



Security Council

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 18 August 1989, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. DJOUDI

(Algeria)

Members: Brazil
Canada
China
Colombia
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Malaysia
Nepal
Senegal
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America
Yugoslavia

Mr. FACHINI GOMES
Mr. FORTIER
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. PENALOSA
Mr. TADESSE
Ms. RASI
Mr. GAUSSOT
Mr. HASMY
Mr. RANA
Mrs. DIALLO
Mr. LOZINSKY

Sir Crispin TICKELL
Mr. OKUN
Mr. KOTEVSKI

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA

LETTER DATED 10 AUGUST 1989 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF GHANA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/20779)

LETTER DATED 10 AUGUST 1989 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ZIMBABWE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/20782)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): In accordance with decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item, I invite the representative of Ghana to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Cuba, Egypt, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Mali, Nigeria, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gbeho (Ghana) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Diakenga Serao (Angola), Mr. Niyungeko (Burundi), Mr. Engo (Cameroon), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Villagran de Leon (Guatemala), Mr. Dasgupta (India), Mr. Tarmidzi (Indonesia), Mr. Diakite (Mali), Mr. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. Shearar (South Africa), Mr. Mongella (United Republic of Tanzania) and Mr. Zuze (Zambia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bangladesh, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Uganda, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in

(The President)

accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mohiuddin (Bangladesh), Miss Moncada Bermudez (Nicaragua), Mr. Umer (Pakistan) and Mr. Katsigazi (Uganda) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The first speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like at the outset, Mr. President, to congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for August, a month that promises to be complex and full of urgent tasks for this principal organ of the United Nations. We are confident that with your experience and wisdom you will prove able to overcome all obstacles and set us on a course that will guarantee peace, stability and security for all the members of the international community.

We must also warmly congratulate the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, whose able presidency during July was highly appreciated and has been commended by everyone.

On 22 December 1988, on the occasion of the signing of the tripartite agreements intended to establish permanent peace in the south-west of Africa, Isidoro Malmierca, Cuba's Foreign Minister, said:

"But these are not times for rhetoric. No matter who says them, words cannot change facts. We are here at United Nations Headquarters because after 10 years of high-handed and haughty defiance of the will of the international community, as expressed in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia, the possibility of bringing to an end the illegal occupation of Namibia has finally opened up, so that the Territory may cease to be a colonial dependency of South Africa and become an independent, sovereign State."

Hardly eight months later the African countries, with the unqualified support of the Non-Aligned Movement, have found themselves obliged to call for these meetings of the Security Council to analyse carefully and to denounce and rectify the irregularities and violations that are being committed by the colonial Power, South Africa, in the process of the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and the plan for Namibia's independence.

Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba

We very much appreciate the efforts of the Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his ceaseless endeavours to ensure that the independence process in Namibia takes place as planned, without let or hindrance, and to ensure a suitable climate for the holding of free and fair elections in Namibia as scheduled. But the Security Council also has the prime responsibility of preventing, through the exercise of its authority, any continuation of the events that have been denounced over and over by broad sectors of the international community, events that are now, with more than half the transition period over, tending to get worse and to make it increasingly difficult for the Namibian people to exercise its legitimate and inalienable sovereign rights.

Cuba is concerned about the possibility that South Africa's total or partial non-compliance with the agreements may slow down or hamper the process now under way. That is why we not only support the Security Council in the exercise of its responsibilities, but urge it to shoulder those responsibilities, which it cannot give up, and exhaustively to examine the facts and consider the most appropriate measures and recommendations to guarantee the rapid, effective and complete implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

My country is scrupulously playing its part under the agreements aimed at contributing to a peaceful resolution of the conflict in the south-west of Africa and to the independence of Namibia, as the Cuban authorities have repeatedly reported and as has been confirmed by the relevant United Nations bodies. For us it is difficult to believe that we can stand idly by as the so-called anti-insurgency forces, the Koevoet, instead of being disbanded, are incorporated into the police forces of the colonial administration in Namibia to continue harassing and intimidating the Namibian people and murdering activists belonging to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the legitimate representative

Mr. Oramas Oliva, Cuba

of the interests and aspirations of the people of Namibia. There must be no subterfuge; the Koevoet forces must be disbanded as soon as possible.

Cuba cannot believe that the Council will fail to heed the international clamour for the release of all political prisoners in Namibia and the total elimination of discriminatory and restrictive laws. Nor can we conceive of failure to take measures to thwart the plans of the colonial Power to put thousands of South African citizens on the Namibian electoral lists and to carry out manoeuvres to hamper, through illegal proclamations, the sovereign right of the Namibian people freely to choose their own future leaders, without let or hindrance.

If colonialism is hateful, even more hateful is neo-colonial domination. If we do not check the manoeuvres with which Namibia is now threatened, we shall have to deal with a neo-colonized territory whose fate and that of its inhabitants will be manipulated from Pretoria.

Therefore, we must demand absolute respect for the physical and moral safety of the thousands of Namibians who had to leave their homes because of racist repression and who are now returning to their homeland to exercise their right to choose, and themselves to be elected, without any kind of pressure or coercion. In that context, the permanent danger faced by the leaders of SWAPO in Namibia gives particular cause for concern. It is the duty of us all to protect their lives.

The key to the success of the process now under way in Namibia is to thwart any manoeuvre by those who are trying to hamper the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), and to ensure that the resolution is scrupulously followed to the letter, and in the spirit in which it was framed. We are prepared to continue lending our modest support to that end.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Cuba for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. HASMY (Malaysia): It gives me and my delegation great satisfaction and pride in seeing you, Sir, the representative and a distinguished son of fraternal Algeria, presiding over the Council during this month of August. We know of your proven diplomatic skills, vast experience and admirable personal qualities and are, therefore, assured that you will provide effective leadership in the Council. I would also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Pejic of Yugoslavia, for his skilful and effective stewardship of the Council during the rather active month of July.

We are meeting here today amidst disturbing reports on the situation in Namibia. We have been informed by practically every speaker during this debate that, despite the deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in the Territory in pursuance of the settlement plan, South Africa has been less than faithful, to say the least, in implementing the plan. The complaint about South Africa's non-compliance of the Council's resolution 435 (1978) has been clearly and strongly presented in this lofty body. It has to do with South Africa's retention of the services of the notorious Koevoet as a continued instrument of intimidation, harassment and worse. It has to do with the Administrator-General's manipulation of the Namibian political process, including the drafting of patently unfair and objectionable voter registration and constituent assembly laws, the enfranchisement of many South Africans and the disenfranchisement of a considerable number of Namibians, as well as his arrogation of vast powers unto himself, including the power of veto and the purse over the constituent assembly. It also involves the continued detention of political prisoners. Clearly, the object of these actions is to ensure a pliant, indeed compliant, Namibia that would be utterly dependent on South Africa.

Those reports indicating that all is not well inside Namibia are not the concoction of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), as we have been

(Mr. Hasmy, Malaysia)

asked to believe. They have been corroborated by independent observers of the Namibian political scene, including those from this great bastion of democracy, the United States, and have been documented and commented on by the international press. The details of those non-compliance measures by South Africa have been exposed by preceding speakers, particularly the Chairman of the African Group, who requested this debate, and the Chairman of the front-line States, and I shall therefore not elaborate on them for the sake of brevity. Suffice it to say that those reports have painted a very disturbing picture of the transition situation in Namibia, far different from the one the Council had been entrusted to ensure. The veracity of the reports is no longer beyond question. What is in question in the minds of many people, not least the people of Namibia, is the role and responsibility of the Council in ensuring fair and free elections in the Territory. It is a question that we the Members of the Council must respond to in the most appropriate way we can.

Malaysia shares the deep concern felt by many members of the Council, and many outside the Council, about the situation in Namibia. It is committed, as is the rest of the international community, to ensuring the expeditious realization of the settlement plan. Indeed, it has a special interest to do so, not least for the reason that its soldiers have been privileged to serve in ushering in a free and independent Namibia. We fully endorse the position taken by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as expressed in the communiqué of their Co-ordinating Bureau of 10 August. We also share the concerns of the Movement, as expressed recently by its Chairman to the President of the Council and to the Secretary-General.

My Government believes that it is imperative that the Security Council, which has a primary role and responsibility in ensuring the transition of Namibia to full independence through free and fair elections, fully discharge its role and responsibility without fear or favour.

(Mr. Hasmy, Malaysia)

The Council must ensure that South Africa strictly adheres to its commitments and obligations under resolution 435 (1978) and carries out its full implementation. South Africa must not be allowed to change the ground rules it had itself agreed to in the settlement plan. It must cease forthwith its attempts to subvert the will of the Council and of the international community, as embodied in that plan. It must desist from any effort to manipulate the internal situation in Namibia, by virtue of its administrative authority, to influence the outcome of the elections in its favour. It must resist the temptation to legislate laws that are intended to favour itself and its political allies in Namibia. It must not turn a deaf ear to the appeals of the international community; it must respond promptly and adequately by creating conditions for the smooth transfer of power and sovereignty to the Namibian people. South Africa must give up its designs to control post-independence Namibia as its own political and administrative appendage. It must be prepared to treat its neighbour as an independent, sovereign nation, as it will be treated by the rest of the world. Namibia deserves and expects nothing less.

In urging prompt and effective action by the Council, my delegation is mindful of the pivotal role of the Secretary-General in this entire exercise. I wish to take this opportunity to pay the highest tribute to him for his untiring efforts in trying to secure South African compliance with the provisions of resolution 435 (1978). We are gratified that his personal involvement and efforts in the Namibian exercise have had an overall salutary effect. We are particularly gratified that the Secretary-General's efforts, as well as those of others, which have had influence on South Africa, have resulted in the latest response by Pretoria, as detailed in the Administrator-General's recent statement. Unfortunately, this response is a qualified one, full of caveats, and it falls far short of our expectations.

(Mr. Hasmy, Malaysia)

We are also grateful to the Secretary-General for speaking out on what he perceives are the remaining obstacles to the full and smooth implementation of the settlement plan. We must not allow him to soldier on alone in his arduous tasks. We must provide him and his Special Representative in Namibia with the strongest support we can muster in their current and future efforts in ensuring the just, fair and expeditious implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

To this end, my delegation supports the proposal for the adoption of a resolution at the end of this debate which would, inter alia, call for South Africa's full and unequivocal compliance with the spirit and letter of resolution 435 (1978), reiterate the Council's responsibility on the full implementation of the settlement plan and express strong support for the Secretary-General's efforts in this exercise. My delegation believes that such a resolution would have the desired effect of emphasizing, once again, and once and for all, the centrality of the role of the United Nations and, in particular, this Council in the implementation of the Namibia plan. We believe that the proposed resolution and this debate itself will serve to bolster the position of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in dealing with the situation, rather than to undermine it. In my delegation's view, this would be the single most important contribution of this series of meetings.

It would, of course, be easier for us members of this Council to sit back and not rock the boat, as it were, and let the transition process roll on, with minimal fuss, so that the independence of Namibia would be realized in good time. It would be easier and less vexatious for the Council to let the Secretary-General labour on with his task with as little "interference" as possible, and congratulate ourselves when South Africa eventually grants independence to Namibia. But given the disturbing situation in Namibia, as we have been told, such an "independence" would be a hollow victory for the long-suffering people of Namibia, as it would be for

(Mr. Hasmy, Malaysia)

the Council too. . Indeed, such an attitude on our part would be a dereliction of our responsibility and a sure recipe not for peace and stability in Namibia but renewed conflict, with all the attendant consequences to the Territory and the entire region. Surely, as custodian of the hopes and aspirations of the Namibian people, that is not a legacy the Council would like to leave behind.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Malaysia for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. PEÑALOSA (Colombia) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, my delegation would like first of all to express its satisfaction at seeing Algeria occupying the presidency of the Council this month. Colombia enjoys close links of friendship and co-operation with Algeria, a country that has also been non-aligned for many years and whose skilful leadership role in the international arena we much admire. We also welcome the fact that Ambassador Djoudi should be occupying the presidency, since his long and successful diplomatic career and his well-known abilities guarantee the success of the Council's work.

Similarly, we express our appreciation for the able and devoted manner in which Ambassador Pejic of Yugoslavia discharged his duties as President of the Council last month.

As a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia since its inception, Colombia has always looked forward hopefully to the day when Namibia would gain its independence and begin life as a free nation under an effective democracy system. That is why my delegation is deeply concerned at the fact that we should continue to receive numerous reports of irregularities in the implementation of the plan for Namibian independence. It is similarly cause for concern that such irregularities should today be viewed as jeopardizing the outcome of the approaching elections and giving rise to unforeseeable consequences.

The process of Namibian independence is now in one of its most delicate phases. That is why I do not consider it appropriate to reiterate the list of excesses committed by the occupiers against the people and the resources of the Territory. However, we do consider it necessary for the Council to shoulder its responsibilities in the process and unanimously support the Secretary-General's

(Mr. Peñalosa, Colombia)

endeavours in the search for a peaceful transition to independence that will enable the Namibian people to begin their life as a State free of internal ill-will and founded on a consensus of national autonomy and on progress.

My delegation appreciates the complexity and the difficulties involved in carrying out all the measures needed to ensure that this independence process is brought to a successful conclusion, but we also believe that understanding, goodwill and compliance with previously agreed upon standards provide the indispensable basis in the search for appropriate solutions to problems that necessarily arise in such delicate situations.

Today we wish to state that we support the nine recommendations placed before the Council on 16 August by the Chairman of the African Group, the representative of Ghana. With regard to those recommendations, my Government is particularly concerned about the draft law that will regulate the constituent assembly and the limitations it places upon the assembly. We are certain that the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, is raising this matter with the South African authorities.

To conclude, I wish to reiterate my delegation's resolute support for the endeavours being pursued by the Secretary-General on behalf of our Organization, for we believe that at this stage in the process it is inadvisable that some of the fundamental aspects of resolution 435 (1978) should become the subject of unilateral interpretations that might compromise not only the process itself but indeed the credibility of the parties involved.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Colombia for his kind words addressed to me.

Ms. RASI (Finland): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your diplomatic skill

(Ms. Rasi, Finland)

will lead our work to a successful conclusion. You represent a country with which my country, Finland, enjoys good relations and constructive co-operation.

I also wish to pay tribute to Ambassador Pejic of Yugoslavia for his distinguished services to the Council last month.

Namibia's independence figured prominently on the agenda of the Security Council when Finland joined the Council at the beginning of this year. It has remained one of our main preoccupations ever since. Finland's own association with Namibia and the cause of Namibian independence of course goes much farther back. With the other members of the Security Council we share the determination to ensure that the Namibian people will establish its own sovereign government through a peaceful constitutional process, monitored and assisted by the United Nations. More than 800 Finnish nationals, now serving with the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia, are directly involved in this process.

We never expected that the transition process, with all its elements of reducing military strength, checking the exercise of police functions, repatriating refugees and registering voters, and with many other duties, would be easy and smooth. In fact, the shocks and challenges encountered at the very beginning were staggering. What is important now is that the independence process, having gone through some delays and adjustments, is on the whole back on track. The overriding concern is to ensure that free and fair elections are held at the appointed time with wide participation.

The present debate in the Security Council cannot, in our opinion, have any other purpose than to call upon everyone concerned to work for this goal and assure the Secretary-General of our continued support in his task of guiding the activities of UNTAG.

(Ms. Rasi, Finland)

During the recent weeks and months much attention has been given to problems related to the operations of the South West African Police. The number of police monitors in UNTAG has already been increased. My Government is now and will be in the future ready to support further additions to the composition and resources of UNTAG that the Secretary-General considers necessary. Of course, we also welcome the recent announcement by the Administrator-General that the so-called counter-insurgency component in the South West African Police will now be confined to bases. We look forward to further steps by the South African authorities that could help to dispel still prevailing doubts about the commitment of South Africa to the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

We are aware also of other current problems in addition to those concerning the actions of the South West African Police. Intimidation and violence must not be allowed to interfere with the peaceful conduct of the electoral campaign. All outstanding issues concerning the full release of political prisoners must be resolved. The return of Namibian refugees and other expatriates must be completed. The registration of voters must be successfully concluded in the whole country.

Much is at stake, but the final goal - a free and independent Namibia - is already in sight.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Finland for the kind words she addressed to me.

Mr. KOTEVSKI (Yugoslavia): I have the great honour and satisfaction to extend to you, Sir, sincere congratulations on the occasion of your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. The satisfaction I feel over the Security Council's being presided over at this important juncture of its deliberations by the representative of Algeria - a country whose principled non-aligned policy and constructive involvement enjoy world-wide respect and with which Yugoslavia has maintained close and friendly relations ever since the time of the anti-colonial revolution - would hardly be adequately expressed if I did not point out my profound personal appreciation of your exceptional diplomatic skills and the reputation that you, Sir, enjoy among all your colleagues. The wisdom and experience with which you have already conducted the Council's business guarantee that you will this time again discharge your duties effectively. In so doing, you can always count on the full support, understanding and co-operation of my delegation.

We are again discussing the question of Namibia, which, for a number of years now has for various reasons figured as one of the most prominent issues on the agenda of many United Nations debates, in particular those in the Security Council.

Yet today's debate comes at a time when Namibia is at an historic crossroads and when prospects are finally being opened to the Namibian people freely to exercise its right to self-determination and achieve its long-awaited independence. In this context the Security Council has an historical responsibility and a delicate task to bring the efforts of many long years to their final stage. The attainment of genuine independence by Namibia through the process

(Mr. Kotevski, Yugoslavia)

of free and fair elections will finally bring about justice to a people that deserves it no less than any other and peace and security to an area that has long been one of the most dangerous trouble spots in the world.

The role of the Security Council in the process of Namibia's accession to independence is well and widely known. However, for the record and for those who may still entertain different thoughts, let me repeat: the only generally accepted basis for the solution of this problems is the settlement plan worked out by the Security Council. The Security Council is therefore duty-bound to ensure consistent and speedy implementation of resolution 435 (1978) in its original and definitive form.

Less than three months remain until the crucial event of this whole process, the elections that should determine the fate of Namibia and the Namibian people. Yet, we are still faced with exceptionally serious difficulties in the implementation of the United Nations plan.

Despite the explicit provisions of the United Nations plan and the consistent calls by the Secretary-General and the Security Council, South Africa has failed to disband the units and the command structure of the infamous Koevoet, whose members, integrated into the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL), continue to spread terror and to harass and intimidate the population. There can be no justification whatsoever for such behaviour by the South African authorities. Various pretexts to justify the continued activities of Koevoet are absolutely unacceptable. The recent statement of the Administrator-General in which he expressed his readiness to confine 1,200 members of Koevoet to their bases is a step forward, but we consider it insufficient since resolution 435 (1978) requires their unconditional and immediate disbandment.

Regrettably, this is not the only instance of violation of the provisions of the settlement plan. Most of the provisions contained in the draft election

(Mr. Kotevski, Yugoslavia)

proclamation prepared by the Administrator-General are ambiguous and raise legitimate doubts that there is the intention of undermining the position of one of the principal parties in Namibia, namely, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and to provide the Administrator-General with powers and authority that go far beyond those envisaged by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978).

Further proof of South Africa's non-compliance with the terms of the settlement plan is the fact that the local media, which are by and large controlled by South Africa, are campaigning full blast against SWAPO with the purpose of discrediting it and in that way influencing the outcome of the elections.

Those are only some of the most glaring examples of the serious violations of the provisions of the settlement plan which are causing great concern among the non-aligned countries and the international community as a whole, since they are widely considered as an impediment to free and fair elections.

It is therefore absolutely necessary that the Security Council resolutely and immediately put an end to all violations of the provisions of the settlement plan. It is the duty of the Security Council to ensure that all involved parties strictly abide by the obligations they have assumed without putting any conditions on it. Full respect for the letter and spirit of Security Council 435 (1978) and its implementation in good faith are an absolute imperative and a conditio sine qua non to bring this historic process to an end.

This time again Yugoslavia wishes to express its full support for the Secretary-General in his tireless efforts to bring about a successful outcome of this unprecedented and probably most delicate operation the United Nations has ever embarked upon. The Secretary-General has been entrusted by the Security Council with an exceptionally complex task and the Security Council must continue to rally

(Mr. Kotevski, Yugoslavia)

behind him in his endeavours at this crucial stage of the implementation of the United Nations plan.

The current debate on the question of Namibia is therefore perceived as ensuring vigorous and united action by the Security Council aimed at strengthening the efforts of the Secretary-General and removing all remaining obstacles to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) so as to create conditions for free and fair elections and ensure the United Nations role, envisaged by the settlement plan, of supervising and controlling these elections.

We have now come to the end of the road that is about to enable the people of Namibia to decide on its own destiny in accordance with its inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence. The Security Council is duty-bound to see to it that that right is exercised fully and democratically. No effort must be spared, no difficulty and obstacle left unsurmounted, if we are to respond to our historic responsibility and welcome to our fold a new Member of our Organization - a genuinely independent and free Namibia.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TARMIDZI (Indonesia): On behalf of the delegation of Indonesia I should like through you, Mr. President, to thank the Security Council for acceding to our request to participate in this important debate on Namibia.

Allow me at the outset to express to you, Sir, my delegation's warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your wealth of experience and diplomatic skill gives us confidence that the

(Mr. Tarmidzi, Indonesia)

deliberations on an issue of great importance to Africa and to the international community as a whole will be guided to a successful conclusion.

At the same time, I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic of Yugoslavia, for the exemplary manner in which he led the Council's work during the month of July.

At the request of the Chairman of the Group of African States and the Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, the Security Council, has been convened to consider a matter of far-reaching implications for the future of Namibia. In this regard it hardly needs reiteration that the decolonization of the Territory is the unique responsibility of the United Nations and thus represents a solemn moral and legal obligation which devolves on all Member States. For Indonesia, this duty also stems from its membership, since its inception, in the United Nations Council for Namibia, the United Nations organ charged by the Organization to administer the Territory until independence.

(Mr. Tarmidzi, Indonesia)

Consequently my delegation is participating in the Security Council's debate today to express Indonesia's deep concern over the disturbing developments in Namibia as they have unfolded since the initiation of the implementation of Security Council resolutions 629 (1989) and 632 (1989), as well as General Assembly resolution 43/232 of 1 March 1989.

Our mounting indignation was prompted by the shocking killing of many Namibians at the commencement of the United Nations plan's implementation. The outrage of the international community over the armed clashes in northern Namibia, which started on 1 April, was fully justified, particularly in the light of the concerns expressed early on about the need for a sufficient number of military personnel in UNTAG to prevent intimidation and to ensure the safe return of refugees and their free participation in the electoral process. Since that tragic incident South Africa has continued to engage in serious irregularities which cannot but undermine the transition as it relates to restoring confidence among the people of Namibia that they can freely participate in the elections without fear of coercion and intimidation from the ubiquitous South African forces. Indeed virtually every day new revelations come to the fore concerning South Africa's open defiance of the agreed terms of the transition process.

The representative of Ghana, on behalf of the Group of African States, in his statement before the Council recorded some major concerns regarding the situation in Namibia - among others, the continued intimidation and harassment of Namibians by South Africa's despised Koevoet forces for the launching of a campaign of disinformation against SWAPO. They paint a compelling picture of the reign of terror designed to impede the participation of SWAPO and its supporters in the transition process and to undermine the impartiality of the forthcoming elections in the Territory.

(Mr. Tarmidzi, Indonesia)

Thus, while there is no need for me to go into further details, my delegation must register its particular concern over the incomplete dismantling of all paramilitary and other irregular South African forces and the command structures of the South West Africa Territorial Force. We also are aware of disturbing reports that South African arms are being stored for use by irregular troops that can be rapidly remobilized on short notice. Furthermore there are unacceptable laws concerning registration and election, including the issuance of Namibian identity cards to non-Namibians.

Clearly South Africa cannot hide behind the ploy of demanding impartiality on the part of the international community as a means to silence international condemnation of these gross violations of the terms of the transition process and South Africa's obligations contained therein. Indeed, as the occupying Power South Africa must not be allowed to evade the onus of responsibility to the international community for its attempts to subvert and manipulate the implementation of the United Nations plan in order to continue its colonial hold over Namibia.

In the midst of these provocations, we commend the constructive attitude of SWAPO, particularly its peaceful and orderly nation-wide mobilization campaign, despite the continued existence of repressive and discriminatory laws, in order to educate the Namibian people and to ensure that they understand the electoral process. It is essential in this regard that the right of SWAPO to engage in political activity, including the mobilization of its supporters, be safeguarded. Likewise all Namibian refugees should be enabled immediately to return to Namibia in dignity and safety and be provided with the necessary humanitarian assistance and aid. As to the electoral process, it must be free of fraud and manipulation. The Namibian people must be assured that they will be able to exercise their franchise free of fear and intimidation.

(Mr. Tarmidzi, Indonesia)

In the view of my delegation, the only way to put an effective end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and to bring about the orderly decolonization of the Territory is by scrupulously implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The fundamental objective of that resolution is Namibian independence through free and fair elections devoid of intimidation and interference. Any issues which arise in the implementation of the resolution must be resolved in light of this single overriding consideration.

In the face of South Africa's open defiance, we trust the Security Council will act resolutely and with a sense of urgency to reassert its authority. We hope that the Council will speak with one voice in condemning the terror campaign waged by South Africa against the civilian population in Namibia and in demanding that it desist forthwith from such practices. South Africa must be compelled to comply with all of its obligations in the transition process. In this it is the United Nations alone that is charged with the sole responsibility of supervision and control over the transition process and in the realization of the United Nations plan in its original and definitive form.

In this connection as well, my delegation would like to express its high regard for the tireless efforts of our esteemed Secretary-General to achieve faithful implementation of the Namibian independence plan. The international community should extend its full support to him in working to achieve South Africa's compliance.

Ultimately it is this Council which can and must without delay address the serious situation in Namibia by asserting its authority under resolution 435 (1978) and thereby establishing the requisite conditions for conducting a free and fair election in Namibia.

(Mr. Tarmidzi, Indonesia)

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to reiterate its full solidarity with and support for Namibia and its fraternal people in their quest for the restoration of a free and independent Namibia.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Indonesia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. FORTIER (Canada) (interpretation from French): On my own behalf and on behalf of my delegation, I should like at the outset to convey to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for August. Your diplomatic talents and your skill as a negotiator guarantee that you will conduct an exemplary presidency. At such an important time in the work of the Council, we are confident we are in good hands.

I should also like to congratulate my friend and colleague the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia on the masterly fashion in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council last month.

(continued in English)

Canada welcomes these formal meetings of the Security Council on Namibia as an expression of the Council's continuing responsibility for the important task it undertook in the Territory and as an opportunity to address certain major concerns we all share. Six months after the Council's enabling resolution 632 (1989) launched Namibia's transition to independence, a stock-taking is indeed timely.

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

After the long years when implementation was not possible and after a most difficult beginning in April, we have indeed come a long way in a short time. The withdrawal of South African forces and the demobilization and disarming of territorial forces were carried out on schedule. The general amnesty and the repeal of repressive legislation were substantial in themselves and are open to further strengthening. The return of many thousands of refugees, some exiled for a whole generation, is almost complete. Political detainees have been released by both parties to the conflict. Perhaps most heartening, fully 83 per cent of estimated eligible Namibians have demonstrated their commitment to the process by registering to vote a month before the deadline. Nevertheless, even the progress thus far, important as it is, should not cause us to underestimate the continuing potential for difficulty on Namibia's long road to independence.

None of the accomplishments I have referred to has come easily. They have in part reflected the perseverance and the plain hard work of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and Deputy Special Representative, and hundreds of military, police and civilian personnel of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG). We take this occasion to pay a tribute to their dedication, impartiality and personal commitment to Namibia's freedom.

Canada, as a key sponsor of the original settlement plan under resolution 435 (1978), has worked to support the plan's implementation in all practical ways. Our commitment has taken such forms as prompt financial contributions, substantial aid for refugee repatriation, early troop deployment, the supply of ballot boxes and technical expertise on electoral matters. We also initiated a series of joint démarches for the release of all political detainees, and we have helped a number of independent observers to visit Namibia to ensure maximum transparency of the electoral process.

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

The recent announcement of the plans to remove former Koevoet personnel from the territorial police, confirmed Wednesday by the Permanent Representative of South Africa, is welcome news. The United Nations has long sought this goal, and members of the Council have also played their part in diplomatic efforts to achieve it.

Last week, the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, which the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Joe Clark, has the honour to chair, met in Canberra, Australia, with Namibia high on its agenda. The Committee put forward four ideas. First, it encouraged Commonwealth countries, which have a special interest in the future of Namibia, to be prepared to supply additional police if the need arises. Quite apart from former Koevoet personnel, the UNTAG police will face growing demands as the election approaches, and Canada for one stands ready to redeem that pledge. Secondly, the Committee viewed with favour the formation of a Commonwealth observer group which would report to the mid-October Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur. The Commonwealth would thereby lend its weight to other international efforts to buttress the United Nations operation in the key pre-election period. Thirdly, the Committee anticipated significantly expanded aid in the operational, development and constitutional fields, beginning with the provision of Commonwealth expertise as soon as appropriate.

Fourthly, in relation to the draft proclamations on the elections and the constituent assembly, the Committee of Foreign Ministers meeting in Canberra called for the utmost vigilance and fundamental changes to ensure the integrity of the secret ballot, as well as for careful consideration of the following: voter identification prior to balloting; a full role for party agents; expeditious and decentralized counting; recognition of the constituent assembly as the only

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

authentic representative body; and the idea that the Administrator-General should be guided by the constituent assembly until independence. In addition, Mr. Clark, writing last week to the South African Foreign Minister on behalf of the Committee, stressed that the question of the broadcast of propaganda rather than much-needed information and education had to be addressed urgently, and that the electronic media must adhere to the commitment to impartiality.

The importance of such impartiality in every facet of the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) was expressed most eloquently to this Council earlier this week by the Permanent Representative of Ghana on behalf of the African Group.

Canada remains concerned that less than fully reliable information on South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) combatants remaining in Angola has contributed to instability more than once. The recent reduction of tension in northern Namibia, which we welcome, should be complemented by a corresponding increase in transparency in Angola in accordance with the settlement plan and related understandings.

During Zimbabwe's transition to independence, an all-party election council, which met frequently, proved to be a valuable means of quickly reaching practical solutions to incipient problems. A similar body in Namibia, perhaps under joint chairmanship in the manner of the existing Impartiality Working Group, could still make a real contribution in the weeks ahead.

In considering the Security Council's responsibility to Namibia, let us concentrate on the broad principles and leave the details to those to whom we have entrusted that task. Let us join in strengthening the hand of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in bringing their demanding mission to a successful conclusion. Let us lend full support to UNTAG in its difficult endeavours. Let us above all keep faith with the Namibian people, who

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

have waited so long for the opportunity to determine their future in free and fair elections and who have come forward in their hundreds of thousands, confident that this time it will be granted them.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Canada for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Guatemala. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. VILLAGRAN DE LEON (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish first of all, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are certain that your experience and diplomatic skill will enable the Council to arrive at the correct decisions on the important subjects before it.

I wish to take this opportunity also to congratulate Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic, Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, on the success with which he conducted the work of the Council in July.

(Mr. Villagran de Leon, Guatemala)

The delegation of Guatemala felt it important to participate in the debate on the situation in Namibia, which had been sought by the Permanent Representatives of Ghana and Zimbabwe because of the justifiable concern within their regional group, as well as the Non-Aligned Movement, about events in the Territory, a Territory for which the United Nations is responsible under General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. In the discharge of that responsibility our Organization has made it its objective to end the illegal administration of Namibia by South Africa as soon as possible and to bring about its speedy independence through the holding of free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations in accordance with resolution 435 (1978).

Guatemala has followed events in Namibia with particular interest, being aware of the important role the international community has called upon the United Nations to play under the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. We therefore support the Secretary-General and the United Nations staff comprising the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), and ask that they continue their tireless efforts to help the Namibian people in its struggle for true independence, despite all the obstacles and difficulties that South Africa keeps creating.

Guatemala endorses the communiqué on the situation in Namibia, adopted by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement at its meeting on 10 August, in which it expressed serious concern over the constant grave irregularities observed in the execution of the plan for the independence of the Territory. We join in urging the Council to give urgent consideration to the need to ensure that South Africa complies with all its obligations under resolution 435 (1978) and that conditions are created in Namibia without delay for the holding of free and fair elections.

Guatemala heard with concern the statement by the Permanent Representative of

(Mr. Villagran de Leon, Guatemala)

Ghana, as Chairman of the African Group, and supports his request for the Security Council to take additional action, as well as what he said about the decisions that should be taken in order to support and further promote the efforts being made by the Secretary-General to ensure the holding of elections and to ensure the integrity of all aspects of the electoral process.

We are alarmed by the African Group's assessment of the situation prevailing in Namibia, where, four months after its start, the electoral process is still not proceeding satisfactorily and where South Africa's activities, through its Administrator-General, are diminishing the authority of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, instead of helping his work. We strongly appeal to South Africa to end its unwarranted interference and to comply fully with the December 1988 accords and with the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

Guatemala is confident that the Security Council will respond to the concern of the African Group about the continued presence in Namibia of military or paramilitary units under South African command, units whose violence and intimidation have been reported by the international press. We are also confident that the Council will take a stand with regard to the irregularities in the preparation of the electoral lists and with regard to legislation designed to distort the electoral process, which should be free and fair.

The Security Council should ensure that the Secretary-General and his Special Representative are enabled to supervise and exercise control over the progress of events in Namibia, particularly the electoral process. That means an end to the harassment of Namibians and a review of the laws and draft decrees being issued in Namibia affecting the independence plan, in order to eliminate any discriminatory language or any provision that gives an unjust advantage to one side or another.

Finally, Guatemala reiterates its solidarity with the African Group and the

(Mr. Villagran de Leon, Guatemala)

people of Namibia in its fight for independence within its recognized frontiers and supports its struggle against the outrageous system of apartheid, the most flagrant violation of human rights. We also hope that the Security Council will adopt a resolution permitting the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and UNTAG successfully to conclude their work of bringing about Namibia's total independence.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Guatemala for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of India, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. DASGUPTA (India): At the outset, Sir, I offer you my sincere congratulations on your accession to the presidency of this important body for the month of August. You represent a friendly, non-aligned country which has shown steadfast commitment to the cause of decolonization and with which my country enjoys the best of relations. Given your personal diplomatic skills, I have no doubt that you will steer the discussions in the Council on the important question before us with distinction.

I take this opportunity to express my appreciation to Ambassador Pejic of Yugoslavia for having successfully guided the work of the Council last month.

I should also like to put on record my delegation's appreciation of having been permitted to participate in this important debate.

The process for Namibia's independence, as contained in resolution 435 (1978) is well under way, and elections in the Territory are scheduled to take place in a little under three months. This will represent the successful culmination of the long-drawn-out struggle of the heroic people of Namibia. While we look forward to this historic development, we are seriously concerned that the conditions obtaining in Namibia at present are not conducive to holding free and fair elections.

The situation in northern Namibia has been particularly disturbing. South

(Mr. Dasgupta, India)

West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) supporters have been subjected to intimidation, harassment and even murder by the Koevoet thugs, who have been deceitfully integrated by the South African Administration into the police force, the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL), contrary to the terms of resolution 435 (1978). Malicious and false allegations have been made concerning SWAPO activities, with a view to justifying the continued state of preparedness of paramilitary forces. In the wake of international pressure, the Administration has now decided to confine 1,200 Koevoet members to their bases. But that step falls short of the requirements of resolution 435 (1978), which stipulates complete disbanding of Koevoet and other paramilitary forces, as well as dismantling of all command structures.

The Registration of Voters Law enables South Africans who have served in the Administration, the armed forces or the police in Namibia to vote in the forthcoming elections. That provision simply defies all logic. We fail to understand how nationals of South Africa serving in the occupation régime can be regarded as Namibians. Fears have been expressed that a large number of South Africans will cross into Namibia to participate in the elections. Those apprehensions must be set at rest immediately by making suitable amendments to the Registration of Voters Law.

Draft procedures proposed for the actual conduct of elections, as contained in Draft Proclamation No. 90, are full of loopholes and do not provide sufficient safeguards for free and fair elections. The loopholes must be closed immediately.

Concerns have also been expressed regarding certain provisions of the draft Constituent Assembly proclamation, the most serious being the provision which allows discretion to the Administrator-General to disregard the recommendations of the Constituent Assembly. These concerns need to be urgently addressed, and suitable amendments should be incorporated into the proclamation.

(Mr. Dasgupta, India)

Urgent steps also need to be taken to resolve other outstanding problems, namely, the release of remaining SWAPO prisoners, the repeal of all remaining discriminatory laws and equitable media access to all political parties.

My delegation appreciates and fully supports the commendable efforts of the Secretary-General and is confident that the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) will successfully fulfil the role assigned to it in the independence plan provided it is extended co-operation and support from all concerned.

The Security Council must address various pressing issues raised in the present debate in discharge of its overall responsibility to ensure full, faithful and effective implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as contained in resolution 435 (1978). The imperative need is for quick results which would allow a reasonable period of peace and tranquillity before elections and which would restore the confidence of the Namibian people in the impartiality of the election process. We can ill afford to let the credibility of the United Nations be eroded, nor can we let down the Namibian people. It is our bounden duty to ensure that all obstacles, all impediments are removed for the realization of the aspiration of the Namibian people for freedom and independence.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of India for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. MOHIUDDIN (Bangladesh): Just when we thought we were about to root out forever the cancer of racist occupation from the body politic of Namibia, our confidence appears to have been shaken. It is this forum which can prevent this painful turn of events. That is why it is to this lofty body that we now turn.

(Mr. Mohiuddin, Bangladesh)

But before I proceed further may I congratulate you, Sir, most sincerely for the excellent manner in which you are conducting these proceedings. This, of course, does not come as a surprise to any one of us for your prodigious qualities are well-known. My delegation shares the pride in your success with our Algerian brethren, for our two countries are linked together with bonds of closest friendship. My congratulations are also due to our esteemed colleague, Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic of Yugoslavia, for his able leadership of the Council last month.

The commitment the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) made to the Secretary-General on 12 August 1988 to cease all armed actions in accordance with the Geneva Agreements advanced the cause of peace. Thereafter the tripartite agreement of 22 December 1988 brought us a glimmer of hope. Security Council resolution 632 (1989) broadened our expectation into a distinct possibility. If the process of Namibian independence was to be in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and if free and fair elections were to be held under the supervision and control of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in the Territory, the fruition of our aspirations was no longer a distant dream.

Sadly, however, our hopes were to dissipate soon enough. Perhaps we had invested the racist Pretoria régime with more credibility than was due to it.

We now see that events are rapidly unfolding that tend to belie our trust in the assurances by South Africa. The hated Koevoet has been reincarnated in the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL). They reportedly continue to strike terror at Namibian hearts. They maraud through the country protected by CASSPIR armoured personnel carriers and armed with machine guns. That equipment makes them perhaps the most heavily armed police force in existence. Massive enrolment of South Africans is taking place in the voters' list. This hardly augurs well for fair

(Mr. Mohiuddin, Bangladesh)

polls. Not only that, legal recourse of new enactments and proclamations are being resorted to. These are being perceived as attempts to deny the Namibians, and even some members of the SWAPO leadership, the exercise of their fundamental electoral rights.

Even if some of them are allegations, we must remember that if peace and freedom are to come to Namibia, justice must not only be done but also be seen to be done.

Bangladesh commends the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to bring peace to that troubled land. The Council, and the rest of us, must do all we can to strengthen his hand.

We must in every way display total solidarity with his endeavours. We must render him all possible assistance. Should he at any point feel that a stronger United Nations presence is necessary there, the Council must not hesitate to endorse his requirements. We are confident that the Secretary-General will succeed in Namibia, just as he has on so many other issues. He is the symbol of peace of our times and deserves our deepest respect and fullest support. Bangladesh, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia and a contributor to UNTAG, will always stand by him.

When the soul of Africa cries out in anguish today, the inflictor of that pain, Pretoria, cannot be allowed to carry on its odious conduct with impunity. I know of no place where tyranny expressed itself more starkly than it did in Namibia. I know of no land where colonialism manifested itself more virulently. I know of no occupier that perpetrated depredations more ruthlessly than that apartheid régime. But all that now should be relegated to the pages of history. South Africa must realize that change is inevitable, as we can all see. South Africa itself is not immune to it. In the interests of peace, we appeal to

(Mr. Mohiuddin, Bangladesh)

Pretoria not to place needless impediments on its way, for in that case the regrettable result would be what the Ambassador of Egypt has warned: "a precarious form of independence".

The Council had nearly succeeded in its noble goal in Namibia. It is our hope and prayer that the United Nations and the Secretary-General can still achieve that aim. However, if we allow a slip to take place between the cup and the lip, we shall stand arraigned before the judgement of posterity. This is what we can, and must, avoid.

We must act together and rally round the Secretary-General to scatter the dark clouds from the Namibian horizon, so that the sun of freedom can shine upon Namibia in all its resplendent glory.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Bangladesh for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Burundi. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. NIYUNGEKO (Burundi) (interpretation from French): Permit me first, Mr. President, to express my sincere thanks to you and the other members of the Council for permitting my delegation to express its views on the item under consideration.

Sir, my delegation is pleased to participate in the proceedings here under your stewardship. Algeria, a country with which my own enjoys special relations, is noted for its distinguished diplomats whose commitment to the defence of just causes we all appreciate. We are therefore confident in the success of the Council's deliberations, to which we hope to make our own modest contribution.

We should also like to extend to Ambassador Pejic of Yugoslavia our appreciation of his skilful conduct of the Council's proceedings in July.

We asked to participate in the debate on the item before the Council to draw attention to the complaints emanating from Namibia which, if not heeded by the Council, could have unfortunate consequences, not only for the Namibian people but also for the other peoples of the region.

Indeed, the Security Council bears the heavy responsibility of ensuring the success of the process begun on 1 April this year in implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), designed to enable Namibia to achieve independence and national sovereignty.

The problem is a clear-cut one. It is a matter simply of prevailing upon South Africa to comply with the spirit and letter of the commitments it entered into when it agreed, 11 years after the adoption of resolution 435 (1978), that the implementation process should begin.

The series of flagrant violations of resolution 435 (1978) being committed by the South African Government is irrefutable proof of its determination to thwart the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. The Council cannot, and must not, tolerate this.

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

Addressing the Assembly of Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in Addis Ababa on 24 July last, the Secretary-General had this to say about the members of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group:

"Their devotion has brought out two essential points which I believe to be guiding principles. First, the international community as a whole, after calling for so many years for the independence of Namibia, is today determined that this objective be achieved and that the process we have begun be irreversible. Secondly, it is the United Nations which has been chosen to oversee the birth of this new nation after so many years of conflict. The Organization must not and will not fail in this noble task with which it has been entrusted."

In this regard, the Declaration adopted on 26 July 1989 by the Heads of State or Government of the OAU in Addis Ababa highlighted the points on which South Africa has proved reluctant to comply in the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), namely: to disarm all its ethnic and paramilitary forces; to dismantle the command structures of these forces; to cease all intimidation and acts of terrorism designed to delay the return of refugees; to dismiss all the members of Koevoet incorporated in the police force; to repeal all discriminatory laws and laws which restrict liberty; to free all Namibian political detainees and prisoners; to accept the principle of impartiality, particularly with regard to the media in Namibia.

The concerns expressed by the Heads of State or Government of the OAU have been confirmed by reliable information which has come to us from within Namibia. This is particularly distressing because South Africa, through its Administrator-General in Namibia, is acting as if it can do whatever it wishes with regard to everything that is not provided for in resolution 435 (1978), and without consulting the principal parties - the Namibians and the South West Africa People's

(Mr. Niyungeko, Burundi)

Organization (SWAPO) in particular. Even the Special Representative of the Secretary-General - who, incidentally, under resolution 435 (1978), is responsible for the supervision and control of affairs during this transition period - is disregarded.

Irregularities in the draft legislation for the elections of the Constituent Assembly, which have been noted by all impartial observers, such as the Washington-based Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, deserve careful attention.

Indeed, how are we to believe that elections will be free and fair if the secret ballot is not guaranteed, if the identity of the electors is not unambiguously established, if the vote counting is not done openly, and if those who are elected by the people as a result of elections are not given the power to determine themselves the organs of the Constituent Assembly and the way in which it will function?

There is still time to remedy the current situation, and appropriate proposals have been submitted by our colleague, Ambassador James Victor Gbeho, the Permanent Representative of Ghana, as Chairman of the African Group for this month. We wholeheartedly endorse those proposals. The adoption of a resolution along those lines would make it possible for Namibian patriots to hope to participate in a free and fair electoral process without any trickery and where the watchword would be "May the best man win". We would then be able to contemplate the future of Namibia with optimism.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Burundi for his kind words addressed to me.

There are no further speakers for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue its consideration of the item on its agenda will be held on Monday, 21 August, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.