

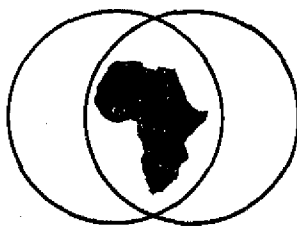
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Review

SOUTHERN AFRICAN VOTING PATTERNS IN THE  
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1971 AND 1972

by

David Hirschmann

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VAN INTERNASIONALE AANGELEENTHEDE

*Mr. David Hirschmann* is on the staff of the South African Institute of International Affairs at Jan Smuts House.

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*Purpose*

The object of this paper is to illustrate by reference to voting patterns the positions adopted in the UN General Assembly by the eight independent states of southern Africa and Portugal on questions affecting southern Africa. The countries whose voting is observed are South Africa, Portugal, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Zambia, Madagascar and Mauritius. The resolutions considered are those (on which the vote was recorded) which directly concerned South Africa, South West Africa/Namibia, (Southern) Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, and the territories under Portuguese administration, as well as those more general resolutions on racial discrimination, decolonisation, world security etc, which make specific reference to the problems of southern Africa.

It is hoped that such an attempt to measure degrees of hostility and amity of the black states toward the white-ruled states, and the solidarity existing between those white-ruled states themselves - as demonstrated in the General Assembly - will assist in an understanding of the structure and spectrum of inter-state relations in southern Africa. (For the sake of convenience, the terms 'amity' and 'hostility' are used to indicate support or opposition for the position of the white-ruled states, and are not intended as comprehensive descriptions of the policies of the governments concerned)

*Method*

Tables 1 (covering 1971) and 2 (covering 1972) are structured as follows : number of resolutions; abbreviated titles of the resolutions (full titles may be found in *Questions affecting South Africa at the United Nations, 1971* and *Questions affecting South Africa at the United Nations, 1972*, issued by the South African Institute of International Affairs); whether the voting was recorded (R) or unrecorded (U); the voting of the Assembly as a whole - For (Y), Against (N), Abstention (A), and Absent (X); and finally the voting on each resolution of the nine countries concerned.

Certain value points have been attached to the four alternative votes : +2 for a vote in favour of a resolution; -2 for a vote against; -1 for an abstention; and  $-\frac{1}{2}$  for an absence. Minus values have been attached to abstentions and absences, since in terms of voting procedure,

such decisions will be seen by the South African and Portuguese Governments, against whom all the relevant resolutions are directed, as indicating some degree of disapproval or disassociation from these resolutions.

(It is realised that in some cases a delegation may be inadvertently absent during a vote, but it is assumed that, in view of the importance of these particular issues to all the states concerned, such inadvertent absences would be rare.)

Table 3 uses these values to provide an aggregate of the voting behaviour of each country. It first records what each country scores in yes votes, no votes, abstentions and absences and totals these scores. In 1971 the minimum possible score was -58 (i.e. opposed to all resolutions), and the maximum possible was +58 (i.e. in favour of all the resolutions.) The total number of voting points dividing complete opposition to the resolutions (i.e. amity towards the South African, Portuguese and Rhodesian positions) from complete support of the resolutions (i.e. hostility) was therefore 116. In 1972 the figures were -34, +34 and 68 respectively. The next column in Table 3 lists each country's voting total as a fraction of these figures (116 in 1971 and 68 in 1972). The final column transfers these figures into percentages, which facilitates comparison of the voting patterns in the two sessions of the Assembly.

#### *Limitations*

It is realised that this method has certain weaknesses, the most significant being that the values given the voting are arbitrary and they take no account of the varying hostility content of the resolutions. It also overlooks the fact that while certain resolutions are overwhelmingly concerned with the countries under attack, others are more general, evoking universal principles such as human rights and the right of self-determination, in which South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia receive only brief attention. Further, there may be specific reasons for abstention or absence which do not necessarily reflect political attitudes on southern Africa.

These reservations notwithstanding, such an aggregative and comparative approach which totals voting scores and then compares them year by year and country by country, will serve to demonstrate political postures and changes in posture of the countries concerned.

In the discussion which follows some attempt is made to look at the reasons for voting behaviour; in doing this certain of the resolutions will be distinguished from others, so at least lessening the dangers of oversimplification.

*South Africa (1971 : 6,47%; 1972 : 1,47%)*

For the obvious reason that South Africa is the country principally under attack, and is therefore completely opposed to the thrust of all the resolutions, it scores the lowest points. South Africa, in both

years, voted against all resolutions attacking its domestic policy and control of South West Africa as well as those directed against Portugal and Rhodesia. In 1971 South Africa scored as much as 6,47% because of absence on four resolutions of a general nature (three of them at the same meeting): the world social situation (2771), elimination of racial discrimination (2784), international year to combat racism (2785) and the importance of the right to self-determination and independence (2787). At the same meeting as the South African delegation was absent on these three general resolutions it was also absent on a resolution on a draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid (2786). In 1972 it was absent on one resolution which was of a general nature - the importance of the realisation of the right of peoples to self-determination (2955).

*Portugal (1971: 9,48%; 1972: 10,29%)*

Portugal scores the next lowest percentage, proving a close - but not complete - voting solidarity with South Africa (Portugal voted against all six resolutions on Southern Rhodesia adopted at the two sessions). There were only two cases where Lisbon could be said to have voted against South Africa's interests (as distinct from abstaining). In 1971 Portugal supported the resolution on the international year to combat racism (2785), which while dealing with apartheid, has no condemnatory clauses and is more concerned with calling for reports on racism and progress in the fight against racism. Racism is not something Dr. Caetano's Government will admit itself guilty of, and this relatively mild resolution (countries such as Algeria, U.S.S.R, Tanzania and Cuba abstained, possibly because it was too mild; South Africa itself abstained), gave it a chance of making this point. In 1972 Portugal supported the resolution which approved the report of the Credentials Committee, except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of South Africa (2948).

For the rest, while Lisbon supported the Republic on the bulk of the resolutions, it nevertheless chose to abstain on resolutions which did not refer to Portugal, and which were less condemnatory and more general, so demonstrating that identification with Pretoria was not absolute. In 1971 Portugal abstained on the following six resolutions: the 'credentials' resolution (2862); declaration on the strengthening of international security (2880) - a general resolution; UN Trust fund for South Africa (2774), which has no condemnatory clauses but rather requests money to assist persons suffering as a result of policies followed in South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa (not Portugal); educational material on apartheid (2775 B), which has no condemnatory clauses and requests information media and education to play a role in eliminating apartheid; work of the special committee on apartheid (2775 C), which also has no condemnatory clauses and is more concerned with authorising the committee to continue its work of consulting with oppressed people and anti-apartheid movements; and on apartheid in sport (2775 D). In 1972 the Portuguese abstained on three resolutions of similar nature: maltreatment and torture of prisoners and detainees (2923 A), which while expressing grave concern does not condemn, and does not mention Portugal; UN Trust Fund

TABLE 1.

## 1971 - Resolutions of the 26th Session of the General Assembly

No.	SUBJECT	(R) or (U)	(Y)	(E)	(A)	(X)	SA	Portugal	Botswana	Lesotho	Swaziland	Malawi	Zambia	Madagascar	Mauritius
(1)															
2862	Credentials approved - except SA	R	103	16	1	12	N	A	Y	A	X	A	Y	X	X
2863	Cooperation between UN and OAU	U	113	0	2	17									
2878	Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries	R	96	18	5	13	N	N	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	X
2879	Dissemination of Information on Decolonisation	R	110	8	2	12	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X
(2)															
2880	Declaration on Strengthening International Security	R	95	16	1	20	N	A	X	Y	A	X	Y	Y	X
(3)															
2764	Policies of apartheid of Government of S.A.	R	109	0	2	20	N	N	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y
2774	UN Fund for South Africa	R	110	1	1	19	N	A	Y	X	X	Y	Y	Y	Y
2775	Policies of apartheid of Government of S.A.														
	a) Arms embargo	R	107	5	2	17	N	N	Y	X	X	A	Y	Y	Y
	b) Educational material on apartheid	R	112	5	1	15	N	A	Y	X	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
	c) Work of Special Committee on apartheid	R	108	5	1	17	N	A	Y	X	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
	d) Apartheid in sport	R	106	7	2	16	N	A	Y	X	Y	N	Y	A	Y
	e) Establishment of Bantustans	R	110	2	2	17	N	N	Y	X	X	X	Y	Y	Y
	f) Situation in S.A. resulting from apartheid	R	86	22	6	17	N	N	Y	X	X	A	Y	A	Y
	g) Dissemination of Information on apartheid	R	108	6	2	15	N	N	Y	X	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
	h) Trade union activities against apartheid	R	104	9	1	17	N	N	X	X	X	A	Y	Y	Y
(4)															
2771	World Social Situation	R	95	3	0	33	X	A	X	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X
2783	Report of Committee on Elimination of racism	U	101	5	0	25									
2784	Elimination of racial discrimination	R	93	15	5	18	X	N	Y	X	A	X	Y	Y	X
2785	International year to combat racism	R	87	23	2	19	X	Y	Y	X	X	X	Y	Y	X
2786	Convention on Punishment of Apartheid	R	86	23	5	17	X	N	X	X	X	X	Y	A	X
2787	Importance of realisation of right to self-determination and independence	R	76	33	10	12	X	N	Y	X	X	X	Y	X	X
2839	Measures against Nazism and totalitarian ideologies	U	89	21	2	19									
2840	Punishment of war criminals and persons who have committed crimes against humanity	U	71	42	0	18									
(5)															
2871	Question of Namibia	R	111	10	2	9	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	X

TABLE 1.(continued)

No.	SUBJECT	(R) or (U)	(Y)	(N)	(A)	(X)	SA	Portugal	Botswana	Lesotho	Swariland	Malawi	Zambia	Madagascar	Mauritius
2872	UN Fund for Namibia	R	113	7	2	10	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X
2873	Foreign Interests impeding implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence	R	103	13	8	8	N	N	Y	Y	Y*	A	Y	Y	X
2874	Implementation of Declaration on Independence	R	93	27	4	8	N	N	Y	A	Y	A	Y	Y	X
2875	UN education programme for Southern Africa	R	121	0	2	9	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	X
2765	Question of Southern Rhodesia	R	106	13	2	9	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	X
2769	Question of Southern Rhodesia	R	102	9	3	17	N	N	X	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	X
2796	Question of Southern Rhodesia	R	91	12	9	20	N	N	Y	A	X	A	Y	Y	X
2877	Question of Southern Rhodesia	R	94	22	8	8	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	X
2795	Question of Portuguese territories	R	105	5	8	14	N	N	Y	Y	X	A	Y	Y	X

Recorded - (R) For - (Y)  
 Unrecorded - (U) Against - (N)  
 Abstention - (A)  
 Absent - (X)

\*Abstained, but later informed the Secretariat it had intended to vote in favour.

1. Resolutions not referred to a main committee
2. Resolutions relating to political and security matters (First Committee)
3. Resolutions relating to matters considered by the Special Political Committee
4. Resolutions relating to social, humanitarian and cultural matters (Third Committee)
5. Resolutions relating to Trusteeship and non-self-governing territories matters (Fourth Committee)

TABLE 2

1972 - Resolutions of the 27th Session of the General Assembly

No.	SUBJECT	(R) or (U)	(Y)	(N)	(A)	(X)	SA	Portugal	Botswana	Lesotho	Swaziland	Malawi	Zambia	Madagascar	Mauritius
(1)															
2908	Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries	R	99	23	5	5	N	N	Y	Y	Y	A	Y	Y	Y
2909	Dissemination of Information on Decolonisation	U	113	12	2	5	(N)	(N)							
2910	Conference for support of victims of Colonisation and apartheid	U	118	7	2	5	(N)	(N)							
2911	Week of Solidarity with Colonial peoples of Southern Africa	U	91	30	2	9	(N)	(N)							
2948	Credentials approved - except S.A.	R	111	8	1	12	N	Y	A	Y	X	A	Y	Y	X
2962	Co-operation between UN and OAU	U	124	0	2	6									
(2)															
2923	Policies of apartheid of Gov. of S.A.	R	121	1	1	9	N	A	Y	Y	X	X	Y	Y	Y
	a) Maltreatment/torture of prisoners/detainees	R	122	1	1	8	N	A	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y
	b) UN Trust Fund for South Africa	R	115	8	2	7	N	N	Y	Y	X	A	Y	Y	Y
	c) Work of Special Committee on Apartheid	R	119	5	1	7	N	A	Y	Y	X	A	Y	Y	Y
	d) Dissemination of information on apartheid	R	100	21	4	7	N	N	Y	Y	X	A	Y	Y	Y
	e) Situation in S.A. resulting from apartheid	R	105	6	2	9	N	N	Y	A	X	A	Y	Y	Y
	f) Conference of Trade Unions against apartheid	R	105	6	2	9	N	N	Y	A	X	A	Y	Y	Y
(3)															
2922	Draft Convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid	U	163	21	1	7									
2955	Importance of the realisation of the right of people to independence	R	89	18	8	17	X	N	Y	Y	X	A	Y	Y	Y <sup>+</sup>
(4)															
2979	Foreign economic interests impeding implementation of Declaration of Granting of Independence	R	106	15	6	5	N	N	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y
2980	Implementation of Declaration on Granting of Independence by UN specialised agencies	R	98	24	4	6	N	N	Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y
2981	UN Educational Programme for Southern Africa	R	127	0	2	3	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3030	UN Fund for Namibia	R	124	0	2	6	N	N	Y	Y	X	Y	Y	Y	Y
3031	Question of Namibia	R	112	15	2	3	N	N	Y	Y	X	A	Y	Y	Y
2945	Question of Southern Rhodesia	R	111	9	4	8	N	N	Y	Y <sup>+</sup>	X	A	Y	Y	Y
2946	Question of Southern Rhodesia	R	93	23	8	8	N	N	Y	Y <sup>+</sup>	X	A	Y	Y	Y
2918	Question of Portuguese Territories	R	98	8	6	20	N	N	Y	Y <sup>+</sup>	Y	X	Y	Y	Y



TABLE 2 (Continued)

Recorded	-	(R)	For	-	(Y)
Unrecorded	-	(U)	Against	-	(N)
			Abstention	-	(A)
			Absent	-	(X)

+ Absent, but later informed the Secretariat they had intended to vote in favour

1. Resolutions not referred to a main committee
2. Resolutions relating to matters considered by the Special Political Committee
3. Resolutions relating to social, humanitarian and cultural matters (Third Committee)
4. Resolutions relating to Trusteeship and non-self-governing territories (Fourth Committee)

TABLE 3

Voting in the General Assembly

Code :

For (Y) = +2  
 Against (N) = -2  
 Abstention (A) = -1  
 Absent (X) = - $\frac{1}{2}$

1971 (See Table 1)

	Y	N	A	X	Total	Fraction of 116	Percentage
South Africa	0	-48	0	-2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-50 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,47
Portugal	+2	-42	-7	0	-47	11	9,48
Botswana	+48	0	0	-2 $\frac{1}{2}$	+45 $\frac{1}{2}$	103 $\frac{1}{2}$	89,22
Lesotho	+26	0	-3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	+16 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	64,22
Swaziland	+32	0	-2	-5	+27	85	73,28
Malawi	+10	-2	-14	-4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-10 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	40,95
Zambia	+58	0	0	0	+58	116	100,00
Madagascar	+50	0	-3	-1	+47	105	90,52
Mauritius	+20	0	0	-9 $\frac{1}{2}$	+10 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	59,05

1972 (See Table 2)

	Y	N	A	X	Total	Fraction of 68	Percentage
South Africa	0	-32	0	-1	-33	1	1,47
Portugal	+2	-26	-3	0	-27	7	10,29
Botswana	+32	0	-1	0	+31	65	95,59
Lesotho	+32	0	-1	0	+31	65	95,59
Swaziland	+10	0	0	-6	+4	38	55,88
Malawi	+6	0	-10	-2	-6	28	41,18
Zambia	+34	0	0	0	+34	68	100,00
Madagascar	+34	0	0	0	+34	68	100,00
Mauritius	+32	0	0	- $\frac{1}{2}$	+31 $\frac{1}{2}$	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	96,32

for South Africa (2923 B), which appeals for contributions to assist persons suffering as a result of policies followed in South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa (not Portugal); and dissemination of information on apartheid (2923 D); which does not condemn, nor mention Portugal, but is aimed at encouraging information media to contribute to the campaign against apartheid.

One should not perhaps read too much into these abstentions by describing them as a positive attempt not to be totally identified with South Africa. But they do at least illustrate Portuguese policy in general, as reflected in government statements, of avoiding the label of racism, and this pattern was apparent in both years. It therefore deserves to be observed further at coming sessions.

*Malawi (1971: 40,95%; 1972: 47,18%)*

Malawi's voting clearly represents no change, and represents a continuing desire to demonstrate a considerable degree of friendship towards South Africa without, of course, showing support for South Africa's racial policies. Despite recent rumours and reports that President Banda, in striving to improve relations with Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda, was beginning to cool towards South Africa - which may yet prove to have substance - this was not evident during the 1972 session of the General Assembly.

Malawi's Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN, Mr. Robert Bernard Mbaya, in the 1972 General Debate, stated that his country's approach to the question of racial discrimination had not changed. Malawi was convinced that the most effective way of combating it, was to seek changes in the people who hold such attitudes by persuasion, social contacts and diplomatic exchanges. In an attempt to initiate change his country had formulated and consistently followed the policy of contact, dialogue and association with South Africa. In that spirit the President of Malawi visited South Africa, and the South African President returned the visit. Since embarking on this policy of contact, the racial situation in South Africa had shown signs of slow but conspicuous change.

As regards the Portuguese territories, Mr. Mbaya said that Malawi had continued discussions with Lisbon, particularly about Mozambique. His Government believed that only by persuading the Portuguese authorities that their lasting interests were in a Portuguese commonwealth formed of free and independent sovereign states, could an impact be made to bring about a change in the attitudes and mentality of Lisbon.

Finally, in connection with Rhodesia, he said that there could be no doubt that the problem required a constitutional arrangement which would eventually lead to the attainment of democratic independence.

In 1971 and 1972 Malawi's voting followed a similar pattern: abstaining or being absent in votes on all resolutions on southern Africa, except some of the more general resolutions, informatory and educational resolutions, and resolutions voting funds for people suffering as a result of policies practised by the Governments of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. In 1971 Malawi voted in favour of resolutions on dissemination of information on decolonisation (2879), UN trust fund

for South Africa (2774), the world social situation (2771), UN fund for Namibia (2872), and UN educational programmes for southern Africa (2875). Malawi voted against resolution 2775 D on apartheid in sport - the only example of any of the African states voting against a resolution on South Africa. In 1972 Malawi abstained or was absent on all resolutions dealing with the region, except on the UN trust fund for South Africa (2923 B), UN educational programme for Southern Africa (2981), and the UN fund for Namibia (3030), which it supported.

*Swaziland (1971: 73,28% 1972: 55,88%)*

Swaziland's voting is the only example of one of the African states showing a significant decrease in its posture of hostility towards the white-ruled countries. Not only did Swaziland drop 16,4%, but it moved from fourth to sixth place in degree of hostility.

In 1971, the Swazi delegation voted in favour of most of the resolutions on southern Africa, except for the following on which they abstained or absented themselves: the credentials resolution (2862), declaration on strengthening of international security (2880), UN trust fund for South Africa (2774), elimination of racial discrimination (2784), arms embargo (2775 A), establishment of Bantustans (2775 E), situation in South Africa resulting from apartheid (2775 F), trade union activities against apartheid (2775 H), the question of Portuguese territories (2795) and one of the four resolutions on Rhodesia (2796) - the one which obtained the least support in the Assembly. Although, in the case of the eight-part resolution on apartheid the tendency was for Swaziland to abstain or absent itself on the more hostile parts and to support the less hostile parts, in general there was no clear pattern - as there was with Malawi - in terms of general resolutions or resolutions concerned with information or funds for victims.

In 1972 a decision may have been taken to extend the low political profile, which Mbabane generally adopts towards Pretoria, to the voting in the General Assembly. While one could speculate on possible political and economic motivation for a change in policy, there is no clear reason for such a decision - if there was in fact a decision. Certainly, there were no reports of the Swazi Government taking a softer line on apartheid.

In the 1972 General Debate, the Swazi Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. M.S. Matsebula, gave an indication of his country's intentions by de-emphasising the problems of southern Africa and talking more about other world conflicts such as the Middle East, South East Asia and Northern Ireland. On Namibia, he said that his country looked forward to the successful conclusion of negotiations to transfer power to the people. He did, however, attack the Smith Government in Rhodesia which, he said, had once again demonstrated bad faith towards the African majority, and had sown seeds of bitterness and distrust which would yield a harvest of violence and sadness for the people of that country. Despite this attack, Swaziland remained absent from the voting on Rhodesia. On the other hand, despite not criticising Portugal in the debate and despite relatively cordial relations between Mbabane and Lisbon - including economic cooperation - Swaziland nevertheless supported the resolution on

the territories under Portuguese administration.

On other resolutions concerning southern and South Africa, Swaziland remained absent, except on the following which it supported: implementation of the Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries (2908), foreign economic interests impeding the implementation of the Declaration on Granting of Independence (2979), implementation of the Declaration on Granting of Independence by UN specialised agencies (2980), and the UN educational programme for Southern Africa (2981). As there is not sufficient corroborative evidence and the specific votes do not provide clear enough trends, it cannot be asserted that the shift in Swazi voting actually represents a meaningful or continuing redirection of policy. Before any such conclusion could be drawn Swaziland's future voting patterns would need to be observed.

Although the foreign policy of Swaziland is unlikely to be affected by the King repealing the Constitution in April, 1973, attention will need to be given to future voting patterns in the UN to see if they reflect any possible reorientation of policy since the constitutional change.

*Mauritius (1971: 59,05%; 1972: 96,32%)*

The substantially increased voting hostility of Mauritius is demonstrated by that country's voting in 1972 in favour of the type of resolution on which it remained absent in 1971. There was no reported official statement by the Mauritian Government which would reinforce evidence of growing hostility; and the statement by the Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolan, in the General Debate, does not assist in clarifying the change. He made only two points of note about southern Africa. He said there could be no justification for colonial domination, and that in defining 'terrorism' it was necessary to exclude from its connotations the 'freedom fighters' and 'liberation movements' to which the OAU had doubled its contribution. He also stated that the policies of the South African Government were not as serious a violation of human rights as was the expulsion of Asians from Uganda.

There are nevertheless certain factors which may have a bearing on Mauritian voting. The foreign policy emanating from Port Louis exhibits a dualism toward world affairs in general and toward South Africa in particular. The Foreign Minister, Gaetan Duval, has supported a pro-Western and pro-dialogue - with Pretoria policy; the Prime Minister on the other hand is more in favour of a policy of non-alignment and, while he is interested in trade with, and investment from, South Africa, he is opposed to dialogue. During 1972 it would appear that the Prime Minister's approach dominated. Relations with the Soviet Union and Mainland China improved, and China granted Mauritius an interest-free loan of R31 million. Such ties could be expected to have a dampening effect at least on overt relations with South Africa, and possibly affect voting positions at the UN.

*Lesotho (1971: 64, 22%; 1972: 95, 59%)*

1972 also saw Lesotho supporting the type of resolution on which it had remained absent in 1971. Whereas in 1971 the Lesotho representatives absented themselves from the eight-part resolution (2775 A-H) on apartheid, in 1972 they supported five of the six parts of the equivalent resolution (2923 A-F). The only resolution on which Lesotho abstained in 1972 was resolution 2923 F concerning a conference of trade unions against South Africa, possibly because of sensitivity about the substantial number of Basotho who work in South Africa, and because of possible international labour boycotts of South Africa which would adversely affect Lesotho.

The dramatic change in policy of Chief Jonathan has been widely reported in the South African press. In December, 1971, he still spoke strongly in favour of dialogue, but by the end of January, 1972 his tone appeared to be changing. By March he was reported as holding up talks between African countries and South Africa, and in that month he warned that South Africa's race policies would eventually lead to violence. He has proceeded to grow increasingly critical of the Republic, and has made sympathetic statements about liberation movements in southern Africa (not, however explicitly supporting the use of force against South Africa). This alteration in course has been encouraged by both domestic and foreign pressures. In his efforts to bring about some form of reconciliation with, and also to win over supporters from, the opposition Basutoland Congress Party, Chief Jonathan finds it advantageous to attack the policies of the South African Government. Further, this anti-apartheid posture helps raise his status in Africa and the world and demonstrates some degree of independence; as well as increasing the possibility of obtaining aid and assistance from a greater number of countries.

*Botswana (1971: 89, 22%; 1972: 95, 59%)*

This small increase in hostility does not represent any change in policy but serves to confirm Botswana's consistent policy of political detachment from South Africa and disapproval of South African policies; as well as its determination to improve relations with Zambia and Black Africa generally. The only resolution on which Botswana abstained in 1972 was resolution 2948 which approved the report of the Credentials Committee, except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of South Africa.

*Madagascar (1971: 90, 52%; 1972: 100%)*

This increase, although not dramatic, accords with a definite alteration in policy occasioned by a change in the Malagasy Government. In 1971 Madagascar was absent on resolution 2862, the credentials resolution, and abstained on resolution 2775 D on apartheid in sport (Madagascar was represented at the South African Games in Cape Town in 1971) and on resolution 2775 F on the situation in South Africa resulting from apartheid. In 1972 Madagascar supported every resolution against South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia.

In May, 1972, President Philibert Tsiranana, after a series of riots and demonstrations by students, teachers and workers handed over control of the Government to the Chief of the Army, General Gabriel Ramanantsoa. In terms of the demands of the demonstrators, the General set about structuring a more independent foreign policy than his predecessor, by establishing diplomatic relations with China, the Soviet Union, North Korea and North Vietnam, and by commencing negotiations with the French about their military bases on the island. He also changed Tsiranana's pro-dialogue policy and broke off the developing relations with South Africa.

In the General Debate, his Foreign Minister, Didier Ratsiraka, said that the policy of dialogue had not changed the policy of apartheid one iota, and had brought no concessions in favour of the Black people of South Africa. By breaking off these ties his country had reinforced the camp of intransigent adversaries of racial segregation "by proving that, under the more and more threadbare mantle of dialogue, the segregationists in Pretoria have in reality, looked only for one thing: to divide the Africans and to find susceptible clients to support their imperialist and racialist policy".

*Zambia (1971: 100% 1972: 100%)*

Among the countries of southern Africa Zambia remains the most implacable and consistent foe of the "White South", and its voting requires little explanation. In the General Debate, Zambia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Elijah Mudenda, reiterated Lusaka's attitude towards Portuguese control of African territories, South Africa's apartheid policies and control of Namibia, and to Mr. Smith in Rhodesia. In addition he attacked those countries which assisted these Governments to retain control: in particular Britain and France for selling arms to Pretoria and the United States for buying chrome from Rhodesia. He also called on Britain to convene without delay a constitutional conference of all the people of Zimbabwe to elect a government of their choice.