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Chairman: Mr. Théodore IDZUMBUIR
(Democratic Republic of the Congo).

*Tribute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi
on the centenary of his birth*

1. The CHAIRMAN said that he had the honour of paying tribute, on behalf of the Fourth Committee, which dealt with matters of decolonization, to the memory of one of the century's noblest freedom fighters. The date of 2 October had marked the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1893, as a young lawyer, Gandhi had sailed to South Africa to seek his fortune—and, having made his fortune, had renounced it. In 1915 he had left South Africa for India, possessing nothing but having one ambition—to serve his people. His life had been transformed by the injustice of which he had been a victim; he had fought oppression with his own weapons, firmly believing that no force could stifle the soul of a man who would accept self-denial and sacrifice. While in South Africa, he had developed his philosophy of *ahimsa*, or non-violence, which was now so widely known, as well as his own style of resistance, *satyagraha*. His fight against injustice in South Africa had led him to defy the 1907 Black Act in the Transvaal, and he had undergone several periods of imprisonment. However, his ability to resist evil had been combined with an unlimited ability to love his opponents, a trait which disconcerted them and earned their respect. Before leaving South Africa he had presented General Smuts with a pair of sandals he had made in prison. A long time later, remembering that present, the General had written that he had worn them for years afterwards, though

he had felt unworthy to tread in the steps of such a great man.

2. Mahatma Gandhi's struggle for the freedom of the Indian people was well known. A firm believer in truth, and a staunch friend of the humblest and the poorest, he had endured long prison sentences at the hands of the colonial Powers as part of his ceaseless quest for his people's liberation. He had had no material possessions as such, but had enjoyed the unbounded affection and respect of his fellow men. On his death, at the very dawn of India's independence, he had left behind an image that history would never forget—the image of a great freedom fighter, of a man who had struggled peacefully against the greatest colonial Power in history and had defeated it.

3. In reverently saluting the memory of that great man, who had been the very personification of the principles enounced in the United Nations Charter, the members of the Committee were convinced that his example would renew and strengthen their devotion to the cause he had served throughout his life.

4. Mr. ISSRAELIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, an outstanding champion of national liberation, was deeply venerated by the Soviet delegation and honoured by the Soviet people. Gandhi had been a great leader of the Indian national liberation movement; his name was linked with the entire period of struggle that had led to the elimination of many colonial régimes and the establishment of independent nations. During the years of the First World War, at a time when colonial rule and exploitation had been at its height, the Russian October Revolution had been an inspiring example to Gandhi. The latter had led the anti-colonialist movement in India; he had led the masses into the struggle and had made the National Congress Party a massive and united anti-imperialist front, which he had headed until 1947 when the struggle had been crowned by the triumph of India's independence. From that time onwards, Gandhi had continued to lead the struggle against all remaining vestiges of colonial domination.

5. Non-violence had been the basis of Gandhi's philosophy and the expression of his peaceful ideals and humanitarian views. Everyone, whether agreeing or not with such a philosophy, was bound to admire the way in which, throughout his life, he had devoted all his activities to the freedom and independence of his people. By an irony of fate, that peaceful man had died a violent death at the hands of reactionaries. He had lived for only one year after his country's accession to independence, but his entire life had been devoted to that independence which India now enjoyed, together with full membership in the collectivity of nations.

6. Gandhi's name was honoured throughout the Soviet Union, where an autobiography, biographies and many of Gandhi's important writings had been published. The one hundredth anniversary of Gandhi's birth was being widely celebrated throughout that country; the activities included seminars, symposia and conferences, and the Soviet-Indian Friendship Society was playing a very important rôle. The Soviet Minister for Communications had authorized the issue of a special commemorative stamp.

7. In the view of the Soviet Union, the independent nation of India was the most fitting monument to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi.

8. Mr. RAOUF (Iraq) said that he deemed it a personal honour to be able to pay tribute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi. When in Delhi some twelve years ago, he had made a point of studying the role of non-violence in the achievement of India's independence, and had been surprised to learn that the philosophy of *ahimsa* or non-violence had originated in South Africa. The fight against foreign domination was in fact a fight against social injustice, and the struggle led by Gandhi therefore had a present-day counterpart in the struggle against *apartheid* in South Africa.

9. It was significant that the United Nations was presently paying tribute to such a notable advocate of the principles of equality and brotherhood of mankind. One trait of Mahatma Gandhi which he wished to stress was his universality and compassion for all, regardless of race, colour or language. Throughout his struggle on behalf of India, he had remained aware of the problems in other regions of the world—for example, the actions of the nazis against the Jews, the fascists against the Ethiopians and the Zionists against the Arabs. In a letter dated 26 November 1938, in reply to a request for his views on the Palestine situation, Gandhi had said that, while he had sympathy for the Jews, he was not blind to justice. Their claim to a national home had not appealed to him; he had considered that Jews should make their homeland in whatever country they were living in, that their concept of a homeland should be merely spiritual, not geographical, and that it was wrong of them to enter Palestine with the support of British guns. In his view, there had been numerous ways in which Jews and Arabs could have settled the problem together, and every opportunity of that type should have been taken.

10. Outstanding among the lessons of Gandhi's life was the fact that political injustice could not be treated separately from social injustice. Gandhi's life and teaching, and even his death, corroborated the idea that only through love and tolerance could injustice be brought to an end.

11. Mr. DAVIES (United Kingdom) said that for more than sixty years the life of Mahatma Gandhi and the fate of India and the United Kingdom had been closely intertwined. In Gandhi's youth he had learned from the United Kingdom the practice of law, and for the rest of his life he had in return taught higher things. The United Kingdom recognized its debt to a great human being and honoured his memory.

12. For many years, Gandhi had led the peoples of India in their long uphill struggle for freedom and independence

from British rule. Whatever view had been taken by those then in high authority, it was certain that Gandhi's courage and the justice of his cause had evoked a very real response from many people in the United Kingdom. His was the path of tolerance, of non-violence and peace. His success was the emergence of the world's largest democracy, whose birth marked the great starting point in the march from empire into freedom and independence with which the Committee was so deeply concerned.

13. It was a matter for deep regret that those directing affairs in southern Africa had not also absorbed the wisdom which Gandhi had offered to the world, so bringing the peoples of that sub-continent to join that march in a peaceful and orderly manner.

14. Gandhi, besides being very much a patriot, had been much more; throughout his life he had devoted himself to elevating the scorned and underprivileged and to securing for each man that dignity and consideration every man ought to have.

15. Gandhi's life had been one of saintly dedication to humanity, yet his life's work was remarkable for its earthly practicality. He must surely be a special source of inspiration and a great example to all who were associated with the Committee's work. The United Kingdom saluted a great man of India and a great human being of the present age.

16. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America) said it was fitting that the representatives of so many nations should pause to pay tribute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, a great man and a great leader whose life and ideals exemplified the noblest aims of the United Nations. Gandhi had been a champion of peace and an apostle of non-violence. His monument was India; his legacy was a moral and spiritual lesson to his people and to the world at large. The people of the United States had been greatly influenced by his work, and the evocation of his death was to them a painful reminder of a similar and more recent tragedy in their own country. Governor Rockefeller, in proclaiming 29 September to 5 October Gandhi Week in New York State, had noted that another great man, Martin Luther King, had suffered the same fate as Gandhi. On 30 January 1948, the then United States Ambassador, Warren Austin, had said, in the Security Council, when the news of Gandhi's death had been received, that Gandhi had fallen martyr to the great cause of co-operation among all nations and communities and that it was to be hoped that his martyrdom would inspire the United Nations to press forward with even greater determination to achieve the ideals for which he had stood.

17. He hoped that Gandhi's example would still inspire men as it had done twenty-one years ago, since the world was still a single human family and must learn to live together in peace.

18. Mr. NAVA CARRILLO (Venezuela) noted that the basic tasks of the Committee related to United Nations action in a field which involved two of the ideals of Gandhi's life. One of Gandhi's ideals had been the liberation of his country and of all nations subjected to foreign domination. Another had been the attainment of peace; Gandhi had been one of the most outstanding advocates of peace, co-operation and faith.

19. He thought it highly appropriate that the day's tributes to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi on the centenary of his birth had been begun by the Chairman of the Committee. A reminder of Gandhi's love of mankind and of his call for peace was most timely at a period when the world was becoming more familiar with violence than with peace and more used to suspicion than to good faith.

20. Mr. PENCHEV (Bulgaria) said that all India had been solemnly commemorating the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, one of the most outstanding leaders in the struggle for national independence and the campaign against all forms of slavery, imperialism and colonialism. Gandhi had earned the admiration of the entire world. Since one of the Committee's tasks was to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it had a duty to record the one hundredth anniversary of Gandhi's birth. Gandhi, using no weapons save his own will, had dealt one of the first and hardest blows to the colonial system of his time. He had truly been the soul of India in its struggle against British colonial rule. Although a practitioner of non-violence, he had transformed the Indian people into a formidable force. He had taught non-observance of discriminatory laws, a practice which had spread throughout the country, reawakening the national consciousness and kindling the desire for self-determination and independence. The Congress Party had later adopted the slogan of "national autonomy", and in 1929 Gandhi had set that party the goal of complete national independence, a goal which had rallied the entire nation. Gandhi's ambition, however, had been even greater—nothing less than mankind's freedom forever from all forms of slavery.

21. Gandhi's name was well known and respected throughout Bulgaria, and the speaker was honoured to convey his country's tribute to one of India's great figures, especially in view of the close relations which existed between the two countries and which were exemplified by the recent visit to India of the Chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers.

22. Mr. HENNINGSEN (Norway) said it was eminently fitting that the centenary of Gandhi's birth should be commemorated in the Committee. Gandhi's leadership, both spiritual and practical, had been decisive in developing the national movement in India into a powerful national liberation force. At the same time, Gandhi had taught the Indian masses to cherish the ideals of liberty, respect for individual human rights and tolerance of the beliefs and opinions of others.

23. Throughout his career, in South Africa and India and on the international level, he had combined the great gifts of a visionary idealist with practical political instincts, and his honesty had made it possible to combine those qualities without conflict or inconsistency. Gandhi's honesty, idealism and political dedication had brought independence not only to India but to millions of people in foreign colonial territories throughout the world since, without his inspiration and leadership, the decolonization process could never have been so rapid or, with a few painful exceptions, so complete.

24. Gandhi's birth was being commemorated that week in many countries, because he had left his philosophical legacy

to the whole world. However, he was most warmly celebrated in India, where he was remembered and revered by villagers and intellectuals alike. The delegations of the Nordic countries shared those feelings and were honoured to pay tribute to the memory of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

25. Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia) said that his delegation wished to associate itself with those who had paid tribute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi. There was no more fitting place than the United Nations for the international community to pay tribute to the memory of a man whose ideals were reflected in the Charter of that Organization. It was fitting, in marking the centenary of Gandhi's birth, to recall his outstanding contribution to the cause which all Members sought to promote. It was under his leadership that the people of India had struck their decisive blow against colonialism.

26. His activity had benefited not only his own country but the whole world; his essential humanism and his desire to improve the conditions in which man lived had changed the course of history and enhanced respect for mankind.

27. Gandhi could be described as an outstanding revolutionary. His ideals had been allied to practical methods and he had been opposed to all forms of exploitation, class distinction and restrictions on man's freedom.

28. Gandhi's ideals of equality and of the peaceful settlement of disputes were especially significant at the present time, when strong Powers frequently attempted to impose settlements on weaker communities.

29. In commemorating the centenary of Gandhi's birth, his delegation conveyed its greetings to the Indian delegation and wished it further success in pursuing the noble aims of the Committee.

30. Mr. REMOVILLE (France) said it was difficult to add to the eloquent statements which had been made by the previous speakers, particularly the Chairman. It was nevertheless a pleasant duty for him, having resided for four years in Calcutta, which was still one of the centres of thought and wisdom, to associate himself, on behalf of his delegation, with those who had paid tribute to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of independence and of *ahimsa* or non-violence.

31. The Mahatma's teaching had inspired many writers and politicians throughout the world. In France, the writer Romain Rolland, who in so many ways had been spiritually akin to Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, and whose centenary had been celebrated by the Indian Union in 1968, had been one of those who had helped to convey Gandhi's message to generations of Frenchmen and indeed of all French-speaking people.

32. He recalled the remark of General Smuts which the Chairman had quoted, and hoped that many men would be found fit to wear the sandals of such an apostle as Gandhi.

33. Mr. DANIELI (United Republic of Tanzania) associated his delegation with those which had paid tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. It was regrettable that on the occasion of

the centenary of Gandhi's birth, the United Nations should still have to discuss evils which Gandhi had dedicated his life to overcome. The people of the United Republic of Tanzania joined the people of India in commemorating the centenary of the birth of a great philosopher, fighter and humanist.

34. Mr. SINGHE (India) said that his delegation was overwhelmed by the moving references made to a man who was no longer only considered as a great man of India. As Gandhi had led the Indian people to freedom in the most bitter days of the conflict with the colonial Power, he had taught them that it was possible to feel passionately and to work energetically and without any bitterness in supplanting the Power that had subjugated the land. His teaching had not been easy to carry out and many of India's greatest leaders had found it very difficult to follow Gandhi. On one occasion, in Allahabad, the former Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, had been leading a procession during the visit of the then Prince of Wales to India and, as was the usual practice, the police had tried to disperse it, striking Nehru's mother among others. As Nehru himself had recounted, all the instincts of a human being to protect his mother had gripped him, but before he could attack a policeman, Gandhi had urged him to prove himself and he had held back. That experience had been repeated on many occasions throughout India and by and large the epic struggle for freedom had remained within the confines of what Gandhi had wished. As a result, one of the most striking features of the liberation of India had been that the former colonial masters had become dear friends. While engaged in the struggle against Britain, Gandhi had never forgotten the small man. Indeed, he had approached the whole question of the liberation of India from the point of view of the small man and his first act of defiance against British power in India had not taken place on the steps of the Viceregal Lodge or before officers of the colonial Power but had consisted of a march to the sea to demonstrate that, from the mightiest to the meekest, Indians were denied the freedom to use even a pinch of salt as they liked. Thus he had identified the common man with freedom and had shown that the struggle for liberation was a fight for daily bread not just to enable one group in India to assume office on the attainment of freedom. He had galvanized the dispirited masses of the people into a militant force, born out of righteousness, love and compassion, against tremendous odds. But, as Gandhi himself had said, the freedom of India was only one milestone on the long march, and India would never consider its freedom complete as long as any people in the world still suffered under the colonial yoke.

35. Mr. EILAN (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, expressed deep regret that the representative of Iraq had found it necessary to mar such a solemn occasion with an attack on Israel. That was not the most suitable way to mark the anniversary of a man who had preached international conciliation.

36. Mr. RAOUF (Iraq) observed that he had merely been illustrating a point in his statement by quoting views expressed by Gandhi himself. It was significant that the only discordant note had been struck by the representative of Israel.

37. Mr. OULD HACHEME (Mauritania) proposed that the statements made in tribute to Mahatma Gandhi should be reproduced *in extenso* in the summary record.

38. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to the fact that that proposal had financial implications. If he heard no objection, he would take it that, subject to such financial implications, the Committee agreed to the proposal.

It was so decided.

Organization of work

39. Mr. DANIELI (United Republic of Tanzania), speaking on a point of order, said that, as his delegation understood it, the decision taken by the Committee at the previous meeting regarding its consideration of the items relating to the questions of Namibia, the Territories under Portuguese administration and Southern Rhodesia had not been as recorded in the *Journal of the United Nations* for 1 October 1969, but rather that a short general debate should be held on the features common to the three items, following which all three items would be discussed separately in substance, not merely in relation to draft resolutions. Although it was true that there were some important elements common to the three items, the nature of the problems involved and the solutions to them were not similar. He asked for clarification.

40. The CHAIRMAN said that, at the previous meeting, on the proposal of the representative of the United Arab Republic, which was supported by the representative of Algeria, the Committee had decided to hold one general debate on three separate items on that agenda, during which representatives would of course be at liberty to lay particular emphasis on any one item, and following the general debate, to consider draft resolutions on the individual items. At that stage delegations could state their views on each individual item.

Requests for hearings (continued)

REQUEST CONCERNING TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION (AGENDA ITEM 65) (A/C.4/720)

41. The CHAIRMAN drew the attention of the Committee to the request for a hearing concerning the Territories under Portuguese administration from Prince Albert Bonaparte Nank (A/C.4/720).

42. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal) said that he wished to reaffirm his delegation's position of principle, which was already well known to the Committee.

43. Mr. DANIELI (United Republic of Tanzania), interrupting on a point of order, pointed out that the Committee was considering a request for a hearing and was not discussing principles.

44. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal) said that he wished to place on record once again his delegation's strong reservations concerning the request for a hearing contained in document A/C.4/720 and concerning any similar requests subsequently received by the Committee.

45. The CHAIRMAN said that if he heard no further objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to

grant the request for a hearing contained in document A/C.4/720.

It was so decided.

REQUEST CONCERNING NAMIBIA (AGENDA ITEM 64) (A/C.4/721)

46. The CHAIRMAN drew attention to the request for a hearing on Namibia from the Reverend Michael Scott (A/C.4/721).

47. Mr. VON HIRSCHBERG (South Africa) said that, as at each previous session of the General Assembly, his delegation wished to place on record its objections and reservations to the granting of any requests for hearings concerning South West Africa which were submitted during the current session.

48. The CHAIRMAN said that if he heard no further objection, he would take it that the Committee decided to grant the request for a hearing contained in document A/C.4/721.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEMS 64, 65 AND 102

Question of Namibia (A/7623/Add.2 and Corr.1)

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration (A/7623/Add.3)

Question of Southern Rhodesia (A/7623/Add.1)

GENERAL DEBATE

49. Mr. GHAIUS (Afghanistan), 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 the chapters of that Committee's report relating to Namibia (A/7623/Add.2 and Corr.1), Territories under Portuguese administration (A/7623/Add.3) and Southern Rhodesia (A/7623/Add.1) pursuant to operative paragraphs 11 and 13 of General Assembly resolution 2465 (XXIII) of 20 December 1968. The Special Committee had taken into account the various General Assembly and Security Council resolutions relating to those Territories and had given extensive consideration to them at its meetings both at and away from Headquarters.

50. In connexion with chapter VII of the report, relating to Namibia, he drew particular attention to a statement made by the Chairman of the Special Committee on 19 March 1969, giving a detailed description of the deteriorating situation in the Territory as a result of the South African Government's defiance of United Nations resolutions, and expressing the opinion that the Security Council should take urgent action. The text of that statement,

which had been transmitted to the Security Council, was in paragraph 28 of chapter VII (A/7623/Add.2 and Corr.1) of the report. He also drew attention to the two consensuses adopted by the Special Committee at its 692nd and 704th meetings, the texts of which were reproduced in paragraphs 29 and 30 of that chapter (*ibid.*). Following further consideration of the situation in Namibia in August 1969, the Security Council on 12 August 1969 had adopted resolution 269 (1969), in which it had once again called upon South Africa to withdraw from the Territory immediately, and in any case before 4 October 1969. Lastly, he wished to draw attention to the draft resolution on petitions relating to Namibia which the Special Committee recommended for adoption by the General Assembly; the text of that draft resolution was reproduced in paragraph 31 of chapter VII of the report.

51. In chapter VIII, relating to Territories under Portuguese administration (A/7623/Add.3), he wished to draw particular attention to the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 701st meeting, the text of which was reproduced in paragraph 19. Members of the Committee would no doubt wish to extend their full support to the measures recommended in that resolution.

52. With regard to Southern Rhodesia, at its 665th meeting the Special Committee had adopted a resolution expressing, in particular, profound indignation at the trial and conviction of the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and the continued detention, imprisonment and assassination of other nationalist leaders. The text of that resolution was reproduced in section B of chapter VI (A/7623/Add.1) of the Special Committee's report, as was that of a resolution adopted subsequently by the Special Committee, at its 698th meeting, a resolution which, *inter alia*, had drawn the attention of the Security Council to the gravity of the situation and to the urgent necessity of widening the sanctions to include all the measures laid down in Article 41 of the United Nations Charter with respect to the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia. The Special Committee had felt that responsibility for the existence of that régime also lay with those Governments that had refused to carry out the mandatory decisions of the Security Council. He was confident that members of the Committee would give the recommendations of the Special Committee their full support.

53. Mr. DANIELI (United Republic of Tanzania) asked when the report of the United Nations Council on Namibia would be available, since it would be useful to study it before embarking on a substantive discussion of the item. He also expressed the hope that the representative of the United Kingdom, as the representative of the administering Power in Southern Rhodesia, would give the Committee a progress report on that Territory at the beginning of the general debate.

54. Mr. EL-MASRY (United Arab Republic) speaking as a member of the United Nations Council on Namibia, said that the Council had formed a Sub-Committee to draft conclusions and recommendations and had asked the Secretariat to prepare a factual report on its activities. He hoped that its report would be available at the end of the following week.

AGENDA ITEM 64

Question of Namibia (*continued*) (A/7623/Add.2
and Corr.1, A/C.4/721)

HEARING OF PETITIONERS

At the Chairman's invitation, the Reverend Michael Scott took a place at the Committee table.

55. The Reverend Michael SCOTT expressed thanks for being granted the opportunity to address the Committee. In delivering his statement, he would bear in mind the tribute that had been paid to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi. It was ironic that South Africa was still actively combating the emancipation movement initiated by Gandhi in that country.

56. He would also bear in mind the statements made by South Africa's trading partners expressing their unwillingness to implement sanctions in an effort to induce South Africa to withdraw its administration from the Territory of Namibia.

57. The date 4 October 1969 would be a moment of truth for South Africa and the United Nations, for the Security Council had requested South Africa to withdraw its administration from the Territory of Namibia by that date (Security Council resolution 269 (1969) of 12 August 1969). In the past, goodwill missions, negotiations and other peaceful efforts to induce South Africa to withdraw had met with cynical responses in word and deed by the Government of South Africa. The International Commission of Jurists had stated in one of its reports that the Government of South Africa was tightening its hold over Namibia, thereby depriving the inhabitants of the Territory of their right to build a sovereign nation. There were no constitutional channels through which the African population might express its legal grievances and the inability of the United Nations to implement its resolutions was seriously undermining public confidence in it. The people of the Territory, who had been more grievously wronged than any other in Africa, were being shown of their inherent dignity and worth as human beings.

58. The International Commission of Jurists had also stated that the sole consideration of the white residents in Namibia was immediate profit. The colonial empires of the past had been succeeded by the economic empires of such organizations as the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., and the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation. The white tycoons, who were reaping huge profits from the Territory, were cynically indifferent to the plight of the indigenous inhabitants and claimed that they were unable to do anything to remedy the situation. Since they were only interested in quick profits, they had no wish to alter the state of affairs. Their high profits were due solely to the exploitation of migrant African labour; in Namibia the starting wage in American-owned mines in 1960 had been only 25 cents a day. Such exploitation had ceased in a large part of Africa, but in a few stubborn corners of Africa the structures of colonial power were still firmly entrenched.

59. At the present time, when the winds of change appeared to have blown themselves out, there were three

options open to Africa and the United Nations. The first option was to attempt to break the stranglehold of the great mining monopolies over the African people. That might be achieved by the establishment of an international judicial committee to deal with the unique legal and moral relationship between the United Nations and the inhabitants of the Territory of Namibia. That committee should take measures to expose the crimes committed in the Territory by both Government officials and the representatives of private enterprise. Its functions would be similar to those of the United Nations War Crimes Commission in that it would conduct trials and convict and sentence those whom it found guilty. The very establishment of such a committee would serve solemn notice that the United Nations was determined to repress crimes against humanity in the Territory of Namibia.

60. Another function of the judicial committee would be to assess the reparations and indemnities due to the inhabitants of Namibia for being deprived of their land and rights and for the imprisonment of their leaders.

61. In order to assert international jurisdiction over Namibia, the General Assembly should declare the South African Government an illegal occupying power in Namibia, and the Secretariat and Member States should refer to South Africa in such terms in all documents and statements.

62. The United Nations Council for Namibia should issue passports to Namibian citizens and visas to persons entering the Territory. It should request Member States to refuse to acknowledge passports issued by South Africa. The Council should direct all persons, natural or corporate, resident in Namibia to pay taxes to it, and should request Member States to deny South Africa any foreign tax credits. The Council should recall all existing land titles and should investigate all transfers of land under the Odendaal plan, such transfers being deemed presumptively invalid. It should request Member States to accept the Council's register as a valid record of land titles. It should issue Namibian postage stamps and should request members of the Universal Postal Union to treat mail from Namibia bearing South African stamps as being unstamped. The United Nations might issue its own stamp commemorating its administration of the Territory. The United Nations Council for Namibia had so far taken no effective action because many Powers refused to become members of the Council, in the belief that the only means of toppling the South African régime would be through a physical confrontation.

63. The second option open to the Members of the United Nations was direct warfare. Many Members regarded that as the only option. However, the horrors of full-scale war were so great that it was not a feasible alternative.

64. The third option open to the United Nations was a free and frank dialogue between independent Africa and South Africa. The South African Government had never expressed willingness for such a dialogue, but it should be remembered that there was a great deal of opposition to the South African Government within the ranks of the Afrikaners themselves. Such a dialogue might lay the foundations for the immense task of redressing the balance

between the developed and the developing countries. The convening body could begin practical implementation of some of the fundamental principles which were the result of many years of work by the United Nations.

65. The problem before the two sides was the definite racial bias in the international distribution and ownership of the world's resources. Twenty per cent of the world's people controlled an overwhelming percentage of the world's resources. By 1970, the 624 million people living in the developed countries would have a *per capita* income of £935 per annum, whereas the 2,400 million living in the developing countries would have a *per capita* annual income of only £75. Economic growth in the developing countries was small in comparison with growth in the developed countries of the West, whose wealth was the result of centuries of exploitation.

66. The great increase in operations by industrial monopolies in Africa demonstrated their strength, but also their vulnerability. If Africans were willing to act in concert to assert their rights, they could assume a measure of control over foreign industrial enterprises operating in their countries. Zambia had taken an initial step towards control of its own natural resources, or, at least, towards a more decisive say in the exploitation of those resources. African States were entitled to ensure that resources were exploited in the interests of their own national development. They should ensure that the exploitation of resources was governed by national legislation and international law, and that the profits derived from the exploitation were shared equitably between investors and States. Nationalization of industrial enterprises should be based on reasons of national interest and the owners should be granted appropriate compensation.

67. South Africa should be made aware of the full consequences of nationalism in the rest of Africa and the world. There was a growing split in the ranks of the Government of South Africa, where there was an increasing realization that *apartheid* was not working. A threat to publish the findings of an inquiry into the structure of the Anglo American Corporation had precipitated the announcement by the Prime Minister of South Africa of a general election in 1970.

68. Neither the Africans nor the white colonialists wanted war, but both sides had many soldiers in training and African nationalist organizations had launched an appeal for all-out war against South Africa. In that connexion, he would submit a document giving the military strength of both sides. However, mere figures might be misleading, especially since men on both sides were being trained in mass extermination. The alternative was a free and open dialogue, which was the last thing the international monopolies wanted. However, as a final means of preventing war, the President of the General Assembly should address an invitation to the Government of South Africa to reassess the situation in southern Africa and to come to terms with African nationalism.

69. Mr. DANIELI (United Republic of Tanzania) expressed his delegation's thanks to the Reverend Michael Scott, who fully shared the ideals of the African people. He assured the petitioner of his country's support.

70. He requested that the statement made by the petitioner and the supporting documents should be made available to the Committee in the usual manner.

It was so decided.

The Reverend Michael Scott withdrew.

Organization of work

71. The CHAIRMAN said he hoped that the general debate concerning the questions of Namibia, (agenda item 64), Territories under Portuguese administration (agenda item 65) and Southern Rhodesia (agenda item 102) would be concluded by 15 October. He therefore proposed that the list of speakers for the general debate should be closed at 6 p.m. on 8 October.

It was so decided.

72. The CHAIRMAN requested delegations wishing to submit draft resolutions on the Territories in question to do so before the end of the general debate.

The meeting rose at 1.55 p.m.