

On these issues, as on others, however, there has been a considerable narrowing of the differences between the parties.

On the SWAPO side there has been as well considerable evolution since the exercise was undertaken. SWAPO's initial position was that the South African administration in its entirety should be removed from the territory. SWAPO was convinced that elections could not be held in the presence of South African forces, that the symbolic presence of even one South African soldier would provide a counter-productive psychological climate in the territory. At the last round of discussions with SWAPO, SWAPO had come to accept, without prejudice to its legal position or to that of the United Nations, that it was possible to envisage an election process free of intimidation in the presence of the de facto administration as long as the South African military presence were reduced to a maximum of 1500 and confined to one base in the South of the territory, and as long as the police were appropriately monitored and supervised, and that these tasks were undertaken by a substantial United Nations civilian and military force. SWAPO, furthermore, indicated a readiness to envisage the release of Namibians wherever they are held in the context of an internationally acceptable solution. SWAPO has, furthermore, emphasized its commitment to participate in free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control and to abide by the results of such elections.

Mr. President, I would like to describe very briefly the essential elements of our proposal for a settlement of the Namibian question. On the basis of Resolution 385, we consider that the key to an internationally acceptable transition to early independence is free elections for the whole of Namibia, as one political entity, with appropriate United Nations supervision and control. To that end, we will seek the establishment of a substantial United Nations presence, both civilian and military, which we have tentatively called the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), to be led by a United Nations special representative, appointed by and responsible to the United Nations Secretary General. Working together with the South African Administrator-General, this special representative would have as his primary task to satisfy himself that all conditions exist to ensure free and fair elections. Thus, he would see to it that all repressive measures or regulations are repealed, all freedoms restored and all Namibian political prisoners or detainees, wherever held, released so that they can participate fully and freely in the electoral process.

Free elections cannot be held in conditions of repression; neither can they be held in conditions of insecurity and intimidation. Until an independent Namibia assumes responsibility for its own security the international community must insist that there be adequate means to assure law and order and the overall security