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**President:** Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

**AGENDA ITEMS 68 AND 100**

**Human settlements (*concluded*):\***  
(a) Report of the Commission on Human Settlements;  
(b) Reports of the Secretary-General  
Programme budget for the biennium 1978-1979 (*continued*)\*

\* Resumed from the 87th meeting.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/33/536)

**AGENDA ITEM 100**

**Programme budget for the biennium  
1978-1979 (*continued*)\***

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PARTS II  
AND III) (A/33/445/Add.1 AND 2)

**AGENDA ITEM 102**

**United Nations accommodation:**

- (a) Accommodation at the Donaupark Centre in Vienna: report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Accommodation at Nairobi: report of the Secretary-General
- (c) Expansion of meeting rooms and improvement of conference servicing and delegate facilities at United Nations Headquarters: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/33/530)

**AGENDA ITEM 106**

**Joint Inspection Unit: reports of the  
Joint Inspection Unit**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/33/529)

1. Mr. HAMZAH (Syrian Arab Republic), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee (*interpretation from Arabic*): I have the honour of introducing to the General Assembly the reports of the Fifth Committee for consideration and adoption. The report of the Fifth Committee under agenda items 68 and 100 is contained in document A/33/536. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 5 thereof.

2. Within the context of agenda item 100 part II<sup>1</sup> of the Fifth Committee's report is contained in document A/33/445/Add.1. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee for adoption by the Assembly appears in paragraph 45 of that report. Part III of the Fifth Committee's report on the item appears in document A/33/445/Add.2. The draft resolutions and draft decision recommended by the Fifth Committee for adoption by the General Assembly are contained in paragraphs 10 and 11 of that report, respectively.

\* Resumed from the 88th meeting.

<sup>1</sup> For part I of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 100, see the 84th meeting, paras. 29 and 36 and also the 88th meeting, paras. 3, and 10-21.

3. The Fifth Committee's report on agenda item 102 is contained in document A/33/530. A draft resolution on accommodation at the Donaupark Centre in Vienna recommended by the Fifth Committee for adoption by the Assembly is to be found in paragraph 29 of that document. Paragraph 30 contains two draft decisions: draft decision I relates to accommodation at Nairobi; draft decision II relates to the expansion of meeting rooms and improvement of conference servicing and delegate facilities at United Nations Headquarters.

4. The report on agenda item 106 is contained in document A/33/529. The Fifth Committee's recommendation is contained in paragraph 20 of that report.

5. These are the reports of the Fifth Committee now before the Assembly, and I trust that they will be considered and adopted.

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.*

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will first consider the Fifth Committee's report on agenda items 68 and 100 [A/33/536]. We shall now vote on the Committee's recommendation in paragraph 5 of that report. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

*The recommendation was adopted by 116 votes to 11 (decision 33/439).*

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now consider parts II and III of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 100 [A/33/445/Add.1 and 2].

8. I call on the representative of the Soviet Union, who wishes to explain his vote before the vote.

9. Mr. FOKINE (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The United Nations General Assembly has taken a decision to the effect that in United Nations practice as a rule additional estimates should not be made, but that increases in expenditure during a budget period should be financed primarily from savings in the budget resulting from a review of programme priorities, redistribution of income and so on [resolution 2150 (XXI)].

10. The delegation of the USSR is, unfortunately, obliged to note that that decision, which is regarded as fundamental for the maintenance of a healthy financial basis for the existence and development of the United Nations, is not being implemented. And what should not occur, even as a rare exception, namely, requests for additional appropriations, have now become the general rule. During the thirty-third session of the Assembly the Secretariat has frequently not complied with the decision taken by the Assembly and, although the Organization has gone over to a biennial budget, the unjustified practice persists of requests for supplementary appropriations during a budget period. For example, not only does the report of the Secretary-General on budget performance [A/C.5/33/25/Rev.1] alone contain requests for supplementary appropriations of nearly \$US 62 million, but during the whole period of this session of the Assembly requests have been made for supplementary appropriations of more than \$US 90 million.

11. As members know, at the last session of the General Assembly a group of States, including the Soviet Union, which finances the major part of United Nations budget expenditures expressed<sup>2</sup> serious concern over the inadmissibly high growth rate of the United Nations budget, which far exceeds the average growth rates in the national income of States Members of the United Nations and, accordingly, the proportion of their resources which States are able to provide to the United Nations. In that connexion, it was stressed that the main reasons for this intolerable development were no more, no less than the wholly unjustified expansion of the United Nations staff, inflated administrative and management expenditures, the absence of genuine efforts to enhance the efficiency of the United Nations Secretariat and opposition to attempts to introduce modern management methods.

12. The United Nations budget for the biennium 1978-1979 shows an increase of \$US 240,100,000 or nearly 32.2 per cent over that of the previous biennium. This growth is unprecedented in the entire history of the United Nations, and the Soviet Union, as one of the major contributors to the United Nations budget, wishes to declare that we consider the activities of the United Nations Secretariat in the budgetary field unsatisfactory.

13. We have to give serious thought also to the fact that the States that provide more than half of the United Nations budget have not found it possible to support the

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 110th meeting, paras. 100-115.

United Nations budget for 1978-1979. This is tantamount to a vote of no-confidence in the budget department of the United Nations Secretariat.

14. The delegation of the Soviet Union had expected vigorous efforts to be made to meet the additional expenditures from savings in the budget; we had expected that the necessary work would be done, that proposals would be made to the General Assembly for reviewing priorities for the execution of programmes and that full information would be prepared and provided about the resources released as a result of the termination or reduction of programmes. As members know also, that work was specifically provided for in General Assembly resolutions 3534 (XXX), 31/93 and 33/201. However, that work has not been done.

15. The facts prove that the United Nations Secretariat has not done the work of elucidating what resources could be released or developed in the United Nations Secretariat which it had been requested to do under General Assembly decisions, and has submitted no recommendations regarding the curtailment of obsolete or inactive programmes, the avoidance of duplication or the improvement of the effectiveness of United Nations activities.

16. On the contrary, additional expenditures have been requested to finance virtually all new activities; new posts have unjustifiably been created; in violation of the instructions of the United Nations General Assembly, proposals have been made to increase the amounts assigned for the employment of experts and consultants and additional sums have been requested to cover budgetary expenditures due to devaluation.

17. The incorrect practice of transferring to the regular budget of the United Nations posts formerly financed through voluntary funds and other extrabudgetary resources has continued. At the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, the delegation of the Soviet Union warned that it would be unable to assent to such a practice and that should such a practice continue the Soviet Union would be obliged to consider withholding from its contribution to the United Nations regular budget sums designed for the financing of such posts. Unfortunately our warning was not heeded; accordingly, the Soviet delegation wishes to declare that, should the financing of posts previously covered by voluntary funds continue to be transferred to the regular budget, the Soviet Union will be obliged to refrain from paying its contribution to the budget for the maintenance of such posts.

18. The Soviet delegation wishes to recall also that, when the biennial programme budget was adopted at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, we categorically opposed the inclusion in the budget of illegal expenditures for the financing of such measures as the payment of interest on and the amortization of the United Nations bond issue to cover expenditures for illegal measures contrary to the Charter. Abiding strictly by the Charter, the Soviet Union vigorously opposed those measures; accordingly, we do not bear, and shall not bear, any responsibility in regard to them and we have no intention of contributing to the expenditures incurred in connexion with them.

19. The Soviet delegation also wishes to reaffirm its position of principle on the financing of technical assistance. Under Article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations, the regular budget is exclusively administrative in nature and is not intended to finance technical assistance, which should be covered by voluntary funds. Accordingly, the Soviet Union feels that technical assistance should be excluded from the regular budget and transferred to UNDP.

20. Since in the revised budget for the biennium 1978-1979, in violation of indications of the United Nations General Assembly, superfluous and unjustified expenditures appear, and also bearing in mind that the budget contains allocations for financing expenditures relating to measures that are illegal and contrary to the Charter, the delegation of the Soviet Union will vote against approval of the revised budget appropriations for the 1978-1979 biennium.

21. In view of developments well known to the delegations that have taken place during the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly, the delegation of the USSR reaffirms its position relating to the application of Article 19 of the Charter.

22. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite delegations to turn to part II of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 100 [A/33/445/Add.1]. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 45 of its report. That draft resolution incorporates various decisions dealing with questions relating to the programme budget for the biennium 1978-1979. We shall take a decision on each section, one by one.

23. We turn first to section I. The Fifth Committee adopted section I by consensus. May I consider that the Assembly adopts section I?

*Section I of the draft resolution was adopted (resolution 33/116 B, sect. I).<sup>3</sup>*

24. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We come now to section II. The Fifth Committee adopted section II without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Section II of the draft resolution was adopted (resolution 33/116 B, sect. II).*

25. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Next, we turn to section III. The Fifth Committee adopted section III without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Section III of the draft resolution was adopted (resolution 33/116 B, sect. III).*

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We come now to section IV. The Fifth Committee adopted section IV by consensus. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt section IV?

*Section IV of the draft resolution was adopted (resolution 33/116 B, sect. IV).*

<sup>3</sup> For resolution 33/116 A, sections I-VI, see the 88th meeting, paras. 14-20.

27. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to section V. The Fifth Committee adopted that section without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Section V of the draft resolution was adopted (resolution 33/116 B, sect. V).*

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We come now to section VI. The Fifth Committee adopted section VI by consensus. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt section VI?

*Section VI of the draft resolution was adopted (resolution 33/116 B, sect. VI).*

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to section VII. The Fifth Committee adopted section VII by consensus. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt section VII?

*Section VII of the draft resolution was adopted (resolution 33/116 B, sect. VII).*

30. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to section VIII. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

*Section VIII of the draft resolution was adopted by 125 votes to none, with 9 abstentions (resolution 33/116 B, sect. VIII).*

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now consider section IX. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

*Section IX of the draft resolution was adopted by 124 votes to 9 (resolution 33/116 B, sect. IX).*

32. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite representatives to turn to part III of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 100 [A/33/445/Add.2]. We shall now take a decision on the three draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 10 of its report.

33. Draft resolution A is entitled "Revised budget appropriations for the biennium 1978-1979". I shall now put draft resolution A to the vote. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan



Arab Jamhiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America

*Abstaining:* Australia, Canada, Cuba

*Draft resolution A was adopted by 113 votes to 15, with 3 abstentions (resolution 33/180 A).*

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now proceed to the consideration of draft resolution B, entitled "Revised income estimates for the biennium 1978-1979". If I hear no objection, may I take it that the General Assembly approves draft resolution B?

*Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 33/180 B).*

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution C is entitled "Financing of the revised appropriations for the biennium 1978-1979". I shall now put draft resolution C to the vote. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

*Draft resolution C was adopted by 124 votes to 9 (resolution 33/180 C).*

36. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite representatives to turn to the recommendation which appears in paragraph 11 of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/33/445/Add.2]. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

*The recommendation was adopted by 125 votes to 9 (decision 33/440).*

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of the United States, who wishes to explain his vote.

38. Mr. MOMJIAN (United States of America): For the first time the United States has voted against a draft resolution on budget appropriations for the United Nations. We explained in detail our reasons for our vote in the Fifth Committee<sup>4</sup> and thus we shall not restate them. However, we should like to appeal to all Member States to support a policy of fiscal prudence and maximum restraint in United Nations expenditures.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Fifth Committee*, 68th meeting, paras. 56-58 and 80, and *ibid.*, Fifth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.

39. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 102 [A/33/530]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Accommodation at the Vienna International Centre" which has been recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 29 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, France,<sup>5</sup> German Democratic Republic, Hungary,<sup>5</sup> Iraq, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mongolia, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

*The draft resolution was adopted by 126 votes to none, with 11 abstentions (resolution 33/181).*

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now proceed to the two draft decisions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 30 of its report [A/33/530]. Draft decision I is entitled "Accommodation at Nairobi". The Fifth Committee adopted draft decision I without objection. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*Draft decision I was adopted (decision 33/441).*

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft decision II is entitled "Expansion of meeting rooms and improvement of conference servicing and delegate facilities

at United Nations Headquarters". I shall now put draft decision II to the vote. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Hungary, Iran, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay

*Abstaining:* Afghanistan, Belgium, Benin, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, France, Italy, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nigeria

*Draft decision II was adopted by 113 votes to 13, with 10 abstentions (decision 33/442).*

42. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 106, on the Joint Inspection Unit. The report is contained in document A/33/529. We shall now take a decision on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 20 of its report. May I consider that the General Assembly adopts the recommendation?

*The recommendation was adopted (decision 33/443).*

## AGENDA ITEM 19

**Election of twenty members of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme (concluded)\***

43. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As members will recall, the General Assembly at its 85th plenary meeting elected 19 members of the Governing

<sup>5</sup> The delegations of France and Hungary subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

\* Resumed from the 85th meeting.

Council of UNEP. One post still remained to be filled by an African State. The Chairman of the African group of States has informed me that the group has endorsed the candidature of Liberia. I therefore declare Liberia elected.

*Liberia was elected a member of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1979 (decision 33/323<sup>6</sup>).*

## AGENDA ITEM 12

### Report of the Economic and Social Council (continued)

#### REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/33/540)

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next report of the Fifth Committee concerns agenda item 12 [A/33/540]. May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of that report?

*It was so decided (decision 33/444).*

#### CHAPTERS CONSIDERED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO A MAIN COMMITTEE

45. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now proceed to the chapters of the report of the Economic and Social Council assigned for direct consideration in plenary meetings. I am referring to chapters I and VII of document A/33/3 (sections A to C and F) which deal with organizational matters. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of these parts of the report of the Economic and Social Council?

*It was so decided (decision 33/445).*

## AGENDA ITEM 27

### Question of Namibia (continued):

- (a) 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;
- (b) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia

46. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As members will recall we concluded the general debate on the question of Namibia at the 80th plenary meeting on 12 December.

47. Before we resume our consideration of this item today, I should like to thank the members of the Advisory Committee for Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee for having made it possible for us to deal with this important question this morning. Everyone knows that the Advisory Committee and the Fifth Committee have worked steadily and intensively throughout this entire session and their efforts are particularly appreciated as they gave their attention to this question in an urgent and timely way.

48. The General Assembly has before it three draft resolutions, contained in documents A/33/L.13 and Add.1, A/33/L.14 and Add.1 and A/33/L.15 and Add.1. Those draft resolutions were introduced by the representative of Mexico at the 76th plenary meeting. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the three draft resolutions is contained in document A/33/539.

49. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

50. Mr. TLOU (Botswana): Botswana will vote in favour of all the draft resolutions on this very important question. That is as it should be, for our support for the freedom of our neighbours in Namibia has always been consistent. We shall continue to support the heroic struggle of our brothers and sisters to the best of our ability.

51. In voting for the draft resolutions before us, however, we should now like to explain, as we have done before, the predicament in which we find ourselves. Where the application of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter is called for in relation to South Africa, Botswana is compelled, by regrettable circumstances beyond its control, to reserve its position. Our delicate and sensitive geographical position vis-à-vis South Africa makes us vulnerable and our economic survival extremely precarious. That is the sole reason for our having to reserve our position on aspects of the draft resolutions before us.

52. As I have already stated, our reservation on parts of the draft resolutions in no way affects our well-known support for the Namibian people.

53. With that explanation of vote, I should like now to put on record our reservations on the following paragraphs which relate expressly to Chapter VII: first, in draft resolution A/33/L.13, operative paragraph 13; and, secondly, in draft resolution A/33/L.14, operative paragraph 8.

54. Having expressed those reservations, we shall, as I have already said, vote in favour of the three draft resolutions, and we wish to reaffirm our support for the Namibian people and their liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO].

55. Mr. BARTON (Canada): I am making this statement on behalf of the delegations of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada.

56. At this stage of the proceedings the Governments of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States wish to reaffirm their unabated commitment to the early implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and their equally firm attachment to the provisions of the United Nations Charter, in particular those related to the respective powers and functions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

57. However, the initiative which our Governments have undertaken and are determined to pursue to bring about an

<sup>6</sup> See also the 85th meeting, para. 180.

internationally recognized independence for Namibia is at a crucial stage, and we do not want it complicated by our taking a position on the substance of the three draft resolutions before us. Consequently, on purely procedural grounds and notwithstanding our well-known positions, the five delegations will abstain in the vote on the three draft resolutions.

58. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): My delegation intends to vote in favour of the three draft resolutions contained in documents A/33/L.13, A/33/L.14 and A/33/L.15. Seen as a whole, these draft resolutions contain all the fundamental elements for the initiation of a truly democratic process towards a free and independent Namibia. They address themselves, in my Government's view, in a relevant way to the problems and requirements involved in such a process.

59. In this context I should like to refer to the statement of 15 December 1978 of the five Nordic Governments on Namibia, which has been circulated as a document of the General Assembly and the Security Council [A/33/518-S/12969].

60. The Namibian situation is unique in several ways. The United Nations has for 12 years had a special responsibility for effecting the independence of that Territory in fulfilment of decisions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the International Court of Justice. Namibia is not only one of the major political problems confronting the United Nations; it has also explicitly been placed under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. A United Nations organ—the United Nations Council for Namibia—has been created with direct authority to administer the Territory. All the efforts of the United Nations to carry out its responsibility have been thwarted, however, by the recalcitrance of one Government—that of South Africa—and the illegal occupation of the country by South Africa.

61. Over the past year the world community has been led to believe that the present intolerable situation is coming to an end. Today we see little basis for such hope. Instead, recent events have brought the situation to a point where, in my Government's view, there is an imperative need for bringing renewed pressure to bear upon South Africa. The Security Council should face up to that responsibility.

62. That is the context in which my delegation is prompted to support these draft resolutions, despite the fact that we have serious reservations of a constitutional character on one point and some further reservations on other points.

63. Our main reservation concerns the eleventh preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/33/L.13. According to that paragraph, the General Assembly of the United Nations would reaffirm its full support for the armed struggle of the Namibian people. It is understandable that in their despair, and faced with brutal oppression, the Namibian people, having tried innumerable peaceful ways and means to free themselves from foreign occupation, in the end have seen no alternative than to resort to armed struggle. That struggle is being pursued with the legitimate goal of creating an independent and united Namibia. To move from this understanding, which is almost universally

shared, to having the General Assembly explicitly endorse the use of force is a significant step. Sweden has always emphasized the role of the United Nations in providing peaceful solutions to international conflicts. The Charter defines the circumstances under which there may be resort to the use of force, and places the primary responsibility for undertaking or endorsing action by force upon the Security Council. The Charter provisions in this regard are of fundamental importance, in the view of my Government, and support by the Assembly for the use of force in contexts which do not conform to the Charter provisions could have serious consequences. My delegation, therefore, cannot support that paragraph or the interpretation of other parts of these draft resolutions to which it may give rise.

64. Among our other reservations, which my delegation has stated on earlier occasions, I will confine my remarks to the following. My Government certainly would condemn any attempt by South Africa to acquire nuclear-weapons capacity, as we would condemn any State that assisted South Africa in such an attempt.

65. The General Assembly may recommend that the Security Council take action. However, it must, of course, be left to the Security Council itself to decide on the specific measures that it would be appropriate to take. In this context, it is also the view of my delegation that sanctions can be truly effective only when they have wide support, which includes, in particular, that of those States which are important to South Africa in its international relations.

66. Finally, the resolutions could, in our view, have reflected somewhat more clearly the Secretary-General's efforts to promote a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem.

67. Mr. JELONEK (Federal Republic of Germany): In the view of the nine States members of the European Community, on whose behalf I now speak, our debate on this item is of particular importance when viewed against the background of the unilateral elections which were held at the same time by South Africa in Namibia. The nine countries consider those elections null and void. The General Assembly has demonstrated that the United Nations and world opinion do not consider those elections free and fair and, therefore, will not accord any recognition to their outcome. On the contrary, the United Nations is seeking the early implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which approves the United Nations plan for free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control in consistency with Security Council resolution 385 (1976). The nine States expect South Africa to co-operate to that end without delay, according to its commitment given to the Secretary-General and to the five Western members of the Security Council. They continue to support fully the settlement plan adopted through resolution 435 (1978), which, in their view, is the only basis on which an internationally acceptable solution can be achieved.

68. The nine Governments believe that the General Assembly should focus all its attention on this plan and encourage efforts towards the holding of free and fair



elections in Namibia. They regret the fact that in certain respects the draft resolutions do not take into account the political developments that have taken place since last year. The commitment of the nine members of the European Community to the Charter and their respect for the functions assigned by it, as well as their reservations on a number of elements in these drafts, are well known. The nine countries wish to emphasize, however, their strong determination to support all efforts that could lead to a peaceful solution of the Namibian problem. They highly commend the performance of Mr. Ahtisaari and they are encouraged by the fact that he will continue to discharge his duties in the future.

69. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): The situation regarding Namibia has reached a crucial stage. The way forward to independence through free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control has been mapped out by Security Council resolution 435 (1978). South Africa, by prevarication and ambiguity, is obstructing that path. First, South Africa appeared to accept the proposals of the five Western members of the Security Council in April of this year. When it became clear that SWAPO has also accepted them, the South African Government resorted to its earlier discredited strategy of promoting an internal settlement acceptable to South Africa and favourable to its policies.

70. At the same time, South Africa has sought to convey the impression that it is still willing to co-operate with the United Nations, if only certain adjustments and clarifications can be made in the United Nations plan. The result of this prevarication is that the first major experience the people of Namibia have had of democratic processes has been gained in a manifestly unfree and unfair election supervised and controlled by the illegal South African administration.

71. The New Zealand Government firmly rejects the recent elections as null and void. These elections are incompatible with a genuine, internationally acceptable solution in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

72. South Africa's recent tactics are only a continuation of a long and dismal history of defiance of the decisions of the United Nations regarding Namibia. South Africa has been playing for time because it is reluctant to face the verdict of the people of Namibia in properly supervised, free elections. But time is running out. South Africa will have to make up its mind, once and for all, which path it wishes to follow: that of continued defiance of the will of the international community as expressed through the Security Council, or that of full co-operation with the United Nations. South Africa must not equivocate any longer. The clarifications promised the Secretary-General by the end of the month must indicate beyond doubt South Africa's willingness to comply with Security Council requirements.

73. My Government has supported the persistent and arduous efforts of the five Western members of the Security Council to achieve an internationally acceptable, peaceful transition to independence for Namibia. We were pleased to observe the endorsement of these efforts and the adoption of the Western proposals by the Security Council in

resolution 435 (1978). From the adoption of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) to the present, the Council throughout has played a vital role in enunciating the principles, laying down the guidelines and agreeing on the details of a transitional plan for Namibia.

74. It is because we recognize that the Security Council has this vital role that we have difficulty with elements in two of the draft resolutions before us, which will oblige us to abstain in the vote on them.

75. We shall support the third draft, A/33/L.15, although, as we have made clear in the past, we do not recognize SWAPO as the sole representative of the Namibian people. Specifically, we cannot endorse an encroachment by the General Assembly on the functions of the Security Council contrary to the Charter, in particular paragraph 1 of its Article 12. We believe that operative paragraph 13 of draft resolution A/33/L.13 and operative paragraphs 7, 8 and 9 of draft resolution A/33/L.14 amount to such an encroachment. We regret this because in our view it would be a significant step if the General Assembly were able at this point to adopt resolutions unanimously. That indeed would bring home to South Africa the solid determination of the international community to brook South Africa's delaying tactics and its defiance no longer.

76. My delegation has consistently taken the view that the imposition of mandatory sanctions is a matter for decision by the Security Council in accordance with the Charter. We have frequently affirmed, and we now reaffirm, our commitment to implement action, including economic sanctions, agreed to by the Council.

77. In the view of the New Zealand Government, if South Africa refuses to co-operate with the United Nations and continues to defy the Security Council, the Council may well be obliged to consider taking action under the relevant provisions of the Charter, including Chapter VII thereof. We hope that such a step will not prove necessary. We hope that the South African Government will, before the end of this month, respond to appeals for reason and moderation and that it will choose the path of co-operation and abandon that of defiance.

78. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): In the statement made on behalf of the nine States members of the European Community, the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany has confirmed our view that the recent elections in Namibia are null and void. The decision by the South African Government to go ahead with those elections in disregard of world opinion has caused strong resentment and dismay, for it is clear that, without the participation of all political groupings in Namibia in free and fair elections under the supervision of the United Nations, a further escalation of violence and bloodshed is inevitable.

79. The Netherlands Government urges the South African Government once again to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. The prospect of a peaceful solution has not yet disappeared, and the efforts of the five Western members of the Security Council to bring about such a solution require all the support and encouragement that the General Assembly can provide.

80. My Government regrets, therefore, that the draft resolutions before us do not even refer to those efforts. Instead, these drafts contain provisions that we consider detrimental to a peaceful solution. My delegation would like to reiterate the view that it is not for the United Nations to support armed struggle. In particular, we regret the explicit appeal for such support made in the eleventh preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/33/L.13. Furthermore, while we recognize SWAPO as one of the major political forces in Namibia that should certainly be involved in the political process leading to independence, we cannot recognize SWAPO as the sole representative of the Namibian population as long as that population has not yet had the opportunity to express its preferences in free and fair elections.

81. As for the mandatory sanctions requested in operative paragraph 13 of draft resolution A/33/L.13 and operative paragraphs 7 and 8 of draft resolution A/33/L.14, my Government is of the opinion that such measures are not yet called for—that is, for as long as the efforts of the five Western members of the Security Council are still in progress. However, I want to leave no doubt about the fact that, in case these efforts should finally and definitively fail, the Netherlands Government will support appropriate and effective action by the Security Council.

82. For the reasons stated above, my delegation will abstain in the vote on draft resolutions A/33/L.13 and A/33/L.14. However, my delegation has decided, in spite of certain objections, to vote in favour of draft resolution A/33/L.15.

83. Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): The long and extensive general debate we held on agenda item 27, has clearly brought forth one undeniable fact: that there exists a broad international consensus on Namibia's transition to majority rule, self-determination and independence, as well as on the best and most promising way to achieve that transition in a peaceful, constructive and negotiated manner.

84. That being so, the Austrian delegation considers it all the more regrettable that the draft resolutions now before us do not adequately reflect the spirit of consensus so clearly established during the debate on the item. Austria, though firmly committed to our common aim of an independent Namibia, deems it necessary to refer to its well-known position with regard to welcoming armed struggle in resolutions of the United Nations. Austria also has reservations as to the prejudging of the outcome of the issues of which the Security Council is seized and stays seized in this regard.

85. Furthermore, Austria interprets the formulation contained in the eighth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/33/L.15 to imply the necessary confirmation through free and democratic elections under international supervision.

86. Mr. BUENO (Brazil): The Brazilian delegation favours the adoption of the three drafts before the Assembly and will vote for them. We have doubts, however, about the language of some of the paragraphs of the drafts, which seems to us excessive in relation to parties other than South Africa as well as in relation to possible constitutional

difficulties in the definition of action to be taken by the General Assembly and by the Security Council.

87. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): My delegation will vote in favour of A/33/L.15 but regrets that it will be obliged to abstain in the vote on A/33/L.13 and A/33/L.14, which include formulations that we are unable to support without qualification.

88. I wish to say very firmly that Australia looks to South Africa to co-operate fully and faithfully with the Secretary-General in implementing the settlement plan approved by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). My Government believes that the Security Council proposals on Namibia represent a critically important United Nations initiative and that the South African Government should move to show its good faith by agreeing without further delay to co-operate in the implementation of those proposals.

89. As for the elections recently conducted in Namibia by the South African Government, the Australian Government does not recognize them as being consistent with the settlement proposals of the Security Council. My delegation joins with other delegations, including all members of the Security Council, in regarding and rejecting those elections as null and void, as they are incompatible with the United Nations proposals for an internationally acceptable settlement and run counter to the efforts of the Security Council to bring about such a settlement.

90. Australia has expressed its reservations in previous years on the categorization of SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. SWAPO, of course, is a major voice promoting Namibian aspirations, but we believe that no indigenous Namibian political forces should be excluded from the constitutional process leading to a genuinely independent and united Namibia.

91. I should also reiterate the Australian reservation on any endorsement of the use of armed struggle to achieve the ends which we all hope may be brought about by peaceful means. I would also refer to the Australian position as expressed in this debate last year on references to nuclear questions and to Walvis Bay.<sup>7</sup> There are certain other aspects of A/33/L.13 and A/33/L.14 which my delegation believes should more appropriately be dealt with by the Security Council.

92. Finally, I wish to reaffirm that Australia fully supports the current Security Council initiative on Namibia and looks to the South African Government not to obstruct it in any way. My delegation joins with all others in insisting that all obstacles standing in the way of the Namibian people's free determination of their own future through free elections under United Nations supervision and control must be removed.

93. Mr. TSOANAMATSIE (Lesotho): The Lesotho delegation will vote in favour of the three draft resolutions on Namibia because their general thrust and purpose are in accordance with our position of principle with reference to

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 102nd meeting, para. 82.

the whole question of Namibia. However, we wish to reserve our position on operative paragraph 13 of draft resolution A/33/L.13 and both operative paragraphs 7 and 8 of draft resolution A/33/L.14. Lesotho's position on similar matters was unambiguously explained by our Foreign Minister in his statement on 10 October 1978 [28th meeting].

94. Mr. ANOMA (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Ivory Coast will vote in favour of these three draft resolutions now before us. However, we wish to emphasize the fact that we have reservations on paragraph 13 of draft resolution A/33/L.13 and paragraphs 7 and 8 of draft resolution A/33/L.14. The situation in Namibia which, given the geopolitics of southern Africa, has exactly the same context as the situation in Rhodesia, is one that has always been of concern to the Ivory Coast. The same relationship exists between the administering Power and Southern Rhodesia, and the administering Power and South West Africa, or, as we say, Namibia, with this one difference, namely, that in the first case—and history will record our appreciation of this—the administering Power, the United Kingdom, has granted independence, complete liberation and freedom for hundreds of millions of people who earlier were colonized. In contrast, South Africa is constantly flouting public opinion and the views of the international community. We can see, then, that the efforts that we must make should not be brought to an end, and we would certainly be of the opinion that Chapter VII of the Charter should be invoked if we were certain that its immediate implementation could bring about the desired outcome.

95. I just mentioned the case of Rhodesia. As we know, on 10 November 1965 Ian Smith unilaterally proclaimed the independence of Southern Rhodesia. Since then, 13 years have elapsed. We know that the anger of the international community was made known immediately: the United Nations imposed sanctions; the administering Power broke off political and economic relations with Rhodesia. Yet 13 years have elapsed and Ian Smith is still flouting international opinion, the views of all of free Africa, the views of the United Nations and those of the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

96. What sanctions were imposed? Certainly a great many resolutions were adopted here in this forum, but what has been their effect on Southern Rhodesia? We should like to be guided by that reality and to ensure that we do not adopt unconsidered attitudes or positions without being convinced of our ability to implement the very sanctions we may decide to impose.

97. Therefore, in so far as there is some hope, in so far as there is still a chance to achieve something through dialogue—because, as we always say here, the Ivory Coast strongly believes in dialogue, which is almost our religion—in so far as all links have not been broken with South Africa, my delegation is here addressing that appeal to the West to continue working along the lines that the Western Powers have chosen, pursuant to Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978). We also appeal to the United Nations and the Secretary-General to redouble their efforts to ensure that we can find a solution to this tragic business and finally we

appeal to South Africa to heed the interest of the international community and to deal with the United Nations.

98. The Ivory Coast is still willing to make every effort to continue our co-operation tirelessly, so that at last we may find a solution, the solution desired by everybody, so as to ensure complete liberation and the enjoyment of all human rights, not the rights of those who are hungry and dying, but quite simply the human rights that are contained in the Charter of the United Nations as the international community understands them: freedom and peace.

99. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): This year we are once again discussing the question of Namibia because of the continued illegal presence of South Africa in that United Nations Trust Territory. This continues to be one of the most serious problems that this Organization has to deal with, and the longer South Africa continues to pretend to have any role there other than that of a usurper, the more complicated the problem becomes.

100. Until last year South Africa appeared determined to carve out bantustans in Namibia, a policy which now appears to have been modified somewhat through the Turnhalle groups. Those groups have been built up by the pretender régime of South Africa as puppet forces for opposing the United Nations.

101. Through a vigorous campaign of terrorism, falsification and deception, South Africa appears to have raised a sizeable group in Namibia which now believes that the United Nations, which has supported SWAPO in the struggle against the illegal occupation, is now the real enemy of Namibia.

102. We have to recognize that there is nothing new in this tactic. Indeed, it is the common experience of most countries which have gone through the decolonization process. So many examples of colonizing Powers dividing and deceiving their victims readily spring to mind that it is not necessary to recount them.

103. In this situation the United Nations has a duty to continue to take appropriate measures against South Africa until the illegal occupation of Namibia is brought to an end. While continuing to take such strong measures as it is capable of to end the illegal occupation, the United Nations should recognize the distortion which seeks to turn the people of Namibia against the United Nations and the action that may be taken to counteract it. The United Nations responsibility is heavy and the task is complicated by the enemy's obvious opportunity to divide the United Nations itself as well as the people of Namibia. The United Nations must be prepared to meet these new tactics and adopt a more resolute stance against South Africa until the illegal occupation is brought to an end.

104. The United Nations support for SWAPO and the United Nations Council for Namibia must not waver. Coercive and oppressive measures employed by South Africa against the people of Namibia will, we believe, not succeed in making them mistake the real enemy in the final stages of the struggle.

105. The efforts of the five Powers friendly to South Africa in the last two years deserve mention here. We do recognize their good intentions and their desire to bring to an end the illegal South African occupation of Namibia without further forceful measures. It is the duty and desire of all of us, I believe, to look for peaceful methods of solving the problems that face the United Nations; but it does not take much effort to recognize that the South African régime, with its evil policies, is not likely at any stage to change its chosen violent course. It will require much more effort and action to evict South Africa from Namibia.

106. The five friends of South Africa should, therefore, avoid taking positions which either depict them as incredibly naive or as accomplices of what is happening in Namibia now. The need for clear leadership in dealing with the problem of Namibia is greatest now, but we must admit with disappointment that the effort of the five countries does not offer any hope. To cling to the illusion that a peaceful solution can still be worked out with South Africa is a waste of time and only gives the enemy time to create a régime in Namibia that will be so dependent on South Africa for its survival that the United Nations will be forced to continue the struggle against South Africa even if it successfully installs a puppet régime wearing a Namibian mask. This problem must be recognized now and appropriate steps taken to prevent its becoming a reality in the near future.

107. That is why we are opposed to the so-called internal elections, cynically described by South Africa as a process of electing Namibian leaders who would later be foisted on the United Nations and placed between it and South Africa. My delegation cannot be a party to this hypocrisy and trickery. South Africa has no mandate in Namibia and must be forced out without any delay. The negotiations that have been going on since last year must be seen as negotiations with a terrorist régime that is holding Namibia hostage and they will not confer any legitimacy on the illegal occupation of Namibia, however long it lasts.

108. We believe that the United Nations exhausted the search for a peaceful solution of the problem long ago and that the only alternative open to this Organization is the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa in an all-out effort to eliminate its illegal occupation of the Territory. The United Nations, through the Security Council, has a direct and clear duty in this matter.

109. The General Assembly should, therefore, recommend urgent action by the Security Council in the matter. My delegation is ready to support any action in this direction and will vote for all three draft resolutions before the General Assembly.

110. It is our sincere hope that a lasting solution will be found for this problem in the coming year and, despite all indications to the contrary, we hope to welcome the people of Namibia to this Assembly, as a free, sovereign and independent people, in the coming year.

111. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): The Finnish delegation, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, will vote in favour of the three draft resolutions submitted on

this question. In doing so we wish yet again to give expression to our consistent support for the efforts of the Namibian people to achieve genuine self-determination and independence in a united Namibia.

112. By adopting resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), the Security Council has created the basis for a peaceful and internationally acceptable transition to independence and international recognition for Namibia through elections under United Nations supervision and control.

113. In their statement of 15 December which has been issued as a General Assembly document [A/33/518-S/12969], the Governments of the five Nordic countries demanded that South Africa fully contribute towards the implementation of free and democratic elections in which all political parties, including SWAPO, can participate on an equal footing. The Nordic Governments further stated that should South Africa continue to refuse to co-operate with the United Nations, the Security Council must use all necessary means in accordance with the Charter, including effective international sanctions, to make South Africa accept the United Nations plan for Namibia.

114. It is well known that over the years Finland has taken several concrete initiatives to help the Namibian people in its struggle for independence. The Finnish Government has stressed its readiness to assist the United Nations in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), including the provision to the Organization of a contingent of troops for the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, should the developments lead to its establishment as a part of a negotiated and peaceful settlement.

115. My Government has not as yet abandoned hope that such a solution may still be possible, despite a number of disheartening and dismaying indications to the contrary.

116. In fully supporting the main thrust and purpose of the three draft resolutions, we must, however, express certain reservations which are in fact a matter of record in this Organization.

117. Finland has consistently expressed its strong conviction that the United Nations must do its utmost to seek peaceful solutions to the question of Namibia through negotiations. This is a position of principle and, therefore, obviously remains unchanged. Consequently, we are unable to accept the condoning of armed struggle and we cannot endorse paragraphs that are in contradiction with this aim—except in those cases that are clearly defined in the Charter. Furthermore, there are a number of provisions which touch on the division of competence between the Security Council and the General Assembly in a manner which, in our opinion, is not consistent with the United Nations Charter. The views of my Government in this respect are well known and need no further elaboration at this time.

118. Mr. KOUYATE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): The problem which concerns us in draft resolutions A/33/L.13, A/33/L.14 and A/33/L.15 on the question of Namibia is, in my delegation's opinion, of vital importance for the international community, because it is



one of freedom. We know very well—and we believe that everybody can agree with us—that there are problems in respect of which each may speak in the manner he deems appropriate. But the problem of freedom is indivisible, and we cannot think of one man who has voluntarily renounced his freedom, still less a whole people taken hostage by an illegal racist force which, furthermore, practices the policy of *apartheid*. So that let no one tell us here that a certain colonial Power is motivated by good intentions. This is an illusion. What is certain—and history has proved this—is that colonialism has never of its own accord given up its illegal and illegitimate privileges. Never has a people been liberated by negotiations alone. If there have been negotiations, they have been preceded either by an open political struggle or by an armed struggle and that is what has forced the colonialists to come to the negotiating table.

119. The case of Mozambique and its liberation movement, FRELIMO,<sup>8</sup> of Guinea-Bissau and the PAIGC,<sup>9</sup> and of many other countries and liberation movements are there to prove that only armed struggle can bring the colonialists to recognize their inalienable right to independence, freedom and sovereignty.

120. It is far too late to tell us that we should not consider SWAPO the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, because those who have made official statements to that effect here are the very ones who from this rostrum invited the international community to endorse a plan based, above all, on the consent of SWAPO, at that time recognized as the sole authentic spokesman. Now that the plan has been endorsed they are trying to remove the spokesman recognized yesterday and to replace it with puppets of I know not what Turnhalle faction.

121. We understand the manoeuvre very well. Of one thing we are certain, however: neither SWAPO nor Africa will be deceived. The Namibian question is an African problem, and the OAU has pronounced itself on it, recognizing SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. It is not because one or two delegations still refuse to recognize SWAPO as such, that the international community, which has accorded it observer status at the United Nations, should be induced to deny to it the fruits of its struggle: namely, the recognition of its status as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

122. Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) all implicitly recognize the illegality of the savage repression which South Africa has been inflicting on the Namibian people. And yet all that is taking place at a time when we are talking of human rights and while attempts are being made to halt the executioner's axe in Namibia, were it not for human rights considerations no one would even lift his little finger to make South Africa desist. Those who are determined here to convince us that South Africa is prepared to follow the plan for the so-called peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem are the very same people who today are carrying out manoeuvres to confuse international public opinion.

<sup>8</sup> Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

<sup>9</sup> Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

123. My delegation cannot tolerate any beating around the bush when it comes to the freedom of the remaining colonies in Africa, and we issue that warning to any State that would delay or bargain over the freedom of our brothers in Zimbabwe, Namibia or South Africa.

124. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on draft resolution A/33/L.13 and Add.1, entitled "Situation in Namibia resulting from the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

*The draft resolution was adopted by 120 votes to none, with 19 abstentions (resolution 33/182 A).*

125. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with operative paragraph 14 of the draft resolution just adopted, the General Assembly has decided:

"... to reconvene the thirty-third session at a time to be decided in consultation between the President of the General Assembly, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Secretary-General in order to consider fully the question of Namibia and the implications of South Africa's continued defiance of the resolutions of the Assembly and of the Security Council".

126. Furthermore, the General Assembly had decided, under operative paragraph 27 of the same draft resolution, to expand the United Nations Council for Namibia by the addition of up to six members on the basis of consultations to be held by the President of the General Assembly with the regional groups. I shall hold the necessary consultations and report to the Assembly in due course.

127. We shall now proceed to take a decision on draft resolution A/33/L.14 and Add.1, entitled "Refusal of South-Africa to comply with United Nations resolutions on Namibia". A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

*The draft resolution was adopted by 123 votes to none, with 17 abstentions (resolution 33/182 B).*

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution A/33/L.15 and Add.1 is entitled "Programme of work of the United Nations Council for Namibia". I shall now put it to the vote. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet

Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

*Against:* None

*Abstaining:* Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

*The draft resolution was adopted by 136 votes to none, with 5 abstentions (resolution 33/182 C).*

129. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

130. Mr. ELIASSEN (Denmark): In his explanation of vote on behalf of the nine member States of the European Community, the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany outlined the common position of the nine countries on the question of Namibia. Since my delegation is in full agreement with that statement, I shall not repeat those views but only address myself to the resolutions just adopted.

131. I should like also to refer to the statement of 15 December 1978 of the five Nordic Governments on Namibia, which has been circulated as a document of the General Assembly and the Security Council [A/33/518-S/12969].

132. My delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolutions A/33/L.13 and A/33/L.14 and it voted in favour of A/33/L.15. However, some of our reservations relate to all three texts.

133. It is the position of Denmark that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, peaceful solutions to conflicts should be sought. We therefore cannot accept paragraphs explicitly endorsing the use of armed force. Similarly we have always interpreted the expression "by all means" as meaning "by all peaceful means".

134. The fact that SWAPO leads the struggle for the liberation of Namibia gives that organization special prominence. The Government of Denmark finds that SWAPO as well as all other political parties should be given full and fair opportunity to participate in free elections under United Nations supervision in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

135. Denmark cannot associate itself with the thirteenth preambular paragraph of document A/33/L.13. In our opinion, the important efforts of the five Western members of the Security Council could not have been carried out if those countries had not maintained relations with South Africa.

136. We also have reservations with regard to a number of paragraphs in all three resolutions which, in our view, fail to take into account fundamental Charter provisions with regard to the division of competence between the General Assembly and the Security Council.

137. Mr. KEATING (Ireland): My Government has never wavered in its condemnation of South Africa for that country's failure to relinquish its illegal occupation of Namibia. The flagrant contempt shown by South Africa in resisting the will of the international community on this matter is an unjust and dangerous strategy. It is with both sadness and outrage that my Government has monitored the continuing denial of basic human and political rights to the people of Namibia by the illegal South African administration there. My Government wishes to restate its strongly held view that the people of Namibia must be free to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination on the basis of territorial integrity. The illegal presence of South Africa in that Territory must be terminated without further procrastination on the part of the South African Government. In this regard, I fully share the sentiments expressed by the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany in his statement to this Assembly today on behalf of the nine member States of the European Economic Community.

138. My Government is fully conscious of the special responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia. We are glad to have been able to express this support by voting for draft resolution A/33/L.15. Through the United Nations Council for Namibia and through the programme of assistance under the United Nations Fund for Namibia, the Organization has been able to manifest its solidarity with the people of Namibia in a practical way. It is, of course, my Government's understanding that primary responsibility for policy regarding Namibia rests with the General Assembly and the Security Council.

139. In accordance with these views, we have particularly welcomed the action by the Security Council in recent years directed towards the achievement of self-determination for Namibia without further delay. We have noted the most constructive part played by SWAPO in this regard. It is imperative that there be no further delay in allowing the people of Namibia to participate in a free election so that they may, without hindrance or intimidation, freely determine their choice of representatives.

140. My Government would, therefore, have wished to have been able to support all the draft resolutions on this

item, but felt it necessary to abstain in the vote on A/33/L.13 and A/33/L.14. As regards A/33/L.13, it is our view that it is not for the United Nations to endorse armed struggle; rather it is the responsibility of the United Nations in accordance with its Charter to assist in bringing about justice for Namibia and its people with the least suffering and bloodshed.

141. We share the sense of urgency and frustration which inspired those who drafted the draft resolutions put before this Assembly, in particular A/33/L.14. Our fear is that South Africa may indeed have no intention of co-operating with the United Nations in achieving a settlement on a basis acceptable to the international community. We feel, however, that in these critical weeks and when the Security Council is shortly to meet again to consider the situation, we should not at this juncture endorse the course of action advocated in A/33/L.14. Let there be no doubt, however, that my Government will support resolute action, if and when it is clear that South Africa has definitely closed the door on the achievement by Namibia of self-determination and independence on the basis of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

142. Mr. VAYENAS (Greece): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolutions A/33/L.13 and A/33/L.15 just adopted by the General Assembly, although we maintain reservations on some specific elements contained in them as regards the singling out of groups of countries and certain matters of a legal nature. My delegation also would have liked to vote in favour of draft resolution A/33/L.14, considering that in the past we have always supported principles similar to those embodied in that draft resolution. Unfortunately, that did not prove possible in view of the wording of some provisions of that draft resolution.

143. In conclusion, I wish, however, to stress once more our continued support for a just and lasting solution of the question of Namibia which will fully ensure the exercise by the Namibian people of its right to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and relevant resolutions.

144. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): By voting in favour of all the draft resolutions on the question of Namibia, the Norwegian Government wanted to demonstrate its full support for the urgent demand of the international community that South Africa co-operate unconditionally with the Secretary-General and the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions and, in particular, resolution 435 (1978). Further obstruction by South Africa on the question of Namibia cannot be accepted. That view also expressed in a joint statement by the Nordic Governments issued on 15 December this year and later circulated as a document of both the General Assembly and the Security Council [A/33/518-S/12960].

145. In respect of some paragraphs in the resolutions just adopted, the Norwegian Government wishes to reiterate its well-known and long-standing position of principle in favour of political change by peaceful means. The Norwegian Government has certain reservations also as regards some other paragraphs, and wishes in particular to reiterate its full support for an internationally acceptable settlement in Namibia, allowing for free and fair elections under



United Nations supervision and control. Only the results of such a political process can determine the political future of Namibia.

146. Mr. MURATA (Japan): My delegation would like to make a few comments on the resolutions that have just been adopted. We abstained in the vote on draft resolutions A/33/L.13 and A/33/L.14 because, while my delegation firmly supports the main objectives of those draft resolutions, some of their provisions are inconsistent with the basic position that Japan has repeatedly expressed with regard to the question of Namibia.

147. I should also like to state that, while we voted in favour of draft resolution A/33/L.15, our affirmative vote does not mean that my delegation accepts all the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

148. Having said this, however, I also want to assure the Assembly that my delegation has consistently supported the work of the Council for Namibia and we wish to praise the Council's performance under the excellent leadership provided by its President, Ambassador Gwendoline C. Konie of Zambia. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to state that we sincerely hope that the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia, proclaimed by the resolution, will proceed successfully. We wish also to reiterate our determination to make every effort to increase substantially our voluntary contribution to the various United Nations funds concerned with Namibia.

149. Mrs. GUELMAN (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Uruguay voted in favour of draft resolutions A/33/L.13, A/33/L.14 and A/33/L.15, in order to support the positive objectives they pursue. However, we wish to express our reservations on some of the paragraphs of those resolutions.

150. Without detriment to the right of each people to exhaust every possible resource to achieve independence, my delegation does not deem it relevant for resolutions issued by an organization created to serve peace to institutionalize armed struggle. Furthermore, we deem it hasty to recognize a sole representative of the people of Namibia. We consider that it is the people of Namibia who must in free elections decide who are to be their representatives.

151. I wish to reiterate once again the broad support of my Government for the people of Namibia in obtaining their independence. Our support was expressed also at the time of the ninth special session of the General Assembly. At that time the Permanent Representative of Uruguay to the United Nations said:

"...we reaffirm that the occupation of Namibia is illegal and contrary to international law, and must come to an end, as must racial discrimination in that country. We reaffirm that the United Nations is responsible for effectively administering that Territory on an interim basis until such time as, through a system of free elections under the direct supervision of the United Nations, its independent and sovereign fate may be determined, as a

territory which has not suffered dismemberment, with political systems which it can also choose freely for itself, and until it is able to establish relations with other peoples, free from all pressures and seeking the good of its people, as Uruguay has done and continues to do."<sup>10</sup>

152. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of SWAPO to make a statement.

153. Mr. GURIRAB (South West Africa People's Organization): Once again it is a great pleasure and an honour to be accorded an opportunity to address this Assembly. We do so in the knowledge and the conviction that we have an historic duty and responsibility to represent our oppressed people and to speak on their behalf whenever or wherever an occasion presents itself. We believe it is fitting and proper that we should make our voice heard at this stage as the General Assembly is winding up its consideration of the question of Namibia.

154. First, we wish to say something about the voting which has just taken place and about its import for the struggle in Namibia. We must in all sincerity express our gratitude and appreciation to those delegations which have stood behind us throughout the struggle in support for and solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO for liberation and independence. The political support and material assistance rendered to us by those countries over the years are invaluable and indispensable. In this context we remain reassured of continued increased support and assistance as we forge ahead with the struggle.

155. The affirmative votes just cast by countries which we regard as traditional friends of our struggle are positive testimonies of their persistence and their commitment to being counted on the side of freedom and justice. Because it is important, we wish specifically to point to the position taken this morning by some of the Nordic countries. These countries have been known over the years for their progressive policies and humanitarian assistance to SWAPO and, indeed, to all the liberation movements in southern Africa. The fact that they have voted in favour of these resolutions, some of whose provisions are in some respects contrary to their constitutional position and to principles they have held throughout the years, is an indication that they remain committed to supporting the struggle to the bitter end, and we regard this as a clear and categorical repudiation and a resounding rejection of the machinations and manoeuvres of the racist usurpers in Namibia in their vain attempts to secure international respectability and acceptance by pretending to be sincere towards the United Nations and to co-operate with it in its efforts to decolonize Namibia.

156. My next observation relates to those countries which would under normal circumstances have voted in favour of the draft resolutions but which could not do so owing to certain difficulties—some of which, we understand, are procedural and others political—which are beyond their

<sup>10</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting, para. 2.



control and which, therefore, prevented them from going along with the wish of the majority. We shall try to understand their predicament, and we hope that those countries will be able to overcome those difficulties and adopt a unanimous stance in the future.

157. Then, there are those countries which have always remained recalcitrant, whatever the reasons or explanations given. Like some people, some countries do not change. The major Western Powers constitute that group of countries. They have once again found it difficult to go along with the manifest wish of the majority of the General Assembly.

158. Speaker after speaker have characterized the present situation in Namibia as critical and ominous and recommended immediate punitive action by the Security Council through the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter to secure South Africa's compliance with its resolutions. We hope that the Security Council will in the near future act accordingly.

158. Speaker after speaker has characterized the present South Africa's false claims and propaganda made in some official quarters and in the news media of certain Western countries to the effect that Namibians, during the recent rigged elections in Namibia, had an open choice and that they expressed themselves freely and voluntarily—in effect in favour of continued Fascist occupation and neo-colonial subjugation. This is adding insult to injury, and we dismiss those insinuations with the contempt and the scorn which they deserve. It is a desecration of the memory of the martyrs and heroes of our struggle and an attempt to denigrate the struggle being waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO.

160. What took place in Namibia from 4 to 8 December 1978 was nothing but a costly charade orchestrated to install the quislings and puppets of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. That was predictable, and we pointed it out not once but many times. We were cautioned that we were jumping the gun, that in the foreseeable future South Africa would somehow turn around and co-operate with the United Nations. We know this is not true.

161. Our position on this matter is well known and we need not repeat it here. As a matter of fact, we stated it on the first day when the General Assembly began its consideration of the question of Namibia [74th meeting].

162. However, to illustrate what we mean with regard to the question of the holding of those elections, we wish, by invoking the painful memories of the Second World War, to underscore the similarities between the Nazi occupation of some Western European countries and the present occupation of Namibia by the South African Fascists. Suppose that Hitler's Fascist forces had wanted to conduct elections during the Second World War in those countries under occupation in order to test their popularity and their acceptance. They would probably—nay, certainly—have pulled off a successful feat, with impressive turn-outs of voters, and would no doubt have declared a resounding victory. Nobody in the Western world—outside the Nazi hegemony—would have accepted such an outcome, nor agreed that those were free, fair and democratic elections.

163. Yet, it is from those same Western quarters that we begin to hear, that we see signs of a belief, that somehow the situation in Namibia is different and that, in the case of Namibia, people whom we have always regarded as being neo-Hitlers and fanatical advocates of white supremacy have conducted free, fair and democratic elections. In fact, what goes on in Namibia cannot be characterized as a situation that promises free and fair elections.

164. So we are therefore pleased to see that the General Assembly has joined the Security Council in rejecting those elections as null and void and has assumed the position of not having anything to do with the results.

165. We should like to say the following about some of the statements made during the explanations of vote with regard to the recognition of SWAPO by the United Nations as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. It is indeed such. In order for one to understand that, one must first understand Namibian history. It was not out of goodwill or charity that, after the OAU had recognized us, the United Nations followed suit. But that is not what we wish to argue here. We want to appeal to those countries that are concerned about the recognition of SWAPO to use their influence and their power to prevail on South Africa to agree to the United Nations conducting free, fair and democratic elections in Namibia, and it will be the people of Namibia that will decide on its leadership. SWAPO has in the meantime the historic responsibility of continuing to intensify the struggle, because today there are still 60,000 South African troops on our soil, thousands of paramilitary police, so-called counter-insurgency agents, secret police and white civilian commandos. That is the problem. The problem is not between SWAPO and certain political groups or organizations in Namibia. The fundamental problem in Namibia is a colonial problem; it is between the racist usurpers and the people of Namibia. And SWAPO will remain true to its commitment to waging the struggle until Namibia is liberated.

166. In conclusion, I should like to say that it is our sincere wish that the new year will bring new vitality and strength and good health to the representatives, for the struggle must continue unabated until final victory which is the ultimate goal of our common struggle.

#### *Suspension of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly*

167. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with decision 33/432 taken yesterday in the General Assembly at its 90th plenary meeting, the General Assembly will resume its thirty-third session on 15 January 1979 for a period of one week to 10 days for the sole purpose of concluding its consideration of the items still remaining on the agenda of the present session. Those agenda items are the following: item 32, on the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa; subitems (b) to (e) of item 58, on development and international economic co-operation; item 70, on the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development; item 88, on the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace; and item 100, on the programme budget for the biennium 1978-1979, part IV of the report of the Fifth Committee.

168. I should like to express my gratitude to all delegations who have congratulated me on my election to the presidency of the General Assembly. I accept their praise as an expression of their generosity to one who has willingly committed himself to the service of the Assembly, and also as an act of friendship to my country, Colombia, and to Latin America, the geographical grouping which submitted my candidature for such a signal honour.

169. I believe that throughout these 13 weeks of intense work we have been able to discuss, in a free and democratic manner and in accordance with our Charter, the principal problems which the international community faces. We have spared no effort to find the best formulas for solving them and, above all, to consolidate international peace and security, which is the fundamental purpose of our Organization.

170. I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and to the officers of the Secretariat assigned to the Assembly, for their valuable and efficient co-operation for the success of our work.

171. Likewise, I wish to express my gratitude to the many Heads of State and Ministers for Foreign Affairs who took part in the general debate for the valuable contribution of their ideas and concepts during the debate. I have no doubt that these ideas have served to clarify and shed light on courses we have adopted in our work.

172. Naturally, I also wish to express my gratitude to all members of the delegations to the General Assembly for the manner in which they have co-operated in the debate on the items proposed to them in our agenda.

173. It only remains for me to express to all Heads of State and the peoples represented here and to the representatives to the General Assembly my best wishes for a happy new year. I thank you for your attention.

174. I now declare suspended the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

*The meeting rose at 1.55 p.m.*