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ENGLISH

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

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 21 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. ALENCAR
Ms. MILLER
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. PENALOSA
Mr. TADESSE
Ms. RASI
Mr. BLANC
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 11.10 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, Bangladesh, Burundi, Cameroon, Cuba, Egypt, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Mali, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, South Africa, Uganda, 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. Mohiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Niyungeko (Burundi), Mr. Engo (Cameroon), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Villagran de Leon (Guatemala), Mr. Dasgupta (India), Mr. Sutresna (Indonesia), Mr. Diakite (Mali), Miss Moncada Bermudez (Nicaragua), Mr. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. Ahmed (Pakistan), Mr. Sheerar (South Africa), Mr. Katsigazi (Uganda), 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 the Congo, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritania, 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

(The President)

consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in 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. Adouki (Congo), Mr. Bräutigam (Federal Republic of Germany), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) and Mr. Ould Mohamed Mahmoud (Mauritania) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

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

Mr. ADOUKI (Congo) (interpretation from French): I am most grateful to the members of the Council for having allowed me to be invited to participate in the discussion on the crucial issue of Namibia. While the United Nations settlement plan has jogged along half way down the road towards elections for a constituent assembly in the Territory, Africa and the whole of the international community are observing with the greatest concern the fact that South Africa continues to refuse to abide by certain essential provisions of resolution 435 (1978). As a result, the conditions required for the holding of free and regular elections still remain doubtful in Namibia.

That is why the African Group has turned to the Council, for this is the organ entrusted with the mandate to oversee the transition process towards independence in Namibia. Naturally, the South African representative, as he stated last Wednesday, 16 August, would have preferred a "calm" implementation process to the current work of the Council. That would have given his country elbow room to continue, for example, not to disarm or demobilize the infamous Koevoet paramilitary force in the Territory, contrary to the demands of the United Nations plan for Namibia.

Before continuing my statement, I should like to tell you, Sir, how very pleased my delegation is at seeing you presiding over the Security Council during the month of August. There are so many links, just causes and noble struggles that unite the Congo and your country, Algeria. I should like to extend to you our warmest congratulations, while assuring you of my delegation's full co-operation.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

And here it is fitting that I should pay a well-deserved tribute to Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic, who, on behalf of Yugoslavia, presided over the Council last month.

The comprehensive statement of the Group of African States at the United Nations at the opening of the debate - made by its Chairman for the month, my friend and colleague the Ambassador of Ghana - spelled out in detail the deteriorating situation in the Territory of Namibia working against the stated objectives of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

The statement also gave timely expression to the African Group's appreciation and gratitude with regard to the outstanding work the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his colleagues from the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) are continuing to carry out in Namibia.

My delegation wishes to state that it fully subscribes to the analysis of the alarming situation which thus continues to prevail in Namibia only a few months before the November elections. It fully endorses the statement of the African Group in its entirety, in particular the request to the Council urgently to reassess the situation in Namibia and use its influence to guarantee the holding of free and regular elections.

Hence my delegation would have preferred to refrain from taking part in this debate. That we have nevertheless felt it our duty to do so, was to stress the Congo's steadfast commitment to see an end to the occupation of Namibia.

Let us recall the changes observed a year ago in the attitudes of the parties involved in the situation in the south-west of Africa. They allowed for the beginning of a dynamic that led to the Brazzaville Protocol, signed on 13 December 1988, and later to the New York agreements of 22 December of the same year.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

The long-delayed process of the implementation of the settlement plan of the Namibian question, as reflected in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), could at last be started.

The Congo is profoundly aware of the honour done to its people in hosting several stages of the negotiations, and, above all, welcomes their positive outcome on 13 December in Brazzaville.

As the country from which genuine peace prospects opened up for Namibia, the Congo, imbued with its traditional commitment to just causes, intends unreservedly to support the process designed, under the control and supervision of the United Nations, to lead Namibia to independence through free and regular elections.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

It is regrettable that the South African Administrator in Namibia is trying ever harder to hinder the electoral processes. All impartial observers agree concerning the acts of harassment and intimidation in the northern part of the Territory concerning the murders of supporters of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). These horrors, obviously inspired by South Africa, betray political machinations that have long been hatching. They are part of the systematic campaign of sabotage and discreditation of SWAPO.

In his statement made to the Council upon his return from Namibia, the Secretary-General reaffirmed these sordid manoeuvres, stating that

"the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) has clearly established that the former members of Koevoet are now part of the South West African Police (SWAPOL)..."

He added that those members of Koevoet

"are not qualified to remain as part of the police force set up under terms of the United Nations plan".

The problem is not one of embarking on a crusade against South Africa, but rather that of mobilizing all energy so that implementation of resolution 435 (1978) may proceed normally. Thus international public opinion cannot accept South Africa's selective honouring of the obligations it has undertaken under the United Nations settlement plan. South Africa must renounce these clearly hostile acts against one of the parties, SWAPO. It, as well as the other parties concerned, should adhere to strict respect for the principles of impartiality, including the media which it controls.

South Africa's blind obsession with thwarting SWAPO and the will of the Namibian people is eloquently attested to by the considerable delay, caused by South Africa, in implementing resolution 435 (1978). Regrettably, that obsession is still in evidence today.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

How can anyone in the world be unaware of the fact that South Africa has neither demobilized nor disbanded - as called for by the United Nations settlement plan - the Koevoet commandos, the ethnic forces and their respective command structures? Those elements, the South African Administrator calmly replies, taking the occasion to underplay their true strength, will be restricted to their bases, where his country "will prepare them for new roles". We may well wonder what roles they are being prepared to play after elections and independence.

Moreover, because of inadequate supervision stemming from the United Nations limited ability to intervene - which has caused great concern within the Group of African States in the United Nations - the Security Council must demonstrate great vigilance, both in its careful consideration of the draft electoral law submitted by the South African Administrator and in all stages of the electoral process.

As everyone is aware, for 11 years South Africa has opposed implementation of the United Nations settlement plan, so it cannot claim today to be exuberantly striving for Namibian independence. Can it be that South Africa has opted for independence on its own terms - and the entire world is indeed aware of the political conditions prevailing in South Africa - rather than under the terms of the United Nations settlement plan?

The Security Council cannot legitimize this state of affairs.

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

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

Mr. AHMED (Pakistan): Allow me to begin by extending to you, Sir, the sincere felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. Your great country, Algeria, was born to

(Mr. Ahmed, Pakistan)

freedom after a long and valiant struggle by the people of Algeria for self-determination and national independence. It is most fitting that you, Sir, should preside over this meeting of the Security Council, devoted as it is to ensuring Namibia's smooth transition from bondage to freedom. I am confident that your great experience and diplomatic skills and your many qualities of leadership will prove to be assets to the Council in dealing with the important issue before it.

I should like also to take this opportunity to convey our deep appreciation to Mr. Dragoslav Pejic, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, for the admirable manner and great distinction with which he presided over the proceedings of the Security Council last month.

May I also take the liberty of paying a tribute to the Secretary-General for the determination and dedication with which he has pursued the cause of Namibia's independence. His exemplary resolve, under trying and difficult circumstances, has elicited the respect and admiration of everyone. It is imperative that the Secretary-General be provided with all the means necessary for ensuring the smooth and effective implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

During negotiations which preceded the adoption by the Security Council of resolutions 629 (1989) and 632 (1989), members of the Non-Aligned Movement expressed their concern over the need to ensure South Africa's strict compliance with the independence plan. Developments during the past four months have progressively strengthened this concern, compelling the Chairmen of the African Group of and of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement to bring the case afresh before the Security Council.

The central issue in Namibia today is simple but fundamental, namely, the responsibility of the international community, in particular of the Security

(Mr. Ahmed, Pakistan)

Council, to guarantee to the people of Namibia the right to participate in a free and fair election in accordance with the mandate of resolution 435 (1978). The question to be posed in this context is also a simple one. Half-way through the implementation of the independence plan, are the conditions obtaining in Namibia today conducive to the holding of free and fair elections? There is an overwhelming body of evidence to suggest that that is not the case and that swift corrective action is called for.

(Mr. Ahmed, Pakistan)

The electoral process in Namibia cannot be described as free if an erstwhile instrument of intimidation continues to operate inside the country. A number of objective and impartial observers, including the Secretary-General himself, have expressed concern about the continued presence in Namibia of the former South African counter-insurgency units known as Koevoet. As late as 24 July 1989, the Secretary-General, in his address to the twenty-fifth Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity, referred to the activities of ex-Koevoet elements in the South Africa Police. The Secretary-General then stated that these elements had not adjusted to the new political situation in Namibia and were continuing to harass and intimidate the civilian population.

Following the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, some improvement was registered in this respect but evidence persists that Koevoet's campaign of terror, particularly amongst the rural population, has not ended. The recent announcement by the Administrator-General that Koevoet elements will be confined to base is not enough. The relevant provision of resolution 435 (1978) mandates the disbandment of this force and the abolition of its command structure, which have not been done.

Likewise, elections in Namibia cannot be considered as fair if non-Namibians are allowed to participate in the electoral process; if all the discriminatory and restrictive laws are not annulled as called for in the Independence plan; if all parties are not given equal access to the media to bring their respective platforms to the attention of the public; if political prisoners convicted of alleged crimes continue to be barred from seeking electoral office; if elections are not conducted in conditions of strict secrecy; and if the counting procedures are not made foolproof and impervious to any administrative intervention.

(Mr. Ahmed, Pakistan)

The Chairman of the African Group, the Permanent Representative of Ghana, in his opening statement on 16 August described in detail, on the basis of irrefutable evidence, how the conditions for conducting free and fair had not so far been met. Ambassador Gbeho also submitted a number of concrete and constructive proposals for bringing the situation in conformity with the letter and spirit of resolution 435 (1978). My delegation supports these proposals and commends them to the members of the Security Council for serious and urgent consideration.

The future of a nation is at stake. The electoral process in Namibia has a special dimension. On it hinges the destiny of an entire people. It is the right of the people of Namibia to demand that the November elections should be free and fair. It is the obligation of the international community, particularly of the Security Council, to ensure that the Namibians are able to exercise this right in its totality, unencumbered by any political or psychological fetters and undiminished by any conditionality.

The Government and the people of Pakistan have steadfastly supported the cause of Namibian independence. The newly democratically elected Government of Pakistan, under the leadership of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, is particularly committed to upholding the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all oppressed peoples. We welcomed whole-heartedly the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia as the first concrete step towards the independence of the Territory and we have now made our modest contribution to its military and police components. We still believe this process to be irreversible, for the opposite is impossible to contemplate. This makes it all the more necessary to place the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) back on track.

(Mr. Ahmed, Pakistan)

The Pakistan delegation is convinced that the decision of the Security Council on this momentous issue will be in keeping with its high moral traditions and will reflect its commitment to the principles of justice and equity. The people of Namibia have unreservedly placed their trust and their future in the hands of the Security Council. They look to this lofty body for deliverance from their long night of travail.

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

Mr. RANA (Nepal): I should like at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of August. This is an added honour for your great country, Algeria, with which Nepal enjoys a close relationship of friendship and co-operation. Those of us who had the happy experience of working under your presidency last year are fully familiar with your diplomatic skills and accomplishments and confident of your wise and able guidance.

I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Dragoslav Pejic, Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council for the month of July.

The need for the urgent convening of the Security Council to consider the situation in Namibia has been adequately and eloquently explained by the Chairman of the African Group of States earlier in this debate. My delegation fully shares the concern of and supports the stand taken by the African countries on this question of common interest and importance.

This is the first formal series of meetings of the Security Council on Namibia since the United Nations settlement plan for the independence of the Territory began on 1 April 1989. However, the Council, in keeping with its responsibility,

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

has been following progress in that regard with keen and continued interest. Consultations on the question among members and with the Secretary-General has been a regular feature of the Council's work over the past few months.

While the Council can take some satisfaction at the progress achieved thus far, it is very much alive to the impediments that still stand in the way of realizing the full independence of Namibia. Quiet diplomatic efforts have been useful in the past in removing some of those hurdles. We continue to support such efforts. But we believe that the time has come for the Security Council to have a more thorough examination and to take concrete remedial measures to address South Africa's defiance of the basic principles outlined in the United Nations settlement plan and its persistent efforts to frustrate and undermine them.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

Among the most serious is the induction of the notorious Koevoet elements into the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL) and their use to harass and intimidate the Namibian people. During consultations, the Council has on several occasions expressed its grave concern at such brazen violation by the South African authorities of resolution 435 (1978). The Council has, through the Secretary-General, had occasion to convey the same concern to Pretoria. It is also known that members who maintain contacts with South African authorities have, individually or otherwise, brought their influence to bear upon Pretoria to put a stop to Koevoet activities.

That has resulted in the recent announcement of the Administrator-General confining Koevoet remnants in SWAPOL to their bases. The announcement, as we all know, is limited and conditional and thus unacceptable to us, as to other members of the Council. Given present conditions in Namibia, we are gravely concerned - though not so much surprised - that incidents continue to take place which not only involve attacks on and intimidation of the Namibian people but in which, also, UNTAG installations have been attacked and persons guarding them killed.

Such a state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue any further if we want - which we certainly do - to ensure a free and fair election in Namibia. My delegation is of the view that all Koevoet elements must be totally disbanded, and also that the command structure of the South West Africa Territorial Force must be dismantled once and for all in accordance with the provisions of the settlement plan. This may require the United Nations to intensify its control and supervision activities. Therefore we will support a recommendation for an increase in UNTAG's police component should the Secretary-General deem such a step necessary.

While the problems relating to Koevoet are the most serious and immediate ones and call for urgent attention and appropriate action by the Council, my delegation

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

strongly believes that other measures of manipulation by South Africa should also be addressed and corrected with equal urgency. In this context we wish to draw the attention of the Council to the need for the just and expeditious implementation of the voter registration process, plugging whatever loopholes may permit non-Namibians to participate and, above all, to ensure that the relevant electoral legislation not only conforms to accepted international norms but is also in keeping with the letter and spirit of resolution 435 (1978). It goes without saying, of course, that the Constituent Assembly that is to be formed on the basis of the November elections cannot, by definition, be made subservient to the whims and wishes of the Administrator-General. Similarly, as we note with appreciation the progress made in the repatriation of Namibian refugees, we should like the process to be completed at the earliest in full consideration of their rehabilitation and safety.

Before concluding, allow me to express the deep appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, for his total dedication in discharging the mandate entrusted to him under resolution 435 (1978). We are convinced that it is due to his constant and skilful endeavours that the transition process in Namibia has thus far been able to stay on track despite the serious repeated problems created by South Africa.

Similarly, his Special Representative, as well as the 6,000 members of UNTAG, deserve our praise for their dedicated work under difficult circumstances.

The Namibian people have seen much suffering and made many sacrifices in their quest for freedom and dignity. It has been a long and arduous road. As they now come closer to the day of destiny, they deserve our unqualified support in exercising their rights without let or hindrance. It is the obligation of this Council to ensure a fair deal for the people of Namibia, for, as is stated in

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

resolution 632 (1989), it is the ultimate responsibility of the Security Council to ensure full implementation of its resolution 435 (1978) in its original and definitive form to create conditions in Namibia which allow the Namibian people to participate freely and without intimidation in the electoral process under the control and supervision of the United Nations. Anything less will not only undermine the credibility of this august body but will also be a betrayal of the trust assumed by the United Nations for the Territory and its heroic people. My delegation is confident that the Council, in the light of the deliberations here, will not lose time to act in unity and strengthen the Secretary-General's ongoing efforts for the full and faithful implementation of the United Nations plan.

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

Mrs. DIALLO (Senegal) (interpretation from French): I take special pleasure in presenting you, Sir, with the sincere and warm congratulations of the Senegalese delegation as you serve as President of the Council for this month. I say this in view of your excellent skills and qualities, which are known throughout the world. You represent a country, Algeria, with which Senegal has close relations of friendship and brotherly co-operation. On this occasion I am happy to assure you once again of the readiness and co-operation of the whole of my delegation.

I wish also to express our recognition of and admiration for your predecessor, Ambassador Pejic, the representative of another country that is a friend of ours and also a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Yugoslavia. He conducted our work with skill and efficiency last month.

On 1 April 1989, in painful and tragic circumstances, the process designed to move Namibia towards independence began. That process continues to hold the

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

attention of the world and to require constant vigilance and supervision by the Security Council. The United Nations is fully committed to this lengthy and complex operation.

The United Nations plan for Namibian independence very clearly sets out the applicable principles, the objectives, framework and deadlines for implementation. It is based on the necessary use of good faith by all parties in their respective undertakings, which are unequivocally defined. By means of its full implementation it will be possible to guarantee free expression of the wishes of all Namibians, men and women, and to enable the United Nations to carry out its task of monitoring and supervising free and fair elections in Namibia.

We are meeting at a time when the plan for Namibian independence is entering its twenty-first week of implementation, and we are doing so because the plan has encountered very difficult circumstances that threaten to obstruct the holding of free and fair elections. The record of the last 20 weeks shows that a certain amount has been achieved, but as Ambassador Gbeho, the Permanent Representative of Ghana, said unequivocally in his capacity as Chairman of the African Group, many threats loom over the transitional process.

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

These include: the inadmissible presence and brutal behaviour of Koevoet elements integrated into the South West African Police force - which, we have been told, as though it were a major concession, will be withdrawn and confined to barracks rather than being disbanded; omissions, delays and irregularities in the voter-registration process, especially in the north, which is the most densely populated area; ambiguities - to say the least - in the draft laws on the organization of the elections and on the constituent assembly; the failure to dismantle all South Africa's discriminatory and repressive machinery in the Territory; the partiality of the South African-controlled media; and the general situation of insecurity, especially in the north, where acts of provocation, intimidation, aggression and terror take place.

Those South African violations of resolution 435 (1978) are a source of great concern to my country and to all those who are striving to bring about the total liberation of the African continent.

In its resolution 632 (1989) of 16 February 1989, the Security Council expressed its full support for and unreserved co-operation with the Secretary-General in carrying out the mandate entrusted to him under resolution 435 (1978), and called upon all parties concerned to honour their commitments and to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of resolution 632 (1989).

It is time for the Security Council and for all those on whom history and the United Nations Charter confer a special responsibility with respect to Namibia to demonstrate immediately and in a concrete form their support for the Secretary-General, who is doing his utmost for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). On behalf of His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal, I wish to pay a well-earned tribute to the Secretary-General for his

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

constant receptiveness, his perseverance and his courageous and tireless action in favour of the people of Namibia.

I wish also to hail the commitment and dedication of the members of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) and to urge all of them to continue to strive for the full implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

It is the duty of the Security Council urgently to take the measures necessary to create conditions favourable for the holding of free and fair elections in Namibia in less than three months' time.

We have learned from experience that the South African régime has always employed subterfuge to postpone a solution to the problem of Namibia whenever such a solution has appeared imminent. Its present policy of intimidation, terror and subterfuge derives from the policies it has adopted for more than 20 years to perpetuate its colonial grip on Namibia.

But vigilance over the same period has enabled us to circumvent all its delaying manoeuvres, and we shall continue to take care to prevent South Africa from thwarting the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people. The memory of all the sacrifices of the past feeds our determination at this turning-point in the history of African liberation.

Senegal calls for greater awareness of responsibilities by all countries and peoples that, like Senegal, believe in freedom, human values and human rights, without exception.

It is our duty through the outcome of these meetings to demonstrate our common resolve to ensure the conditions necessary for the strict and complete implementation of resolution 435 (1978), through the adoption of the wise recommendations made by the Chairman of the African Group.

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

I hope our concerted and determined efforts will enable the Namibian people, after a long and courageous struggle, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to regain its total freedom with dignity and honour and at last to join the community of free and independent nations.

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

Mr. LOZINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I wish to take this opportunity, Sir, to welcome you to the lofty post of President of the Security Council. We are certain that your great professional experience and diplomatic talents will enable you to guide the work of the Council effectively; we have already in the past seen convincing evidence of this.

I wish also to thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations, Ambassador Pejic, for the skill with which he guided the work of the Council in July, when he displayed his customary wisdom, tact and professional skill.

The international community is facing a most important task: completing the process of decolonization of Namibia, thus settling a problem the United Nations has faced since its very first years. Propitious opportunities for this were established by the agreements signed in New York in December 1988 by Angola, Cuba and South Africa, achieved with the participation of the United States of America and the USSR. Those agreements initiated the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), reaffirming the United Nations plan for the granting of independence to Namibia.

In accordance with its responsibility under the United Nations Charter, the Security Council adopted concrete measures to ensure the implementation of the United Nations plan, and is following the course of that implementation.

(Mr. Lozinsky, USSR)

For several months now, the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) has been at work in Namibia. Its job is to see to it that appropriate conditions are present for the holding of truly free and fair elections and the establishment of national political institutions in an independent Namibia. The success of its mission directly hinges on the strict and scrupulous compliance by the parties involved in the conflict with the commitments they have undertaken, and on co-operation with UNTAG by all political forces present in Namibia. The tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to ensure the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia deserve a positive assessment. By regularly supplying information about the development of the situation in Namibia, the problems arising there and the steps he has taken, and by making the appropriate recommendations, the Secretary-General is providing the Security Council with necessary assistance in dealing with practical issues.

(Mr. Lozinsky, USSR)

Of course, no one expected that no problems would arise during the process of Namibia's achieving independence. It is important, however, to detect problems in a timely way and deal adequately with them in order to find effective and speedy solutions. As it turns out, significant difficulties have in fact arisen in the course of the settlement in Namibia, and we understand the concern voiced by many representatives who have spoken in the Council's discussion of this question - in particular, the Chairman of the Group of African States, the representative of Ghana, Ambassador Gbeho.

We must be especially concerned by the presence in the South West Africa Police of persons who earlier were part of the notorious counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet. The presence in the police forces of heavy artillery and armoured vehicles is also contrary to the requirements of the plan. All these matters are creating intimidation of the local population and harassment of the supporters of the South West Africa's People's Organization (SWAPO) and are bound to have a most negative effect on the course of the preparations for free and fair elections.

We believe that the intentions of the Administrator-General of Namibia, which he stated on 15 August, go in the right direction, although they are clearly insufficient. Their immediate implementation must be reinforced by other necessary measures.

During the debate the representatives of a number of countries have made substantive comments about the draft electoral laws and the law concerning the constituent assembly. We believe that those comments are extremely well-founded and that they must be taken into account in order to ensure that the laws are fully in keeping with universally recognized democratic norms and the requirements flowing from resolution 435 (1978). There should be immediate action on them, because not much time remains before the elections in Namibia, which have been fixed for the beginning of November.

(Mr. Lozinsky, USSR)

The international community now faces the task of making arrangements for, and strengthening, the process for a Namibian settlement, which was begun with such difficulty. That requires that all the parties involved in the normalization of the situation in South West Africa - primarily the South African authorities - take a responsible and balanced approach to the implementation of the agreements that have been entered into and ensure that all the requirements of the United Nations are met.

The Soviet Union is making active efforts to promote the process of advancing the Namibian settlement towards the goal that has been set. We are taking such steps both within the United Nations and in the framework of bilateral contacts with the parties involved, which are being co-ordinated with the efforts of many other States, including members of the Council.

As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stated in Havana on 6 April this year, the Soviet Union, together with all other States Members of the United Nations, is ready to make its contribution to carrying out the agreements on Namibia and to promote the final elimination of colonialism and racism from the African continent.

We consistently favour the complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and racism and support the right of peoples to independence and sovereignty, with unconditional freedom of choice, and we firmly intend to ensure that there will be a one hundred and sixtieth State Member of the United Nations - an independent Namibia.

We believe that the Security Council will continue closely to follow the development of the situation in Namibia and to act firmly to achieve the establishment of all the necessary conditions for the holding in Namibia of truly free and fair elections.

(Mr. Lozinsky, USSR)

Positive steps in South West Africa, reflecting changes for the better in the whole international situation, will doubtless in turn promote a strengthening of international peace and security and enhance the authority and role of the United Nations in international affairs.

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

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Mr. President, first, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the stewardship of the Security Council for this month. I am convinced that, with your outstanding diplomatic skill, you will carry out your task with distinction.

I should also like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to Ambassador Pejic of Yugoslavia for his remarkable performance as the Council's President in July.

The situation in southern Africa is undergoing positive changes. The shift from tension to relaxation and from confrontation to dialogue witnessed in the region meets the wishes of the people in the area. It is also the result of the protracted struggle of the people in the region, the front-line States, the other African States and the international community as a whole. One must also see, however, that the factors causing tension and turbulence - the apartheid system in particular - are yet to be removed, and therefore persistent and hard work is still needed before peace and stability are realized in southern Africa.

Namibian independence has always been a main issue in the development of the regional situation in southern Africa. Towards the end of last year Angola, Cuba and South Africa signed the agreement on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on Namibian independence, setting in motion the Namibian

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

independence process. This development heralds the triumphant conclusion of the historic mission of decolonization throughout the African continent, which will be an event of major significance in history.

Namibia has already entered a new stage of electoral preparations. While rejoicing over the accomplishments in the implementation of the plan for Namibian independence, we are mindful that there indeed exist some problems calling for the close attention of the international community. What is disturbing, in particular, is the fact that some elements of the former counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, which should be disbanded under the settlement plan, have instead been absorbed into the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL), and have constantly subjected the Namibian people to intimidation and harassment. The command structure of the South West Africa Territorial Force remains in place to this day. Moreover, there have been incidents of non-Namibians registering as voters. All of these matters are in violation of the settlement plan, which has been accepted by all sides. We are of the view that the key to the realization of Namibian independence lies in the full guarantee that the general election to be held in Namibia will be free and fair. All parties concerned should strictly abide by the provisions of the plan and endeavour to remove the obstacles to its implementation.

We have noted that many African representatives are deeply concerned about certain actions by the South African Government in failing to observe resolution 435 (1978) and the settlement plan, and that they have raised some justified demands, including the complete disbandment of Koevoet. The Chinese delegation expresses its understanding of the African countries' concerns and supports their legitimate demands. It is our hope that the South African authorities will honour their commitments, carry out the agreement in earnest and refrain from taking any action that might undermine free and fair elections in Namibia or compromise the scheduled independence of the Territory.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

We appreciate the unremitting efforts and accomplishments of the Secretary-General in implementing the Namibian independence plan. The Chinese delegation highly values and supports the work of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

It is the responsibility of the Security Council to take appropriate and effective steps to ensure the smooth implementation of the plan for Namibian independence, with a view to realizing Namibian independence on schedule. We are confident that after the present deliberations on the Namibian question the Security Council will give even stronger support to the Secretary-General.

China has always supported the Namibian people in their just struggle for national independence, and we will continue to make efforts for the strict implementation of the plan for Namibian independence and its realization on schedule.

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

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): First of all I should like to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations and my own personal congratulations on Algeria's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to our colleague, His Excellency Mr. Dragoslav Pejic, for his guidance of the Council's work during the month of July.

Our Council has a very specific responsibility with regard to Namibia. It is a dual responsibility, first of all towards the Namibian people, which under the auspices of the United Nations is finally about to attain independence, but also because the operation now being conducted by the United Nations in Namibia is the most important one the Organization has undertaken under its direct authority.

My country's position on the Namibian question is well-known. France, which has actively contributed to the adoption of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 629 (1989), has always been in favour of the full implementation of the United Nations settlement plan. We are today at a point where the process defined in

(Mr. Blanc, France)

resolution 435 (1978) is coming to an end. The constituent elections which will allow Namibia to accede to independence will be held next November, in accordance with the timetable approved by our Council. In its resolution 632 (1989) the Security Council entrusted the Secretary-General and through him the Special Representative for Namibia, Mr. Ahtisaari, overseeing the transitional phase now under way and ensuring the establishment of conditions guaranteeing the holding of free and fair elections, after which the Namibian people itself could decide on its own future governance.

Recently the Secretary-General went to Namibia. Upon his return he submitted an important and detailed report to us on the situation in which the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) was taking place on the ground. The general tone of this report seemed rather encouraging to us. However, Mr. Perez de Cuellar clearly explained the difficulties which continue to exist. Without doubt the most serious is the presence of former Koevoet elements in the Namibian police. Our position on this matter is unambiguous; and we have explained it in the clearest terms to the South African authorities: there must be an end to the presence of those elements in units of the Namibian police - elements that have become notorious because of their indescribable acts.

We noted with interest the announcement of specific measures concerning this matter made on 15 August by the Administrator-General. These decisions are in the right direction; but it is essential that a total withdrawal of Koevoet elements take place without delay.

I should like to renew our confidence in the actions of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. They have, since 1 April, often in extremely difficult conditions, been able to ensure the implementation of the plan adopted in resolution 435 (1978) and to avoid the pitfalls that have arisen in their way. It

(Mr. Blanc, France)

is by reaffirming its total support for the Secretary-General that the Security Council can best discharge its historic responsibility concerning the Namibian nation, which is on the threshold of its independence.

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

Mr. OKUN (United States): The United States, which played a central role in the Namibian settlement negotiations, remains deeply committed to the successful completion of Namibia's transition to independence, under the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and subsequent agreements. Namibia's transition to independence can only be implemented by the United Nations through the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG). The United States is convinced that it is in Namibia's best interest for the world community to give to the United Nations all the support necessary to realize this end.

The process which will lead to Namibian independence is irrevocably under way. All sides are moving towards compliance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). There are still problems, however, and the United States shares the Secretary-General's deep concern that they may impede the holding of free and fair elections in Namibia. We have, for example, repeatedly made known to the South African Government and to the Administrator-General in Windhoek our views on the continued presence in the police force of former members of Koevoet.

As other speakers have noted during this debate, the Administrator-General of Namibia on August 15 announced his intention to remove from duty a total of 1,200 South West African Police (SWAPOL) members in the northern region of the country. These former Koevoet personnel will be confined to base for reorientation and retraining. The Administrator-General invited monitoring of this restriction to base by UNTAG. The Secretary-General has instructed his Special Representative

(Mr. Okun, United States)

to follow up this offer to ensure that their confinement to base is rigorously monitored. The United States commends the Secretary-General for his prompt action in this matter.

The Administrator-General also indicated his intention to restructure the command system of the South West African Police in the northern region over the coming weeks. Coupled with the removal of former Koevoet personnel from SWAPOL's ranks, we believe this will go far towards reducing the atmosphere of intimidation that has existed in northern Namibia.

The United States welcomes the Administrator-General's announcement and regards it as an important step towards meeting the concerns repeatedly expressed by the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the United States and other members of the Council and the United Nations. My Government was encouraged by the news that as of 18 August more than 37,000 refugees had been repatriated to Namibia and that as of 12 August 575,464 members of the Namibian electorate had been registered to vote. We should also note that, despite the fears of some to the contrary, there have not been massive numbers of South Africans registering to vote.

We will continue to watch closely this issue and others, such as the development of the electoral law, which will have a clear and direct effect on the fairness of the Namibian elections. Discussions on the draft proclamations relating to the electoral law and to the constituent assembly are currently under way between the Administrator-General and the Secretary-General's Special Representative in order to ensure that the legislation will fully conform to the letter and the spirit of the settlement plan.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

It has been a long and arduous road, but great progress has been made towards Namibian independence. A major factor in fostering that progress has been the unanimity of the Council on all major aspects of the matter, from the adoption of resolution 435 (1978) to date. It is vital that unanimity be maintained.

Other recent events in southern Africa suggest that a new potential for positive change exists. We are under no illusion that change will come easily, but we are convinced that change should be encouraged. While the Security Council can provide guidance, it is the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the members of UNTAG who must make the day-to-day decisions required for the successful implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which we all so earnestly seek.

In view of the developments I have outlined and the importance of our task, the United States believes that it is crucial that the Security Council continue to provide full and united support to those officials.

Sir Crispin TICKELL (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): This is the first time that I have had the opportunity formally to welcome you in your Chair and to wish you all success, if it be necessary, in carrying out your heavy responsibilities. We also give our warm thanks to your predecessor.

Sometimes it is wise to look back before looking forward, and since I last addressed the Council on the question of Namibia, in October 1987, the situation in the Territory has been transformed. With the signature of the tripartite Agreement between Angola, Cuba and South Africa on 22 December last year, the final obstacle to the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan was removed. On 16 February this year the Council adopted resolution 632 (1989), approving the Secretary-General's proposals for the deployment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG).

(Sir Crispin Tickell,
United Kingdom)

Since then, the settlement process has not been even. It was nearly wrecked by large-scale incursions of forces of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) from Angola in early April. Thanks to careful diplomacy and pressure in the right places, the crisis was resolved and the settlement process was resumed. But if all sides honour their commitments under the settlement plan and the related understandings, if intimidation from any and all quarters ceases, and if the Namibian political parties conduct the election campaign in the spirit of democracy and reconciliation, then we believe that a free and fair election can take place in early November.

It is against this background that the current debate is taking place. I think it very important that we must always keep our common objective in mind. That objective is simple and cannot be repeated too often: it is to create the conditions for free and fair elections which will allow Namibia to proceed to independence in accordance with the United Nations settlement plan. The Security Council has a primary role in overseeing that process. But it cannot - and should not - try to substitute for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in conducting the detailed negotiations which will be necessary for the detailed implementation of the settlement plan. We pay tribute to the Secretary-General and to Mr. Ahtisaari for the skilful and impartial way in which they have carried out their duties. Like them, the Council must not only be impartial but also be seen to be impartial.

Some specific difficulties remain, and they have already been touched upon in this debate. One of the most serious is the continuing presence in the South West Africa Police of former members of the Counter-Insurgency Unit known as Koevoet - to use the unattractive English translation, the Crowbar. We share the concerns

(Sir Crispin Tickell,
United Kingdom)

that have been expressed about the activities of these officers. The British Government, for its part, has lost no opportunity, both bilaterally and with others, to make known to the South African authorities its view that they should be removed from duty. The Administrator-General's announcement on 15 August that the remaining ex-Koevoet elements will be confined to base is a welcome step and should reduce the potential for intimidation in northern Namibia. We welcome the Secretary-General's agreement that UNTAG should monitor this process: in practical terms, this arrangement should do much to create the conditions for free and fair elections and thus meet that common objective to which I earlier referred.

The British Government, like other Governments represented in New York, shares the concerns that have been expressed over aspects of the draft proclamations on the elections and the constituent assembly, which are currently under negotiation between the Special Representative and the Administrator-General. It would be wrong for the Council to pre-empt the outcome of these discussions. But my Government has indicated to the Secretary-General that he will have our full support if he decides to seek changes in the draft proclamations. The Special Representative must be satisfied that the arrangements are fully consistent with the settlement plan before giving his approval to them.

To conclude, we are entering a particularly sensitive period in Namibian history. No one should be in any doubt of the Council's determination to fulfil its responsibilities in the best interests of the Namibian people. The emergence of an independent Namibia as a result of free and fair elections will be of great significance for southern Africa as a whole. The opportunity must not be missed. We want to strengthen the hand of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative as they continue to perform their difficult task. But it would be a tragedy if this debate were to complicate it.

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

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

Miss MONCADA BERMUDEZ (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation wishes first to pay a tribute both to you, Sir, and to Ambassador Pejic of Yugoslavia, who presided over the Council in July, for the diplomatic skill and negotiating ability brought to bear on the difficult matters that have been brought before this lofty body. You have not only done honour to your Governments but also enhanced the prestige of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which your countries are distinguished members.

Having considered the delicate situation existing in Namibia, and assessed the repeated violations of the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) being committed by South Africa, my delegation has decided to come before the Council to add its voice to those who have expressed their concern at the situation, in the conviction that there was every justification for the African Group's request that the Council consider the situation in Namibia, so that, together with the Secretary-General, it might exercise an appropriate degree of influence to ensure that free and fair elections can be held in Namibia. Nicaragua also could not remain silent at a time when the long struggle of the Namibian people for independence and self-determination is at a crucial stage, calling more than ever for the support of the international community.

(Miss Moncada Bermudez, Nicaragua)

Since the inception of the electoral process in April 1989, the actions of the South African Government have been designed to obstruct in various ways the United Nations plan for transition towards an independent Namibia by keeping operative the range of repressive machinery that it has used for years to maintain its domination over the Namibian people.

An example of this is the fact that, in defiance of resolution 435 (1978), the notorious Koevoet forces have not been totally disbanded and that many of its members have infiltrated the South West African Police Force from within which they have continued to pursue their policy of terror and intimidation and have already claimed a substantial number of victims, not only among members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and its sympathizers but also among the rural civilian population.

The relative provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) stipulate that the elections in Namibia shall take place under the supervision and control of the United Nations, both during the electoral process and during the elections themselves as well as in certifying the results. Consequently, at each stage of the electoral process the Special Representative of the United Nations must be satisfied.

In the legal area the preliminary drafts of legislation prepared by South Africa on the elections and the Constituent Assembly are a cunning manoeuvre to minimize United Nations participation in the electoral process and to manufacture conditions that will guarantee results favourable to South Africa and in fact prevent the Namibian people from exercising its right to choose its own leaders freely and without let or hindrance. Among other things, these sinister draft laws contain provisions designed to exclude Namibian patriots and to include South African and other foreigners in the voting process. Specifically, the voter

(Miss Moncada Bermudez, Nicaragua)

registration law would allow Namibia to be flooded by South African nationals seeking to guarantee an electoral base of sympathizers with the apartheid system. At the same time, one very important requirement for the voting has been omitted from these draft laws, namely, the secret ballot. These draft laws also seek to confuse voters by establishing a lengthy and complicated voting system.

Last 28 July, at the twenty-fifth summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Secretary-General reiterated that the United Nations has the mandate to establish the best possible conditions for enabling the Namibian people to exercise its right to self-determination in the form of free and balanced elections under United Nations supervision and control.

The responsibilities entrusted to date to the Organization, however numerous and wide-ranging, may prove to be insufficient for the difficult task of securing in adverse conditions full and active compliance with the undertaking. The establishment of optimal electoral conditions and, ultimately, Namibian independence and peace are objectives that the international community has set itself. For this reason and because the reputation of the United Nations must be upheld throughout its mission in Namibia, my delegation takes the view that the Security Council should do its utmost and take whatever decision may be necessary to strengthen the role of the Secretary-General and reinforce his mandate. This would impress on South Africa that at this stage the Secretary-General continues to enjoy the full international support needed and that the eyes of the whole world are focused on the elections in Namibia.

In conclusion, let me add that my delegation has taken part in this debate in the conviction that Nicaragua possesses the moral authority to take a stand on electoral processes and elections. As an independent and sovereign country, Nicaragua invited the Secretary-General to observe the different phases of its

(Miss Moncada Bermudez, Nicaragua)

electoral process which culminated in early general elections in February 1989. At the same time, we fulfilled our commitments by taking a series of measures to meet the concerns of the opposition, including the release of almost all former members of the Somoza Guards who were in prison, and at the present time preparations are under way to free approximately 1,200 Contras. These measures, which caused distress to many Nicaraguans, are part of a long list of concessions into which it is not appropriate to go into detail on this occasion. However, we do invite those who have appointed themselves judges of elections in independent countries all around the world to compare the electoral processes in Namibia and Nicaragua and to direct their criticism and exert pressure where that criticism and pressure belong in order to prevent a continuation of present irregularities, which threaten free and fair elections in Namibia.

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

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

Mr. KATSIGAZI (Uganda): I wish to express my delegation's warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. To us your country is a source of inspiration and pride for its well-known role in the resolution of often complex and delicate issues. We are gratified to see a distinguished son of Africa and a representative of a friendly non-aligned country with which Uganda enjoys very cordial relations at the helm of this body. Your personal qualities and distinction will definitely lead our deliberations to a successful conclusion, thus contributing to the final victory of the struggling people of Namibia.

(Mr. Katsigazi, Uganda)

I take this opportunity to offer our thanks and appreciation to Ambassador Pejic of Yugoslavia for the able and successful leadership he provided this body during the month of July.

We regret that the Council is again seized of a debate on a matter that should not have arisen in the first instance were it not for South Africa's deliberate policy of treachery, rebellion and belligerence against the international community in general and against this Council in particular. South Africa has not given up its dream of designing and creating a constellation of States around its borders that would make that region safe for apartheid.

The situation in Namibia remains a matter of disappointment and frustration because of South Africa's continued illegal occupation and scandalous activities in the Territory. South Africa's past and present behaviour in Namibia is a revealing experience for all of us. It is well known for scheming, and in its scheme of things South Africa sees only two options regarding Namibian independence: first, that Namibia does not attain independence. If it does, then such independence must be handed over to South Africa's internal puppets, who will remain under the full control and manipulation of the Pretoria régime.

It was not a mere accident that in 1966 South Africa rejected outright both General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) terminating its Mandate over Namibia and the ruling by the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971 by which that supreme body declared South Africa's occupation of Namibia illegal and urged it to withdraw from the Territory. It was equally no surprise that South Africa required a time frame of over a decade since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on 29 September 1978 before yielding to international pressure to put in place the United Nations settlement plan for Namibia. This was essentially because the cost of its adventurism had become prohibitive, both in military and economic terms.

(Mr. Katsigazi, Uganda)

South Africa's behaviour is very capricious and unpredictable, hence extremely unreliable. We have had occasion to counsel caution that the Pretoria régime has a remarkable capacity to pull out of its commitments at a critical final hour. This is clearly the case now, barely three months before the elections to the constituent assembly in Namibia. South Africa has deliberately polluted the political and security atmosphere in the Territory, thus making the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) rather sticky, if not impossible, while, at the same time, sending a clear message to its supporters and sympathizers that the assurances and commitments it had accepted to undertake on the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) were, after all, nothing to go by.

Uganda welcomed the unanimous decision by the Council, in its resolution 632 (1989), to implement resolution 435 (1978) in its original and definitive form. We were happy to note that the Council committed itself to ensuring that conditions in Namibia would allow the Namibian people to participate freely and without intimidation in the electoral process in the Territory under the supervision and control of the United Nations. We were equally encouraged by the unanimous commitment by the Council to ensure that all parties concerned would honour their commitments to the United Nations plan and co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in implementing that plan.

The political and security situation in Namibia remains far from guaranteeing a free and fair electoral process in the Territory. The United Nations plan remains hostage to South Africa's machinations and manipulations. The role of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has been marginalized by the Pretoria régime through its Administrator-General to the extent that the Special Representative has virtually no control on the electoral process in the Territory.

(Mr. Katsigazi, Uganda)

The Koevoets - South Africa killer squads - now masquerading as South West Africa Police (SWAPOL), continue to harass, maim and intimidate the majority of the civilian population, particularly the supporters and sympathizers of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). They menacingly cruise around on armoured personnel carriers - the most dreaded "CASSPIRS" and carry along with them heavy machine-guns, which are not allowed under the terms of the settlement plan spelled out in resolution 435 (1978). We demand that the Koevoets be disarmed and disbanded and their command structure dismantled as a matter of priority. The Council must assume its responsibility and compel South Africa to comply.

It is a matter of profound concern to hear reports on the manner in which the Pretoria régime, through its Administrator-General, continues to manipulate the voters' register - one of the major elements in the process of free and fair elections. While many foreigners, particularly South Africans, have registered to vote in the forthcoming elections to the constituent assembly, the majority of legitimate Namibian people, particularly SWAPO supporters, have been denied the right to register, mainly for their political beliefs. It is a mockery for the people of Namibia and for the international community, and particularly for this Council, to remain insensitive to the loud outcry from SWAPO, the churches and trade unions in Namibia over the continuing gross abuse of the basic democratic rights of an electoral process, for whose outcome the United Nations has full responsibility. South African actions are a direct violation of resolution 435 (1978), and the Council should, as a matter of necessity, act promptly to compel South Africa to eliminate all laws and draft proclamations that do not conform to the settlement plan adopted by the Council in that resolution.

The political process in Namibia remains entirely at the mercy of the Pretoria régime. The international community will offer a great service to the people

(Mr. Katsigazi, Uganda)

of that Territory by providing them with all appropriate mechanisms to enable them to hold a free and fair election. All political prisoners must be released immediately and unconditionally to enable them to participate in the electoral process. The electoral laws must be seen to be fair to all; they must be non-discriminatory and non-restrictive. Equal opportunity should be provided to all to face the electorate. Secrecy in voting is critical, given the inadequacy of the United Nations surveillance. The counting of votes must take place immediately after voting and the results published immediately to avoid rigging of any form.

There is now confusion and uncertainty, for instance, on who will convene the constituent assembly after the elections in November. The Administrator-General will have accomplished his task of running the elections irrespective of their outcome. We totally reject any role by the Administrator-General in the constituent assembly after the elections in November.

These matters, among others, require urgent attention and action from the Council. The Council is, first and foremost, duty-bound to ensure that the electoral process in Namibia is seen by the people of Namibia, and indeed by the international community, to be free and fair at every stage.

It is in that vein that Uganda fully associates itself with the modest but practical and action-oriented recommendations of the African Group to the Council on the possible course of action on this urgent and important matter now before the Council. Those recommendations were articulately outlined to the Council by the Chairman of the African Group for the month of August, Ambassador Gbeho, of Ghana, in his statement to the Council on Wednesday, 16 August 1989.

(Mr. Katsigazi, Uganda)

We urge the Council to assume its full responsibility and adopt those recommendations unanimously. Such a positive gesture on the part of the Council will be a commendable step towards restoring confidence among the people of Namibia at this late but critical hour of their independence process.

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

In view of the lateness of the hour, I propose to adjourn the meeting now. With the agreement of the members of the Council, the next meeting of the Council to continue its consideration of the item on its agenda will take place this afternoon at 4 o'clock.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.