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President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 27

Question of Namibia (concluded):

(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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now continue to hear those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on draft resolution A/33/L.37 and Add.1.

2. Mr. M. MODISI (Botswana): Botswana will support draft resolution A/33/L.37 of 25 May 1979. Botswana's support for Namibia's liberation should by now be well known and, therefore, needs no reiteration on my part. May I state only that Botswana's support for the cause of the Namibian people will continue until that country is liberated from the illegal occupation of racist South Africa.

3. In voting for the draft resolution which is before us, however, we should like to explain now, as we have done before, the predicament in which we find ourselves. With regard to the application of enforcement measures against South Africa, including sanctions under Chapter VII, as envisaged in operative paragraph 12 of this draft resolution, 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 our economic survival extremely precarious. It is for that reason—and for that reason alone—that we are reserving our position.

4. As I have already stated, our reservation on operative paragraph 12 of the draft resolution in no way affects our well-known support for the valiant struggle of the Namibian people to achieve genuine independence.

5. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. We do so in spite of serious reservations as regards some of its provisions.

6. Our affirmative vote must be seen in the context of the Namibian situation as a whole. It is clear that that situation has reached a stage where it is necessary to exert the greatest possible pressure on South Africa to make it accept the principles laid down by the world community for a solution of the Namibian problem. The draft resolution is a clear expression of the frustration now prevailing at South Africa's refusal to comply with those principles. We share that frustration.

7. The draft resolution also reflects the determination of the United Nations to uphold its legal authority over Namibia and to prevent South Africa from imposing solutions upon the Namibian people which are not consistent with those established principles. We share that determination. In our view, one of those principles is and must be that no party enjoying popular support should be excluded from taking part in the process of independence and from being a potential bearer of government of the new nation. The South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] is such a party.

8. I must now record the reservations that we have. The draft resolution could, in our view, have better reflected a basic principle that we think should still prevail, namely, that we must persist in exploring every possible peaceful alternative to further and support the legitimate interests of the whole Namibian people.

9. In its statement before the General Assembly [101st meeting], my delegation particularly stressed that the Security Council must live up to its responsibility for bringing renewed pressure to bear upon South Africa. This responsibility is squarely placed upon the Council by operative paragraph 12 of the present draft resolution. On this point we would simply like to add that it must be left to the Council itself to decide on specific measures. Sanctions can be truly effective only when they have wide support. In particular, they must have the support of those States which are important to South Africa in its international relations.

10. My delegation has particular reservations with regard to the last preambular paragraph, and operative paragraphs 1 and 9. As we have stated on many previous occasions, we

find it understandable that in their despair and faced with brutal oppression, the Namibian people in the end have seen no alternative other than having resort to an armed struggle. That struggle is pursued with the legitimate goal of creating an independent and united Namibia. To understand this—and practically all countries do—is one thing; it is another thing to have the General Assembly explicitly endorse the use of force. Sweden has always emphasized that the role of the United Nations is to provide peaceful solutions to international conflicts. The Charter defines the circumstances in 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. Support for the use of force, where such support is not based on Charter provisions, could have serious consequences. Operative paragraph 9 of the present draft resolution which provides for such support—calling upon Member States to render military assistance to the struggle for liberation—represents a significant further difficulty.

11. Despite these reservations, which are serious, we feel that, in the present situation, we must support the over-all thrust of the draft resolution. Our vote in favour of this draft resolution is an expression of our support for the need, under the present extraordinary circumstances, to bring the strongest possible pressure to bear on South Africa.

12. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly has heard the last speaker in explanation of vote before the vote, and we shall now take a vote on draft resolution A/33/L.37 and Add.1, entitled "Question of Namibia". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, 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, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: None

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

The draft resolution was adopted by 118 votes to none, with 16 abstentions (resolution 33/206).¹

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

14. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): Norway recognizes that no solution in Namibia can gain international recognition unless it is based on free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control. For this reason the Norwegian Government has given its full support to the negotiating initiative by the five Western countries. We were pleased to see that this initiative led to the submission of a settlement proposal which was subsequently endorsed by the Security Council.

15. The Norwegian delegation has voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted because we share the underlying and serious concern over the present impasse voiced therein. We do believe, however, that all negotiating efforts have not yet been exhausted. As we stated in our statement in this debate on 25 May [102nd meeting], we urge that new efforts be undertaken to break the existing deadlock in order to find a peaceful solution in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

16. This being said, I should also like to make another general observation pertaining to the draft resolution just adopted.

17. The Norwegian Government has consistently advocated in the United Nations political change by peaceful means. We reiterate this principle today, which is in accordance with fundamental principles contained in the United Nations Charter. It has been our position not to condone formulations which explicitly endorse the use of armed force. Accordingly, we want to enter our reservations on the eighth preambular paragraph, and operative paragraphs 1 and 9. In accordance with its long-standing policy the Norwegian Government will, however, continue to provide humanitarian and economic assistance to SWAPO.

18. At this critical juncture in the history of southern Africa it ought to be an important concern to the United Nations membership as a whole to create the broadest possible support for an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia by all means provided for in the United Nations Charter. We should, therefore, guard against tendencies to split the membership of this Organization. Instead, we should try to create greater unity and thereby greater effectiveness, in our pursuit of genuine indepen-

¹ The delegations of Djibouti, Lebanon, Pakistan and Somalia subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

dence for Namibia. Should we fail in this endeavour, the net result would be to encourage precisely those forces whose views and attitudes we are trying to change.

19. Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): Only a few days ago Austria had the opportunity of stating its position on the question of Namibia [104th meeting]. We expressed our concern and anxiety about the deterioration of the situation in the Territory, which is due to the actions of the Government of South Africa. We made clear our continuing support for a solution of the problem on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly Security Council resolution 385 (1976), as elaborated in the United Nations transition plan. Austria has stated again and again that international pressure has to be mobilized against South Africa and that all means provided for in the Charter of the United Nations, including its Chapter VII, will have to be brought to bear. South Africa will have to realize that it is up against a united international front.

20. Understanding the impatience of those who have been deprived of their right to independence for so long and who are now pressing for a solution by all means at their disposal, Austria has, however, explained also that we can only support change by peaceful means through negotiation and that it is the view of the Austrian Government that a durable solution can be found on that basis only.

21. Austria unswervingly supports the aims and goals of the resolution before us. However, because of certain elements contained in the text which are contrary to our convictions, we had much to our regret—and I say this with all sincerity—to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution before us. I should like to refer specifically to operative paragraph 9, calling upon all States to provide military assistance to SWAPO. Austria, due to its internationally recognized status of permanent neutrality and the relevant provisions in its Constitution, cannot actively support such a request. However, I should like to add that my Government will also in the future continue its humanitarian and political support for all those who are fighting for an independent Namibia.

22. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of France, who will speak on behalf of the nine members of the European Economic Community.

23. Mr. TUROT (France) (*interpretation from French*): The nine member countries of the European Economic Community abstained in the vote just taken on draft resolution A/33/L.37. However, as they indicated in their joint statement on 29 May [103rd meeting, paras. 45-54], they fully share the very serious concern which the situation in Namibia has caused the Assembly. To the extent that it reflects these concerns, a number of the provisions in the resolution which was adopted meet with our approval. This is true of the request which was made to all States, for example, not to recognize the National Assembly which was the outcome of the consultations held in Namibia in December 1978.

24. The nine countries, I hardly need to recall, are firmly opposed to any proposed settlement which is not recognized internationally and which therefore will condemn Namibia to isolation.

25. Equally we associate ourselves with the appeal which has been made to the South African Government to release immediately all the members of SWAPO who have been arbitrarily detained.

26. However, other aspects of the resolution which has just been adopted, particularly the support which was expressed for armed struggle, are not in accordance with the position held by our Governments. The nine Governments remain convinced that the United Nations should encourage a peaceful solution to the problem—a negotiated solution. Therefore, we support the plan for a solution based on Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), and also hope that no effort will be spared to make it possible for this plan to be swiftly implemented.

27. If there is any chance of bringing about in Namibia a democratic transition, an internationally acceptable transition, we should preserve it. But we should also remind the South African Government, with some insistence, that we expect it to suit its actions to its words by accepting without delay the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

28. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted because we wish to reaffirm our strong support for its fundamental objective as a natural outcome of the mounting tide of world opinion which believes that South Africa should accept the United Nations proposal for a settlement. Our vote in favour is intended to add Australia's weight to this embodiment of world opinion.

29. At the same time, I must express a number of reservations on particular points in the resolution. First, we cannot endorse violent methods in pursuing the outcome which we all earnestly desire in Namibia. Secondly, while we recognize the status of SWAPO as a major voice of Namibian aspirations, Australia does not regard SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. We doubt also whether such terminology as "puppets" and "puppet régime" contributes to a calm atmosphere at this critical juncture, although my Government continues to regard the December 1978 elections as null and void.

30. Finally, with regard to operative paragraph 12, while we are aware of the sentiments behind such formulations, we do not see it as the proper function of the General Assembly to call upon the Security Council to take mandatory measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

31. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): My delegation has voted in favour of this draft resolution to express our strong support for an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The South African Government has defied world opinion for over 30 years on this question. The hopes which had been raised by the outcome of long and patient negotiations over the past two years have again been dashed by the South African Government's rejection of the United Nations plan for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. It is intolerable that South Africa, which continues to occupy Namibia illegally despite the opinion given by the International Court of Justice eight years ago, should still today be making its own plans for the future of the Territory.

32. At the same time, I must state quite clearly that New Zealand does not regard SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. We consider that free and fair elections under United Nations auspices would give the people of Namibia their opportunity to decide who should be their representatives. We also cannot accept armed struggle as a means to settle a dispute. Finally, it is our view that the Security Council, rather than the General Assembly, should, in terms of the Charter, consider what measures are necessary to settle a dispute.

33. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): In the vote just taken the Finnish delegation, a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, voted in favour of the draft resolution. We did so in spite of serious reservations similar to those voiced earlier by the representatives of Sweden and Norway.

34. In my statement at the 104th meeting I put forward in some detail the position of the Finnish Government on the question of Namibia. The thrust of that position is our support for the efforts to arrive at a peaceful settlement consonant with Security Council resolution 385 (1976). My Government remains convinced that a peaceful solution based on negotiations still represents the best course available of bringing about the early independence of Namibia. We maintain this conviction despite the present impasse; and to get out of that impasse, which is due to the attitude of the Government of South Africa, it is up to that Government to give without any further delay an unequivocal reply which will make it possible for the United Nations plan to be implemented.

35. Finland is deeply convinced that the role of the United Nations is to seek peaceful solutions to international problems. This is a position of principle, therefore it is not subject to change whatever the time, whatever the situation, whatever the experience. Consequently we cannot condone the use of force in contexts which do not conform to the relevant Charter provisions. That is why we have not supported, and cannot now support, calls for armed struggle; nor is the call for military assistance acceptable to us.

36. We have supported SWAPO morally and materially by extending humanitarian assistance, and we shall continue to do so. We shall also continue to support the United Nations Fund for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia.

37. My delegation has consistently taken the view that the imposition of sanctions in accordance with the United Nations Charter falls exclusively within the competence of the Security Council.

38. Mr. DE ALBUQUERQUE (Portugal): Portugal feels that at this crucial stage in the process that will lead Namibia to independence the maximum restraint should be exercised so as not to endanger the prospects of peace. We are still hopeful that the South African Government will respond favourably to the latest proposals of the Secretary-General so that the United Nations plan for Namibia may be implemented without further delay. Our abstention should thus be interpreted as meaning that South Africa should be given one more chance to ponder over the

advantages of a negotiated settlement. But South Africa must realize that time is running out and that it cannot delay indefinitely the process of self-determination for the Namibian people. Furthermore, no settlement will be acceptable unless it meets the requirements established in Security Council resolution 385 (1976). Only then can it hope to gain international recognition.

39. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): On behalf of the Danish delegation, I should like to stress our agreement with the principal aim of the resolution just adopted.

40. We fully share the growing concern about South Africa's attempt to hinder the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We believe strongly that a decisive effort must now be made to obtain South Africa's acceptance in no uncertain terms of a negotiated solution along the lines worked out by the Secretary-General.

41. Until we know the result of this final effort—which must be made very soon—steps should be avoided that might frustrate our common wish for a peaceful solution. Such a solution, in our opinion, is still within reach.

42. Much to our regret, the resolution just adopted contains a number of points which made it impossible for reasons of principle for us to vote for it. I need not elaborate since our reservations were fully explained in our explanation of vote on resolution 33/182 of 21 December 1978 [91st meeting, paras. 130-136], as well as in the explanation of vote just given by the representative of France on behalf of the nine members of the European Community.

43. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Mexican delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on the question of Namibia which became General Assembly resolution 33/206 because we have nothing against the content of either the preambular or the operative part.

44. In the opinion of my delegation, however, the resolution is short-sighted and seems to have lost the sense and the purpose of the General Assembly in relation to the question of Namibia.

45. In its operative paragraphs the resolution is limited to requesting the international community, on the one hand, to refrain from according any recognition to any régime which South Africa may impose upon the Namibian people and, on the other, to give increased support to SWAPO. Both actions are correct, but are very far from providing a solution to the Namibian problem.

46. In the final paragraph of the operative part of the resolution the General Assembly specifically requests the application of sanctions as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, ignoring the fact that similar action has already been thrice rejected by the Security Council.

47. The delegation of Mexico wishes to express its opinion that no specific action which the General Assembly or the Security Council tries to take will be effective unless there is genuine political will on the part of the States Members of this Organization to give effect to the sovereignty of the

people of Namibia, as is incumbent on the United Nations. In this particular case, unfortunately, this appears to be absent.

48. Mr. HUTCHINSON (Ireland): My Government's position with regard to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia has been clearly stated in this Assembly on previous occasions. Ireland strongly and without reservation condemns South Africa for its continued flaunting of the expressed wishes of the international community as a whole in this regard. It is our firm conviction that the people of Namibia must be free to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, on the basis of territorial integrity, as provided for in resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) of the Security Council.

49. My delegation therefore supports the general objectives of this resolution and reiterates its view that further delay by South Africa in the implementation of the Secretary-General's plan for the independence of Namibia will have the most serious consequences. In this regard, I fully share the views expressed by the Ambassador of France in the statement which he made to this Assembly on behalf of the nine member States of the European Economic Community on 29 May, and I also fully associate myself with the further statement on behalf of the nine members which he has made today.

50. My delegation understands well the feelings of frustration and anger on the part of many delegations on this issue. We share the grave concern of this Assembly at recent moves which appeared to be aimed in the direction of an internal settlement. Such a settlement would be regarded by my Government as totally unacceptable, being in clear violation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), and could not obtain international recognition. We believe that the international community as a whole shares this view.

51. My delegation nevertheless found itself unable to cast a positive vote because of the inclusion in the text of certain references which my Government would not wish to endorse. Even though it is very difficult to be optimistic at this time, we feel that a final effort must be made by all concerned to reach a negotiated settlement. My Government would not be able to endorse the reference to armed struggle contained in the final preambular paragraph and the attendant reference to military aid contained in operative paragraph 9. In our view, the efforts of the international community should be channelled through all organs of the United Nations so that our Organization may, in accordance with its Charter, make a positive contribution to the achievement of peace and justice for the Namibian people with the minimum of suffering for those who must daily live with the practical implications of this most critical situation.

52. In conclusion, my delegation remains committed to supporting the efforts of the Secretary-General, the five Western countries and the front-line States in their search for a peaceful end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and the early achievement by that Territory of genuine independence on the basis of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). My delegation, while supporting the broad objectives of the present

resolution would have preferred a draft adopted by consensus, which would thus have served as an unequivocal warning to South Africa and to those elements in Namibia which it may be seeking to mislead. South Africa can, however, be in no doubt concerning the collective attitude of the world community, and it is our view that time is now running out. The Security Council must soon take a decision as to whether or not South Africa is implementing its resolutions. Ireland will, therefore, support firm action by the Security Council if South Africa continues to maintain its intransigent opposition to the achievement by the Namibian people of genuine self-determination and if it seeks to promote any settlement within Namibia that is not in accord with the decisions of the United Nations.

53. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): My delegation's vote has already been explained in the statement made by the representative of France on behalf of the nine members of the European Community. In addition thereto we should like to state the following.

54. The United Nations has through its different organs repeatedly called upon South Africa to relinquish the power over Namibia that it has illegally retained since 1966. The Netherlands accepted the fact that the plan of the five Western countries, adopted through Security Council resolution 435 (1978), would provide the best way of achieving self-determination and national independence for the Namibian people. Consequently my Government has supported and continues to support the persistent efforts to realize agreement among the parties directly concerned.

55. Recent developments have, however, cast grave doubts on the willingness of South Africa to implement Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which call for independence for the Namibian people on the basis of internationally supervised elections. The unilateral build-up of internal structures in the Territory during recent months is a clear defiance of the international community. I wish to recall in this respect that the nine members of the European Community declared on 21 December 1978 that they would not recognize the outcome of the internal elections held during that month, which they considered null and void [91st meeting, paras. 67-68].

56. As was stated during this debate by the representative of France, speaking again on behalf of the nine member States of the European Community, the Government of South Africa must decide without further delay whether it agrees to the latest proposals by the Secretary-General for the implementation of the settlement plan of the five Western countries. My Government trusts that the South African Government is aware of the consequences in the event of its choosing not to co-operate.

57. The Netherlands also insists that the transfer of power by South Africa to the self-imposed authority in Namibia should cease forthwith. My delegation wishes to state that the Netherlands will not accord recognition to any such authority that is not the outcome of elections under United Nations supervision in which all parties in Namibia are allowed to participate. An internal settlement will not meet the requirements for international recognition. Furthermore, such a course must be considered dangerous to international peace and security. It will not fail to increase

tensions in the area and raise the spectre of armed conflagration. The United Nations, which has been entrusted with legal responsibility for Namibia, will not compromise on its decision to grant independence and sovereignty to Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 385 (1976). Therefore my Government fully supports the wording of operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution in document A/33/L.37.

58. My delegation regrets, however, that certain passages make it impossible to support this text fully. Thus, in the first place, we continue to oppose language that would imply encouragement by the United Nations of the use of force; in particular we object to the invitation contained in operative paragraph 9 to grant military assistance to SWAPO. Secondly, as we have stated before, my delegation considers that SWAPO's claim to be the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people prejudices the outcome of the free and fair elections called for in Council resolution 385 (1976). Notwithstanding the fact that we consider SWAPO a significant political force in the Territory, that is our position. Thirdly, but not least important, pending the further steps that the five Western Governments may wish to take, the Netherlands does not yet consider that the moment has come for enforcement measures. But I would repeat what has been said on an earlier occasion: if the mediation definitely fails, the Netherlands will be ready to support action by the Security Council.

59. This being the case, we think it the more unfortunate that we have had to abstain, since a consensus text at this juncture would have constituted an impressive expression of the will of the General Assembly on the future of Namibia.

60. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to explain briefly the reasons for our abstention in the vote that has just been held. This was not due to any change in our position or indeed to a lack of solidarity with the Namibian people, whose valiant struggle for independence we have followed with the greatest sympathy and admiration, as we demonstrated by our vote in favour of a series of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and also by the contributions we have made to various United Nations programmes for the Territory. Our abstention was due to the fact that the resolution that has just been adopted appears to close the door once and for all to the efforts of the five Western countries to bring about a negotiated solution of the problem. In the opinion of the Greek Government, however, the possibility of negotiation should remain open as long as there is a glimmer of hope remaining, however dim it may be; because the alternative—in other words, armed confrontation—can only involve suffering and sacrifice for all those who are caught up in the trammels of war and, first and foremost, for the Namibian people themselves.

61. However, if even this ultimate hope is dashed in the near future, Greece will stand fully behind the people of Namibia in their ongoing struggle.

62. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Our explanation of vote in favour of the resolution adopted at this meeting is as follows. In

accordance with international law and the express provisions of the United Nations Charter, the Government of South Africa must withdraw its political and military presence from Namibia and refrain from thwarting the wish of the people of that country to achieve genuine independence. That has been stated in innumerable resolutions both by the General Assembly and the Security Council and in the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice as well.

63. In particular, in resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) the Security Council laid down clear guidelines as to how the political process in Namibia should be conducted in order for it to achieve full independence. None the less, the consistently stubborn attitude of the Pretoria régime has reaffirmed the international community's conviction that South Africa is prepared to maintain its domination over Namibia through a government independent only in appearance and that it is determined to continue to exploit the natural resources of that Territory for its own benefit.

64. The only legitimate way to achieve a settlement has been, and still is, through a process whereby the various sectors of the Namibian population could freely express their will under United Nations supervision in order thus to guarantee the total separation of the Territory, including, of course, the Walvis Bay area, and to set up a sovereign independent State. The five Western States members of the Security Council have made praiseworthy efforts to have South Africa accept this kind of solution, but at no time during the negotiations was it felt that South Africa was ready to proceed on the basis of the plan of the five Western States and the suggestions of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, whom we must thank for his constant concern and many efforts to find a just settlement to this problem, which undoubtedly endangers international peace and security.

65. But, in view of South Africa's attitude, the General Assembly has been left with no choice other than energetically to condemn the Government of that country, a Member of the United Nations, and to ask the Security Council, under the authority vested in it and taking due account of the circumstances, this time to heed the call of the international community, which is weary of the many delays on a matter which should have been resolved many years ago.

66. For the reasons I have just put forward, the delegation of El Salvador voted in favour of draft resolution A/33/L.37. However, our delegation has some reservations with regard to various paragraphs in the draft resolution, among them operative paragraphs 9 and 12, but, in its view, what is important is the substance of the text as a whole, and on that issue we fully concur.

67. In particular, we wish to state for the record that we are fully aware of the importance and scope of the final paragraph of the resolution, operative paragraph 12, and, although we could have expressed some doubts and observations on the way in which that paragraph has been conceived with reference to Articles 10 and 12 of the Charter, which define the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council, we preferred not to do

so because, among other things, we are also aware that the patience of an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly is at an end and that that majority has justifiably caused the General Assembly to address itself to the Security Council in the way that it has at this time.

68. Mr. DE PINIES (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which has just been adopted because it fully shares the spirit of that text in that it reaffirms the responsibility of our Organization for the Territory of Namibia, which is illegally occupied by South Africa, and the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

69. None the less, we wish to repeat our appeal to the parties concerned to continue to endeavour to obtain a negotiated settlement of the conflict. Therefore, we wish to state our reservations with regard to those paragraphs in the resolution which seem to support armed struggle as the only possible solution, in particular the final preamble paragraph and operative paragraphs 1 and 9, which call upon States to provide military assistance aimed at stepping up the struggle.

70. Had it been possible, we should have liked a separate vote on those paragraphs, which we would have been unable to support.

71. Mr. VARELA-QUIROS (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Our delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which has just been adopted. My delegation was not, however, a sponsor of that text because, in our view, it called upon Member States to offer military co-operation to the Namibian patriots in their just struggle for independence in Namibia.

72. We feel that such an appeal constitutes an admission of the inability of the United Nations to act speedily and effectively to solve that delicate problem. We further consider that the use of force in international relations must not be recommended by the Assembly because it runs counter to the principles on which the Organization was established. Finally, we do not agree with the use of force in international relations because our country has most recently been the victim of threats of use of force.

73. The problem of Namibia has to our mind not been approached in the right way by the United Nations. To us, it is not a matter of colonization but a clear case of usurpation of a Territory, as we said in our statement to the Assembly [103rd meeting]. Such usurpation calls for immediate action by the Security Council, so that a proper settlement may be achieved as a matter of priority by adopting coercive measures if necessary, as called for in operative paragraph 12, which we fully support.

74. Mr. TÓMASSON (Iceland): Iceland voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted by the Assembly because the Icelandic Government is generally in agreement with the main thrust of the arguments set forth in the text and considers it timely to reiterate them once again at this time which is critical for further developments concerning the question of Namibia.

75. My Government has always shown sympathy and support for the just struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence. At the same time, I should like to state for the record that my Government cannot agree with certain paragraphs in the draft resolution where support is expressed for the use of armed force. Wording to that effect should never appear in United Nations resolutions. Consequently, the Icelandic Government also has reservations on operative paragraph 9, calling upon member States in international organizations to render military assistance to SWAPO.

76. Mr. CASTILLO ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala voted in favour of draft resolution A/33/L.37 adopted by the Assembly. My delegation's favourable vote is in line with my Government's continuing concern over the existing situation of the people of Namibia. We believe that it is urgently necessary to ensure the full enjoyment of the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination, and to national independence in a united Namibia. We further believe, as a fundamental principle which caused us to vote in favour of this draft resolution—because we share its objectives and underlying principles—that the United Nations has a direct responsibility to obtain for Namibia a settlement leading to full independence and a democratic régime representative of the people of the Territory.

77. But we believe that it is essential that these principles should be implemented in accordance with the precepts governing this Organization, which was established precisely to achieve the preservation of peace and freedom, and the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

78. Moreover, the rules governing our Organization clearly define the competence of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and also what is incumbent on each of those bodies in order to attain the fundamental objective of the Organization, the establishment of an international order under the rule of law.

79. We voted for this draft resolution in the conviction that we were defending the principles and purposes on which the Charter is based.

80. We believe that a negotiated and peaceful settlement of this situation is the best way of achieving the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Therefore, we cannot support or endorse the reference to armed struggle in the eighth paragraph of the preamble of this draft resolution, because we believe that the Security Council has acted with wisdom and adopted the best approach to secure a settlement of the situation, and consequently should continue its efforts as energetically as it can.

81. Furthermore, we feel that some paragraphs of this resolution contain political judgements which do not reflect the best method of obtaining a solution in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

82. Therefore, we wish to record our disagreement with those judgements and for this reason we must enter a reservation to operative paragraph 9.

83. Moreover, we consider that the measures that the Security Council is urgently called upon to adopt are matters within the competence of that body, which will know what appropriate action to take, in conjunction with the General Assembly.

84. In the light of the foregoing considerations, and in view of the principles involved, we voted for the resolution, but wish to enter the reservations to which I have referred.

85. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard the last speaker in explanation of vote after the vote. I now call on the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

86. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia), President of the United Nations Council for Namibia: There can be no question that this resumed session of the General Assembly has been a great success, and of great historical significance in the struggle for the liberation of Namibia from the clutches of illegal and beastly South African occupation. A most serious debate has taken place in which Member States have made clear their abhorrence and rejection of the manoeuvres of the South African régime designed to circumvent United Nations resolutions and impose a puppet régime on Namibia.

87. The resolution just adopted by an overwhelming majority is a firm and eloquent expression of United Nations support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, for freedom and national independence. Indeed, the large number of sponsors of the draft resolution is, I believe, without precedent in the history of our Organization.

88. Mr. President, I deem it fitting that I should, in my capacity as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, pay a tribute to you on this occasion for the skilful, wise and effective manner in which you have guided the deliberations of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia. I, personally, highly appreciate the enthusiastic interest demonstrated in this matter and the co-operation that you unreservedly extended to me both in the preparatory stages and during the resumed session itself.

89. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has, as usual, been most co-operative and helpful. Indeed, this was only to be expected of our distinguished Secretary-General, who has, in any case, always rendered full support to the Council for Namibia, and has striven tirelessly to give effect to United Nations resolutions on Namibia, including Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

90. In expressing their strong support for the struggle of the Namibian people for liberation, many Member States referred in their statements to the contribution of the United Nations Council for Namibia. I wish to acknowledge with deep appreciation the expression of support for the work of the Council and to reaffirm the determination of all its members to work relentlessly and vigorously for the fulfilment of its mandate in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

91. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia for the kind words he addressed to me.

92. Pursuant to resolution 31/152 of 20 December 1976, I now call upon the representative of SWAPO.

93. Mr. GAROEB (South West Africa People's Organization): My delegation is speaking at this time to thank all those who have participated in this very important resumed session of the General Assembly and all those who voted overwhelmingly in support of the resolution that has just been adopted by the Assembly. We also thank all those who have reaffirmed their continued support for the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

94. What has been demonstrated here is a spirit of commitment. It is the hope of the delegation of SWAPO that the spirit that has prevailed throughout the deliberations of the Assembly will be reflected at the various international conferences that are coming up very soon. In particular we refer to the meetings of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Nations, to the Commonwealth meeting that will be taking place in Lusaka, and to the meetings of the Organization of African Unity. We are confident and hopeful that the self-same spirit of commitment that has been demonstrated here will also be reflected in those forums.

95. We also hope that, when the Security Council meets, we shall not be disappointed in all those who have participated here and those who will participate in the deliberations of the Security Council. We hope that they will display the same sense of commitment and the same spirit that they have displayed here.

96. During the deliberations here one very important factor has been made very clear: that, during the exercise of the five Western Powers and the negotiations that have taken place in the past two years, SWAPO has gone out of its way—I repeat, out of its way—to make concessions in the hope that the Secretary-General's plan, which is the United Nations plan, would be implemented. My delegation has the impression that that is understood by all but a very few delegations here. On the other hand, it has also emerged that South Africa is the culprit and, if anything, the one responsible for the current deadlock in the implementation of the United Nations plan. That being the case, I should like to put it on record here that nobody should expect SWAPO to make any more concessions in so far as the plan of the Secretary-General is concerned.

97. In this regard we were taken rather by surprise when, yesterday, Andrew Young of the United States, speaking on behalf of the five Western Powers, had this to say—and after quoting him I wish to exercise our right of reply:

“Similar difficulties have been created by SWAPO, notably by its loudly voiced mistrust of the West, its baseless charges of malfeasance, its absurd claims, such as a call for a one-sided cease-fire so that hundreds of its forces might pass freely into Namibia to establish themselves.” [105th meeting, para. 27.]

Since this statement comes from the very group that initiated this exercise, it is rather puzzling to us. First of all, we cannot see in what way it contributes to this debate; and secondly, and more importantly, South Africa could not have said it better than it was said by Ambassador

Young on behalf of the five Western countries. If anything, what has been said and what is contained in the remarks I have quoted is essentially what South Africa has been saying and what it has been accusing SWAPO of. We take very serious exception to that particular comment, in view of the fact that the majority of members of the General Assembly have admitted that SWAPO did go out of its way to facilitate the implementation of the Secretary-General's plan.

98. On the two substantive issues—that is, the monitoring of SWAPO bases inside Namibia and the wishes of some to monitor SWAPO's bases outside Namibia, or their wishful thinking in that regard—we have this to say. SWAPO will not—I repeat, will not—allow its forces to be monitored outside Namibia. That was made clear during the meeting in March of the front-line States and SWAPO. Secondly, the plan expressly calls for SWAPO troops to be stationed and confined to bases inside Namibia and for their monitoring. I make this categorically clear, because of late there have been circulating in United Nations corridors, as well as outside, rumours that SWAPO should, as some say, in the spirit of compromise abandon its insistence on confinement to its bases inside Namibia and on the monitoring of those bases. I repeat that that point is unacceptable to SWAPO. Our acceding to it would, if I may say so, be like negotiating with the lion over the price of its skin. If and when one acquired the skin of a lion, it would be dead. That is precisely what those people are asking us to do. We say this because we do not want there to be any misunderstanding.

99. The time has come for the Security Council to take decisive punitive action as provided for under Chapter VII. It is our sincere hope that we are not going to be disappointed in this exercise. We are looking forward to the Security Council's taking effective action that would prove once and for all that South Africa will not be allowed to continue to defy the resolutions of this body with impunity.

100. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to thank the United Nations Council for Namibia and, in particular, Comrade Ambassador Lusaka. The Council is a partner of SWAPO in a united front to fight the Fascist régime of South Africa for the liberation of Namibia. Over the years it has done commendable work in putting Namibia on the map of the world, as it were. It is our sincere hope that, as in the past, we shall continue to work together with the Council and, in the same vein, that all those who support the cause of Namibia will extend equal support to the Council.

101. I should indeed be failing in my duty if I did not also commend the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his persistent efforts to have the United Nations plan implemented in spite of the countless obstacles South Africa has placed in the way of the execution of his duties.

102. Last but not least, Mr. President, may I take this opportunity on behalf of my delegation to convey to you our sincere thanks for your efficient conduct of the deliberations of this resumed session, which we all agree has been a total success.

Closing statements

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives of the various groups in the General Assembly who have expressed a desire to speak at this stage.

104. I call first on the representative of Ghana, who will speak on behalf of the group of African States.

105. Mr. FOLI (Ghana): The vote we have just taken speaks eloquently for itself. Its full value, however, rests in the impact it will have on the entire situation in Namibia. The various constituencies of this Assembly have made their positions crystal clear. All, without exception, abhor *apartheid*, disagree with the South African leaders in their dangerous pursuits in Namibia, and, above all, are determined that decisive action shall be taken soon to put the Namibia question behind us once and for all.

106. We had hoped that Namibia would have joined the ranks of the comity of nations by the close of the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia. That prospect remains as near as is made possible by the willingness of a few Member States to translate our verdict into concrete reality. Thus, from this moment, the world's attention focuses on the Security Council, expecting it, in the words of paragraph 12 of resolution 33/206, to uphold the General Assembly's purpose by convening

“...urgently to take enforcement measures against South Africa, as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, in order to ensure South Africa's compliance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on Namibia.”

107. Somehow, the incorrigible posture which the South African minority Government has managed to maintain with regard to Namibia over the years seems to have had the effect of mesmerizing that régime's friends, to the point where the grave responsibilities which they should be carrying on on behalf of all humanity are left largely unassumed as they allow South Africa to exercise the veto from outside. Such Member States will do well to forsake this concubinage with South Africa and make common cause with our legitimate aspirations, thus helping to forestall the havoc so eloquently spelled out in the course of the general debate.

108. We hold that the Security Council was conceived to reflect the highest degree of world statesmanship in all its decisions, since it must not be less than a source of real hope to the threatened; it must strengthen justice and enlighten the world. Even in South Africa itself there certainly exists, within the racist minority, a silent majority, so far fed with lies, so long seized with fear. Here, then, is an urgent opportunity for the Security Council to act fearlessly, without favour, and in accordance with the expressed wishes of the peoples of the world, so that this evil named “*apartheid*” will be exorcised from our midst. We eagerly expect that, when it meets soon, the Security Council will launch the necessary measures under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to ensure, once and for all, that South Africa complies with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on Namibia.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the Chairman of the group of Asian States, the representative of Malaysia, on whom I now call.

110. Mr. ZAITON (Malaysia): It is both an honour and a privilege for me, as Chairman of the Asian group of States on this the last day of the month of May, to address the General Assembly at the close of its thirty-third session. I must admit that to make a round-up statement at this particular moment is not an easy task. We have had not only a long session, but also a most difficult one. We are closing it at a time when the international climate is still fraught with uncertainty and instability; and in this situation there is not much comfort to be drawn from the balance-sheet of the accomplishments of the thirty-third session. If anything, we are still far from resolving some of the most pressing problems of our time.

111. The immediate issue of utmost concern to all of us is the burning question of Namibia, which is the subject of the resumed session. For the past more than five months the Government of South Africa has had time to ponder and weigh the consequences of its defiance and intransigence, and to come round and accept the implementation of the plans for the independence of Namibia, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), but this has all been in vain. It is, therefore, regrettable that we are closing the session in the face of a very difficult and dangerous situation, which can only adversely affect peace and security in southern Africa.

112. The resumed thirty-third session has shown only too clearly that no one is ready to tolerate the principles of this Organization being trampled upon with impunity by the South African régime. If I have injected a note of pessimism into the outcome of the session it is because the problems we are facing today are real and menacing.

113. The Middle East issue, of which the Palestine question remains at the core, is far from being resolved. It has been clearly shown again during this session that there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East unless Israel withdraws from all occupied Arab territories and the Palestinians are accorded their just and legitimate rights.

114. In southern Africa and elsewhere the bastions of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*, through deception and devious manoeuvres, have set up puppet régimes and continue to rear their ugly heads with impunity.

115. On the economic side, the thirty-third session was able finally to resolve the lingering issue concerning the mandate of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, thus enabling the Committee to embark on its substantive work, much to the relief of delegations. Also, the session took a step forward with the adoption by consensus of two resolutions which were of vital importance to the majority of the Members of this Organization. I refer to the preparations for an international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade [*resolution 33/193*], and to the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency—particularly the latter, which, indeed, facilitated the successful outcome of the UNIDO plenipotentiary conference held last month in Vienna. Notwithstanding these positive

contributions, there was no significant advance in the process towards the early establishment of the New International Economic Order.

116. The thirty-third session has shown that there is still a continuous lack of political will. As pointed out by Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our Secretary-General, what we sorely need to make our Organization more effective is political will. We all require a spirit of accommodation, compromise and mutual understanding to resolve our pressing problems, and not dissension or conflicts of interest which have marked the deliberations of the thirty-third session. We certainly hope that this trend will not continue and that for the future the dialogue of confidence and give and take which is so essential in the United Nations forum will prevail in an atmosphere of fraternal co-operation.

117. This Organization is going through a trying test. Expenditures have soared to record levels and much of the procedures and work methods of the General Assembly need to be streamlined to cope with the expanding membership and the ever-increasing and multifarious agenda items of our sessions. It is in this connexion that we look forward to the Secretary-General's report on the whole problem at the forthcoming thirty-fourth session.

118. While I have attempted to present a fair reflection of our affairs, I would certainly be remiss in my duty if I did not express the gratification of the Asian group at the decision of the General Assembly to increase the representation of Asian and African Members of the United Nations in the General Committee of the General Assembly. We believe that the increase in representation of those two groups is commensurate and consistent with the changing times and reflects the needs and political aspirations of the developing countries in both Asia and Africa. Indeed, it is a good start, and we should like to express our appreciation to all those who have contributed to that important decision.

119. I would also not be doing justice to the Group of 77 if I did not congratulate its members for their important initiative which led to the adoption by consensus of the resolution relating to the establishment of a new, more just and more effective world information and communication order aimed at seeking a free circulation and wider and better balanced dissemination of information so that the legitimate interests of the developing countries could be taken into account. Indeed, the balanced representation of the interests of the developing countries in the field of dissemination of information is very important if we are truly to establish a successful new world information order. In this regard, we also welcome the setting up of the Committee to Review United Nations Public Information Policies and Activities and would strongly support the equitable representation of the developing countries in that Committee because of the importance of its work.

120. Two new Member States were added to this family of nations during the thirty-third session. I refer to the Solomon Islands and Dominica. It is a pleasure for me, on behalf of the Asian group, to welcome them into our midst and to extend to them the hand of co-operation and friendship as we work together in furtherance of the principles and objectives of the United Nations.

121. Finally, it remains for me, on behalf of the group of Asian Member States, to perform this pleasant duty of extending to you, Mr. President, our warm congratulations for the skilful and exemplary manner in which you have guided the deliberations of this long and sometimes arduous thirty-third session. Your patience and dedication are a tribute to the high office of the presidency of this important session as well as to your country, Colombia.

122. As for our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, he has again shown through his untiring efforts his dedication and devotion to the cause of peace and the well-being of mankind. We express our sincere appreciation to him and wish him well.

123. To the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Buffum, his political staff and all other members of the Secretariat, we express our thanks for their kind assistance in facilitating our task.

124. We also extend our thanks to our Vice-Presidents and to the Chairmen of the Main Committees for their able handling of the committees.

125. In conclusion, let me express the wish that the thirty-fourth session in 1979 will be both fruitful and successful in advancing the cause of international understanding, peace and security.

126. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Chairman of the group of Asian States for the kind words he addressed to the President.

127. I call on the representative of Czechoslovakia, who will speak on behalf of the group of Eastern European States.

128. Mr. PENAZKA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): I am sorry that the Ambassador of Czechoslovakia could not be present at this meeting. I shall therefore read his statement:

"It is a source of great pleasure to me that at this last meeting of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly it is the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which, on behalf of the regional group of Eastern European countries, has the honour of extending to you, Mr. President, our profound gratitude and thanks for the very skilful and responsible way in which you have guided the work of this lengthy session. Your wealth of experience, ability and devotion have made it possible for this session of the United Nations General Assembly to deal successfully with the large number of important items that were on its agenda.

"I should like to take this opportunity also sincerely to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his immediate colleagues who have made tremendous efforts to ensure that the work of this session culminated successfully. Our gratitude goes also to the Vice-Presidents of the session, the Chairmen and other officers of the Main Committees, as well as the members of the Secretariat.

"We are very gratified, that despite certain problems the present session of the General Assembly and the decisions it has taken on the whole have been an important contribution to those efforts which are being made to ensure peace and international security, to find a solution to existing international problems and to develop comprehensive and equitable co-operation among all States on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We find it a very significant fact that, during the meetings of this session of the General Assembly, it was once again clearly borne out that the policy of détente is in accordance with the vital interests of all countries of the world. At the same time, it was once again confirmed that international détente in the political area can yield even more positive results for all of mankind if it is further supplemented by détente in the military area.

"It is precisely for that reason that during the work of this session the countries on whose behalf I now have the honour of speaking paid particular attention to considering those matters which relate to guaranteeing general and complete disarmament and the elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. We are convinced that the results which have been achieved at this session will undoubtedly help to find a solution to that most important problem of international relations. And in this context we are extremely gratified to welcome the forthcoming very important meeting which is to take place between leaders from the Soviet Union and the United States to undertake talks on the limitation of strategic weapons.

"The positive decisions that have been adopted by the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on a number of important items are also extremely valuable. However, all those decisions—and this has already been stated before—can be effective only provided that they are faithfully carried out by all Members of our Organization. This is true for both of the decisions relating to a just settlement in the Middle East and Cyprus, and those designed to eliminate the vestiges of colonial systems throughout the world, to develop equitable international relations, and all the other decisions which were taken at this session.

"It is worthy of note that this session of the General Assembly is completing its work by considering one of the most important items which has ever confronted the United Nations since its very inception; the question of Namibia. The continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by the authorities of racist South Africa is not only a gross violation of the legitimate rights of the people of that country to freedom and independence but also one of the main threats to international peace and security. The decision just taken by the General Assembly of the United Nations has indicated the path which we must all necessarily follow if we are to achieve a just settlement of the problem and bring about, as soon as possible, realization of the legitimate rights of the people of Namibia.

"In conclusion we should like to express our gratitude to all the representatives of the entire membership of the United Nations who have made their own contribution to ensuring the success of this thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations."

129. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call now on the representative of Honduras, who will speak on behalf of the group of Latin American States.

130. Mr. CARIAS (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to address the General Assembly at this closing meeting of the thirty-third session as the representative of the group of Latin American States in the United Nations.

131. It has been a great honour for our countries to be able to co-operate with you, Sir, in the delicate and important functions you have had to discharge during this long session. In Latin America your brilliant career as a statesman and historian has long been well known, and the way in which you have conducted the business of this Assembly adds yet a further honour to the prestige of yourself and of your country, Colombia.

132. In the past year the General Assembly has had to deal not only with thorny political issues but also with major economic and social matters which, to my mind, have called into question the very values on which the Organization is established as well as the pattern of negotiation which has been applied over the years.

133. At the beginning of the session we had to resolve the impasse in the work of the Main Committee on economic questions which are of the highest importance to the developing countries and which should receive a greater commitment on our part and an even stronger one in the months to come. In a situation of continuing monetary disorder, uncontrolled inflation and strong protectionist tendencies, the aims of the new international economic order endorsed by the General Assembly may be difficult to achieve unless negotiation is resorted to and the political will of the international community confirmed.

134. Later, in the work of the plenary meetings of the Assembly, as in the Main Committees, the interest and concern of delegations were demonstrated in their consideration of those items which would strengthen and enhance effective action by the United Nations in its many spheres of activity, in an attempt to overcome repetition of debates, which leads to stagnation.

135. In concluding the work of this session with, most appropriately, a further consideration of the matter of the independence of Namibia, the General Assembly, under your leadership, Sir, has renewed its commitment to the noble ideals set forth in the Charter. The fundamental responsibility of the United Nations for that Territory has been reaffirmed, and the practice of *apartheid* and racial discrimination has been strongly condemned.

136. Let us hope that 1979—the International Year of Solidarity with the People of Namibia—will mark the independence of this valiant and self-sacrificing people.

137. We hope the presence of the United Nations, including the use of peace-keeping forces where necessary, in the Middle East, Cyprus and Rhodesia, may continue to be an essential factor in achieving a fair settlement of disputes which have long caused suffering to the populations concerned and have been a threat to international peace and security.

138. In the matter of disarmament, the outcome of the Assembly's tenth special session has been encouraging because of the strengthening of the negotiating machinery. The desire for action by the international community deserves mention, and also the concerted efforts being made in the second series of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. These talks should give rise to further agreements in this matter and to other talks, which should lead to general and complete disarmament in conventional and nuclear weapons, and should thus enhance the preservation of international peace and security.

139. United Nations action in the social and humanitarian fields is vast and it is only right that it should be known to all as a means of security, among other results, broad support, mainly financial, among Member States. The celebration of the International Year of the Child, which is being co-ordinated by UNICEF, the many programmes being carried out by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the ongoing preparations for the United Nations Decade for Women are worthy of mention and are deserving of our support.

140. In closing I should like to repeat the satisfaction felt by the group of Latin American States at the admission of the new Members of the United Nations: the Solomon Islands and, more particularly, Dominica, a neighbour of ours. We wish them every success.

141. We also wish to reaffirm our confidence in Mr. Kurt Waldheim—and also to his close colleagues—because of his untiring efforts for international peace and co-operation. We also wish to express to Mr. Buffum, the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, our thanks for his dedication.

142. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the Chairman of the group of Western European and other States, the representative of Turkey.

143. Mr. AKIMAN (Turkey): I have the honour and privilege, on behalf of the group of Western European and other States, to extend to you, Sir, our sincere appreciation and gratitude for the wisdom and efficiency with which you have presided over our work during the thirty-third session, which has lasted 16 weeks, including two resumed sessions since December 1978. Your experience as a diplomat and your most agreeable personality have all contributed to the positive achievements reached during this session.

144. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim and to his close associates for the devoted efforts they have exerted to fulfil the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter with a view to ensuring world peace.

145. Our special thanks are equally due to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Buffum, and all the members of the Secretariat, for the invaluable assistance and close co-operation they have given all the delegations during the course of the session.

146. We certainly do not overlook the role of the host country; our deep appreciation also goes to the repre-

sentatives of the host country for having, once again, welcomed us and facilitated our work enormously.

147. The agenda of the thirty-third session contained 129 agenda items. During the session 206 resolutions and 70 decisions were adopted relating to the items on the agenda. We are happy to note that this session of the General Assembly has, like the previous session, adopted many resolutions by consensus. This is significant because it shows that we have met to discuss the matters of concern to the international community in an atmosphere of harmony, which emphasizes the trend in our Organization towards arriving at positions of consensus rather than confrontation.

148. Every year the sessions of the General Assembly provide the Members of this Organization with a common forum in which they can exchange views, and discuss and attempt to resolve current issues of common concern. These sessions and the resolutions adopted at them have not brought clear-cut solutions to several important questions; however, they provide the appropriate forum for ideas to confront each other and for constructive dialogue to take place in the search for solutions to world problems. Nevertheless, although short of clear-cut solutions, modest progress is achieved, and we come to the realization that progress is attained, not by confrontations, but by a spirit of understanding on the part of those involved and a consensus, which all lead to agreed solutions.

149. Within the context of my general remarks I should like to mention that as a result of the successful follow-up of the process of decolonization and self-determination, the membership of our Organization has increased to 151 by the admission of Dominica and the Solomon Islands. Furthermore, a record number of delegations participated in the general debate, including 100 Foreign Ministers and 20 Heads of State or Government. With the membership of the Organization tripling since its establishment and the workload of the General Assembly increasing enormously, it has become fairly clear that the duration of 13 weeks for the regular General Assembly sessions is not long enough to complete the work of the General Assembly. It seems that some measures will have to be taken and ways and means will have to be explored to expedite the General Assembly's work and make it more effective and rational.

150. Because of the lateness of the hour I do not want to go into the analysis of the highlights of our session. However, I wish to express our hope that the resolutions and decisions adopted during our session will be translated into action with a view to enhancing the efficiency of our Organization.

151. Before I conclude, I should like to say that I would feel remiss did I not—at the close of this session—or perhaps any other session for that matter—remember with respect and esteem the memory of Ambassador Jamil Baroodi of Saudi Arabia, who by the last touches he added on these occasions not only sparkled with a spirit which binds together all the Members of this Assembly, but at the same time gave a human dimension to the resolutions we adopted.

152. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the Chairman of the group of Arab States, the representative of the United Arab Emirates.

153. Mr. HUMAIDAN (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is my pleasure, on behalf of the Arab group of States to convey to you our thanks and our admiration for the successful way in which you have presided over the work of the resumed thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

154. This session was one of the most fruitful, in various ways, particularly in connexion with the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and foreign occupation in certain parts of the world. Our meetings this May on Namibia have clearly demonstrated the importance which we all attach to the efforts being made in that field. Your wise guidance, your perspicacity and your wealth of experience in politics and diplomacy spared us a number of pitfalls and guided us surely towards the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism in the world.

155. Mr. President, your opening statement [*1st meeting*] clearly brought out a reality which is becoming more and more obvious, not only in the United Nations but also in the international community as a whole; namely, that it is vitally important to remedy the ever-deteriorating international economic situation, which is based on obsolete and inequitable principles.

156. You represent a developing country in Latin America which is linked to the Arab world by a number of ties, particularly that of our joint struggle against under-development and against the exploitation of the wealth of the developing countries by the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

157. Finally, I would like to express on behalf of the Arab group our warmest appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the untiring and sincere efforts he has made to serve peace, justice and progress throughout the world.

158. I should also like to thank the members of the Secretariat for the contribution they made to the success of our mission.

159. I should also like, before concluding, to note with particular sadness the absence of Ambassador Baroodi from our midst. In the Arab group we used to call him our dean, and he has certainly been one of the pillars of the United Nations. We all miss him very much.

160. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of the United States of America, who will speak on behalf of the host country.

161. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): As we approach the end of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly I should like to offer two important expressions of gratitude. First of all, we wish to thank you, Mr. President, for the way you have performed the difficult task of presiding over this long session. We also wish to salute Secretary-General Waldheim, who, with other members of the Secretariat, has provided leadership, guidance and support for all of us in our work.

162. When Ambassador Young addressed the closing meeting of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly he observed that we had seen a clearer "consensus of the concerned"² emerge among States Members of the United Nations. During the thirty-third session of the General Assembly we have continued our efforts to maintain a consensus approach. We have succeeded in some areas, and a vigorous effort on the part of us all has brought progress on many issues that have long troubled this Organization.

163. In this brief statement I do not intend to list those areas of progress and accomplishment. Suffice it to say that the membership has reason to be proud of what has been accomplished. But we cannot be content with our accomplishments when so many things remain to be done. All Governments dedicated to the purposes of the United Nations have reason for concern.

164. This Organization, after all, was established in the belief that the world needed a different approach to the problems of international relations. Power politics there would always be, but it was hoped that through the creation of international institutions the world would be able to address its problems with greater wisdom, greater fairness and greater openness, all in the spirit of a collective concern for the security and integrity of all nations.

165. We would urge that each of us examine closely the reasons why in so many cases we are not achieving the goals set forth in the Preamble to the United Nations Charter. We would also urge all to reflect long and hard on the cost to the institution of transient victories. Unless reason and compromise prevail we shall harm the very institution whose precepts and goals we are so desirous of preserving.

166. In our debates let us balance as objectively as possible the conflicting claims of all parties and attempt to preserve the rights of all concerned. It is not the function of international institutions to embarrass one side in a dispute or automatically denounce those who have few friends, when the machinery of the institution might better be used to prevent conflict or curb violence.

167. As the United Nations seeks to deal with the problems before it the General Assembly in particular must become more effective in the way it conducts its business. Reforms are needed. We applaud and support all efforts to that end and look forward to continuing our work with all like-minded delegations in encouraging changes that can enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the next, the thirty-fourth, session of the General Assembly.

168. As we approach our work in the coming year I hope that we all keep in mind a larger vision than the momentary advantage of joining today's immediate majority. For us in the United Nations the principle of non-violent negotiation should underlie our every endeavour. The negotiating process deserves the same commitment of time and energy, the same tenacity, as does a military struggle. My delegation fervently hopes that democratic processes will triumph without arms, that reason will triumph over armed might.

169. I therefore close this statement with a plea. Let us dedicate ourselves this coming year to seizing the opportunities which this institution uniquely presents, but let us also rededicate ourselves to the task of serving the institution itself even better. Let us take the task of strengthening the United Nations more seriously than ever before, and let us honestly look at the record of this past session and ask what we can do to ensure that the United Nations serves even more fairly the interests of all its Members, great and small, in their search for a better world.

170. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): And so we come to the close of the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We have discussed and studied all the items submitted for our consideration, in most cases in a harmonious atmosphere, while in others, on which conflicting positions were presented, the mood of the debate has been conducive to a search for consensus rather than confrontation. Over the years the General Assembly has developed a high degree of maturity; it recognizes its own limitations and does not try to exceed them, and, because of the very authority which its prudence confers on it, it expects that its decisions will be heeded by Member States.

171. As always when a session of the General Assembly draws to a close and we engage in self-analysis, we have the feeling that some improvements should be introduced so that the Assembly's work may be speeded up and made more efficient and rational. The rules of procedure were drawn up when the Assembly was a small club of 50 countries and it is natural that today, when it must satisfy the aspirations of 151 nations, there could be flaws in the course of its deliberations. In an Organization whose membership has tripled since it was founded priority should be given to finding ways of planning its work in accordance with modern techniques designed to enhance efficiency. Doubtless the many important problems which suddenly come to the fore in international relations have forced us to postpone making changes in the rules of procedure. That such changes are urgently needed has been evident during this session. It is a real paradox that, while the number of Member States increases and the items on the Assembly's agenda multiply, the Organization is not simultaneously expanding its technical capacity to cope with this growth.

172. The General Assembly continues to be the political organ *par excellence* of the Organization. Above all, it is the universal organ. Hence, to find out which problems are of real concern to the international community and how it expects them to be studied and resolved, one must go to the records of the Assembly. Even in the case of matters which are now being discussed in other, smaller bodies one may discover that they had their origin in this organ of the United Nations. The fact that the atmosphere in smaller assemblies has been considered suitable for dealing with some disputes among nations does not mean—far from it—that our Organization has shirked the responsibility for seeking ways of settling really difficult conflicts. All these problems have been treated here with patience, wisdom and experience, as reflected in texts and resolutions which now in fact serve as a firm frame of reference for bilateral negotiations. In other words, the influence of the United Nations and the undoubted authority of the General Assembly extend to the entire fabric of international life in all its complexity.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 111th meeting, para. 154.

173. Given these realities, the session that closes today has been characterized by the caution the Assembly has displayed in taking its decisions, particularly political decisions.

174. In matters which gave rise to positions of confrontation, efforts were made to ensure that the General Assembly would not be guilty of excesses by adopting decisions whose obligatory implementation someone might challenge, thus bringing the Organization into disrepute. That cannot be viewed as an act of weakness. On the contrary, it is evidence of the strength that derives from the supremacy of law.

175. It is true that there are some States which have continually defied the decisions of the General Assembly. In fact they are very few. However, the impact of their recalcitrance, which frequently falls indiscriminately on entire peoples, is diminished because of the moral censure to which disobedience to the civilized rules of the Organization gives rise. No State, however powerful and arrogant it may be, can find it agreeable to be excluded from the Organization or singled out by it or looked upon with distrust. This means that the United Nations now represents an international order, with minimum standards for ensuring that States may live in peace, and that human beings, whatever their political outlook or race, may enjoy minimal conditions of freedom, economic well-being and independence, as an essential basis for a decent life.

176. At this thirty-third session of the General Assembly, the general debate again afforded a suitable occasion for the expression of the political will of the Member States. Participating in it were the largest number of delegations in the history of our Organization. A number of Heads of State and many Ministers for Foreign Affairs participated. In its ideological plurality and unbounded freedom, the general debate once again reminded us of the purpose for which our Organization was founded: to provide a forum for those who previously had no voice, for the wise, that they might give counsel and for the powerful, that they might show their capacity for political compromise. The creation of a peaceful forum for constructive dialogue among the nations of the earth is in itself sufficient justification for the founding of our Organization.

177. I should be abusing the patience of the General Assembly if I were to recapitulate all the issues that were covered in the general debate. I intend, therefore, to single out for summary only a few issues on which many delegations spoke and which I can therefore regard as parameters of international life.

178. International peace and security are a constant concern of States, for which the preservation of that peace and security is a matter requiring constant vigilance. The bilateral tensions which have arisen in some continents always carry with them the fear that a conflict of little consequence may, owing to the international alignment of those involved, turn into another world holocaust, this time with fatal consequences for mankind. As a natural consequence of this fear, States stressed in the Assembly the urgent need to arrive at a spiritual and physical disarmament of nations, to end propaganda designed to exacerbate contentious sentiments and to redirect huge military

budgets towards the education, health, housing and feeding of people which are the priority duties of Governments. Concern was also expressed at the growing economic dependence of some States on the arms industry, since an artificial economic activity based on the production and sale of weapons is being created in their societies.

179. In establishing the "Committee of 41",³ the General Assembly demonstrated its preoccupation with the public information policies of the United Nations. Many developing countries have complained that information on the important tasks of the Organization does not reach their peoples and that a large part of the Organization's budget benefits the very countries which, because of their financial circumstances, have better public information media. Undoubtedly, the United Nations needs to publicize its work, especially in the developing countries, since most of the questions discussed are very relevant to the vital problems of their peoples; but the private media in the developed countries should call a halt to their campaigns to discredit our Organization, since these affect its authority as a world body.

180. Each year there is an increase in the number of developing countries calling for the establishment of a new international economic order and, of course, for its effective realization in dealings between nations. Accordingly, mention should be made of the agreement reached on the negotiating capacity of the Committee which, although beset by enormous difficulties, is dealing with the North-South dialogue. These negotiations are now assuming capital importance, owing to the recurrence of critical situations for developing countries and the progressive widening of the gap between them and the wealthy nations. In this connexion, the Assembly continued at this session the preparations for its special session in 1980, when it will consider problems of decisive importance to the economic equilibrium of the world and will deal with inflation, which is so ominous a threat to the peoples of the earth, with the need to accelerate the process of transfer of technology to developing countries and with the continuous rise in fuel prices.

181. The General Assembly also showed concern over the need to find ways of universalizing the investigations into human rights violations in some States and obtaining acceptance of their findings by the countries responsible for such violations. The Commission on Human Rights was asked to study the proposal to create a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and to submit its conclusions for consideration by the General Assembly at its next session. But emphasis was also placed on the interest of Member States in the full implementation not only of political rights but also of economic, social and cultural rights, the exercise of which is in jeopardy in the present international economic situation, because of the imbalance in the terms of trade, the restrictions on transfer of technology, the high costs of transfer of financial capital and the resurgence of protectionism in the wealthy countries.

³ Committee to Review United Nations Public Information Policies and Activities.

182. The General Assembly also dealt with the problem of refugees throughout the world and in particular with the fate of the Palestinians in the occupied territories and the discrimination in conditions of work in the region. It emphasized the need to accelerate the process of decolonization, to the success of which the United Nations has contributed so fruitfully, and it denounced the practices of *apartheid* and racial discrimination as being contrary to the elementary norms of culture and civilization. Member States also expressed their constant preoccupation with improving the status of women and promoting a climate of normal development for children, whose International Year we are celebrating.

183. Five months after its temporary closure, the General Assembly resumed its session solely to consider the question of Namibia. Many delegations participated in the debate, and the draft resolution on the question of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the refusal of the South African Government to comply with decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council received the backing of the largest number of sponsors in the history of our Organization. The General Assembly on this occasion wisely and prudently kept its pronouncements strictly within the limits of the powers vested in it by the Charter of the United Nations, as can be seen from its clear recommendations to the Security Council.

184. On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to reiterate our thanks to the Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and to all his staff for the efficient services they rendered us in our work. All of them perform their General Assembly tasks with special loyalty to the United Nations.

185. Finally, I should like to reiterate to you, distinguished representatives, my gratitude for your co-operation in making a success of the thirty-third regular session. Through quiet collective work, much of the time almost anonymous, we were nearly always able to arrive at a consensus on the decisions of the General Assembly. I extend my wishes for prosperity to the States Members of our Organization and the Heads of State who govern them. And to all of you, distinguished representatives, I express my wishes for your personal well-being and professional success.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

186. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

The members stood in silence.

Closing of the session

187. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I declare closed the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.