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LETTER DATED 17 AUGUST 1988 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF TUNISIA
AND ZAMBIA ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

We, the representatives of the States mentioned below, have the honour to transmit the enclosed letter dated 12 August 1988 addressed to Your Excellency by Dr. Sam Nujoma, the President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

We request that the enclosure be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) I. Z. CHABALA
Charge d'affaires a.i.
Permanent Mission of the Republic
of Zambia to the United Nations

(Signed) M. Ahmed GHEZAL
Ambassador/Permanent Representative
Permanent Mission of Tunisia to
the United Nations

Annex

Letter dated 12 August 1988 from the President of the South West Africa People's Organization addressed to the Secretary-General

It is now nearly 10 years since the United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978) was adopted.

In my letter dated 8 September 1978 addressed to your predecessor, I stated SWAPO's views on the various aspects of the Secretary-General's report, containing the United Nations Plan, submitted to the Security Council pursuant to the relevant provisions of resolution 435 (1978) concerning the decolonization of Namibia.

During the ensuing years since the adoption of resolution 435 (1978), I have on many occasions and in various places reiterated SWAPO's unassailable position of goodwill, flexibility and a spirit of compromise whenever serious efforts were made aimed at ensuring progress and speeding up the independence of Namibia, through the implementation of the said resolution.

It is hardly my intention here to overstate the case about SWAPO's credibility which is well-known to all men of reason and honesty. But I can say in full confidence that it has all along been SWAPO's willingness to make the necessary concessions, while at the same time remaining committed to the letter and spirit of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), that the continuing efforts to implement these seminal resolutions are still on course, in spite of many years of despicable provocations, repeated demonstrations of bad faith, a lack of sincerity and endless recourse to condemnable prevarication on the part of South Africa.

Since Your Excellency's assumption, in 1982, of the High Office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, I have continued to send numerous communications to you in which I have time and again reiterated SWAPO's readiness to co-operate with the United Nations and in particular with you and your staff concerning the signing of a cease-fire agreement with South Africa as the first vital step in the implementation of the United Nations Plan for the independence of Namibia, as endorsed in resolution 435 (1978).

In this connection, I would like to recall Your Excellency's latest reports to the Security Council contained in documents (S/18767) of 31 March 1987 and (S/19234) of 27 October 1987. These reports, as the previous ones had done, clearly and categorically corroborated my contention that SWAPO has never been found equivocating on any serious matter relating to cease-fire, composition and emplacement of UNTAG in Namibia or willingness to co-operate with the United Nations.

In paragraph 5 of resolution 601 (1987), the Council decided "to authorize the United Nations Secretary-General to proceed to arrange a cease-fire between South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization in order to undertake administrative and other practical steps necessary for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)".

Once again, immediately following the adoption of that resolution, I promptly sent a letter dated 1 November 1987 to Your Excellency reassuring you of SWAPO's readiness to sign and observe a cease-fire, on the basis of resolution 435, provided that the South African régime is going to have to do likewise.

Now we have reached a most decisive stage concerning the independence of Namibia which demands of us all to make earnest efforts, in good faith, towards hastening the peace process in the South West African region.

Your Excellency, it is with this deep concern in mind that I have decided to write to you at this time.

SWAPO, which derives its legitimacy from the persistent and overwhelming support of the oppressed people of Namibia as the leader in the liberation struggle, has earned the universal recognition as the sole and authentic representative of the fighting masses of our embattled country.

It is this popular and continuing support from the masses which assures the rank and file of our movement that the thousands of our best sons and daughters who have sacrificed and are sacrificing their precious lives in the struggle shall not have died in vain.

The legacy of their courage and heroism is what gives us confidence and strengthens our determination to continue providing leadership with courage and imagination to act decisively in war and in peace with the sole purposes of saving lives, defending the interest of our people and seizing all favourable opportunities to give back to them the power to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence.

Against this background of both setbacks and of tremendous progress in the heroic struggle, I wish to inform Your Excellency that SWAPO has by its own sovereign and unilateral decision, as a national liberation movement, in accordance with the spirit of the Geneva agreement reached by the Parties participating in the Quatripartite talks, committed itself to take the necessary steps to help make the peace process in the South West African Region irreversible and successful.

In this context, SWAPO has agreed to comply with the commencement of the cessation of all hostile acts which started as of 10 August 1988 in Angola. By the same token, SWAPO will be ready to continue to abide by this agreement until the formal cease-fire, under resolution 435, is signed between SWAPO and South Africa, thereby triggering the implementation process.

The cessation of SWAPO's combat actions against the South African Forces in Namibia will only hold provided South Africa also shows the necessary political will to do the same.

In order to enhance the prospects for peace and tranquillity in the country and to create appropriate conditions for the speedy implementation of resolution 435, South Africa should be called upon to refrain from committing any acts of repression against SWAPO members and supporters inside Namibia during this period.

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In welcoming the fixing of 1 November 1988 as the firm date for the commencement of the implementation of resolution 435, SWAPO would like to urge Your Excellency to avail your good offices of the opportunity created in the current preliminary phase of the cessation of acts of hostilities by initiating consultations with the parties concerned.

(Signed) Sam NUJOMA
President of SWAPO

