.

Table 56 shows that the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom had an overall agreement ~~rate~~ of 73.4% and one of 78.1% in the period from the first emergency special session. These two states rarely voted against each other; they disagreed 7% overall and 5.3% in the period from November 1956. One of the states abstained while the other voted on 19.6% of the 650 roll-call votes and on 16.6% of the 188 roll-call votes from the first emergency special session.

In the Cold War the Latin American states were strong supporters of the U.S.A. But on colonial issues generally there was a much greater tendency for the Latin American states to divide into groups. Therefore the relations of two Latin American states to the U.S.A.'s voting behaviour have been calculated to illustrate the range of differences in voting behaviour among the Latin American states. The state chosen to illustrate relatively good relations with the U.S.A. is Brazil. The state chosen to illustrate greater tendency to disagree with the U.S.A. is Mexico. T. Hovet points out "On an overall basis, however, it appears that Mexico, Guatemala, Argentina, Bolivia, and Costa Rica - in that order are likely to deviate from the group majority, particularly if the group majority is supporting the general position of the western powers."¹ Brazil has been chosen as a representative of the remaining Latin American states because of its relative "middle position" in colonial issues.

Overall it can be seen from Table 57 that Brazil had a very high agreement rate with the U.S.A., viz., 75% while disagreement was only 10.8%. The first point to be noted is that this was a higher agreement rate with the

1. T. Hovet, op.cit. p.69.

U.S.A. than that of the United Kingdom. Overall Brazil had a higher disagreement rate with the U.S.A. than the United Kingdom did but in the 188 roll-call votes since the beginning of the first emergency special session Brazil and the U.S.A. disagreed only six times, i.e. 3.2%. In this period their agreement rate rose to 84.2%. This indicates, as Table 57 shows, that Brazil or the U.S.A. abstained when the other voted much less than the U.S.A. or the United Kingdom did. And the important fact was the great increase in agreement between Brazil and the U.S.A. which can be seen to have commenced in the eighth session and was strengthened in the period from the First emergency special session by a fall in the tendency of one or other of the two to abstain when the other voted.

When Mexico's relation to the U.S.A. was calculated it was found, as Table 58 shows, that the two agreed 57% overall and disagreed 18.7%. But the agreement in the final period increased to 64.7% and the disagreement decreased to 11.1%. This indicates also that Mexico or the U.S.A. abstained fairly often when the other voted. However the agreement rate is still high, a fact which will be emphasised when one compares this rate with that of Egypt, Ghana, and India.

It was noticed that Sweden opposed the U.S.A. on the question of the representation of China. Therefore

the agreement between these two states has been calculated to illustrate the relations between a European state which diverged somewhat from the majority of European states in some items of the Cold War. However it was found, as Table 59 indicates, that the two states had an overall agreement rate of 69.6% and one of 72.5% from the first emergency special session. But the disagreement rate increased also, from 9% to 12.2%. The two states disagreed twenty-three times in the later period, eighteen of these disagreements derived from the item of Chinese representation. But once again the agreement rate was still high.

But when the relations between India and the U.S.A. are compared, as in Table 60, a different story emerges. Overall agreement between these two states was 39%, but it did increase to 42% in the period from the first emergency special session while the disagreement rate decreased to 23.4% from 25.8%. And when the relations between India and the U.S.S.R. are calculated as in Table 61, one finds a consistent trend from the second regular session for India to agree more with the U.S.S.R. than with the U.S.A. and to disagree less with the U.S.S.R. than with the U.S.A. Agreement overall between India and the U.S.S.R. was 51.5% but this increased to 59.5% in the later period, while disagreement decreased from 17.2% to 11.2%.¹ Table 62,

1. The voting relations among the Asian states are illustrated in Tables 69-84 in Appendix B. See pp.289-298 above.

however, shows that India had worse relations with respect to voting behaviour with the United Kingdom than with the U.S.A. Overall India and the United Kingdom agreed more than they disagreed, viz., 35.4% and 30.9% respectively. But from the first emergency special session onwards they disagreed more than they agreed, viz., 33.5% and 29.7% respectively. And one or other of the two states abstained frequently while the other voted.

But the relation of Egypt to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. was even more striking. Overall agreement between Egypt and the U.S.S.R. was 49% but it was 64.3% for the final 188 roll-call votes while disagreement fell from 20.9% overall to 6.4% in this period. Overall agreement between Egypt and the U.S.A. was 39% but this figure fell to 31.4% from the first emergency special session. Disagreement also fell from 27.2% to 23.9% in the respective periods. Both Egypt and India abstained a great deal while the U.S.A. voted positively or negatively and vice versa. Egypt's behaviour with respect to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. is illustrated in Tables 63 and 64.

Ghana also voted much more with the U.S.S.R. than with the U.S.A. and much more against the U.S.A. than against the U.S.S.R. in the 123 roll-call votes which were held from its admission at the end of the eleventh

session. Whereas Ghana agreed 36.3% of the time with the U.S.A. and opposed the U.S.A. 25.2%, Ghana agreed with the U.S.S.R. 63.4% and disagreed only 13%, as Tables 66 and 67 show.

Not one of these three states agreed more with the U.S.S.R. than did Yugoslavia or disagreed less. But while Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R. voted identically 94.3% up to the end of the third session they did so only 64.5% of the time following that session. However Table 67 indicates that after an initial burst of disagreement from the fourth to the seventh sessions Yugoslavia settled down to opposing the U.S.S.R. never more than three times in any one session. But Yugoslavia did abstain much more often than any member of the Soviet bloc.

Table 68 shows that Yugoslavia disagreed less with the U.S.A. from the first emergency special session than it did overall; and their agreement rate increased also. But Yugoslavia still agreed less with the U.S.A. and disagreed more than did Egypt, Ghana or India.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

It can now be seen that there is a consistent relationship between the voting alliances peculiar to the Cold War and those peculiar to Anti-Colonialism. The analysis of roll-call voting on items in the Cold War showed that the U.S.A. was very strongly supported by three groups of states, viz., the Latin American, Western European, and White Commonwealth states. The members of these three groups made up at least 56% of the Assembly Membership from the first roll-call vote in the second part of the first session through almost to the end of the tenth session; they made up 48.7% in the fourteenth session. In addition several states from other groupings voted just as consistently with the U.S.A., e.g., China, Israel, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey. Finally several states such as Iran, Lebanon, Liberia, and Pakistan supported the U.S.A. against the U.S.S.R. at various times while tending to abstain at other times.

The Soviet bloc opposed the U.S.A. almost completely on items in the Cold War; the bloc was strongly supported by Yugoslavia except on the Korean question. Support for the Soviet bloc was meagre on most Cold War issues. More often than not when the Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia were not absolutely isolated in the Cold War they were supported by one or two states only. Exceptions to this general pattern

have been detailed in the text. However two groups of states, the Arab and Asian Members, gave much less support to the U.S.A. than the three groups referred to immediately above. Arab and Asian Members had the largest propensities to abstain though some did so more than others. When the Soviet bloc was supported by states other than Yugoslavia it was usually by Arab and Asian Members, e.g. Egypt, India, Indonesia, and Syria. Finland, and Ghana and Guinea, also had high propensities to abstain on Cold War items.

The items pertaining to China, i.e. the issue of Chinese political independence in the earlier sessions and the issue of Chinese representation from the fifth session onwards, were exceptions to the general pattern. First the U.S.S.R. was supported by several Arab and Asian states not just one or two. Secondly several Western European states, i.e., Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Norway, and Sweden also voted with the U.S.S.R. against the U.S.A.

Accordingly average support in the Assembly for the U.S.A. ranged from 80% on the Korean question in the ninth session to 47.8% on the item of Chinese political independence in the fourth, fifth, and sixth sessions. Usually however between 65% and 72% of the Assembly voted with the U.S.A. against the U.S.S.R. The admission of new Members made little difference to the general pattern.

Finland was the only Western European state with a relatively high propensity to abstain on all Cold War items.¹ Cambodia, Ceylon, Ghana, Guinea, and Nepal abstained frequently while Japan, Laos, and Malaya tend to support the U.S.A. The Arab states generally abstained though Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Tunisia did so less frequently than the others.

The superiority of the U.S.A. was determined therefore by three main tendencies. First the three groups of states from Latin America, Western Europe, and the White Commonwealth voted as a whole consistently with the U.S.A. The few minor exceptions have been detailed in the text. Secondly the Soviet bloc received but meagre and spasmodic support. Thirdly the Arab and Asian groups did not vote as groups to the extent that the three groups supporting the U.S.A. did. Some Arab and Asian, and African,² abstained a great deal; others abstained moderately; and some Asian states, and Liberia, supported the U.S.A. more or less consistently.

There was much greater uniformity in voting behaviour among the various items in the Cold War than among the various items on Colonialism. But, nevertheless,

-
1. Austria abstained frequently in the second emergency special session, i.e. on the Hungarian question, but very little thereafter.
 2. The African states outside the Arab world and the Union of South Africa totalled only four by the fourteenth session.

a basic pattern could be seen which became consistent when voting behaviour on such items as West New Guinea and French North Africa was examined. The two groups which tended to abstain on the Cold War items were joined by the Soviet bloc to make up the Assembly majority on most of the items discussed in the third chapter. And the Assembly minority, a much stronger minority than on the Cold War items, was drawn mainly from two groups of states, viz., the Western European states and the White Commonwealth states. The Latin American states were split into three fluctuating groups which supported one side or the other or abstained.

Several Western European states, and Canada and New Zealand, voted fairly often with the Arab and Asian states against the United Kingdom and the Union of South Africa on the items relating to South Africa. However the general pattern was adhered to in that, apart from China, Israel, Laos, and Turkey, the states which tended to support the Union of South Africa or to abstain were either Western European or White Commonwealth states.

These patterns are illustrated by the findings contained in the fourth chapter. It was noted that Egypt, Ghana, and India voted more with the U.S.S.R. than with the U.S.A. This was due to their behaviour on

colonial issues when the majority of the Asian and Arab states voted with the U.S.S.R. against such states as France and the Netherlands while the U.S.A. abstained or supported the two Western European states. And India voted even less with the United Kingdom than with the U.S.A. This points to the opposition of India and the United Kingdom on most roll-call votes related to Anti-Colonialism, and to the U.S.A.'s moderate propensity to abstain on such roll-calls.

Finally it can be seen that certain groups of states were allies in the Assembly. The Arab and Asian states tended to vote together. The Western European and White Commonwealth states also tended to vote together. Exceptions, which were greater in the case of the Arab and Asian states, have been detailed above. And the majority of Arab and Asian states were not likely to vote with the majority of Western European and White Commonwealth states on either of the two main political themes. The Arab and Asian states did not often vote against the Soviet bloc; in fact because of their alliance on the Anti-Colonial items the strongest anti-colonial states such as Egypt, India, Indonesia, and Syria voted more often with the U.S.S.R. than with the U.S.A. The Latin American states were split into three groups on the Anti-Colonial items but they voted more often with the

Western European and White Commonwealth states than with the Arab and Asian states. The Latin American states were also strong supporters of the U.S.A. The U.S.A. therefore was the most successful of the main protagonists in the Assembly. The Soviet bloc was by far the least successful.

APPENDIX A.

TABLES 52 - 68.

The following Tables give a session-by-session account of the voting relationships among several representatives states. The main conclusions to be drawn from the statistics contained in the Tables are presented in chapter four above.¹ The period covered, with two exceptions, extends from January 1946 to December 1959. Sweden was not admitted to the General Assembly until the second part of the first session. Ghana was not admitted till near the end of the eleventh session.

1. See pp.258-265 above.

TABLE 52.

U.S.A. - Assembly's Decisions

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Successful	Unsuccessful	Abstained
1 part (i)	17	12	4	1
1 part (ii)	19	12	6	1
1st special	6	6	0	0
2	32	29	2	1
2nd Special	7	6	1	0
3	97	84	10	3
4	64	34	18	13
5	53	46	5	2
6	25	14	7	4
7	49	33	11	5
8	26	16	3	7
9	31	15	7	9
10	36	28	3	5
1st Emergency	6	5	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	15	0	0
11	45	38	2	5
12	35	28	2	5
13	33	29	0	4
14	54	35	5	14
Overall Total	650	485	86	79
Total from 1st Emergency Special Session	188	151	9	28

Overall Success Rate 74.6%
 Overall Failure Rate 13.2%
 Overall Propensity to Abstain 12.2%
 Success Rate from 1st Emergency Special Session 80.3%
 Failure Rate from 1st Emergency Special Session 4.8%
 Propensity to Abstain from 1st Emergency Session 14.9%

TABLE 53.

Relation of the U.S.S.R. to the Assembly's Decisions.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Successful	Unsuccessful	Number of Abstentions
1 part (i)	17	8	9	0
1 part (ii)	19	7	10	2
1st Special	6	3	2	1
2	32	10	21	1
2nd Special	7	1	1	5
3	97	20	66	11
4	64	33	29	2
5	53	14	29	10
6	25	13	11	1
7	49	19	20	10
8	26	15	9	2
9	31	14	10	7
10	36	23	11	20
1st Emergency	6	3	0	3
2nd Emergency	15	0	13	2
11	45	19	24	2
12	35	13	20	2
13	33	13	17	3
14	54	24	28	2
Overall Total	650	252	330	68
Total from 1st Emergency Session 188		72	102	14

Overall Success Rate 38.8%Overall Failure Rate 50.8%Overall Propensity to Abstain 10.4%Success Rate from 1st Emergency Session 38.3%Failure Rate from 1st Emergency Session 54.2%Propensity to Abstain from 1st Emergency
Session 7.5%

TABLE 54

Relation of the United Kingdom to the Assembly's
Decisions.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Successful	Unsuccessful	Number of Abstentions
1(i)	17	12	2	3
1(ii)	19	14	4	1
1st Special	6	6	0	0
2	32	21	8	3
2nd Special	7	1	0	6
3	97	76	15	6
4	64	26	21	17
5	53	31	10	12
6	25	11	9	5
7	49	26	12	11
8	26	8	8	10
9	31	12	11	8
10	36	25	6	5
1st Emergency	6	1	2	3
2nd Emergency	15	15	0	0
11	45	37	6	2
12	35	27	5	3
13	33	22	4	7
14	53	31	8	15
Overall Total	650	402	131	117
Total from 1st Emergency Session	188	133	25	30

Overall Success Rate 61.8%

Overall Failure Rate 20%

Overall Propensity to Abstain 18.2%

Success Rate from 1st Emergency Session 70.8%

Failure Rate from 1st Emergency Session 13.3%

Propensity to Abstain from 1st Emergency
Session 16.9%

TABLE 55

Relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1 part (i)	17	5	11	1
1 part (ii)	19	5	11	3
1st Special	6	3	2	1
2	32	7	23	2
2nd Special	7	0	2	5
3	97	14	69	14
4	64	8	41	15
5	53	9	34	10
6	25	3	17	5
7	49	7	27	15
8	26	6	11	9
9	31	7	11	13
10	36	15	14	7
1st Emergency	6	3	0	3
2nd Emergency	15	0	13	2
11	45	16	22	7
12	35	9	19	7
13	33	10	16	7
14	54	7	31	16
Overall Total	650	134	375	141
Total from 1st Emergency Sess- ion	188	45	101	42

Overall Agreement 20.6%
 Overall Disagreement 57.6%

Agreement from 1st Emergency Session 23.9%
 Disagreement from 1st Emergency Session 53.9%

TABLE 56.

Relations between the United Kingdom and the U.S.A.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1 part (i)	17	12	3	2
1 part (ii)	19	15	2	2
1st Special	6	6	0	0
2	32	23	45	4
2nd Special	7	1	0	6
3	97	82	8	7
4	64	52	4	8
5	53	34	7	12
6	25	18	0	7
7	49	39	2	8
8	26	10	1	15
9	31	14	2	15
10	36	24	2	10
1st Emergency	6	1	3	2
2nd Emergency	15	15	0	0
11	45	36	2	7
12	35	27	1	7
13	33	23	3	7
14	54	45	1	8
Overall Total	650	477	46	127
Total from 1st Emergency Session 188		147	10	31

Overall Agreement 73.4%Overall Disagreement 7%Agreement from 1st Emergency Session 78.1%Disagreement from 1st Emergency Session 5.3%

TABLE 57

Relations between Brazil and the U.S.A.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1 part (i)	17	9	5	3
1 part (ii)	19	12	5	2
1st Special	6	6	0	0
2	32	26	5	1
2nd Special	7	7	0	0
3	87	74	14	9
4	64	35	21	8
5	53	43	4	6
6	25	17	1	7
7	49	32	7	10
8	26	17	1	8
9	31	20	1	10
10	36	31	0	5
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	15	0	0
11	45	40	1	4
12	35	29	2	4
13	33	28	1	4
14	54	41	2	11
Overall Total	650	488	70	92
Total from 1st Emergency Session 188		159	6	23

Overall Agreement 75%
 Overall Disagreement 10.8%

Agreement from 1st Emergency Session 84.2%
 Disagreement from 1st Emergency Session 3.2%

TABLE 58.

Relations between Mexico and the U.S.A.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1 part (i)	17	4	6	7
1 part (ii)	19	8	8	3
1st Special	6	4	2	0
2	32	19	7	6
2nd Special	7	4	0	3
3	97	58	14	25
4	64	33	15	16
5	53	36	10	7
6	25	8	11	6
7	49	25	11	13
8	26	12	8	6
9	31	14	4	13
10	36	23	5	8
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	14	0	1
11	45	36	4	5
12	35	22	5	8
13	33	24	0	9
14	54	20	12	22
Overall Total	650	370	122	158
Total from 1st Emergency Session	188	122	21	45

Overall Agreement 57%
 Overall Disagreement 18.7%

Agreement from 1st Emergency Session 64.7%
 Disagreement from 1st Emergency Session 11.1%

TABLE 59.

Relations between Sweden and the
¹
 U.S.A.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions
1 part (i)	0	0	0	0
1 part (ii)	19	10	3	6
1st special	6	6	0	0
2	32	25	2	5
2nd special	7	7	0	0
3rd regular	97	70	3	24
4th regular	64	51	1	12
5	53	35	5	13
6	25	16	2	7
7	49	41	5	3
8	26	13	4	9
9	31	14	3	14
10	36	21	6	8
1st Emergency	6	5	0	1
2nd Emergency	15	15	0	0
11	45	437	4	4
12	35	25	4	6
13	33	23	6	4
14	54	27	9	18
Overall Total	633	441	57	135
Total from 1st Emergency Session	188	132	23	33

Overall	Agreement	<u>69.6%</u>
Overall	Disagreement	<u>9%</u>
from 1st Emergency Session	Agreement	<u>72.5%</u>
from 1st Emergency Session	Disagreement	<u>12.2%</u>

¹ Sweden was not admitted until the second part of the first session.

TABLE 60.

Relations between India and the U.S.A.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Successful	Unsuccessful	Abstained
1 part (i)	17	14	2	1
1 part (ii)	19	7	5	7
1st special	6	4	1	1
2nd regular	32	7	19	6
2nd special	7	1	0	6
3	97	37	20	40
4	64	24	20	20
5	53	27	13	13
6	25	9	7	9
7	49	15	15	19
8	26	9	7	10
9	31	10	6	15
10	36	11	14	11
1st Emer- gency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emer- gency	5	1	3	1
11	45	23	9	13
12	25	15	9	11
13	33	16	7	10
14	54	18	16	20
Overall Total	650	254	173	223
Total from 1st Emer- gency Session	188	79	44	65
Overall Agreement			<u>39%</u>	
Overall Disagreement			<u>25.8%</u>	
Agreement from 1st Emergency Session			<u>42%</u>	
Disagreement from 1st Emergency Session			<u>23.4%</u>	

TABLE 61

Relations between India and the U.S.S.R.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1 part (i)	17	8	9	0
1 part (ii)	19	12	1	6
1st special	6	3	1	2
2nd regular	32	22	4	6
2nd special	7	5	1	1
3rd regular	97	26	26	45
4	64	26	13	25
5	53	22	13	18
6	25	10	9	6
7	49	21	8	20
8	26	19	2	5
9	31	19	4	8
10	36	30	0	6
1st Emergency	6	3	0	3
2nd Emergency	15	2	0	13
11	45	28	5	12
12	35	23	4	8
13	33	21	3	9
14	54	35	9	10
Overall Total	650	335	112	203
Total from 1st Emergency Session	188	112	21	55

Overall Agreement 51.5%Overall Disagreement 17.2%Agreement from 1st Emergency Session 59.5%Disagreement from 1st Emergency Session 11.2%

TABLE 62.

Relations between India and the United Kingdom

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1 part (i)	17	13	1	3
1 part (ii)	19	4	8	7
1st special	6	4	1	1
2	32	7	17	8
2nd special	7	7	0	0
3	97	36	20	41
4	64	26	22	16
5	53	25	11	17
6	25	7	8	10
7	49	14	16	19
8	26	2	11	13
9	31	5	14	12
10	36	24	9	3
1st emergency	6	1	2	3
2nd emergency	15	1	3	11
11	45	19	14	12
12	35	11	13	11
13	33	8	12	13
14	54	16	19	19
Overall Total	650	230	201	219
Total from 1st Emergency Session	188	56	63	69
Overall Agreement				<u>35.4%</u>
Overall Disagreement				<u>30.9%</u>
Agreement from 1st Emergency Session				<u>29.7%</u>
Disagreement from 1st Emergency Session				<u>33.5%</u>

TABLE 63

Relations between Egypt and the U.S.A.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1 part (i)	17	4	5	8
1 part (ii)	19	6	8	5
1st special	6	1	4	1
2	32	15	9	8
2nd Special	7	0	6	1
3	97	51	17	29
4	64	28	23	13
5	53	27	13	13
6	25	7	11	7
7	49	16	16	17
8	26	9	7	10
9	31	14	5	12
10	36	17	8	11
1st emergency	6	3	0	3
2nd emergency	15	1	0	14
11	45	17	12	16
12	35	11	11	13
13	33	11	7	15
14	54	16	15	23
Overall Total	650	254	177	219
Total from 1st Emergency Session	188	59	45	84

Overall Agreement

39%

Overall Disagreement

27.2%Agreement from 1st Emergency Session 31.4%Disagreement from 1st Emergency Session 23.9%

TABLE 64.

Relations between Egypt and the U.S.S.R.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1 part (i)	17	8	2	7
1 part (ii)	19	6	7	6
1st Special	6	2	4	0
2	32	10	12	10
2nd Special	7	1	0	6
3	97	17	44	36
4	64	37	15	12
5	53	19	14	20
6	25	14	7	4
7	49	22	11	16
8	26	19	2	5
9	31	17	4	10
10	36	26	2	8
1st emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd emergency	15	0	0	15
11	45	29	3	13
12	35	27	2	6
13	33	24	1	8
14	54	35	6	13
Overall Total	650	319	136	195
Total from 1st Emergency Session	188	121	12	55
Overall Agreement				49%
Overall Disagreement				20.9%
Agreement from 1st Emergency Session				64.3%
Disagreement from 1st Emergency Session				6.4%

TABLE 65

Relations between Ghana and the U.S.A.¹

Session	Number of Roll-calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Number of Abstentions etc.
11th	1	1	0	0
12th	35	12	10	13
13th	33	15	7	11
14th	54	17	14	23
Total	123	45	31	47

Agreement 36.3%
Disagreement 25.2%

TABLE 66

Relations between Ghana and the U.S.S.R.

Session	Number of Roll-calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Number of Abstentions etc.
11th	1	0	1	0
12th	35	22	4	9
13th	33	23	4	6
14th	54	33	7	14
Total	188	78	16	29

Agreement 63.4%
Disagreement 13%

1. Ghana was not admitted until almost the end of the eleventh session.

TABLE 67

Relations between Yugoslavia and U.S.S.R.

Session	Number of Roll-calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1 Part (i)	17	15	0	2
1 Part (ii)	19	19	0	0
1st Special	6	6	0	0
2	32	31	0	1
2nd Special	7	4	0	3
3	97	94	0	3
4	64	44	13	7
5	53	27	6	20
6	25	15	7	3
7	49	21	14	14
8	26	20	2	4
9	31	21	1	9
10	36	31	0	5
1st Emergency	6	3	0	3
2nd Emergency	15	2	0	13
11	45	34	3	8
12	35	25	1	9
13	33	25	2	6
14	54	44	1	9
Total	650	481	50	119

Agreement up to end of 3rd Session 94.3%
 Agreement from Fourth Session Onwards 65.5%
 Agreement from 1st Emergency Session 70.7%

TABLE 68

Relations between Yugoslavia and the U.S.A.

Session	Number of Roll-calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Number of Abstentions etc.
1 Part (i)	17	5	10	2
1 Part (ii)	19	5	11	3
1st Special	6	3	2	1
2	32	6	23	3
2nd Special	7	0	3	4
3	97	13	69	15
4	64	18	24	22
5	53	23	18	12
6	25	7	12	6
7	49	22	14	13
8	26	11	8	7
9	31	8	6	17
10	36	15	11	10
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	1	3	11
11	45	20	16	9
12	35	11	10	14
13	33	13	9	11
14	54	10	23	21
Overall Total	650	197	272	181
Total from 1st Emergency Session	188	61	61	66

Overall Agreement	<u>30.3%</u>
Overall Disagreement	<u>41.8%</u>
Agreement from 1st Emergency Session	<u>32.5%</u>
Disagreement from 1st Emergency Session	<u>32.5%</u>

APPENDIX B

Relationships Among The Asian States

There were seventeen Asian states in the General Assembly by the end of the fourteenth session. Fifteen had been admitted by the beginning of the first emergency special session in November 1956 while Japan and Malaya were Members by September 1957.¹ Tables 69-84 illustrate the voting behaviour of sixteen of these states with respect to India from the beginning of the first emergency special session to the end of the fourteenth session in December 1959. It should be remembered that India had consistently agreed more with the U.S.S.R. than with the U.S.A. from the second session onwards.²

It can be seen that four states, viz., Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia, voted with India at least 80% of the time. Nepal voted with India on 75% of the 188 roll-call votes from the first emergency special session to the end of the fourteenth session while Cambodia did so on 64.8% of these roll-calls. An important point to note is that these six states rarely voted against India. Nepal disagreed with India seven

1. Malaya was admitted as a result of the first roll-call vote in the twelfth session.

2. See Tables 60-61 on pp.281-282 above.

times in this period, i.e. 3.7%. The other five states disagreed even less. Cambodia however abstained a great deal when India voted positively or negatively and vice versa.

Five other states, Iran, Japan, Malays, Philippines, and Pakistan, agreed with India at least 50% of the time while Thailand and India agreed 49.4% of the time. All of them disagreed with India on at least 10% of the roll-call votes held, but none of them disagreed with India more than 19.6% of the time.

China, Israel, Laos, and Turkey agreed with India less than 50% of the time. Laos disagreed with India on only eighteen occasions but agreed with Indian on only 37.3% of the roll-call votes held. China agreed least and disagreed most with India among the Asian states.

TABLE 69

Relations between India and Afghanistan, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions ¹ etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	13	0	2
11	45	38	1	6
12	35	27	0	8
13	33	27	0	6
14	54	48	1	5
TOTAL	188	159	2	27

Agreement 84.5%

Disagreement 2/188

TABLE 70

Relations between India and Burma, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	11	1	3
11	45	37	1	7
12	35	32	0	3
13	33	31	0	2
14	54	44	2	8
TOTAL	188	161	4	23

Agreement 86.7%

Disagreement 2.1%

1. The column headed 'Abstentions etc.' includes those roll-calls when one of the two states was absent or abstained or 'did not participate' while the other voted positively or negatively.

TABLE 71

Relations between India and Cambodia, 1956-1959.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	10	1	4
11	45	27	1	17
12	35	18	0	17
13	33	25	0	8
14	54	36	2	16
TOTAL	188	122	4	62

Agreement 64.8%
Disagreement 2.1%

TABLE 72

Relations between India and Ceylon, 1956-1959.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	11	0	4
11	45	37	0	8
12	35	33	0	2
13	33	33	0	0
14	54	46	1	7
TOTAL	188	169	1	21

Agreement 88.3%
Disagreement 1/188

TABLE 73

Relations between India and China, 1956-1959.

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	1	3	11
11	45	20	9	16
12	35	10	10	15
13	33	15	7	11
14	54	13	18	23
TOTAL	188	65	47	76
		Agreement	<u>34.5%</u>	
		Disagreement	<u>25%</u>	

TABLE 74

Relations between India and Indonesia, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	13	0	2
11	45	41	2	2
12	35	32	0	3
13	33	32	0	1
14	54	53	0	1
TOTAL	188	177	2	9
		Agreement	<u>94.1%</u>	
		Disagreement	<u>2/188</u>	

TABLE 75

Relations between India and Iran, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	1	2	12
11	45	30	4	11
12	35	21	6	8
13	33	20	6	7
14	54	29	7	18
TOTAL	188	107	25	56

Agreement 56.8%Disagreement 13.3%TABLE 76

Relations between India and Israel, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	0	3	3
2nd Emergency	15	3	2	10
11	45	17	10	18
12	35	13	5	17
13	33	18	4	11
14	54	24	11	19
TOTAL	188	75	35	78

Agreement 39.8%Disagreement 18.6%

TABLE 77Relations between India and Japan, 1956-1959¹

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
11	17	9	5	3
12	35	19	5	11
13	33	20	6	7
14	54	33	10	11
TOTAL	139	81	26	32

Agreement 58.2%Disagreement 18.6%TABLE 78

Relations between India and Laos, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	1	0	5
2nd Emergency	15	1	2	12
11	45	20	1	24
12	35	18	3	14
13	33	17	3	13
14	54	14	9	31
TOTAL	188	71	18	99

Agreement 37.3%Disagreement 9.5%

1. Japan was admitted to the United Nations during the 11th session, viz., at the 623rd plenary meeting.

TABLE 79

Relations between India and Malays, 1957-1959¹

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
12	34	18	5	11
13	33	21	3	9
14	54	33	4	17
TOTAL	121	72	12	37

Agreement	<u>59.5%</u>
Disagreement	<u>9.9%</u>

TABLE 80

Relations between India and Nepal, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	9	0	6
11	45	36	0	9
12	35	31	0	4
13	33	24	0	19
14	54	36	7	11
TOTAL	188	142	7	39

Agreement	<u>75.5%</u>
Disagreement	<u>7/188</u>

1. Malaya was admitted to the United Nations on 17th September, 1957.

TABLE 81

Relations between India and Pakistan, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	11	3	1
11	45	22	5	18
12	35	17	5	13
13	33	20	7	6
14	54	27	16	11
TOTAL	188	103	36	49
		Agreement	<u>54.7%</u>	
		Disagreement	<u>19.6%</u>	

TABLE 82

Relations between India and Philippines, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	1	3	11
11	45	22	7	16
12	35	14	6	15
13	33	15	7	11
14	54	36	11	7
TOTAL	188	94	34	60
		Agreement	<u>50%</u>	
		Disagreement	<u>18.8%</u>	

TABLE 83

Relations between India and Thailand, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	6	0	0
2nd Emergency	15	1	2	12
11	45	25	6	14
12	35	19	6	10
13	33	18	7	8
14	54	24	14	16
TOTAL	188	93	35	60
		Agreement	<u>49.4%</u>	
		Disagreement	<u>18.6%</u>	

TABLE 84

Relations between India and Turkey, 1956-1959

Session	Number of Roll-Calls	Agreement	Disagreement	Abstentions etc.
1st Emergency	6	5	0	1
2nd Emergency	15	11	1	3
11	45	18	8	19
12	35	12	10	13
13	33	15	7	11
14	54	18	11	25
TOTAL	188	79	37	72
		Agreement	<u>42%</u>	
		Disagreement	<u>19.6%</u>	

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

A. UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS.1. Official Records of the General Assembly.¹

G.A.O.R., First Session, Part I, Plenary Meetings 1-33,
London, 1946.

G.A.O.R., First Session, Part II, Plenary Meetings 34-67,
New York, 1946.

G.A.O.R., First Special Session, Plenary Meetings 68-79,
New York, 1947.

G.A.O.R., Second Session, Plenary Meetings 80-128,
New York, 1947.

G.A.O.R., Second Special Session, Plenary Meetings 129-135,
New York, 1948.

G.A.O.R., Third Session, Part I, Plenary Meetings 136-187,
Paris, 1948.

G.A.O.R., Third Session, Part II, Plenary Meetings 188-219,
New York, 1949.

G.A.O.R., Fourth Session, Plenary Meetings 220-276,
New York, 1949.

G.A.O.R., Fifth Session, Plenary Meetings 277-332,
New York, 1950.

G.A.O.R., Sixth Session, Plenary Meetings 333-375,
New York, 1951-52

-
1. Verbatim records of meetings of the General Assembly are referred to as G.A.O.R. in the works of scholars who write about the conduct of the United Nations, e.g., cf. S. Bailey, op.cit, p.152.

- G.A.O.R., Seventh Session, Plenary Meetings 376-431,
New York, 1952-53.
- G.A.O.R., Eighth Session, Plenary Meetings 432-472,
New York, 1953-54.
- G.A.O.R., Ninth Session, Plenary Meetings 473-515,
New York, 1955.
- G.A.O.R., Tenth Session, Plenary Meetings 516-560,
New York, 1955.
- G.A.O.R., First Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings
561, 562, 563, 565, 566, 567, 572., New York, November,
1955.
- G.A.O.R., Second Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings,
564, 568, 569, 570, 571, 573, New York, November 1956.
- G.A.O.R., Eleventh Session, Plenary Meetings 574-677,
New York, 1956-57.
- G.A.O.R., Twelfth Session, Plenary Meetings 678-731,
New York, 1957.
- G.A.O.R., Third Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings
732-746, New York, August, 1958.
- G.A.O.R., Thirteenth Session, Plenary Meetings 747-794,
New York, 1958-59.
- G.A.O.R., Fourteenth Session, Plenary Meetings 795-857,
New York, 1959.

2. General Assembly Documents.¹

UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS, A/14-A/54, London, 1946.

UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS, A/105-A/552, New York, 1946-1948.

UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS, A/653-A/798, Paris, 1948.

UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS, A/829-A/4093, New York, 1949-1959.

B. REFERENCE WORKS.

1. Yearbook of the United Nations.

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1946-1947, (New York;
United Nations 1948)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1947-1948, (New York:
United Nations 1949)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1948-1949, (New York:
United Nations 1950)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1950, (New York: United
Nations 1951)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1951, (New York: United
Nations 1952)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1952, (New York: United
Nations 1953)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1953, (New York: United
Nations 1954)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1954, (New York: United
Nations 1955)

1. Such documents comprise the texts of draft resolutions, and amendments thereto, submitted to the plenary by Members and by the Main Committees for further details see pp.6-8 above.

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1955, (New York: United Nations 1956)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1956, (New York: United Nations 1957)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1957, (New York: United Nations 1958)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1958, (New York: United Nations 1959)

YEARBOOK of the UNITED NATIONS 1959, (New York: United Nations 1960)

2. Everyman's United Nations, fifth ed., New York, United Nations 1956.

C. GENERAL WORKS

1. BAILEY, SIDNEY D., The General Assembly of the United Nations, New York, 1961.
2. HOVET, THOMAS, Bloc Politics in the United Nations, Cambridge (Massachussets), 1960.
3. HOUSTON, JOHN A., Latin American at the United Nations, New York, 1956.
4. RIGGS, ROBERT E., Politics at the United Nations, Urbana, 1958.