

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**

TWENTIETH SESSION

Official Records

**FOURTH COMMITTEE, 1528th
 MEETING**

Thursday, 14 October 1965,
 at 3.30 p.m.



NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Majid RAHNEMA (Iran).

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: reports 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: Aden (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/C.4/642 and Add.1 and 2; A/C.4/646)

GENERAL DEBATE

1. Mr. NATWAR SINGH (India), speaking as 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 that Committee's reports on Aden. Since the General Assembly had not been able to consider the Committee's report to its nineteenth session, the Fourth Committee had before it both the 1964 report (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VI) and the 1965 report (A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VI).

2. He drew the Committee's attention to the resolution on Aden adopted by the Special Committee on 17 May 1965 (A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VI, para. 300) and to the reports of the Special Committee's Sub-Committee on Aden (A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VI, appendices I and II). In taking note of the Sub-Committee's reports the Special Committee had decided, without objection, to endorse their conclusions and transmit them to the General Assembly. The Special Committee had also decided that the Sub-Committee on Aden would, in accordance with operative paragraph 12 of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 17 May 1965, keep the question of Aden under constant review and report to the Special Committee as necessary.

3. Mr. ALAINI (Yemen) said that he was grateful to the Special Committee and especially to the Sub-

Committee on Aden for carrying on its work despite the negative, almost hostile, attitude of the administering Power. The Special Committee's report gave a true but appalling picture of the conditions in which the inhabitants of the Occupied South Yemen lived. The United Kingdom had not attempted to implement General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV), 1949 (XVIII) and 1972 (XVIII) and had disregarded the decisions of the Fourth Committee, the Special Committee and the General Assembly itself. It had even antagonized the Sub-Committee on Aden. The situation was deteriorating and the United Kingdom continued to defy the United Nations. The United Kingdom had adamantly refused to put an end to the state of emergency, to repeal the oppressive laws, to release the political prisoners and detainees, to allow the exiled to return home, to repeal all measures restricting civil rights and public freedom, and to allow the Sub-Committee on Aden to visit the area in order to meet the inhabitants and ascertain their wishes. Instead, the United Kingdom had resorted to aggressive measures of defiance and provocation; it had revoked the Aden Constitution, dismissed the Aden Government and assumed all powers itself, reimposed the curfew laws, reinforced the emergency laws and carried out various oppressive military measures of destruction and terrorism. If the United Kingdom had revoked the Constitution and dismissed the Government in Southern Rhodesia, it would perhaps have done the right thing in the right place, and almost at the right time, but in the two cases, Occupied South Yemen and Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom appeared to be determined to act at variance with United Nations resolutions. That should not hinder the Committee from taking more vigorous steps, especially with regard to the military base at Aden.

4. The removal of the United Kingdom military base from Aden was not merely desirable; it was now a necessity, for otherwise the freedom of the people and the peace and security of the region would always be at the mercy of the British soldiers. The United Kingdom authorities maintained that their tyrannical measures, their acts of war and aggression were justified by the acts of violence committed by the people of the area and that the crimes committed by their soldiers were mere acts of retaliation. That argument could not be taken seriously. All the leaders in the area had declared their acceptance of United Nations resolutions and had urged their implementation. It was the United Kingdom which had rejected those resolutions and disregarded the United Nations; hence it was the United Kingdom alone which was responsible for the deterioration of the situation.

5. The United Kingdom representatives had repeatedly mentioned that the Yemen Arab Republic and other

Arab States were helping the freedom fighters in Occupied South Yemen. In view of the United Kingdom's attitude to the United Nations resolutions, the people of Occupied South Yemen had found that their only course was to take it upon themselves to implement the United Nations resolutions and to try, by all the means available to them, to persuade the United Kingdom to accept them. For that reason, they had sought assistance wherever they could. The history of relations between the United Kingdom and the Yemen Republic was well known; the United Kingdom authorities had for years alleged that they were protecting the South from an imposed unity with the North. The Yemen Republic was only concerned to see an end to the United Kingdom occupation of the South, to the military base at Aden and to the United Kingdom's attempts to create false federations for its puppets. Firmly convinced of the natural unity of Yemen, its soil and its people, its history and destiny, its reality and interests, its language and religion, the Yemen Republic welcomed the United Nations resolutions concerning Aden. Any decision with regard to the unification of Yemen could be made only by the people of Yemen, in the South as well as in the North, and only when the whole area was free from foreign occupation.

6. The United Kingdom representatives had repeatedly asked why the people of Aden should resort to violence and revolution, since the United Kingdom Government had promised independence in 1968. He in turn would like to ask the United Kingdom authorities a few questions. Why did the United Kingdom resort to violent and repressive measures if it really intended to grant independence in 1968? Why did it antagonize the people of the Territory and allow relations with them to deteriorate? Why did it gaoi hundreds of people, bomb villages, and murder public freedom? Why did it annul the Constitution which it had itself drawn up? Why did it disregard United Nations resolutions and principles and refuse to allow the Sub-Committee on Aden to visit the Territory? No one could believe the United Kingdom's promise to withdraw in 1968 when it was acting in such a way.

HEARING OF PETITIONERS

7. The CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that Mr. Abdul Qawee Mackawee, whose request for a hearing (A/C.4/642) had been granted at the 1518th meeting, was accompanied by Mr. Khalifa A. Khalifa; and that Mr. Alhabshi, whose request (A/C.4/642/Add.2) had been granted at the previous meeting, was accompanied by Mr. Mohamed Ali Algifri.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Abdul Qawee Mackawee and Mr. Khalifa A. Khalifa; Mr. Gahtan Muhammad Shaabi and Mr. Saif Dhalee, representatives of the National Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South of Yemen (NLF); and Mr. Shaikhan Abdullah Alhabshi and Mr. Mohamed Ali Algifri, representatives of the South Arabian League (SAL), took places at the Committee table.

8. Mr. MACKAWEE thanked the Committee for allowing him to appear before it to inform it of the present crisis and explosive political situation in his country.

9. South Arabia under the British sphere of influence, which he preferred to call the Occupied South, consisted

of the Eastern Aden Protectorates of Kathiri State, Qu'aiti State and the State of Mahra, the Western Aden Protectorates, Aden Colony, and Perim, Kamaran, Socotra, Kuria Muria and the other islands off the coast of South Arabia. Just as in 1953 the United Kingdom Government had formed the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland without consulting the inhabitants of the Territories concerned, so it had in 1959 set up the so-called Federation of South Arabia, against the will of the inhabitants. The United Kingdom Labour Party, then in opposition, had played a prominent part in the disintegration of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, maintaining that the will of the people must prevail. Now that it was in power, it was flouting the wishes of the people and promoting strife in South Arabia. His people were not opposed to the principle of federation, but it must be based on democratic principles and the will of the people.

10. From the time that he had taken office as Chief Minister of Aden State on 7 March 1965, he and his Ministers had met with obstruction from the United Kingdom High Commissioner, who had tried to interfere with policy statements to be made in the Legislative Council, when all he and his Ministers had sought was to free the people from repressive laws and actions, to release those detained without trial and to allow political exiles to return home. The Aden Council of Ministers had tried in vain to persuade the United Kingdom Government to comply with the United Nations resolutions on Aden, but that Government had instead announced the formation of a constitutional commission for South Arabia. No African or Asian country had accepted the invitation to send members to the commission, which had also been boycotted by the Aden Council of Ministers and all the major political organizations in the Territory, which considered that it was only intended to divert the people from their just demands.

11. At the end of July 1965, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies had proposed that a working party representing Governments and political parties in South Arabia should be formed to prepare an agenda for a constitutional conference based on the United Nations resolutions and on the United Kingdom's intention to grant independence not later than 1968. The Working Party had been composed of the Federal, Aden, Qu'aiti and Kathiri Governments as well as political organizations. The Aden Ministers and the major political parties in South Arabia had participated in a genuine effort to reach a solution, but the United Kingdom had persisted in making the following substantial reservations regarding the full implementation of United Nations resolution 1949 (XVIII): first, that it would not discuss the question of the removal of the military base at the forthcoming constitutional conference since it was not a constitutional issue; secondly, that operative paragraph 7 of United Nations resolution 1949 (XVIII) could not be implemented; thirdly, that the implementation of operative paragraph 9 of that resolution could not be accepted; fourthly, that direct elections throughout South Arabia on the basis of universal adult suffrage were not entirely acceptable; fifthly, that the United Kingdom could not arrange to enforce the constitutional changes required under operative paragraph 8 of resolution 1949 (XVIII) in the whole

of South Arabia because it had no legal power to do so except in Aden State. Those reservations had been completely rejected by the South Arabian political organizations, the Aden Ministers and the delegates of the Eastern Aden Protectorates. The United Kingdom authorities had continued to obstruct the Aden Council of Ministers and had repeatedly threatened to suspend the Constitution.

12. The repeated statements of the United Kingdom High Commissioner that the Aden Ministers were responsible for the deterioration of security in Aden were misleading, since security was the responsibility of the High Commissioner, and the police and military were under his control. The state of emergency had continued since 10 December 1963 and new emergency regulations introduced in June 1965 had only made the situation worse. The lifting of the state of emergency, the cessation of all repressive measures, the restoration of normal public liberties and the cessation of all military activities in the area were essential to the creation of the free atmosphere required for general elections.

13. The nationalist elements in South Arabia opposed the present structure of the Federation and the so-called independence promised by the United Kingdom, on the following grounds: first, the Federation had been designed essentially to safeguard United Kingdom interests; secondly, the Federation was undemocratic, autocratic, politically explosive and morally reprehensible, since any sultans and sheikhs who opposed the United Kingdom views were deposed and little attempt had been made to prepare the chiefs and their tribesmen for a changing world and a better future; thirdly, the United Kingdom's promises with regard to independence had not been made in good faith, as was demonstrated by the fact that it had deliberately kept the Eastern Aden Protectorates away from any union with the rest of South Arabia, because prospecting for oil was going on in those States.

14. His people called for independence immediately, not within three years, and for genuine independence, not the neo-colonialism which the United Kingdom authorities had in mind. In 1910, the United Kingdom had granted independence to an unrepresentative minority Government in the Union of South Africa; in 1923, it had granted internal self-government to a white minority Government in Southern Rhodesia. It appeared that the United Kingdom was planning to repeat those experiments by granting a form of independence to an unrepresentative Government in South Arabia; it would then quote Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter to thwart any attempts by the United Nations to implement the resolutions on self-determination in Aden and the removal of the United Kingdom military base. The United Kingdom Government was tragically mistaken if it thought that it could impose a constitution on South Arabia without the consent of the people. The United Kingdom Government was planning to grant independence to a Government which had leanings towards it so that it could continue to use the military installations in Aden. The two factors involved, apart from the question of prestige, were oil and military strategy. Yet oil from the Middle East continued to flow to many

Western European countries without bases in the area and the United Kingdom could be no exception. Nor could the security of South Arabia be endangered for the sake of the United Kingdom's so-called worldwide responsibilities and the defence of its territories.

15. Since December 1963, when the state of emergency had been declared, there had been an atmosphere of unrest and chaos in Aden and the economic situation had been adversely affected. The emergency measures had only led to increased tension and the Aden Ministers had publicly expressed their opposition to them. The people of Aden and the Protectorates were living in a state of terror. Armed soldiers terrified and tortured men, women and children, attacked them in their homes and invaded their privacy, searching houses in the middle of the night and often robbing them. Signed statements by the occupants saying that nothing had been removed from their premises were obtained by force. Moslem women in "purdah" were searched in the street by soldiers. The mosques were searched, in defiance of Moslem tradition. A number of detainees were believed to have died under torture or to have suffered serious injuries, and in several cases the families of detainees knew nothing of their whereabouts. Detention and deportation without trial were a daily occurrence.

16. A rumour was circulating that United Kingdom military intelligence had been responsible for a number of explosions in Arab areas in Aden. The matter had been brought to the notice of the High Commissioner and discussed in the Legislative Council.

17. Newspaper editors criticizing the suspension of the Constitution were threatened with punishment. Following the declaration of the recent general strike, civil servants and others had been threatened with imprisonment, dismissal and fines, and a campaign of threats and falsification had been conducted by the United Kingdom-controlled broadcasting station. The 100 per cent success of the general strike was evidence of the feeling of solidarity among the Aden people.

18. Throughout what was called the Protectorate of Aden, United Kingdom aircraft bombed villages, killing and wounding hundreds of people and destroying property. Thousands had been rendered homeless. People who dared to ask for reforms were imprisoned and tortured. Bribery was rife and was often protected by legislation: for example, arms and ammunition could be imported only by the Heads of the Federal States, who then sold them to tribesmen for huge profits.

19. Recently, the Federal Arab regular army had declared its support for the people's demands for freedom and self-determination. Despite United Kingdom brutalities, the morale of South Arabians was high and they placed great hopes in the United Nations.

20. He wished to draw attention to the double standards applied in United Kingdom colonial policy. In Rhodesia, a white racist minority Government had violated fundamental human rights and had declared that it would obtain independence by force if necessary. Yet in the face of that defiance the United Kingdom Government

refused to suspend the Rhodesian Constitution. In Aden, however, where the Council of Ministers and the people at large endorsed United Nations resolutions and called for general elections, the United Kingdom had suspended a constitution of its own making and had assumed direct rule. Thus white people in the colonies could defy the United Kingdom Government but coloured people could not.

21. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had adopted two resolutions on South Arabia during 1963 (A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, paras. 337 and 478). The General Assembly had put forward constructive proposals in resolution 1949 (XVIII). The United Kingdom had defied those resolutions and nothing had changed since the so-called socialist Government had come to power. The pledge made by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in December 1964 that the new Government would support all United Nations activities had not been honoured.

22. United Kingdom armed forces could not put out the fire in his country. Peace and stability could only be restored if the legitimate demands of the people were met.

23. The South Arabian people would like a delegation from the United Nations and the League of Arab States to be sent to the Territory to ensure the establishment of a favourable climate for general elections based on universal adult suffrage to be held throughout the region under its direct supervision, in order to ensure the emergence of a representative central government which would be responsible for arranging for self-determination in the form of a referendum, in co-operation with the United Nations and Arab League mission.

24. The first necessity was the repeal of laws restricting personal freedoms, the release of political prisoners and detainees, permission for political workers outside the Territory to return, and an end to repressive actions against the people. Only immediate action by the United Nations could prevent a catastrophe.

25. International relief organizations such as the Red Cross should be invited to send representatives to extend aid to the civilian population which had suffered as a result of military operations.

26. In the light of the terrorist activities of the United Kingdom forces in South Arabia and their armed raids in the territory of the Republic of Yemen, the United Kingdom military base could be regarded as a spring-board for aggression. The people of South Arabia would like the United Nations to affirm that the immediate unconditional removal of all United Kingdom bases in the region was imperative for the peace, security and stability of the region. They would also like it to be clearly specified in a new resolution that the territory referred to extended as far as Mahra and included Kuria Muria Islands, Perim, Kamaran, Socotra and other islands of South Arabia.

27. He hoped that the peace-loving nations of the world represented in the United Nations would do their

utmost to ensure that justice prevailed in South Arabia, and that the United Kingdom Government would listen to the voice of reason.

28. Mr. LAIDI (Algeria), supported by Mr. MENDOUGA (Cameroon), Mr. Mohamed ELMI (Somalia) and Mr. SIDI BABA (Morocco), proposed that Mr. Mackawee's statement should be circulated as a Committee document.

29. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the normal practice was for the statements of petitioners to be circulated to members of the Committee in the original language only. If it was the Committee's wish, however, Mr. Mackawee's statement might be circulated as a Committee document, by way of an exception.

It was so decided.^{1/}

30. The CHAIRMAN invited representatives to put questions to the petitioner.

31. Mr. A. B. PANT (India) asked Mr. Mackawee whether there were forces in South Arabia or outside it which he felt would be particularly helpful from the point of view of the struggle for freedom. Secondly, he wondered whether political and social consciousness in the parts of the South Arabian area outside Aden proper was at a high enough level for the people to be interested in that struggle. He himself knew from experience that the survival of feudal patterns in some areas could be a factor retarding efforts to rid a country of foreign domination.

32. Mr. MACKAWEE assured the representative of India that there was no intervention from outside in the struggle in the Occupied South; those involved were local nationalists. With regard to the second question, the level of political and social consciousness was naturally different in rural and urban areas, but throughout the region, including the Eastern and Western Protectorates, it was encouragingly high. All the people were ready for independence and elections could be held throughout the area.

33. Mr. TOMEH (Syria) asked whether the coming to power of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom had led to any changes in the situation.

34. Mr. MACKAWEE said that he felt that both the Labour and the Conservative Governments were determined to preserve the United Kingdom's traditional military and economic interests in the area, and his contacts with the Ministers of the new Government in London had confirmed that view.

35. Mr. TOMEH (Syria) asked whether elections had ever been held in the Territory and what credence could be given to United Kingdom assurances regarding future elections.

36. Mr. MACKAWEE said that elections had been held on two or three occasions, but only in Aden Colony itself. The United Kingdom Administration had intervened in those elections; insults directed against one of the parties had appeared in certain newspapers, the writers being paid by the United Kingdom Administration. The Aden Ministers had always insisted that elections should be held throughout the area, under

^{1/} The complete text of Mr. Mackawee's statement was subsequently circulated as document A/C.4/651.

United Nations supervision; the United Kingdom Administration could not be trusted to supervise them.

37. Mr. TOMEH (Syria) wondered what was the explanation for the United Kingdom's refusal to allow the visit of a United Nations sub-committee and for its decision to send a commission of its own, with which the local people were apparently not willing to co-operate.

38. Mr. MACKAWEE said that the United Kingdom had clearly been afraid that its manoeuvre would be exposed by a United Nations body. With regard to the United Kingdom constitutional commission, experience showed that such bodies were designed to safeguard United Kingdom interests. As Chief Minister of Aden Colony, he had been obliged to oppose the commission's visit and it had been boycotted by the people, who did not want a constitution prepared under United Kingdom influence.

39. In reply to a further question from Mr. TOMEH (Syria), Mr. MACKAWEE said that such development projects in the area as the United Kingdom Government had initiated had been insignificant and mainly concentrated in Aden Colony. Even in the Colony, schools, hospitals and roads were not adequate, while the Protectorates had not been developed at all and were more backward than any country he knew. Most of the money spent by the United Kingdom on the Federation went towards the salaries of officials, towards allowances paid to the Federal Ministers, who spent a large part of their time on holiday, and towards bribes. Some of the States in the Federation had no school or hospital and not even a good road.

40. In reply to a question from Sir Senerat GUNWARDENE (Ceylon), Mr. MACKAWEE said that he would certainly welcome elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

41. Mr. BROWN (United Kingdom) said that he would reply in due course to some of the allegations in the petitioner's statement. Meanwhile, he would like to ask some questions arising out of answers given by the petitioner to earlier questions.

42. First, he asked why Mr. Mackawee had not agreed, while he had been Chief Minister, to the suggestion of the United Kingdom Secretary of State for the Colonies that the franchise in Aden should be widened.

43. Mr. MACKAWEE replied that the United Kingdom Government had wished to extend the franchise to include people from the Federation who would tend to be loyal to United Kingdom interests. He added that the Aden Ministers had always asked that elections should be held throughout the whole area. The people of Aden were not separatists. The United Kingdom wanted to separate Aden from the rest of the Federation for the purpose of elections.

44. The United Kingdom Government had wanted new elections in Aden after his Government had been in power only seven months: the purpose had clearly been to get rid of him and his Council of Ministers.

45. He wondered whether the United Kingdom representative could say whether the intention of his Government was that the elections to which he had

referred should be held throughout the area in accordance with the United Nations resolution.

46. Mr. BROWN (United Kingdom) asked what was the approximate number of children per school in Aden and what Mr. Mackawee had done to increase the number of schools while he had been Chief Minister.

47. Mr. MACKAWEE pointed out that education was a Federal responsibility and not the responsibility of the Aden Council of Ministers. A thousand or so children who were unable to obtain places in secondary schools for lack of space were idle and were causing a problem in Aden.

48. Mr. BROWN (United Kingdom) asked what was the attitude of Mr. Mackawee towards the campaign of violence in Aden conducted by the National Liberation Front.

49. Mr. MACKAWEE said that the activities of the nationalists should be regarded as the natural consequence of the policies of the United Kingdom Administration, policies which themselves amounted to terrorism. He recalled that patriots such as the present Presidents of Cyprus and Kenya had been referred to in the past as "terrorists". If there was anything for him to condemn, it was the raids and air sorties carried out by the United Kingdom forces.

50. Mr. SIDI BABA (Morocco) asked the petitioner what were the reasons that had led to his dismissal from the Government.

51. Mr. MACKAWEE replied that the Constitution had been suspended because he had refused to be a puppet and to align his policies with those of the High Commissioner; because he had refused to accept the plan which the United Kingdom Government had wanted to impose on the people; and because he had insisted on the full implementation by the United Kingdom Government of the United Nations resolutions on Aden.

52. Mr. SIDI BABA (Morocco) asked whether the petitioner had been dismissed under some provision of the Constitution or merely as a result of a decision taken by the administering Power. He would also like to know whether the petitioner had been aware that his dismissal had been under consideration when he had requested a hearing by the Committee.

53. Mr. MACKAWEE said that the Council of Ministers had decided to request a hearing by the Fourth Committee in order to present their case to the international community. They had obtained permission from the High Commissioner and had then transmitted their petition to the United Kingdom Government. They had not known that the Aden Government would soon be dismissed.

54. In reply to a question by Mr. BRUCE (Togo), Mr. MACKAWEE said that from the outset he and the High Commissioner had not seen eye to eye on government policy. When asked to resign, he had refused to do so and the High Commissioner had had him deposed by an Order-in-Council.

55. Mr. AZIMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that his delegation regarded the petitioner's statement as representing the legitimate demands of a people striving for freedom.

56. He asked the petitioner what action he expected the General Assembly to take at the current session towards a solution of the problems in the Territory.

57. Mr. MACKAWEE said that the petitioners were expecting not only moral support but effective and more direct action to induce the United Kingdom to comply with the United Nations resolutions.

58. General Assembly resolution 1949 (XVIII), adopted in 1963, was out of date. For example, it said that the early removal of the military base in Aden was desirable. The petitioners would like to see the words "early" and "desirable" replaced by the words "prompt" and "vital". Furthermore, the resolution did not mention the off-shore islands, which should be included in the definition of South Arabia.

59. Mr. Ahmed ALI (Pakistan) asked the petitioner whether he had any fear that his political activities or freedom of movement might be restricted upon his return to Aden.

60. Mr. MACKAWEE replied that all nationalist leaders and workers must expect to be subjected to some restrictions. Like all freedom-fighters, he was prepared to meet them.

61. In reply to a question from Mr. MENDOUGA (Cameroon), Mr. MACKAWEE said that the previous Constitution had been a complete mockery. What the people were asking for was the abolition of all artificial legislative bodies in the Federation. The Federal Ministers had no real authority; certain matters had to be submitted to the High Commissioner before any action could be taken on them. When he had been appointed Chief Minister, he had hoped that the Constitution would be amended, but that hope had not materialized.

62. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) asked the petitioner whether he could give the Committee some information concerning the United Kingdom plans for the future of the Territory.

63. Mr. MACKAWEE said that those plans were clear. What the United Kingdom wanted was to have legislative bodies that were loyal and would protect its interests. The United Kingdom was against Territory-wide elections and wanted them to be held in Aden State only. It wanted to ensure that after independence its military and economic interests in the area would be safeguarded.

64. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) asked the petitioner why the United Kingdom had made reservations with regard to the elections called for in General Assembly resolution 1949 (XVIII).

65. Mr. MACKAWEE said that the United Kingdom had always taken the position that the United Nations was not competent to interfere in its internal matters. Its aim was obvious: it wanted to protect its own interests and therefore sought to keep its puppets in power.

66. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) asked to what extent the possibility of finding oil in the eastern part of the Territory had determined United Kingdom policy.

67. Mr. MACKAWEE said that there was one well in the Eastern Protectorate and that the prospects

of finding further oil deposits were promising. The people felt that that was why the United Kingdom was interested in keeping those areas outside the proposed unitary State.

68. Mrs. MENESES DE ALBIZU CAMPOS (Cuba) asked the petitioner whether he thought that the maintenance of the military base at Aden served the interests of the United Kingdom alone or those of other parties as well.

69. Mr. MACKAWEE replied that the existence of the base was in the interests of the United Kingdom Government and some of its allies.

70. Mr. DONALDSON (Trinidad and Tobago) asked whether the agreement for the establishment of the base had been entered into with the concurrence of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory and whether the agreement provided for revision within a reasonable period of time.

71. Mr. MACKAWEE replied that there had been no agreement. The administering Power had simply occupied the area.

72. Mr. SADI (Jordan) asked whether the petitioner could say why 1968 had been designated as the year during which independence might be granted to the Territory.

73. Mr. MACKAWEE replied that the aim was to play for time and to bring more people loyal to the United Kingdom to power in the Territory.

74. In reply to a question put by Sir Senerat GUNWARDENE (Ceylon), Mr. MACKAWEE said that there were twenty-three sultans and sheikhs in the entire Territory; they were appointed by the United Government, without consultation of the people, and were paid by the United Kingdom. They were for the most part illiterate and were expected to follow blindly the recommendations of the advisers.

75. Sir Senerat GUNWARDENE (Ceylon) asked whether the sultans could be dismissed under the present system.

76. Mr. MACKAWEE replied in the affirmative. Indeed, on several occasions the United Kingdom Government had dismissed sultans when they had not followed the recommendations of their advisers.

77. In reply to further questions by Sir Senerat GUNWARDENE (Ceylon), Mr. MACKAWEE said that the advisers managed the funds collected by the sultans. The population of Aden was 300,000 and that of the whole of South Arabia 1.5 million. The population of the area covered by the sultanates amounted to about 1.2 million.

78. Mr. KISAKA (Kenya) asked what factors had prevented the people of Aden from attaining independence during the 130 years of United Kingdom rule.

79. Mr. MACKAWEE said that the only obstacle had been the refusal of the United Kingdom Government to grant independence to the Territory.

80. In reply to a question from Mr. FARAH (Somalia), Mr. MACKAWEE said that about six sultans, representing about 350,000 people, had joined forces with the national liberation movement.

81. Mr. DE CASTRO (Philippines), recalling that the petitioner had referred to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, asked him whether there was any danger of white minority rule in the Territory.

82. Mr. MACKAWEE pointed out that he had mentioned Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in order to show the similarity between the policies which

the United Kingdom had followed in those countries and those which it was following in Aden. There was no danger of white minority rule in Aden but there was a danger of minority rule, since the sultans did not represent the people.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.