

DISCERNING VOTING PATTERNS IN THE UNITED NATIONS:  
A FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION  
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

by

HAROLD D. CARR

B. S., Kansas State University, 1977

---

A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Political Science

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
Manhattan, Kansas

1978

Approved by:

  
Major Professor

Document  
LD  
2668  
.R4  
1978  
C39  
C.2

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge those individuals who have helped me during my pursuit of this degree.

First, I wish to express my appreciation to Professors Thomas J. Sloan, Phillip Althoff, and T. Alden Williams for their cooperation and time spent while serving on my committee.

Second, I would like to thank Professor Michael Suleiman for providing me with financial aid and teaching experience through the extention of a teaching assistantship.

Third, I would like to thank my parents for their loving guidance and patient teachings.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge my wife, Nancy, and my daughter, Sonya, who have stood beside me and given me their love and understanding.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	ii
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	iv
LIST OF FIGURES . . . . .	v
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Nature of the Problem	
Organization and Intent of Report	
II. PREVIOUS RESEARCH . . . . .	6
Beginnings	
Early Quantitative Research	
Factor Analysis	
III. STUDY OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION . . . . .	16
Introduction	
Data Sources	
Basic Analytic Techniques	
Factor Analysis: A Clarification	
Hypothesis Formulation	
Operationalization	
Analysis Procedure and Interpretation	
Conclusions	
IV. FURTHER INQUIRY . . . . .	52
Evaluation of Original Study	
Oblique Rotation	
Committee Votes	
Weighted Vote Values	
Regression Equation Approach	
V. CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	81
Conclusions and Findings	
The Last Word on Factor Analysis	
APPENDIX I . . . . .	86
APPENDIX II . . . . .	87
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	103

## LIST OF TABLES

### Table

1	The Continuity of Issues in the General Assembly . .	11
2	Correlation of Q-Analysis loadings with Factors . .	12
3	Non-Rotated Factor Matrix . . . . .	26
4	Extracted Factors . . . . .	27
5	Rotated Factor Matrix . . . . .	28
6	Results of Rotated Factors . . . . .	30
7	Factor Score Coefficients . . . . .	35
8	Major Nation Loadings . . . . .	36
9	Cross-Tab of Fscore One . . . . .	38
10	Cross-Tab of Fscore Two . . . . .	39
11	T-Test of Groupings . . . . .	40
12	U.S. Versus Soviet Vote Record for 1970 . . . . .	41
13	Regression of Fscore One . . . . .	44
14	Regression of Fscore Two . . . . .	45
15	Factor Pattern Matrix . . . . .	58
16	Factor Correlation and Structure Matrix . . . . .	59
17	Initial Factor Rotation Matrix With Committee . . .	65
18	Rotated Factor Matrix With Committee . . . . .	66
19	Factor Score Coefficients With Committee . . . . .	68
20	Voting Record on Chinese Representation . . . . .	70
21	Committee Vote Loadings . . . . .	72

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Simple Structure Type of Matrix . . . . .	55
2	Graph of Cold War by Intervention in Africa . . .	62
3	Model of U.N. Votes for Nation i . . . . .	77

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Nature of the Problem

Former Secretary-General U Thant claimed the United Nations General Assembly to be "a realistic representation of the present day world."<sup>1</sup> Many researchers have sought to determine exactly how "realistic" are the international relations reflected by that body. One United Nations record under investigation takes the form of roll call votes. The United Nations provides a forum for nations to air their views which are often subsequently recorded by roll call vote. Though those votes are hardly the only source of information about a nation's policy position, they do offer a unique and easily accessible record in which nations have committed themselves on a wide range of major political issues.

It has been argued that the world politics ascertained from actions within the General Assembly is severely distorted due to the one-nation, one-vote principle which is not representative of real life international power relationships. The "sovereign equality" described in the U.N. Charter takes no notice of differences in size, population, economic development, or political system. This argument has been