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CONTENTS

<i>Agenda item 80:</i>	
<i>Question of Algeria (continued)</i>	301

Chairman: Mr. Mario AMADEO (Argentina).

AGENDA ITEM 80

Question of Algeria (A/4842 and Add.1) (continued)

1. Mr. PAVICEVIC (Yugoslavia) said that after eight years of cruel and senseless warfare, world public opinion was demanding a just and peaceful settlement of the Algerian problem based on recognition of the independence and territorial integrity of Algeria. There could be no doubt that the logic of events had largely cleared the way for a final solution of the problem, which had inflicted such grievous sufferings on the Algerian people.

2. In the first place, France could not solve the Algerian problem by armed force. The Algerians' determination to gain their national independence had shattered the myth of "French Algeria", and the President of the French Republic himself had recognized the Algerian people's right to self-determination, as well as the inevitability of full independence for Algeria. In addition, the Algerian people's unity had destroyed any hope of creating a "Moslem third force"; the demonstrations at Algiers in December 1960 and the general strike in July 1961 had shown the French Government that the people supported the National Liberation Front (FLN) and that the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic was their only legitimate representative.

3. The Algerian people's support of their Provisional Government had also been recognized internationally. That Government had taken an active part at the international conferences held at Casablanca, Monrovia, Addis Ababa and Belgrade, and had been recognized by about thirty countries. Its representative character had also been recognized *de facto* by France, negotiations having taken place between the two Governments, and it was clear that the French Government realized that the Algerian problem could be quickly solved only through an agreement with the Provisional Government.

4. In July 1961, the French plan for the partition of Algeria had been frustrated by the Algerian people's desire for independence and territorial unity. The Franco-Algerian negotiations held at Evian and Luhrin had broken down because of France's persistent attempt to separate the Sahara from Algeria; but now that President de Gaulle had abandoned that plan, one serious obstacle to a settlement had been removed. Since the Algerians' right to independence and terri-

torial integrity had been recognized, it was clearly time to free the French and Algerian peoples from the crushing burden of a senseless war.

5. The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic had shown a constructive attitude, expressing its willingness to continue the negotiations on a footing of equality and to examine all aspects of the Algerian problem, and had shown understanding with regard to the need to regulate the status and rights of French nationals in Algeria and to ensure good relations between France and the future independent Algeria. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Government had said on 31 July 1961, Algeria was the first colonized country to offer full citizenship to nationals of the colonial Power. At the same time, the Provisional Government had been justified in drawing attention to the criminal activities of the Secret Army Organization, which jeopardized the interests of the European minority in Algeria and the prospects for future co-operation between the two countries. On 24 October 1961, Mr. Ben Khedda, the Head of the Provisional Government, had said that independence did not exclude co-operation, which would be in the interests of both countries, and that the French would have an important part to play in an independent Algeria.

6. In view of the Provisional Government's constructive approach and of the change in the French attitude, the Yugoslav delegation felt that it should now be possible to initiate negotiations leading to an agreement on the principles, details and date of the proclamation of independence and of a cease-fire, followed by negotiations on the various aspects of the future relations between Algeria and France and the specific guarantees to be given to the French in Algeria. Unfortunately, such negotiations had not yet taken place, and the French Government had taken no practical steps to give effect to French official statements. It was the duty of the United Nations and of each Member State to seek a prompt solution of the problem, for the sake of international peace and security. His delegation hoped that the French Government's statements reflected a true desire to end bloodshed and to give the Algerian people self-determination. As President Tito had said at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade in September 1961, the world impatiently awaited negotiations between the Provisional Government and France, leading to an agreement that would allow the Algerian people to enjoy freedom and independence.

7. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia) pointed out that as was noted in General Assembly resolution 1573 (XV), both France and the leaders of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic now accepted the right of self-determination as the basis for the solution of the Algerian problem. The General Assembly had recognized the responsibility of the United Nations to help Algeria to achieve self-determination on the

basis of respect for the country's unity and territorial integrity, and there was an increasing revolution among French workers, students, intellectuals, Catholics and other groups at the atrocities committed against Algerians in the name of colonialism. In view of those facts, the question arose why bloodshed and destruction were continuing in Algeria.

8. The source of the difficulty was surely not the Algerian leadership, which had exhibited statesman-like qualities of the highest order. In recent speeches both the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Algerian Provisional Government had assured the French minority that their rights would be fully protected in an independent Algeria. The crucial question was whether France's leaders were prepared to crush the fascist Secret Army Organization, which was standing in the way of peace. He appealed to President de Gaulle, who had liberated France from a far more powerful enemy in the Second World War, to seek grandeur for France in the present rather than in the dead past.

9. All that remained of the Algerian problem was the matter of negotiating on the procedures for its final liquidation. It would be tragic if, now that agreement had been reached on all essential points, the war continued simply because the two parties did not enter into negotiations. The Algerian leaders had long urged such negotiations; but from 1956 to 1960 France had either refused to negotiate or sabotaged those talks which had been held. The negotiations conducted at Lugin in 1961 had reached an impasse over the question of the Sahara. Since then, however, President de Gaulle had acknowledged that the inhabitants of the Sahara were determined to be Algerians—which was in line with the emphasis placed on the principle of respect for the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria in General Assembly resolution 1573 (XV). The Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic still expressed willingness to negotiate. The United Nations must now reaffirm its responsibility in the Algerian question and endeavour to promote the opening of negotiations between Algeria and France at the earliest possible date, with a view to achieving a final solution based on peace and justice.

10. Mr. LOUM (Senegal) said that the process of decolonization was irreversible and must be accepted as a historic fact; that was why Senegal had welcomed the recognition of the Algerian people's right to independence. While certain difficulties remained, it seemed clear that they could be successfully resolved.

11. With regard to the question of Algeria's territorial integrity, Senegal, like most African States, believed that colonies should keep their former boundaries on becoming independent, as they had done in Latin America. If frontier problems arose whenever a State became independent, they would be insoluble and would only divert attention from other problems which were much more important in the early days of independence. Since the colonial Power had recognized that part of the Sahara was within the geographical and administrative boundaries of Algeria, there could now be no question of partition. In any case, that obstacle to negotiations seemed to have been removed by the statement made on 5 September 1961 by President de Gaulle.

12. A second obstacle was the question of minorities, a matter that concerned the unity of the Algerian nation. When Algeria became independent, all resi-

dents who had not acquired Algerian nationality would be foreigners. But while only citizens of a State could claim full rights in matters of public law, there was no reason why in matters of private law foreigners who did not opt for Algerian citizenship should not also have full rights. However, it was still not too late: foreigners now living in Algeria who felt that they wished to link their destinies with those of Algeria should integrate themselves into the Algerian nation. In that connexion, he noted that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Government had made it clear that there would be economic and cultural co-operation between France and Algeria.

13. The delegation of Senegal thought that in the more propitious atmosphere which now prevailed, the Committee should call upon the parties to resume their negotiations. As Mr. Mendès-France had recently said, the only way to stop those fomenting disorder was to achieve peace.

14. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the French colonialists had been oppressing the Algerian people for more than 130 years. The war in Algeria, now in its eighth year, was one of the most shameful manifestations of colonialism in the modern world. One-eighth of the indigenous population, or 800,000 people, had been killed, 200,000 had been thrown into prison and 300,000 had become refugees. Defenceless women, children and old people had been shot, tortured, burned alive—all in the interests of international imperialist monopolies which wished to exploit Algeria's natural riches. The French monopolies, as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR had said, did not want the war to end. In continuing the war, the French Government was flouting the will of the peoples of the world, as expressed in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and resolution 1573 (XV), in which the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence had been recognized.

15. Since the adoption of those resolutions at the fifteenth session, France had done nothing to restore peace in Algeria; indeed, it was clear that it was ready at any moment to extend the war to neighbouring countries. Algeria was being used as a base for the suppression of national liberation movements in those countries. That had been proved beyond question when the French had attacked Tunisia in the summer of 1961, using troops transferred from Algeria. The opposition of the United States, France, the United Kingdom and other colonial Powers to the adoption at the current session of the resolution declaring Africa a de-nuclearized zone (General Assembly resolution 1652 (XVI)) was proof of their intention to use Africa, and above all the Sahara, an inalienable part of Algeria, for their war plans. The continuance of French nuclear tests in the Sahara was a mortal danger not only to Algeria but to the other African countries; and there could be no doubt that French aggression in Algeria increasingly threatened the peace and security of the whole African continent. The United Nations was accordingly under a special obligation to take immediate steps to put an end to the war waged by France in Algeria with the active support of other colonial Powers.

16. In 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959 and 1960 the Algerian National Liberation Front had repeatedly tried to reach a peaceful settlement with France in which Algeria's independence would be recognized and its

territorial integrity ensured; but the French Government, believing that it could suppress the movement by force, had always prevented such a settlement. No one could forget the treacherous seizure and imprisonment in 1956 of five Algerian leaders authorized to conduct negotiations with the French Government. They, together with thousands of other Algerian prisoners, had been forced to undertake a hunger strike in order to gain the status of political prisoners. The support of the majority of Member States for the Algerian freedom fighters had been shown by the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1650 (XVI) of 15 November 1961. As a result of world pressure and the demands of the French people themselves, the French Government had been obliged to enter into negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. But, first at Evian and then at Lugrin, it had sabotaged the negotiations by putting forward conditions which were known to be unacceptable to Algeria. While declaring its willingness to grant the Algerian people the right to self-determination, it had in fact done all it could to maintain political and economic control of the country, to hold on to its military bases there and to detach and retain four-fifths of Algerian territory, including the Sahara with its oil resources. The head of the Algerian delegation, at a press conference given at Geneva on 31 July 1961, had confirmed that those were the reasons for the failure of the Lugrin negotiations. If Algeria compromised on the question of territorial integrity, it would be giving up all it had fought for.

17. Both inside and outside Algeria, the Algerian people had made mass protests against the plan to divide their country. Their peaceful demonstrations had been brutally suppressed. For example, in Paris, in October 1961, 50 people had been killed, hundreds wounded and about 15,000 arrested, of whom over 100 had "disappeared", or, in other words, had fallen victim to brutality. As the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government had said, the repressive military and police action taken against the Algerian people amounted to genocide. The French Government's efforts to deny responsibility for those crimes were unconvincing. The activities of the extreme right in Algeria were supported by influential circles in France itself, who wished to turn the whole country into a fascist State; moreover, the mass repression perpetrated against the Algerians in Paris had been carried out at the orders of the French Government. The purpose of such measures and of the war itself was to break the resistance of the Algerians, so that the French could impose a settlement under which colonial domination and exploitation could continue.

18. It was not only France, however, which was responsible for the continuance of the Algerian war, but also her NATO allies, and above all the United States. Without United States financial and military aid, France would be unable to continue the war. United States weapons and other equipment were used to suppress the national liberation movement. France could hardly have disregarded the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at the fifteenth session (resolution 1573 (XV)) without the support of its NATO allies. It was those countries, headed by the United States, which had led the opposition to the draft resolution (A/C.1/L.265 and Add.1-3)^{1/} submitted at

the fifteenth session by twenty-four African and Asian countries, proposing that a referendum should be held in Algeria under United Nations supervision. After voting against all the provisions of that draft resolution in the First Committee, those countries had abstained in the vote in the plenary meeting of the Assembly, with the result that the operative paragraph providing for a referendum had been defeated by one vote.

19. The reason for the support given by the United States to France was obvious: United States monopolies had an interest in the exploitation of the natural resources of Algeria. In 1958, for example, Standard Oil of New Jersey had been granted a 20,000 square kilometre concession, and in 1959 it had concluded an agreement with two French companies relating to the eastern Sahara, under which it had a 50 per cent share. United Kingdom and French companies had similar interests. No high-sounding words could conceal the fact that those were the real causes of the Algerian war.

20. France and its allies were doing all they could to deny the Algerian people independence, but they would not succeed. The Algerians had the support of all freedom-loving countries, including the Soviet Union. In a telegram sent to the Head of the Provisional Government on the seventh anniversary of the beginning of the struggle, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR had expressed the sympathy and support of the Soviet people for Algeria's struggle. The Belgrade Conference, at which the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic had been represented, had unanimously given its backing to the just cause of the Algerians. The declaration issued by the African-Asian group of Member States of the United Nations on 1 November 1961 had stressed the unmistakable support of the Algerian masses for the complete independence and sovereignty of the Algerian people, and had noted that the situation in Algeria was a threat to international peace and security. It had also called for the release of the five Algerian leaders seized in 1956 and for the opening of direct official negotiations, on the basis of General Assembly resolution 1573 (XV), between the French Government and the Provisional Government. The Soviet delegation supported those demands and considered that the only solution to the Algerian question was the immediate cessation of the French Government's colonial war against the Algerian people, who should immediately be given the opportunity to exercise their right to independence and self-determination while maintaining the territorial integrity of their country and the unity of its people. The French people themselves were beginning to understand more and more that the war must be ended and negotiations begun, if a fascist military dictatorship was not to be set up by the extremist colonialists.

21. The Soviet delegation would support any concrete measures designed to achieve those ends in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1573 (XV). All Members of the United Nations who genuinely believed in the principles of self-determination, independence and national sovereignty must take action to compel the French Government to fulfil, with respect to Algeria, its obligations under the Charter and to demand that France's allies, principally the United States, should immediately cease

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 71, document A/4660, para. 4.

their political, military and financial aid to France. The United Nations must put an end to one of the most shameful episodes in colonial history and restore their rights to the Algerian people. By doing

so, it would at the same time be removing the danger of the war spreading to other North African countries.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.