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Chairman: Mr. FAKHREDDINE Mohamed
(Sudan).

AGENDA ITEM 23

Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: Aden (continued) (A/6274, A/6276, A/6300/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/6317, A/6374, A/6478, A/6514)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. LULO (Albania) said that, despite the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and its organs, the situation in Aden was still very serious. In the face of the determined resistance of the population of the Territory, the United Kingdom had finally announced that it would grant independence not later than 1968 and would at that time dismantle its military base at Aden. It had nevertheless continued to deprive the population of the most elementary democratic rights and freedoms, in flagrant violation of the United Nations resolutions. The report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. VI) and the statements of the petitioners and of many representatives had shown that the United Kingdom was continuing its acts of aggression and its repressive measures against the innocent population. Patriots were arrested and,

according to the report of Amnesty International, subjected to torture. The United Kingdom representative had tried to distort the facts and to justify the harsh measures being used and the acts of terror being committed by the British troops. He had repeated the usual fallacious arguments in an attempt to convince the Committee that the measures adopted by the United Kingdom authorities were in response to the acts of violence committed at the instigation of the leaders of the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY) and were intended solely to protect the innocent population. It appeared that, according to the United Kingdom representative, the struggle of the people for freedom and independence was merely a series of acts of violence committed by small bands which did not enjoy the support of the people but were financed and supported from outside the Territory, whereas the United Kingdom domination and exploitation of the Territory for over one hundred years was a civilizing mission.

2. The aim of the United Kingdom's policy in the Territory was clearly to weaken the progressive elements and strengthen the forces of reaction. If the United Kingdom had wished to grant genuine independence to Aden and South Arabia, it could have done so immediately in accordance with the United Nations resolutions. Instead, however, it was seeking to maintain its colonial influence over the Territory, which was of great political, economic, military and strategic importance to it. The United Kingdom had finally agreed to grant independence and dismantle its base at Aden not later than 1968 only because it felt certain that it could find enough people who would bow to its dictates, accept the monopoly of foreign companies over the Territory's resources and agree to the maintenance or establishment of military bases either in the Territory or in neighbouring Arab countries.

3. The people of Aden would not accept the continuation of colonial exploitation in the form of neo-colonialism. They were fighting for genuine independence and self-determination, and they looked to the United Nations to take effective steps towards that end. It was not too late for the United Nations to satisfy those aspirations if it did not wish to be discredited in the eyes of the people of Aden and of the whole world. It should call upon the United Kingdom to withdraw all its troops, dismantle its military base at Aden, lift the state of emergency, release all political detainees immediately and take other steps to ensure that the people of Aden were able to exercise freely their right to self-determination.

4. He assured the people of Aden of the sympathy and full support of the Albanian people in their heroic struggle for liberation. His delegation would support

any proposal aimed at ensuring their freedom, genuine independence and self-determination.

5. Mr. TOMEH (Syria) said that it was a matter for regret that the question of Aden was still on the agenda of the United Nations and that the administering Power was apparently still unwilling to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) in respect of the Territory. That resolution, which contained the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, had anticipated situations such as that which had arisen in Aden. Paragraph 3 of the Declaration provided that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence, and paragraph 6 stated that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country was incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It was to be noted that national unity had been put on a level with territorial integrity. In paragraph 5, the Declaration further urged the colonial Powers to transfer all powers to the people without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire. The transfer of power should therefore be comprehensive, unconditional and vested in the freely elected representatives of the people.

6. The administering Power was violating that resolution by continuing to keep the people of Aden in subjection. It advanced the pretext of meeting violence with violence in order to deceive public opinion about its policy of repression in Aden. The report of Amnesty International concerning the torture of prisoners in Aden should be believed rather than the denials of a Power which had always been prejudiced against the Arabs and against their renaissance and unity.

7. The transfer of power in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV) was being obstructed by the administering Power. Even the Federal Government, which was in any case not representative of the people of the Territory, was not allowed any freedom of action. If the administering Power had seriously intended to implement resolution 1514 (XV), the resolutions subsequently adopted by the General Assembly and the Special Committee would not have been necessary. It could be argued that the announcement by the United Kingdom that it would grant independence to Aden by 1968 and would at the same time withdraw its troops should be considered a positive step towards a solution. It was clear however that, instead of accelerating the process of general elections, the administering Power was supporting an unrepresentative régime, which it hoped would agree to continued, although disguised, United Kingdom domination. Negotiations were in progress and plans were being made for defence agreements for periods of five years or more and a huge military base was being constructed nearby. Colonialism was only giving way to neo-colonialism.

8. The United Kingdom's record in Aden was one of failure. In 130 years it had done nothing of any benefit to the Territory. It had failed to convince the United Nations of the sincerity of its intentions concerning the future of Aden and it would not be able to divert the United Nations from its duty to liberate the people of the Territory.

9. In the past the United Kingdom had been unwilling to allow any United Nations mission to visit Aden. Following the adoption by the Special Committee on 15 June 1966 of the latest resolution on Aden (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. VI, para. 382), operative paragraph 12 of which requested the Secretary-General to appoint a special mission to the Territory, the United Kingdom had sought to play a double game of acceptance and obstruction. Its acceptance had been accompanied by conditions which in fact amounted to recognition of any security measures enacted by the administering Power and recognition of the so-called existing treaties with the Federation of South Arabia and the unfederated South Arabian States. The United Nations, which had deplored the setting up of the unrepresentative régime by the administering Power, could not be lured into subsequent *de facto* recognition of that régime. If the United Kingdom were sincere in its desire for progress towards a solution, it would not place obstacles in the way of the sending of a mission.

10. Many delegations had expected the statement made by the United Kingdom representative at the 1633rd meeting to mark a new phase in the administering Power's policy in the Territory in line with the provisions of United Nations resolutions. Despite the cordial tone of the statement, however, it represented no departure from an essentially colonialist policy. No substantial answer had been given to the plea for the lifting of the state of emergency; such a measure would at least be a convincing indication that the colonialist terror would end. The people of the Territory could not be asked to cease their resistance to oppression until that oppression was brought to an end.

11. The terms of reference of the proposed visiting mission were clearly set out in paragraph 12 of the Special Committee's resolution. Any reservations concerning the mission's task would jeopardize the very purpose of its creation, since it was concerned with recommending the practical steps to be taken for the full implementation of resolution 1514 (XV). The withdrawal of the reservations should not be regarded as a concession; it was essential as an expression of respect for the integrity of the mission. The role of the mission would be to uphold the rule of international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter, and not to perpetuate illegality.

12. It was hard to understand the reluctance of the administering Power to implement the United Nations resolutions fully and to establish an impartial caretaker government so that elections could take place under United Nations supervision. There was no point in professing respect for United Nations resolutions when the implementation of every provision, without exception, was made subject to reservations and conditions. If the United Kingdom's economic, political and strategic interests were the essential factors behind the tactics of the administering Power, no statement could change the facts of the problem. The people of Aden would not be diverted from their duty of liberating their country unless there were solid guarantees that their approaching independence would be genuine independence, that the process of self-determination would be free from intrigues

and that their future lay in solidarity with their brothers. They had suffered under colonialist influence too long to allow that influence to continue.

13. Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon) expressed his appreciation of the Special Committee's valuable report and thanked the petitioners for their detailed statements about the situation in Aden and South Arabia. Some of the petitioners had confirmed the report of Amnesty International concerning the ill-treatment of political prisoners and detainees. His delegation strongly condemned such inhuman acts committed against those who were fighting for freedom and independence from colonial rule.

14. His delegation was happy to note that all the petitioners, representing various shades of opinion in the Territory, were in agreement on the fundamental issues, namely the ending of colonial rule and the formation of a single, united, independent, sovereign State. The problem was how to achieve those objectives peacefully. General Assembly resolutions 1949 (XVIII) and 2023 (XX) and the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 15 June 1966 had called upon the administering Power to carry out certain measures, which it had not so far done. The United Kingdom had only recently made known its acceptance of those resolutions, in a letter dated 1 August 1966 addressed to the Secretary-General (see A/6374), but that acceptance had been accompanied by two reservations. In a statement at the 1633rd meeting, the United Kingdom representative had tried to dispel the fears of members concerning those two reservations, or "facts", by stating that his Government had not intended to place obstacles in the way of the mission. Subsequently, in his letter dated 16 November 1966 addressed to the Secretary-General (A/6514), the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom had reaffirmed his Government's readiness to co-operate with the United Nations in the full implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions at the earliest possible time and the working out of practical steps in that regard, and had said that he trusted that those assurances would clear the way for the appointment of the special mission and facilitate its urgent task. There had been no reference in that part of the letter to "two features" or "facts", and his delegation would like to interpret that as a withdrawal of any kind of reservations which the United Kingdom Government might have. He would be happy if the United Kingdom representative could confirm that. If so, the mission could proceed to the area immediately.

15. Despite the urgency and the short time available, however, certain conditions should first be fulfilled in order to create a favourable atmosphere. He urged the administering Power to abolish the state of emergency, repeal all laws restricting public freedom, release all political detainees and allow all political exiles to return, either before or on the arrival of the United Nations mission. It was not enough for the administering Power to say that no South Arabian need fear that any impediment would be put in his way if he wished to return to South Arabia to make contact with the mission. Exiles should be allowed to return and to have full freedom of political activity, including the right of assembly,

provided that that was done in accordance with the normal laws of the country. Peace and tranquillity should prevail in the land so that the people could express their opinion freely without fear or intimidation. The mission would then be able to report the true facts and the United Nations could take the necessary steps to implement its resolutions on Aden.

16. His country was eager to see the people of that Arab land achieve self-determination in peace and harmony, so that they could join the family of independent nations. The people of the Territory should join ranks in order to achieve that goal.

17. Mr. RAHNEMA (Iran) said that his delegation had always taken an active interest in the promotion of a solution based on the wishes of the Adeni people as a whole, with whom his country had strong ties of history, culture, religion and commerce. The Iranian delegation's position was based on a strong desire to bring about the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its support of the relevant General Assembly and Special Committee resolutions on the question of Aden should be viewed as a reflection of its sincere desire to see its South Arabian brothers cast off the shackles of colonialism and attain freedom and independence.

18. In 1965, the presence of the nationalist leaders in a common front appearing before the United Nations to plead the cause of the South Arabian people had presented his delegation with a unique opportunity and it had sought to bring the parties together with a view to reaching a common understanding of the ways and means of removing the remaining obstacles to freedom and independence. Informal contacts with the nationalist leaders and representatives of the administering Power had led to informal consultations with highly placed United Kingdom officials, which had been useful in helping to identify the issues separating the parties concerned.

19. His delegation had also participated in the drafting of General Assembly resolution 2023 (XX), which embodied the collective will of the community of nations and was designed to safeguard the interests and rights of the people of South Arabia. It must be borne in mind that negotiations between an administering Power and the people of a Territory would not always produce an equitable agreement unless the obvious position of strength of the administering Power was circumscribed within the framework of universally accepted principles and procedures. The General Assembly was the most effective machinery for providing those principles and procedures. It was therefore important that the administering Power should accept the United Nations resolutions as a basis for action and negotiations. The United Kingdom's acceptance of the relevant United Nations resolutions despite its reservations, represented a large measure of progress and considerable success on the part of the United Nations in its efforts to bring about realistic conditions for the granting of independence to the people of South Arabia. That view was shared by a large majority of the members of the Committee and his delegation regarded the future with optimism and confidence.

20. As could be seen from the Secretary-General's report of 16 May 1966 (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. VI, annex I) and subsequent reports, the consultations which the Secretary-General had held with the United Kingdom with a view to bringing about the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2023 (XX) had produced important results. In its resolution of 15 June 1966, the Special Committee had requested the Secretary-General, "in consultation with the Special Committee and the administering Power, to appoint immediately a special mission to Aden for the purpose of recommending practical steps necessary for the full implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular for determining the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of elections".

21. Among the important developments of the previous year had been the following: the General Assembly's insistence on enlisting the assistance of the Secretary-General by entrusting him with a key role in the implementation of the relevant Assembly and Special Committee resolutions; its insistence on the need to establish an effective United Nations presence before and after the elections for the purpose of setting up a genuinely representative Government; and the change which had taken place in the United Kingdom's position, owing largely to United Nations action and to the Secretary-General's efforts.

22. His delegation welcomed the fact that the United Kingdom had now adopted a policy of co-operation. Lord Caradon, in particular, had helped to dispel many of the misgivings which a number of delegations, including his own, had felt with regard to the United Kingdom's earlier position.

23. In view of those facts, the United Nations should proceed without delay to send the proposed mission to the Territory. There were, however, a few elements which continued to create some difficulties in that regard; there were the misgivings which some members had expressed with regard to the United Kingdom's reservations, and there was the negative attitude of one group of petitioners which had threatened to boycott the proposed mission.

24. The position of the Iranian delegation with regard to the United Kingdom's reservations was quite clear: it considered that the administering Power should make every effort to remove that obstacle. The question, however, was whether the Committee should refuse to undertake any United Nations action so long as the United Kingdom maintained its reservations or whether steps should be taken to establish a United Nations presence in the Territory as soon as possible despite those reservations. His delegation held that, although the reservations were not acceptable, they should not prevent the appointment and dispatch of a mission to the Territory. Members would recall the important statement made by Lord Caradon on 10 November 1966 (1633rd meeting) in which he had formally withdrawn the most objectionable part of his Government's reservations and had said that the present treaties were incompatible with full independence and that they must, therefore, end no later than independence. Similarly, Lord Caradon's remarks to the effect that the United Kingdom was not prepared to sign a defence agreement with South Arabia after independence con-

stituted a further reassurance. By its letter of 16 November 1966 to the Secretary-General (A/6514), the United Kingdom had taken another step forward by reaffirming its readiness to co-operate with the United Nations in the full implementation not only of resolutions 1949 (XVIII) and 2023 (XX) but of all relevant General Assembly resolutions.

25. With regard to the abolition of the state of emergency, his delegation reaffirmed its view that conditions for peaceful change must precede the adoption of importance constitutional steps such as the holding of elections. The state of emergency must be abolished; all laws restricting public freedom must be repealed; all political detainees must be released; persons who had been exiled or deported for political reasons must be allowed to return; and violence must be brought to an end. In view of the prevailing atmosphere of distrust among the parties concerned, the proposed United Nations mission could play an important role in bringing about the implementation of those measures.

26. He recalled that the members of a United Nations mission appointed in connexion with elections in the former Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi had criticized the unco-operative attitude of the administering Power and had had reservations about the elections. Nevertheless, despite occasional clashes with the representatives of the administering Power, the mission had felt that its presence had helped to bring hope to all corners of the Territory, and it had come to the conclusion that the elections held in the Territory had been the best that could have been held in the prevailing circumstances.

27. The present situation in South Arabia called for action. The proposed mission should be sent to the Territory as soon as possible. The Committee should appeal once again to the United Kingdom to facilitate the task of the mission and should proceed without hesitation to reaffirm the recommendations in the resolution adopted by the Special Committee. It was his delegation's hope that the mission would help to establish a proper atmosphere for the conduct of political activities by all parties in the Territory, to hold a conference of all political parties with the purpose of enacting electoral laws and setting up a caretaker government, and to establish a United Nations presence designed to ensure the creation of a representative government in South Arabia. Such a government would be the best qualified authority with which the United Kingdom should enter into negotiations for the transfer of power to a free and independent South Arabia. His delegation hoped that all political parties would co-operate with the United Nations in carrying out its task.

28. Mr. O'SULLIVAN (Ireland) said that much had happened, for good and ill, in Aden since the Special Committee had first considered the question in April 1963 and that considerable progress had been made towards a solution of the problem. When the representative of Iraq had proposed in April 1963 that a visiting mission should be sent to the area,^{1/} the United Kingdom Government had positively opposed

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighteenth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/5446/Rev.1, chap. V, para. 114.

that proposal and had refused to permit the mission to enter the Territory. Since then, however, that Government had declared that South Arabia would attain independence not later than 1968, that United Kingdom troops would be withdrawn from the base in Aden as soon as South Arabia achieved independence and that it would co-operate with the United Nations in the full implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions. The United Kingdom representative had told the Committee that his Government wanted to see a United Nations mission appointed without delay and that it intended to co-operate with the mission. Those developments showed that there had been considerable progress in a short period of time, brought about by the fundamental changes which had occurred in United Kingdom policy during the past three years. Some members of the Committee had pointed out that that change of attitude reflected no virtue on the part of the United Kingdom Government. The Committee was concerned, however, not so much with motives as with results and his delegation thought that the United Kingdom Government was to be congratulated inasmuch as its present policies in South Arabia had brought a solution of the problem within sight.

29. During the past three years there had been violence and murder in the streets of Aden. The Committee had been informed of atrocities committed in the prisons and the petitioners had spoken of the dangers hanging over the entire region because of conflicts of interest, territorial claims and the immense difficulty of establishing democratic institutions in areas where for centuries violence had been the handmaiden of power. There had been repeated accusations that the administering Power, in framing a constitution for the Federation of South Arabia, was concerned with perpetuating its influence in the area rather than granting genuine independence. For those reasons, the Committee must weigh its decision in order that the problem might be brought not only to a speedy end but to an end which would ensure peace and freedom in Aden and its hinterland.

30. The starting point in such an endeavour should be to implement without further delay the proposal originally made by the Iraqi delegation three years earlier, that a United Nations mission should be sent to the Territory. The United Kingdom's conditions should not prevent the Committee from following a course which was clearly the right one, especially when those conditions were weighed against the explanations and assurances given to the Committee by the United Kingdom representative. The first and vital purpose of the mission should be to end the reign of terror in Aden. That was not only an essential condition for the success of the mission's work; it was also a humanitarian end which was of cardinal importance in itself. If the mission succeeded in preventing further bloodshed and increasing respect for human life, it would already have accomplished the greater part of its task.

31. The representative of Ghana had made a valuable contribution to the Committee's work by appealing to the United Kingdom Government to end the state of emergency before the United Nations mission arrived in Aden. The Irish delegation joined in that appeal.

The United Kingdom Government had clearly stated on several occasions that it would lift the state of emergency and release the detainees provided that there was satisfactory evidence that violence and terrorism had ceased. He was sure that all members of the Committee hoped that such evidence could be provided. If the work of the mission was to be fruitful, the disturbances in Aden must end and all the persons detained in the prisons must be freed in order to put their views before the mission. That could only be accomplished if there was sincere co-operation on both sides. His delegation would like to see a truce in the reign of terror. Such a truce would not only put an end to the loss of human life but would immeasurably increase the likelihood of a lasting solution emerging from the negotiations which the mission would undertake.

32. The draft resolution to be submitted to the Committee would undoubtedly urge the United Kingdom Government to implement the previous General Assembly recommendations with regard to the lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of restrictive legislation, the ending of repressive actions and the release of detainees. His delegation would support such proposals. It would also like the draft resolution to include a paragraph calling on all concerned to co-operate with the United Nations mission and to do their utmost to ensure that the mission would be able to carry out its work in a peaceful and harmonious atmosphere. It was his delegation's sincere desire that the proposed paragraph should help to create conditions which would enable the United Kingdom to lift the state of emergency and to permit full and free participation by all sectors of the population in the forthcoming negotiations with the mission.

33. While the visit of the mission would not of itself open wide the doors to peace and freedom in South Arabia, it would mark a beginning and would undoubtedly help to overcome some of the existing obstacles.

34. His delegation would support any proposal designed to send a mission to South Arabia and any measure likely to facilitate its task.

35. Mr. FEZZANI (Tunisia) said that his delegation welcomed the additional information given in the statements of the United Kingdom delegation. It had listened with special attention to the statements of the representatives of Yemen (1620th meeting) and Saudi Arabia (1634th meeting), two countries having common borders with South Arabia, and attached particular importance to the statement by the Saudi Arabian representative, who had clearly expressed the hopes and anxieties of his Government regarding the future of South Arabia.

36. The struggle of the people of South Arabia had long been supported by Tunisian leaders, who had always had close relations with the leaders of the Aden nationalist movements and trade-union organizations. Tunisia was aware of the sacrifices which the South Arabians had made and it was encouraged by the prospect of the rapid liberation of their country.

37. His delegation endorsed the conclusions in the Special Committee's valuable report and was grateful for the information provided by the petitioners, most of whom had shown political maturity and an

awareness of their responsibilities as representatives of the South Arabian people. With regard to the report of Amnesty International, whatever the degree of veracity of the charges made in it, his delegation condemned any use of torture, which violated basic principles of human rights and brought shame on any Government which practised it. The Committee should, however, concentrate on accelerating the process of the attainment of independence, since only thus could the sufferings of the South Arabian people be brought to an end.

38. It was to be regretted that the administering Power had not found it possible to elucidate its position regarding its "reservations", and its agreements with the Federation, until the Committee's 1633rd meeting. It had thus delayed the Committee's proceedings.

39. As three of the four groups of petitioners had expressed themselves in favour of the dispatch of a United Nations mission to the Territory, his delegation supported that proposal. He noted that the United Kingdom itself was favourable to the proposal. It was essential, however, that the terms of reference of the mission should be clearly defined, in order to avoid placing on the United Nations responsibilities which it was for the administering Power alone to assume.

40. In his delegation's view, the United Kingdom should adopt a series of measures, the first of which would be the release of political prisoners and unconditional guarantees for the return of political refugees and exiles. A useful role could be played in that regard by the International Committee for the Red Cross. The second step would be to replace the present Government of the Federation by a caretaker government which would include representatives of the nationalist organizations which were committed to the independence of the Territory within the framework of its existing borders. Such a government would have the task of co-operating with the administering Power and the United Nations mission in deciding, as soon as possible, on the practical procedures for the Territory's achievement of independence, and in putting them into effect. Taking into account the realities of the country, the federal structure of the State should be retained and extended to cover the whole of South Arabia. Favourable conditions should also be created for the accomplishment of the mission's task; useful steps would be the lifting of the state of emergency and the limiting of United Kingdom troop movements in the Territory.

41. Those suggestions were without prejudice to the procedures to be agreed upon between the administering Power, the caretaker government, and the United Nations mission. He was confident that the mission would take into account the need to avoid jeopardizing future peace and stability in the country and the region.

42. He associated himself with the appeal addressed to the petitioners by the Saudi Arabian representative to set aside their differences and unite in the work of building their country. His delegation hoped that independence would open up an era of peace and prosperity for South Arabia.

43. Mrs. MENESES DE ALBIZU CAMPOS (Cuba) said that it was 136 years since Captain Haines had taken possession of Aden on behalf of the United Kingdom and annexed it to the so-called "Bombay Presidency". The Bombay Presidency had long since disappeared, but the United Kingdom was still in control of Aden, now a flourishing city. The people of the Territory of Aden had never surrendered and had recently intensified their struggle for independence. The administering Power had now agreed to leave the Territory and dismantle the Aden military base within two years, although as recently as 1956 a United Kingdom spokesman had warned the inhabitants not to aspire to anything beyond a certain degree of self-government.

44. Even since the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the occupying forces had continued to crush patriotic demonstrations, which they described by the out-worn term "terrorism". The days had passed, however, when a country could control a usurped territory thousands of miles away. Today the only legitimate sovereignty that could be recognized in Aden was that of the people of Aden, who had never forfeited their right to exist as a free and independent nation and to control the whole of the Territory. It was shocking to hear the United Kingdom attempting to invoke treaties concluded with a "Federation" which was a colonial creation brought into being for the purpose of obstructing progress to independence. The United Kingdom also invoked certain supposed responsibilities for security, but it was to the United Kingdom alone that the present insecurity in the Territory was attributable. The United Nations resolutions on the question of Aden recognized only three parties: the people of the Territory, the United Nations and the administering Power. The United Kingdom reservations could hardly be intended to facilitate the rapid achievement of complete independence by the Territory, for they would then be superfluous. Since 1960 the administering Power had had an obligation, under General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), to transfer all powers to the people of the Territory without any conditions or reservations. Thus it should have already transferred security power, together with other powers, to the people of the Territory.

45. It was the duty of the occupying Power to facilitate the establishment of representative organs with which it could discuss the terms for its evacuation of the Territory. Under paragraph 8 of Assembly resolution 2023 (XX), the United Kingdom was urged to abolish the state of emergency, repeal all laws restricting public freedom, cease all repressive actions against the people, release political detainees and allow the return of exiles. The administering Power spoke of its responsibilities; in that regard, paragraph 4 of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee on 15 June 1966 reaffirmed that the responsibilities of the administering Power could not be shifted or circumvented through any action by an unrepresentative régime. Paragraph 2, meanwhile, called for non-recognition of independence that was not based on elections held under universal adult suffrage. The administering Power should express its readiness to comply with United Nations resolutions and immediately facilitate the visit to the Territory

of the special mission proposed in paragraph 12 of the Special Committee's resolution.

46. The United Kingdom was not the only Power with interests in Aden. The United States had reached an agreement with the United Kingdom for the construction of a base, perhaps to replace the Aden base. It was in the interests of world peace and security that the illusion in some quarters regarding the possibility of establishing neo-colonialism in theoretically independent territories should be destroyed. It was the duty of the United Nations to ensure that Aden attained genuine political and economic independence and full control over its territory, including the offshore islands.

47. Mr. EREZ (Turkey) said that his country had historic ties with the people of Aden and South Arabia, as with the other Arab countries of the Middle East and Africa. Turkey's main concern in the present situation was for the Territory's achievement of full independence through recognized democratic procedures, and for the well-being of the people of Aden. He agreed broadly with the assessment of recent developments given by the representatives of Saudi Arabia, Ghana, and Kenya. Progress had been made since the Special Committee had considered the question, and the statements of Lord Caradon in the Committee had introduced encouraging new elements. It was incumbent on the United Nations to help South Arabia to proceed to independence along democratic lines, and a United Nations presence in the Territory would help to dispel doubts. Recalling that a sub-committee had been unable to enter the Territory in 1965, he expressed satisfaction at the United Kingdom Government's statement that it would now welcome a mission to the Territory. He noted that most of the petitioners who had appeared before the Committee also favoured such a mission. It was now essential that the various groups in Aden and South Arabia should work together towards the common objective of complete independence.

48. In its resolution on Aden, the Committee should clearly define the terms of reference of the mission. Such a mission should be appointed and dispatched as soon as possible; it should also be enabled to contact all parties in the Territory and thus to obtain a complete and accurate picture of the situation there.

49. The main duty of the United Nations was now to ensure the dispatch of the mission. With the continued co-operation of the United Kingdom and of the South Arabian people as a whole, such a mission would help to avoid unnecessary suffering and loss of life in the

Territory and enable it to achieve independence in a peaceful and democratic manner by 1968.

AGENDA ITEM 57

Question of Territories under Portuguese administration: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (*continued*)* (A/6292, A/6294, A/6300/Rev.1, chap. V; A/6335/Rev.1, A/6337, A/6340, A/C.4/673 and Add.1)

QUESTION OF PROCEDURE

50. Mr. MENDELEVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he wished to make a procedural suggestion in connexion with the item. He recalled that the General Assembly, in paragraph 11 of resolution 2105 (XX), had requested all States and international institutions, including the specialized agencies of the United Nations, to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounced their present policies, and, in paragraph 9 of resolution 2107 (XX), had appealed to all the specialized agencies, in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic or technical assistance so long as the Government of Portugal failed to implement General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In June 1966, however, the Bank had approved two loans to Portugal, amounting to \$30 million. The Special Committee had adopted a resolution on 15 September 1966 (A/6300/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 261) expressing its deep disappointment at that decision and had urged the Bank to co-operate in the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions. He thought that it would be useful if the Bank could arrange for a representative to be present during the Committee's discussions, so that he could explain the Bank's actions.

51. Mr. McCARTHY (Australia) said that his delegation wished to reserve its position on the point raised.

52. The CHAIRMAN said that the Soviet Union representative's suggestion was a useful one. He took note of it and would consider taking the appropriate action.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

*Resumed from the 1635th meeting.