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Thirty-second session  
Agenda item 92

QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Report of the Fourth Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Gürsel DEMIROK (Turkey)

1. At its 5th plenary meeting, on 23 September 1977, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the General Committee, decided to include in the agenda of its thirty-second session an item entitled:

"Question of Southern Rhodesia: report 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",

and to allocate it to the Fourth Committee.

2. The Fourth Committee considered the item at its 25th and 27th to 35th meetings, between 15 November and 12 December 1977.

3. At the 27th meeting, on 30 November, the Rapporteur 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 introduced chapter VII of the report of that Committee (A/32/23/Add.1) relating to the item.

4. In connexion with its consideration of the item, the Fourth Committee had before it the following communications addressed to the Secretary-General:

(a) Letter dated 15 March 1977 from Egypt (A/32/61);

(b) Letter dated 22 March 1977 from Ghana (A/32/63-S/12305);

(c) Letters dated 28 January, 20 May, 3 June and 5 October 1977 from Sri Lanka (A/32/57, A/32/92, A/32/98-S/12340, A/32/266-S/12412);

(d) Letter dated 14 June 1977 from Mongolia (A/32/115-S/12347);

(e) Letter dated 23 September 1977 from the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (A/32/235);

(f) Letter dated 5 October 1977 from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/32/259).

In addition, the Committee had before it a letter dated 6 June 1977 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 and the Acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia addressed to the Secretary-General (A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1).

5. During the Fourth Committee's consideration of the item, Mr. Tirivafi Kangai and Mr. Callistus Ndlovu, representatives of the Patriotic Front (Zimbabwe), the national liberation movement of the Territory, participated in an observer capacity in the proceedings of the Committee in accordance with the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 3412 (XXX) of 28 November 1975.

6. Mr. Kangai made statements at the 27th and 28th meetings, on 30 November and 1 December. Mr. Ndlovu made statements at the 29th and 35th meetings, on 1 and 12 December.

7. The Fourth Committee granted the following requests for hearing in connexion with its consideration of the item:

<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Meeting at which request for hearing was granted</u>
Mr. Romesh Chandra, President, World Peace Council (WPC) (A/C.4/32/6)	9th
Reverend Michael Scott, International League for Human Rights (A/C.4/32/10)	18th
Mr. Bernard Rivers, Haslemere Group (A/C.4/32/10/Add.1)	23rd
Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, President, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) (A/C.4/32/10/Add.2)	28th
Mr. Elton Razemba, North American Chief Representative, African National Council of Zimbabwe (ANC (Zimbabwe)) (A/C.4/32/10/Add.3)	28th

8. Mr. Chandra, Mr. Gordon Schaffer, Mrs. Karen Talbot and Mr. Camillo Perez of WPC made statements relating, inter alia, to the item at the 25th meeting, on 15 November. The Reverend Scott and Mr. Rivers made statements at the 27th meeting, on 30 November. Mr. Razemba made a statement at the 28th meeting, on 1 December. The Reverend Sithole made statements at the 28th meeting and, with the Committee's consent, at the 29th meeting, on 1 December.

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9. The general debate on the item took place at the 27th to 35th meetings, between 30 November and 12 December.

10. At its 25th meeting, on 15 November, on the proposal of the representative of Angola and following a statement by the Chairman concerning the related administrative and financial implications, the Fourth Committee decided without objection that the statement made during the meeting by Mr. Chandra should be reproduced in extenso (A/C.4/32/L.30).

11. At its 27th meeting, on the proposal of the representative of Ghana and following a statement by the Chairman concerning the related administrative and financial implications, the Fourth Committee decided without objection that the statement made at that meeting by the representative of the Patriotic Front (Zimbabwe), as well as the statements made by the Reverend Scott and Mr. Rivers, should be reproduced in extenso in the record of the meeting. At the same meeting, on the proposal of the representative of the Netherlands and following a statement by the Chairman concerning the related administrative and financial implications, the Fourth Committee decided that the statement made during the meeting by the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland should be reproduced in extenso in the record of the meeting.

12. At the 34th meeting, on 12 December, the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon introduced draft resolutions A and B on the item (A/C.4/32/L.31) which were finally sponsored by the following Member States: Algeria, Angola, Bangladesh, Benin, Burundi, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Iraq, Kenya, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Nigeria, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

13. At the 35th meeting, on 12 December, the representative of the United Kingdom submitted an oral amendment to draft resolution (A/C.4/32/L.31), by which the following new paragraph would be added as the eleventh preambular paragraph:

"Taking note of the negotiations following Security Council resolution 415 (1977) of 29 September 1977 and the current initiative of the administering Power for the accession of Zimbabwe to independence,".

At the same meeting, the representative of the United Kingdom withdrew his amendment.

14. At the same meeting, the Fourth Committee took decisions on draft resolutions A and B (A/C.4/32/L.31) as follows:

(a) Draft resolution A was adopted without objection (see para. 15 below);

(b) Draft resolution B was adopted by 112 votes to none, with 10 abstentions (see para. 15 below).

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RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

15. The Fourth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions:

A

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe),

Having examined the relevant chapters of the report 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, 1/

Taking into account the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, adopted by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977, 2/ as well as the Lagos Declaration for Action against Apartheid, adopted on 26 August 1977 by the World Conference for Action against Apartheid, held at Lagos from 22 to 26 August 1977, 3/

Having heard the statement of the representative of the administering Power, 4/

Having heard the statements of the representatives of the national liberation movement who participated in an observer capacity in the consideration of the item, 5/

Recalling its resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration, as well as all other resolutions relating to the question of Southern Rhodesia adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Special Committee,

Bearing in mind that the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering Power, has the primary responsibility

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1/ A/32/23 (Parts I-V), chaps. I, II and IV-VI; A/32/23/Add.1, chap. VII.

2/ A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

3/ A/CONF.91/9 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), vol. I, sect. X.

4/ A/C.4/32/SR.27.

5/ A/C.4/32/SR.27-29 and 35.

for putting an end to the critical situation in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) which, as repeatedly affirmed by the Security Council, constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Reaffirming that any attempts to negotiate the future of Zimbabwe with the illegal régime on the basis of independence before majority rule would be in contravention of the inalienable rights of the people of the Territory and contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of resolution 1514 (XV),

Condemning the deliberate sabotage by the illegal racist minority régime of the numerous, intensive efforts being made to secure a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule,

Bearing in mind the resolutions on Zimbabwe adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fourteenth ordinary session, held at Libreville from 2 to 5 July 1977, 6/

Stressing the grave responsibility of the international community to take all possible measures in support of the people of Zimbabwe in their liberation struggle and in minimizing the hardship and suffering of Zimbabweans in that regard,

Indignant at the arbitrary imprisonment and detention of political leaders and others, the massacre of freedom fighters and the continued denial of fundamental human rights, including in particular the wanton beating, torture and murder of innocent villagers, arbitrary criminal measures of collective punishment and measures designed to create an apartheid State in Zimbabwe,

Commending the firm determination of the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of their national liberation movement, to achieve freedom and independence and convinced that their unity and solidarity are fundamental to the rapid attainment of that objective,

Outraged and deeply concerned by the continuing acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States, including the most recent aggression against Mozambique 7/ which resulted in loss of human lives and destruction of property,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to secure by all the means at their disposal the enjoyment of that right as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

2. Reaffirms the principle that there should be no independence before majority rule in Zimbabwe and that any settlement relating to the future of the

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6/ See A/32/310.

7/ S/12466.

Territory must be worked out with the full participation of the people of Zimbabwe and in accordance with their true aspirations;

3. Condemns the continued war of repression and the intensified oppressive measures against the people of Zimbabwe by the illegal racist minority régime;

4. Strongly condemns the illegal racist minority régime for its continuing, brutal acts of aggression and threats against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana;

5. Strongly condemns South Africa for its continued support of the illegal racist minority régime in contravention of the provisions of all the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on this question;

6. Calls upon the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in the discharge of its primary responsibility as the administering Power, to take all effective measures to enable Zimbabwe to accede to independence in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population and not under any circumstances to accord to the illegal régime any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty;

7. Finally supports the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence by all means at their disposal;

8. Reaffirms the relevant provisions of the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, in particular the provisions calling for assistance to those front-line States which are victims of repeated acts of aggression by the racist minority régime; 8/

9. Demands:

(a) The termination forthwith of all repressive measures perpetrated by the illegal racist minority régime against the people of Zimbabwe and in particular the wanton killings and executions of Africans and their freedom fighters carried out by that régime, the brutality committed in the "operational area", the arbitrary closure of African areas, the eviction, transfer and resettlement of Africans and the creation of concentration camps;

(b) The unconditional and immediate release of all political prisoners, detainees and restrictees, the removal of all restrictions on political activity and the establishment of full democratic freedom and equality of political rights, as well as the restoration to the population of fundamental human rights;

(c) The cessation of the influx of foreign immigrants into the Territory and the immediate withdrawal of all mercenaries therefrom;

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8/ A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V, paras. 21 and 39.

(d) The immediate cessation of all acts of aggression and threats against neighbouring African States;

10. Calls upon all States to take all necessary and effective measures to prevent advertisement for, and recruitment of, mercenaries for Southern Rhodesia;

11. Requests all States to give immediate and substantial material assistance to enable the Governments of Mozambique and Botswana to strengthen their defence capability in order to safeguard effectively their sovereignty and territorial integrity;

12. Requests all States, directly and through their action in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system of which they are members, as well as the non-governmental organizations concerned and the various programmes within the United Nations system, to extend, in consultation and co-operation with the Organization of African Unity, to the people of Zimbabwe and their national liberation movement all the moral, material, political and humanitarian assistance necessary in their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights;

13. Invites all Governments, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, the United Nations bodies concerned and non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, as well as the Secretary-General, to take steps, as appropriate, to give widespread and continuous publicity through all the media at their disposal to information on the situation in Zimbabwe and on the relevant decisions and actions of the United Nations, with particular reference to the application of sanctions against the illegal régime;

14. Requests the Government of the United Kingdom to continue to co-operate with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to the latter by the General Assembly, and to report thereon to the Special Committee and to the Assembly at its thirty-third session;

15. Requests the Special Committee to keep the situation in the Territory under review as a matter of priority and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session.

B

The General Assembly,

Having adopted resolution A above on the question of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe),

Strongly deploring the increasing collaboration, in violation of Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations and of the relevant

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decisions of the United Nations, which certain States, particularly South Africa, maintain with the illegal racist minority régime, thereby seriously impeding the effective application of sanctions and other measures taken thus far against the illegal régime,

Deeply disturbed at widespread violations of United Nations sanctions, including the operation of Southern Rhodesian aircraft for international passenger and cargo traffic, as well as the continued functioning of information and airline offices of the illegal régime outside Southern Rhodesia and the resultant influx of foreign tourists into the Territory,

Considering that developments in the area call in particular for positive, concerted international action with a view to imposing maximum isolation on the illegal régime,

Deeply concerned that the measures approved by the Security Council have so far failed to bring an end to the illegal régime and convinced that sanctions cannot put an end to that régime unless they are comprehensive, mandatory and strictly supervised and unless measures are taken against States which violate them,

Reaffirming the relevant provisions of the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia adopted by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977, in particular those provisions relating to sanctions against the illegal régime, 9/

Conscious of the urgent and special economic needs of Mozambique and Zambia arising from their full implementation of the relevant decisions of the Security Council,

1. Strongly condemns the policies of those Governments, particularly the Government of South Africa which, in violation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in open contravention of their specific obligations under Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations, continue to collaborate with the illegal racist minority régime, and calls upon those Governments to cease forthwith all such collaboration;

2. Condemns all violations of the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council, as well as the continued failure of certain Member States to enforce the sanctions strictly, as being contrary to the obligations assumed by them under Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter;

3. Condemns South Africa for its continued support of the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia in contravention of Security Council resolutions on sanctions against that régime;

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9/ Ibid., annex V.



4. Calls upon all Governments which thus far have not done so:

(a) To take stringent enforcement measures to ensure strict compliance by all individuals, associations and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction with the sanctions imposed by the Security Council and to prohibit any form of collaboration by them with the illegal régime;

(b) To take effective steps to prevent or discourage the emigration to Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) of any individuals or groups of individuals under their jurisdiction;

(c) To discontinue any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the illegal régime, inter alia, by forbidding the operation and activities of "Air Rhodesia", the "Rhodesia National Tourist Board" and the "Rhodesian Information Office", or any other activities which contravene the aims and purposes of the sanctions;

(d) To invalidate passports and other documents for travel to the Territory;

(e) To take all effective measures against international companies and agencies which supply petroleum and petroleum products to the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia;

5. Requests all States, directly and through their action in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system of which they are members, and the various programmes within the United Nations system to extend to the Governments of Mozambique and Zambia all forms of financial, technical and material assistance in order to enable those Governments to overcome economic difficulties in connexion with their application of economic sanctions imposed against the illegal régime and the severe economic loss and destruction of property brought about by the acts of aggression committed by the régime, and requests the Security Council to undertake a periodic review of the question of economic assistance to the two Governments;

6. Deems it imperative that the scope of sanctions against the illegal régime must be widened to include all the measures envisaged under Article 41 of the Charter and reiterates its request that the Security Council consider taking the necessary measures in that regard as a matter of urgency;

7. Requests the Security Council to impose a mandatory embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa in view of the fact that petroleum and petroleum products are transported from South Africa into Southern Rhodesia.

8. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to follow the implementation of the present resolution and invites the Security Council Committee established in pursuance of resolution 253 (1968) concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia to continue to co-operate in the related work of the Special Committee.