



UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/13862
31 March 1980

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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

1. On 20 November 1979 I reported to the Security Council (S/13634) concerning the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) on the question of Namibia. In that report I described the course of events subsequent to the publication of my report of 26 February 1979 (S/13120), and to the various endeavours relating to the resolution of the two principal issues left outstanding, connected with paragraphs 11 and 12 of the latter report. In particular, I referred to my meeting with the late President Neto of Angola in Luanda on 15 July 1979, during which he had suggested the establishment of a demilitarized zone on both sides of the northern border of Namibia with a view to facilitating the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). President Neto, at that meeting, asked me to explore and develop the concept of the demilitarized zone as a means of resolving outstanding issues.

2. Simultaneous high-level consultations on this subject were held in Geneva, under the auspices of the United Nations, between 12-16 November 1979. The demilitarized zone proposal, as discussed with the parties concerned, has the following principal features. The provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) would continue to bind the parties in all their terms. In addition thereto, the Governments of Angola, South Africa and Zambia would agree to the establishment of a demilitarized zone to facilitate the implementation of the settlement Proposal (S/12636). The purpose of the zone, which would be free of the military forces of the parties and of SWAPO, would be to assist the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in its monitoring and border surveillance functions. It would be understood that in their respective territories Angola and Zambia would have the co-operation of SWAPO in the implementation of the agreement. The zone would be defined as being of 50 kilometres' width on each side of the Namibia/Angola and Namibia/Zambia frontiers, and having a demilitarized character. In the Caprivi Strip the Botswana/Namibia border would reduce the width of the zone. Each Government concerned would be responsible for the demilitarization of its portion of the zone. Within the zone UNTAG would operate freely to carry out its responsibilities. The police forces of the parties concerned would remain in the zone and would extend full co-operation to UNTAG. The zone would be established 14 days after the

cease-fire for the duration of the transition period. In the 14-day interim period between the implementation of the cease-fire and the establishment of the zone, UNTAG would have access to all its parts. Selected locations would be excluded from the demilitarized zone. The details of these locations, and practical arrangements relating thereto, would be worked out with the parties. In general such locations would include the military base, its supporting airfield, population centre and the immediate environment. The "immediate environment" would not generally be expected to mean a distance greater than five kilometres from the perimeter of the installation or population centre. It would be clearly inconsistent with the purpose of the demilitarized zone for any massing of troops to take place within the selected locations on either side of the border. The provisions of the settlement Proposal for phased withdrawal of the South African Defence Forces (SADF) would also apply in the selected locations. On the Namibian side of the border the SADF, within such selected locations, would be restricted to base and by the twelfth week be withdrawn in accordance with the settlement Proposal. UNTAG would monitor the bases, logistic resupply and authorized movement of military personnel by land and air. SWAPO forces would be excluded from the selected locations. There would also be provision for UNTAG monitoring operations in the zone in co-operation with the police and other civilian authorities.

3. At the conclusion of the Geneva consultations, the front-line States accepted the concept of the demilitarized zone and the broad outline of the proposal presented to them. SWAPO also accepted the concept of the demilitarized zone. It was indicated that, provided South Africa also accepted the concept, detailed technical discussions could follow.

4. On 5 December 1979 the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, in a letter addressed to me (S/13630), stated that South Africa accepted the concept of the zone, provided agreement was reached in further discussions, inter alia, on six matters set out in his letter.

5. On 9 January 1980, I addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council (S/13740), in which I informed him of my intention to proceed with the detailed technical discussions referred to in my report of 20 November 1979. I also stated my intention, subject to the Council's consent, to appoint Lieutenant-General Prem Chand of India initially as the Commander-designate and later as Commander of the military component of UNTAG. On 12 January 1980 the President of the Council informed me that the Council agreed with my proposal (S/13741) and I thereupon made the appointment to which I had referred.

6. During consultations held by the Security Council on 31 January 1980 I made a statement concerning a mission to southern Africa which, in its initial phase, would be led by General Prem Chand. I stated that General Prem Chand would visit Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Namibia to have detailed technical discussions on the question of the demilitarized zone. He would also review the deployment of the UNTAG military component in the light of the situation, taking the opportunity to review the original proposals for the deployment of UNTAG made in August 1978 and January 1979. He would also discuss a variety of matters which would require the co-operation of the relevant authorities, in

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particular on logistic questions. I further indicated the specific technical tasks which he would undertake in the various countries which he would visit. I estimated that this part of the mission would take approximately three weeks, at the end of which time it would be my intention for other senior officials from United Nations Headquarters to join it to discuss with the Governments concerned any outstanding problems concerning the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), in particular with relation to the demilitarized zone.

7. General Prem Chand, accompanied by senior military and political experts from the Secretariat, visited Angola from 5-11 February, Zambia from 11-17 February, and Botswana from 17-18 February. He held detailed technical discussions with Government Ministers and senior military and civilian personnel relating to the functioning of the proposed demilitarized zone, and to arrangements concerning liaison offices. The wide range of subjects covered in the discussions with the Governments also included liaison regarding patrolling in the demilitarized zone and co-operation on logistic matters. As regards the matter of selected locations in the demilitarized zone, as described in paragraph 2 above, the Governments of Angola and Zambia indicated that they would require an over-all total of seven such locations in their sectors of the demilitarized zone. The mission reached agreement with the three Governments on arrangements for the establishment and functioning of UNTAG liaison offices in their respective capitals. These would be essentially civilian, but would include some military personnel. They would serve as the principal channel of communication between the United Nations and the Governments concerned, with particular reference to the commitment of host countries in regard to the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia. In this connexion, they would also perform such functions as would be entrusted to them by the Secretary-General within the context of agreements reached with the Governments concerned for the implementation of the United Nations plan. The Government of Botswana confirmed that there would be no need for a demilitarized zone in its country because SWAPO did not operate there and would have no bases in Botswana during the transitional period. General Prem Chand also had opportunities for aerial reconnaissance, and to examine the various practical implications of the demilitarized zone proposal on the ground.

8. General Prem Chand had meetings with SWAPO in Luanda and Lusaka at which SWAPO confirmed its acceptance of the concept of the demilitarized zone and was informed by the mission of the understandings reached with the Governments of Angola and Zambia as regards the implementation of the proposed zone. SWAPO informed the mission that it would respect the wishes of Angola and Zambia in respect of the implementation of the demilitarized zone in their respective territories. However, it was opposed to South Africa having selected locations in the Namibian sector of the demilitarized zone. In this connexion the mission indicated the terms of the settlement Proposal which provide, inter alia, for the total withdrawal of the SADF from the area of the proposed zone by the end of the twelfth week after the cease-fire.

9. General Prem Chand then proceeded to Namibia, where he remained from 18-29 February. He held extensive and detailed discussions with the

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General Officer Commanding, South West Africa Command, and other senior SADF personnel, relating to the full range of practical questions concerning the operation of the proposed demilitarized zone. General Prem Chand travelled approximately 7,500 kilometres in the territory to observe the prevailing conditions, principally in the forward areas on the northern borders of Namibia, and carried out a full reconnaissance, by ground and air, of the Namibian sector of the zone.

10. On 29 February General Prem Chand and other members of the mission accompanying him proceeded to Cape Town where, on 1 March, they were joined by Mr. Brian Urquhart, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Abdulrahim Farah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, and Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, my Special Representative for Namibia. General Prem Chand reported that, in his opinion, given the co-operation of all the parties and the necessary support, the military aspects of the settlement Proposal and the proposed demilitarized zone constituted a practicable undertaking, on the basis of the arrangements discussed, and of my report of 29 August 1978 (S/12327). He also referred to the co-operative attitudes which he had encountered in all the territories which he had visited.

11. Talks between the United Nations Mission and a delegation from the Government of South Africa, led by Mr. Brand Fourie, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, took place in Cape Town from 4-7 March. Mr. Urquhart and his colleagues were also received by the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, Mr. P. W. Botha, and met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. R. F. Botha.

12. Discussions with the Government of South Africa were held within the framework of Foreign Minister Botha's letter of 5 December 1979 (S/13630). In an opening statement on 4 March, Mr. Urquhart summarized the results of General Prem Chand's mission and emphasized the urgency of overcoming the remaining obstacles to the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) as soon as possible. He recalled that the demilitarized zone proposal had been put forward as a means of resolving outstanding issues impeding such implementation, and that these issues, which were not directly connected with the demilitarized zone, could be effectively dealt with only after South Africa had accepted the demilitarized zone proposal. The discussions proceeded on this basis and were principally concerned with the practical arrangements connected with the demilitarized zone.

13. The South African delegation requested further clarifications in respect of the manner in which UNTAG would meet its responsibilities in the proposed demilitarized zone, stating that such information was necessary in order to enable the SADF to determine whether the concept was workable. Ensuing discussions covered a wide spectrum of matters, after which the South African delegation confirmed to the mission points of agreement previously reached with General Prem Chand regarding liaison, communications, demarcation and logistic arrangements. The mission confirmed to the Government of South Africa and the United Nations concept of deployment in and monitoring of the demilitarized zone and outlined the principles and framework according to which United Nations resources would be employed in this regard. The

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mission, while recalling that the proposed arrangements for the demilitarized zone as set out in paragraph 2 above set no upper limit on the number of selected locations, drew the attention of the South African delegation to the designation by Angola and Zambia of a total of seven such locations in relation to any requirement in this regard which it might wish to make. The mission was informed that the SADF would be unable to regroup in seven selected locations because of the limited size of and facilities at, existing bases. The South African delegation stated that such a limitation would present insurmountable logistic problems, considering that the SADF is currently located in approximately 40 bases in the demilitarized zone area. It recalled that while the settlement Proposal provides for the restriction and monitoring of the SADF from the commencement of the transitional period, it allows the SADF a period of six weeks within which to reduce its troop level to 12,000 and 12 weeks within which to vacate the zone entirely. The delegation asked that these matters be taken into account in regard to the designation of selected locations on the Namibian side of the demilitarized zone. It suggested 20 selected locations, informing the mission that this would represent a 50 per cent reduction in the number of bases which it would otherwise be entitled to retain under the Proposal during the first 12 weeks of the transitional period. Further, with respect to the reduction of its bases by 50 per cent, the Government of South Africa expressed the view that the designation of seven selected locations by Angola and Zambia did not require any commensurate reduction of bases on their part.

14. The South African delegation, while emphasizing that it did not doubt the good faith of the Governments of Angola and Zambia, requested further clarifications regarding the manner in which these Governments would in practical terms ensure the fulfilment of their commitments under the United Nations plan. In particular it requested confirmation that the breadth of the demilitarized zone north of the Caprivi Strip would be 50 kilometres, and that in their respective territories, Angola and Zambia would have the co-operation of SWAPO in the implementation of any demilitarized zone agreement. Further, the South African delegation desired information on the arrangements envisaged by Angola and Zambia for the restriction and monitoring of SWAPO in their respective territories.

15. In the course of the discussions, the mission informed the South African delegation that, in order to meet its additional responsibilities in the demilitarized zone, the military component of UNTAG would certainly need to be deployed at the authorized upper limit of 7,500. The mission also confirmed to the South African delegation that the settlement Proposal, as reflected in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), remained unchanged, the demilitarized zone proposal having been conceived to facilitate the implementation of the resolution. Additionally, progress was made relating to the proposed UNTAG status agreement, and the duration of UNTAG was discussed.

16. At the end of the talks, the South African delegation stated that its Government reaffirmed its acceptance of the settlement Proposal and its decision to co-operate in implementing Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It informed the United Nations mission that the South African military authorities, on the basis of the information provided, would test and evaluate the feasibility of the

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United Nations concept in regard to the demilitarized zone, for presentation to their Government. The Government's conclusions would be transmitted as soon as possible.

17. In his concluding statement, Mr. Urquhart urged the South African Government to give the United Nations its response on the demilitarized zone in the minimum possible time. He emphasized that, in their consideration of the military aspects of the Proposal, the South African authorities should bear in mind the special nature of United Nations peace-keeping operating procedures. He hoped that their judgement would be formed in this light and not by reference to the military procedures pertaining to a national defence force. He urged that the South African Government reconsider the number of selected locations which it had proposed on the Namibian side of the demilitarized zone. Mr. Urquhart reiterated that a solution to the outstanding questions would be greatly facilitated by South Africa's acceptance of the demilitarized zone proposal, as well as by some reasonable expectation of the early implementation of the Proposal as a whole. In this connexion, he stated the desirability of setting a target date for implementation and pointed out that a date not later than 15 June would avoid further delays due to climatic factors in Namibia. He stressed that this date would have to be tied in practice to the six week period which was estimated to be the minimum for effective mobilization of the military component of UNTAG. He also noted the progress which had been made on the various necessary practical arrangements including the status agreement. Mr. Urquhart emphasized the serious concern in the international community concerning reported internal developments in the Territory, which, if pursued, could prejudice the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

18. The mission next held talks in Gaborone, making an en route overnight stop in Windhoek on Saturday 8 March. The mission was received in Gaborone by President Seretse Khama and held discussions with the Government of Botswana on 9-10 March. From there it travelled to Luanda, where it held discussions on 11 March with the Government of Angola and with the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma. The following day it was received by President dos Santos of Angola. On 13 March the mission held discussions with the Government of Zambia and was received by President Kaunda. On that date it was also received by President Machel of Mozambique. On 14 March the mission was received by President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania in Dar es Salaam. Members of the mission visited Monrovia to brief President Tolbert of Liberia, the current Chairman of the OAU, and Addis Ababa, to brief the Secretary-General of the OAU. They also visited Lagos and briefed the Government of Nigeria.

19. At the various meetings the mission gave an account of its talks with the Government of South Africa in Cape Town. The Governments of the Front-Line States, and SWAPO, made it clear that their main interest was in the early implementation of resolution 435 (1978), in which task they pledged their full co-operation. The Front-Line States also indicated that if there was a definite undertaking by the South African Government for early implementation, they believed that it would be possible to resolve outstanding issues in a satisfactory manner. They reaffirmed their position regarding the demilitarized zone proposal as a means of resolving outstanding issues impeding the implementation of resolution 435 (1978).

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20. I should like to take this opportunity to place on record my deep gratitude and appreciation to the Heads of State and the Governments of the countries visited by the United Nations mission for the co-operation and facilities extended to it.

Observations

21. The technical discussions which took place in the first phase of the mission described above have served to clarify the proposed arrangements and working methods for the demilitarized zone, UNTAG liaison offices in the Front-Line States, and the deployment of the military component of UNTAG. The United Nations mission has provided the parties concerned with all pertinent information on the practical arrangements. I am of the opinion, in the light of the findings of the mission, that UNTAG could, with the co-operation and support of all concerned, function and fulfil its obligations satisfactorily on the basis of the arrangements discussed.

22. There is a limit to the degree of precision with which the details of an operation of this nature can be established in advance, especially when there is no firm indication that it will start on a specific date. United Nations experience has shown that many anticipated problems which, in the abstract, may seem difficult, can be worked out relatively easily in practice provided all concerned wish to go forward and are prepared to co-operate in achieving the over-all objectives of the proposed undertaking.

23. The South African Government has indicated that it needs some time to review its position in the light of the discussions with the mission and of recent developments in the area. It has stated, however, that it will give its reactions to the proposals made by the mission as soon as possible.

24. I am fully aware of the gravity and weight of the decisions that have to be taken by the parties concerned, of the anxieties on all sides regarding the possible future course of events and of the need to build a climate of confidence. I feel, however, that we have come to a point where the necessary political decisions have to be taken to move this matter from the stage of discussion to the stage of implementation. It seems to me that if the present opportunity for an early and peaceful settlement is lost, the likely alternative developments would have grave consequences for the region. I would hope therefore, that, on the basis of the exhaustive discussions which have been conducted over the last two years, it may prove possible to move expeditiously to the process of implementation.
