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**FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 435 (1978) AND 439 (1978) CONCERNING
THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA**

1. On 31 March 1987, I submitted to the Security Council my report (S/18767) on the question of Namibia. The present report is intended to provide the Council with an account of developments since then concerning efforts to implement its resolutions 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978 and 439 (1978) of 13 November 1978 On the same subject.
2. The Security Council resumed its consideration of the item at its 2740th meeting, on 6 April 1987, and continued its discussion at its 2741st to 2747th meetings, between 6 and 9 April 1987. A draft resolution on the question was not adopted owing to the negative vote of a permanent member of the Council.
3. Following the Security Council meeting, I resumed my consultations with Ambassador Leslie Manley of South Africa. I asked him to clarify the position of the Government of South Africa on the future of the Territory in the light of disturbing press reports. I stressed that any deviations from agreements reached between the United Nations and South Africa would be in violation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).
4. Ambassador Manley informed me that Mr. P. W. Botha, the state President, had met with members of the "interim government" at Cape Town on 22 May 1987 to discuss, among other things, constitutional matters. He added that the State President had made clear to members of the "interim government" that constitutional steps, which might impair the Republic of South Africa's international interests and obligations, were not acceptable to the Republic of South Africa. He also informed me that Foreign Minister Botha, assisted by Defence Minister Magnus Malan, had held follow-up discussions at Windhoek on 19 June 1987 on subjects that were raised with the State President in Cape Town. During those discussions, Foreign Minister Botha had explained that any constitutional proposals pertaining to Namibia could at that moment serve only as a basis for further consideration and discussion, and that they should not be of such a nature as would compromise South Africa's international undertakings.
5. In conclusion, Ambassador Manley informed me that his Government remained committed to Security Council resolution 435 (1978), on the understanding that a

firm and satisfactory agreement was reached on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola prior to implementation. In response, I stated that the linkage pre-condition had been rejected by the Security Council and called for the implementation of Council resolution 435 (1978) without further delay.

6. I kept the Ambassadors of the front-line States as well as the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) informed of these developments and communicated to them the response I had received from South Africa in regard to its position on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) .

7. On 21 August 1987, the President of the Security Council issued a statement on behalf of members of the Council concerning the question of Namibia (S/19068) . In their statement, the members of the Council expressed their grave concern over the continuing deterioration of the situation in Namibia resulting from the increasing repression of the Namibian people by South African occupation forces throughout the Territory, including the so-called operational zone in northern Namibia, which had led to the loss of innocent lives, particularly in the preceding few weeks. They condemned all acts of repression of, and brutalities against, the Namibian people, the violation of their human rights and the disregard for their inalienable rights to self-determination and genuine independence. They further condemned South Africa's attempts to undermine the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. The members of the Council also condemned particularly the arrest of five SWAPO leaders and the repressive measures against student and labour organizations since 18-19 August 1987. They demanded the immediate release of the detainees, and called upon South Africa to put an immediate end to the repression of the Namibian people and to all illegal acts against neighbouring States. The members of the Council recalled previous Council resolutions affirming the primary and direct responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia. They called once again upon South Africa to comply fully with Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and to put an end to its illegal occupation and administration of Namibia.

8. At the end of July 1987, I attended the summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) at Addis Ababa where I held in-depth discussions on the situation in southern Africa with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the current Chairman of OAU and Chairman of the Front-line States. I also discussed the situation with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and with Foreign Minister \ Dunem of Angola, who represented President José Eduardo dos Santos at the summit. In addition, I also met with Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO.

9. In discussions regarding the question of Namibia with these leaders, I informed them of my intention to ask Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, my Special Representative for Namibia, and Mr. Hisham Omayad, Director, Department for Special Political Questions, Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and Trusteeship, to visit South Africa and the front-line States for consultations. All of them welcomed my decision.

10. The main purpose of the mission was to expedite action for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). To that end, the mission was instructed to impress on all concerned the need to proceed to the implementation of the United Nations plan without further delay.

11. The mission left New York on 15 August 1987 for South Africa, where it held discussions at Cape Town on 18 August 1987 with Foreign Minister Botha and senior officials of the Government of South Africa.

12. In his talks with Foreign Minister Botha at Cape Town, Mr. Ahtisaari conveyed to the Government of South Africa the concerns expressed by African leaders to the Secretary-General in Addis Ababa about the delays in proceeding to the implementation of the United Nations plan. He emphasized that the Secretary-General fully shared those concerns, particularly since all outstanding issues relevant to the United Nations plan had been resolved in November 1985, when agreement was reached on the choice of the electoral system.

13. Mr. Ahtisaari emphasized that the linkage pre-condition, which now constituted the only obstacle to the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia, had been rejected by the Security Council. He stressed to the Government of South Africa the Secretary-General's position that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola was a separate matter, to be dealt with by those directly concerned, acting within their sovereign competence. He urged the need for all concerned to consider Namibia as a primary issue in its own right in order to proceed without further delay to finalise arrangements for a cease-fire involving SWAPO and South Africa for the implementation of Council resolution 435 (1978).

14. Mr. Ahtisaari conveyed to Foreign Minister Botha the Secretary-General's expectation that he could count on the co-operation and support of the Government of South Africa in finalizing the necessary arrangements for the independence of Namibia as stipulated in the United Nations plan.

15. Mr. Ahtisaari also informed Foreign Minister Botha that in the Secretary-General's discussions with Ambassador Manley of South Africa in New York, the Secretary-General had expressed his concern regarding various constitutional arrangements envisaged in Namibia, which might violate the letter and spirit of South Africa's commitment to an internationally acceptable settlement in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In that connection, Mr. Ahtisaari stated that the Secretary-General had taken note of assurances by President Botha that constitutional steps by the "interim government", which might impair South Africa's international interests and obligations, were not acceptable to South Africa. Mr. Ahtisaari observed that it was the Secretary-General's understanding of the statement of the State President that South Africa did not intend to abandon its commitment to Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and that it would co-operate with the United Nations to facilitate a settlement.

16. Mr. Ahtisaari also informed Foreign Minister Botha that the Secretary-General's attention had been drawn to the statement of the Administrator-General of the Territory on 30 July 1987, calling for elections for local representative authorities and/or municipalities. In that connection, the Secretary-General urged the Government of South Africa to act only in accordance with its commitments to the international community.

17. In regard to internal developments in the Territory, Mr. Ahtisaari stated that in the Secretary-General's discussions at Addis Ababa, Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, had expressed grave concern about "atrocities and massacres perpetrated by

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the South African security forces in Namibia", and that he had asked the Secretary-General to raise the matter with the Government of South Africa.

18. In reply, Foreign Minister Botha assured Mr. Ahtisaari that the Republic of South Africa recognized its obligations in terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). He drew the attention of Mr. Ahtisaari to the statement by Mr. P. w. Uotha, the State President, in Parliament on 14 August 1987, concerning the question of Namibia. In that statement, President Botha had said, in regard to Council resolution 435 (1978), that the Government of South Africa would not act in a way that would abrogate the international obligations to which it had committed itself.

19. Referring to the Secretary-General's call to South Africa to proceed with the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without further delay, Foreign Minister Botha stated that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola constituted a serious threat to Namibia, making free and fair elections impossible. He added that South Africa remained prepared to enter into discussions at any time in order to resolve the question of Cuban troop withdrawal. He reiterated once again South Africa's position that a firm and satisfactory agreement must be reached on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola prior to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Foreign Minister Botha stated that South Africa was still prepared to attend a conference involving all the interested parties which would lead to peace in Angola and Namibia.

20. Foreign Minister Botha also stated that following consultations with the "interim government" on 22 May and 19 June 1987, the Government of South Africa had decided not to hold national, general elections in Namibia, as that could be interpreted as an abrogation of its commitments. However, the Government of South Africa had requested the "interim government" to consider holding elections for the recomposition of second-tier authorities, since such elections had last been held in 1980. Foreign Minister Botha commented that the second-tier elections envisaged by South Africa would not violate its commitment to Security Council resolution 435 (1978). He rejected the SWAPO allegations concerning atrocities and massacres by the South African security forces in Namibia.

21. On 19 August 1987, Mr. Ahtisaari met at Johannesburg with Mr. L. A. Pienaar, the new Administrator-General of Namibia. The Administrator-General elaborated on the decision of the Government of South Africa to opt for second-tier elections in Namibia and restated the position of the Government of South Africa on that issue. In regard to the constitutional evolution of Namibia, Mr. Ahtisaari emphasized to the Administrator-General that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remained the only valid basis for an internationally acceptable settlement of the Namibian situation.

22. The mission also visited Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Nigeria from 20 August to 18 September 1987, for discussions with their respective Governments. The mission was received on 21 August 1987 by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. It met with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia on 22 August 1987, and held consultations with President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola on 27 August 1987. Mr. Ahtisaari returned to New York from Luanda on 29 August 1987, while Mr. Omayad completed the last leg

of the mission to Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Nigeria. The mission was received by President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique on 4 September 1987, and met with Prime Minister Joseph Warioba of the United Republic of Tanzania on 11 September 1987. It was also received in Nigeria on 18 September 1987, by Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, Chief of General Staff. In addition, the mission held consultations with Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, at Lusaka on 31 August 1987.

23. The mission briefed the Governments of the front-line States and Nigeria, as well as SWAPO, on the outcome of its talks at Cape Town with Foreign Minister Botha. In the discussions, all expressed support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and called for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) without further delay. President dos Santos reaffirmed Angola's commitment to its platform of September 1984, and the subsequent additions thereto (S/16838), as a basis for a comprehensive agreement that would ensure independence for Namibia and peace and security in the region. He informed Mr. Ahtisaari that in order to facilitate a settlement, the Government of Angola had updated its platform, and had outlined, in co-operation with the Government of Cuba, a revised time-frame and calendar for the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops from southern Angola. In this connection he asked Mr. Ahtisaari to apprise me of those developments.

24. During the course of the forty-second session of the General Assembly, I have had the opportunity to meet with many concerned African leaders, including President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. Among the issues raised with me, the question of Namibia was paramount. I discussed with them the findings and outcome of Mr. Ahtisaari's mission to South Africa, the front-line States and Nigeria. All agreed that despite the impasse on the implementation of the United Nations plan, the effort must continue to advance the peace process for a final settlement of the Namibian situation. They also assured me of their continued support for my endeavours and stressed the need for further positive action by the international community in order to increase the momentum for the implementation of the United Nations plan.

Concluding remarks

25. The Security Council adopted its resolution 435 (1978) over nine years ago in order to enable the people of Namibia to exercise their inalienable right to Self-determination and independence, under the supervision and control of the United Nations. Regrettably, successive attempts in recent years to finalize arrangements for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia, in order to commence the implementation of the United Nations plan, have been blocked by South Africa's insistence on the linkage pre-condition. Despite this, I remain convinced that if the question of Namibia is re-examined with realism and sincere concern for the well-being of the inhabitants of the Territory, it should be possible to open the way for implementation of the United Nations plan. The people of Namibia must be permitted to enjoy the freedom and independence that is their right. The concerted action of the international community is needed to achieve this objective.