

radic border clashes occurred between French police and Indians in Pondicherry and Mahe.

In the face of continuing opposition, France yielded Mahe to India on 16 July 1954, but India refused to accept the territory under such circumstances. In August France yielded Pondicherry and Karaikal; this time India accepted the peaceful transfer of territory. A pact was signed by the parties confirming the de facto transfer of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe, and Yanam, to be effective 1 November 1954, and the formal instruments of ratification for the transfer of territory were finally signed on 18 August 1962.

Refs: *NY Times*, 1948-62

#045: ADENI-YEMENI BORDER, 1948-63

Parties: Yemen v. UK (Aden)

Agents: None

Aden, a strategically located port in the south coast of the Arabian peninsula, was occupied by the UK in 1839. The British Protectorate of Aden was composed of various shaikdoms, sultanates, and emirates in southern Arabia that formed a "buffer zone" for the port. The UK had directly occupied and ruled as a Crown Colony the port of Aden proper; it had maintained the Protectorate buffer zone through a series of bilateral agreements with the local rulers according to which most of them accepted British "advice" on their external relations, and British force maintained order among them.

The border between the Aden Protectorate and Yemen was originally established during 1902-04. In later years Yemen raised a claim to nine regions in the border area. The 1934 Anglo-Yemeni treaty of Friendship and Mutual Cooperation, however, deferred final settlement of the question, leaving the border dispute unresolved. Until the end of 1948, the dispute remained relatively quiescent.

The major problem underlying the revival of the border dispute concerned British efforts to expand their influence among the semi-independent tribal entities in the border region and to consolidate the power of these rulers. Essentially, the thrust of British efforts for the next several years was to find a means of creating a viable political structure in the area that would permit them to withdraw from the Protectorate but still maintain the security of, and their presence in, the port of Aden itself. Hence the British-Yemeni dispute over the border of the Protectorate became closely intertwined with the problems of granting independence to the Protectorate and port (see case

#216: Adeni Independence, 1963-67). Yemen was concerned to use its influence in the area to frustrate the British plans.

In 1949 the UK reported that it had bombed a fort built by Yemen inside Aden. Yemen stated that the fort was within Yemeni territory and that the UK was therefore liable for the damages incurred in the raid. The UK then charged that Yemen was responsible for reviving the border dispute, since Yemeni forces had interfered with the construction of a British customs house near the border.

The UK then suggested that a permanent boundary be demarcated, but Yemen demanded compensation for losses in the fighting as a precondition for beginning formal talks. During negotiations held August-October 1950, the parties reached a modus vivendi on the border issue. This agreement provided for establishing provisional diplomatic relations and for a joint commission to settle the border dispute.

Several frontier incidents occurred in 1951, however, and diplomatic insults were exchanged. In 1952 the dispute became more complicated as the tug-of-war between the Yemen and the UK over the tribal rulers resurfaced. The UK obtained advisory treaties with several additional principalities in the West Aden Protectorate and aimed at uniting the shaikdoms in a Federation of South Arabia. Yemen violently opposed the amalgamation of the semi-independent shaikdoms into a strong political unit under the control of a non-Yemeni, non-Arab power. Despite Yemeni opposition, several shaikdoms and sultanates were joined to form the Federation of South Arabia in 1955.

Yemen charged that the UK was intimidating the local population and acting against their wishes. It sought Arab League action on the specific charge that a border raid into Yemen was led by British officers. Repeated charges and countercharges of aggression were exchanged; the UK alleged that Yemen had initiated approximately 28 border raids into Aden, and Yemen protested several airspace violations by British planes and the destruction of Yemeni army barracks near the border. British problems were compounded at this time by tribal rebellions against its rule. In Yemen the domestic situation was also tense and a coup was attempted. Yemen also attempted to strengthen its diplomatic position, threatening to appeal to the UN if negotiations proved unsatisfactory and signing a friendship pact with the USSR in November 1955.

Several border clashes occurred in 1956 after Yemen joined Egypt and Saudi Arabia in a military pact. The UK charged that Yemen and Saudi Arabia were fomenting anti-British disturbances in Aden. The UK was determined to regain its control over Aden, however, due to its strategic location and it stated that the colony would be held by force, if necessary.

Border incidents continued throughout 1957; Yemen signed an arms agreement with the USSR and requested US intervention to halt British aggression. In January 1958 the US urged Yemen and the UK to end hostilities. The UK and the Protectorate rulers agreed to hold talks with Yemen; a conference was held in Cairo, but no progress was made.

At this time Yemen asserted claims to the entire Protectorate in addition to disputed frontier areas; it was supported by the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Asian-African Conference. In September 1959 the Arab League called for the liberation of the British Protectorate. Earlier that year (11 February 1959) under British auspices, the Federation of Arab Emirates of South Arabia had been formed among six principalities of the Western Protectorate; its constitution provided for eventual independence and a plan for merging the Federation and the Aden colony. This organization was expanded to form the Federation of South Arabia in November 1962; Aden joined in January 1963. In the meantime, border clashes continued, and nationalist movements developed in the region.

By this time both the political and military context of the conflict had shifted away from the border problem to focus directly on the viability and form of independence for the federation. The crucial factor accounting for this shift seems to have been the military coup in Yemen (see case #207, 208, 209: Yemeni Civil War, 1962-70; and case #216: South Yemeni Independence, 1963-68).

Refs: *NY Times*, 1948-63

Tom Little, *South Arabia: Arena of Conflict* (New York: Praeger, 1968) 1-99

Dana Adams Schmidt, *Yemen: The Unknown War* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1968)

#046: DOMINICAN MORAL AGGRESSION, 1949

Parties: Haiti v. Dominican Republic

Agents: OAS

Much of the general strain and tension in the Caribbean region during 1947-51 centered around the Dominican Republic (DR), an important component of which was the general dispute between Haiti and the DR. (For an elaboration of the general political context in the region at this time, see case #025: Dominican Invasion Attempts, 1947-49.) The DR had earlier accused Haiti of complicity in the Dominican invasion attempt organized during 1947 at Cayo Confites,