OVERVIEW

For Southern Africa, the 31st General Assembly of the United Nations was a landmark session. More resolutions concerning southern Africa were proposed and adopted than at any point during U.N. history. Moreover, each of the 37 resolutions introduced not only passed, but received the approval of the overwhelming majority of the nations represented.

This unprecedented attention directed towards southern Africa reflects the swift developments in that region over the past year. The final victory of the MPLA in Angola; stepped-up South African aggression against bordering states; the rebellion and massacre of students in Soweto, which sparked extended nationwide resistance; South Africa’s granting of so-called independence to the Transkei; and finally, the increasing momentum of the liberation movements in Namibia and Zimbabwe—all have focused the eyes of the world on southern Africa.

It is important to note the tone as well as the number of U.N. resolutions passed, since together they are a good barometer of the response and opinion of the international community regarding events in southern Africa. A review of the Assembly’s action suggests a move towards more forceful and thorough condemnation of apartheid, the racist regimes of southern Africa, and of countries maintaining cooperative relations with them; greater demand for mandatory sanctions against South Africa; and fuller political and material support for self determination and majority rule, directed particularly through the liberation movements.

The measures approved by the 31st General Assembly covered a wide range of topics, and can be grouped in several major categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Number of Resolutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Racism and Racial Discrimination</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa and Apartheid</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Determination and Decolonization</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercenaries and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOR THE RECORD: U.S. VOTES

Among the 147 members of the Assembly at its close in December of 1976, the United States had compiled a unique record: it was the only country that did not vote "yes" on a single southern Africa resolution put to a roll-call vote.

Of the 25 resolutions submitted for roll-call tallies, all passed with more than 90 countries in favor. The U.S., on the other hand, abstained 13 times, voted against 10 times, didn’t vote twice, and never cast a vote in favor.
In view of Amb. William Scranton's statement that the U.S. "has followed a consistent policy of support for African solutions to Africa problems and respect for the role of the Organizations of African Unity (OAU)" , it is useful to examine votes cast by several of these African nations, all OAU members, on the same 25 resolutions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Voting Record</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zaire</td>
<td>25 votes in favor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>24 votes in favor (1 absence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>25 votes in favor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>24 votes in favor (1 absence)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 12 resolutions which passed without a vote (either by consensus, without objections, or literally without a vote) were all non-controversial. Some simply reiterated appeals expressed in previous resolutions; others approved reports and conferences, requested "mobilization of resources" and made other fund appeals for hardship and development aid, or broadly condemned repression in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Only one of these allocated funds from the General Assembly budget—$300,000 for the U.N. Fund for Namibia. (The U.S. delegate went along with the consensus despite U.S. objection to this allocation.)

THE 1976 SECURITY COUNCIL

Superficially, the U.S. record in the Security Council would seem more constructive: U.S. delegates participated in consensus votes five times, abstained on three resolutions, and vetoed two.

However, a closer look at the content of these resolutions suggests that U.S. practice was consistent with its role in the General Assembly. That is, the "yes" votes in the Security Council were cast for resolutions which condemned obvious South African atrocities (such as the Soweto massacre); or for those measures whose main effect was to bolster previous decisions of the Council (the extension of the economic embargo against Rhodesia; aid to Mozambique to offset economic losses as it complied with the embargo, etc.).

As in the General Assembly, the U.S. voted against imposing mandatory sanctions against South Africa; and in the Council, it refused to condemn South African invasions into Zambia or Angola. (In the case of Zambia, although 14 members of the Council voted for the resolution, the U.S. maintained that insufficient evidence had been presented to counter the South African government's plea of innocence in the raid.)

Finally, U.S. delegates first vetoed and later abstained on a resolution regarding Angola's application for U.N. membership, both moves furthering U.S. isolation.

The U.S. record in the Security Council is more revealing when looked at in the fuller context of overall voting patterns for both the Council and the Assembly.

U.S. VOTING: RATIONALE FOR ISOLATION

The United States consistently opposed all resolutions which recommended economic sanctions against South Africa, or called for a Security Council mandatory arms embargo against the South African government. On the question of the arms embargo, U.S. delegates repeatedly stated that in the U.S. view, the situation in South Africa and Namibia did not "constitute a threat to international peace or security"—the only conditions under which the U.N. Charter permits mandatory sanctions.

Representatives reiterated that the U.S. "cannot accept the thesis that economic relations with South Africa work to the disadvantage of the population or necessarily result in their exploitation." (Rev. Robert Hupp, Nov. 9, 1976) Or, put a little differently by Amb. Jacob Myerson: "The U.S. does not accept the premise that diplomatic and commercial relations are the equivalent of assistance which fosters racist policies (in South Africa)."

This argumentation was reversed in the case of Southern Rhodesia, where the U.S. participated in the Security Council's unanimous decision to expand mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia. In explanation of the U.S. vote in favor of extending the areas covered by the economic embargo, Amb. Scranton said, "The unanimous adoption of this resolution by the Security Council must constitute a signal to the Smith regime that it cannot expect support from anyone in the international community in pursuing a policy which is morally and politically wrong." On various occasions, U.S. representatives also expressed the hope that the economic isolation of the Rhodesian government would help bring about an end to minority rule.

Although the U.S. delegation appeared firmly behind the sanctions against Rhodesia in the Security Council, the U.S. nevertheless abstained on the issue later in the General Assembly. This aboutface resulted when U.S. representatives balked at a new version of the resolution, which singled out the U.S. for importing Rhodesian metals under the Byrd Amendment, in violation of the embargo. Amb. Albert W. Sherer, Jr., called the measure "petty and unjust" at a time "when President Ford and Secretary Kissinger are exerting every effort to bring about a peaceful transition to majority rule in Rhodesia."

Interesting in light of this statement is another trend in U.S. voting: delegates consistently opposed recognition of or
aid to the liberation movements declared by the OAU to be the sole legitimate representatives of their peoples. In the case of Namibia, the U.S. abstained on a measure granting observer status to the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO). (One hundred thirteen countries voted in favor of this resolution, 13 abstained, and none voted against.)

Amb. Scranton explained the U.S. vote by stating: "There are other genuine interests and voices which must be heard on the future of the territory." Secretary Kissinger's remarks to the Assembly in the fall of 1976 further clarified that the U.S. envisions the emergence of a coalition government in Namibia, as opposed to one led exclusively by SWAPO, the OAU-recognized representative of the Namibian people. He emphasized that the U.S. favored the convening of a conference in Namibia, with all the "authentic national forces" including SWAPO and others, "which can then fashion a design for the new state of Namibia."

The U.S. was particularly adamant in opposing any form of aid to the liberation movements of southern Africa in their struggle against racism, apartheid and colonialism. Throughout the Assembly, U.S. representatives put forward the argument that peace was a priority at all costs, and aid to these movements for freedom could only lead to violence. U.S. delegate Rev. Hupp explained the U.S. vote against the resolution on the situation in South Africa, which declares the regime illegitimate and calls for aid to the liberation movements, by claiming the measure "was tantamount to calling for an uprising in South Africa that would, in effect, result in a racial bloodbath."

U.S. delegates frequently emphasized their moral opposition to violence in southern Africa, and their commitment to peaceful settlements in the region.

**ANGOLA AND THE TRANSKEI: THE ULTIMATE ISOLATION**

On two key southern African issues—Angola and the Transkei—the General Assembly vote registered unanimous minus one, the lone abstention of the United States. The U.S. first vetoed and then abstained on Angola's application for membership in the U.N.—in both cases, the only country in the U.N. to refuse to recognize the legitimacy of the Angolan government led by the MPLA.

In contrast, it was the only country that refused to declare the Bantustan government of the Transkei illegitimate, and South Africa's granting of "independence" to this homeland a fraud. The South African move was interpreted by the rest of the General Assembly as a design "to consolidate the inhuman policies of apartheid, to destroy the territorial integrity of the country, to perpetuate white minority domination and to disposess the African people of South Africa of their inalienable rights...". In explaining the U.S. abstention on this resolution, Mr. Stephen Hess noted that while the U.S. did not intend to recognize the Bantustan government, it wished to "reserve the right to act as necessary to protect the interests and rights of our citizens (in the Transkei)."

**THOU SHALT NOT VOTE AGAINST THYSELF: THE ULTIMATE DEFENSE**

At least six resolutions adopted by the General Assembly called upon the U.S. to change its posture in southern Africa, or indicted U.S. behavior in the region. This trend reached such a point that Amb. Scranton declared on Dec. 20 that the U.S. was "(putting) the General Assembly on notice that any resolution in the future which specifically contains a condemnation of the United States will receive our negative vote."

The 31st General Assembly cited the U.S. for, among other things, refusal to abide by the economic embargo against Rhodesia, infractions of the General Assembly resolution calling for an embargo against South Africa; and maintenance of investments, cultural and commercial relations with South Africa.

**PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE IN 1977**

With such an outstanding record of U.S. isolation in the past year within the international community on southern Africa, it is difficult to imagine that the Carter administration could push further in that direction. What remains unclear at this early stage, however, is to what extent the rhetoric of support for majority rule, the fight against racism, colonialism and apartheid and for the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa indicates the possibility of any significant shift in U.S. posture in the United Nations or elsewhere. Unfortunately in the past, this has not often been the case.

It is useful to step back for a moment, and recall that U.N. debate tends to reflect, rather than initiate, governmental policies of nations; and to reflect rather than determine developments in the world. In this sense, clues to how the U.S. will cast—or be forced to cast—its votes in the next sessions are more likely to be found in Washington and in southern Africa itself than in U.N. meeting rooms.

...The information presented in this report was obtained through official documents of the United Nations and the U.S. Mission to the U.N.
SECURITY COUNCIL VOTES
SECURITY COUNCIL

NOTE: Members of the Security Council for 1976 were: Benin, the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Tanzania, People’s Republic of China,* France,* Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom,* U.S., , and U.S.S.R. (* denotes permanent members).


In the wake of the “callous shooting of African people including school children and students demonstrating (in Soweto) on June 16, 1976,” the Council strongly condemned the South African government for resorting to massive violence and killings of African people, and recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination.

VOTE: Adopted by consensus.

South African Attacks on Zambia: Resolution 393 (July 30, 1976)

The Council condemns armed attacks by South Africa against Zambia, and demanded South Africa stop using Namibia as a base for launching attacks against Zambia and other African countries.

VOTE: Adopted (14 for; 0 against; 1 abstained)
The U.S. abstained.

Aid to Lesotho Resulting from Border Closing with South Africa: Resolution 402

The resolution commends Lesotho for its decision not to recognize the so-called independence of the Transkei; calls on South Africa to take all necessary steps to reopen the border posts; and requests all states and U.N. organizations to provide financial, technical and material assistance to Lesotho.

VOTE: Adopted by consensus.

Elections in Namibia: Resolution 385 (January 30, 1976)

The Council declared free elections for all of Namibia to be essential, under the supervision and control of the U.N., and demanded that South Africa accept these elections, and take the necessary steps for withdrawal from Namibia. The resolution calls for the release of political prisoners and the abolition of discriminatory and politically repressive laws, etc., until power is transferred to the Namibian people.

VOTE: Adopted unanimously.

Elections in Namibia: Draft Resolution s/12211 (October 19, 1976)

The draft resolution essentially reaffirms the resolution on Elections in Namibia adopted on January 30, with one important addition: it would declare South Africa’s presence in Namibia to be a threat to international peace and security, and impose a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa, calling on all states to desist from any form of military consultation, cooperation or collaboration with South Africa.

VOTE: Vetoed (10 for; 3 against; 2 abstained).
The U.S. vetoed the resolution.

Sanctions Against Southern Rhodesia: Resolution 388 (April 6, 1976)

The resolution reaffirms economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, imposed by the Security Council in 1968. It further decides that member states of the U.N. are to make certain their nationals and people within their territories do not insure products in, coming to or from Southern Rhodesia; and do not grant franchises in Southern Rhodesia.

VOTE: Adopted unanimously.

Aid to Mozambique Following Its Application of U.N. Sanctions Against Southern Rhodesia: Resolution 386 (March 17, 1976)

The Council commended the government of Mozambique for its decision to sever all economic and trade relations with Southern Rhodesia, and requested financial, technical and material assistance for Mozambique because of the economic difficulties arising from its application of these sanctions.

VOTE: Adopted unanimously.

Admission of the People’s Republic of Angola to the U.N.: Draft Resolution s/12110 (June 23, 1976)

The resolution recommends the People’s Republic of Angola be admitted into membership in the U.N.

VOTE: Vetoed (13 for; 1 against; 0 abstained).
The U.S. vetoed the resolution.

* China did not vote.
Admission of the People’s Republic of Angola to the U.N.: Resolution 397 (Nov. 22, 1976)

The Council recommended the People’s Republic of Angola be admitted into membership in the U.N.

VOTE: Adopted (13 for; 0 against; 1 abstained). The U.S. abstained. China did not vote.

South African Aggression Against Angola: Resolution 387 (March 31, 1976)

The Council condemned South Africa’s aggression against the People’s Republic of Angola.

VOTE: Adopted (9 for; 0 against; 5 abstained). The U.S. abstained, with France, Italy, Japan and the United Kingdom. China did not vote.

(The U.S. disagreement with this resolution, as with others on Angola, was in the words of Amb. Scranton, that the resolution failed to address itself to “Cuban and Soviet intervention.” He further stated that “we support the principles of non-intervention and of territorial integrity and of the non-use of force in Africa . . . “.)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTES

RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION


An omnibus resolution related to activities for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism. The resolution reaffirms support for liberation movements against racism, apartheid and colonialism, and calls for intensified measures to isolate the racist regimes of Southern Africa, and various national and international educational campaigns against racism. It also urges member states to review national laws and regulations to identify and rescind those which “provide for, give rise to, or inspire racial discrimination or apartheid.”

VOTE: 114 for; 1 against; 14 abstained. The U.S. did not vote.


The resolution calls for the convening of this World Conference in Ghana, to mobilize world public opinion and adopt measures likely to secure the full and universal implementation of U.N. decisions and resolutions on racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, decolonization and self determination. The General Assembly agreed that the U.N. will help defray the cost of the conference.

VOTE: 112 for; 2 against; 16 abstained. The U.S. did not vote.

(South Africa and Apartheid)

Arms Embargo Against South Africa: Resolution 31/6D (Nov. 9, 1976)

The General Assembly once more requested the Security Council to take urgent action, under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, to “ensure complete cessation by all states of the supply of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and spare parts thereof, or any other military equipment to South Africa, as well as any cooperation to enable the building up of military and police forces in South Africa.” The Assembly also requested the Security Council to call on all governments to act along these lines, and urged France, the United Kingdom and the U.S. to “adopt a positive policy” so that the Council could take effective action. (Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter allows the Security Council to impose mandatory economic embargoes and other sanctions on a country if its actions pose a threat to international peace or security.)

VOTE: 110 for; 8 against; 20 abstained. The U.S. voted against.

Relations Between Israel and South Africa: Resolution 31/6E (Nov. 9, 1976)

The resolution strongly condemns the “continuing and increasing collaboration by Israel with the South African racist regime as a flagrant viola-
tion of the resolution of the U.N. and as an encouragement to the South African racist regime to persist in its criminal policies.”

VOTE: 91 for; 20 against; 28 abstained. The U.S. voted against.

Apartheid in Sports: Resolution 31/6F (Nov. 9, 1976)

The resolution welcomes the proposal for an International Convention Against Apartheid in Sports, and sets up a drafting committee for a declaration on apartheid in sports, to be submitted to the 32nd General Assembly. It urges all states to carry out the recommendations of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, including refusal of “official sponsorship, assistance or encouragement to sports contacts with South Africa,” and refusal of visas to South African sports bodies.

VOTE: 128 for; 0 against; 12 abstained. The U.S. abstained.

Program of Work of the Special Committee Against Apartheid: Resolution 31/6G (Nov. 9, 1976)

The resolution authorizes the Special Committee to organize a World Conference Against Apartheid in 1977, and to convene an International Conference of Trade Unions Against Apartheid. It requests the Committee to continue its activities to promote international action against apartheid, including sending missions of Committee members, ANC (African National Congress) and PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) of Azania to governments, agencies and organizations; and promoting closer cooperation with the non-aligned countries, the Organization of African Unity and others. The resolution authorizes the Committee to establish an award for persons who have “contributed significantly to the international campaign against apartheid.”

VOTE: 133 for; 0 against; 8 abstained. The U.S. abstained.

Economic Collaboration with South Africa: Resolution 31/6H (Nov. 9, 1976)

The resolution proclaims any collaboration with the racist regime of South Africa to be “a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa and contemptuous defiance of the U.N. and the international community.” It strongly condemns the action of those states and foreign economic interests that continue to collaborate with the regime, and calls on those states to “cease forthwith” such collaboration, and to prohibit all “banks and corporations within their national jurisdiction” from making loans or investments in South Africa.

The resolution specifically condemns “intensified activities of transnational corporations in South Africa,” calling them “accomplices to the crimes of the apartheid system.”

VOTE: 110 for; 6 against; 24 abstained. The U.S. voted against.

Situation in South Africa: Resolution 31/6I (Nov. 9, 1976)

Among other things, this resolution proclaims the South African regime to be “illegitimate” with “no right to represent the people of South Africa.” It reaffirms “the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, by all possible means, for the seizure of power by the people and the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination,” and appeals to all states and organizations to provide them with all the assistance required. It specifically calls on France, the United Kingdom and the U.S. to “desist from misusing their veto power in the Security Council to protect the racist regime of South Africa.” Further, the resolution authorizes the creation of a joint U.N.-O.A.U fund to be financed by voluntary contributions, and proclaims June 16 as an International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa.

VOTE: 108 for; 11 against; 22 abstained. The U.S. voted against.

Program of Action Against Apartheid: Resolution 31/6J (Nov. 9, 1976)

The resolution recommends to all governments, organizations and individuals a program of action against apartheid, the text of which is annexed to the resolution. The program lists a series of measures to be taken. For governments, these include: termination of diplomatic relations with the racist regime of South Africa; an embargo on arms; suspension of military pacts, all economic collaboration, and cultural, educational and sporting exchanges. It further calls on all governments to provide financial and material assistance to the South African liberation movements.

VOTE: 105 for; 8 against; 27 abstained. The U.S. voted against.


The General Assembly decided to consider this matter annually beginning at its next session, and invited the Committee on Human Rights to
prepare a list of individuals, organizations, institutions, and representatives of states which are alleged to be responsible for crimes enumerated in Article 11 of this Convention. The resolution reaffirms that apartheid is a “total negation” of U.N. principles, and “a crime against humanity.”

VOTE: 99 for; 0 against; 30 abstained. The U.S. abstained.

Self Determination and Decolonization

Activities of Foreign Economic and Other Interests Which are Impeding the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and in All Other Territories Under Colonial Domination and Efforts to Eliminate Colonialism, Apartheid and Racial Discrimination in Southern Africa: Resolution 31/7 (Nov. 5, 1976)

The resolution condemns foreign economic interests for continuing the exploitation of people and natural resources in the colonial territories, and their accumulation of huge profits to the detriment of the peoples and their aspirations for self-determination and independence.

It strongly condemns support which the racist minority regimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia receive from these interests and the continued military and nuclear collaboration by such countries as France, the Federal Republic of (West) Germany; Israel, the United Kingdom and the U.S. The General Assembly called on all states to discontinue all economic and trade relations with South Africa concerning Namibia and to cease all military supply to South Africa. It condemned all governments which violate Security Council sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

VOTE: 99 for; 9 against; 19 abstained The U.S. voted against.

Adverse Consequences for the Enjoyment of Human Rights of Political, Military, Economic and Other Forms of Assistance Given to Colonial and Racist Regimes in Southern Africa: Resolution 31/33 (Nov. 30, 1976)

This resolution “strongly condemns the collaboration of all states, particularly France, the Federal Republic of (West) Germany, the United Kingdom, the U.S., Israel and Japan . . . with the racist regimes of southern Africa, especially in the economic, military and nuclear fields,” whose aid makes them “accomplices” in the inhuman practices of racial discrimination, apartheid and colonialism.

The General Assembly asked the Security Council to impose a total embargo on the transfer of arms to South Africa; called on all states to observe the sanctions imposed on the illegal minority regime of Southern Rhodesia and to offer assistance to O.A.U.—and U.N.—recognized liberation movements; and invited the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the Human Rights Committee to “examine the question of the consequences of the use of the Security Council veto by France, the United Kingdom, and the U.S. on the enjoyment of human rights by the oppressed peoples of southern Africa . . .”

VOTE: 97 for; 12 against; 29 abstained. The U.S. voted against.

Importance of the Universal Realization of the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination and of the Speedy Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for the Effective Guarantee and Observance of Human Rights: Resolution 31/34 (Nov. 30, 1976)

The General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, of the Palestinian people, and of all peoples under alien and colonial domination. The resolution condemns the policy of bantustanization and reiterates support for oppressed people of South Africa; strongly condemns all governments which do not recognize the right to self-determination of all peoples; and “condemns the policies of members of NATO and others whose . . . relations with the racist regimes of southern Africa . . . encourage these regimes to persist in their suppression of the aspirations of peoples for self-determination and independence.”

VOTE: 109 for; 5 against; 24 abstained. The U.S. voted against.

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: Resolution 31/143 (Dec. 17, 1976)

The resolution condemns nuclear and other military collaboration with South Africa, and requests all states to withhold assistance of any kind from the Government of South Africa and from the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia until they restore to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe their inalienable right to self-determination and independence . . .”

VOTE: 121 for; 2 against; 8 abstained. The U.S. voted against.
MERCENARIES AND INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES

Non-Intervention in the Internal Affairs of States: Resolution 31/91 (Dec. 14, 1976)

The General Assembly denounced any form of interference in the internal affairs of states, whether "overt or covert, direct or indirect, including recruiting and sending mercenaries." The resolution "condemns all forms of coercion, subversion and defamation aimed at disrupting the political, social or economic order of other states or destabilizing the governments seeking to free their economies from external control or manipulation . . . "

VOTE: 103 for; 1 against; 11 abstained. The U.S. voted against.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)

Question of Southern Rhodesia: Resolution 31/154 Part B (Dec. 20, 1976)

This part of the resolution condemns all governments, particularly South Africa, who continue to collaborate with the illegal racist minority regime of Southern Rhodesia; condemns violations of the mandatory Security Council sanctions against the Smith regime and in particular the continued importation of Southern Rhodesian chrome and nickel by the United States. Finally, the resolution commends Mozambique for its decision to comply with these sanctions, and calls on all other states to strictly enforce them.

VOTE: 124 for; 0 against; 7 abstained. The U.S. abstained.

NAMIBIA

Situation in Namibia Resulting From the Illegal Occupation of the Territory by South Africa: Resolution 31/146 (Dec. 20, 1976)

The resolution recognizes the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and supports the armed struggle led by SWAPO for "self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia." It further condemns South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia as an "act of aggression against the Namibian people and the United Nations." The resolution demands an end to apartheid and bantustanization, and demands the release of all political prisoners.

The General Assembly decided that any independence talks regarding Namibia must be between SWAPO representatives and South Africa under the auspices of the U.N. for the sole purpose of discussing the ways and means of the transfer of power. Finally, it urged the Security Council to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, and requested all states to cease any supply of arms and ammunition, or materials convertible to military purposes, to the government of South Africa.

VOTE: 107 for; 6 against; 12 abstained. The U.S. voted against.


The resolution reaffirms the right of the Namibian people to self-determination. It also outlines the functions of the Council: first, as an organ of the U.N. (to ensure the protection of the rights and interests of Namibia, encourage compliance with U.N. resolutions on Namibia, etc.) and second, as the administering authority for Namibia (to examine the harmful consequences of the illegal South African administration of Namibia, formulate and propose assistance programs to Namibians, consult with SWAPO regarding its work program, etc.).

VOTE: 119 for; 0 against; 4 abstained. The U.S. abstained.

Intensification and Coordination of U.N. Action in Support of Namibia: Resolution 31/149 (Dec. 20, 1976)

The General Assembly condemned foreign economic support to the illegal South African administration of Namibia. It urged all states to break off all economic relations with South Africa concerning Namibia. The resolution authorizes the U.N. Council for Namibia to hold hearings on the purchase of Namibian uranium; to notify governments whose corporations operate in Namibia; and to directly contact foreign corporations operating in Namibia to warn them of their illegal activity. Finally, it calls on all states with representation in Namibia to withdraw it.

VOTE: 118 for; 0 against; 7 abstained. The U.S. abstained.

Action by Intergovernmental and Non-Governmental Organizations with Respect to Namibia: Resolution 31/149 (Dec. 20, 1976)

The General Assembly requested all specialized agencies and other organizations within the U.N. system to prepare programs of assistance to the Namibian people and to SWAPO. It further requested that all these groups consider granting
full membership status to the U.N. Council for Namibia.

VOTE: 120 for; 0 against; 7 abstained. The U.S. abstained.

Dissemination of Information on Namibia: Resolution 31/150 (Dec. 20, 1976)

The resolution provides for continuing publicity and information to "mobilize public support for the independence of Namibia." The Assembly chose the week of October 27 as a Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia, and its Liberation Movement, SWAPO.

VOTE: 123 for; 0 against; 4 abstained. The U.S. abstained.

Observer Status for SWAPO: Resolution 31/152 (Dec. 20, 1976)

Noting that the O.A.U. and the non-aligned countries had granted observer status to SWAPO, and recalling the U.N. recognition of SWAPO as the authentic representative of the Namibian people, the General Assembly invited SWAPO to participate in the U.N. in the capacity of observer.

VOTE: 113 for; 0 against; 13 abstained. The U.S. abstained.

ANGOLA

Admission of the People’s Republic of Angola to Membership in the U.N.: Resolution 31/44 (Dec. 1, 1976)

Grants admission of the People’s Republic of Angola to membership in the U.N.

VOTE: 132 for; 0 against; 1 abstained. The U.S. abstained.

* * *

by Gail Ann Reed
SPECIAL FROM THE AFRICA FUND

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