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LETTER DATED 15 MARCH 1979 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, ADDRESSED TO
THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA

I have received your letter of 15 March 1979 (see S/13172). I regret to note that in spite of my letter of 8 March 1979 (S/13156), you still maintain the position expressed in your statement of 6 March to the South African Parliament (see S/13148).

As regards your questions concerning the Proposal adopted by the Security Council (S/12636), I wish to reply as follows:

1. I think there is no question that the Proposal does provide for the restriction to base of all forces of the parties. Indeed you will find that this point was also made explicitly in paragraphs 11 and 12 of my recent report (S/13120).
2. As regards your second question it is quite clear that UNTAG will monitor the restriction to base of all forces within Namibia. The question that has arisen concerns forces outside Namibia where the Proposal makes no specific provision for monitoring by UNTAG. This is, I understand, the position of the five Western Powers who negotiated the Proposal.
3. I believe your third question refers to paragraph 11 of my above-mentioned report. I wish to assure you once again that the relevant sentence of this paragraph concerning "any SWAPO armed forces in Namibia at the time of the cease-fire" referred precisely to such forces and was designed exclusively to solve the practical problem that might be created by the presence of any such forces. I take it from the numerous reports I have received from your Government of armed SWAPO activity within Namibia, that you agree that there may be some such forces present in Namibia at the time of the cease-fire.
4. As regards your question 4, I can only refer you to paragraphs 14 and 17 of my recent report which gave, I believe, a reasonable proposal for a workable cease-fire arrangement.
5. I believe that the answer to your fifth question is set out in subparagraphs B and C of paragraph 7 of the original Proposal (S/12636).
6. The normal process of consultation concerning United Nations military forces has been explained on numerous occasions to your representatives and has been

followed in the present case. The object of the process of consultation with the parties is to try to reach a composition which, though not necessarily approved in all its parts by them, can be reasonably accepted as a working compromise. Paragraph 38 of my report to the Security Council of 29 August 1978 (S/12827) sets out the procedure and principles governing such consultations. For obvious reasons, this practice is not intended to give a veto power to any of the parties in such a situation. Of course the views of the South African Government have been taken into account within this context. We have also made clear to your representatives on numerous occasions that the final decision rests in consultations with the Security Council.

7. In paragraph 5 of your letter you refer to a paper which you have entitled "Operational Implementation Document". I am surprised both at the title and at the introduction of this paper at this stage. As you must know, this paper emerged from conversations held between General Philipp, the military adviser to Mr. Ahtisaari, and the South African military authorities in Cape Town in January 1979. You may recall that this paper was delivered to Mr. Ahtisaari late in the evening of 21 January. In his meeting with your Foreign Minister the following morning, Mr. Ahtisaari referred to this paper as follows: "Both General Philipp and I will be prepared to give further consideration to the study in as far as it does not conflict with the Western Proposal and the report of the Secretary-General as adopted by resolution 435 (1978)." On Mr. Ahtisaari's return and after further study of this paper, it was concluded that it could not be accepted as an accurate interpretation of the Proposal, and your representative in New York was so informed on 26 January.

(Signed) Kurt WALDHEIM