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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 (continued) (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/C.4/646)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. SADI (Jordan) said that the reports before the Committee (A/5800/Rev.1, chap. VI; A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VI) and the testimony of the petitioners showed clearly that the United Kingdom was pursuing the same colonial policies in Aden and South Arabia as it had pursued elsewhere in the past. At the 1361st plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jordan had observed that the United Kingdom had always shown a particular love for the Arabs and a great reluctance to leave them alone; the Foreign Minister had particularly deplored the repressive measures recently adopted by the United Kingdom Government at a time when hopes for progress had been aroused by the visit to the Middle East of a United Kingdom Minister for the purpose of direct contacts. The people of the Middle East had suffered from the effects of United Kingdom colonial policy ever since the United Kingdom had entered the area upon the fall of the Ottoman Empire. The United Kingdom was now attempting to divide up the Territory of Aden in its own interests and to keep power in the hands of those favourable to it.

2. In his delegation's view, the central issue was the United Kingdom military base. The United Kingdom had said that the question of the base would be negotiated with the new Government after independence; it was accordingly doing its best to ensure that the new Government would be one likely to agree to the maintenance of the base. The United Kingdom had promised to give independence to the Territory

by 1968, and earlier if it proved possible—in other words, if the people of the area "co-operated".

3. The Jordan delegation supported the demands of the petitioners that the General Assembly's resolutions should be implemented in full and their request that the wording of any new resolution adopted should be explicit and comprehensive. If the United Kingdom complied with the decisions of the United Nations and showed sincerity in its dealings with the people of the Territory, it would earn the goodwill of the Arab people as a whole.

4. Mr. DUHACEK (Yugoslavia) said that the statements of the petitioners had indicated clearly the wishes of the people of the Territory and their demand for the recognition of fundamental human and national rights, for the holding of free elections under United Nations auspices and for the establishment of a free country comprising Aden and the Aden Protectorates. A comparison of the situation in Aden with that in Southern Rhodesia would show that, where the local authorities defended United Kingdom interests, constitutional obstacles were invoked to show that the United Kingdom Government could not intervene in their affairs, whereas when that was not the case, the same Government found no difficulty in summarily dissolving the local Government. Such policies were incompatible with the United Nations Charter and with the nature of the modern world.

5. The United Kingdom representative had dealt at some length with the United Nations resolutions. In the Yugoslav delegation's view, any solution must be acceptable to the majority of the people. The terms "aggression" and "terrorism" could not be applied to the struggle of a people for independence. The state of emergency declared in Aden was clearly intended to prolong colonial rule in the area. The Conservative Party in the United Kingdom had proposed at its annual conference that the United Kingdom possessions east of Suez should be abandoned, and he hoped that that policy would be adopted by the Labour Government.

6. The demands put forward by the petitioners, which his delegation fully supported, included the demand that the United Kingdom Government should in no circumstances grant independence to Aden and the Aden Protectorates before the holding of elections under United Nations auspices. To hand over power to persons who were not elected representatives would be to create conditions liable to lead to internal strife and repercussions beyond the borders of the Territory. Furthermore, it was difficult to speak of free elections while United Kingdom armed forces were stationed in the country; the military base in Aden should be evacuated before the elections were held. Another prerequisite was that detainees should

be released, exiles allowed to return and the political activities of the popular parties and organizations permitted. All measures contrary to the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights must be rescinded and repressive measures and punitive operations halted.

7. It would be extremely dangerous for the United Kingdom to try to split up the Territory, which, as Mr. Mackawee had explained in detail at the 1528th meeting, included the Eastern and Western Protectorates, the Colony of Aden and the islands off the coast of South Arabia.

8. His delegation would support any resolution aimed at solving the problem of Aden on the basis of justice, democracy and respect for the rights of peoples to self-determination.

9. Mr. BUSNIAK (Czechoslovakia) said that, although since the Second World War the majority of African and Asian peoples had gained independence, the colonialists were still standing firm in some areas, such as Aden and the Protectorates of South Arabia, where no changes had taken place to indicate that the United Kingdom intended to leave the Territory. His delegation fully agreed with the conclusions in the reports before the Committee, which showed that the United Kingdom had done nothing to implement in Aden either the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples or any United Nations resolutions on Aden, in particular General Assembly resolution 1949 (XVIII). The statements of the petitioners, too, had borne that out. Instead, the United Kingdom had increased its campaign of terror in the area and had not hesitated to remove from their posts any who refused to act as puppets of the Colonial Office and demanded the implementation of the resolution, including even the Chief Minister of Aden. In violation of the spirit and letter of the United Nations resolutions and of the wishes of the people of the Territory, the United Kingdom had restricted the activities of political parties and imprisoned or exiled patriots, and was waging a colonial war throughout the Territory against those who demanded that power should be handed over to them. The situation in Aden was extremely serious and was still deteriorating. The Committee should therefore regard the question as one of the greatest urgency.

10. The statement made by the United Kingdom representative at the 1532nd meeting had been an audacious one, but it was a tradition for the colonial Powers to twist the facts. The United Kingdom representative had tried to make out that it was not waging a colonial war, but was merely carrying out security measures to maintain peace and stability, and that the national liberation movements were committing acts of terror and violence which were impeding the progress of the people towards independence. Such juggling with words was not new; it had been heard whenever the colonial Powers had tried to justify their suppression of the national liberation movements in their own interests.

11. It was well known that the whole Arabian peninsula, and especially the southern part, was of primary importance to United Kingdom and international imp-

erialist circles on account of its natural resources of oil and cotton and its strategic position. As The New York Times of 8 May 1964 had pointed out, the Aden base was considered vital for the United Kingdom's shipping route to the Far East, for the defence of its oil interests in the Persian Gulf and as a bastion in the event of trouble in the Middle East, East Africa and the Far East. Previous speakers had spoken of the immense profits which the oil monopolies derived from the Territory while, as the petitioners had confirmed, the local population lived in poverty and need. As for the military base at Aden, which was one of the main problems in the area, the question was not how many thousands of United Kingdom soldiers were stationed there: the main danger to peace and security lay in the fact that it served as a bridge-head for the armed suppression of the people's struggle for freedom in the whole area. From Aden, United Kingdom troops had been sent to Suez in 1956, Kuwait in 1961 and Yemen in 1963. The United Kingdom forces in Aden acted as a watchdog for Oman and the whole of South Arabia and served the interests of United Kingdom and other monopolies, such as Royal Dutch Shell, the British Petroleum Oil Company and the Pan-American Hadhramaut Oil Company, from the Persian Gulf to East Africa. His delegation considered that it would therefore be entirely logical for the Committee to include in its resolution on the subject an unambiguous appeal to the United Kingdom to remove the military base at Aden and withdraw all foreign troops from South Arabia without delay.

12. One argument put forward as an indication of a change in the United Kingdom's attitude was that it had declared its intention of creating a single independent State on the territory of the present so-called Federation of South Arabia by 1968. It was clear, however, that the aim of any such change was to achieve a new type of colonial domination in Aden in order to safeguard the United Kingdom's economic and strategic position in the area with the help of tribal leaders and others who were indifferent to the independent economic and social development of the country. Talk of creating a single independent State was inconsistent with the actions of the United Kingdom authorities in suppressing basic freedoms, imprisoning or exiling the leaders of genuine independence movements and increasing its campaign of terrorism against the population. It was impossible for the people to exercise their right to independence in such circumstances. The Czechoslovak delegation joined others in questioning the sincerity of the United Kingdom.

13. The Czechoslovak delegation considered—and its view was confirmed by the petitioners—that the proclamation of genuine independence need not wait until 1968. It was possible, and essential, to meet the demands of the people and grant them independence by implementing resolution 1949 (XVIII), which set out not only the principles but the methods for achieving a swift democratization of the life of the country by holding general elections throughout the Territory and establishing a representative organ in a unitary State in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the people.

14. His delegation and people were in sympathy with the people of South Arabia in their struggle for freedom from the colonial yoke and for the right to independence. The Committee had a duty to adopt concrete measures in accordance with the demands of the people as expressed by their political representatives, the petitioners who had appeared before it. The United Nations must insist on the speedy implementation of resolution 1949 (XVIII); in particular, it must reaffirm the right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and freedom in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; call upon the United Kingdom to repeal all laws restricting public freedoms, release political detainees and allow the return of political exiles, cease military and police action against the people of the Territory, and hold democratic elections throughout the Territory; and categorically demand the complete and immediate removal of the military base at Aden and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Arabia and the off-shore islands. As the Sub-Committee on Aden had stated in its April 1965 report (A/6000/Rev.1, chap. VI, appendix I), the situation in the area was still critical and explosive and should be closely followed so that, if necessary, it could be drawn to the attention of the Security Council. The Czechoslovak delegation considered that, in view of the present situation, the time had come for the question to be brought to the attention of the Security Council.

15. Mr. LAIDI (Algeria) said that, just as the Committee had been about to take up the question of Aden and the Protectorates, news had been received of a new wave of repression and terror in the area. The United Kingdom Government had suspended the Constitution of Aden and dissolved its Government, the United Kingdom High Commissioner assuming all powers. The Draconian measures of the authorities had provoked a popular reaction, including labour strikes, which had been harshly repressed by the United Kingdom authorities.

16. The critical situation in the Occupied South was the consequence of the determination of the United Kingdom Government to impose its policy and ignore the wishes of the people. Recent events showed that the situation could take on dimensions endangering peace in the region and world security. The military operations of the United Kingdom Government were also a danger to the security of Yemen.

17. Aden had always represented a vital base for the defence of the British Empire. The aim of United Kingdom policy had been to bring about the fragmentation of the area, through the creation of a mosaic of sheikhdoms, amirates and sultanates. The United Kingdom had tried to preserve the tribal system and had recently established an artificial federation in order to strengthen its position. While cutting off the Territory from the surrounding countries, it had opened it up to foreign populations in the hope of weakening the nationalism of the people. Since the discovery of oil in the region, Aden had taken on increased importance for the United Kingdom.

18. The arguments advanced by the United Kingdom Government to justify its arbitrary measures should deceive no one. The fact was that the Aden Government

had refused to act as an accomplice in resisting the people's struggle for liberation. The growing popular resistance had led the United Kingdom Government to make a pretence of giving ground. Efforts to hold consultations between the United Kingdom and representatives of the Territory had repeatedly come to nothing as a result of the failure of the United Kingdom to define clearly the purposes of the meetings in advance and its preference for maintaining a certain confusion regarding its position on the question of the implementation of the United Nations resolutions. The real purpose of such meetings was to enable the United Kingdom Government to gain time. His delegation could place no more hope in the constitutional conference scheduled for December 1965 than in earlier conferences.

19. The United Kingdom's promise to grant independence by 1968 seemed to be a subterfuge. The real aims of the United Kingdom were, firstly, to divide the nationalist movement and grant a pseudo-independence within a neo-colonialist framework; secondly, by so doing, to place a brake on the revolutionary movement among the people; thirdly, to say that the path to a solution lay in discussion and thus to weary the combatants and avoid the application of the principle of self-determination.

20. At the London talks in August 1965, the United Kingdom had refused to heed the demands of the national organizations for self-determination, the preservation of the unity of the territories of the South and the granting of sovereignty to the people through a single central government elected by universal suffrage. The nationalist leaders had insisted on the acceptance of the United Nations resolutions as a basis for discussion, and in particular the repeal of emergency measures, the release of political prisoners and detainees, the repatriation of exiles and the removal of the military base in Aden. The United Kingdom had decided to break off the discussions in the light of the determined attitude of the nationalists. The United Kingdom representative's statement at the Committee's 1532nd meeting had not indicated any change in the attitude of his country.

21. He wished to draw attention to the provisions of the resolution adopted by the Special Committee in May 1965 (A/6000/Rev.1 chap. VI, para. 300), and in particular to operative paragraph 8 concerning the military base in Aden. That base formed an integral part of the imperialist system in the Territory of Aden and it would disappear with the disappearance of that system. Meanwhile the retention of the base was contrary to the principles of self-determination and of national sovereignty and it represented a real danger for the whole region.

22. The solution to the problem before the Committee lay in the faithful implementation of the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1949 (XVIII). The people of the South of Yemen were determined to pursue their struggle until they achieved complete liberation. The United Kingdom's responsibilities towards the United Nations were clear. Yet the United Kingdom failed to comply with the decisions of United Nations bodies and had persistently refused to allow the Sub-Committee on Aden to visit the area. In paragraph 74 of its September 1965 report (A/6000/

Rev.1, chap. VI, appendix II), the Sub-Committee stressed that a clear statement by the United Kingdom accepting the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1949 (XVIII) would help to reduce tension in the area.

23. It was clear that the United Kingdom Government was doing nothing to carry out its declared intention to grant self-determination to the people of South Arabia and that it intended to retain the military base in Aden. It was also refusing to indicate the basis on which the unitary State which it proposed would be established. The repressive operations undertaken by the United Kingdom authorities showed that its aim was not to grant independence until its future presence in the area in a new form had been ensured and its economic interests had been safeguarded.

24. The demands presented by the delegation of nationalists from Aden could help the Committee to reach a realistic conclusion. Then had demanded the immediate implementation of the General Assembly resolutions, particularly resolution 1949 (XVIII); the termination of the state of emergency, the annulment of the Aden Constitution, the repeal of the measures establishing the so-called Federation of South Arabia and the abrogation of such treaties as the Treaty of 1959; the independence and unity of the area, including the islands of Perim, Kamaran, Socotra and Kuria Muria; the sending of a United Nations mission to establish, in co-operation with the League of Arab States, a democratic climate and to supervise elections in the area; the establishment of a central government covering the whole area and representing the people and their political organizations; and the removal of the military base in Aden and other bases in process of construction.

25. The people of Aden had the support of the Algerian people; on the basis of the experience of his own country, he could assure them that courage and determination in the struggle for dignity and independence were always rewarded.

26. Mr. GBEHO (Ghana) said that his delegation was convinced by the clarity and moderation with which the petitioners had set out the facts of the situation in their country that the nationalists were ready and willing to carry out their arduous struggle for freedom and independence with competence and maturity.

27. His delegation had assumed the unpleasant task of condemning the policies pursued in South Arabia by a sister Commonwealth nation because it could not remain indifferent to the harsh treatment meted out to people whose only sin was their desire for a free and independent life.

28. His delegation refuted the United Kingdom contention that the United Nations was not competent to discuss the question of Aden. That argument, which was calculated to enable the United Kingdom to prolong its domination in that country, had already been shown to be false.

29. The picture which the petitioners had given of the corrupt United Kingdom colonial Administration in Aden, the use of military force against defenceless

women and children, and the squalor resulting from 127 years of United Kingdom imperialism was heart-rending. The United Kingdom could no longer deny those charges, for they had been confirmed by many sources, including the United Kingdom Press and radio.

30. The struggle against colonialism and imperialism had reached its peak and the United Kingdom could not prevent the achievement of self-determination by the people of its colonies. The use of force to ensure conformity with colonial policies was improper and must be condemned by all self-respecting nations. His delegation deplored the state of emergency in Aden, the genocide that was being carried out by the United Kingdom forces and the intransigence of the United Kingdom in regard to the wishes of the people of South Arabia to be free and independent. The familiar United Kingdom tactic of "divide and rule" was the cause of the present situation in South Arabia. If United Kingdom justice and fair play formed the bulwark of democracy, as the United Kingdom would like people to believe, there seemed no justification for holding elections in Aden alone, where only 300,000 of the 1.5 million inhabitants of South Arabia lived; that was merely part of the imperialist strategy to split the solidarity of the people for its own ulterior motives. His delegation fully agreed with the nationalists that any democratic election should embrace the entire Territory. It deplored the plan whereby corrupt and subservient sultans and sheikhs would decide the political fate of the tribes in the remote areas and considered that elections should be based on the principle of "one man, one vote".

31. The United Kingdom must, and would, withdraw from South Arabia, but the plan to sow the seeds of division and inequality in the Territory constituted a threat to the future stability of the entire region and must be stopped immediately, with the assistance of the United Nations. The reasons in favour of the unity of the entire region were far more cogent than those in favour of separation. The people of Aden, the Eastern and Western Protectorates and the offshore islands were not only one people geographically; they were of the same ethnic group, spoke the same language, shared the same culture and had the same wish to be free and independent. Historically, they had been one and they wished to remain one, with a unitary form of government instead of the federation that was being forced on them.

32. It was natural to ask why the United Kingdom was so stubbornly refusing to relinquish power in the area in the face of the demands of the nationalists for self-determination. The answer was simple; the newly found oil, the country's potential for increased wealth, and the multitude of military bases in the area were the root causes of the refusal to grant independence to South Arabia. Reason demanded that the wealth of the country should be enjoyed by the people themselves and not by any foreign Power.

33. Time and again, the President of Ghana had warned the world against the proliferation of military bases, particularly in the under-developed countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, because of the incalculable threat that they posed to international

peace and security. Yet the States Members of the United Nations which appeared to be concerned with the problem of world peace were the very ones which were installing military bases all over the world. Those States always defended the existence of the bases by claiming that they helped the economy of the countries in which they were situated. It was common knowledge, however, that the bases imposed a false economy on the people and represented a constant threat to their peace and security. That was even more so in the case of South Arabia, since the military installations were used directly and frequently for attacks against the people for daring to demand freedom. The maintenance and proliferation of military bases were contrary to the requirements of peace, and the United Kingdom and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization must respect the wishes of the people of South Arabia.

34. Member States were united by the principles of equality and respect for the Charter, which reflected the aspirations of all mankind. The United Kingdom was a signatory to the Charter, yet it had not heeded the Organization's call to put an immediate end to its bankrupt colonial policy. Almost two years had elapsed since the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1949 (XVIII) on Aden but the United Kingdom Government had still not complied with its provisions. Furthermore, it refused to co-operate with the Sub-Committee on Aden and to allow that Committee to visit the Territory in pursuance of the task entrusted to it by the Special Committee. If the United Kingdom had not cheated the people of the Territory for almost a century and a half by robbing them of their wealth while the rightful owners lived in poverty, disease and illiteracy, and if it was not ashamed of the corrupt administration it had set up through colonial advisers, puppet sheikhs and tribal chiefs, why was it afraid of a United Nations mission? The answer was simple: the United Kingdom could not bear the light that an impartial United Nations mission would shed on its misdeeds in the Territory. Whether it liked it or not, however, the facts would be known and the responsibility for such injustices would be laid at its door.

35. The United Nations must spare no effort in bringing pressure to bear on countries like the United Kingdom to put an end to repressive measures against nationalist leaders and to grant immediate independence to their colonies. His delegation invited the Committee to endorse all the requests that the people of South Arabia had made to the United Nations. It should call upon the United Kingdom to introduce universal adult suffrage throughout the Territory immediately; to end the state of emergency in the area and lift the curfews; to release all political prisoners and detainees and allow all political exiles to return to their country; to cease repressive action against nationalist leaders and movements; to abolish the puppet régimes of corrupt sultans and sheikhs and allow the peoples of South Arabia to choose their own rulers according to their traditions; to withdraw all United Kingdom military forces from the region and remove its bases; and to grant immediate independence to the entire Territory.

36. Mr. GOLOVKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) thanked the petitioners for the valuable information which they had given on conditions in the Territory. His delegation admired the courage and fortitude displayed by the petitioners in the difficult struggle for freedom and independence. There had been many examples of former petitioners and exiles who had subsequently become Heads of State or occupied highly responsible posts.

37. The question before the Committee was a flagrant example of the way in which a highly developed Power trampled on the rights and freedoms of the people of another State. It was difficult to believe that in the present day and age a highly developed country should treat the people of a small country in such an inhuman and barbaric way merely because they wanted to live in the same way as did the majority of peoples of the world. His delegation had hoped that in his statement the United Kingdom representative would answer the following questions, that were of concern to everyone: What conclusions had the United Kingdom Government drawn from the abnormal situation in the Territory under its administration? Did that Government intend to carry out the decisions of the international Organization of which it was a Member? Did it propose to heed the unanimous voice of world opinion? Unfortunately, no answers had been forthcoming. On the contrary, the United Kingdom representative had tried to blame the people of the Territory for all the shameful acts that the colonial authorities were committing there. It was clear from the United Kingdom representative's statement that the Labour Government was following the colonial policy which it had inherited from the Conservative Government. The United Kingdom representative had used the same hackneyed phrases and made the same ambiguous promises to the effect that at some date in the distant future when conditions were favourable, the United Kingdom might condescend to grant independence to South Arabia. In the meantime, United Kingdom aircraft were bombing peaceful villages, United Kingdom troops were burning crops, destroying cattle and killing people. It was difficult to see how daily bombings, imprisonment, police torture-chambers and repressive laws could help to prepare the people for independence. There was a flagrant contradiction between the words and the deeds of the United Kingdom Government.

38. The facts showed that the United Kingdom Government was ignoring the opinions of the United Nations, refusing to comply with the decisions of the General Assembly and its subsidiary organs and going against the United Nations resolutions. There could be no justification—ideological, economic or any other—for intervention by one State in the internal affairs of another. Only the people of the country concerned had the right to decide questions affecting their own internal development. That was a basic principle of international law and of the United Nations Charter; it had been confirmed on a number of occasions by the decisions and resolutions of the Fourth Committee.

39. The United Kingdom had had sufficient time in which to prepare the peoples of its colonies for independence. It was therefore odd to hear the United Kingdom representative say that the people of South

Arabia were not yet capable of administering their own country and that they could not be granted independence until 1968. Resolution 1514 (XV) said, *inter alia*, that inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence. Without the presence of the United Kingdom, the people of South Arabia would have made rapid progress in all fields.

40. Not only had the United Kingdom failed to fulfil a single provision of General Assembly resolution 1949 (XVIII) or of the resolutions of the Special Committee, but it had intensified its measures of repression against the local patriots, promulgated a series of Draconian laws and was virtually in a state of war with the local population. The United Kingdom representative's statement that the terrorists were to be blamed for the situation did not stand up to analysis. The truth was that the entire population had risen against the colonialists. The United Kingdom representative would surely not claim that the former Chief Minister of Aden State and his fellow petitioners were terrorists. They had spoken, not of terrorism, murder and bloodshed, but of the desire of their people to live in freedom. The truth of the matter was that the United Kingdom Government was endeavouring by all means to preserve its position in that part of the continent, to retain the military base in Aden and to increase the profits which the monopolies derived from exploiting the peoples and natural resources of the Territory.

41. The ominous role of the military base in Aden was well known. It had been used on several occasions to crush national liberation movements in the Middle East and Africa, and it represented a direct threat to neighbouring Arab countries. After the events in Aden in December 1963, the English newspaper The Observer had written that the value of Aden from the military point of view had increased after the loss of the Suez Canal and of the bases in Iraq and Kenya. Aden had thus become the last base between Cyprus and Singapore, the centre of the defence net covering the entire Near and Middle East. The petitioners and the people of South Arabia categorically demanded the immediate liquidation of the military base in Aden. General Assembly resolution 1949 (XVIII) pointed out that the maintenance of the military base in Aden was prejudicial to the security of the region and that its early removal was therefore desirable. Experience showed, however, that the mere expression of a desire was not enough. The General Assembly should unconditionally demand the liquidation of the military base in Aden and the other colonial outposts, since their existence was not only contrary to the wishes of the people but a threat to peace and security in the entire region.

42. On 25 September 1965, the United Kingdom authorities had arbitrarily suspended the Aden Constitution, dissolved the Council of Ministers, and transferred all power to the British High Commissioner. The Committee could not overlook such a situation and must denounce the colonialists, who were applying the law of the jungle against the patriots. The United Kingdom representative had tried to convince the Committee that its Government

was constantly concerned with the interests of the people of South Arabia and that it was seeking ways and means of settling the crisis and granting independence to the people. The only correct thing for the United Kingdom Government to do was to leave the Territory and allow the people of South Arabia to decide their own future. His delegation considered that the people of South Arabia were fully capable of drawing up a genuinely democratic constitution, creating their own State institutions and administering their own country.

43. In conclusion, the Ukrainian delegation assured the members of the Committee that it would support even the most radical measures designed to enable the people of South Arabia to achieve freedom and independence.

44. Mr. GIMENEZ MELO (Argentina) said that it was clear from the important statements which the petitioners had made and from the documents before the Committee that there had been little progress in the Territory since the question of Aden had first come before the United Nations. That was due, in large part, to the reluctance of the administering Power to comply with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1949 (XVIII), which set forth the principles and methods whereby the people of Aden could exercise their right to self-determination and achieve independence. His delegation was pleased to note that the United Kingdom intended to grant independence to the Territory by 1968 at the latest.

45. In his statement at the 1532nd meeting the United Kingdom representative had given a picture of the events and the situation in Aden which differed fundamentally from that presented by the petitioners. The Argentine delegation felt that the most effective way of showing how matters stood would have been to allow the Sub-Committee on Aden to visit the Territory. The administering Power had, however, systematically opposed such a visit. The Argentine delegation considered it essential that the United Kingdom should comply fully with General Assembly resolution 1949 (XVIII). It shared the opinion of the Sub-Committee on Aden that the immediate objective of the administering Power should be to hold general elections in the Territory. Those elections should be held before independence and with the effective presence of the United Nations as a guarantee to the people of Aden and the entire world that the legitimate aspirations of the inhabitants of the Territory would be respected.

46. The Committee should also give special attention to the question of the military base. Argentina had always supported the principle of the inviolability of the sovereignty of States and accordingly opposed the establishment of foreign military bases on its territory. Although it did not consider that the existence of such bases necessarily constituted a danger to international peace and security, they could in some cases be an additional obstacle in the way of the exercise by States of their sovereign rights. His Government recognized, however, the right of every State, once it had become fully sovereign, to decide all questions relating to the installation of foreign military bases. His delegation felt strongly that the policy of the administering Power should

not be influenced by factors that would only delay the recognition of the sovereign rights of peoples to determine their own destinies.

47. His delegation would support any draft resolution designed to achieve the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

47. Mr. ALAINI (Yemen), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statement made by the United Kingdom representative at the 1532nd meeting had revealed nothing new or surprising. The United Kingdom position was indefensible. On the one hand, the United Kingdom saw fit to dissect the United Nations resolutions, accepting some parts, which it interpreted in its own way, and rejecting the rest, while contending that it accepted the principle of those resolutions that the people should be free: on the other hand, it imprisoned or exiled people, burned villages and met any resistance with further terrorism.

49. The United Kingdom representative had said that it was his Government's policy to bring together a score of protected States with the Colony of Aden to form a single State. The whole region had been one with the North until the colonialists had dissected it by creating boundaries and making artificial States out of tribes. The United Kingdom representative had talked about the people's resistance in terms of terrorism, while his country was occupying the Territory by force of arms; and about legality, constitutionalism and people's representation, while his country was ruling the Territory with the most brutal methods ever invented by colonialism.

50. The United Kingdom representative had said that it was impossible to hold a referendum or plebiscite to consult the people until there were proposals on which the people could vote. The United Nations resolutions on Aden set forth the principles and the methods for their implementation. The various questions that the United Kingdom representative had mentioned, such as whether the country should be a monarchy or a republic and what its form of government should be, were all questions which could be easily answered by full implementation of those resolutions under United Nations supervision.

51. The United Kingdom representative had contended that his Government had no power over the various States of the Aden Protectorates. That was untrue, for by treaty every sultan, sheikh and amir of the region was obliged to accept United Kingdom advice, and in practice any of them who wished to remain in power had to obey United Kingdom orders. The fate of one of the petitioners, Sultan Al-Fadhli, and his family, was proof of that.

52. The United Kingdom representative had said that the future of the military base at Aden was a matter for an elected representative government to decide once the Territory was independent. He wondered whether that meant a government representative of the people of South Arabia or of the United Kingdom. The colonial Power was so anxious to retain the base that it was desperately trying to create a puppet government and a false independence in order to guarantee it. It was unlikely that the United Kingdom could suddenly become so interested

in the opinion of the people concerning the removal of a base which it had built without consulting the people and for the purpose of suppressing the people. They were the same people who today were resisting the presence of the United Kingdom in the Territory. Their representatives, who had negotiated with the United Kingdom Government in London, were no longer recognized as such by the United Kingdom, but had they given in to the United Kingdom's demands they would have been clothed with all the legality, constitutionality and legitimacy of the people's representatives. The real aim of the United Kingdom Government was to create a government which would represent the opinion and aspirations of the Colonial Office, and it was only to such puppet government that it would grant independence and negotiate on the future of the base. Whenever possible, the people had spoken out against the United Kingdom occupation, exploitation, terrorism and military bases. If there were still any doubt on that point, the United Kingdom should allow the United Nations to carry out a plebiscite and allow the Sub-Committee on Aden to visit the Territory: it should repeal the repressive laws and find out what the people themselves had to say.

53. The people's armed resistance to the United Kingdom, which the United Kingdom representative had described as a campaign of terrorism and violence, was the result, not the cause, of the United Kingdom's repressive measures and tyrannical laws. The people had resorted to armed resistance because they had no other means to defend themselves. The Aden delegation to the London Working Party had insisted that the questions of the military base and the emergency laws should be taken up first because it was convinced that it could not deal with the people's aspirations when the people were in prison or being bombed or exiled or forbidden to speak. The United Kingdom representative had said that the Aden delegation had been responsible for the failure of the London Working Party which, he claimed, had been convened to discuss the methods of forming the legislative and executive organs of the new State. He would like to know on what basis the Aden delegation had been authorized to discuss such matters if, as the United Kingdom maintained, its members had represented no one but themselves. The question could be settled if the United Kingdom would permit the implementation of operative paragraph 8 of resolution 1949 (XVIII) and hold general elections.

54. The crux of the matter was that the United Kingdom would not accept any solution which did not coincide with its own economic and strategic interests. That was clear from the statement of the United Kingdom representative, who had put forward nothing but superficial arguments.

55. He urged the Committee to include in its forthcoming resolution on Aden an appeal to all peoples who loved freedom and peace to assist the people of the Territory in their struggle for self-determination and freedom. The resolution should, *inter alia*, deplore the refusal of the United Kingdom Government to implement the United Nations resolution concerning Aden; deplore United Kingdom attempts to impose false governments and puppet régimes and deplore the repressive measures and emergency laws; reaf-

firm the right of the people to self-determination and freedom from colonial rule; state that the presence of a military base in Aden and the rest of the Territory, including the islands, was a threat to the freedom of the Territory and to the peace and security of the whole region and that the immediate removal of the base was therefore imperative; call upon the administering Power to repeal all emergency laws and all laws and measures restricting public freedom, to release all political prisoners and detainees, to allow the return of those exiled for their political activities, to cease forthwith all military operations against the people of the Territory and to take the necessary steps for immediate and complete military withdrawal from the whole Territory; further call upon the administering Power to enable the people of the Territory to establish a provisional government and a representative organ by general elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage, with full respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, under the effective supervision of the United Nations,

and to enable that provisional government, with the co-operation of the United Nations, to conduct a plebiscite for self-determination, on the basis of universal adult suffrage; and, lastly, call upon all Member States and the International Red Cross to give all possible assistance to the injured, refugees and victims resulting from United Kingdom military operations against the people of the Territory.

56. Mr. BROWN (United Kingdom) said that he reserved the right to reply later in greater detail to the statement just made by the representative of Yemen, but he would like to make it clear that it was not his Government's aim to create a puppet government with which to negotiate about the military base. His Government's principal objective was to grant independence to the people of the Territory on the basis which commanded the widest possible measure of support.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.