

Committee: Historical Security Council (1979)

Issue: The South African Border war

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INTRODUCTION

The South African Border War, also called the Namibian war of independence, began in South West Africa (SWA) in 1966 and was an asymmetric conflict that also affected several neighboring countries such as Zambia and especially Angola. The primary belligerents of this conflict were the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), which campaigned for the independence of SWA and the creation of an independent state that would not be administered by South Africa.



Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC 1: Map of the Republic of South Africa (red) and South West Africa (orange)

¹ Jim. South West Africa, 1 Jan. 1970, bigblue1840-1940.blogspot.com/2016/01/ClassicStamps-ofsouth-west-africa.html.

SWA was first handed over to South Africa after the end of WW1 with a mandate from the League of Nations (LON). However, even though the administration of SWA was supposed to be temporary, South Africa was increasingly becoming reluctant to return the territory. The United Nations (UN) in collaboration with the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) made several attempts to find a peaceful solution that would lead to Southwestern African independence, but they all failed to change South Africa's stance. All these failed attempts caused further popular unrest within SWA and eventually led to the creation and development of the South-West African People's Organization's (SWAPO) military wing, the PLAN.

Of great importance to this conflict was also the Angolan civil war as it was one of the largest proxy wars of the world at the time and created a power vacuum in the region that benefited the development of the PLAN. The PLAN benefited a lot from the ongoing civil conflict as it provided them with the opportunity to cooperate with the Eastern Bloc and more specifically Cuba and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) that were pursuing their interests in the region.

All these factors urged South Africa to also get involved in the Angolan civil war in order to exert their influence in the region and eliminate any PLAN strongpoints in Angolaven Zambia. It is also important to note that South Africa's efforts in Angola were indirectly assisted by the United States (US). Finally, since the conflict started to expand outside SWA's border and involve the world's dominant military powers, it gained international interest on the world stage.

This day as the conflict progresses, the SADF has become increasingly aggressive and has also conducted numerous raids against PLAN outposts located outside SWA in either Angola or Zambia. These raids have been destructive and most importantly have taken a toll on the local civilian population. Thus, it is of paramount importance to find a solution to this conflict to prevent any more civilian casualties and to restore the balance in the region.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Asymmetric Conflict/ Warfare

An asymmetric conflict defines a conflict between military powers with very different capabilities and involves the implementation of unconventional warfare.² The conflict that we are studying is a particular example of asymmetric warfare since the South African Defence Force (SADF) was much more powerful and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) had to resort to unconventional tactics.

Civil War

A civil war is a nationwide violent confrontation between citizens or organizations within the same nation, such as the conflict that took place in Angola in 1975.³

Eastern Bloc

The Eastern Bloc refers to a group of communist states in Eastern Europe and around the world that was led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) during the cold war.⁴

Apartheid

Apartheid is the policy that “governed relations between South Africa’s white minority and nonwhite majority and sanctioned racial segregation and political and economic discrimination against nonwhites”.⁵ This policy greatly affected the international relations of South Africa since other nations were reluctant to support the country in its implementation.

Proxy War

A proxy war is a war instigated by major powers and fought between groups or smaller countries that they each represent⁶. Proxy wars were prevalent in the years of the cold war where many conflicts were instigated by the two global superpowers.

² “Asymmetric Warfare.” Merriam-Webster, Merriam-Webster, www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/asymmetric%20warfare.

³ “Civil War.” Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., www.britannica.com/topic/civil-war.

⁴ “Eastern Bloc.” Dictionary.com, Dictionary.com, www.dictionary.com/browse/eastern-bloc.

⁵ “Apartheid.” Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., www.britannica.com/topic/apartheid.

⁶ “Proxy War.” Cambridge Dictionary, dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/proxy-war.

Guerrilla Warfare

Guerrilla warfare is defined as a type of warfare that is fought in many smaller actions across a large area against traditional military forces or other insurgent forces. This type of warfare has been used with great success by inferior forces facing a stronger and better-organized opponent, something that can also be seen in this specific conflict.⁷

Organized armed group or military wing of a party

During the period of decolonization from Africa, several non-state parties created organized armed groups, also known as military wings, to more aggressively pursue their policies. For example, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) was the military wing of the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) that campaigned for South-Western African independence.⁸

Power Vacuum

A power vacuum is created when a dominant force either forfeits or loses control of an area and there is not an immediate successor that can replace it.⁹ One such power vacuum was created when the Portuguese hastily departed Angola without appointing anyone in control, something that ultimately resulted in the Angolan civil war.

Decolonization

Decolonization refers to the process that occurred after the end of World War 2 and by which colonies gradually became independent from the countries that had originally colonized them.¹⁰

⁷ "Guerrilla Warfare." Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., www.britannica.com/topic/guerrilla-warfare.

⁸ "Armed Groups." Armed Groups | How Does Law Protect in War? - Online Casebook, casebook.icrc.org/glossary/armed-groups.

⁹ Cambridge English Dictionary. (n.d.). Power vacuum. POWER VACUUM | definition in the Cambridge English Dictionary. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/power-vacuum>.

¹⁰ Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. (n.d.). Decolonization. Encyclopædia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/decolonization>.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Southwest Africa and origins of the conflict (1884-1959)

In 1884 South-West Africa became a colony of the German Empire that, despite some local rebellions, was able to maintain general stability in the region. However, when WW1 broke out, the German forces that were defending the region were forced to surrender to a much more powerful South African force that was backed by the British Empire. Then after the victory of the entente powers in WW1, the League of Nations (LON), under the treaty of Versailles, granted a mandate for the administration of SWA by South Africa on December 17, 1920.

However, within a few years, tensions rose again with the arrest of several members of the Bondelswarts Nama community, an ethnic group that advocated for South Western African independence and was located in the south of the administered territory, in 1922. These arrests resulted in a violent confrontation between the South African military and armed members of the Bondelswarts Nama that resulted in multiple casualties. These confrontations between the tribes and the military continued throughout the year and ultimately caused at least 250 deaths.¹¹ All these incidents were thoroughly investigated by the Permanent Mandate's Commission (PMC) as instructed by the LON, but it did not yield any significant results.

After a couple of years, the rebellions were put down and the region was stabilized. The South West Africa Constitution Act of 1925 was signed which provided some independence to SWA from the South African administration, even though the seats of the legislative assembly of SWA could only be filled by the white minority. The next step towards independence was made in 1947 when the United Nations (UN) wanted to administer SWA throughout its transition towards independence by establishing a trusteeship committee. South Africa rejected this proposition because it instead preferred to integrate SWA and administer it as one of the provinces within the country. On top of that, the imposition of apartheid in SWA in 1948 caused further uproar and revolts.

The UN made several other decisions and agreements concerning South Africa's influence over the region. First of all, in 1950 the International Court of Justice (ICJ) published a declaration stating that South Africa was not required to hand over the

¹¹ "University of Central Arkansas: UCA." Political Science, uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/south-africanamibia-1920-1990/.

administration of SWA to the UN. As a result of that, the General Assembly created a new Committee on South West Africa to supervise the administration of the territory as was outlined in the Treaty of Versailles. Finally, the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC) and the Ovamboland People's Organization (OPO) were established in 1957 and 1959 respectively by people residing in SWA and both advocated for independence.

Beginning of the conflict (1960-1975)

By 1960, decolonization was taking place all over the African continent and its ideas had been well-received by the South Western African people. Moreover, even though SWA was supposed to be a semi-autonomous region, it had indirectly become part of the Republic of South Africa since unofficially it was solely administered by the South African government. It is also important to note that SWA was a country rich in natural resources, something that made South Africa even more reluctant to forfeit its administration. So, as South Africa's rule became increasingly oppressive, protests and violent demonstrations increased.

One of the biggest changes that developed at that time was the foundation of the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), a new version of the OPO, which at first tried to take legal action against South Africa through the ICJ. As a result of these actions the UN condemned once again the integration of SWA into the Republic of South Africa and replaced the Committee on South West Africa with the Special Committee for South West Africa, which basically had the same mission, namely advocating for SWA independence. Even though this change aimed to combat the ineffectiveness of the Committee on South West Africa, its replacement also did not produce any tangible results and failed to pressure the South African government into yielding the territory. Finally, as a result of all those unsuccessful attempts, SWAPO founded its military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), in 1962.

The PLAN took advantage of South Africa's anti-communist stance and aligned with the Eastern Bloc that was keen on exerting its influence in the region. Therefore, the PLAN received large amounts of military equipment, training and advisors that were instrumental in converting the PLAN into a formidable fighting force. Specifically, the Soviet Union was the country that provided the most equipment and military advisors that armed and trained the local population. In addition, several other neighboring countries expressed their support and Cuba eventually sent soldiers from Angola to assist the PLAN. Seeing this escalation, the

General Assembly once again dissolved the Special Committee for South West Africa and imposed economic and military sanctions on South Africa.



In August of 1966, the PLAN launched its first large-scale military operation along the northern border of SWA that resulted in multiple casualties and had severe economic repercussions for the region. In addition, the UN terminated South Africa's mandate over the territory of SWA and a couple of years later even campaigned for the withdrawal of the South African Defence Force (SADF) from the region. As time progressed, the conflict had escalated into a full-on guerilla warfare campaign and the SADF, seeing that it lacked any international support, became increasingly aggressive towards the PLAN. In the late 1960s, the SADF even conducted multiple raids in Angolan territory against PLAN forward operating bases. Here it is important to note that all the raids were conducted with the consent of the Portuguese government that had assisted the SADF in operations in its former colony. Thus, the PLAN could not maintain its supply lines with other friendly nations and eventually



Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC 3: Map of South Africa and its surrounding countries that either supported PLAN's (red) or South African's (green) cause

started to decrease its activity alongside the northern border of SWA. However, when Portuguese colonial rule collapsed in Angola in 1975, the PLAN was able to create a more stable supply line and by cooperating with Angolan resistance groups it was able to regroup and launch an even larger guerrilla warfare campaign.

The Angolan civil war and South Africa's intervention (Operation Savannah)

The fall of the Portuguese government in 1974 was an important milestone in the period of decolonization as it marked the end of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. This meant that all of Portugal's colonies were heading towards their independence after

¹² Jim. South West Africa, 1 Jan. 1970, bigblue1840-1940.blogspot.com/2016/01/ClassicStamps-ofsouth-west-africa.html.

years of struggle. However, this abrupt withdrawal of Portuguese forces from Africa caused great instability in many countries and especially Angola.

During the period that Angola was under Portuguese rule and specifically in the 1950s, several revolts took place which led to the organization of anticolonial guerillas. These militant groups were political parties that sometimes used force to promote their agenda. The first guerrilla army was formed by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in 1956 and since it campaigned for the creation of a socialist republic, it quickly drew the attention of the USSR. However, the next year a different guerilla group was set up by the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and was more aligned with western ideals. Even though FNLA was initially supported by China, it later obtained aid indirectly from the US and directly from South Africa. Here it is important to note that, despite sharing the same goals, all these militant groups failed to cooperate and even clashed with one another, which made it easy for the Portuguese to defeat them.

Angola became an independent nation on 11 November 1975 and since the Portuguese had left without appointing a successor and ensuring a peaceful transition to independence, a power vacuum was created. Taking advantage of this, the MPLA declared itself the government of Angola since they controlled the capital. The FNLA, however, set up a rival government in another province and soon a full-scale war broke out between their military wings, the People's Armed Forces of Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). This civil war was widely affected by the Cold War and soon turned into a proxy war with South Africa and the US backing UNITA and with the Eastern Bloc backing FAPLA.

This civil war benefited the PLAN greatly as it was able to take advantage of the power vacuum that had been created in Angola and was able to recover from the losses that it had endured at the hands of the SADF during the past years. Moreover, the PLAN was able to consolidate its supply line by allying with FAPLA. In this way, the PLAN was able to receive valuable Soviet equipment and Cuban manpower already present in Angola.

Seeing all those developments and the increases in attacks by the PLAN, the SADF decided to invade Angola in late 1975 to support UNITA and to wipe out any PLAN forward operating bases. Here it is important to note that the US played a major role in encouraging South Africa to conduct this operation. To that end, since SADF units were better equipped and trained, they were able to quickly advance from the border and into Angola. The SADF, supported by UNITA, was even able to reach within a few kilometers of



Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC 4: A column of SADF vehicles advances towards the Angolan capital during operation

the Angolan capital, but it was eventually forced to withdraw under diplomatic pressure that was applied mainly by the US that wished to avoid a major confrontation between the South African forces and the Cuban forces that awaited for them further north. After all, despite the tactical success of the operation, the SADF was neither able to remove the MPLA from power nor to eliminate the PLAN.

Operation Reindeer and the current status of the SWA

In the following years, the conflict further escalated and saw a dramatic increase in the number of confrontations between the SADF and the PLAN. This led the SADF to launch a new operation into Angolan territory in May 1978, Operation Reindeer. One of the most notable events of the operation was the battle of Cassinga in which the SADF allegedly slaughtered around 600 refugees according to the Cuban military. On the other hand, the SADF claimed that they attacked only PLAN guerillas. Of particular importance in this battle is the fact there is a direct engagement between the South African air force and the Cuban military forces that were trying to reach Cassinga. Overall, Operation Reindeer was one of the most controversial operations launched by the SADF to date as it resulted in many civilian casualties and was condemned by almost the entire Security Council, including all 5 permanent members.

As it stands at this point, the situation is even more precarious and the SADF does not seem to be intending to back down. The PLAN has been almost completely ousted from

¹³ Wars, Africa Bush. "Operation SAVANNAH: The Last #SouthAfrica SADF Vehicles Cross the Cunene River at Rucana into SW Africa on 27 March 1976 #AngolanCivilWar Pic.twitter.com/bQNQok2W2U." Twitter, Twitter, 27 Mar. 2020, <https://tinyurl.com/a4vaueds>.

SWA and it has been only conducting operations through neighboring countries at the northern border of SWA. To that end, the PLAN is even struggling to rebuild its forward operating bases that were destroyed in previous operations of the SADF in Zambia and Angola. On the other hand, even though the SADF has been able to oust the PLAN from SWA, it still has not been able to eliminate PLAN's ability to conduct operations. In addition, the South African government is under a lot of pressure from the international community and the UN since its actions seem to threaten the sovereignty of other nations. Finally, we also need to address the ongoing humanitarian crisis that has resulted from this constant state of conflict and the lack of governance in those areas. Thus, it is evident that this conflict affects not only the people living in SWA but also the civilian population of other countries.

MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED

Cuba

Cuba is the country that despite not being a global power has offered the most assistance towards FAPLA. Specifically, Cuba saw the Angolan civil war as an opportunity to assist in the expansion of communism throughout southern Africa, something that has greatly worried the South African government. Cuba is also supportive of the PLAN in its struggle for independence and Cuban military forces have been ordered multiple times to engage with the SADF in Angola, especially during operations Savannah and Reindeer¹⁴. However, Cuba has never conducted any operations in SWA.

South Africa and the South African Defence Force (SADF)

South Africa is the member state that is the most involved in this conflict. It has ignored multiple resolutions and mandates proposed by the General Assembly and the Security Council. Despite that, South Africa has maintained control over SWA and the SADF has conducted several raids in neighboring countries, such as Angola and Zambia. As it currently stands, South Africa believes that SWA should remain within its administration and that its actions in the conflict are justified by its aim to restore peace in the region.

¹⁴ Fitz, D. (2021, January 12). Do you Remember Cuba's dedication to Angola? openDemocracy.

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/democraciaabierta/do-you-remember-cuba-dedication-to-angola/>.

People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN)

The PLAN is the armed wing of Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which was the principal organization in SWA that advocated for its independence since the 1960s. The PLAN is the principal adversary of the SADF throughout this conflict and has received assistance mainly from neighboring countries as well as the Eastern Bloc.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

The USSR is the largest military power that is actively involved in this conflict. Specifically, since the outbreak of the Angolan civil war the USSR has supplied both the PLAN and FAPLA with equipment worth millions of dollars. Thus, it is one of the main reasons that the Angolan civil war has been turned into a proxy conflict and has eventually led to clashes with the SADF. In general, even though the USSR is more concerned with the Angolan civil war, it still is sympathetic to the PLAN's cause as it can help them extend their influence in the African continent.

United States of America (USA)

In the 1950s and 1960s, the USA actively supported the Republic of South Africa and its policies as it saw an opportunity to expand its western ideals. However, as the international community started to frown upon the implementation of apartheid in South Africa, the US started to cut off official ties with South Africa. Instead, the US started to support South Africa indirectly by supplying organizations allied to it, such as UNITA, and was indirectly involved with the Angolan civil war. Even though the US is officially neutral, it is sympathetic to South Africa's cause as it helps them prevent the spread of communism in Africa.

National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)

UNITA is the armed wing that was created from elements of the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) and fights against FAPLA in the Angolan civil war; it is allied with the SADF. This group was initially supported by Zaire and China in both material and military equipment. However, as the conflict progressed, it is now mostly receiving resources from the US and South Africa as it promotes their interests in the region.

People's Armed Forces of Liberation of Angola (FAPLA)

FAPLA is the military wing of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which was the communist party that ruled the majority of the Angolan

territory, including its capital. FAPLA is widely supported by neighboring African countries as well as by the Eastern bloc and especially USSR and Cuba.

United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)

The United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) was established in 1978 by Security council resolution 435. The UNTAG is responsible to ensure a peaceful transition of power in Namibia and that free and fair elections will be held within 12 months. The UNTAG also put forward a settlement proposal that included specific tasks that each side needed to fulfill. However, these 12 months have almost expired and the UNTAG has made little progress in achieving its mandate.

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

Date	Description of Event
1884	South-West Africa becomes a German colony.
December 17, 1920	The League of Nations grants a mandate for the administration of SWA by South Africa.
September 20, 1922	The LON calls the PMC to investigate the recent clashes with Bondelswarts Namas that results in the deaths of up to 250 people.
July 27, 1925	The South West Africa Constitution Act of 1925 is ratified and grants several liberties to SWA.
January 21, 1947	Efforts to establish a UN trusteeship over SWA to monitor its administration by South Africa.
1948	Implementation of Apartheid in SWA inspires many protests.
July 11, 1950	ICJ publishes a declaration stating that South Africa is not required to hand over the administration of SWA to the UN.
November 28, 1953	Creation of a new Committee on South West Africa by the General Assembly to supervise the administration of the territory as outlined in the Treaty of Versailles.
April 19, 1960	Foundation of Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) to campaign for the independence of SWA.
1962	Establishment of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).
August 1966	Launch of the first large-scale military operation by the PLAN along the northern border between SWA and Angola.
November 11, 1975	Angola becomes an independent nation which creates a power vacuum in the region.
October 14 1975-	Operation Savannah is carried over at Angolan territory resulting in

January 1976	large-scale civilian and material losses.
February 28, 1978	The Organization of African Unity (OAU) condemns South Africa's actions and requests the withdrawal of the SADF from SWA.
May, 1978	Launch of Operation Reindeer the last operation up to this date which has increased tensions between the two sides even more.

UN INVOLVEMENT: RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS, TREATIES AND EVENTS

Advisory opinion concerning the international status of SWA

(<https://www.refworld.org/cases,ICJ,4028e9d44.html>)

This opinion was requested by the General Assembly in 1949 and it was one of the few declarations that supported South Africa's stance on this issue. Specifically, the ICJ stated that even though South Africa should give an account of its administration of SWA, it is not obligated to hand over the territory to a trusteeship committee¹⁵.

General Assembly resolution 2145 (<https://tinyurl.com/jbxpdu4>)

This resolution was adopted in 1966 and revoked the mandate for the administration of SWA by South Africa under the treaty of Versailles. This resolution took away any credibility of the actions of the South African government and called for the placement of SWA under the administration of the UN until fair and impartial elections could be held.¹⁶

General Assembly resolution 31/146 (<https://tinyurl.com/37nz4yyv>)

This resolution was adopted by the General Assembly in 1976 stating that the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was recognized as "the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people".¹⁷ This resolution also made the first steps in legitimizing the efforts of SWAPO against South Africa.

Security Council Resolution 276 (<https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f2112b.html>)

With this resolution that came into effect in 1970, the Security Council condemned the administration of SWA by South Africa and confirmed General Assembly

¹⁵ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (n.d.). South-West Africa CASES; advisory opinion concerning the international status. Refworld. <https://www.refworld.org/cases,ICJ,4028e9d44.html>.

¹⁶ South West Africa United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2145 (XXI), October 27, 1966. (1967). American Journal of International Law, 61(2), 649-651. doi:10.2307/2197086.

¹⁷ "UNTAG." United Nations, United Nations, peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/past/untagFT.htm.

resolution 2145 that revoked the mandate for the administration of SWA by South Africa. This resolution warned South Africa that it should withdraw immediately from SWA and obliged all member states to refrain from assisting the South African government on its occupation of SWA¹⁸.

Security Council Resolution 435 and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) (<https://peacemaker.un.org/namibia-resolution435>)

This resolution was adopted by the Security Council in 1978 and called for the withdrawal of the SADF and the transfer of power to the people. Moreover, it established the UNTAG which was responsible to establish the independent nation of Namibia through elections within 12 months¹⁹.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISSUE

The Turnhalle constitutional conference and the 1975 Constitution of SWA

After international pressure was applied, South Africa decided to host the Turnhalle constitutional conference to decide the future of SWA. However, South Africa had no right to hold such a conference in the first place since according to international law it was not the entity responsible for the administration of SWA. To make things worse, SWAPO refused to attend the conference and the rest of the non-white political parties were not allowed to participate in the talks. As a result, the representatives that drafted the constitution were exclusively from the white minority that was appointed by the South African government. Thus, we can understand that the conference had little to no effect in de-escalating the conflict as it was not recognized by the majority of the native population.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Peaceful integration of SWA into South Africa

One of the most obvious and most controversial proposed solutions is the complete integration of SWA as a fifth province of the Republic of South Africa, something that aligns with South Africa's demands. For this to be accomplished, several General Assembly and

¹⁸ UN Security Council, Security Council resolution 276 (1970) [The Situation in Namibia], 30 January 1970, S/RES/276 (1970), available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f2112b.html>.

¹⁹ United Nations. (n.d.). Security Council Resolution 435 (1978): Namibia | UN Peacemaker. United Nations. <https://peacemaker.un.org/namibia-resolution435>.

Security Council resolutions need to be overturned to ensure the legality of the integration. To that end, you should also consider the fact that this solution cannot be implemented without the support of the ethnic population that up to this point is against South African rule. Thus, it is going to be an immensely difficult task to achieve a peaceful integration of SWA into South Africa.

Independence of South-Western Africa

One of the main issues that you can tackle with your resolutions should be the peaceful transfer of power from the SADF to SWAPO and the people of SWA. However, for this to be accomplished several steps need to be completed. First of all, a ceasefire should be established between the PLAN and the SADF to prevent any further civilian casualties and to put an end to the ongoing humanitarian crisis. This could be achieved through the establishment of an emergency meeting in the Security Council or by the deployment of a peacekeeping force in the region. This would be beneficial since it would stop the ongoing clashes and enable peace talks between the two opposing parties.

The second part towards independence would be ensuring that Southwestern African people are involved in this transition, something that can be accomplished by supporting UNTAG's mandate for free and fair elections within twelve months.

Finally, it is important to note that the majority of the past resolutions that have been passed by the UN have been unsuccessful because there have not been any repercussions for the disobedience of South Africa. Therefore, your resolutions could include more drastic measures in case the South African government refuses to cooperate.

Separation of the two conflicts

Another one of your concerns should be the separation of the two conflicts, the independence struggle of SWA and the Angolan civil war. The separation aims to stop the South African incursions into Angolan territory that further complicates the conflict and results in the SADF facing FAPLA as well as the Cuban expeditionary force deployed in the region. This can be once again achieved by the deployment of a peacekeeping force in SWA's northern border that will act as a buffer between the two conflicts. The UNTAG should also assist with this operation since it could observe any movements near the border and organize a more coordinated response. This measure is of paramount importance as it will put an end to the constant rearmament of the PLAN and to the destruction caused by the SADF in neighboring countries.

The Ceasefire between FAPLA and UNITA

The Angolan civil war is of great importance to the overall conflict. So, we can realize that we cannot solve it without addressing the stabilization of the situation in Angola. Perhaps the UN could mediate the creation of a ceasefire agreement between the two nations to hold elections and ensure a peaceful transition of power. Once again, this ceasefire can be implemented through the deployment of a peacekeeping force that will ensure the integrity of the elections and the overall agreement.

Another idea could be the creation of a new branch of the UNTAG that would focus solely on the mediation of the Angolan civil war and would assist the peacekeeping force in accomplishing its goals. In general, a ceasefire needs to be implemented as soon as possible to minimize any further damage to the economy and the infrastructure of Angola, something that will eventually hamper its development in the future.

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