

2. *Decides* to establish the United Nations Operation in Mozambique as proposed by the Secretary-General and in line with the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique, and requests the Secretary-General in planning and executing the deployment of the Operation to seek economies through, inter alia, phased deployment and to report regularly to the Council on what is achieved in this regard;

3. *Also decides* that the Operation is established for a period until 31 October 1993 in order to accomplish the objectives described in the report of the Secretary-General;

4. *Calls upon* the Government of Mozambique and the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana to cooperate fully with the interim Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Mozambique and with the Operation and to respect scrupulously the ceasefire and all the commitments entered into under the Agreement, and stresses that the full respect of these commitments constitutes a necessary condition for the fulfilment by the Operation of its mandate;

5. *Demands* that all parties and others concerned in Mozambique take all measures necessary to ensure the safety of United Nations and all other personnel deployed pursuant to the present and prior resolutions;

6. *Endorses* the approach in paragraphs 30 and 51 of the report of the Secretary-General as regards the timetable for the electoral process, and invites the Secretary-General to

consult closely with all the parties on the precise timing of and preparations for the presidential and legislative elections, as well as on a precise timetable for the implementation of the other major aspects of the Agreement, and to report back to the Council on this as soon as possible, and in any event not later than 31 March 1993;

7. *Calls upon* the Government of Mozambique and the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana to finalize as soon as possible, in close coordination with the interim Special Representative of the Secretary-General, organizational and logistical preparations for the demobilization process;

8. *Encourages* Member States to respond positively to requests made to them by the Secretary-General to contribute personnel and equipment to the Operation;

9. *Also encourages* Member States to contribute voluntarily to United Nations activities in support of the Agreement, and requests United Nations programmes and specialized agencies to provide appropriate assistance and support for the implementation of the major tasks arising from the Agreement;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed of developments and to submit a further report to the Council by 31 March 1993;

11. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

5. The situation in Namibia

Decision of 16 January 1989 (2842nd meeting): resolutions 628 (1989) and 629 (1989)

At its 2842nd meeting, held on 16 January 1989 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda the item entitled "The situation in Namibia".

The President (Malaysia) drew the attention of the Council members to three documents: (a) a note verbale dated 14 December 1988 from the representative of the United States addressed to the Secretary-General,¹ transmitting the text of the Protocol of Brazzaville, signed by the representatives of Angola, Cuba and South Africa on 13 December 1988; the parties to the Protocol had agreed, inter alia, that 1 April 1989 be established as the date for implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978); (b) a note verbale dated 22 December 1988 from the representative of Cuba addressed to the President of the Security Council,² transmitting the text

of the bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba signed that day; the parties had agreed to the redeployment and the phased and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, in accordance with an annexed timetable, with total withdrawal to be concluded on 1 July 1991; through the Secretary-General, they requested the Security Council to carry out verification of the redeployment and withdrawal; and (c) a note verbale dated 22 December 1988 from the representative of the United States addressed to the Secretary-General,³ transmitting the text of the Tripartite Agreement signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa on the same day, in which the parties had agreed, inter alia, to request the Secretary-General to seek authority from the Security Council to commence implementation of Council resolution 435 (1978) on 1 April 1989.

The President also drew the Council members' attention to two draft resolutions that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior

¹ S/20325.

² S/20345.

³ S/20346.

consultations,⁴ pointing out a change in the order of the paragraphs in the second draft resolution.

The first draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 628 (1989), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 626 (1988) of 20 December 1988,

Taking note of the agreement between the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of South Africa, signed on 22 December 1988,

Taking note also of the agreement between the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba, signed on 22 December 1988,

Emphasizing the importance of these two agreements in strengthening international peace and security,

1. *Welcomes* the signature of the agreement between the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of South Africa on the one hand, and of the agreement between the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba on the other hand;

2. *Expresses* its full support for these agreements, and to that effect decides to follow closely the developments in their implementation;

3. *Calls upon* all parties concerned, as well as all Member States, to cooperate in the implementation of these agreements;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council fully informed on the implementation of this resolution.

The second draft resolution,⁵ as orally modified, was thereupon put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 629 (1989), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its relevant resolutions, in particular, resolutions 431 (1978) of 27 July 1978 and 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978,

Taking note of its resolution 628 (1989) of 16 January 1989,

Noting that the parties to the Protocol of Brazzaville agreed to recommend to the Secretary-General that 1 April 1989 be established as the date for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978),

Recognizing the progress in the south-western Africa peace process,

Expressing its concern at the increase in the police and paramilitary forces and the establishment of the South West African Territorial Force since 1978, and stressing the need to ensure conditions under which the Namibian people will be able to participate in free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations,

Noting also that these developments make appropriate a re-examination of the requirements for the United Nations Transition Assistance Group effectively to fulfil its mandate which includes, inter alia, keeping borders under surveillance, preventing infiltration, preventing intimidation and ensuring the safe return of refugees and their free participation in the electoral process,

Recalling the approval by the Security Council of the Secretary-General's statement⁶ on 28 September 1978 to the Council,

Emphasizing its determination to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations, in accordance with its resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978,

Reaffirming the legal responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia,

1. *Decides* that 1 April 1989 shall be the date on which implementation of resolution 435 (1978) will begin;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to proceed to arrange a formal ceasefire between the South West Africa People's Organization and South Africa;

3. *Calls upon* South Africa to reduce immediately and substantially the existing police forces in Namibia with a view to achieving reasonable balance between these forces and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group so as to ensure effective monitoring by the latter;

4. *Reaffirms* the responsibility of all concerned to cooperate to ensure the impartial implementation of the settlement plan in accordance with resolution 435 (1978);

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to prepare at the earliest possible date a report to the Council on the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), taking into account all relevant developments since the adoption of that resolution;

6. *Also requests* the Secretary-General, in preparing his report, to re-examine requirements necessary for the Group in order to identify wherever possible tangible cost-saving measures without prejudice to his ability fully to carry out its mandate as established in 1978, namely, to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations;

7. *Calls upon* Members of the United Nations to consider, in coordination with the Secretary-General, how they might provide economic and financial assistance to the

⁴ S/20399 and S/20400.

⁵ S/20400.

⁶ S/12869.

Namibian people, both during the transitional period and after independence.

**Decision of 16 February 1989 (2848th meeting):
resolution 632 (1989)**

On 23 January 1989, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report pursuant to resolution 629 (1989) on the question of Namibia,⁷ containing his recommendations for the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia with effect from 1 April 1989 and the requirements for the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG). He recalled that in resolution 435 (1978) the Council had approved his predecessor's proposed arrangements⁸ for implementing the proposal for a settlement of the Namibian situation put forward on 10 April 1978 by the five Western members of the Security Council (the "Western Contact Group").⁹ The settlement proposal and the Secretary-General's report on its implementation had been exhaustively negotiated with all the parties concerned. The Secretary-General noted that the United Nations plan for Namibia included agreements and understandings reached by the parties since the adoption of resolution 435 (1978) which remained binding on the parties. In that connection, he drew attention to the following: (a) the 1982 agreement on the monitoring of bases of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Angola and Zambia by UNTAG; (b) informal understandings reached in 1982 on the question of impartiality by the Western Contact Group, the front-line States, Nigeria and SWAPO; and corresponding obligations on the part of the Government of South Africa to ensure free and fair elections in Namibia; (c) the text of the Principles concerning the Constituent Assembly and the Constitution of an independent Namibia which was transmitted to the Secretary-General on 12 July 1982; and (d) the November 1985 agreement on the system of proportional representation for the elections.

As for UNTAG, under the existing plan, the civilian component would consist of two elements: an electoral element and police monitors. The military component would account for more than 75 per cent of the cost of the mission. The Secretary-General

considered that many of the tasks originally envisaged for it in 1978 would still be required, but that a number of them could be performed by military observers rather than armed troops. Referring to paragraph 25 of his predecessor's report of 29 August 1978,¹⁰ the Secretary-General clarified that, in accordance with standard United Nations peacekeeping practice, military observers deployed with UNTAG would not carry weapons.

With regard to the size of the military component to be deployed, the Secretary-General noted that in December 1988 the representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council had urged that this be reviewed, in the light of the positive developments in the south-western Africa peace process. They were convinced that UNTAG could carry out its primary function — to ensure free and fair elections — in a substantially more economical manner. Representatives of a number of non-aligned countries, front-line States, Nigeria and SWAPO, on the other hand, had insisted that, if anything, there was a need for an increase in the military component of UNTAG, to enable it to perform its functions. Following the adoption of resolution 629 (1989), the Secretary-General had sought to reconcile those opposing viewpoints. In putting together a concept of operations, he had taken into account such factors as the paramount need for UNTAG to be capable, and to be seen to be capable, of ensuring the full implementation of resolution 435 (1978), including, above all, the creation of conditions which would permit free and fair elections; the assurances he had received from the neighbouring countries, including South Africa, of their full cooperation; the views expressed by some Council members that recent progress in the Namibia peace process had reduced the need for border surveillance and the prevention of infiltration; and the feasibility of assigning to military observers some tasks which had previously been reserved for the infantry. According to the proposed concept of operations, the Force Commander would concentrate on the following tasks: monitoring the dismantling of the citizen forces, commando units and ethnic forces, including the South West African Territorial Force, monitoring South African Defence Force troops in Namibia, as well as SWAPO forces in neighbouring countries, and supervising and securing installations in the northern border area. The

⁷ S/20412.

⁸ See the Secretary-General's report of 29 August 1978 (S/12827) together with his explanatory statement of 28 September 1978 (S/12869).

⁹ S/12636.

¹⁰ S/12827.

authorized upper limit for the military component of UNTAG would remain at 7,500. However, the Secretary-General recommended an initial deployment of 4,650, consisting of three enlarged infantry battalions, 300 military observers, and the appropriate logistic elements and headquarters staff. The estimated cost of the civilian and military components of UNTAG would be approximately \$416 million, excluding the cost of operations of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the return of Namibians then in exile, for which a separate appeal would be launched. The Secretary-General affirmed that if the Security Council decided to proceed on the basis thus recommended, he would do everything possible to have UNTAG in place and operational by 1 April 1989.

As regards the ceasefire envisaged in resolution 435 (1978), the Secretary-General noted that both South Africa and SWAPO had agreed to a de facto cessation of hostilities, with effect from 10 August 1988, as provided for in the Geneva Protocol of 5 August 1988. He intended to send identical letters to both parties proposing a specific date and hour for the formal ceasefire to begin. In conclusion, he stressed that resolution 435 (1978) entrusted to him a wide range of responsibilities in connection with the supervision of free and fair elections in Namibia. The successful implementation of that resolution depended upon the cooperation of all parties concerned, as well as that of the international community as a whole.

On 9 February 1989, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council an explanatory statement,¹¹ in which he addressed concerns raised by various parties about some of the recommendations contained in his report of 23 January. With regard to the deployment of the military component of UNTAG, he affirmed that this would be kept under constant review and that he would inform the Security Council if the situation required the deployment of additional military personnel to Namibia. He added that he had been assured by all the members of the Council that they would fully cooperate with him and respond promptly to any need for additional military personnel that he might deem warranted, up to the authorized upper limit of 7,500.¹² As for the military observers, the Secretary-General stated that, following

representations made to him by a number of delegations, he had decided to make an exception to standard peacekeeping practice; he had given the Force Commander of UNTAG discretion to authorize the military observers to carry weapons of a defensive character, as and when necessary. He hoped that with these clarifications the Council could now proceed to approve his report and make its determination for the emplacement of UNTAG in Namibia on 1 April 1989.¹³

At its 2848th meeting, held on 16 February 1989 in accordance with the understanding reached during its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda the Secretary-General's report of 23 January and his explanatory statement of 9 February 1989. The President (Nepal) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of its prior consultations.¹⁴

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 632 (1989), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its relevant resolutions, in particular, resolutions 431 (1978) of 27 July 1978, 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978 and also 629 (1989) of 16 January 1989,

Reaffirming also that the United Nations plan contained in its resolution 435 (1978) remains the only internationally accepted basis for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question,

Confirming its decision contained in paragraph 1 of resolution 629 (1989) of 16 January 1989 that 1 April 1989 shall be the date on which implementation of resolution 435 (1978) will begin,

Having considered the report of 23 January 1989 submitted by the Secretary-General and his explanatory statement of 9 February 1989,

Taking into account the assurances given to the Secretary-General by all the members of the Council as contained in paragraph 5 of his explanatory statement,

¹³ See also S/20412/Add.1, of 16 March 1989, in which the Secretary-General transmitted to the Council the text of the agreement signed in New York on 10 March 1989 between the United Nations and the Republic of South Africa, on the status of UNTAG; and S/20412/Add.2, of 30 March 1989, in which he reported that, in identical letters to South Africa and SWAPO on 14 March 1989, he had proposed that a formal ceasefire should commence on 1 April 1989, a proposal to which both sides had agreed.

¹⁴ S/20466.

¹¹ S/20457.

¹² *Ibid.*, para. 5.

Reaffirming the legal responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia until independence,

1. *Approves* the report of the Secretary-General and his explanatory statement concerning the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia;

2. *Decides* to implement its resolution 435 (1978) in its original and definitive form to ensure conditions in Namibia which will allow the Namibian people to participate freely and without intimidation in the electoral process under the supervision and control of the United Nations leading to early independence of the Territory;

3. *Expresses its full support* for and pledges its cooperation with the Secretary-General in carrying out the mandate entrusted to him by the Security Council under resolution 435 (1978);

4. *Calls upon* all parties concerned to honour their commitments to the United Nations plan and to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council fully informed on the implementation of the present resolution.

Speaking after the vote, the President underlined the historic importance of the meeting and the significance of the resolution just adopted. He recalled that since 1966 the United Nations had assumed legal responsibility for Namibia. The Council's historic decision set in motion the process of Namibia's transition towards independence through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. The agreement to adopt the decision unanimously and without debate underlined the Council's commitment to the early independence of Namibia and its readiness to cooperate with the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate in accordance with resolution 435 (1978). The decision also marked the last major step towards decolonization. The President concluded by stressing a point that the Secretary-General had repeatedly made: namely, that it was necessary for all to cooperate fully with him and his Special Representative in the fulfilment of his mandate to enable Namibia to take its rightful place in the community of independent nations.¹⁵

¹⁵ S/PV.2848, p. 3. For details concerning the establishment and composition of UNTAG, see chapter V.

**Decision of 29 August 1989 (2882nd meeting):
resolution 640 (1989)**

By separate letters dated 10 August 1989 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹⁶ the representative of Ghana, in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States, and the representative of Zimbabwe, in his capacity as Chairman of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the deteriorating situation in Namibia and South Africa's non-compliance with resolution 435 (1978).

At its 2876th meeting, on 16 August 1989, the Council included both letters in its agenda and considered the item at its 2876th to 2882nd meetings, from 10 to 29 August 1989.

In the course of its deliberations, the Council invited the following, at their request, to participate, without vote, in the discussion of the item: at the 2876th meeting, the representatives of Angola, Cameroon, Cuba, Egypt, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia; at the 2877th meeting, the representatives of Burundi, Guatemala, India and Indonesia; at the 2878th meeting, the representatives of Bangladesh, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Uganda; at the 2879th meeting, the representatives of the Congo, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Mauritania; and at the 2880th meeting, the representatives of Afghanistan and Zimbabwe.

At the 2876th meeting, the President (Algeria) drew the attention of the Council members to the following documents: a letter dated 10 August 1989 from the representative of Zimbabwe addressed to the Secretary-General,¹⁷ transmitting the final communiqué of the same date issued by the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the situation in Namibia; and a letter dated 15 August 1989 from the representative of South Africa addressed to the Secretary-General,¹⁸ transmitting a statement of the same date issued by the Administrator-General of Namibia.

The representative of Ghana, speaking in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of African States,

¹⁶ S/20779 and S/20782.

¹⁷ S/20784.

¹⁸ S/20788.

expressed the Group's serious concern at the prevailing situation in Namibia, which militated against the achievement of the objectives of resolution 435 (1978). He noted that, four months after its commencement, the electoral process was still neither free nor fair. Moreover, the actions of South Africa, through its Administrator-General, had diminished the authority of the Secretary-General's Special Representative rather than assisted him to be an effective controller. The Group's first major concern was the continued presence and violent activities of South Africa's counter-insurgency unit, the Koevoet, and the integration of elements of that unit into the South West Africa Police, contrary to resolution 435 (1978); if the harassment of Namibians continued unchecked, it could have an adverse impact on the November elections. A second matter of concern to the African Group centred on the loop-hole in the Voter Registration Proclamation which allowed South African nationals to register and to vote in the November elections, while other draft proclamations would disqualify a substantial number of SWAPO members from registering, qualifying to be elected or voting in the elections. A last point of concern was the excessive power that various proclamations vested in the Administrator-General. Those were some of the reasons that had led the African Group to conclude that the plan for the independence of Namibia was not being faithfully implemented. In the face of that unacceptable situation, the Group requested the Security Council to act urgently to ensure compliance with resolution 435 (1978). It recommended, *inter alia*, that the Council take the following actions: adopt a resolution empowering the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and UNTAG as a whole to supervise and control events, especially the electoral process in Namibia; request South Africa to disband the command structure of the remaining Koevoet elements in the South West Africa Police and to end all forms of harassment of Namibians by members of that group; review all existing laws and draft proclamations bearing on the plan for Namibia's independence, with a view to requesting South Africa and the Administrator-General to remove all clauses that discriminated against or in favour of any of the parties involved; and ensure that sufficient and equal time was given to all political parties on radio and television for the electoral campaign. In conclusion, the speaker stated that the African Group placed those difficult and delicate tasks before the Security Council in the knowledge that it

was the ultimate authority on the transition of the Territory of Namibia to independence. States members of the Group stood ready to collaborate with the Council for the achievement of free and fair elections in Namibia.¹⁹

The representative of Egypt, speaking also in his capacity as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), recalled that by its resolution 2145 (XXI) of 1966, the General Assembly had terminated South Africa's mandate over the Territory and conferred upon the United Nations direct responsibility for the administration of the Territory until independence. The unanimous adoption by the Security Council of resolution 435 (1978) had crowned the Organization's efforts to move towards a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. Like the rest of the international community, OAU had welcomed the United Nations plan to enable the Namibian people to exercise their right of self-determination and achieve Namibia's independence. Practical implementation of the plan was, however, encountering obstacles. If perpetuated, they might jeopardize the holding of free and fair elections or result in a precarious form of independence, leading to an endless cycle of struggle in and around Namibia that would have disastrous consequences for the region and for world peace and security. He stated that OAU shared with the Secretary-General and his representative in Namibia deep concern about the deteriorating security situation in the territory, especially in the northern area, where Koevoet elements were engaging in acts of provocation and aggression, including murder. He stressed the OAU position that those elements be demobilized and their activities ended, and called on South Africa fully to respect the peace plan and to cooperate with the Secretary-General's Special Representative in its implementation. He concluded by stating that OAU was ready to receive an independent Namibia into its membership, thus marking the fall of the last bastion of colonialism on the African continent.²⁰

The representative of South Africa regretted the Council's decision to convene a formal meeting on the Namibian issue at such a critical and delicate stage of the independence process. The proceedings would remove that process from the ambit of the quiet and effective diplomacy within which it had thus far been

¹⁹ S/PV.2876, pp. 3-21.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-28.

conducted. Moreover, the meeting represented a lack of faith in the judgement of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative, expressed as recently as 3 August, that the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) was well on track despite some remaining obstacles. The latter had subsequently referred to the excellent cooperation he was receiving from South African and Namibian officials. The speaker observed that the time to have convened a Council meeting on the “deteriorating situation in Namibia” would have been on 1 April, when the leaders of SWAPO had ordered their troops into Namibia from Angola, causing the most serious threat to the implementation process and placing the Tripartite Agreement of 22 December 1988 in jeopardy. Throughout the subsequent waves of SWAPO infiltration, South Africa, in concert with the other parties to the Tripartite Agreement, had taken practical steps to reduce that threat and had continued with the practical steps for implementation of the settlement plan. He appealed to the Security Council to include in any resolution it might consider a guarantee that SWAPO would not again conduct a military incursion into Namibia. He stressed that, despite those grave and legitimate concerns, the withdrawal of the South African Defence Force units had been completed ahead of schedule, the ethnic forces had been disbanded and their command structures dismantled as required by the settlement plan. In addition, the Administrator-General and the Special Representative had continued negotiations on the other steps required of the former, including the abrogation of discriminatory legislation, the promulgation of voter-registration legislation, and the release of “political” prisoners held in Namibia. The Administrator-General had, moreover, taken steps to reduce the alleged threat posed by the presence of South Africa’s former counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet. However, he approached with equal seriousness his obligation to maintain law and order, particularly in the light of the concerns expressed by the inhabitants of Namibia over the infiltration of certain armed elements of the People’s Liberation Army of Namibia into northern Namibia. He alleged in that regard that UNTAG had not fully discharged its responsibilities with regard to the monitoring of intimidation. The settlement plan required the Special Representative to “take steps to guarantee against the possibility of intimidation or interference with the electoral process from whatever quarter”. The Government of South Africa reiterated its request that this provision be fully complied with. In

conclusion, he observed that the Council, the Secretary-General and UNTAG were under an obligation not only to ensure that SWAPO abided by both the letter and the spirit of its obligations under resolution 435 (1978) but also to convince the population of Namibia that it was committed and able to implement that commitment.²¹

The representative of Zimbabwe, speaking in his capacity as Chairman of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, observed that the decision to request the meeting of the Council had not been made lightly. For over four months, the African Group and the non-aligned countries had resisted the pressure to do so as they had not wanted to do anything that could adversely affect the implementation process. He believed that the time was right, however, for the Council to meet formally to review that process, and to pronounce itself on the present situation. The Secretary-General had pointed out that there were provisions of resolution 435 (1978) that were not being complied with by South Africa. Although he and his Special Representative had both exerted great efforts to rectify the situation, they had not achieved complete success. The muscle of the Council was now needed to complete the task. The speaker stated that the fact that things were not going well in Namibia was not by accident, but by design. Although South Africa might have been pushed by events to get out of Namibia, it was determined to keep Namibia as a client State under a puppet regime. He opined that South Africa had sought to deny SWAPO a two-thirds majority in the constituent assembly — largely through intimidation and electoral rigging — so that the latter would not be able to write a Namibian constitution that would make the country truly independent of South Africa. If it were unsuccessful in its efforts to engineer such an outcome in the elections, it had in place a whole panoply of destabilization schemes to keep Namibia weak, dependent and unstable. He stated that although in theory the South West African Territorial Force had been demobilized, in reality it was still intact; it could be remobilized within hours. Similarly, South Africa had offered to withdraw and confine the Koevoet, whereas resolution 435 (1978) called for it to be disbanded and its command structure dismantled. Both were mechanisms for the destabilization of a future Namibian Government and for intimidation during the electoral

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-47.

process. He noted that the Administrator-General had, moreover, refused to repeal all discriminatory and restrictive laws, or to grant amnesty to all SWAPO detainees, as required under resolution 435 (1978), and had also failed the impartiality test by not ensuring balanced coverage by the broadcast media. He insisted that South Africa must put those things right if there were to be free and fair elections in Namibia. He assured the Secretary-General of the full support of the non-aligned countries in his endeavours to remedy the prevailing critical situation. He stressed that the major responsibility, however, rested with the Security Council, and hoped that it would unanimously adopt the draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned caucus, restating the provisions calling on South Africa to comply with its commitments under resolution 435 (1978) and requesting that the Secretary-General be provided with adequate resources.²²

A number of speakers associated themselves with the statement made by the Chairman of the Group of African States.²³ They shared or echoed his concerns and endorsed his recommendations for Council action.

Others similarly expressed serious concern about South Africa's non-compliance with certain provisions of resolution 435 (1978), highlighting the security-related problems arising from the misconduct of South African police and paramilitary forces which jeopardized the prospects for free and fair elections in Namibia.²⁴ They called on the Council to take appropriate measures to ensure successful implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence.

Yet other speakers,²⁵ while sharing those concerns, welcomed, as a positive step, the announcement by the Administrator-General that the former Koevoet elements would be removed from the Namibian police and confined to base, a process to be monitored by UNTAG. They underlined the importance of impartiality in every facet of the election process. To that end, they stressed the need to watch closely the development of the electoral law and the legislation on the constituent assembly being negotiated between the Special Representative and the Administrator-General. As for the Security Council's responsibility, they observed that it had a primary role in overseeing the process of implementation of the settlement plan and providing guidance, but that the Secretary-General and his Special Representative must make the day-to-day decisions required for its detailed implementation. The Council should strengthen their hand as they performed their difficult task, not complicate it.

The President of the Security Council, speaking in his capacity as the representative of Algeria, said that six months after the adoption of resolution 632 (1989), South Africa was still doing its utmost to perpetuate its domination of Namibia. The Council must respond decisively to Africa's appeal, by, *inter alia*, issuing a clear warning to the South African authorities that the United Nations plan must be implemented in its entirety.²⁶

At the Council's 2882nd meeting, on 29 August 1989, the President drew the attention of the members of the Council to a revised draft resolution submitted by Algeria, Colombia, Ethiopia, Malaysia, Nepal, Senegal and Yugoslavia.²⁷ He also drew their attention to two letters: a letter dated 21 August 1989 from the representative of China addressed to the Secretary-General; and a letter dated 22 August 1989 from the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples addressed to the President of the Security Council.²⁸

²² S/PV.2881, pp. 8-23.

²³ For the text of the relevant statements, see S/PV.2877, p. 26 (Nigeria); pp. 29-31 (Cameroon); p. 42 (United Republic of Tanzania); S/PV.2878, pp. 12-14 (Malaysia); p. 17 (Colombia); pp. 26-28 (Indonesia); pp. 36-37 (Guatemala); p. 48 (Burundi); S/PV.2879, p. 7 (Congo); p. 17 (Pakistan); p. 18 (Nepal); pp. 24-27 (Senegal); p. 34 (China); pp. 53-54 (Uganda); and S/PV.2881, pp. 6-7 (Afghanistan).

²⁴ S/PV.2876, pp. 31-36 (Zambia); S/PV.2877, pp. 6-10 (Angola); pp. 11-15 (Ethiopia); pp. 16-17 (Brazil); pp. 43-47 (Mali); S/PV.2878, pp. 6-10 (Cuba); pp. 21-24 (Yugoslavia); pp. 38-41 (India); pp. 42-45 (Bangladesh); S/PV.2879, pp. 28-32 (Soviet Union); pp. 44-47 (Nicaragua); and S/PV.2880, pp. 14-16 (Mauritania).

²⁵ S/PV.2878, pp. 29-33 (Canada); S/PV.2879, pp. 36-38 (France); pp. 38-41 (United States); pp. 42-43 (United Kingdom); and S/PV.2880, pp. 4-5 (Federal Republic of Germany).

²⁶ S/PV.2881, pp. 34-41.

²⁷ S/20808/Rev.1.

²⁸ S/20803 and S/20810.

Speaking before the vote, the representative of the United Kingdom said that his delegation retained considerable doubts about the even-handedness and impartiality of the draft resolution. Even though more than one party to the settlement plan had flouted its provisions, operative paragraph 1 referred specifically only to one party, South Africa. His delegation assumed that that was simply an acknowledgement of the special responsibilities that South Africa should uphold under the settlement plan. On that basis, and to sustain the unanimity which gave the Council's resolutions particular force, his delegation would vote for the revised draft resolution.²⁹

The revised draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 640 (1989), which reads:

The Security Council,

Having critically reviewed the implementation process of resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978 since its commencement and noting with concern that all its provisions are not being fully complied with,

Concerned at reports of widespread intimidation and harassment of the civilian population, in particular by Koevoet elements in the South West Africa Police,

Recognizing the efforts being exerted by the United Nations Transition Assistance Group to carry out its responsibilities in spite of obstacles thus placed in its way,

Recalling and reaffirming all its resolutions on the question of Namibia, particularly 435 (1978), 629 (1989) of 16 January 1989 and 632 (1989) of 16 February 1989,

Reiterating that resolution 435 (1978) must be implemented in its original and definitive form to ensure conditions in Namibia which will allow the Namibian people to participate freely and without intimidation in the electoral process, under the supervision and control of the United Nations, leading to early independence of the Territory,

Recalling and reaffirming its firm commitment to the decolonization of Namibia through the holding of free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations and in which the Namibian people will participate without intimidation or interference,

1. *Demands* strict compliance by all parties concerned, especially South Africa, with the terms of resolution 435 (1978) and 632 (1989);

2. *Also demands* the disbandment of all paramilitary and ethnic forces and commando units, in particular Koevoet, as

well as the dismantling of their command structures as required by resolution 435 (1978);

3. *Calls upon* the Secretary-General to review the actual situation on the ground with a view to determining the adequacy of the military component of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in relation to its ability to carry out its responsibilities as authorized under resolutions 435 (1978) and 632 (1989) and to inform the Security Council;

4. *Invites* the Secretary-General to review the adequacy of the number of police monitors in order to undertake the process for any appropriate increase that he may deem necessary for the effective fulfilment of the Group's responsibilities;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in his supervision and control of the electoral process, to ensure that all legislation concerning the electoral process is in conformity with the provisions of the settlement plan;

6. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that all proclamations conform with internationally accepted norms for the conduct of free and fair elections and, in particular, that the proclamation on the Constituent Assembly also respects the sovereign will of the people of Namibia;

7. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure the observance of strict impartiality in the provision of media facilities, especially on radio and television, to all parties for the dissemination of information concerning the election;

8. *Appeals* to all the parties concerned to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the settlement plan;

9. *Expresses its full support* for the Secretary-General in his efforts to ensure that resolution 435 (1978) is implemented in its original and definitive form and requests him to report to the Council before the end of September on the implementation of the present resolution;

10. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States said his delegation was pleased to be able to join in the unanimous adoption of the resolution, which represented a compromise between several strongly held positions about Namibia. It did so in the belief that unity in support of the Secretary-General and UNTAG was the key to the success of the Namibia settlement. The speaker added that it was his country's understanding, based on recent consultations, that, in accordance with past practice, any decision on the deployment of additional civilian personnel for UNTAG would be taken by the Secretary-General in consultation with the Council.³⁰

²⁹ S/PV.2882, p. 4.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

**Decision of 31 October 1989 (2886th meeting):
resolution 643 (1989)**

On 6 October 1989, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the implementation of resolution 640 (1989) concerning the question of Namibia.³¹ The report addressed the various issues raised in the resolution, including the disbandment of all paramilitary and ethnic forces and commando units; the adequacy of the UNTAG military component and its police monitors; the conformity of the electoral legislation with the settlement plan; the acceptability of the draft legislation on the Constituent Assembly; and the impartiality of the media. It also dealt with some other important aspects of the implementation of the settlement plan: namely, the issue of amnesty; the repatriation of exiles; the release of political prisoners and detainees; the repeal of restrictive and discriminatory laws — in respect of which the Secretary-General recommended the repeal of Proclamation AG 8 which created a system of ethnic administration; the registration of voters; and the code of conduct for the political parties. In his concluding observations, the Secretary-General noted that compliance by the parties with the requirements of the settlement plan had been less than complete in certain areas. He had continuing concerns about the presence of ex-members of Koevoet in the South West Africa Police and referred to the problems concerning the cooperation of the South West Africa Police with UNTAG police monitors and the difficulties encountered by UNTAG in verifying the confinement to base of SWAPO combatants in Angola. While these were serious problems, some of them had been or were about to be resolved, and he was pleased to be able to report to the Council that all the parties involved had increasingly complied with the requirements of the settlement plan and had given him reason to believe that they would continue to do so. He stressed that their continuing cooperation was essential, not least because UNTAG had no powers to enforce the provisions of the settlement plan. The Secretary-General observed further that, as the election approached, there was one group of “parties” whose cooperation would be especially important, namely, the

³¹ S/20883 and Add.1 of 16 October 1989 (the addendum contains the report of the United Nations Mission on Detainees, sent by the Secretary-General’s Special Representative to Angola and Zambia from 2 to 21 September 1989).

political parties that would participate in the election and their supporters both inside and outside Namibia. The code of conduct which the party leaders had signed with his Special Representative was of central importance, giving reason to hope that the parties would conduct the election in a truly democratic manner.

By a letter dated 18 October 1989 addressed to the President of the Council,³² the representative of Kenya, on behalf of the Group of African States, requested the convening of an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the grave situation in Namibia.

At its 2886th meeting, on 31 October 1989, the Council included the letter from the representative of Kenya in its agenda. The President (Canada) drew the attention of the Council members to the Secretary-General’s report of 6 October. He also drew their attention to a number of letters addressed to the Secretary-General in October 1989: (a) letters from the representative of South Africa;³³ (b) a letter from the representative of Yugoslavia;³⁴ (c) a letter from the representative of Kenya;³⁵ and (d) a letter from the representative of Malaysia.³⁶

At the same meeting, the President drew the attention of the Council members to a revised draft resolution submitted by Algeria, Colombia, Ethiopia, Malaysia, Nepal, Senegal and Yugoslavia.³⁷ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 643 (1989), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming all its relevant resolutions on the question of Namibia, in particular resolutions 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978, 629 (1989) of 16 January 1989, 632 (1989) of 16 February 1989 and 640 (1989) of 29 August 1989,

Reaffirming also that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, contained in resolution 435 (1978), remains the only internationally accepted basis for the peaceful settlement of the Namibia question,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 6 October 1989 and the addendum thereto of 16 October 1989,

³² S/20908.

³³ S/20894, S/20897, S/20899 and Corr.1, S/20910 and S/20927.

³⁴ S/20889.

³⁵ S/20909.

³⁶ S/20914.

³⁷ S/20923/Rev.1.

Noting with deep concern that, one week before the scheduled elections in Namibia, all the provisions of resolution 435 (1978) are not being fully complied with,

Noting the progress made so far in the implementation of the settlement plan and the remaining obstacles placed in its way as well as the efforts being exerted by the United Nations Transition Assistance Group to carry out its responsibilities,

Reaffirming the continuing legal responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia until the full attainment by the Namibian people of national independence,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General and the addendum thereto;

2. *Expresses its full support* for the Secretary-General in his efforts to ensure that resolution 435 (1978) is fully implemented in its original and definitive form;

3. *Expresses its firm determination* to implement resolution 435 (1978) in its original and definitive form in order to ensure holding of free and fair elections in Namibia under the supervision and control of the United Nations;

4. *Reaffirms* its commitment in carrying out the continuing legal responsibility over Namibia until its independence to ensure the unfettered and effective exercise by the people of Namibia of their inalienable rights to self-determination and genuine national independence in accordance with resolutions 435 (1978) and 640 (1989);

5. *Demands* immediate, full and strict compliance by all parties concerned, in particular South Africa, with the terms of resolutions 435 (1978), 632 (1989) and 640 (1989);

6. *Reiterates* its demand for the complete disbandment of all remaining paramilitary and ethnic forces and commando units, in particular the Koevoet and the South West African Territorial Force as well as the complete dismantling of their command structures, and other defence-related institutions as required by resolutions 435 (1978) and 640 (1989);

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to pursue his efforts to ensure the immediate replacement of the remaining South African Defence Force personnel in accordance with resolution 435 (1978);

8. *Demands* the immediate repeal of such remaining restrictive and discriminatory laws and regulations as inhibit the holding of free and fair elections and that no such new laws be introduced and endorses the position of the Secretary-General as expressed in his report that Proclamation AG 8 should be repealed;

9. *Invites* the Secretary-General to keep under constant review the adequacy of the number of police monitors in order to undertake the process for any appropriate increase that he may deem necessary for the effective fulfilment of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group's responsibilities;

10. *Demands* that the South West Africa Police extend full cooperation to the Group civil police in carrying out the tasks entrusted to it under the settlement plan;

11. *Mandates* the Secretary-General to ensure that all necessary arrangements are made in accordance with the settlement plan to safeguard the territorial integrity and security of Namibia in order to ensure a peaceful transition to national independence, and to assist the Constituent Assembly in the discharge of responsibilities entrusted to it under the settlement plan;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to prepare appropriate plans for mobilizing all forms of assistance, including technical, material and financial resources for the people of Namibia during the period following the elections for the Constituent Assembly until the accession to independence;

13. *Urgently appeals* to Member States, United Nations agencies, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to extend, in coordination with the Secretary-General, generous financial, material and technical support to the Namibian people, both during the transitional period and after independence;

14. *Decides* that, if the pertinent provisions of the present resolution are not complied with, the Security Council shall convene as required before the elections to review the situation and consider appropriate action;

15. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of the present resolution as soon as possible;

16. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United Kingdom stated that his delegation had doubts about the tone of the resolution just adopted, and would have preferred something simpler and more direct. He assumed that the language in paragraph 5 was an acknowledgement of the special responsibilities that South Africa should uphold during Namibia's transition to independence. That did not, however, diminish the responsibility of the other parties to fulfil their commitments under the settlement plan. The Council's priority must be to unite behind the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their efforts to ensure the success of that plan. It was for that reason that the United Kingdom had voted in favour of the resolution.³⁸

The representative of the United States stated that his delegation had joined in the unanimous adoption of the resolution because it felt strongly that the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and UNTAG deserved the Council's full and undivided

³⁸ S/PV.2886, pp. 6-8.

support as the process of elections began in Namibia. He wished to make clear, however, their understanding of certain issues addressed by the resolution. It was true that not all provisions of resolution 435 (1978) were being fully complied with. For example, SWAPO had still not provided a full accounting of Namibians it had detained while in exile. He called on it to do so and to resolve other questions regarding its adherence to the United Nations plan. On the other hand, he welcomed the dismantling of the command structures of the South West African Territorial Force and the steps taken to demobilize the remaining ex-Koevoet members of the South West Africa Police. He underscored the importance of the code of conduct signed by the Namibian parties, and the need to ensure that no laws were now enacted that could call into question the validity of the election. He also stressed his delegation's full support for the Secretary-General's statement, as approved by the Council in resolution 632 (1989), that the United Nations plan for Namibia included agreements and understandings reached by the parties since the adoption of resolution 435 (1978), which remained binding on the parties. Finally, he stressed that principal responsibility for the security of Namibia under the United Nations settlement plan rested with the Administrator-General until independence.³⁹

The representative of Brazil observed that, as the election date approached, it had become increasingly apparent that some essential aspects of the administrative and political life in Namibia during the post-election period were not sufficiently covered by existing arrangements. The question arose as to how the Council should deal with the situation to ensure not only the holding of free and fair elections but also a peaceful and smooth transition to independence. Brazil believed that the Council should seriously consider the latter aspect of the independence process, and should remain mobilized until the process had been fully completed.⁴⁰

The representative of Colombia stated that the non-aligned countries, including his own, which had introduced the draft resolution, were not as optimistic as some others about the situation in Namibia. It was not clear, for instance, whether the Government of South Africa would really fulfil its obligations

regarding the demobilization of paramilitary forces in Namibia. It was disconcerting, moreover, that the electoral provisions had only just been issued, given that the elections would take place the following week. The non-aligned countries also shared the concern expressed by the representative of Brazil concerning the manner in which Namibia would be administered from the time the elections were certified until the time when independence was declared; they stood ready to fill any such gaps which existed.⁴¹

Decision of 3 November 1989: statement by the President

On 3 November 1989, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the implementation of resolution 643 (1989).⁴² He stated that the overall situation throughout Namibia remained calm and that arrangements for the conduct of the elections from 7 to 11 November under the supervision and control of the United Nations were well under way. He observed that, after a careful evaluation of the situation, his Special Representative had concluded that, on balance, he was satisfied that conditions existed for the holding of free and fair elections in Namibia. Based on all the information available to him, the Secretary-General had endorsed that conclusion. He cautioned, however, that the situation, especially in some regions of the country, remained delicate. He appealed to all concerned, both in Namibia and beyond its borders, to comply fully with their respective responsibilities under the settlement plan and the code of conduct.

On the same day, following consultations among the members of the Council, the President (China) made the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁴³

The Security Council deplores the false alarm by South Africa on 1 November 1989 concerning the alleged movement of forces of the South West Africa People's Organization across the Angola-Namibia border.

The Council expresses its profound concern about this incident as well as the potential implications for the elections of the initial South African reaction to it. It, therefore, calls upon South Africa to desist from any such further actions.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 8-12.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 13-15.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁴² S/20943.

⁴³ S/20946.

The Council strongly commends the prompt action taken by the United Nations Transition Assistance Group to clarify the situation and to establish that such allegations were unfounded.

The Council calls upon all parties to honour their commitments in accordance with the settlement plan.

The Council reiterates its full support for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative as well as its firm commitment to ensure the full implementation of resolution 435 (1978) in its original and definitive form.

Decision of 20 November 1989: statement by the President

On 14 November 1989, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a further report on the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) on the question of Namibia.⁴⁴ The report set out the results of the elections held in Namibia from 7 to 11 November 1989 for a Constituent Assembly, which had been certified by his Special Representative as free and fair. The Secretary-General observed that a significant phase in the process of bringing Namibia to independence had thus been accomplished. The way was now open for the next stage in the process — the drawing-up and adoption of a constitution by the newly elected Constituent Assembly, the naming by it of a date for independence and the establishment of a Government for the independent State. The United Nations, for its part, would continue to discharge its obligations to the people of Namibia until the Territory achieved independence.

At its 2893rd meeting, held on 20 November 1989 in accordance with the understanding reached during its prior consultations, the Council included the Secretary-General's report in its agenda.

The President stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on their behalf:⁴⁵

The members of the Security Council welcome with satisfaction the successful conclusion of the elections in Namibia, certified by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General as free and fair, thus paving the way for the convening of the Constituent Assembly and the early independence of Namibia at a date to be determined by the Constituent Assembly.

The members of the Council congratulate the people of Namibia for the successful exercise of their democratic rights and look forward to the early independence of Namibia. They are deeply appreciative of the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group for the role they have played, which attests to the effectiveness and credibility of the United Nations.

The members of the Council reaffirm the continuing important role of the United Nations in the transition period in ensuring the implementation of the settlement plan on the basis of its legal responsibility over Namibia until independence, so that the Constituent Assembly, reflecting the collective will of the people, can draw and adopt, in accordance with the settlement plan and free from any interference, a Constitution that will accord sovereignty to Namibia. In this regard, they express support to the Secretary-General in his continuing efforts to ensure full implementation of the settlement plan and request him to make the necessary arrangements under the settlement plan to safeguard the territorial integrity and security of Namibia. They also stress the importance of full compliance with all the remaining provisions of resolution 435 (1978) in its original definitive form. The members of the Council express the hope that, in the transition period, the utmost political responsibility will be displayed to facilitate the earliest possible accession of Namibia to independence.

The members of the Council call upon the Constituent Assembly to carry out its responsibility expeditiously and request the Secretary-General to provide it with all necessary assistance.

On 16 March 1990, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a further report on the question of Namibia.⁴⁶ He recalled having orally informed the members of the Council on 9 February 1990 that, on the same day, the Constituent Assembly of Namibia had approved, by consensus, the Constitution for an independent Namibia. The Constitution would enter into force on Independence Day, 21 March 1990. The text of it was annexed, together with a note comparing its provisions to the 1982 Constitutional Principles.⁴⁷

On 28 March 1990, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his final report on the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) concerning the question of Namibia.⁴⁸ He reported that, shortly after midnight on 20/21 March 1990, at the National Stadium in Windhoek, the flag of the Republic of South Africa had been lowered and the flag of the Republic of Namibia had been raised, thus marking the

⁴⁴ S/20967. See also S/20967/Add.1 of 29 November 1989.
⁴⁵ S/20974.

⁴⁶ S/20967/Add.2.
⁴⁷ S/15287.
⁴⁸ S/21215.

accession of Namibia to independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Immediately thereafter, he had administered the oath of office to the first elected President of the Republic of

Namibia. Thus had been achieved, in dignity and great rejoicing, the goal of independence for Namibia, for which the United Nations and its Member States had striven for so long.

6. Items relating to the situation in Somalia

Initial proceedings

A. Letter dated 20 January 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Somalia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

By a letter dated 20 January 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹ the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Somalia transmitted a letter dated 11 January 1992 from the interim Prime Minister of Somalia, and requested an immediate meeting of the Council to consider the deteriorating situation in Somalia.

By a letter dated 21 January 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,² the representative of Morocco transmitted the text of a resolution adopted on 5 January 1992 by the Council of the League of Arab States (LAS) at its extraordinary session concerning the situation in Somalia. The Council expressed deep concern at the developments threatening the national unity and territorial integrity of Somalia, called on all Arab countries to provide emergency relief, and urged all regional and international organizations to support the efforts of the League and to coordinate their activities with those of the League, in order to establish a lasting ceasefire in Somalia.

By a letter dated 23 January 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,³ the representative of Guinea, as Chairman of the Group of African States, transmitted a statement made on 18 December 1991 by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) concerning the situation in Somalia. The OAU Secretary-General stated that both parties involved in the fighting in

Mogadishu had a particular responsibility to ensure that there was an immediate ceasefire and that normalcy was restored to the city. He appealed to the international community to use its influence and leverage to encourage the parties to seek a peaceful resolution of the conflict, and to respond to the very urgent humanitarian needs of the victims of the conflict. He reiterated that OAU was available to facilitate an end to the fighting and to bring about a lasting settlement.

Decision of 23 January 1992 (3039th meeting): resolution 733 (1992)

At its 3039th meeting, on 23 January 1992, the Council included the letter from the Chargé d'affaires of the Permanent Mission of Somalia in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Somalia, at her request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (United Kingdom) then drew the attention of the Council members to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁴ The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 733 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,

Considering the request by Somalia for the Security Council to consider the situation in Somalia,

Having heard the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Somalia and commending the initiative taken by him in the humanitarian field,

Gravely alarmed at the rapid deterioration of the situation in Somalia and the heavy loss of human life and widespread material damage resulting from the conflict in the country and aware of its consequences on stability and peace in the region,

¹ S/23445.

² S/23448.

³ S/23469.

⁴ S/23461.