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TRIBUNE, JUNE 19, 1964

# THIS CONFERENCE IS A FARCE

DUNCAN SANDYS welcomes  
the unrepresentative representa-  
tives to the Conference on  
Aden.

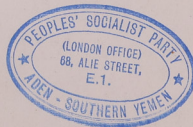


says ABDULLAH AL ASNAG

July, 1964

CENTRE FOR ARAB GULF STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

DAR EL-HANA Press — Cairo.



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**THE TRUTH  
OF THE  
LONDON CONFERENCE**

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**Mr. Abdulla Alasnag's Speech  
at the Commonwealth Writers of Britain  
Luncheon on 16.6.64**

THE TRUTH  
OF THE  
LONDON CONFERENCE

Mr. Abdulla Alimani's Speech  
to the Commonwealth Writers of Britain  
London on 18th Nov.

The Peoples' Socialist Party delegates and myself are grateful to you for allowing us the privilege and indeed the honour to address your association today on questions relating to the political and constitutional fiasco in Southern Yemen (Aden and its Western and Eastern Protectorates).

As you are probably aware, Souther Yemen is further divided into numerous states as follows :

1. Aden Colony : Population 300,000, Area 75 Square Miles.
2. Western Aden Protectorates : 19 States, emirates and Sheikdoms, Population 700,000.
3. Eastern Aden Protectorates : 4 Sultanates, Population 400,000. The total area of the Aden Protectorates including the off-shore island of Kamaran, Perim, Kuria Muria and Socotra is 112,000 Square Miles. The total population is 1,400,000. This is a rough estimate, since no census was ever taken in the Protectorates.

Our mission here, during Mr. Sandys unconstitutional conference at Lancaster House is of mutual prime importance to our people and the British people. This luncheon is therefore a

good opportunity for us to inform and explain to you as representatives of the Press our opposition to this unconstitutional conference and our people's just demands and natural rights to self-determination, liberation from colonial rule and democracy as embodied in the U.N. resolution, particularly Resolution No. 1949 (18).

We did not come to London for a picnic as Mr. Sandys friends did. We have no time for that. Neither did we come to beg to be included in this conference or lobby for it. Our mission is to expose it, to shed light on it, and to warn of the serious consequences of its outcome, whatever these may be and which in our opinion has already been worked out by the Colonial Office to suit its Colonial and imperialistic designs.

The other aspect of our mission is to tell you, the members of Parliament, the fraternal progressive organisations and the British public at large what we and our people want. The P.S.P., we are proud to note, has been universally recognised as a "mass" party, the one and only true representative of our people in Aden and its Protectorates and the embodiment of their aspirations. Even the British Government and its local Administration know that and admit it. Should further proof be needed, let there be a free General Election for the whole area on the basis of universal adult suffrage under adequate U.N. presence and supervision.

Before I go any further, I would if I may, shed some light on the true nature of this unconstitutional conference. There is only one side represented in this conference, and that is Britain and its stooges. The other side, that is our people, is not.

The Sultans, Sheiks and nominated ministers do not represent anyone but themselves. They are nothing more than disreputable paid servants to Mr. Sandys and Sir Kennedy Trevaskis. I will refrain from going into the personal history of each one of them lest you be shocked or get indigestion. I shall, however, deal with them as two so-called Delegations of Aden state and the so-called "Federation."

The Aden delegation is composed of four individuals headed by the so-called Chief minister of Aden, who was by the way nominated to the Aden Legislative Council by Sir Kennedy

Trevaskis when the said Legislative Council met as an Electoral College in January 1963 after the forced accession of Aden to the so-called Federation. This Legislative Council itself, legally demised in December 1962. It was resurrected and its life extended first to December 1963, and now to July 1964. The Finance Minister of Aden state was nominated to the Aden Legislative Council at the same time as his Chief and through the same procedure, on secondment or loan from the British Petroleum Refinery in Aden. As for the other two, one of them was elected under the 1958/59 restricted franchise which was boycotted by 76% of the registered voters. The other 24% were mainly Commonwealth citizens. The fourth minister was elected unopposed in a bye-election, boycotted by the voters.

The Federal delegation is composed of an anachronistic collection of feudal sultans, sheiks and emirs, some of whom, though illiterate, are ministers of the so-called federation. They are British nominees, whose very existence as sheiks, sultans and emirs rests on the then British governor and the present High Commissioner. As long as they toe the line and do as they are told, their positions and privileges are assured, otherwise they are deposed on the pretext of being "insane" or unco-operative. For example, the present Sultan of the Fadli state who is at the same time "Federal Minister of National Guidance and Information was made sultan towards the end of 1962 to replace his cousin Sultan Abdulla bin Othman, who was duly declared "sick" following differences of opinion between him and the present High Commissioner.

Similarly, the sultan of Lahej, who is at the same time Federal Minister of Defence, replaced a relative of his in 1958, who was in turn replacing his brother who was declared "insane" and is now living in Saudi Arabia. Again, in Lower Yafai state, the man to replace his father as sultan was removed and falsely accused of being difficult and corrupt. Following the death of the old man, his son, a minor, and now at school in England was declared sultan. The so-called minister of external affairs whose Ministry is composed of himself and a junior clerk made now a permanent Undersecretary, was himself a Junior Assistant Political Adviser under Sir Kennedy Trevaskis, who was then the British Agent and Adviser of the Western Aden Protectorates when the Federation was first mooted in 1959, he was appointed as Finance Minister and representative of Lower

Aulaqi state. With the treaty of Accession of 1962, he was made a minister of external affairs.

Notwithstanding these examples, none of the rulers of the Protectorates, whether those in the Federation or outside it, was ever elected by the tribesmen in a direct general election. Therefore, they themselves, cannot claim to have the allegiance or support of our citizens in their state. On top of this, it is a well-known fact, that the real ruler with whom all authority is vested, are the British advisers. These advisers are of such calibre and mentality and so power hungry as to think of themselves as little Lawrence of Arabia. They allow the sultans and sheiks a free hand only in practicing corruption and despotism so as to get rich by devious and dishonourable methods in return for their acquiescence and signatures, and in many cases thumb-prints to whatever is presented to them.

The so-called Supreme Council of the Federation, which is meant to be equivalent to a Council of Ministers is completely under the thumb of the High Commissioner, who attends all its meetings and directs its deliberations. No minutes of meetings are kept or recorded. Many orders, actions and policies are quite often made fait accompli by a minister acting on his own without the prior agreement or consultation of the Supreme Council. Moreover, all important decisions and orders such as closing the non-existent borders with the Yemen Arab Republic are made by the High Commissioner in the name of the so-called Minister of the Interior, or Internal Security or Defence who are informed about them later.

I think you would agree, ladies and gentlemen, that these facts show up these individuals in their true colours as stooges who can not and should not speak in the name of our people. Mr. Sandys, it is regrettable to say, refused to face facts, listen to the voice of reason and accept the judgement of world public opinion as represented by the United Nations. With the British Government divided in its Counsel as it is, Mr. Sandys is bent on pushing through his Colonial and imperialistic plans. This out-moded policy of complete and flagrant disregard of the wishes of our people and international concern is bound to add to the present instability and injustice in the area, and lead, I am afraid to say to worse than Radfan.

With the reliable information in our possessions, I can confidently reveal to you Mr. Sandys plans. These plans aim at consolidating and extending the present Federation — which is really a confederation — to include the rest of the Aden Eastern and Western Protectorates, particularly Hadramut and Mahra state, where the Americans are prospecting for oil at the moment. In three to five years from now, the whole Federation would be declared a Republic with a President elected by Electoral Colleges predominantly tribal. The President whose term of office would be five years, would wield considerable powers including the dissolution of the National Council — the new name to be given to the present Federal Council — and the refusal to give his assent to laws passed by the National Council and the Council of States — the new name to be given to the present Federal Supreme Council. This Council of States will be composed of one Representative from each State, which most certainly will be the Sultan or Sheik himself or his nominee. The powers of this Council of States, including among other things, approval, amendment or rejection of Laws passed by the National Council. It would be the only body to ratify treaties, and approve, amend or reject orders of the Minister of Internal Security should the matter be referred to it by a ruler of state. The election of members of the National Council would be through Electoral Colleges and not by direct elections on the basis of adult suffrage. Finally this proposed state, will be declared sovereign and independent in a period of not less than three and not more than five years. As part of this deal, a Treaty of Defence will be signed to facilitate Britain's self-delegated so-called responsibilities and commitments throughout the world.

Article 5 of the 1959 Treaty of the Federation, which concerns the compulsory acceptance of British advice will be revoked so as to facilitate the claim that the territory is self-governing and that Britain is no longer responsible for its affairs as in the case of Southern Rhodesia. At the same time, Britain would disclaim its sovereignty over Aden Colony the moment these constitutional changes become ratified, so as to elevate its status to that of the states of its Protectorates.

It is pretty obvious, ladies and gentlemen, that the whole purpose of the British Government's plans is to evade the U.N.

resolution and the pressure of world public opinion and to delude itself in its own curious way that it is leading the territory towards independence. And what a shaky and fake independence.

This is the substance of the Sandys plan, which is being now discussed at the conference. You can rest assured that they will be agreed upon and implemented with unusual speed. But what will this implementation mean to our people? And what would be the consequences? We believe that Britain is and will still be solely responsible before our people and the world for the serious and grave consequence of these plans. Our people will most certainly resist them with all possible means at their disposal. Britain will have to use force to implement them. There will be more than one Radfan with resultant great loss of both Arab and British lives and money. I, therefore, solemnly warn and declare, and it is no idle threat, that our party might no longer be in a position to confine our people to a peaceful struggle. This, however, should in no way be construed to mean that our party has abandoned its basic policy of attaining our aims by peaceful methods.

I turn now, ladies and gentlemen, to speak of the principles and aims of the Peoples' Socialist Party. We believe in Arab nationalism and Arab Unity. President Nasser is the recognised true leader of the Arab people, whom we greatly respect. As for our policies, they are solely dictated by the interests of our people. It is ridiculous to put the blame of the grave situation pertaining in our part of the Arab world at the door-step of President Nasser, since it is the natural and inevitable result of the chains of mistakes, maladministration, injustice, criminal neglect and repressive policies practised daily by the British Authorities in the area. One thing, you and the British people must be clear about, and that is our people want to liberate themselves completely from British Colonial rule in all its forms and guises. Our people firmly believe in this right, and have the backing and support of 77 member states of the United Nations. In this respect, it is worth mentioning here the extra sensitivity, misinformation and poisoned rumours emanating from certain official and unofficial British quarters here and in Aden regarding our policy of Natural Yemen.

If Enosis in the case of Cyprus, the East African Federation in the case of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Euro-

pean unity in the case of Europe, are necessary and right for economic and political reasons, then our policy of Natural Yemen is equally necessary and right especially that it would be based on popular and democratic reasons. Anyone who takes the trouble to look ahead into the future of our part of the Arab world must come to the conclusion of the inevitability of Arab Unity. In our case, the most practical step for Arab Unity is Unity first with the Yemen Arab Republic on the basis mentioned above.

Furthermore, we believe that democratic institutions should be set up for the people to express themselves freely on this and other matters which vitally concerns them and their future. That is why our people with all their different political shades, are unanimous in their demand for the speedy implementation of United Nations Resolution No. 1949 (18), as the only practical and peaceful solution. If the British Government is sincere in its claim to lead the territory to genuine independence, why then ignore world public opinion, and fight shy of implementing the said U.N. Resolution, especially that Britain is a founder member of the U.N. and as such is expected to respect and abide by its resolutions.

In our memorandum to Mr. Sandys submitted on the 8th of this month, we went further to suggest the practical steps to be taken to implement this resolution and we put forward our plans for the structural and constitutional changes necessary to fulfil our peoples' cherished aims in freedom, unity and socialism.

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**HOW TO IMPLEMENT UN RESOLUTION ?**  
**PEOPLES' SOCIALIST PARTY PLANS**  
**FOR INDEPENDENCE**

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The United Nations Resolution No. 1949 (18) concerning the right of the people of Southern Yemen (Aden and its protectorates) to self-determination and freedom from Colonial rule, was further elaborated on by the P.S.P. Memorandum to Mr. Sandys, Colonial and Commonwealth Secretary, on 8.6.64, as follows :

1. The necessity of the presence in the area — and at least a year prior to the date of the general elections in Aden and the Protectorates — of an international body consisting of representatives from selected countries and sent by the United Nations to bring about a free and favourable climate for the political organisations to exercise their activities and propagate their causes without undue influence and restrictions.

2. Each state of the many states in our Occupied South shall elect representatives to the Central Legislative Assembly in proportion to the population of each such state on condition that the total members of the Central Legislative Assembly shall represent the citizens of the whole South by one to a definite number of citizens.

3. Each state shall have a governor and a governorate (county) council appointed by the Central Government provided that the governor and the governorate (county) council shall be resident citizens of each state and all are responsible to the provisional central government.

4. Each state shall have one or more municipal councils depending on the area and population of each state with wide powers in municipal affairs provided that in states where tribalism prevails representatives from each tribe shall be elected.

5. The central legislative council shall nominate from its members a provisional central government to exercise *inter alia* the following powers :

a. To take over the administrative powers from the British Administration in the area under the supervision of the United Nations.

b. To fix a date for independence in consultation with Her Majesty's Government provided such date shall be within two years from the date of elections.

c. Self-determination shall be conducted immediately on the day of independence by a popular referendum as to whether to join the Yemen Arab Republic (North) or not under the supervision of the United Nations.

**SOUTH ARABIAN STUDENTS CONDEMN CONFERENCE**

At the end of the historic peaceful demonstration held in London on the 7th June 1964 by the members of the South Arabia Students and Scholars Union in the U.K, and the Republic of Ireland, the Arab Workers Union and the Arab Students Union against the fabricated, so-called "Constitutional Conference" on Aden & Aden Protectorates' future the following resolution was adopted :

**We denounce** the unconstitutional conference on Aden & the Protectorates that is to take place in London on 9th June 1964 as a flagrant disregard of our People's legitimate rights and wishes to live in **FREEDOM, UNITY, and SOCIALISM.**

That the outcome of this Conference is not binding on our People, **in any shape or form.**

**We appeal** to every freedom loving man and woman to voice out his or her support to bring an end to the inhuman war in Radfan.

**We demand** of the British Government to respect and implement United Nations Resolutions on Aden, particularly Resolution No. 1949 (XVIII) of 11th December 1963.

BRITISH PRESS REPORTING  
ON THE ACTIVITIES OF P.S.P. DELEGATION IN LONDON

"TROUBLE" IF ADEN TALKS CONTINUE

By Patrick Keatley, our Commonwealth Correspondent

("Guardian" — 13.6.1964)

The possibility that there may be further internal disorders in the Aden protectorate, on the scale of the Radfan rebellion, was put directly to the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary last night in a telegram from the Adeni nationalist leader, Mr. Abdullah Al Asnag.

The message to Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Sandys describes the present round table talks in London as an "unconstitutional conference" which should be terminated, and says that the talks are "definitely leading to serious consequences."

Mr. Sandys is hardly the man to respond to a technique of diplomacy he threat. Nevertheless, it must be recognised that this somewhat desperate message from the Aden PSP is far from being the first such attempt in British colonial history to brow-beat the responsible Minister in London.

Even a leader as temperamentally mild as Dr. Kenneth Kaunda was moved, three years ago, to issue the warning to the then Colonial Secretary that failure to revise the Northern Rhodesian Constitution might provoke demonstrations that would, by comparison, make Mau Mau look like a children's picnic.

Close study

It should be noted—though indeed this is a point already appreciated in Whitehall—that Mr. Al Asnag and his colleagues

of the Aden PSP have since 1959 been making a close study of the recent political history of British Africa, particularly the campaigns of Dr. Banda and Dr. Kaunda.

Last night's message contains a reminder that when Mr. Sandys was recently in Aden, and received a joint deputation from the Aden PSP and the Aden TUC, the spokesman for the two organisations sought to impress on him "the need to recognise natural rights of people in Aden and the protectorates to self-determination and democracy."

The telegram also asserts that the present London conference, being attended by four ministers from Aden Colony and 13 hereditary or nominated sheikhs from the mainland, is an artificial affair of no validity. A copy of the message is being forwarded by the Aden PSP office in London to Mr. Harold Wilson.

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## MOVE TO END ARABIAN TALKS DEADLOCK

High Commissioner in meetings with delegates

### ADEN LEADER'S WARNING

From Our Commonwealth Correspondent

("The Scotsman" — 17.6.1964)

London, Tuesday

Sir Kennedy Trevasakis, Britain's High Commissioner in the South Arabian Federation, stepped in today to try to break the deadlock that has arisen in the South Arabian conference here. He had separate meetings with the delegates from Aden Colony and from the other federal states, who are differing on the question of how fast democratic institutions should be introduced to the federation. There has been no plenary session of the conference for a week.

Meanwhile Mr. Abdullah al Asnag, the leader of the People's Socialist Party in Aden, was telling the Commonwealth Writers of Britain today how, according to his information, the conference was going to end. The P.S.P. is the largest nationalist organisation in Aden, but it is not represented at the conference.

He said the "unconstitutional conference" would agree that the federation would become independent in three or five years. It would be a republic, with the President elected by an electoral college. Britain would remain in close treaty relations with the new state, but would relinquish its sovereignty over Aden Colony.

#### "Expose" Motive

He added that the sultanates and sheikhdoms of the former Eastern Aden Protectorate that were not at present members of the federation would be incorporated into it. In some of them

American companies are prospecting for oil. His information about the likely results of the conference came from "discussions in hotel halls."

Mr. al Asnag said the purpose of his trip here was to expose the conference as being one at which the people of the territory were not represented, and to warn of the possible serious consequences of its outcome. "Our party might no longer be in a position to confine our people to a peaceful struggle," he said. "There could be more than one Radfan."

There was every indication that the Aden elections, due before October, might be postponed for a third time, he maintained. His party had not yet decided whether or not to fight the elections if they were held on time.

Asked if it was the policy of his party to seek union with Yemen, Mr. al Asnag said that Arab unity was ultimately inevitable, and a link between Aden and Yemen would be the first step towards this. But it did not form part of the party's immediate objectives.

#### "Colonialism"

It was absurd to blame the troubles of the federation on Egypt's President Nasser, he went on. "Nasser is a leader of the Arab people whom we all respect. But we derive our inspiration from the wishes of our people. We take instructions from nowhere."

The primary aim of his party was to rid the whole of South Arabia of colonialism. In particular he criticised the British advisers of the "unrepresentative and corrupt" rulers of the federal states saying they saw themselves as "little Lawrence of Arabia."

Yet another of the seemingly endless stream of South Arabian nationalist parties whose leaders are now in London issued a statement today. It was the People's Congress in Hadramut — a part of the Eastern Aden protectorate, not a member of the federation.

The statement, from O. S. Baabbad, the congress President, declared that the current conference would not serve in the interest of the people. It called on Britain to implement the United Nations resolution on South Arabia.

It went on : "The administrative power which holds the responsibilities of protecting the interests of our people has failed to carry out its responsibilities properly to our people's rights. Such failure has pushed the rulers to interpret our desires wrongly and it solved its several faults by grave faults which made the matter more complicated and difficult."

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the (that) that our party may no longer be in a position to  
confine our people to a peaceful struggle."

Hearing in Parliament House at the reconstructed  
Arab Republic of South Arabia on the 17th of the month of  
the date of the 17th of the month of the month of the month of  
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### BRITAIN WARNED BY ADEN OPPOSITION

"Struggle may not be peaceful"

From Our Commonwealth Staff

("Times" — 17.6.1964)

Private discussion between Mr. Sandys, the Colonial and Commonwealth Secretary, and the delegates to the South Arabian constitutional conference are continuing. The stage has not yet been reached when a further plenary session of the conference can be held.

The basis of discussion is the detailed draft plan, brought to London by the Ministers of the Federation of South Arabia. This provides, among other things, for independence in from three to five years, under a president. The Federation would be enlarged to include the states of the Western Aden Protectorate not yet in it, and the states in the Eastern Protectorate. There would be a Lower House of Legislature, elected either by direct suffrage or, in those states where that was not practicable, by electoral college. There would also be an Upper House or council of states, on which each state would be represented. This council would have limited powers of revision, approval, and rejection of legislation.

### Pres. Nasser defended

In London yesterday Mr. Abdullah al Asnag, leader of the Aden People's Socialist Party, who opposes the present conference, produced a version of these draft proposals, which he described as "the Sandys plan." According to him, all elections would be indirect.

Speaking of the consequences of implementing such a plan, Mr. al Asnag said : "I solemnly warn and declare (and it is no

idle threat) that our party may no longer be in a position to confine our people to a peaceful struggle."

Referring to President Nasser as the recognized leader of Arab unity, he said it was ridiculous to blame the present troubles in South Arabia on him. They were "the natural result of the chain of mistakes, maladministration and criminal neglect practised daily by the British administration in that territory."

## ADENI NATIONALIST LEADER WARNS BRITAIN

By Patrick Keatley, Our Commonwealth Correspondent

("Guardian" — 17.6.1964)

Mr. Abdullah Al Asnag, the Adeni nationalist leader, said in London yesterday that there would be more rebellions like the one in Radfan and the needless loss of more Arab and British lives unless Mr. Duncan Sandys drops his constitutional plans for South Arabia.

A round table conference is being held in London on the status of the Federation, but some nationalist groups — included Mr. Al Asnag's — are not represented.

Mr. Al Asnag, who was addressing a meeting of the Commonwealth Writers' Association of Britain, said: "Britain will be solely responsible before our people and the world for the grave consequences of these plans. Our people will most certainly resist them with all possible means at their disposal. Britain will have to use force to implement them. There will be more than one Radfan with resultant great loss of both Arab and British lives and money." He went on:

"I therefore solemnly warn and declare, and it is no idle threat, that our party might no longer be in a position to confine our people to a peaceful struggle. However, this should in no way be construed to mean that our party has abandoned its basic policy of attaining our aims by peaceful methods.

Mr. Sandys, it is regrettable to say, is bent on pushing through his colonial, imperialistic plans. This outmoded policy is in complete and flagrant disregard of the wishes of our people. It is bound to add to the present instability in the area and lead, I am afraid to say, to worse than Radfan."

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Mr. Al Asnag is founder-president of the Aden People's Socialist Party as well as leader of the colony's TUC. The conference at Lancaster House is limited to the four commoners and 13 princely rulers of the sheikhdoms who corporately constitute the Federal delegation.

The P.S.P. leader has come to London with two of his colleagues with a watching brief for his party. He said yesterday that they now had "reliable information" as to the contents of the Sandys-Trevaskis plan which has been put before the delegates in private session.

#### "Disreputable"

The Adeni leader said that the whole aim of the Sandys-Trevaskis policy appeared to be to avoid the unpleasant necessity of having to have a free general election on the basis of adult suffrage. The sultans and the nominated Ministers attending the London conference represented no one but themselves. They were "disreputable paid servants to Mr. Sandys and Sir Kennedy Trevaskis." Those who did not toe the line were smoothly removed.

Two cases were cited of "unco-operative" sultans who, when they had had the misfortune to disagree politically with the British administration, were declared insane and removed from office. One was the predecessor of the present ruler of Fadhli State; the other the predecessor of the present Sultan of Lahej. The replacement sultans, both chosen and approved by the British administration, were now solemnly going through the motions of being "independent" delegates at the present London conference.

Mr. Al Asnag said of the Federal Supreme Council: "It is completely under the thumb of the British High Commissioner, who attends all its meetings and directs its deliberation. No minutes are kept."

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