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To: Members of the Executive Board  
From: The Secretary  
Subject: United Nations General Assembly 37th Session

The attached report by the Fund's Special Representative to the United Nations on the 37th session of the United Nations General Assembly, held in New York, September 21-December 21, 1982, is circulated for the information of Executive Directors.

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Department Heads

United Nations General Assembly--Thirty Seventh Session

September 21-December 21, 1982

Report prepared by the  
Special Representative to the United Nations

January 6, 1983

Introduction

Global economic problems competed with political issues, such as those of the Middle East, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Southern Africa, for the main attention of the United Nations General Assembly at its 37th session which began on September 21, 1982 and was adjourned exactly three months later.

Last year's rising concern over worldwide economic conditions, had grown this year to serious alarm over what most statesmen participating in the session termed an international economic crisis. Many Heads of State or Government as well as other senior members of governments of developed and developing countries called for urgent remedial action in the Assembly's general debate, with spokesmen for developing countries demanding major changes in the attitudes and policies of the industrial countries. And, whatever their perspective, there was universal agreement about the seriousness of a situation they characterized as dominated by unstable financial conditions, in particular the debt problems of a number of developing countries, as well as low or negative rates of growth, falling commodity prices, pervasive unemployment and rising protectionism.

However, in the face of these difficulties, few clear-cut proposals for specific major action emerged and even fewer came to a decision. The three year old initiative for a Global Negotiations Conference on raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance remained stymied in controversy and was hardly discussed except in the most general terms, pending reconsideration of the issue at the Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi, March 7-11, 1983, and the early April meeting of the Group of 77 Foreign Ministers in Buenos Aires. The proposal of UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in last July's ECOSOC session for a world economic recovery program remained a subject for caution, reserve and controversy. A resolution, inspired by this proposal and offered by the Group of 77, called for immediate international economic measures, but failed to get the support of the developed countries because of what they considered lack of balance in assigning responsibility as well as the resolution's emphasis on a restructuring of international economic relations. Various other proposals, including New Zealand's renewed call for an international monetary conference, obtained no response from the Assembly. Similarly, an attempt on the part of some developing countries at producing a major resolution on money and finance died before it reached the floor. In these circumstances, most of the Assembly's ultimate decisions had the character of holding actions, in particular aimed at maintaining the financial viability of the many assistance programs and organizations of the UN system in the face of growing financial constraints. This led, inter alia, to a call for improved financing for the

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the main UN multilateral financing channel for pre-investment and technical assistance. At the pledging conference for UNDP and other UN programs and funds, held during the Assembly, voluntary contributions declined again from what UNDP Administrator Bradford Morse called a "woefully inadequate base."

Other issues which were the subject of Assembly resolutions dealt with trade, food, energy, special assistance programs, population, environment, transfer of science and technology, while the Assembly also adopted several resolutions--discussed further in this report--concerning the Fund's relations with South Africa, as well as a consensus resolution proclaiming the Assembly's view "that a preferred unit of account for many conventions, particularly those of a global application, should be the special drawing right as determined by the International Monetary Fund."

It was the first time in many years that the Assembly did not admit new members.

The Assembly elected Ambassador Imre Hollai of Hungary as President of the 37th session.

The Fund was represented by Jan-Maarten Zegers, Special Representative to the United Nations.

#### General Debate

Heads of State, Prime Ministers and senior Cabinet officials addressed the General Assembly again in its traditional General Debate. The more than 150 speakers took up nearly all of the first month of the Assembly session and most also addressed economic problems in their remarks which this report can only try to reflect in an illustrative manner.

The Heads of State--who spoke both during and after the General Debate period--included King Hassan II of Morocco and King Olav of Norway as well as the Presidents of Bolivia, Brazil, Lebanon, Mexico and the Philippines. President Hernan Siles Suazo, addressing the Assembly shortly after his election, described in some detail the economic problems of his country, placing these in the international context and stating that Bolivia had reached its current serious economic situation by a process that contained a useful lesson for all countries of the Third World. His country had, he said, originally benefitted from the rise in raw material prices, including hydrocarbons, as well as abundantly available international borrowing. However, these resources had not been used well by the authorities of the time, who had, he stated, "used imported and domestic goods and services in order to imitate the consumer patterns of the high-income countries, while neglecting productive investment and leaving the great majority of the population to struggle in poverty." He criticized the previous Bolivian policies in more detail and concluded that, with the advent of the current economic crisis and the external stimuli gone, the Bolivian economy collapsed and Bolivia began sharing with other Third World countries the overwhelming burden of external indebtedness as well as other problems which he had characterized earlier in his statement. For Bolivia, these problems were, besides a heavy external debt, also runaway inflation, an overwhelming deficit in the public sector, a lack of essential goods and services, and a

plummeting level of productive activity. He called for concerted efforts both between the countries of the North and South and between the countries of the South towards new approaches which, in his view, should also include a review of the decision-making machinery in the IMF, the World Bank and GATT.

President Fernando Marcos of the Philippines, speaking about the disarray in international economic relations and what he termed "the most serious crisis in the international economy since the 1930s" called also for a concerted attack on this situation, recalling his participation in the 1981 Cancun Summit and emphasizing, once more, the need for global negotiations.

Then President José Lopez Portillo of Mexico also spoke extensively about a global economic crisis and its effects on his country's economy. He saw these problems as affecting other developing countries as well and singled out the lack of coordination in the international financial system as a major threat to these countries. As he put it, "we countries in the South have not sinned against the world economy by trying to conquer hunger, disease, ignorance and dependency." The current crisis, he said, could be overcome, and this could be done more quickly "if we can count on the rational support of the international financial community rather than meet reluctance or punishment for sins we did not commit."

President Joao Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo of Brazil discussed the need for increased economic interaction between the North and the South deploring the lack of progress in the pursuit of this objective, as also exemplified in what he called the fruitless efforts of the Third World to change normative frameworks, including the decision-making structures and discriminatory rules in institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank and GATT. He expressed the view in this context that measures were devised in financial institutions--and sometimes adopted against the will of the majority, as a result of inadequate decision-making processes--which restricted the flexibility of operations, added to the requirements of conditionality, and unjustly discriminated against developing countries. At the same time, he stated that among the many measures required to cope with current conditions, it was urgent to increase both the availability of resources controlled by the international financial organizations and the participation of monetary authorities in the preservation of the liquidity and stability of the international financial system.

Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy of France painted an extremely gloomy picture of world economic conditions, stating that the current economic crisis was assuming planetary proportions with countries, even stable and developed countries, finding themselves one after the other in financial straits. In this context, he stressed that France, together with Japan, had been able to maintain a positive rate of growth. Nevertheless, current disorders left many countries at the mercy of a climatic or financial accident which might threaten their very existence. At the same time, these conditions had widened the inequalities between industrial countries and many others, while even in many countries the gap was widening between different social categories. Reviewing some of the politico-economic factors involved, he saw a rise in national self-centeredness which created curbs on international trade and he called it particularly serious if, on the pretext of an economic crisis, the industrial countries were to oppose the emergence of new industrial centers in the Third World. They should adapt to this new reality, he stated, while adding also that this industrialization of the Third World could not be limited to forms of dumping based on uncontrolled

exploitation of cheap labor, nor simply be considered in terms of profits accruing to multinational companies. The inevitable mutation should be controlled. In his assessment--which also included such political factors as super-power rivalry and an arms build-up--he considered that the new economic conditions called for a major effort of national adjustment. A generalization of restrictive policies that would compromise the benefits to be obtained from each country internally, should be avoided, in his view, as well as the possibility that such policies would draw all into a deflationary spiral. Calling for true collective management of an interdependent world, he stated: "We must ensure sustained expansion of the world economy in a climate of stable exchange rates and stable prices for raw materials and manufactured products."

U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz referred to the fact that in a time of recession, industrialized and less developed countries alike were bedeviled by excessive inflation, restricted markets, unused capacity, stagnating trade, growing pressure for protectionism and, what he called the most potent enemy of expansion--pervasive uncertainty. After reviewing U.S. economic policies, he stated that, while the United States had a stake in world-wide recovery, others would prosper as American recovery developed. Referring to the issue of international debt, he said that the implications of the external debt of many nations must be understood. "Immediate debt problems are manageable", he stated, "if we use good sense and avoid destabilizing actions. But the magnitude of external debt will almost inevitably reduce resources available for future lending for development purposes. Economic adjustment is imperative. The International Monetary Fund can provide critical help in any country's efforts to smooth the adjustment process."

Nigeria's Minister of State for External Affairs, Chief Patrick O. Bolokor, deplored the present negative mood in the developed countries as illustrated by declines in the flow of official development assistance, a clearly expressed preference of bilateralism over multilateralism which "had seriously undermined the integrity of the multilateral institutions of the United Nations" and the lack of encouraging progress in negotiations on various questions relating to international economic cooperation for development. He also stated that the present structure of international monetary and financial institutions left much to be desired. His delegation did not underestimate the contribution being made by international financial institutions, such as the World Bank Group, to the development of developing countries; but there were also many areas requiring a better response by those institutions to the special needs of the developing countries. The very stiff conditionality of the International Monetary Fund lending was, for instance, resented by developing countries. "While we are not suggesting", he said, "that the principles of sound financial management should be compromised, we can see no advantage in the application of a medicine which leaves the patient either worse than before or dead."

Prime Minister Mahathir Bin Mohamad of Malaysia focused in particular on the problems of raw materials producers in current economic conditions, stating that his country had been very much affected by the unequal situation of rich and poor nations. "As a producer of primary commodities like tin, rubber and palm oil", he stated, "we are as much entitled to a fair return on our outlay as any producer of manufactured goods." He sharply criticized what he called price manipulation in commodity exchanges, exclusive clubs where producers were unable to secure memberships. The situation in the tin and rubber markets had played havoc with his country's economy, he added, saying that Malaysia had been

trying to break the vicious circle of the old commodity market system by seeking to form a viable and effective producers' organization which would maintain reasonable prices while ensuring adequate supplies of tin and rubber to the world.

Peru's Foreign Minister, Javier Arias Stella, called for an emergency world economic plan in which all states and organizations would participate and Norway's Foreign Minister Sverre Strøm recalled the joint Nordic statement at the Fund-Bank meeting in Toronto, underlining the crucial importance of multi-lateral assistance.

The Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Allan MacEachen, deplored the fact that in the present crisis there was a disturbing tendency to discount and discredit multilateral institutions. "Because the maze of international problems has become more resistant to conventional solutions", he said, "attacks are being made on the institutions through which solutions are being approached." He felt this was particularly true for the United Nations itself, adding that the credibility and effectiveness of multilateral institutions depended on the political will of nations and their leaders. He also singled out the vital role of the Fund to promote adjustment and the need for the Fund to dispose of adequate resources for this purpose.

P.V. Narasimha Rao, India's Minister for External Affairs, enumerated the actions, which in his view were required to cope with present conditions. He mentioned, inter alia, the need for a further expansion and liberalization of the Fund's compensatory financing facility and added that greater consideration should be given to the establishment of a completely new commodity-related scheme. He also stated that the deterioration in the world trading situation was affecting especially the countries with low per capita income and called for a new international trading order which should be based on a set of agreed principles particularly through practical support for the principles of multilateralism, non-discrimination, non-reciprocity vis-a-vis developing countries, transparency and predictability consistent with special and differential treatment to developing countries. He argued in particular also that progressive liberalization of the trade in textiles, clothing, leather goods and other consumer durables was a matter of great importance to the industrial development of the developing countries.

Foreign Minister Warren Cooper of New Zealand highlighted his Prime Minister's call for an international conference to re-examine the role and adequacy of the international institutions established at Bretton Woods. "Let me emphasize again", he stated, "the constructive purpose of my Government's call for a review of the international economic institutions. We wish to see them strengthened and, if necessary, supplemented. They may need new powers. They should be more responsive to genuine needs. In the financial field they should be more flexible in the conditions they impose for lending." Symmetrical surveillance would be needed, he added, as well as, possibly, greater regulatory powers. As the Fund was no longer facing cyclical downturns in member countries but long-term structural imbalances, the Fund's rules should be adapted for longer-term lending and easier conditionality. In his Government's view, a decision on these matters at a special session of the world community would make the political decision, country by country, to accept such changes much easier.

Jamaica's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hugh Shearer, also commended for Assembly consideration his Prime Minister's presentation at the Toronto Meetings regarding the need for emergency measures which would be immediately implemented to assist those member countries which are on the brink of collapse and reinvigorate international trade and investment.

Colombian Foreign Minister Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo gave particular attention to the foreign debt problems of developing and centrally planned economies even though, as he said, Colombia was not at present subject to the pressures of a disproportionate foreign debt. Discussing what he called the extraordinary debt of these countries he mentioned, inter alia, as one of the problems, the all too frequent use of foreign loans for sectors other than infrastructure and social well-being. In the end, he said, only those countries which exchanged foreign currency for progress would be successful and it would be difficult to find a remedy for those who exchanged loans for prestige or used them for ill-planned investments to find a way out of their difficulties. The Colombian Minister also focused on the deteriorating commodity markets and deplored what he called unilateral policies leading to absolutely ludicrous prices for commodities such as sugar.

As did many other speakers from developing countries, Foreign Minister Shabzada Yaqub-Khan of Pakistan emphasized that the Third World had suffered most from current crisis conditions. "The increasing current account deficits and the absence of properly designed international mechanisms to finance these deficits in the short run, or to correct the fundamental structural imbalance in international payments", he stated, "is the central dilemma confronting us today." In his view, the developing countries should be active participants in any solution of the current crisis and he called on the leaders of the industrial countries to show enough vision and imagination to include the developing countries fully in the decision-making process.

### Global Negotiations

Three versions of a short enabling text convening a UN Conference for Global Negotiations on raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance emerged during 1982 from informal consultations after the 36th session of the General Assembly had left this three-year old issue pending when it adjourned at the end of 1981. One version\* was offered by the Group of 77 in March 1982 to the developed countries which responded with an amended version emanating from the Versailles Economic Summit in June. This version was amended again by the Group of 77 in early July but these latest amendments so far have not been accepted by all parties.

During this General Assembly session, action was limited to informal consultations conducted by Ambassador Olara Otunnu of Uganda on behalf of Assembly President Imre Hollai with the purpose of seeking agreement on a single text. No indications of progress appeared and the agenda item on global negotiations only came to the floor for a procedural statement by President Hollai suggesting that the item should be kept on the agenda after the suspension of the session on December 21, 1982 to allow Ambassador Otunnu further time for informal consultations. By the end of January 1983 the latter would end his consultations and, it was assumed that, if lack of agreement persisted, the March Summit of the Non-Aligned Heads of State and Government and the April meeting of the Group of 77 Foreign Ministers would reassess their position on the matter.

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\* SM/82/163.

### Financial Problems of UN Development Activities

The Assembly's concern with UN operational activities for development was considerable and from the Assembly's discussions as well as the results of the 1982 Pledging Conference for Development, a somber picture emerged, that of declining resources not only in real but even in nominal terms. Most of these activities are funded through voluntary Government contributions to UN programs and funds which channel these finances to executing agencies and organizations such as ILO, FAO, WHO, UNESCO, etc., mainly for technical assistance and preinvestment activities. The Pledging Conference, held in the context of the Assembly session on November 8 and 9, 1982, sought annual contributions for some two dozen UN programs and funds, with UNDP and UNICEF as the most important ones. A number of countries could not make their contributions public at the conference for legislative or other reasons but following the end of the conference UNDP Administrator Bradford Morse estimated that total voluntarily contributed UNDP resources for 1983 would amount to approximately \$665.6 million, \$1 million less than in 1981 but \$31 million less than in 1979. In real terms, he stated, they were well below the \$307 million pledged in 1973. As a result, planned assistance targets had to be reduced, threatening the credibility and managerial effectiveness of UNDP. Other heads of UN funds made similarly somber comments.

For the last three years the total resources of the organizations, programs and funds covered by the Pledging Conference have hovered close to \$1.2 billion annually with a slowly declining trend which for 1983 is expected to be more pronounced when all figures are in. The declining trend of resources for the UN's "operational activities for development" had also been the main subject of a report by the UN Secretary-General which gave rise to extensive debate in the Assembly's economic and financial committee of the whole (Second Committee). The report emphasized not only the decline in voluntary contributions but also the impact of exchange rate fluctuations--as most contributions are pledged in national currencies but resources are largely spent in dollars. A "hardening attitude" towards the financing of both bilateral and multilateral official development assistance on the part of major donor countries was also mentioned in the report as a major reason for the decline in resources. In addition, the report referred to the fact that "the cost of financing the United Nations funds and programs is borne disproportionately by a few countries with relatively small economies", a reference to the important contributions of such countries as Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands. It noted in the same context that the five largest OECD countries contributed only one quarter of the total for this group, in terms of GNP. Other symptoms were the varying preferences of countries for bilateral or multilateral funding as well as direct funding to executing agencies rather than the use of UNDP as the central funding organ. These various factors led the report as well as the Assembly delegates to focus in particular on the optimal use of available resources. The report suggested considerable scope for streamlining and improvement of procedures, operations and evaluation.

Particularly the Belgian representative, André Pirson, provided detailed comment on possible improvements emphasizing the need to reduce administrative overhead--which for UNDP itself amounts to 15% of resources--as well as utilization of optimally qualified experts and a more careful and independent evaluation of the end results and impact of assistance projects. Only if Governments could clearly ascertain the efficient use of their contributions, could they, in his view, be encouraged to provide additional resources. He felt that this was not the case at the moment.



The Assembly adopted by consensus two resolutions which, inter alia, called the results of the 1982 Pledging Conference "highly unsatisfactory" and appealed for more financial support but on the other hand also requested a variety of measures to promote efficient use of available resources and facilities. In this context, the Assembly also invited the Administrator of UNDP and the World Bank to examine the possibilities of further cooperation between UNDP and the World Bank "regarding utilization of facilities available to the two organizations."

#### SDR as Universal Unit of Account for International Conventions

The General Assembly's Sixth Main Committee (of the whole) which deals with legal items on the Assembly's agenda, also discussed the report of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) on its fifteenth session. One of the UNCITRAL recommendations concerned the establishment of a universal unit of account of constant value which would serve as a point of reference in international transport and liability conventions for expressing amounts in monetary terms. This matter had been referred earlier to UNCITRAL's Working Group on International Negotiable Instruments for further study. The Working Group recommended the Fund's special drawing right as the preferred unit of account for such purposes, a recommendation which--as the report stated--received general agreement in UNCITRAL itself. In the UNCITRAL report before the Assembly, it was recognized that some states which were not members of the International Monetary Fund might not be able to accept the use of the SDR as a unit of account. However, it was pointed out that any universal unit of account provision prepared by the UNCITRAL would not be mandatory but would serve as the preferred model for use by a diplomatic conference preparing or revising a convention of the type in question. In certain circumstances such a conference might, therefore, adopt a provision on the basis of the full text of Article 26 of the Hamburg rules.

In its brief discussion, the Assembly's Sixth Committee essentially supported UNCITRAL's views and recommended by consensus to the Assembly itself the adoption of a draft resolution on the subject which the Assembly approved without a vote as General Assembly resolution A/37/107. (Annex I.)

#### Other Resolutions

A number of other Assembly actions of some interest to the Fund are discussed below in a selective manner.

Immediate Economic Measures. Current world economic conditions had provoked a number of calls, inside and outside the United Nations, for urgent measures to deal with the variety of negative economic factors affecting both developed and developing countries. While these factors and their effects had been amply and dramatically described in the Assembly's General Debate, the attempt at developing a strategy for dealing with the current situation was rather more limited. In this context the Assembly's main activity concentrated on a relatively short draft resolution proposed by the Group of 77 and entitled "Immediate Measures in Favor of the Developing Countries." Long on preambular paragraphs which once more described the current problems of the developing countries and short on operational language, it created considerable dissension over what many industrial countries considered unproductive references to restructuring international economic relations, towards the establishment of the new international

economic order. In its most specific reference to areas for immediate action, the resolution focused in particular on the need for "urgent concurrent efforts in fields that are of critical importance for the developing countries such as food, assistance in the development of energy resources of developing countries by the World Bank and balance of payments support by the International Monetary Fund, financial flows, trade and raw materials." The OECD countries expressed the view that the full text lacked balance and they had not been given enough time to negotiate a consensus version. As a result, the resolution was adopted with 124 votes in favor, one against (the United States), and 22 abstentions (the other OECD countries). A separate resolution also requested the Secretary-General to prepare a report identifying negative trends in the world economy.

Energy. It was considered a novum and something of a breakthrough that the Assembly was able to adopt a resolution on conventional sources of energy, a subject that for several years had been kept off the Assembly's agenda for lack of agreement about United Nations' involvement in the issue. The resolution dealt essentially with the development of the energy resources of developing countries stressing the need for adequate investment exploration and rational development of such energy resources. By also requesting the UN Secretary-General to report comprehensively on the current energy situation of the developing countries, their energy development constraints and investment needs, the resolution gives the UN secretariat a stronger legislative mandate than before to increase its own technical involvement. The resolution also comes out in support of a World Bank energy affiliate. This resolution was adopted with 146 votes in favor and only the United States voting against.

Food. The Assembly adopted three food-related resolutions, two of these focusing in particular on the food problems and agricultural needs of Africa and largely devoted to appeals for assistance of various types in the areas of food and agricultural improvement. A third, more general food-related resolution covered the problems and needs of the developing countries, including those of Africa, with considerable emphasis not only on food aid, but also the need for developing countries to attain self-reliance through increased food and agricultural production and investment. With this in mind, the resolution also called for additional financial flows and technological assistance.

UNCTAD. The Assembly adopted a resolution endorsing the preparations for the UNCTAD VI Conference emphasizing, in the words of the resolution, "the particular importance of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development as a major opportunity to review, in a comprehensive and interrelated manner, world development and its impact on the trade and development of developing countries, at a time when the developing countries in particular continue to face grave economic problems."

Another resolution called on the UNCTAD to be closely involved in the preparations for a UN Conference on Conditions for the Registration of Ships which the Assembly decided to convene for early 1984, at a date to be determined.

The Assembly also approved the reappointment of Gamani Corea to a further term of 19 months, beginning April 1, 1983 and lasting until the end of 1984 as Secretary-General of UNCTAD.

Least Developed Countries. This group of countries which the United Nations identified as requiring especially favorable assistance treatment and made the subject of a special conference in 1981 numbered 30 until this General Assembly accepted to identify five more countries as belonging to this group. These countries are: Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, and Togo. In addition, the General Assembly adopted a resolution emphasizing the need for improved implementation of the action program in favor of the least developed countries, adopted at the 1981 conference. The resolution called, inter alia, on the multilateral development and financial institutions to participate in the review meetings at the country level, organized for the least developed countries, as well as to help these countries to "overcome the adverse effects of global recession."

Special Assistance Resolutions. Again, the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions--which tend to vary little from one year to the other--inviting special assistance to groups of countries, regions and individual countries. The three most important groups were those of the least developed and the countries of the Sudano-Sahelian region and the island developing countries. For the Sudano-Sahelian zone, attention focused essentially on the medium-term recovery program for the Sahel as on efforts to combat desertification. The island developing countries deserved special attention which should center on their particular geographic and other characteristics. As in previous years, nearly two dozen countries, mostly in Africa but also including Lebanon, were the subject of individual resolutions requesting special assistance because of the effects of natural disasters, civil strife or acts of war.

#### Decolonization, Policies of Apartheid, Namibia

As in previous years, the General Assembly's agenda carried separate items on the issues of decolonization, the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa and, finally, Namibia. Under each of these agenda items the Assembly adopted resolutions mentioning the Fund.

However, before the regularly scheduled debates on these items got underway, the Assembly was requested on October 20, 1982 to give "urgent consideration" to a draft resolution entitled "South Africa's application for credit from the International Monetary Fund". This draft text mentioned an application by South Africa to the International Monetary Fund for a credit of one billion special drawing rights, and requested, inter alia, "the International Monetary Fund to refrain from granting any credits or other assistance to South Africa". Ambassador Djebel Coumbassa, UN Permanent Representative of Guinea, introduced this draft resolution in his capacity as President of the African Group at the Assembly, following press reports regarding a request from South Africa for use of Fund resources.

In a brief debate on the draft resolution on October 21, the representatives of Algeria, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Syria and Saint Lucia spoke in favor of the draft resolution, the representatives of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States spoke against, and the representatives of Belgium, Canada, Honduras, Iceland (on behalf of the Nordic countries), Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, and Uruguay explained their abstention. The supporters of the resolution argued that the United Nations' strong condemnation of the policies of apartheid and the Fund's status as specialized agency in the United Nations' system should

prevail while those who voted against or abstained took the position that, notwithstanding their country's well known objections against apartheid policies, the principle of universality and the independent decision-making process of the Fund had to be respected. The result of the voting on resolution A/37/2\* showed 121 votes in favor, 3 against and 23 abstentions.

In favor: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay.

Countries not participating in the vote were: Chile, Equatorial Guinea, Guatemala, Iran, Israel, St. Vincent, Samoa, South Africa, and Swaziland.

Operative paragraph 4 of the resolution requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake urgent consultations with the International Monetary Fund "and to report to the General Assembly as soon as possible on the implementation of the present resolution." Consequently a Report of the Secretary-General was issued as UN Assembly document A/37/607 of November 10, 1982 which described these consultations and contained, inter alia, the text of a letter of the Managing Director to the Secretary-General and the text of IMF Press Release 82/52.

The discussion of the agenda item on decolonization in the Assembly's Fourth Main Committee (of the whole) on Decolonization and the regular debate on the apartheid issue in the Assembly's plenary meetings took place in mid-November, leading to the adoption on November 23, of Assembly resolution A/37/32 on the "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the Specialized Agencies and the International Institutions Associated with the United Nations". This resolution (Annex II)

which treated, inter alia, the issue of Namibian independence, contained several paragraphs critical of the Fund's relations with South Africa and also reiterated in operative paragraph 20 last year's Assembly proposal for the inclusion of an item on Fund relations with South Africa in the agenda of the Fund's Board of Governors. Operative paragraph 21 recommended the sending of a mission to the Fund, composed of the Chairmen of three standing UN General Assembly bodies who should visit the Fund in 1983 (at a date to be determined), to discuss matters relating to South Africa and Namibia. The result of the vote on this resolution was essentially similar to that on resolution A/37/2 with 128 votes in favor, 4 against, and 20 abstentions.

Also in mid-November, the Assembly devoted several plenary meetings to the discussion of the policies of apartheid of South Africa and, a few weeks later, on December 9, adopted a set of resolutions numbered A/37/69 A-J, devoted to the issue, one of which, resolution A/37/69 A (Annex III) contained a reference to the Fund in operative paragraph 12.

The results of the voting on this resolution showed 118 votes in favor, 14 against, and 11 abstentions.

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

Against: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Japan, Malawi, Singapore, Spain, Sweden.

Not participating in the vote: Belize, Chile, Dominica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Israel, Lebanon, Paraguay, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, Samoa, Seychelles, South Africa.

Finally, under the agenda item Namibia, and after extensive discussion, the Assembly adopted another set of resolutions numbered A/37/233 A-E.

Resolution A/37/233 A (Annex IV) contained a reference in paragraph 31 to the Fund, stating that the Assembly "Deeply deplores the continued collaboration of the International Monetary Fund with South Africa, as exemplified by the recent grant of a credit of one billion special drawing rights in disregard of General Assembly resolution 37/2 of 21 October 1982, and calls on the Fund to put an end to such collaboration." This resolution was adopted with 120 votes in favor, none against, and 23 abstentions, the latter essentially those of the OECD countries which commented that, while in favor of Namibian independence, they could not support various references inter alia to individually named countries or groups of countries. Resolution A/37/233 C which was adopted with 140 votes in favor, none against, and 8 abstentions (Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and United States), contained in its paragraph 14 (h) a reference stating that the UN Council for Namibia should "Contact specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations, in particular the International Monetary Fund, with a view to protecting Namibia's interests."

General Assembly document A/37/24 (Part II) contained a description of possible administrative arrangements for the sending of a Council delegation in implementation of Assembly resolution A/37/233 C, paragraph 14 (h).

It was also decided to hold in 1983, at a date to be decided, a UN conference in support of Namibian independence at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris.

General Assembly Resolution A/37/107 (Provisional Text)

Provisions for a unit of account and adjustment of limitations  
of liability adopted by the United Nations Commission on  
International Trade Law

The General Assembly,

Recognizing that many international transport and liability conventions of both a global and a regional character contain limitation of liability provisions, wherein the limitation of liability is expressed in a unit of account,

Noting that the amount fixed in such a convention as the limitation of liability may become seriously affected over time by changes in monetary values, thereby destroying the intended balance of the convention as adopted,

Believing that a preferred unit of account for many conventions, particularly for those of global application, should be the special drawing right as determined by the International Monetary Fund,

Being of the opinion that the conventions should, in any event, contain a provision which would facilitate the adjustment of the limit of liability to changes in monetary values,

Taking into consideration any preferential agreements between the States concerned,

Noting that the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law has adopted a provision for a universal unit of account for expressing monetary amounts in international transport and liability conventions and two alternative provisions for the adjustment of limits of liability in such conventions, 6/

1. Recommends that, in the preparation of future international conventions containing limitation of liability provisions or in the revision of existing conventions, the unit of account provision as adopted by the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law should be used;

2. Recommends further that in such conventions one of the two alternative provisions for adjustment of the limitation of liability as adopted by the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law should be used.

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6/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 17 (A/37/17 and Corr.1 - E only), para. 63.

General Assembly Resolution A/37/32 (Provisional Text)

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations

The General Assembly,

Having examined the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations",

Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration, contained in the annex to its resolution 35/118 of 11 December 1980, as well as all other relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on this subject, in particular resolution 36/52 of 24 November 1981,

Recalling also its resolution ES-8/2 of 14 September 1981 on the question of Namibia,

Having examined the reports submitted on the item by the Secretary-General, 5/ to Economic and Social Council 6/ and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 7/

Taking into account the relevant provisions of the Arusha Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 13 May 1982 at its extraordinary plenary meetings, held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 8/

Bearing in mind the relevant provisions of the final communiqué and other documents of the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 31 May to 5 June 1982, 9/

Aware that the struggle of the people of Namibia is in its most crucial stage and has sharply intensified as a consequence of the stepped-up aggression of the illegal colonialist régime of Pretoria against the people of the Territory and the increased general support rendered to that régime by the United States of America and other Western States, coupled with efforts to deprive the Namibian people of their hard-won victories in the liberation struggle, and that it is therefore incumbent upon the entire international community decisively to intensify concerted action in support of the people of Namibia and their sole and authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization, for the attainment of their goal,

Deeply conscious of the critical need of the Namibian people and their national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, and of the peoples

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5/ A/37/177 and Add.1-3.

6/ A/37/3 (Part II), chap. VI.

7/ A/37/23 (Part III) and Add.2, chap. VI.

8/ A/37/230-S/15089, annex.

9/ A/37/333-S/15278, annex.



of other colonial Territories for concrete assistance from the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system in their struggle for liberation from colonial rule and in their efforts to achieve and consolidate their national independence,

Reaffirming the responsibility of the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to take all the necessary measures, within their respective spheres of competence, to ensure the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly those relating to the provision of moral and material assistance, on a priority basis, to the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements,

Deeply concerned that, although there has been progress in the extension of assistance to refugees from Namibia, the actions taken hitherto by the organizations concerned in providing assistance to the people of the Territory through their national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, still remain inadequate to meet the urgent needs of the Namibian people,

Expressing its confident hope that closer contacts and consultations between the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system and the Organization of African Unity and the national liberation movement concerned will help to overcome procedural and other difficulties which have impeded or delayed the implementation of some assistance programmes,

Recalling its resolution 36/121 D of 10 December 1981, in which it requested all specialized agencies and other organizations and conferences of the United Nations system to grant full membership to the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia,

Expressing its appreciation to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity for the continued co-operation and assistance extended by it to the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system in connection with the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations,

Expressing its appreciation also to the Governments of the front-line States for the steadfast support extended to the people of Namibia and their national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, in their just and legitimate struggle for the attainment of freedom and independence despite increased armed attacks by the forces of the racist South African régime, and aware of the particular needs of those Governments for assistance in that connection,

Noting with satisfaction the intensified efforts of the United Nations Development Programme in the extension of assistance to the national liberation movements and commending its initiative in establishing channels for closer periodic contacts and consultations between the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system and the Organization of African Unity and the national liberation movements in the formulation of assistance programmes,

Noting also the support given by the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to the implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/9 of 4 November 1977,

Gravely concerned at the continued collaboration between the International Monetary Fund and the Government of South Africa in disregard of relevant General Assembly resolutions,

Noting with satisfaction the high-level meetings held at Geneva from 6 to 8 April 1981 between representatives of the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and the secretariats of the United Nations and other organizations of the United Nations system in accordance with General Assembly resolution 36/80 of 9 December 1981 on the question of co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

Mindful of the necessity of keeping under continuous review the activities of the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system in the implementation of the various United Nations decisions relating to decolonization,

1. Approves the chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question; 6/
2. Reaffirms that the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system should continue to be guided by the relevant resolutions of the United Nations in their efforts to contribute, within their spheres of competence, to the full and speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
3. Reaffirms also that the recognition by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations organs of the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and independence entails, as a corollary, the extension by the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system of all the necessary moral and material assistance to those peoples and their national liberation movements;
4. Expresses its appreciation to those specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system which have continued to co-operate in varying degrees with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in the implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and urges all the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to accelerate the full and speedy implementation of the relevant provisions of those resolutions;
5. Expresses its concern that the assistance extended thus far by certain specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to the colonial peoples, particularly the people of Namibia and their national liberation

movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, is far from adequate in relation to the actual needs of the peoples concerned;

6. Regrets, notwithstanding the statement of the representative of the World Bank of 17 May 1982, 10/ that the Bank has terminated business relations with the South African régime, that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund continue to maintain links with the racist régime of Pretoria as exemplified by the continued membership of South Africa in both agencies;

7. Deeply deplores the persistent collaboration between the International Monetary Fund and South Africa, in disregard of repeated resolutions to the contrary by the General Assembly, and calls upon the International Monetary Fund to put an end to such collaboration;

8. Urges the executive heads of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to draw the particular attention of their governing bodies to the present resolution with a view to formulating specific programmes beneficial to the peoples of the colonial Territories, particularly Namibia;

9. Requests the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to render or continue to render, as a matter of urgency, all possible moral and material assistance to the colonial peoples struggling for liberation from colonial rule;

10. Requests once again the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to continue to provide all moral and material assistance to the newly independent and emerging States;

11. Reiterates its recommendation that the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system should initiate or broaden contacts and co-operation with the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements, directly or, where appropriate, through the Organization of African Unity, and review and introduce greater flexibility in their procedures with respect to the formulation and preparation of assistance programmes and projects so as to be able to extend the necessary assistance without delay to help the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements in their struggle to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

12. Notes with satisfaction that the South West Africa People's Organization continues to be the beneficiary of a number of programmes established within the framework of the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka and that the United Nations Council for Namibia, in co-operation with the South West Africa People's Organization, continues to represent the people of Namibia at meetings of the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations

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10/ See A/AC.109/L.1446/Add.1, paras. 24-31.

system, and urges those agencies and organizations to increase their assistance to the South West Africa People's Organization, as well as to the United Nations Institute for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia;

13. Urges the specialized agencies and organizations of the United Nations system which have not already done so to include in the agenda of the regular meetings of their governing bodies a separate item on the progress they have made in the implementation of the Declaration and the other relevant resolutions of the United Nations;

14. Requests the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, to take all necessary measures to withhold any financial, economic, technical or other assistance from the Government of South Africa, to discontinue all support to that Government until it restores to the people of Namibia their inalienable right to self-determination and independence and to refrain from taking any action which might imply recognition of, or support for, the legitimacy of the domination of Territory by that régime;

15. Notes with satisfaction the arrangements made by several specialized agencies and organizations of the United Nations system which enable representatives of the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity to participate fully as observers in the proceedings relating to matters concerning their respective countries and calls upon those agencies and organizations which have not yet done so to follow this example and to make the necessary arrangements without delay;

16. Urges the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system which have so far not granted full membership to the United Nations Council for Namibia to do so without delay;

17. Urges the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system to extend, as a matter of priority, substantial material assistance to the Governments of the front-line States in order to enable them more effectively to support the struggle of the people of Namibia for freedom and independence and to resist the violation of their territorial integrity by the armed forces of the racist régime of South Africa, directly or, as in Angola, through puppet traitor groups in the service of Pretoria;

18. Urges the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system to assist in accelerating progress in all sectors of the national life, particularly in the development of the economies of the small Territories;

19. Recommends that all Governments should intensify their efforts in the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system of which they are members to ensure the full and effective implementation of the Declaration and other relevant resolutions of the United Nations and, in that connection, should accord priority to the question of providing assistance on an emergency basis to the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements;

20. Reiterates its proposal, under article III of the Agreement between the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund, 11/ for the urgent inclusion in the agenda of the Board of Governors of the Fund of an item dealing with the relationship between the Fund and South Africa and further reiterates its proposal that, in pursuance of article II of the Agreement, the relevant organs of the United Nations should participate in any meeting of the Board of Governors called by the Fund for the purpose of discussing the item;

21. Recommends the sending in 1983 of a high-level mission to the International Monetary Fund which, subject to the agreement of the United Nations bodies involved, would be composed of the Chairman of the Special Committee, the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid;

22. Draws the attention of the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 35/118, and in particular to those provisions calling on the agencies and organizations to render all possible moral and material assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements;

23. Urges the executive heads of the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system, having regard to the provisions of paragraphs 11 and 22 above, to formulate, with the active co-operation of the Organization of African Unity where appropriate, and to submit, as a matter of priority, to their governing and legislative organs concrete proposals for the full implementation of the relevant United Nations decisions, in particular specific programmes of assistance to the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements;

24. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to assist the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system in working out appropriate measures for implementing the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and to prepare for submission to the relevant bodies, with the assistance of those agencies and organizations, a report on the action taken since the circulation of his previous report in implementation of the relevant resolutions, including the present resolution;

25. Requests the Economic and Social Council to continue to consider, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the

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11/ See Agreements between the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency (United Nations publication, Sales No. E/F.61.X.1), p. 61.

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, appropriate measures for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system in implementing the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly;

26. Requests the Special Committee to continue to examine this question and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session.

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## General Assembly

### General Assembly Resolution A/37/69 A (Provisional Text)

#### POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

##### Situation in South Africa

##### The General Assembly,

Recalling and reaffirming its resolutions on this question, particularly resolution 36/172 of 17 December 1981,

Having considered the reports of the Special Committee against Apartheid, 1/

Reaffirming that apartheid is a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security,

Bearing in mind that it proclaimed 1982 International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa,

Conscious of the responsibility of the United Nations and the international community towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement, as proclaimed, in particular, in General Assembly resolution 3411 C (XXX) of 28 November 1975,

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session Supplement No. 22 (A/37/22), A/37/22/Add.1-S/15383/Add.1.

Convinced that it is incumbent on the international community to provide all necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement in their legitimate struggle for the establishment of a democratic society pursuant to their inalienable rights, in conformity with the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 2/

Commending the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, particularly the African National Congress, for intensifying the armed struggle against the racist régime,

Reaffirming that the apartheid régime is totally responsible for precipitating violent conflict through its policy of apartheid and inhuman repression,

Gravely concerned at the intensification of repression in South Africa, the growing number of deaths in detention and the imposition of death sentences on freedom fighters of the African National Congress,

Reaffirming that freedom fighters of South Africa should be treated as prisoners of war in accordance with Additional Protocol I 3/ to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, 4/

Commending the courageous struggle of the black workers of South Africa for their inalienable rights,

Condemning the policy of "bantustanization" designed to dispossess further the African majority of its inalienable rights and to deprive it of citizenship, as well as the continuing forced removals of black people, as an international crime,

Gravely concerned at the growing number of displaced and missing persons resulting from the criminal policies of the racist régime of South Africa,

Reaffirming that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be totally eliminated,

Denouncing the manoeuvres of the racist régime of South Africa to divide the oppressed people through so-called constitutional dispensations and other means, and commending the oppressed people for rejecting those manoeuvres,

Recognizing that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations are essential to avert the grave threat to international peace and security resulting from the policies and actions of the apartheid régime of South Africa,

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2/ Resolution 217 A (III).

3/ A/32/144, annex I.

4/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, Nos. 970-973.



Considering that political, economic, military and any other collaboration with the apartheid régime of South Africa encourages its persistent intransigence and defiance of the international community and its escalating acts of repression and aggression,

Reaffirming that the policies and actions of the apartheid régime, the strengthening of its military forces and its escalating acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism against independent African States have resulted in frequent breaches of the peace and constitute a grave threat to international peace and security,

Deploing the attitude of those Western permanent members of the Security Council that have so far prevented the Council from adopting comprehensive sanctions against that régime under Chapter VII of the Charter,

Condemning all military, nuclear and other collaboration by certain Western States and Israel with South Africa,

Gravely concerned at the pronouncements, policies and actions of the Government of the United States of America which have provided comfort and encouragement to the racist régime of South Africa,

Concerned that some Western countries and Israel continue military and nuclear co-operation with South Africa, in gross violation of the provisions of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), of 4 November 1977, and have failed to prevent corporations, institutions and individuals within their jurisdiction from carrying out such co-operation,

Gravely concerned that the racist régime of South Africa has continued to obtain military equipment and ammunition, as well as technology and know-how, to develop its armaments industry and to acquire nuclear-weapon capability,

Recognizing that any nuclear-weapon capability of the racist régime of South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security and a grave menace to Africa and the world,

Commending all States which have provided assistance to Angola and other front-line States in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations,

Condemning any encouragement to the apartheid régime in its acts of aggression, direct or indirect, as hostile to the interests of peace and freedom,

Strongly condemning the activities of those transnational corporations that continue to collaborate with the apartheid régime, especially in the military, nuclear, petroleum and other fields, and of those financial institutions that have continued to provide loans and credits to South Africa,

Emphasizing the conclusion of the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa that the continuing political, economic and military collaboration of certain Western States and their transnational corporations with the racist régime

of South Africa encourages its persistent intransigence and defiance of the international community and constitutes a major obstacle to the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of apartheid in South Africa, and the attainment of self-determination, freedom and national independence by the people of Namibia, 5/

Recalling and reaffirming the Declaration on South Africa contained in its resolution 34/93 O of 12 December 1979,

Commending the efforts of trade unions, religious institutions, student organizations and anti-apartheid movements in their campaigns against transnational corporations and financial institutions collaborating with the racist régime of South Africa,

1. Strongly condemns the apartheid régime of South Africa for its brutal repression and indiscriminate torture and killings of workers, schoolchildren and other opponents of apartheid, and the imposition of death sentences on freedom fighters;

2. Vehemently condemns the apartheid régime for its repeated acts of aggression, subversion and terrorism against independent African States, designed to destabilize the whole of southern Africa;

3. Reiterates its firm conviction that the apartheid régime has been encouraged to undertake these criminal acts by the protection afforded by major Western Powers against international sanctions;

4. Condemns the policies of certain Western States, especially the United States of America, and Israel, and of their transnational corporations and financial institutions which have increased political, economic and military collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa despite repeated appeals by the General Assembly;

5. Reaffirms its conviction that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, universally applied, are the most appropriate and effective means by which the international community can assist the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and discharge its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security;

6. Again urges the Security Council to determine that the situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole, resulting from the policies and actions of the apartheid régime of South Africa, constitutes a grave and growing threat to international peace and security, and to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the régime under Chapter VII of the Charter;

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5/ A/CONF.107/8, para. 210.

7. Demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all troops of the apartheid régime of South Africa from Angola and demands that South Africa respect fully the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and other independent African States;

8. Further demands that the racist régime of South Africa pay full compensation to Angola and other independent African States for the damage to life and property caused by its acts of aggression;

9. Urges all States that have not yet done so to adopt separate and collective measures for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, pending action by the Security Council;

10. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to take the necessary measures to stop the supply of oil from Brunei to South Africa;

11. Requests all intergovernmental organizations to exclude the racist régime of South Africa and to terminate all co-operation with it;

12. Expresses serious concern over the continued granting of credits by the International Monetary Fund to the racist régime of South Africa and requests it to terminate such credits forthwith;

13. Requests the International Atomic Energy Agency to refrain from extending to South Africa any facilities which may assist it in its nuclear plans and, in particular, to exclude South Africa from all its technical working groups;

14. Again calls upon all States and organizations to refrain from any recognition of or co-operation with the so-called "independent" bantustans;

15. Appeals to all States that have not yet done so to accede to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid; 6/

16. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement by all available means, including armed struggle, for the seizure of power by the people, the elimination of the apartheid régime and the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of South Africa as a whole;

17. Demands that the apartheid régime treat captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war under the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 4/ and Additional Protocol I thereto; 3/

18. Again proclaims its full support of the national liberation movement of South Africa as the authentic representative of the people of South Africa in their just struggle for liberation;

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6/ Resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex.

19. Appeals to all States to provide all necessary humanitarian, educational, financial and other necessary assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement in their legitimate struggle;

20. Urges the United Nations Development Programme and other agencies of the United Nations system to expand their assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa and to the South African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, namely, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, in consultation with the Special Committee against Apartheid;

21. Decides to continue the authorization of adequate financial provision in the budget of the United Nations to enable those liberation movements to maintain offices in New York in order to participate effectively in the deliberations of the Special Committee and other appropriate bodies;

22. Invites all Governments and organizations to assist, in consultation with the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, persons compelled to leave South Africa because of their objection, on the ground of conscience, to serving in the military or police forces of the apartheid régime;

23. Reaffirms the commitment of the United Nations to the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic society in which all the people of South Africa as a whole, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, will enjoy equal and full human rights and fundamental freedoms and participate freely in the determination of their destiny.

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General Assembly Resolution A/37/233 A

(Provisional Text)

The General Assembly,

Having examined the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia 1/ and the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 2/

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

Recalling, in particular, its resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967 and subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to Namibia, as well as the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, 3/ delivered in response to the request addressed to it by the Security Council in its resolution 284 (1970) of 29 July 1970,

Recalling also its resolutions 3111 (XXVIII) of 12 December 1973 and 31/146 and 31/152 of 20 December 1976, by which it, inter alia, recognized the South West Africa People's Organization as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people and granted observer status to it,

Further recalling its resolutions ES-8/2 of 14 September 1981 and 36/121 B of 10 December 1981, by which it called upon States to cease forthwith, individually and collectively, all dealings with South Africa in order totally to isolate it in the political, economic, military and cultural fields,

Recalling the Paris Declaration on Sanctions against South Africa and the Special Declaration on Namibia, adopted by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris from 20 to 27 May 1981, 4/

Taking into consideration the Arusha Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia, 5/ adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia at its extraordinary plenary meetings held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania from 10 to 14 May 1982,

Strongly reiterating that the continuing illegal and colonial occupation of Namibia by South Africa, in defiance of repeated General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people

and a challenge to the authority of the United Nations, which has direct responsibility for Namibia until its independence,

Stressing the grave responsibility of the international community to take all possible measures in support of the Namibian people in their liberation struggle under the leadership of their sole and authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization,

Reaffirming its full support for the armed struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia,

Indignant at South Africa's refusal to comply with repeated resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976, 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978 and 439 (1978) of 13 November 1978 and at its manoeuvres aimed at perpetuating its brutal domination and exploitation of the Namibian people, as repeatedly manifested in the course of the consultations for the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia,

Commending the front-line States and the South West Africa People's Organization for the statesmanlike and constructive attitude which they have displayed throughout the consultations to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978),

Strongly condemning South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia, its brutal repression of the Namibian people and its ruthless exploitation of the people and resources of Namibia, as well as its attempts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia,

Strongly condemning the racist régime of South Africa for its efforts to develop a nuclear capability for military and aggressive purposes,

Deeply concerned at the increasing militarization of Namibia, the forceful conscription of Namibians, the creation of tribal armies and the use of mercenaries for internal repression and external aggression,

Noting with grave concern that, as a result of the Security Council's failure on 31 August 1981, 6/ on account of the veto of the United States of America, to exercise its responsibilities, unprovoked massive armed aggression against Angola continues,

Expressing its strong condemnation of South Africa's continuing acts of aggression against independent African States, particularly Angola, which have caused extensive loss of human life and destruction of economic infrastructures,

Reaffirming that the resources of Namibia are the inviolable heritage of the Namibian people and that the exploitation of those resources by foreign economic interests under the protection of the illegal colonial administration, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, 7/ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974, and in disregard of the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, is illegal and contributes to the maintenance of the illegal occupation régime,

Deeply deploring the continued collaboration with South Africa of certain Western countries, in particular the United States of America, as well as that of Israel, in disregard of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council,

Deeply concerned at the continued assistance rendered to the racist Pretoria régime by certain international organizations and institutions, in particular the International Monetary Fund, in disregard of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly,

Indignant at the continuing arbitrary imprisonment and detention of political leaders and followers of the South West Africa People's Organization, the killing of Namibian patriots and other acts of brutality, including the wanton beating, torture and murder of innocent Namibians, and the arbitrary inhuman measures of collective punishment and measures designed to intimidate the Namibian people and to destroy their will to fulfil their legitimate aspirations for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia,

Noting with grave concern that the Security Council has been prevented on several occasions from taking effective action against South Africa in the discharge of its responsibilities under Chapter VII of the Charter on account of the vetoes cast by one of more of the Western permanent members of the Security Council,

Commending the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in the discharge of the responsibilities entrusted to it under the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence,

1. Approves the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia;
2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and as recognized in General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI) and in subsequent resolutions of the Assembly relating to Namibia, as well as the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, against the illegal occupation of their territory by South Africa;
3. Reiterates that, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations until genuine self-determination and national independence are achieved in the Territory and for this purpose, reaffirms the mandate given to the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence under resolution 2248 (S-V) and subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly;
4. Reaffirms that the South West Africa People's Organization, the national liberation movement of Namibia, is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people;
5. Solemnly reaffirms that the genuine independence of Namibia can be achieved only with the direct and full participation of the South West Africa People's Organization in all efforts to implement resolutions of the United Nations relating to Namibia and further reaffirms that the only parties to the conflict in

Namibia are, on the one hand, South Africa, as the illegal occupying Power, and, on the other, the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, their sole and authentic representative;

6. Strongly condemns the South African régime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations relating to Namibia;

7. Declares that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people in terms of the Definition of Aggression contained in General Assembly resolution 3341 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974 and supports the armed struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia;

8. Reiterates that, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council resolution 432 (1978) of 27 July 1978 and General Assembly resolutions S-9/2 of 3 May 1978 and 35/227 A of 6 March 1981, Walvis Bay and the offshore islands of Namibia are an integral part of Namibia and that all attempts by South Africa to annex them are therefore illegal, null and void;

9. Reaffirms that Security Council resolution 435 (1978), together with Council resolution 385 (1976), is the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question and calls for its immediate and unconditional implementation without modification or qualification;

10. Firmly rejects the manoeuvres by one member of the Western contact group aimed at undermining the international consensus embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and at depriving the oppressed Namibian people of their hard-won victories in the struggle for national liberation;

11. Expresses its appreciation to the front-line States and the South West Africa People's Organization for their constructive and statesmanlike attitude throughout the consultations to implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

12. Strongly condemns South Africa for obstructing the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) and for its manoeuvres, in contravention of those resolutions, designed to consolidate its colonial and neo-colonial interests at the expense of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people for genuine self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia;

13. Denounces all fraudulent constitutional and political schemes through which the illegal régime of racist South Africa may attempt to perpetuate its colonial domination in Namibia and, in particular, calls upon the international community, especially all Member States, to continue to refrain from according any recognition or extending any co-operation to any régime which the illegal South African administration may impose upon the Namibian people in disregard of the present resolution, of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) and of other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Council;



14. Strongly urges the Security Council to act decisively against any dilatory manoeuvres and fraudulent schemes of the illegal occupation régime aimed at frustrating the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization, for self-determination and national liberation, as well as at negating the achievements of their just struggle;

15. Declares that all so-called laws and proclamations issued by the illegal occupation régime in Namibia are illegal, null and void;

16. Calls upon Member States and the specialized agencies and other international organizations associated with the United Nations to render sustained and increased support as well as material, financial, military and other assistance to the South West Africa People's Organization so as to enable it to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia;

17. Deeply deplores the increased assistance rendered by certain Western countries to South Africa in the political, economic, military and cultural fields and expresses its conviction that this assistance should be exposed before the world public at large and demands that such assistance be immediately terminated;

18. Strongly condemns South Africa for its military build-up in Namibia, its introduction of compulsory military service for Namibians, its recruitment and training of Namibians for tribal armies and the use of mercenaries to suppress the Namibian people and to carry out its military attacks against independent African States, its threats and acts of subversion and aggression against those countries and the forcible displacement of Namibians from their homes;

19. Strongly condemns South Africa for its persistent acts of subversion and aggression against Angola, including the occupation of a part of its territory, and calls upon South Africa to cease all acts of aggression against and withdraw all its troops from that country;

20. Calls upon the international community to extend, as a matter of urgency, full support and assistance, including military assistance, to the front-line States in order to enable them to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity against the repeated acts of aggression by South Africa;

21. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to develop, in consultation with the United Nations Development Programme, a comprehensive programme of assistance to States which are neighbours of South Africa and Namibia, on the understanding that such assistance should not only envisage the overcoming of short-term difficulties but be designed to enable those States to move towards complete self-reliance, and requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session on the development of this programme;

22. Reiterates its call upon all States to take legislative and other appropriate measures to prevent the recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries for service in Namibia;

23. Strongly condemns the illegal South African administration for its massive repression of the people of Namibia and their national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization, with the intention of establishing an atmosphere of intimidation and terror for the purpose of imposing upon the Namibian

people a political arrangement aimed at undermining the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia as well as perpetuating the systematic plunder of the natural resources of the Territory;

24. Demands that South Africa immediately release all Namibian political prisoners, including all those imprisoned or detained under the so-called internal security laws, martial law or any other arbitrary measures, whether such Namibians have been charged or tried or are being held without charge in Namibia or South Africa;

25. Demands that South Africa account for all "disappeared" Namibians and release any who are still alive and declares that South Africa shall be liable for damages to compensate the victims, their families and the future lawful Government of an independent Namibia for the losses sustained;

26. Strongly condemns the collusion by the Governments of certain Western and other countries, particularly those of the United States of America and Israel, with the racist régime of South Africa in the nuclear field and calls upon France and all other States to refrain from supplying the racist minority régime of South Africa, directly or indirectly, with installations that might enable it to produce uranium, plutonium or other nuclear materials, reactors or military equipment;

27. Strongly condemns the activities of all foreign economic interests operating in Namibia under the illegal South African administration which are illegally exploiting the resources of the Territory and demands that transnational corporations engaged in such exploitation comply with all relevant resolutions of the United Nations by immediately refraining from any new investment or activities in Namibia, by withdrawing from the Territory and by putting an end to their co-operation with the illegal South African administration;

28. Requests once again all Member States to take all appropriate measures, including legislation and enforcement action, to ensure the full application of, and compliance with, the provisions of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia;

29. Declares that, by their depletive exploitation of natural resources and continued accumulation and repatriation of huge profits, the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests operating at present in Namibia constitute a major obstacle to its political independence;

30. Requests the Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which operate the Urenco uranium-enrichment plant, to have Namibian uranium specifically excluded from the Treaty of Almelo, which regulates the activities of Urenco;

31. Deeply deplores the continued collaboration of the International Monetary Fund with South Africa, as exemplified by the recent grant of a credit of one billion special drawing rights in disregard of General Assembly resolution 37/2 of 21 October 1982, and calls on the Fund to put an end to such collaboration;

32. Reiterates its request to all States to take legislative, administrative and other measures, as appropriate, in order effectively to isolate South Africa politically, economically, militarily and culturally, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions ES-8/2 and 36/121 B;

33. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia to continue to follow the implementation of the provisions of paragraph 32 above on the basis of information received from States as well as other sources;

34. Requests the United Nations Council for Namibia, in implementation of paragraph 15 of General Assembly resolution ES-8/2 and of the provisions of Assembly resolution 36/121 B, to continue to monitor the boycott of South Africa and to submit to the Assembly at its thirty-eighth session a comprehensive report on all contacts between all States and South Africa, containing an analysis of the information received from Member States and other sources on the continuing political, economic, financial and other relations of States and their economic and other interest groups with South Africa and of measures taken by States to terminate all dealings with the racist régime of South Africa;

35. Requests all States to co-operate fully with the United Nations Council for Namibia in the fulfilment of its tasks concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolutions ES-8/2 and 36/121 B and to report to the Secretary-General by the thirty-eighth session of the Assembly on the measures taken by them in implementation of those resolutions;

36. Declares that South Africa's defiance of the United Nations, its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia, its war of repression against the Namibian people, its persistent acts of aggression launched from bases in Namibia against independent African States, its policies of apartheid and its development of nuclear weapons constitute a serious threat to international peace and security;

37. Strongly urges the Security Council, in the light of the serious threat to international peace and security posed by South Africa, to respond positively to the overwhelming demand of the international community by immediately imposing against that country comprehensive mandatory sanctions, as provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations;

38. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-eighth session on the implementation of the present resolution.