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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

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ON THE MIDDLE EAST

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the government with information on developments in the field of U.S. foreign relations and on the work of the Department and the Foreign Service.

The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements, addresses, and news conferences of the President and the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and on treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department of State, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are also listed.

U.S. Gives Views in General Assembly Debate on the Middle East

Following is a statement made in the U.N. General Assembly on December 9 by U.S. Representative William W. Scranton, together with the texts of two resolutions adopted by the Assembly that day.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR SCRANTON

USUN press release 184 dated December 9

As we move through the final debates of this General Assembly session, we are also approaching the end of a very difficult period in the history of the Middle East—the year of the tragedy of Lebanon. I want to express my government's profound gratification that the long travail of the people of Lebanon is drawing to an end. We will give every feasible support to President Sarkis as he faces the task of the reconstruction of his country; and we look forward to the day when Lebanon—its territorial integrity, its political independence, and its national unity preserved—will resume its proud and rightful place among the nations of the Middle East.

In the calmer atmosphere in the area created by the healing process now going on in Lebanon, it is natural that attention is turning again to the overriding issue in the Middle East—the need for progress toward a peaceful settlement of the conflict that has so long burdened that region, and without which no period of calm can endure. There is today—and we welcome it—fresh insistence that the negotiating process recommence and a sense of impatience with the status quo, which we share with the parties to the conflict. For our part, we believe conditions are now conducive to the resumption of efforts to solve the underlying problems both of Lebanon and of the region as a whole.

We welcome the recent encouraging statements of President Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Rabin of Israel. And here in the United Nations, I for one was encouraged by some of the comments made in the most recent Middle East debate, particularly those of the Jordanian and the Israeli Representatives. And now in this debate we have witnessed a unique experience—the introduction of resolutions advocating a peace conference by both Egypt and Israel.¹

In the past, events in the Middle East have often seemed to run ahead of diplomatic efforts to shape them into a peaceful course. This need not and must not be the pattern for the future. Out of this conviction were born the U.S. initiatives in the aftermath of the 1973 war, taken at the request of the parties. These efforts have yielded the first tangible, practical steps toward an agreed settlement in nearly three decades of fighting and uneasy truces. The three agreements reached in 1974 and 1975 are partial and interim accords, but they have helped give substance to the framework for negotiation established in December 1973 in Geneva. They have begun to build patterns of cooperation, of interaction, of negotiation which are necessary prerequisites to successful negotiations for an overall settlement.

Mr. President, a new Administration will take office in Washington on January 20. Obviously I do not speak with authority on the details of its policies. There is, however, con-

¹ The Representative of Israel introduced on Dec. 6 a draft resolution (A/31/L.24) calling for reconvening of the Peace Conference on the Middle East under the framework of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. An amendment (A/31/L.25) was introduced calling for participation by the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Representative of Israel withdrew the draft resolution on Dec. 9.

sistency in the approach of the United States to the problems of the Middle East, which reflects principles and policies enjoying overwhelming public support in our country. With full conviction and confidence, I therefore say to those parties with whom we have worked in the Middle East to advance the cause of peace that they can rest assured we will continue to work with them in this vital effort in the months and the years ahead. Much has been accomplished already. Mutual commitments have been made to pursue the negotiating process; and there is a balanced and comprehensive framework in the form of Resolutions 242 and 338, which contain the fundamental elements for those negotiations. The United States will not now abandon its determined and urgent search for peace. We will persevere, and we are convinced that a settlement will be achieved. The alternative is unthinkable.

I turn now to the resolutions under consideration in connection with our discussion of the situation. The omnibus resolution [A/31/L.26] is similar in many respects to a resolution we opposed last year. We shall do so again.

We do not believe that the blanket condemnations of one side contained in this resolution are warranted or will have any positive effect. Nor do we see any logic in a call on all states to desist from supplying military and other aid to one side but not to the other. The United States cannot support and will not be guided by this proposal if it is endorsed.

This resolution also lacks balance in its reference to the potential elements of a peace. One side cannot be expected to give everything and gain nothing.

There is no reference (1) to the end of the state of war; (2) to an agreement which provides not only for the legitimate interests of the Palestinians but for the security of Israel as well; and (3) to the right of a free and independent Israel to exist in the Middle East.

This resolution contains a request to the Security Council that carries at least the implication that somehow it ought to impose a settlement on the parties and that this should be done within an "appropriate time-table," as

it says. The parties to this dispute have accepted the framework for a negotiating process which is aimed at producing an agreed solution. This is the essence of what has been accomplished—a mutual commitment to negotiate rather than to rely on timetables or imposed solutions. The Security Council has in the past and can in the future make important contributions to peace in the Middle East. However, we do not believe it is either appropriate or practical to look to the Council to impose its will on the parties to the negotiations.

The temptation to write prescriptions in advance is a natural one, but it is also dangerous. Such prescriptions, hastily formed, can close the door to peace rather than opening it—because there are still differences among us, and especially among the parties directly involved in the dispute, and those differences can only be resolved by negotiation between those parties. We cannot write a peace agreement here, not among 146 nations, nor can we bring about a detailed prescription for the procedure for reconvening the Geneva Conference without raising the possibility of alienation of one or more of the parties, which would doom the conference before it began.

This brings me to the second draft before us, resolution A/31/L.27. The motivation and a good deal of the resolution itself is consistent with our view of the urgency of resuming the negotiating process. We are compelled, however, to vote "No" because of serious problems in two areas. First, this resolution sets an artificial deadline for reconvening of the Geneva Conference. This is not a matter for the General Assembly but, rather, for the parties themselves to decide. It also sets out a time frame for a meeting of the Security Council, a decision which we believe should be subject to consultations among Council members in light of the situation at that time and not prejudged by this Assembly. Secondly, the request to the Secretary General to resume his contacts with the parties to the conflict is phrased in such a way as to imply that the Palestine Liberation Organization should be one of the parties consulted in preparation for reconvening the Geneva Conference. We

believe that the question of additional participants at the Geneva Conference is one which can only be addressed by the original participants themselves.

And now the United States is in a special position which we recognize concerning this particular resolution and, indeed, with regard to the reconvening of the Middle East Peace Conference—a position with which all of you are intimately familiar. A new U.S. Administration will take office in Washington on January 20, and we therefore do not consider it appropriate to join now in a definition of detailed options or time limits governing the evolution of this crucial negotiating process. The procedures and timing of a resumed Geneva Conference are matters which rightly must be determined by the participants themselves and by the cochairmen. This is obviously a question which will be addressed by the new American Administration. Accordingly, we will vote “No” on this resolution. However, in so doing we join with all the rest of the nations here represented who sincerely desire that negotiations toward an overall settlement resume promptly and that peace be the result therefrom for all the peoples of the Middle East.

In this connection, Mr. President, I would like to recall the words of Secretary of State Kissinger in speaking to this Assembly on September 22, 1975:

In the Middle East today there is a yearning for peace surpassing any known for three decades. Let us not doom the region to another generation of futile struggle. Instead, let the world community seize the historic opportunity before it. The suffering and bravery of all the peoples of the Middle East cry out for it; the hopes and interests of all the world's peoples demand it. The United States promises its full dedication to further progress toward peace.

Those words have gained in urgency in the months since they were spoken, but the opportunity for peace still remains with us.

And now, Mr. President, I ask for the indulgence of this body for a few moments more to recount a personal experience. Some of you may remember that in 1968 there was also a change of Administration in the United States, that I was sent by the then President-elect on a short mission to the Mid-

dle East. Upon returning from consultations with leaders there, I reported that many believed there was then an opportunity for negotiations toward a peaceful settlement. Some experts and some of us nonexperts agreed.

Such negotiations did not materialize. Historians may argue forever as to whether or not an opportunity was missed. But that experience of disappointment runs deep in my memory and lingers on and on.

Right now there appears to be another opportunity. Many experts and many of us who are nonexperts believe that negotiations are possible now and should be undertaken. Apparently more are of this opinion now than in 1968. The possibility is exciting—it's enticing—even to the point of a gleam of hope of an *overall* settlement. And with this excitement comes a new responsibility, a deep and abiding responsibility, to us all in this body. Rhetoric for home consumption, polemics for home headlines, should be avoided. In advance of negotiations, beguiling prescriptions for results that will be “your way,” or “my way,” or “our way” can block that opportunity for negotiation. The slightest error, a misstatement, a mismeaning here can ruin that chance.

I know it is no time for lectures either, especially from an American who is in comparative safety thousands of miles away—no lecture to an Egyptian or a Syrian or a Jordanian or an Israeli or a Palestinian who has lived on the brink of war or experienced war itself over decades and who even today wonders, “Will it come again next year, or next month, or next week, or tomorrow?” This is no lecture. I simply request with all my heart that we all think before we speak now, that we all think before we act, so that like those of us who had some hopes in 1968 we will not witness and feel our hopes dashed.

Peacekeeping and peacemaking are very difficult; they are very tenuous efforts. No one knows that better than members of the United Nations. In comparison to lasting peace, war comes all too easily. So let us work quietly for negotiation to begin so that peace may come.

General Assembly Resolution 31/61²

The Situation in the Middle East

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 3414 (XXX) of 5 December 1975 and noting with concern that no progress has been achieved towards the implementation of that resolution, in particular its paragraph 4,

Recalling the debate held in the Security Council in January 1976 on the problem of the Middle East including the Palestinian question, in implementation of subparagraph (a) of Council resolution 381 (1975) of 30 November 1975,

Deeply concerned at the increasing deterioration of the situation in the Middle East due to continued Israeli occupation and Israel's refusal to implement United Nations resolutions,

Reaffirming the necessity of establishing a just and lasting peace in the region based on full respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as for the resolutions concerning the problem of the Middle East and the question of Palestine,

1. Affirms that the early resumption of the Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3375 (XXX) of 10 November 1975, is essential for the realization of a just and lasting settlement in the region;

2. Condemns Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law and repeated United Nations resolutions;

3. Reaffirms that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the attainment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, which are the basic prerequisites enabling all countries and peoples in the Middle East to live in peace;

4. Condemns all measures taken by Israel in the occupied territories to change the demographic and geographic character and institutional structure of these territories;

5. Requests once again all States to desist from supplying Israel with military and other forms of aid or any assistance which would enable it to consolidate its occupation or to exploit the natural resources of the occupied territories;

6. Requests the Security Council to take effective measures, within an appropriate time-table, for the implementation of all relevant resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly on the Middle East and Palestine;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to inform the Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on the Middle East of the present resolution and to submit a report on the follow-up of its implementation to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session.

General Assembly Resolution 31/62³

Peace Conference on the Middle East

The General Assembly,

Having discussed the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East",

Noting the report of the Secretary-General on this item and his initiative of 1 April 1976,

Gravely concerned at the lack of progress towards the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

Convinced that any relaxation in the search for a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem to achieve a just peace in the area constitutes a grave threat to the prospects of peace in the Middle East as well as a threat to international peace and security,

1. Requests the Secretary-General:

(a) To resume contacts with all the parties to the conflict and the Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on the Middle East, in accordance with his initiative of 1 April 1976, in preparation for the early convening of the Peace Conference on the Middle East;

(b) To submit a report to the Security Council on the results of his contacts and on the situation in the Middle East not later than 1 March 1977;

2. Calls for the early convening of the Peace Conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations and the co-chairmanship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, not later than the end of March 1977;

3. Requests the Security Council to convene subsequent to the submission by the Secretary-General of the report referred to in paragraph 1 (b) above, in order to consider the situation in the area in the light of that report and to promote the process towards the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the area;

4. Further requests the Secretary-General to inform the Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on the Middle East of the present resolution.

² Adopted by the Assembly on Dec. 9 by a rollcall vote of 91 to 11 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions (text from U.N. doc. A/31/L.26, draft resolution).

³ Adopted by the Assembly on Dec. 9 by a rollcall vote of 122 to 2 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions (text from U.N. doc. A/31/L.27, draft resolution, with revision by the sponsors).

U.S. Votes Against U.N. Resolution on Question of Palestine

Following is a statement made in the U.N. General Assembly by U.S. Representative William W. Scranton on November 23.

USUN press release 159 dated November 23

That the legitimate aspirations and interests of the Palestinian people must be taken into account in working out a settlement in the Middle East is an elementary truth. Without doubt, this is one of the central issues that must be resolved in the negotiations to have a just and lasting peace, which is what we all seek for the Middle East. The United States matches its commitment to such an outcome with any other country here represented.

But the committee's report we are considering today is based on this premise without consideration of other vital and absolutely essential issues; or if there was consideration given to these issues, they are not represented in the report whatsoever.¹

I shall name but a few. There is no mention of the right of an Israel to exist in the Middle East. The need for the Palestinians to accept the legitimacy and reality of the State of Israel is utterly ignored. The maintenance of normal and peaceful relations with Israel within the framework of an overall peace settlement is not mentioned. Moreover, nowhere in the recommendations is there the stipulation that the Arab states, as well as Israel, must join in ending the state of war and in arriving at a peaceful settlement in the area. Even these few examples make clear the one-sidedness and lack of balance in the committee's report.

There is one further very basic flaw in the report. In large measure the committee's recommendations prejudice the outcome of negotiations—negotiations that must take

place between the parties themselves in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Any individual or state involved in international negotiations is aware that no solution to this or any other dispute can be imposed by this Assembly. Such an imposition without agreement of the parties is obviously unfair in the first place, but it is futile besides. It is senseless because it will not work.

One recommendation in the report, that there be a complete withdrawal by Israeli occupation forces "no later than 1 June 1977," utterly conflicts with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which call for negotiations between the parties concerned for the purpose of settling all outstanding problems. In short, this recommendation would have us circumvent the framework of a negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict as established by the United Nations itself.

The purpose of negotiation is to reconcile differences, to balance the rights and interests of the parties involved, and, in this case, to do so within the framework which fully considers the inhabitants of the region. Such negotiations cannot take place in the General Assembly.

I conclude from reading the report that the committee had one intention: to bring to the attention of the General Assembly that the legitimate aspirations and interests of the Palestinian people must be taken into account in working out a settlement in the Middle East. With this conclusion we agree.

But to draw from that premise a report which attempts to impose a solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute by this Assembly, utterly ignoring other basic issues in this dispute, a text totally devoid of balance, with conclusions that are unworkable and recommendations which prejudice the outcome of negotiations—frankly and bluntly, that makes the United Nations look ridiculous.

Further, Mr. President, in this resolution we are also asked to vote to extend the mandate of this committee. No constructive purpose will be served by this action. The committee's work is finished. It has produced a report setting forth the views and recom-

¹ Report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-First Session, Supplement No. 35 (A/31/35).

mendations of the members of the committee. An extension of the committee's mandate will not contribute in any way whatsoever to the work that lies ahead; namely, negotiations among the parties themselves.

We are also asked to refer this question once again to the Security Council. The Council has already considered the committee's report. Will a solution to the dispute be advanced by another Security Council meeting on the subject? Of course not.

So far the Council has considered the problems associated with the occupied territories and the future of the Palestinian people on five separate occasions this year. Over and over again the same speakers say the same things, and none of this excessive rhetoric advances the negotiations even by one step.

For all these reasons the United States will vote "No" on the resolution before us,² as we did last June in the Security Council on the Palestine Committee report.³

I believe this body intends to be a responsible one. We understand the motive behind this report, the deep feelings of the members of the committee for the Palestinian people and their longstanding sufferings in the Middle East. The vivid image of one of those refugee camps lives with me always, as I am sure it does with each and every one of you who may have visited them. All of us—I assume every single one of us here—want to resolve that problem for those people, for all the people of the Middle East—indeed, for the world, for peace, and for humanity.

Recently we have been reading and hearing about the possibility of another effort for peace in the Middle East. I am one of those who believes that such an opportunity exists. I hope and pray it will be undertaken. For the General Assembly cannot impose peace

²At the conclusion of its debate on agenda item 27, Question of Palestine, the Assembly on Nov. 24 adopted by a recorded vote of 90 to 16 (U.S.), with 30 abstentions, resolution 31/20, which, *inter alia*, "authorizes the Committee to exert all efforts to promote the implementation of its recommendations and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session" and "urges the Security Council to consider once again as soon as possible the recommendations contained in the report . . ."

³For background, see BULLETIN of July 26, 1976, p. 143.

on the Middle East dispute. Lasting peace can come only through negotiation by the parties directly involved.

The talking should stop and the negotiating begin. The framework for these negotiations exists—the framework established by the United Nations. Diplomatic channels are open. This Assembly should get on with its other work.

U.N. Disengagement Observer Force in Israel-Syria Sector Extended

Following is a statement made in the U.N. Security Council by U.S. Representative W. Tappley Bennett, Jr., on November 30.

USUN press release 169 dated November 30

The United States is gratified that the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF has been expeditiously handled.¹ Keeping the peace is a goal on which we can all agree, and UNDOF has done an outstanding job in overseeing the cease-fire on the Golan Heights. My delegation would like to commend in particular the excellent work done by the Secretary General and by the Commander of UNDOF.

The cooperation of the Governments of Israel and Syria with UNDOF has assured the success of UNDOF's mission. It is the two parties who have kept the cease-fire. Their agreement to the resolution extending UNDOF's mandate is a major element in the Council's action. Today's decision by the Security Council is an important contribution to the maintenance of peace.

In concluding, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President [Jorge Enrique Illueca, of Panama], for your persistent efforts in bringing about the agreement of the parties to this further renewal of UNDOF.

¹The Security Council on Nov. 30 adopted a resolution (S/RES/398 (1976)) renewing "the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force for another period of six months, that is, until 31 May 1977." The vote was 12 (U.S.) to 0; Benin, the People's Republic of China, and Libya did not participate in the voting.

U.S. Reaffirms Commitment to Self-Determination and Independence for Namibia

Following are statements made in Committee IV (Trusteeship) of the U.N. General Assembly on December 2 by U.S. Representative William W. Scranton and on December 10 by U.S. Representative Stephen Hess, together with the texts of two resolutions adopted by the committee on December 10 and by the Assembly on December 20.

U.S. STATEMENTS IN COMMITTEE IV

Ambassador Scranton, December 2

USUN press release 176 dated December 2

This year has been crucial for southern Africa. It has also been an important year in the relations of my country with that region of the world.

As members of this Assembly know, at Lusaka in April Secretary of State Kissinger launched a major diplomatic initiative to encourage positive change in southern Africa. He offered to assist the nations of the region in negotiating solutions to the dangerous problems of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia.

As a result of intensive consultations among the frontline states of southern Africa, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States, consideration of the Rhodesian problem has now shifted to the conference table in Geneva. While very difficult problems, very serious problems, remain to be resolved, the important fact is that independence and majority rule in Rhodesia are closer today as a result of British and American efforts than many would have expected at the beginning of the year.

This year has also witnessed extensive consultations to bring the Namibian problem to the conference table. The United States has

made a concerted and vigorous effort to persuade the interested parties to resolve the problem of Namibia by negotiations and not bloodshed. Although formal talks have not yet begun, progress has been made and diplomatic consultations continue.

The United States is dedicated to ending the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and to bringing about majority rule and independence for Namibia as a single, unitary state. Secretary Kissinger outlined the main elements of a negotiated solution to the Namibian problem in his speech to the General Assembly on September 30. The United States favors the following elements:

—Independence for Namibia within a fixed, short time limit;

—The calling of a constitutional conference at a neutral location under the United Nations aegis; and

—The participation in that conference of all authentic national forces including, specifically, SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organization].

In a meeting the day before his speech, the Secretary underlined to Mr. Sam Nujoma, the president of SWAPO, the importance which the United States attaches to the participation of SWAPO.

Progress toward all these objectives has been made in negotiations with the Government of South Africa.

But we must also be realistic. There are other genuine Namibian interests and voices which must be heard on the future of the territory. The United States believes that the place to resolve the differences between the parties to the Namibian problem is the conference table. We will exert every effort to bring the parties to undertake a process of negotiations.

At the same time, candor requires me to state that there are governments and individuals who appear determined to raise barriers to a peaceful settlement and to create an atmosphere in which it will become increasingly difficult for the United States to assist the parties. Demagoguery has been employed and unfounded allegations have been propagated, clearly intended to diminish the chances of bringing about the negotiated settlement which this organization has been seeking. There are also, unfortunately, those who, while proposing no constructive solutions of their own, seek through their words and actions to impede the efforts of others.

There have recently been absurd stories in the world press about alleged U.S. policy on Namibia. Accusatory fabrications have been issued—that the United States plans to create an army in Namibia, that the United States has already chosen a candidate to lead an independent Namibia. There is not a shred of truth in either of these accusations. The object of these attacks can only be to discredit efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement. However, we will not be deterred in our search for a peaceful and realistic path to genuine freedom and independence for Namibia, but we do wish to point out that constant calumnies can only impede progress toward a solution.

Mr. President, there are several other aspects of my government's policy toward Namibia which I would like to bring to your attention:

In addition to the major diplomatic effort which the United States has made during the past year, my government has also been active in providing educational assistance to young Namibians. In the past year the United States has provided \$300,000 for the training of Namibian students to help prepare them to assume the obligations of building and administering an independent Namibia. The United States has contributed \$250,000 to the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka and \$50,000 to the United Nations Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa, specially earmarked for Namibians. These contributions also reflect the importance the United States places in the

United Nations as the legitimate authority for Namibia.

The United States also remains seriously concerned over the application of South African legislation in the territory. We have protested to the South African authorities the enforcement of the Terrorism Act in Namibia. In May we protested against a particular application of the act against four Namibians, two of whom were sentenced to death.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I would like to reaffirm the commitment of the United States to achieving self-determination and independence in Namibia in accordance with Security Council Resolution 385. Our support for these principles remains as strong today as any time in past years. The United States has worked hard to advance the process leading to Namibian independence; actions to impede our efforts do not help this process.

The United States strongly urges all the parties concerned with Namibia to resolve their differences and work out at the conference table the transition to a free and independent nation. As Secretary Kissinger said on September 30, the United States pledges "our continued solicitude for the independence of Namibia so that it may, in the end, be a proud achievement of this organization and a symbol of international cooperation."

Mr. Hess, December 10

USUN press release 186 dated December 10

The United States has voted against draft resolution A/C.4/31/L.30 [A/RES/31/146], concerning the situation in Namibia, because we cannot support a number of its paragraphs. We cannot, for example, be party to the endorsement in the resolution of armed struggle as a means to resolve the Namibian problem. As the United States explained during the general debate, we are committed to the search for a peaceful, negotiated solution to the Namibian problem.

The United States also cannot support the paragraphs of that resolution which describe the situation in Namibia as constituting a threat to international peace and security and call on the Security Council to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

As is well known, the United States also does not regard any of the political groups inside or outside of Namibia as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

The United States abstained on draft resolution A/C.4/31/L.31 [A/RES/31/147], concerning the program of work of the United Nations Council for Namibia. Our position is consistent with our past abstentions on Resolution 2248 and others, since we have reservations about the implications of the resolution and the practical authority of the Council. We also cannot support all the recommendations of the Council for Namibia report [U.S. doc. A/31/24].

The United States abstained on draft resolution A/C.4/31/L.32 [A/RES/31/148], concerning the intensification and coordination of United Nations action in support of Namibia, since we cannot accept the blanket condemnation of economic relations with South Africa which would include termination of business interests established in Namibia prior to the termination of South Africa's mandate. We also have reservations as to whether it is feasible and legally appropriate to require member states to enforce the provisions of Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

The United States abstained on draft resolution A/C.4/31/L.33 [A/RES/31/149], concerning action by intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations with respect to Namibia, because we cannot support that paragraph which calls for such assistance by the specialized agencies to a liberation movement. Our views on that question were discussed in detail in the Fourth Committee earlier this year.

The United States abstained on draft resolution A/C.4/31/L.34 [A/RES/31/150], concerning dissemination of information on Namibia, because, among other things, we oppose the excessive expenditure of U.N. funds which will be necessitated by the publicity campaign recommended in this resolution. We reserve the right to oppose the financial implications of this resolution when it comes before the Fifth Committee.

The United States was pleased to participate in the adoption without a vote of draft resolution A/C.4/31/L.35 [A/RES/31/151],

concerning the United Nations Fund for Namibia. Our position on this resolution, however, does not indicate a change in our view that U.N. voluntary funds should be maintained by voluntary contributions and not by disbursements of the regular United Nations budget.

The United States has abstained on draft resolution A/C.4/31/L.36 [A/RES/31/152], concerning observer status for the South West Africa People's Organization. As U.S. spokesmen have indicated many times, we view SWAPO as an important element of any future state of Namibia, but there are other Namibian voices which must also be heard. We do not consider SWAPO to be the sole legitimate representative of all the Namibian people. This resolution's designation of SWAPO would seem to preclude any role for any other Namibians at the United Nations. The United States cannot support this view, nor do we believe it advances the prospects for negotiations.

The United States was pleased to participate in the consensus adoption of draft resolution A/C.4/31/L.37 [A/RES/31/153], concerning the nationhood program. We have supported this resolution because we endorse efforts to prepare the people of Namibia for independence while not wishing to signify any change in our position on SWAPO, already mentioned in this explanation of our voting.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to use this occasion to deny the allegation that the United States has licensed or shipped any armored personnel carriers to Namibia. Further, I reiterate that the United States continues to enforce strictly our arms embargo against South Africa.

In conclusion, I wish to point out that despite our disagreement with a number of points in these resolutions, the United States remains steadfast in its policy of seeking to promote a conference of the parties involved in the Namibian problem, under U.N. auspices, at the earliest possible date, with a view toward achieving early independence. We continue to support the provisions of Security Council Resolution 385 concerning the future of the territory.

I would reiterate the statement made by

Ambassador Scranton in the Fourth Committee on December 2, when he stated, "The United States is dedicated to ending the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and to bringing about majority rule and independence for Namibia as a single, unitary state."

Furthermore, as Secretary Kissinger said on September 30, the United States pledges "our continued solicitude for the independence of Namibia so that it may . . . be a proud achievement of this organization and a symbol of international cooperation."

Mr. Chairman, the "no" vote and the "abstention" votes of my government today reflect the views that we do not feel that these resolutions positively contribute to this worthy goal.

TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS

General Assembly Resolution 31/146¹

Situation in Namibia resulting from the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa

The General Assembly,

Having examined the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having heard the statements of the representative of the South West Africa People's Organization, who participated in an observer capacity in the consideration of the item by the Fourth Committee,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Recalling, in particular, its resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967 and subsequent resolutions of both the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to the question of Namibia, as well as the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, delivered in response to the request addressed to it by the Council in its resolution 284 (1970) of 29 July 1970,

Taking into consideration the relevant resolution

adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-seventh ordinary session, and subsequently endorsed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis in July 1976,

Also taking into consideration the political declaration and the resolution relating to Namibia adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo in August 1976,

Reaffirming that the Territory and people of Namibia are the direct responsibility of the United Nations and that the Namibian people must be enabled to attain self-determination and independence within a united Namibia,

Strongly deploring South Africa's continued refusal to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its brutal repression of the Namibian people and its persistent violation of their human rights, as well as its efforts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia,

Strongly condemning attempts by South Africa, through the convening of a so-called constitutional conference, to perpetuate its colonial exploitation of the people and resources of Namibia by misrepresenting the genuine aspirations of the Namibian people,

Gravely concerned at the militarization of Namibia by the illegal occupation régime of South Africa, its threats and acts of aggression against independent African countries and the forceful removal of Namibians from the northern border of the Territory for military purposes,

Strongly deploring the policies of those States, which, despite the relevant decisions of the United Nations and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, continue to maintain diplomatic, economic, consular and other relations with South Africa, purporting to act on behalf of or concerning Namibia, as well as military or strategic collaboration, all of which has the effect of supporting or encouraging South Africa in its defiance of the United Nations,

Recognizing that the situation in Namibia constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Noting with satisfaction the opposition of the Namibian people to South Africa's illegal presence in the Territory and to its oppressive racist policies and, in particular, the progress of their struggle in all its forms for national liberation under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization,

Strongly supporting the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in the discharge of the responsibilities entrusted to it by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly,

¹ Adopted by the committee on Dec. 10 by a recorded vote of 108 to 6 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions, and by the Assembly on Dec. 20 by a recorded vote of 107 to 6 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions (text from U.N. doc. A/31/437, report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 85, Question of Namibia).

I. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and as recognized in resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI), as well as sub-

sequent resolutions of the General Assembly relating to Namibia, and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal against the illegal occupation of their Territory by South Africa;

2. *Recognizes* that the national liberation movement of Namibia, the South West Africa People's Organization, is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people;

3. *Supports* the armed struggle of the Namibian people, led by the South West Africa People's Organization, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia;

4. *Appeals* to all States Members of the United Nations to grant all necessary support and assistance to the South West Africa People's Organization in its struggle to achieve independence and national unity for Namibia;

5. *Requests* all specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to prepare, in consultation with the United Nations Council for Namibia and within their respective spheres of competence, programmes of assistance to the people of Namibia and their liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization;

6. *Decides* to increase the financial provisions in the budget of the United Nations Council for Namibia to finance the office of the South West Africa People's Organization in New York, in order to ensure the due and proper representation of the people of Namibia through the South West Africa People's Organization at the United Nations;

7. *Decides* to continue to defray the expenses of a representative of the South West Africa People's Organization, whenever the United Nations Council for Namibia so requires;

8. *Strongly condemns* South Africa for its persistent refusal to withdraw from Namibia and for its manoeuvres to consolidate its illegal occupation of the Territory;

9. *Strongly condemns* the illegal South African administration for its aggression against the Namibian people and their national liberation movement;

10. *Strongly condemns* the illegal South African administration for its massive repression of the people of Namibia and their liberation movement with the intention of establishing, among other things, an atmosphere of intimidation and terror for the purpose of imposing upon the Namibian people a bogus constitutional structure aimed at subverting the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia and perpetuating a ruthless policy of racial segregation;

11. *Strongly condemns* South Africa for its military build-up in Namibia, its threats and acts of aggression against independent African countries and the forceful removal of Namibians from the northern border of the Territory for military purposes;

12. *Strongly condemns* South Africa for organizing the so-called constitutional talks at Windhoek, which seek to perpetuate the *apartheid* and homelands policies as well as the colonial oppression and exploitation of the people and resources of Namibia by misrepresenting the genuine aspirations of the Namibian people

for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia;

13. *Urgently calls* upon the international community, especially all States Members of the United Nations, to refrain from according any recognition to, or co-operation with, any authority which the illegal occupation regime may install under the current fraudulent constitutional talks or any other circumstances in Namibia;

14. *Strongly condemns* the activities of all foreign corporations operating in Namibia under the illegal administration of South Africa which are exploiting the human and natural resources of the Territory, and demands that such exploitation cease forthwith;

15. *Reaffirms* that the activities of those corporations are illegal;

16. *Decides* that any independence talks regarding Namibia must be between the representatives of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization, under the auspices of the United Nations, for the sole purpose of discussing the modalities for the transfer of power to the people of Namibia;

17. *Requests* all Member States to co-operate fully with the United Nations Council for Namibia in discharging the mandate entrusted to it under the terms and provisions of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V);

18. *Condemns* South Africa for its persistent refusal to comply with the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976;

19. *Demands* that South Africa put an end to extending *apartheid* in Namibia and to its policy of "bantustanization" of the Territory, aimed at destroying the national unity and the territorial integrity of Namibia;

20. *Demands* that South Africa release all Namibian political prisoners, including all those imprisoned or detained in connexion with offences under so-called internal security laws, whether such Namibians have been charged or tried or are held without charge and whether held in Namibia or South Africa;

21. *Declares* that, in order that the people of Namibia shall be enabled freely to determine their own future, it is imperative that free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations be held urgently in the whole of Namibia as one political entity;

22. *Demands* that South Africa accord unconditionally to all Namibians currently in exile for political reasons full facilities for their return to their country without risk of arrest, detention, intimidation or imprisonment;

23. *Reiterates* that the illegal occupation of Namibia and the war being waged there by South Africa constitute a threat to international peace and security;

24. *Declares* that the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people and against the United Nations as the legal authority to administer the Territory until independence;

25. *Urges* the Security Council to take up again the question of Namibia, which is still on its agenda, and, in view of South Africa's failure to comply with Council

resolution 385 (1976), to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa;

26. *Requests* all States to cease and desist from any form of direct or indirect military consultation, co-operation or collaboration with South Africa;

27. *Requests* all States to take effective measures to prevent the recruitment of mercenaries for service in Namibia or South Africa;

28. *Requests* all States to take steps to ensure the termination of all arms licensing agreements with South Africa and to prohibit the transfer to South Africa of all information relating to arms and armaments;

29. *Requests* all States to cease and prevent:

(a) Any supply of arms and ammunition to South Africa;

(b) Any supply of aircraft, vehicles or military equipment for the use of the armed forces and paramilitary or police organizations of South Africa;

(c) Any supply of spare parts for arms, vehicles or military equipment used by the armed forces and paramilitary or police organizations of South Africa;

(d) Any supply of so-called dual-use aircraft, vehicles or equipment which could be converted to military use by South Africa;

(e) Any activities in their countries which promote or are calculated to promote the supply of arms, ammunition, military aircraft or military vehicles to South Africa and the supply of equipment or materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in South Africa and Namibia;

(f) Any co-operation or activities by public or private corporations in conjunction with South Africa in the development, directly or indirectly, of nuclear technology, including the development of a nuclear capability by the racist régime in South Africa;

30. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session on the implementation of the present resolution.

General Assembly Resolution 31/152²

Observer status for the South West Africa People's Organization

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Namibia,

Recognizing the crucial phase reached in the struggle of the Namibian people and the added demands and critical tasks imposed upon their liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization,

Taking into consideration the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the recommendations contained therein,

Reaffirming the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning the question of Namibia,

² Adopted by the committee on Dec. 10 by a recorded vote of 114 to 0, with 13 abstentions (U.S.), and by the Assembly on Dec. 20 by a recorded vote of 113 to 0, with 13 abstentions (U.S.); (text from U.N. doc. A/31/437).

Recalling, in particular, its resolution 3111 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973, by which it recognized the South West Africa People's Organization as the authentic representative of the Namibian people,

Noting that the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries have recognized and invited the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in their meetings in an observer capacity,

1. *Invites* the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;

2. *Invites* the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;

3. *Considers* that the South West Africa People's Organization is entitled to participate as an observer in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of other organs of the United Nations;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the implementation of the present resolution and to accord all the facilities as may be required.

United States Urges Peaceful Change in South Africa

Following are statements made in the U.N. General Assembly on November 3 and 9 by U.S. Representatives Stephen Hess and Rev. Robert P. Hupp.

STATEMENT BY MR. HESS, NOVEMBER 3

USUN press release 139 dated November 3

This year's debate on apartheid takes place in the lengthening shadow of confrontation and violence in South Africa. Over 300 lives have been lost. Countless others have been injured. Hundreds more have been detained, many for no reasons other than that they oppose apartheid. The people of the United States mourn with those who have lost their brave young friends and children.

The position of my government has been made clear by Secretary of State Kissinger in a speech in Philadelphia on August 31 when he said:

...South Africa's internal structure is incompatible with any concept of human dignity. We are deeply saddened by the recent and continuing clashes in black urban townships, universities, and schools throughout

South Africa. They are dramatic evidence of the frustration of black South Africans toward a system which denies them status, equality, and political rights. No system that leads to political upheavals and violence can possibly be just or acceptable—nor can it last.

The United States must be true to its own beliefs. We urge South Africa to take account of the conscience of humanity. We will continue to use all our influence to bring about peaceful change, equality of opportunity, and basic human rights in South Africa.

The United States has not wavered from this position, nor will it. In taking this position we recognize that no nation or political system can claim a perfect record in the field of human rights. We are all too keenly aware that respect for the dignity of the human being is declining in too many countries in nearly every region of the world and that this General Assembly, which is dedicated to universal principles, frequently applies them in a highly selective fashion. At a time when consciousness of human rights violations is increasing, so too is the number of states where fundamental standards of human behavior are not observed. The situation in South Africa, founded as it is on a racially discriminatory legal system, is of particular concern and commands our attention and our condemnation.

U.S. policy is dedicated to self-determination for all and is opposed to violations of human rights wherever they may occur. We shall continue to use what influence we have to bring about peaceful change, equality of opportunity, and basic human rights for all South Africans. To this end, we shall continue to enforce rigorously our comprehensive arms embargo against South Africa, which we first imposed in 1962 and broadened in 1963.

We are concerned that unless substantial changes in South African society are forthcoming, the violence will increase and inevitably destroy a rich and productive country capable of providing for the economic and social needs of all its citizens. This would be a tragedy for all South Africans. We urge the South African Government to make decisions necessary to dismantle the apartheid system and to respond positively to the urgent need for genuine freedom for all its people.

Mr. President, if I might just add one very

brief personal note—because of the very moving conclusion of the statement we have just heard from the distinguished delegate from Singapore. This is in the nature of a people-to-people statement, not a government-to-government one; for I'm not a professional diplomat, but rather, as is a tradition in our country, I'm a private citizen of the United States and one of three persons chosen by the President and the Senate to be a public member of our delegation. And I, too, have listened to the great debate in this Assembly for nearly a week, and from time to time I've heard an inflection in the voice of wise speakers that I have found troubling.

And perhaps that unease that I felt was most properly put in context by the last speaker when he concluded by quoting from that inspiring novel by Alan Paton, "Cry, the Beloved Country," when the black priest, and may I just quote those beautiful lines again, said, you will recall: "I have one great fear in my heart, that one day when they turn to loving, they will find we are turned to hating."

And so, Mr. President, my personal prayer is that we may somehow seek justice in South Africa without, in turn, losing our sense of humanity or our capacity to love.

STATEMENT BY REVEREND HUPP, NOVEMBER 9

The United States was pleased to participate in the adoption, without objection, of the draft resolutions in documents A/31/L.6 [A/RES/31/6 B] on the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and A/31/L.7 [A/RES/31/6 C] concerning solidarity with South African political prisoners.

We voted against the draft resolution in document A/31/L.8 [A/RES/31/6 D] concerning the arms embargo against South Africa. We did so because we are not convinced that the invocation of chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against South Africa for its apartheid policies is appropriate at this time. We object strongly to those paragraphs which allege that the United States is sending weapons to South Africa. As the General Assembly well knows, the United States has continued to impose its own arms

embargo against South Africa since 1962 and has urged other nations to impose voluntarily an embargo concerning military equipment.

Recently it was discovered that a U.S. company had illegally shipped arms to South Africa. The shipment was made as a result of misrepresentation by a company employee. That employee was subsequently prosecuted, convicted, and sent to jail.

Let me make this clear so that no doubt remains as to the strength of our commitment. We have jailed an American citizen for facilitating an arms shipment to South Africa. The U.S. Department of Justice is continuing to investigate reports of illegal arms sales to South Africa involving American arms manufacturers.

The United States voted against the draft resolution in document A/31/L.9 [A/RES/31/6 E] concerning relations between Israel and South Africa. We disagree with the decision to single out Israel for criticism of its relations with South Africa. While we do not condone Israel's military trade with South Africa, we are aware that other nations also are involved in such trade. The report of the Special Committee Against Apartheid and this unbalanced draft resolution stem from anti-Israeli political motives rather than from any decision to investigate impartially those countries which are trading in military materiel with South Africa.

The United States abstained in the vote on the draft resolution in document A/31/L.10/Rev. 1 [A/RES/31/6 F] concerning apartheid in sports. The U.S. Government supports the Olympic principle that no discrimination be allowed in sporting events on the grounds of race, religion, or political affiliation. We urge U.S. sports teams to respect the principle and to compete against teams that are selected on the principle of the Olympic ideal.

Because U.S. sports teams are organized privately and have no official sponsorship or regulation, we are not able to support several of the recommendations contained in that draft resolution. Those recommendations would have the U.S. Government intervene in the affairs of private sports organizations, which it lawfully cannot do. The

results of this resolution could, in fact, prove contrary to its sponsors' intentions and instead of breaking down apartheid could assist in consolidating it.

This is borne out by the experience of the last four years, when open international competition has resulted in some breaking down of barriers in South Africa. For instance, Arthur Ashe broke the color barrier in the South African Open. He encouraged the South African tennis authorities to desegregate the audience for the Open. Black tennis players were also permitted to participate in other major tennis tournaments in the country.

The United States abstained in the vote on the draft resolution in document A/31/L.11 [A/RES/31/6 G] concerning the program of work of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, and we have elaborated on this elsewhere in this statement.

In our view, the decision to impose a type of economic sanction against South Africa is a decision of the utmost seriousness and can and should be taken only by the Security Council. Moreover, we believe that the facts do not warrant such a decision. We cannot accept the thesis of this resolution that economic relations with South Africa work to the disadvantage of the population or necessarily result in their exploitation. On the contrary, some U.S. corporations have been among the leading forces for equal rights and enlightened employment practices in South Africa. It is too simplistic to condemn in blanket fashion economic relations with South Africa.¹

The United States voted against the draft resolution in document A/31/L.13 [A/RES/31/6 I] concerning the situation in South Africa. We cannot agree with a number of paragraphs in the resolution. Specifically, we do not believe that the situation in South Africa, however abhorrent the policies of the South African Government, constitutes a threat to international peace or security. It is also clear that this lengthy resolution is

¹ The United States voted against A/RES/31/6 H concerning economic collaboration with South Africa and abstained on A/RES/31/6 K concerning investments in South Africa.

tantamount to a call for an uprising in South Africa that would, in effect, result in a racial bloodbath. My government cannot subscribe to the thesis that this is the best or only way to work for peace in South Africa.

The United States voted against the draft resolution in document A/31/L.14 [A/RES/31/6 J] concerning a program of action against apartheid. The U.S. Government is not prepared to support a comprehensive regime of sanctions against South Africa, which this and other draft resolutions have called for, or to provide assistance for a violent uprising in South Africa. We also have serious reservations on the financial implications of the program of action and the drawing of U.N. specialized agencies into this clearly political campaign.

The United States has already discussed its position toward South Africa as set forth by Secretary Kissinger in Philadelphia on August 31. We continue to believe that, although time is running out, the opportunity still exists for South Africa to move away from the apartheid system peacefully and to create a just society with freedom for all South Africans.

U.S. Joins Security Council Appeal for Assistance to Lesotho

Following is a statement made in the U.N. Security Council by U.S. Representative Albert W. Sherer, Jr., on December 22, together with the text of a resolution adopted by the Council that day.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR SHERER

USUN press release 199 dated December 22

The United States has joined in the consensus adoption of this resolution because we wish to make very clear our support for its main point. Restricting movement between Lesotho and that territory known as Transkei has imposed serious burdens on the economy

of Lesotho, and we believe the world community should assist Lesotho in this difficult period.

At the same time, Mr. President, I must comment on operative paragraph 1 of the resolution. It endorses and quotes General Assembly Resolution 31/6 A, on which the United States abstained.

My delegation did not abstain in the General Assembly because we intend to recognize that territory known as Transkei. On the contrary, we have made it eminently clear that we have no intention of recognizing the so-called Transkei. We do, however, reserve the right to attend to the welfare and protection of American citizens. Realistically, the occasion may arise in the future when it would be required to have some contact with the authorities of the entity in question.

Despite the foregoing, Mr. President, we feel that the main purpose of this resolution clearly is to encourage assistance to Lesotho and, accordingly, we have joined in the consensus adoption.

In that connection, I would like to point out that the United States already is extending substantial assistance to the Government of Lesotho. We have cooperated in a regional health project involving maternal and child health care and family planning services in rural areas and in the development of a more comprehensive program intended to upgrade the knowledge and skills of health personnel in planning and managing a national health system. We also are cooperating with projects in land and water conservation and livestock, farm management, irrigation, and agriculture. We currently are examining other ways to assist the Government of Lesotho.

Mr. President, what I have just said demonstrates our commitment to helping the Government and the people of Lesotho to overcome the obstacles which have been placed in the way of their national development. We hope that the concern of this Council will be heard and that the border posts in question will be opened promptly to the free movement of the people of Lesotho.

Before closing, Mr. President, I would like to express our appreciation for and satisfaction with the spirit of cooperation and close

coordination which went into the preparation of this resolution. Such coordination clearly assisted the Council in reaching a consensus agreement. It is an example of the type of coordination and cooperation which can only assist us all in resolving problems before us. We hope that this example may be followed in the future.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION ¹

The Security Council,

Having heard the statement of the Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho on 21 December 1976,

Gravely concerned at the serious situation created by South Africa's closure of certain border posts between South Africa and Lesotho aimed at coercing Lesotho into according recognition to the bantustan Transkei,

Recalling relevant General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolution 3411 D (XXX), condemning the establishment of bantustans and calling on all Governments not to recognize the bantustans,

Recalling further General Assembly resolution 31/6 A on the so-called independent Transkei and other bantustans, which, *inter alia*, calls upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei and to refrain from having any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei or other bantustans,

Noting with appreciation the decision of the Government of Lesotho not to recognize the Transkei bantustan in compliance with United Nations decisions,

Considering that the decision of Lesotho constitutes an important contribution to the realization of United Nations objectives in southern Africa in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations,

Taking note of the urgent and special economic needs of Lesotho arising from the closure of the border posts,

1. *Endorses* General Assembly resolution 31/6 A, which, *inter alia*, calls upon all Governments to deny any form of recognition to the so-called independent Transkei and to refrain from having any dealings with the so-called independent Transkei or other bantustans;

2. *Commends* the Government of Lesotho for its decision not to recognize the so-called independence of Transkei;

3. *Condemns* any action by South Africa intended to coerce Lesotho into according recognition to the bantustan Transkei;

4. *Calls upon* South Africa to take immediately all necessary steps to reopen those border posts;

5. *Appeals* to all States to provide immediate financial, technical and material assistance to Lesotho so that it can carry out its economic development programmes and enhance its capacity to implement fully the United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* and bantustans;

6. *Requests* the United Nations and the organizations and programmes concerned, in particular the United Nations Development Programme, the World Food Programme and all the United Nations specialized agencies, to assist Lesotho in the present situation and to consider periodically the question of economic assistance to Lesotho as envisaged in the present resolution;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in collaboration with the appropriate organizations of the United Nations system, to organize, with immediate effect, all forms of financial, technical and material assistance to the Kingdom of Lesotho to enable it to overcome the economic difficulties arising from the closure of the border posts by South Africa due to the refusal of Lesotho to recognize the so-called independence of Transkei;

8. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to keep the situation under constant review to maintain close liaison with Member States, regional and other inter-governmental organizations, the specialized agencies and international financial institutions, and to report to the Security Council at its subsequent meeting on the question;

9. *Decides* to remain seized of the question.

¹ U.N. doc. S/RES/402 (1976); adopted by the Council by consensus on Dec. 22.

U.S. Reiterates Support for Negotiated Solution in Rhodesia

Following are statements made in Committee IV (Trusteeship) of the U.N. General Assembly on December 13 by U.S. Representative William W. Scranton and on December 14 by U.S. Representative Richard Petree, Counselor for Political Affairs, U.S. Mission to the United Nations; a statement made in plenary on December 20 by U.S. Representative Albert W. Sherer, Jr.; and the texts of two resolutions adopted by the committee on December 14 and by the Assembly on December 20.

U.S. STATEMENTS

Ambassador Scranton, Committee IV, December 13

USUN press release 185 dated December 13

The Fourth Committee meets this year on the question of Southern Rhodesia in an atmosphere of hope and cautious optimism. For the first time in a decade this Assembly can look forward to a realistic prospect of majority rule in an independent Zimbabwe. The opportunity for a negotiated solution to the Rhodesian problem has been created, and the parties involved are meeting face to face over the conference table. While many major problems remain to be solved, vigorous efforts are being made to establish an interim government for the territory. The United Nations has every reason to lend its support to these efforts toward realization of the long-sought goal of peace and majority rule in Rhodesia.

The United States is pleased to have played a part in the negotiations which have brought about the conference currently underway in Geneva. We salute the British Government for its prompt and efficient organization of the Geneva Conference and the

efforts of its very able chairman of the conference, our colleague Ivor Richard [British Representative to the United Nations].

While we are pleased with the progress made thus far, we are under no illusions as to the obstacles which remain for the negotiators in Geneva. Ten years of violence create deep suspicions and animosity which cannot easily be forgotten. The representatives of the people of the territory who are now meeting in Geneva must rise above their own personal feelings and consider the future of their country and the welfare of all. The alternative to magnanimity and compromise is only further violence. It is in the interests of all to support the current negotiating process and the creation of a just transitional government with an African majority and an African Prime Minister.

The United States can understand the legitimate differences between the parties at the Geneva Conference and the real problems facing that conference. We cannot but deplore, however, the efforts of those countries and individuals who see some shortrun gain in fueling the flames of violence and racial strife in Rhodesia. Those who back these goals and who attempt to subvert a negotiated solution are no friends of Africa or the people of Rhodesia. They offer no constructive solutions and instead encourage continued violence, continued bloodshed.

In addition to U.S. efforts in the diplomatic consultations on the future of Rhodesia, my government has also been active this past year in providing assistance to students from the territory. As a followup to Secretary Kissinger's pledge in Lusaka in April 1976 to expand existing programs for training Namibian and Zimbabwean refugees as administrators and technicians, the U.S. Government obtained urgent authorization from Congress to provide \$2.7 million in educa-

tional assistance to southern African students in fiscal year 1976, including over \$1 million for Zimbabwean students. In addition, the U.S. Congress, at the Administration's request, has appropriated \$4 million for southern African students in fiscal year 1977. These programs are designed to train the future leaders of Zimbabwe in the skills necessary to develop a new nation in the modern world.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would like to reiterate the support of my government for a negotiated solution in Rhodesia and to call on this Assembly to offer its support. In the last analysis, the current conference offers the best hope for a peaceful transition to majority rule, a goal which the United Nations has worked for diligently for over 10 years.

As Secretary Kissinger said in his speech to the General Assembly on September 30: "The people of Rhodesia, and the neighboring states, now face a supreme challenge. Their ability to work together, their capacity to unify, will be tested in the months ahead as never before." The United States believes that at this crucial moment the United Nations must support the people of Rhodesia in their efforts to forge a free and independent Zimbabwe.

Mr. Petree, Committee IV, December 14

USUN press release 187 dated December 14

The United States has participated in the consensus adopting draft resolution L.45, concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia. My government fully supports the Geneva Conference as the best means to achieve majority rule and independence in Rhodesia. We call on all participants in the conference to redouble their efforts to find a negotiated settlement to the Rhodesian problem.

The United States has voted against draft resolution L.46, regarding Rhodesian sanctions—not because we oppose such sanctions or want to see them vitiated in any way. To the contrary, and as members of this Assembly know full well, the United States supports those sanctions against Rhodesia

and has been open and frank in those circumstances where the United States has been unable because of domestic legislation to implement the sanctions fully. The United States voluntarily reports fully to the Security Council's Sanctions Committee on imports under the Byrd amendment.

Mr. Chairman, for obvious reasons, completely accurate statistics on all Rhodesian exports are not available. However, it is unlikely that U.S. imports account for more than 5 percent of total Rhodesian export earnings. Obviously, 95 percent of the Rhodesian earnings originate elsewhere.

And so this resolution cites one country which is honest and ignores the countries which we estimate to be the providers of 95 percent of Rhodesia's export earnings.

Accordingly, we deeply resent being singled out for criticism. In a year when the United States has exerted every effort to bring about the peaceful transition to majority rule in Rhodesia we believe it petty and unjust for this Assembly to criticize the United States alone for sanctions violations. The resolution applies a double standard in dealing with Rhodesia, because, as we all know, there are other countries involved in trade with Rhodesia, some of whom are African countries. Some of those countries have joined in voting for this resolution. My government will not associate itself with this form of hypocrisy. Because we openly and fully report what is permitted by our own domestic legislation, we alone are chastised while other nations go unmentioned for their secret and much more extensive trade with Rhodesia.

Certain allegations have been made during our debate concerning the provision of oil to Rhodesia. I suspect that these allegations are related to those of the Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ to the effect that the Mobil Oil Corporation, certain of its officers, and foreign subsidiaries have violated the U.N. sanctions. As the United States has pointed out in the Sanctions Committee, the U.S. Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control served an administrative order on Mobil Oil on June 30, 1976, directing the company to furnish speci-

fied records for examination and requiring the company to obtain additional documents from Mobil South Africa and Mobil Rhodesia. The Office of Foreign Assets Control has periodically broadened the scope of the administrative order to require Mobil to provide additional material as new avenues of investigation were opened. The United States will provide the Sanctions Committee with the final results of that investigation as soon as they become available from the Department of the Treasury.

Other allegations have been made concerning assurances to Ian Smith of "tangible assistance," should the Geneva talks fail. There is no basis whatsoever, Mr. Chairman, for these allegations.

Ambassador Sherer, Plenary, December 20

USUN press release 196 dated December 20

While the United States voted "No" in the Fourth Committee on the draft resolution concerning Rhodesian sanctions, we shall abstain in plenary.

We have changed our vote from committee to plenary so that our position concerning Rhodesian sanctions not be misunderstood in any way, either by the Smith regime or by those with whom we share the deep conviction that majority rule must and will prevail in an independent Zimbabwe. There is no change whatsoever in the American Government's strong support of the U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia.

At the same time, we wish to make it emphatically clear, Mr. President, that we do not accept in this resolution the arbitrary and unfair singling out of the United States for condemnation—a singling out which resulted from U.S. honesty in reporting sanctions violations. It is well known that many other countries indulge in violations but do not report them. We reject this application of a double standard.

As everyone here present is aware, President Ford and Secretary Kissinger are exerting every effort to bring about a peaceful transition to majority rule in Rhodesia. Under such circumstances it is also petty and unjust for this Assembly to criticize the

United States alone for sanctions violations.

Further, so that there never again will be any misunderstanding, the United States puts 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.

TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS

General Assembly Resolution 31/154 A¹

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe),

Having examined the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having heard the statement of the representative of the administering Power,

Taking into account the report of the *Ad Hoc* Group established by the Special Committee at its 1029th meeting, on 1 April 1976,

Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, contained in its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, as well as all other resolutions relating to the question of Southern Rhodesia adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee,

Bearing in mind that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, has the primary responsibility for putting an end to the critical situation in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) which, as repeatedly affirmed by the Security Council, constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Reaffirming that any attempt to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal régime on the basis of independence before majority rule would be in contravention of the inalienable rights of the people of the Territory and contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of resolution 1514 (XV),

Taking note of the declared position of the administering Power that there shall be no independence before majority rule in Zimbabwe,

Reaffirming also its endorsement of the relevant provisions of the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa, adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Or-

¹ Adopted by the committee by consensus on Dec. 14 (draft resolution A/C.4/31/L.45) and by the Assembly by consensus on Dec. 20 (text from U.N. doc. A/31/447, report of the Fourth Committee on agenda item 86, Question of Southern Rhodesia).

ganization of African Unity at its ninth extraordinary session, held from 7 to 10 April 1975,

Endorsing the relevant provisions of the Political Declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, relating to southern Africa,

Taking note of the convening of the conference on Zimbabwe at Geneva,

Condemning the illegal racist minority régime for its intensified oppression of the people of Zimbabwe, the arbitrary imprisonment and detention of political leaders and others, the illegal execution of freedom fighters and the continued denial of fundamental human rights, including in particular the wanton beating, torture and murder of innocent villagers, arbitrary criminal measures of collective punishment and measures designed to create an *apartheid* State in Zimbabwe,

Commending the firm determination of the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of their national liberation movement, to achieve freedom and independence,

1. *Reaffirms* the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure by all the means at their disposal the enjoyment of that right as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2. *Reaffirms* the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule in Zimbabwe and that any settlement relating to the future of the Territory must be worked out with the full participation of the people of Zimbabwe and in accordance with their true aspirations;

3. *Strongly condemns* the illegal racist minority régime for its continued brutal and repressive measures perpetrated against the people of Zimbabwe and in particular the wanton killings of Africans carried out by the régime within and outside Zimbabwe;

4. *Further strongly condemns* the illegal racist minority régime for its systematic acts of aggression against neighbouring African States;

5. *Calls upon* the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in the discharge of its primary responsibility as the administering Power, to take all effective measures to enable Zimbabwe to accede to independence in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population and not under any circumstances to accord to the illegal régime any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty;

6. *Commends* to the administering Power for appropriate action the relevant sections of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Group established by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, at its 1029th meeting, on 1 April 1976;

7. *Firmly supports* the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to achieve majority rule;

8. *Demands:*

(a) The termination forthwith of the executions of freedom fighters being carried out by the illegal Smith régime;

(b) The unconditional and immediate release of all political prisoners, detainees and restrictees, the removal of all restrictions on political activity and the establishment of full democratic freedom and equality of political rights, as well as the restoration to the population of fundamental human rights;

(c) The discontinuance forthwith of all repressive measures, in particular the brutality committed in the "operational area", the arbitrary closure of African areas, the eviction, transfer and resettlement of Africans and the creation of so-called protected villages and the persecution of Christian missionaries supporting the cause of the liberation of Zimbabwe;

(d) The cessation of the influx of foreign immigrants into the Territory and the immediate withdrawal of all mercenaries therefrom;

9. *Calls upon* all States to take all necessary and effective measures to prevent advertisement for, and recruitment of, mercenaries for Southern Rhodesia;

10. *Requests* all States, directly and through their action in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system of which they are members, as well as the non-governmental organizations concerned and the various programmes within the United Nations, to extend, in consultation and co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to the people of Zimbabwe and their national liberation movement all the moral, material, political and humanitarian assistance necessary in their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights;

11. *Invites* all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, the United Nations bodies concerned and non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, as well as the Secretary-General, to take steps, as appropriate, to give widespread and continuous publicity through all the media at their disposal to information on the situation in Zimbabwe and on the relevant decisions and actions of the United Nations, with particular reference to the application of sanctions against the illegal régime;

12. *Expresses the hope* that the conference on Zimbabwe at Geneva will succeed in establishing the conditions for early independence on the basis of majority rule, in accordance with the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations;

13. *Requests* the Government of the United Kingdom, in keeping with its express readiness to do so, to co-operate with the Special Committee in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to the latter by the General Assembly, and to report thereon to the Special Committee and to the Assembly at its thirty-second session;

14. *Requests* the Special Committee to keep the situation in the Territory under review as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session.

The General Assembly,

Having adopted resolution [31/154 A] of [9] December 1976 on the question of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe),

Strongly deploring the increasing collaboration, in violation of Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and of the relevant decisions of the United Nations, which certain States, particularly South Africa, maintain with the illegal racist minority régime, thereby seriously impeding the effective application of sanctions and other measures taken so far against the illegal régime,

Seriously concerned at the continued importation of chrome and nickel into the United States of America from Southern Rhodesia, in violation of the relevant decisions of the Security Council and in disregard of the related resolutions of the General Assembly,

Deeply disturbed at recent reports of widespread violations of United Nations sanctions, including the operation of Southern Rhodesian aircraft for international passenger and cargo traffic, as well as the continued functioning of information and airline offices of the illegal régime outside Southern Rhodesia and the resultant influx of foreign tourists into the Territory,

Considering that developments in the area call in particular for positive, concerted international action with a view to imposing maximum isolation on the illegal régime,

Reaffirming its conviction that the sanctions will not put an end to the illegal racist minority régime unless they are comprehensive, mandatory and effectively supervised, enforced and complied with, particularly by South Africa,

Noting with appreciation the decision of the Government of Mozambique to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia and to impose sanctions against the illegal racist minority régime in compliance with the relevant decisions of the Security Council,

1. *Strongly condemns* those Governments, particularly the racist régime of South Africa, for their policies which, in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in open contravention of their specific obligations under Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations, continue to collaborate with the illegal racist minority régime, and calls upon those Governments to cease forthwith all such collaboration;

2. *Condemns* all violations of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council, as well as the continued failure of certain Member States to enforce those sanctions strictly, as being contrary to the obligations assumed by them under Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter;

3. *Condemns* the continued importation of chrome and nickel from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) into the United States of America, and calls upon the Government of the United States to repeal speedily all legislation permitting such importation;

4. *Calls upon* all Governments which so far have not done so:

(a) To take stringent enforcement measures to ensure strict compliance by all individuals, associations and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction with the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and to prohibit any form of collaboration by them with the illegal régime;

(b) To take effective steps to prevent or discourage the emigration to Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) of any individuals or groups of individuals under their jurisdiction;

(c) To discontinue any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal régime, *inter alia*, by forbidding the operation and activities of Air Rhodesia, the Rhodesia National Tourist Board and the Rhodesian Information Office, or any other activities which contravene the aims and purposes of the sanctions;

(d) To invalidate passports and other documents for travel to the Territory;

5. *Highly commends* the action taken by the Government of Mozambique in closing its borders with Southern Rhodesia and imposing total sanctions against the Smith régime, and considers that that action constitutes an important contribution in support of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and towards the maximum isolation of the illegal régime;

6. *Requests* all States, directly and through their action in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system of which they are members, and the various programmes within the United Nations system to extend to the Government of Mozambique all forms of financial, technical and material assistance in order to enable it to overcome any economic difficulties in connexion with its application of economic sanctions against the illegal régime;

7. *Further requests* the Security Council to undertake a periodic review of the question of economic assistance to the Government of Mozambique as well as to the Government of Zambia;

8. *Reiterates its conviction* that the scope of the sanctions against the illegal régime must be widened to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter and requests the Security Council to consider taking the necessary measures in that regard as a matter of urgency;

9. *Requests* the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to follow the implementation of the present resolution and invites the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia to continue to co-operate in the related work of the Special Committee.

² Adopted by the committee on Dec. 14 by a vote of 121 to 1 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions, and by the Assembly on Dec. 20 by a vote of 124 to 0, with 7 abstentions (U.S.); (text from U.N. doc. A/31/447).

United States Reemphasizes Spirit of Cooperation With OAU

Following is a statement made in plenary session of the U.N. General Assembly by U.S. Representative Ersa Poston on November 16.

USUN press release 152 dated November 16

As the General Assembly again considers the question of cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, the United States wishes to reaffirm our respect for the OAU and the ideals embodied in its charter and to emphasize that we look forward to maintaining close cooperation with the organization and with its members.

As a country which participated in the founding of the first of the regional organizations, we are aware of the essential role such organizations can play. We believe regional cooperation is a step on the way to global cooperation. We also believe that there are some issues which transcend regional concern and require global attention.

Nineteen seventy-six has been a crucial year in U.S.-African relations. In addition to building on the strong and significant ties which we have with African nations, this past year has witnessed an unprecedented level of U.S. involvement in trying to help find solutions to many of the pressing problems of the African Continent. Secretary of State Kissinger's efforts in particular have underlined our commitment to assist the nations of southern Africa find negotiated solutions to the problems of Namibia and Zimbabwe. While progress has been made—and we have tried to play a part—difficult decisions still lie ahead. The United States will not relax its efforts to see these crucial international issues resolved.

The past year also has seen concerted U.S. efforts in multilateral forums to solve economic problems of the nations of Africa. Some progress has been achieved in eradicating poverty and ushering in a new era of economic development for all of Africa. Much still remains to be done. The United States remains committed to assisting the people of

Africa utilize their great potential in human and natural resources in order to achieve economic progress in the years ahead.

Above all else, 1976 has seen the realization of a spirit of cooperation by the United States in our relations with Africa. As Secretary Kissinger said in his toast at a luncheon for representatives of the OAU nations on October 8:

There can no longer be any question that America is committed to Africa's goals and to working with the nations of Africa to solve the continent's problems . . .

Let us set aside the suspicions of the past and work for our common future. Together we can constitute the community of man on the basis of mutual benefit and shared endeavor. We can show that races can live together, that there is an alternative to hatred.

Mr. President, the United States will do all in its power to make this spirit of cooperation a reality in our dealings with the OAU and with its members.

U.S. Supports U.N. Membership of Western Samoa

Following is a statement made in the U.N. Security Council by U.S. Representative Albert W. Sherer, Jr., on December 1.

USUN press release 173 dated December 1

My country is pleased to support the candidacy of the Independent State of Western Samoa for membership in the United Nations.¹

The United States has had a long and fruitful relationship with the people and Government of Western Samoa. We have worked with them through the years in bilateral relationships and within the context of the South Pacific Commission and the South Pacific Forum. There are, of course, close ties between the peoples of Western Samoa and the people of American Samoa, who share the

¹ The Council on Dec. 1 adopted unanimously a resolution (S/RES/399 (1976)) recommending to the General Assembly "that Western Samoa be admitted to membership in the United Nations." The Assembly on Dec. 15 adopted unanimously a resolution (A/RES/31/104) admitting Western Samoa to membership.

same culture, language, and history. I am sure that through its membership in the United Nations, Western Samoa will make a valuable contribution to international peace and understanding and will bring to this organization the unique perception of the peoples of the Pacific.

We will be pleased therefore to welcome Western Samoa to the United Nations and look forward to continuing here the close and cordial relations that have developed between our two countries.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1974. Message from the President of the United States transmitting the convention. S. Ex. O. August 31, 1976. 266 pp.

Export Reorganization Act of 1976. Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy to accompany S. 1439. S. Rept. 94-1193. August 31, 1976. 81 pp.

The United States and China. A report by Senator Hugh Scott, Minority Leader, U.S. Senate, to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. September 1976. 55 pp.

The Political and Economic Crisis in Southern Africa. A staff report to the Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. September 1976. 52 pp.

Concerning Recent Actions by the Governments of North Korea and South Korea. Report of the House Committee on International Relations, together with supplemental views, to accompany H. Res. 1506. H. Rept. 94-1462. September 2, 1976. 17 pp.

Urging the President Not To Extend Diplomatic or Other Recognition to the Transkei Territory. Report of the House Committee on International Relations to accompany H. Res. 1509. H. Rept. 94-1463. September 2, 1976. 7 pp.

Religious Repression in the Soviet Union: Dissident Baptist Pastor Georgi Vins. Report of the House Committee on International Relations to accompany H. Con. Res. 726; H. Rept. 94-1464; September 2, 1976; 5 pp. Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; S. Rept. 94-1306; September 24, 1976; 2 pp.

Customs Convention on Containers, 1972, and International Convention for Safe Containers. Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to accompany Ex. X, 93-1. S. Ex. Rept. 94-33. September 3, 1976. 61 pp.

Humanitarian Assistance to Earthquake Victims in Italy. A staff report prepared for the use of the Subcommittee To Investigate Problems Connected With Refugees and Escapees of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. September 10, 1976. 24 pp.

United States and Bulgaria Sign New Fisheries Agreement

Joint Statement

Press release 608 dated December 17

On December 17, 1976, representatives of the United States of America and the People's Republic of Bulgaria signed a new agreement relating to fishing activities of Bulgaria off the coasts of the United States.

The agreement sets out the arrangements between the countries which will govern fishing by Bulgarian vessels within the fishery conservation zone of the United States beginning on March 1, 1977. The agreement will come into force after the completion of internal procedures by both governments.

The signing of this agreement took place in Washington. Lubomir Popov, Ambassador to the United States of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, signed for Bulgaria. Rozanne L. Ridgway, Ambassador of the United States for Oceans and Fisheries Affairs, signed for the United States. Both delegations expressed their satisfaction with the new accord and the hope that it will strengthen cooperation between Bulgaria and the United States.

Current Treaty Actions

MULTILATERAL

Antarctica

Recommendations relating to the furtherance of the principles and objectives of the Antarctic treaty of December 1, 1959 (TIAS 4780). Adopted at Oslo June 20, 1975. ¹

Notification of approval: Chile, December 22, 1976.

Meteorology

Convention of the World Meteorological Organization. Done at Washington October 11, 1947. Entered into force March 23, 1950. TIAS 2052.

Accession deposited: Malta, December 28, 1976.

Oil Pollution

International convention for the prevention of pollution of the sea by oil, as amended. Done at London May

¹ Not in force.

12, 1954. Entered into force July 26, 1958; for the United States December 8, 1961. TIAS 4900, 6109.
Acceptance deposited: Surinam, December 1, 1976.

Postal

Second additional protocol to the constitution of the Universal Postal Union of July 10, 1964 (TIAS 5881, 7150), general regulations with final protocol and annex, and the universal postal convention with final approval and detailed regulations. Done at Lausanne July 5, 1974. Entered into force January 1, 1976. TIAS 8231.

Ratifications deposited: Bangladesh, October 28, 1976; German Democratic Republic, July 15, 1976; Norway, October 20, 1976.

Money orders and postal travellers' checks agreement, with detailed regulations. Done at Lausanne July 5, 1974. Entered into force January 1, 1976. TIAS 8232.

Ratification deposited: Norway, November 19, 1976.

Trade

Arrangement regarding international trade in textiles, with annexes. Done at Geneva December 20, 1973. Entered into force January 1, 1974, except for article 2, paragraphs 2, 3, and 4, which entered into force April 1, 1974. TIAS 7840.

Acceptance deposited: Bangladesh, December 3, 1976.

BILATERAL

Jordan

Agreement for sales of agricultural commodities, relating to the agreement of November 27, 1974 (TIAS 7995), with minutes. Signed at Amman November 29, 1976.

GPO Sales Publications

Publications may be ordered by catalog or stock number from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. A 25-percent discount is made on orders for 100 or more copies of any one publication mailed to the same address. Remittances, payable to the Superintendent of Documents, must accompany orders. Prices shown below, which include domestic postage, are subject to change.

15th Annual Report to the Congress, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. "This 15th annual report . . . sets forth in detail and perspective the advances that have been made and the difficult, essential work that must still be done . . . to create stability rather than a spiraling arms race in weapons of incalculable destructiveness." ACDA Pub. 88. 75 pp. \$2.45. (Cat. No. S1.117/5:88).

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Tenth procès-verbal extending the declaration of November 12, 1959, on provisional accession of Tunisia to the general agreement. TIAS 8320. 9 pp. 35¢. (Cat. No. S9.10:8320).

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Procès-verbal extending the declaration of August 9, 1973, on provisional accession of the Philippines to the general agreement. TIAS 8321. 9 pp. 35¢. (Cat. No. S9.10:8321).

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Declaration on the provisional accession of Colombia to the agreement of October 30, 1947. TIAS 8322. 24 pp. 45¢. (Cat. No. S9.10:8322).

Trade—Meat Imports. Agreement with Australia. TIAS 8323. 8 pp. 35¢. (Cat. No. S9.10:8323).

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Press releases may be obtained from the Office of Press Relations, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

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*620	12/29	Shipping Coordinating Committee (SCC), Subcommittee on Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS), working group on subdivision and stability, Jan. 26-27.
*621	12/29	SCC, SOLAS, working group on standards of training and watchkeeping, Jan. 26.
*622	12/29	Advisory Committee on International Intellectual Property, International Copyright Panel, Feb. 2.
*623	12/31	Motor travel in State of Sinaloa, Mexico.
†1	1/1	U.S. withdrawal from International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries.

* Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.