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British Administration
in the Aden Colony
and the Western Aden Protectorate

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INTRODUCTION

Aden Colony is the last firm British holdout in the Arab World. The East and West Aden Protectorates are being administered, in part, and protected en toto by the British government. This last vestige of British colonialism within the Arab World irritates many an Arab nationalist, who severely criticize the United Kingdom for remaining in the area, and who are working to rid this southern tip of the peninsula of "imperialistic forces."

The British obviously look upon Aden in a different light. In 1839 the British gained possession of Aden and entered into treaties and agreements with surrounding sheikhs, sultans, and amirs. The opening of the Suez Canal greatly increased the strategic importance of this colony. Here was not only a place of trade, but a coaling station on international shipping routes. Here, too, was a naval base, which in connection with the Island of Perim situated in the straits of the Bab El Mandeb, could keep a watchful eye on all shipping entering the Red Sea from the south. However, Aden Colony is minute in size. It is formed mostly of volcanic rock. Its climate is inhospitable. There are no lush plantations to oversee, and its administrative posts, because of its size are relatively few in number. Therefore, while it has been a British post since 1839, it has had the relationship of a step-child in the family of British possessions, particularly in the hey-day of British colonialism. An appointment to Aden was not considered as one of the better or more promising assignments in one's climb to the top of the ladder in British colonial affairs.

In 1937 Aden passed from the Government of India to the Colonial Office in London and was made a Crown Colony. When this occurred, there were no immediate changes in the administration of the Colony or Protectorates; however, keener interest in the affairs of this area began to manifest itself just before World War II. Certain concrete actions were begun during the war, but the post-war era has seen a great change in British attitude, not only in its policy of administration of the Colony and the Protectorates, but also in the strategic significance of the area. It appears that the British today would like to hold on to the Aden Colony as long as possible, and to build the Protectorates into a strong buffer state tied closely with the Colony. Although, the British would like this, the present trend toward independence of all foreign ruled areas is fully recognized by the British, and the thoughts of cutting Aden from her colonial apron strings, although unpleasant, are reckoned as a distinct possibility. British policy seems to be directed toward both courses of action, for the economic, political, and cultural development being carried on today in both the Colony and the Protectorates are a benefit to the British and to the Adenese.

It is the purpose of this study to trace the British administration in the Aden Colony and the Protectorates with specific stress on the post-World War II period within the Crown Colony, and particularly the Western Aden Protectorate. A general geographical and historical background is offered. The development and significance

of the new "Federation of Arab Emirates of the South" will be discussed. Only passing reference will be made to the Eastern Aden Protectorate for this area is not yet included in the new Federation. Mention is made of the Imam of Yemen, his continual claims to Aden and his actions against the British remaining in southern Arabia.

Some discussion of Aden's political parties is offered in the latter chapters of this paper.

It should be stated that there is a scarcity of material written about Aden in any language. Material for this study has been gained not only from the few source books available, but from first hand investigation in the Aden Colony and the Western Aden Protectorate by the author. Two trips were made to Aden, one in September 1959, the second in February 1960, in order to augment the material available and broaden his knowledge of the area. While in Aden, side trips were made to Beihan, Abyan, and Lahej. Discussions and interviews were held with British officials, British and Adenese residents, and Adenese political leaders. It is hoped that the reader will gain some insight into the problems of Aden, both those being faced by the British and those being faced by the Arabs.

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Chapter 1.

The Geography and Description of Aden

The entire Arabian peninsula is considered a geographical entity based on a unity of its climate, soil, and geographical structure. On the southern extremity of this Arabian island lies the southern coastlands which W. B. Fisher treats as one of five subdivisions of the Peninsula.¹ This southern coastland stretches from the Straits of Bab El Mandeb which connects the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, eastward to the Oman area. Within this southern coastland region are located Aden and the Western Aden Protectorate.

Aden Colony:

One hundred miles to the east of Bab El Mandeb on the extreme southwest shores of the Arabian peninsula lies the Crown Colony of Aden. It can be pinpointed at $12^{\circ}47'$ north latitude and $45^{\circ}10'$ east longitude; and pinpointed it is for it occupies an area of only 75 square miles. Aden has simply two boundaries: to the north lies the Abdali Sultanate in the Western Aden Protectorate, and to the south are the waters of the Gulf of Aden.

The excellent harbor at Aden which has been a port of call for ships for centuries is protected by two small peninsulas. (See Map No. 1). The eastern peninsula connected to the mainland by an isthmus is Aden proper, the peninsula at the west entrance of this harbor is

1. Fisher, W. B., The Middle East, Methuen and Co., Ltd., London, 1957.

known as Little Aden or Bureikha. Each of these peninsulas is formed of extinct volcanoes and rock. The isthmus, known as Khor-maksar and the land of Aden Colony to the north of this deep water port is level and sandy. Jebel Shamsan is the highest point on Aden reaching up some 1,725 feet. Its sister peak on Little Aden is slightly over 1,200 feet above sea level.

Aden Colony lies well within the Torrid Zone and its climate is hot and humid. Its rainfall is very slight, if at all. While some years have recorded as much as 8 inches rainfall, there have been years when no rain has occurred at all. Such slight and erratic rainfall precludes the cultivation of crops by other than irrigation. Water for public and industrial consumption in Aden and the Township of Sheikh Othman come from shallow boreholes at Bir Nasir and Sheikh Othman. Little Aden's fresh water supply is pumped from shallow boreholes located in the vicinity of Bir Ahmed.²

The months of May, June, and September in Aden are characterized by damp, motionless heat. The southwest monsoons bring some relief to the summer heat in July and August; however, during the months of June, July, and August northerly winds which spring up sharply before sunset bring choking sand storms of short duration. During the month of October the northeast monsoons clear the air, and the period between October and April is cool by comparison. The average temperature in Aden during the month of January is 79° Fahrenheit.³

2. Public Works Department Annual Report 1957-58, Government Printing Office, Aden, 1959, p. 11.

3. Fisher, op.cit. p. 45.

Aden Colony is divided into three townships authorities; the Fortress of Aden, Sheikh Othman, and Little Aden. The Fortress Township Authority is the largest in area and population and includes such districts as Tawahi, Maalla, Crater, which is the original town site and built within the crater of an extinct volcano, and Khormaksar. Little Aden comprises the petroleum refinery and its supporting town plus a few small fishing villages.

According to the last official census taken in 1955,⁴ Aden Colony has a population of 138,441. The population is distributed among the above-mentioned townships and districts as follows:

Tawahi	20,363
Maalla	20,868
Khormaksar	3,059
Crater	54,995
Sheikh Othman	29,879
Little Aden	<u>9,277</u>
Total	138,441 ⁵

The racial distribution of the population of Aden Colony is interesting, for as it will be discussed later in this paper, there is a distinct racial problem within the Colony. This breakdown of races differentiates between Arabs born in Aden and Arabs who have come to the Colony from the Aden Protectorates and Yemen to seek a living in the city. Immigration is a problem in the Colony for the borders between the Yemen and the Western Aden Protectorate are

4. Census Report, Government Press, Aden, 1955.

5. Figures include British military personnel.

open and have no natural barrier as are the borders between the Western Aden Protectorate and the Aden Colony and a head count by area of origin was desired by the census authorities. The racial distribution is:

Aden Arabs	36,910
Protectorate Arabs	18,881
Yemeni Arabs	48,088
British	3,763
Europeans	721
Indians	15,817
Jews	831 ⁶
Somalis	10,611
Other	2,608
Race not specified	211

The predominate religious groups in the Aden Colony are the Muslims who make up over 90% of the total inhabitants. These Muslims are Sunnis of the Shafi'ite school.⁷ Included in this Muslim total are some 10,435 Indian Muslims. The distribution of the population by religions is as follows:

Muslim	126,183
Christian	5,580
Hindu	4,786
Jewish	831

6. This figure represents only 11% of the Jews counted in the 1947 census.

7. While no figures are available to substantiate this, all readings have made no mention of other Muslim sects.

Parsee	596
Others	277
Unknown	203

From its early history Aden has been an important center of trade. The harbor of Aden is the only port worthy of the name along the entire southern Arabian coast. While the opening and improvement of port facilities along the East African and Ethiopian coast has had its effect in reducing the transshipment and entrepot activities of Aden, its harbor is today one of the busiest in the world. The improvement of its harbor by dredging and the construction of its oil refinery at Little Aden has made Aden a port of call for its bunkering services for ships of all nationalities. The inner harbor of Aden today comprises 16 first class berths of which vessels drawing up to 34 feet of water can be accommodated, 6 second class berths for ships drawing up to 28 feet, and 4 third class berths for ships whose draft does not exceed 16 feet. There is also ample room for the shallower draft vessels such as the dhows and smaller coastal vessels. Although Aden still offers coal bunkering services, its main fueling service is oil of which some 13 positions can be utilized for refueling.

In the year 1958 Aden recorded some 6,286 ships calling, with a total tonnage of 27,600,000. This is an average of some 17 ships per day being handled by the port authorities. Despite the number of ships handled, the largest single employer in Aden is the British Petroleum Company's refinery, which has some 2,300 persons on its

payrolls of whom 300 are British, 1,800 Adenese, and the remainder Indians, Italians and Levantines. In 1958 the BP refinery produced 3,596,092 long tons of petroleum products. Of this quantity fuel oil accounted for 60% of the total production, the bulk of which went to refueling ships.

While the number of ships handled by the Aden port authorities is impressive, the number of persons engaged in pilotage, bunkering services, and associated port activities is quite small by comparison.

The harbor of Aden with its efficient bunkering services, together with the relatively cheap price of its fuel oil, aids the transshipment and entrepot activities of the port. While the BP refinery is the largest single employer in the Colony, Aden's greatest revenue is obtained from its warehouses and re-exporting trade. Aden has long served as the freight station for the lower Red Sea and East Africa; however, in recent years the East African ports of Assab, Berbera, and particularly Djibouti with its rail link to Addis Ababa have made serious inroads on Aden's trade. The East African and Ethiopian merchants are rapidly gaining knowledge of the intricacies of ordering directly from abroad, thus reflecting a saving to themselves by eliminating the Adenese middlemen. The Colonial government is aware of this competition; to induce shipping lines to continue the use of Aden, the Port Trust⁸ has revised its

8. The port is controlled and administered by a Board of Trustees constituted under the Aden Port Trust Ordinance. The Board is nominated by the Governor and represents the shipping, oil, trading, and financial interests of the Colony as well as the Government and defense forces.

by-laws in favor of the merchants, banking rates were equated to those elsewhere in the area, and additional storage space was constructed along the water front in recent years. The public wharves at Maalla cover 13 acres and provide two and three-quarter million cubic feet of storage space. In the year 1958 the total imports of Aden amounted to 71,772,000 pounds sterling, while her re-exports totaled 63,498,000 pounds sterling. (For a detailed account of commodities, quantities, and value of imports and re-exports see Appendix 1). It is worthy of note that the import and re-export of goods of Yemen and Saudi Arabia via the Port of Aden continue quite good, and the recent economic development in the Western Aden Protectorate affords a small but increasing market for the merchants of Aden Colony.

Another interesting facet of Aden's economic life is the large number of merchants and shop-keepers who carry on a flourishing trade with a quarter of a million tourists annually. These tourists spend a few hours ashore in Aden while their ocean liners refuel. Aden is a "free port" for many items which attract the tourist, such as cameras, photographic equipment, optical equipment, radios, ⁹ jewelry, and souvenirs of all sorts. The majority of these small businessmen are Indians and Pakistanis.

One of the few industries in Aden is salt production. The salt pans are located on the northeast shores of Aden harbor (see map of Aden Colony) and cover an area of 3,683 acres. Picturesque windmills pump the sea water into a series of basins and

9. The majority of these items are of Japanese manufacture, although some German and Austrian items can be seen.

by the process of solar evaporation salt is "manufactured". About 75% of this salt is exported, but in recent years the market for salt abroad has been a diminishing one. During the year 1958 Aden's salt industry exported some 147,000 long tons of salt at a value of 179,000 pounds sterling.

Perhaps the oldest industry in Aden is fishing. Most of the fishing villages are located in the Township of Little Aden. Fishing methods have been hampered by traditional practices; however, the Fisheries Department is making inroads by inducing fishermen to mechanize their boats and use modern tackle. No fishing canneries as yet exist in Aden, therefore as much of the seasonal catches are sold in local Aden markets as can be, the remainder is dried for export, much of it going into the interior of the Protectorates.

In addition to the standard housekeeping activities required of any city, i.e. building and contracting, public utilities, banking, public administration, and other normal urban services, Aden has some small privately owned factories which produce such items as soap, cigarettes, dyed and printed cloth, aluminium pressed pots and pans, soft drinks, etc.

Aden is not only practically waterless, it can be considered foodless from the standpoint of production. A few gardens in Sheikh Othman Township supply a minute portion of Aden's food supply; however the other 99% must be brought in from the Protectorates, Yemen, the African Coast, or overseas. Protectorate farmers have been encouraged to produce more crops, and as an inducement to realize greater profits for themselves and to avoid the clutches of the

local merchants, a Central Wholesale Produce Market has been built by the government and is now in operation. Although this is a step forward, large quantities of fresh foods are still flown in from East Africa and Ethiopia, and sizeable amounts of canned and dried foods are brought in from the United Kingdom.

Aden Colony is undoubtedly one of the least self-sufficient bits of real estate in the world.

Western Aden Protectorate: (See Map No. 2)

The Western Aden Protectorate lies along the extreme southwest portion of the Arabian peninsula covering an area of approximately 17,500 square miles.¹⁰ The Western Protectorate is bounded on the north by the Kingdom of Yemen whose Imam continually claims the Western Protectorate as his own territory. To its east is the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and to the south and southwest its coastline borders the Gulf of Aden for some 275 miles terminating in the extreme west at the Straits of Bab El Mandeb.

The term Protectorate carried until 1937 the connotation of the Western Aden Protectorate, for previously any differentiation between the two areas was made by the terms Aden Protectorate for the west and Hadhramaut for the east.¹¹ After Harold Ingrams, a British official, persuaded the Kathiri and Qu'aiti Sultans to sign an advisory

10. No specific area figures have been found for the area of either Protectorate individually. Their combined area is estimated at 112,000 square miles.

11. Ingrams, Harold, Arabia and the Isles, John Murray, London, 1952.

treaty with the British, and he was subsequently assigned as the first Resident Adviser in 1937, and it appears that the term Eastern Aden Protectorate was used in lieu of Hadhramaut.

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From a topographical viewpoint the Western Protectorate is divided into four sections. The first is the littoral belt which extends a distance from four to forty miles inland from the sea, then the maritime range is encountered with elevations of 1,000 to 2,000 feet above sea level. Thirdly, there is the section called the intramontane plains which reach 3,000 feet in height, and then there is the highland plateau which ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 feet. This highland drops away to the Rub Al Khali with an average elevation of 2,500 feet.

The coastal strip is desert save for two spots, Lahej and the Abyan district in the vicinity of Zinjibar (Zinjibār - $45^{\circ} 35'$ east: $18^{\circ} 05'$ north). The former is an oasis, but also receives water from the seasonal rains that fall in the north, the latter being watered by the Bana river which flows most of the year. The foothills rise above the sand desert then give way to a tangle of mountains cut with deep ravines, and interspersed with rock spurs. In the vicinity of Loder (Lawdar) there occurs an abrupt escarpment rising almost vertically from its base which is 3,000 feet above sea level to its top

12. Sir Tom Hickinbotham, former Governor of Aden, states that the Protectorate was divided into east and west for administrative reasons. He amusingly adds that there arose a difference of opinion between the British Agent in the east and the British Agent in the Hadhramaut, both determined characters, and to avoid a war between the two gentlemen, a line was drawn and each told by the Governor of Aden to stay on his own side. Hickinbotham, Sir Tom, Aden, Constable and Co., London, 1958, p. 116.

some 7,000 feet high. On this upper level there is a broad plateau which declines toward the Empty Quarter being cut by a number of deep valleys. This high plateau and particularly the valleys are quite fertile and crops are easily grown.

The climate of the coastal area is similar to that of Aden Colony; i.e. tropical conditions with great heat and humidity in the summer and less damp and somewhat cooler from October to April. Obviously with the wide range in altitudes in the Western Protectorate, a variety of temperatures is encountered. The higher one goes, the less heat and humidity are found. In the upper areas the climate in the summer is warm and temperate, while the winters can be extremely cold. Mukairas (Mukayras) with an altitude of 7,200 feet is being developed into a summer resort.

The entire area is effected by the northeast-southwest monsoons. Rainfall along the littoral belt is slight and averages some two inches per year, while in certain mountainous areas in the north of the Protectorate 10 inches of rain falls annually. There is a decline in rainfall from west to east.

Some of the upland cultivated areas are irrigated by wells, but much of the irrigation depends upon the rains that fall in the northern mountains of the Protectorate and the southern Yemen. These rain waters come rushing down the wadis in the form of flash floods bringing with them both water and silt. Most of the rains occur in early spring and late summer. There are two main stream systems which carry water almost to the sea throughout much of the year; one is the Tiban (Tuban) which originates in the Yemen and flows south

into the Aden harbor, passing through the agricultural area of Lahej; the second is the Bana which waters the Abyan cotton area some 45 miles east of Aden Colony.

The population of the Western Protectorate is estimated at 355,000; however, a census has never been taken, and it is doubtful that one will be taken for quite sometime due to the temperament of some of the tribes. The population is Muslim and Arab, although there are a few Somalis in the area. There are no Europeans living in the Protectorate with the exception of a handful of British officials who act as political agents, advisers, military personnel attached to the Aden Protectorate Levies, medical people, and a few persons engaged in agricultural research.

There are no cities in the Western Protectorate, but Lahej and Zinjibar can be considered two of its principal towns. Despite its 275 mile coastline, it has no seaport other than Aden Colony.

The tribe is the principal political and social grouping in the area. Some tribes are independent; others hold allegiance to larger tribes, sultanates, amirates or sheikhdoms. The more important "states" (sultanates, amirates, or sheikhdoms) are listed below. These political units have entered into protective and/or advisory treaties with Great Britain. (See Map No. 3).

'Abdali	The Sultanate of Lahej Capital - al Hauta (al Hawtah)
'Alawi	The 'Alawi Sheikdom Capital - al Qasha' (al Qash'ah)
Amiri	The Amirate of Dhala' (al Dāli') Capital - Dhala'
'Aqrabi	The 'Aqrabi Sheikdom Capital - Dir Hamad (Dayr Hamad)

13. Denotes member state in the Federation of the Arab Emirates of the South as of December 1959.

'Audhali (al 'Awdhali) ¹⁴	The 'Audhali Sultanate Capital - Zara (Zārā)
'Aulaqi (al 'Awlaqi)	The Upper 'Aulaqi Sultanate Capital - Nisab (Niṣāb)
	The Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikhdom Capital - Sa'id (Sa'īd) ¹⁴
	The Lower 'Aulaqi Sultanate Capital - Ahwar (Aḥwar)
Baihan (Bayḥān) ¹⁴	The Hibili Hashimi Amirate of Beihan Capital - Beihan al Qasab (Bayḥān al Qaṣab)
Fadhli (Fadli) ¹⁴	The Fadhli Sultanate Capital - Shuqra (Shuqrah)
Haushabi (Hawshabi)	The Hashabi Sultanate Capital - Mūsaimir (al Mūsaymīr)
Yafa'i (Yāfa')	The Lower Yafa'i Sultanate Capital - al Qara (al Qarah)
	The Upper Yafa'i Sultanate Capital - Mahjaba (Mahjabah)
Yafa'i (Sheikhdoms and petty states	in the Upper Yafa'i area). The Bu'si (Sheikh) Capital - al Hajr (al Hajr)
	The Dhubbai (Sheikh) Capital - Dhi Surra (Dhī Surrah)
	The Hadhrami (Sheikh) (Hadrāmī) Capital - Ash-Shibr (al Shibir)
	The Maflahi Sheikhdom Capital - al Jurba (al Jirbah)
	The Naqibs of Mausatta (al Mawsitī) Capital - al Qudma (al Qudmah)
Sha'ib (al Sha'ībi)	The Sha'ibi Sheikhdom (al Sha'ib) Capital - 'Awabil ('Awabil)
Qutaibi ¹⁵ (al Qutaybi)	The Qutaibi Capital - Thumar (Thumayr)

14. Denotes member states in the Federation of the Arab Emirates of the South as of December 1959.

15. Nominally under the Amir of Dhala'.

Agriculture, farming and the raising of livestock, accounts for over 95% of the economic life of the Western Protectorate. Only about 1% of the land is cultivable. ¹³ The small patches of land under crop production are either irrigated by lift from the numerous wells found in the principal wadis, or by gravity flow from the intermittently flowing mountain streams. Some dry farming is carried on in the higher regions where there is a low rainfall with some runoff water and where the land is terraced. The scarcity of cultivable land and low rainfall has resulted in a highly developed system of land and water conservation. Despite the carefully terraced hillsides and the intricate systems of irrigation canals, agricultural methods are primitive and yields quite low. There are two areas which are an exception to this. These are the cotton producing areas of Abyan and Lahej. Here the ox-plow is giving way to the tractor, some fertilizers are being used, selected seeds are being planted, and co-operative marketing associations are gaining in popularity.

Cotton, only first seriously produced as a result of the needs arising from World War II, is the main cash crop in the Western Protectorate. This "white gold" of the long staple variety has caught on particularly in the last ten years. The 1949-50 crop was 1,100 bales worth 115,000 pounds sterling. The 1956-57 crop produced 28,300 bales and the value of lint and cotton seed exceeded 2,000,000 pounds sterling. ¹⁴ This easily grown and ready marketable crop has had the effect of reducing the acreages of some of the traditional crops such as

13. Aden, Report for the Years 1955-56, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1958, p.91.

14. Anthony, K.R.M., "The Economics of Abyan Cotton Production", The Empire Cotton Growing Review, v.36, no. 4, London, 1949, p. 263.

sorghum, millet, wheat, barley and sesame, for the small farmer is more interested in cash with which he can buy his foodstuffs, than raising his own. However, the growing of cereal crops is still an important part of the economy of the area and has by no means become extinct.

In recent years there has been an increase in the production of citrus fruits, and more seedlings are requested each year. Deciduous fruit trees, such as peaches, plums and apricots, are grown in Mukeiras, and there are indications that increased acreages are being planted.

Aden Colony, as previously stated, must import practically all of its food. Vegetables, melons and fruits grown in the Western Protectorate find a ready market in the Colony. The Wholesale Produce Market opened in November 1959 and should stimulate fresh vegetable production in the Protectorate as the farmer will be able to realize a larger share of the profits.

The Yafa'i hills produce a good crop of coffee, but its production is limited and this small crop is consumed locally for the most part, leaving little for export.

The raising of goats, sheep, oxen, and camels is important to the economy, but here again light rainfall and limited grazing areas hamper expansion of this industry. The increased amount of acreage devoted to cotton has reduced the areas used for fodder crops. This too has had its effect on the livestock business.

The fishing industry of the Western Aden Protectorate is small by comparison to its eastern neighbor, still its catches are worthy of mentioning. Kingfish, tunny, and shark are caught in some quantity,

and the winter fishery of anchovy accounts for a portion of the fish marketed. The fishing center of the Western Protectorate is Ras Iman, near Aden. The Fisheries Department of the Protectorate is helping to expand this industry by the mechanization of local fishing boats, and the introduction of more modern techniques of catching fish.

There are no light industries in the Western Protectorate, nor are there plans for any as yet. There is no evidence of exploration of mineral resources. Geological crews of petroleum companies are finding encouraging signs in the Eastern Protectorate, but the geological formation of the western side seems to preclude the discovery of oil.

The basis of the Western Protectorate's economy is agriculture, but so great are the limitations of fertile soil and water available that further expansion of this industry is perforce limited. The use of more modern methods of farming could increase yields.¹⁶

Some revenues are collected by the various states from the customs and taxes applied to passing caravans. This commerce, the exporting of skins, hides, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, and coffee, and the importing of grain, flour, rice, cotton piece goods, tobacco, cigarettes, glassware, soap, fuel oils, etc. is carried on by local merchants. As this merchandise passes from state to state, and in

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15. The sardine catches around Mukalla in the Eastern Protectorate make up a large portion of the total catch. The sardines do not run into the Western Protectorate waters. Aden 1955-56, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
16. With the exception of cotton, statistical data on agricultural production and acreage for the Western Protectorate do not exist.

some cases to and from the Yemen, the local rulers apply their taxes and augment their small state incomes.

The standard of living in the Western Aden Protectorate is low. It can be properly classed as an underdeveloped country. The term "poverty-stricken" is frequently and aptly applied to this
17
area.

17. Barbour, Neville, "Aden and the Arab South",
The World Today, v. 15, no. 8, August 1959,
R.I.I.A., Oxford University Press, London.

History of Aden Settlement and the Protectorate

The history of Aden has indeed been a colorful one. This ancient port in southwestern Arabia has known prosperity, fame and glory, but it too has been the victim of war, pillage, and destruction. When the ancient south Arabian kingdoms and dynasties flourished, goods from India, Persia, and Africa passed through the port of Aden for local consumption or to be carried overland to the markets of the north. Whenever an ancient monarch weakened, rival kingdoms were close at hand to seize this territory. Aden was often the pawn in such cases, for the capture or destruction of this port could bring economic collapse to the local ruler.

It is believed that the earliest inhabitants of southwest Arabia were a branch of the Cushite race whose amalgamation with the Semites gave rise to the Sabaeans. The Sabaeans and the Minaeans were the two early kingdoms of the area, the Sabaeans being credited with establishing the port of Aden about the sixth century B. C. Aden prospered from its share of the trade that made its way from Africa and the east to south Arabia. The Qataban kingdom, which extended east to Aden, ruled a portion of south Arabia from 400

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21. Prior to Aden becoming a Crown Colony in 1937, it was known as Aden Settlement.
 22. Hunter, F.M., An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia, Thubner, London, 1877, p. 160.
 23. Ingrams, Harold, "History of the Fortified Frontier Haven", The Time British Colonies Review First Quarter, 1959.

to 50 B. C.²⁴; however, the tribe of Himyar, from the southwest high-lands of Arabia gained control of the southwest portion of the peninsula, including the port of Aden, at about 115 B. C.²⁵

The south Arabian rulers and merchants jealously guarded their commercial monopoly much to the displeasure of their northern buyers. Although occasional ships from Egypt conquered the difficult Red Sea route south to the Arabian Sea and onward to the rich spice markets of India, it was not until Rome ruled Egypt that the Arab monopoly was broken, and economic collapse was brought to the south Arabian kingdoms.²⁶ However, ports are necessary to sailors, and Aden appears to have retained some of its prosperity despite the decline of the local kingdoms, being known then as "Arabias Emporium".

Mention is made of Aden as one place where a Christian church was erected in 342 A. D., during the reign of Emperor Constantius.²⁷ While Christianity of the Byzantines was establishing a beach-head in southwest Arabia, Judaism was gaining many converts in the Yemen. In 523 A. D. the last Himyarite king, Dhu Nuwās, a Jew, persecuted a number of Christians of Najran. News of these atrocities reached Emperor Justin I, who considered himself the protector of all Christians. Justin enlisted the aid of the Abyssinians who were the nearest Christians to this trouble spot. Their ruler, Negus,

24. Hitti, Philip K., History of the Arabs, MacMillan and Co., London, 1956, p. 55.

25. ibid.

26. ibid., p. 60.

27. Hunter, op. cit., p. 161. Hitti, op. cit., p. 61, sets the date of the first Christian embassy sent to South Arabia as ~~526~~ A. D.

dispatched an army across the Red Sea and succeeded in defeating the Himyarites in 525 A. D. The Abyssinians decided to occupy southwest Arabia, but did not retain their hold on Yemen for long, for some 50 years later in 575 A. D. the Persians, who heeded the pleas of Saif, expelled the Abyssinians and occupied Yemen and the port of Aden.

Islam, the third great monotheistic religion, appeared in the area, and Badhan, the fifth Persian Viceroy to the Yemen, embraced it in the year 628 A. D. Al Aswad, a rival prophet of Mohammad, seized the opportunity of Mohammad's death to gain control over the Yemen, but Abu Bakr's forces returned the Yemen to Muslim rule.

Today the Imam of Yemen, the leader of the Zaidi sect and the temporal and secular head of Yemen, lays claim to Aden Colony and the Protectorates. The Zaidi dynasty was founded in the north of Yemen by Yahya ibn Husein ibn Qasim ibn Rassi ibn Ibrahim Tabataba. Yahya led a band of about 50 men to the gates of Sa'dah in 897 A. D. and demanded that in the name of "Al Hadi ila al-Haqq" (The Guide to Righteousness) that homage be paid to the house of the Prophet. Yahya was admitted into Sa'dah and assumed the role of Imam. His preachings and writings gained for him additional followers, but he was not able to exert his authority much beyond Sa'dah for the Yafurids and Karatians were well entrenched in the southern Yemen.

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28. Saif, a Himyarite, is said to have appealed to Constantinople to relieve the Yemen of the oppressive Abyssinian rule. Being refused, he asked the assistance of the Persians. *ibid.*, p. 66.
29. Brockelmann, Carl, History of the Islamic Peoples, Putnam's & Sons, New York, 1947, p. 144. Seton-Williams sets the date as 901 A. D. Seton-Williams, M. V., Britain and the Arab States, Luzac & Co., London, 1949.

During the next two centuries the Yemen knew many rulers. There were the Najahids in Zabid who were replaced by the Mahdibs. The Sulayhids were in Sana and the Zuray'ids were in Aden. In 1083 Abbas and Masud were appointed joint governors of Aden by Sulayhid Makarram of the Zuray'id dynasty. This joint system of Aden princes continued until Abu Su'ad and Abu Ghoret asserted their independence from Sana,³⁰ but were too weak to maintain their independence. The Zuray'ids appear to have kept control of Aden and southern Yemen until the Ayyubids swept through the area in 1173. The last Ayyubid Sultan appointed Ali ibn Rassul as Governor of Mecca. Ali's son later established his own control over the land, and the Rassulid dynasty loosely controlled the Hadhramaut and Yemen from 1229 to 1454.

The port of Aden grew very prosperous under the Rassulids, although at times their taxes were oppressive. In 1323 Aden was captured by a rebel who employed Yafa'i mercenaries. Three attempts were made by the Rassulid Sultan to dislodge this rebel, and finally in 1328 the city was betrayed to the Rassulids.³¹ The governor was hanged and a sufficient number of heads rolled to impress the Adanese that rebellion was not the best course. Certain administrative changes were made and Aden remained peaceful for some time to come. In 1454 the Tahirids seized Aden and established the Tahirid dynasty which covered all the Yemen.

30. Lane-Poole, S., Mohammadan Dynasties, Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1894.

31. Ingrams, "History of the Fortified Frontier", op. cit.

Up until the 16th Century Aden was always a coveted possession; however, its importance began to wane not long after the adventurous Portuguese mariner Bartholomew Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco de Gama followed Dias and pushed on to the east coast of Africa and then to India. Venetian and Muslim attempts to rid the eastern seas of the Portuguese failed and the new route to India via the Cape of Good Hope by-passed Aden.

As the Portuguese roamed the area early in the 16th century, they established holdings in East Africa, the Kuria Muria Islands, Hormuz and Muscat, for the King of Portugal had a strong desire to form an eastern empire. He even went so far as to assume the magnificent title of "Lord of Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Arabia".³²

Don Alfonse de Albuquerque, Governor of India, received orders from King Emanuel of Portugal in 1513 to capture Aden.³³ Albuquerque set sail with a fleet of twenty ships arriving at Aden on Easter morning. A fierce battle ensued, but the Portuguese were only able to penetrate the outer walls of the fortress.³⁴ After a four-day battle, and having sustained rather heavy losses, Albuquerque withdrew his forces, and sailed north into the Red Sea.

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32. Playfair, Captain R. L., An Account of Aden, The Jail Press, Aden, 1859, p. 42.
33. Wilson, Arnold T., The Persian Gulf, Allan & Unwin, London, 1928, p. 118.
34. The scaling ladders broke trapping some men between the walls and preventing others from entering the battle. Dames, Mansel T., The Book of Durate Barbosa, Bedford Press, London, 1918, p. 57.

The Portuguese were aware that their control over India depended upon a secure line of communications in which Hormuz and Aden figured prominently. Albuquerque in a letter to King Emanuel in October 1515 stated, "Aden should be captured and held by means of a fortress. There is a good harbor there affording ample shelter to our ships when wintering there. A fortress at the gates of the Straits is out of the question, as there is no water there, but as Aden is only three days' run from these gates, I consider it the key to the Straits."³⁵

Albuquerque died shortly after that, and his successor, Lope Soares, was appointed governor of the Portuguese possessions in India. Shortly after his appointment, Soares, on the King's command, sailed for the Red Sea where he learned of the plans of Qansu al-Ghuri, the Memluke Sultan of Egypt, to send a fleet from Suez to capture Aden, then to proceed to Goa in order to dislodge the Portuguese. The Egyptian fleet of 27 vessels under the command of Rais Sulaiman, a Turkish eunuch, first attacked Aden but was repulsed with heavy losses. Sulaiman, to regain his pride, turned back to the Red Sea and succeeded in capturing some Yemeni seaports. By this time Soares arrived at Aden. The Governor of Aden, Amir Murjan, too weak to offer resistance after Rais Sulaiman's attack, submitted to the Portuguese.³⁶ Lope Soares foolishly declined this offer and failed to leave any troops at Aden, believing that such could be done on his return after defeating Sulaiman who was reportedly in Jidda. The

35. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 120

36. *ibid.*, p. 123.

hardships of the Red Sea were too much for the Portuguese for they did not close in battle with Sulaiman's fleet; they lost 17 men on the Island of Kamaran and suffered badly from lack of food. By the time Soarez returned to Aden, Amir Murjan had rebuilt the defenses of the fortress and refused to honor his previous submission. The Portuguese, too weak to contest this latest action, sailed on.

In 1517 the Ottoman Sultan, Selim I, defeated the Egyptian Memlukes. Although some Arab chiefs accepted his suzerainty, Selim personally planned to seize the entire Red Sea coast of the Arabian Peninsula including Aden, from which he could launch his attacks against the Portuguese and lead his expeditions to the treasures of India. His death prevented this plan from being fulfilled.

Sulaiman, the Magnificent, revived this plan and began the extensive undertaking of building another fleet at Suez, spurred on no doubt by the pleas from the King of Cambay for Ottoman assistance against the Portuguese.

On 27 June 1538 a fleet of 76 vessels left Suez with a cargo of 4,000 Jannissaries and 16,000 other soldiers. Sulaiman Pasha, now 80, and more beast than man ³⁷ commanded this armada. By the 20th of August the fleet reached Kamaran Island, from where Sulaiman Pasha dispatched two fast ships, one to Zabid, the other to Aden, with a demand to furnish provisions for his navy. Upon arriving at Aden on 3 August four representatives of the Sultan of Aden, 'Umar ibn Dawūd,

37. Playfair, op.cit., p. 45

brought gifts to the Pasha. Sulaiman accepted these gifts and sent word to the Fortress that the presence of 'Umar was desired aboard his flagship. The Sultan of Aden at first declined this invitation, but when instructed that he must pay homage to the Ottoman Sultan through Sulaiman Pasha, 'Umar came on board. After an exchange of pleasantries, 'Umar was seized and hung from the yard arm with several of his entourage.

Prior to this treacherous act Sulaiman had pretended that a member of his men on board were ill. He dispatched soldiers to the city carrying their "sick" comrades to be quartered in Aden until they had regained their health. Upon word that Sultan 'Umar had been put to death, these soldiers arose from their beds and seized the Fortress of Aden. The Pasha left a small garrison at Aden and sailed on to India.

The King of Cambay with 80 vessels joined Sulaiman's fleet. The combined forces landed at Diu and attacked the city, but the Portuguese, receiving timely aid from the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, defeated the numerically superior Turkish forces.

Sulaiman Pasha returned to Aden on 5 December 1538 and put ashore a large quantity of artillery pieces, ammunition, and 500 men in order to keep Aden under Turkish control. The Turks, having also secured Mocha and Zabid, began their movement to the interior of Yemen. By 1539 the entire Red Sea coast of Arabia recognized Sulaiman, the Magnificent, as their ruler.

The people of Aden rebelled against their Turkish overlords in 1550 and handed over their city to the Portuguese.³⁸ The Portuguese were soon set upon by Peri Pasha, the Capidan of Egypt, who brought Aden back into the Turkish fold.

The beginning of the 17th Century saw the formation of the East India Company. This English firm sought new markets in the east, but moved slowly in the beginning for the Portuguese were still a potent sea power. The first East India Company vessel to put into Aden was the "Ascension", commanded by Captain Sharkey. This was 1609. The Governor of Aden, although first hospitably receiving Sharkey, confined him for six weeks, but released the Captain,³⁹ holding instead two of Sharkey's companions until 2,000 dollars payment was made. Captain Sharkey refused to pay, and the two Englishmen were sent to the Pasha at Sana. Sharkey sailed to Mocha, which by then had surpassed Aden as a trading center on the India-Egypt trade route. The Turkish Governor received Sharkey courteously and stated that he would permit foreigners to trade without molestation.

The following year two more English ships put in to Aden and Mocha, but were ill-treated by the Turks; however, in 1612 another ship of the East India Company called at Mocha to find that the previous Turkish Governor had been relieved and the new governor was pleased to have the English trade.

38. Hunter, op.cit., p. 163.

39. The Austrian dollar, the thaler, came into use in the Arabian Peninsula in the 15th Century. It is still the only legal currency in Yemen today. "The Long History of the Austrian Dollar", Port of Aden Annual, 1956-57, p. 42-43.

The Zaidi Imams of Sad'ah had managed to survive all the various rulers of Yemen, with the exception of a brief period in the Islamic sixth century when the Meccan Sulaimans drove out these "resident princes". The Zaidis restored themselves and slowly gathered additional followers. In 1597 Zaidi Imam, Al Qasim bin Mohammed, "The Renovater of Religion",⁴⁰ and a great reviver of the Zaidi house, challenged the rule of the Turkish Governor at Sana. The Turks were forced to recognize him as a ruler of a considerable portion of the Yemen. Al Qasim died in 1619, and his son Imam Mohammad Al Mu'ayyad led fresh revolts against the Turkish Governor, Haidar Pasha, leaving the Turks in control only of Sana, Aden, and a portion of the coast. A succession of Zaidi Imams pressed the Turks until the year 1676 at which time Imam Al Mahdi Ahmad ibn Husain extended the Zaidi control southward to the Hadhramaut and Aden.

The French put in an appearance in this area at the beginning of the 18th century when M. de Merville led an expedition to the Red Sea on behalf of the French Commercial Company of St. Malo in 1708.⁴¹ Merville landed at Aden to find the Fortress possessing about 60 pieces of artillery, much of which had been left behind by the Turks. The city had declined greatly as compared to the glorious state it once knew. Even the high walls of the city were crumbling into the sea. The Frenchman moved on to Mocha where in 1709 he concluded a commercial treaty with Imam Al Mahdi. The treaty was broken

40. Jacobs, Harold, Kings of Arabia, Mills and Boon, Ltd., London, 1923, p. 22.

41. Playfair, op. cit., p. 47.

in 1738 when misunderstandings led the Zaidi Imam Husain ibn Qasim to commit hostile acts against the French who retaliated by bombarding Mocha.

The Zaidi rule over the southwestern coast of the Arabian Peninsula grew weak as a result of dynastic quarrels. In 1728 the Abdali chief of Lahej, Fadhl ibn Ali ibn Fadhl, was sufficiently strong to throw off the yoke of the Imam of Sana, Al Mansur Husain ibn Qasim, and proclaimed himself as an independent amir. Fadhl, who called himself the Sultan of Lahej (Lahj), banded together with his neighboring Yafa'i chief, and seized Aden in 1735, agreeing to split the revenues of the port between themselves. The Sultan of Lahej soon decided that the share basis was not desirable and excluded his neighbor. His rule of Aden was ruinous; the little prosperity that was left in Aden before he came soon disappeared.

As can be expected the Yafa'is found a way to eliminate Sultan Fadhl of Lahej. His son Abd-al-Karim became Sultan in 1742, but, although being a well intentioned person, he nevertheless was indolent and permitted his favorite slave to rule Aden.

In 1753 Lahej was invaded by Abd-al-Rubb, Chief of the Hajarīyah (Hajarīyah), who kept the Sultan blockaded within Aden for five months, and only on payment of a large sum of money was the blockade lifted. Shortly after this Abd-al-Karim died and was succeeded by one of his five sons, Abd-al-Hadi. During the first son's reign Azab Makki', chief of the 'Uzzaibah tribe, stormed Aden in 1771, but was driven out after a brief occupation lasting only two days. Abd-al-Hadi was succeeded by his brother Fadhl who died in 1792, to be followed

by still another brother, Ahmed. Sultan Ahmed ibn Abdul Husain is described as being "a handsome man, intelligent, and loved by his people".⁴²

Toward the close of the 18th century the British, who by then had firmly established their position in India and jealously guarded any potential infringement in that area, were quite concerned about the growing French interest in the East. The landing of Napoleon Bonaparte and his forces in Egypt in 1798 appeared as a possible threat to their trade routes to and from the sub-continent. To help offset this French maneuver the East India Company on 12 October 1798 effected an agreement with the Sultan of Muscat for the primary purpose of excluding the French from the Sultan's territories.⁴³ It was in this same year that British Lieutenant Colonel Murray and a small naval force were sent to occupy Perim Island in the middle of the Straits of Bab El Mandeb so as to prevent the French from establishing a sea route to the Indian Ocean via the Red Sea. The British artillery which was emplaced on Perim Island did not have sufficient range to control the traffic of the straits, so Lt. Col. Murray and his forces evacuated this waterless, sun-soaked island in 1799. To add to Murray's troubles the monsoons were not favorable for his return to Bombay, so he requested of Sultan Ahmed ibn Husain permission to land at Aden and await favorable winds. The request was granted

42. ibid.

43. "The first of a series of acts which gradually placed most of the principalities along the eastern and southern littorals of the Arabian Peninsula in varying degrees of dependence on Great Britain". Hurowitz, J. C., Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, v.1., Nostrand & Co., New York, 1956, p. 64.

and it is recorded that Murray and his men received good treatment while in Aden.

During Murray's stay at Aden, Sultan Ahmed proposed that the British enter into an alliance with him, and he in turn would grant the East India Company permission to establish a permanent station
44
there. This offer was declined by Murray.

Three years later, despite Napoleon's withdrawal from Egypt, British interest in southwestern Arabia continued. Sir Home Popham of the East India Company who bore the title "Ambassador to the Arab
45
States" paid a call on Ahmed, Sultan of Aden and its Dependencies, and was kindly received. Sir Popham acting on behalf of the Governor General of India entered into a treaty of commerce and friendship with the Sultan after an unsuccessful attempt to reach a similar accord with the Imam of Sana. This Treaty of Amity and Commerce was signed on 6 September 1802 and permitted the British to carry on trade with Aden for a 2 percent import tax to be increased to 3 percent after ten years. Aside from the commercial articles of this treaty binding on the Sultan and his heirs, it is interesting to note that provisions were made for the British to purchase land in order to erect a building
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for the Company; that they would suffer no indignities and could "ride or use, without molestation either horse, mule, or ass or any other
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beast which they may think necessary"; and "if any soldier or British

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44. Robbins, Robert R., "The Legal Status of Aden Colony and the Aden Protectorate", American Journal of International Law, v. 33, Washington, D. C., 1939, p. 700.
45. Treaties, Agreements and Bonds of the Aden Protectorate, Government Printing Office, Aden, 1955, p. 1.
46. ibid., p. 3, Article 13. This article also states that a wall may be constructed and "the Sultan agrees to prevent any building whatever from being made within 20 yards in front of said company's wall or 15 yards on either side".
47. ibid., Article 14.

subject" embraced Islam, the "Cadi" would so notify the British
 48
 Resident.

This treaty had all the earmarks of British intentions to establish a settlement. However, there is no record of a community or factory (trading post) being established immediately after this, although British vessels continued to call at Aden. A Mr. Salt described the city in 1809 as still being an important center of trade. It was the chief market for gum brought there by Somali traders from east Africa, and its coffee was of the finest quality.

Sultan Ahmed's territories were invaded in 1819 by Sultan Abdullah ibn Farid, the Chief of Upper 'Aulaqi, with 8,000 men. This invasion appears not to be for the purpose of occupation, but for extortion. After the 'Aulaqis plundered much of the Sultan's cattle, they were bought off for the sum of 7,000 dollars, leaving the Sultan in relative peace.

Sultan Ahmed died in 1827, being succeeded by his nephew, Muhsin ibn Fadhl, who was not too popular with the British for he is described
 49
 as being "inhospitable, deceitful, avaricious, and unscrupulous".

The Court of Directors instructed the Bombay Government in 1829 to have a survey of the Red Sea made, and to find a suitable port for a coaling station as steam navigation between England and
 50
 India was about to be inaugurated. The ships "Benares" and "Palinurus" undertook this survey, and soon after some coal was left at Aden.

48. *ibid.*, Article 15.

49. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

50. The British were planning monthly steamship service between Egypt and India.

The "Hugh Lindsay" was the first steamship to be built in India and the first to navigate the Red Sea. The "Hugh Lindsay" stopped for coal at Aden, but labor was hard to obtain and it took six days to load 180 tons of coal on board this vessel. Aden was abandoned⁵¹ as a coaling station, and Mukalla to the east of Aden was selected.

While the British were inaugurating their Bombay-Suez steamship service another British survey team was investigating a second England to India route, this one via the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates River and overland to the Mediterranean Sea. A new threat appeared to this British commercial route in the form of Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt, whose "westernized army" had gained for him almost complete independence from the Sublime Porte, while at the same time actually threatening the very existence of the Ottoman Empire. However, Muhammad Ali's push to capture the Holy Cities of Islam from the Wahhabis in 1834 did not arouse much British concern, for the British were not certain that the Egyptians would succeed in that area; their policy towards the Pasha was not firm at that time; and they did not wish to upset their operating steamship line from India to England via the Red Sea and Suez.

In 1835 Captain Haines of the Indian Navy who was conducting a survey of the Red Sea put into the port of Aden, which he described⁵² as a "wretched village" built on the ruins of an ancient city. There were less than one hundred stone houses, all in need of repair; the

51. The only important seaport in the Eastern Aden Protectorate today.

52. Playfair, op. cit., p. 52

remainder of the inhabitants lived in reed huts. The trade of Aden was only a minute percentage of its former days. The population of Aden at that time was about 600 persons of whom 180 were Jews, 30 or 40 Hindu Banians, the remainder Somalis or Arabs.⁵³

During his stay at Aden Captain Stafford Bettesworth Haines sent two of his officers to pay a call on the Sultan of Lahej. Sultan Muhsin treated them well and asked for British assistance in an expedition he intended to lead against the Fadhlis in retaliation for the attack they had recently made upon Lahej. The British officers could not offer such assistance to the Sultan. The following year the Fadhlis attacked and sacked Aden, carrying off property valued at 30,000 dollars. The Fadhlis also exacted tribute of one dollar per day.

At about this same time Muhammad Ali's forces not only began to threaten the alternate England to India route in the north, but the Egyptians had penetrated deep into the Yemen. In 1837 an Egyptian General who had occupied Mocha barred the British coffee trade from that Red Sea port. This caused repercussions at 10 Downing Street, for the British Prime Minister, Palmerston, made the new Viceroy of Egypt to understand that he would not tolerate interference in Britain's commercial trade. Muhammad Ali retracted, but he was regarded with suspicion thereafter.

The Egyptians soon made fresh triumphs in the north, while

53. Ingrams, "History of The Fortified Frontier" *op. cit.* Ingrams states: "The fortunes of Aden had sunk to a low ebb All through its history there have been foreign merchants in Aden, Abyssinians, Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Indians."

they continued their penetrations into the Arabian Peninsula. Muhammad Ali increased the number of his troops east of the Sinai, and was victorious in overrunning the Wahabis. All this made the British more apprehensive, particularly about their Red Sea route to India.⁵⁴ Then an incident occurred which gave the British an opportunity to exert themselves in Aden.

On the 4th day of January 1837 the Madras ship "Deri Dowlut" belonging to Ahed En-Nissa Begum and flying British colors ran aground a few miles from Aden. The ship carried a valuable cargo, a number of pilgrims on their way to Jidda, and other passengers, among them were "several ladies of rank".⁵⁵ The following morning a band of Arabs boarded the vessel and stole whatever they could carry, and forced the passengers to go ashore on rafts. Fourteen passengers perished, and those who made it safely to the shore were stripped naked and "the females were subjected to brutal indignities".⁵⁶

The news of this incident outraged the Bombay Government, who dispatched the East India Company's vessel, the "Coote", under the command of Captain S. B. Haines. Haines was to demand redress for this atrocity. The postscript to his instructions is interesting,

54. Hoskins, Halford L., "Background of the British Position in Arabia", Middle East Journal, v. 1., Washington, D. C., 1937, p. 145. The American Consul in Cairo wrote to the State Department on 16 November 1838: "So long as Muhammad Ali does not impede the transit through Egypt, the British will preserve the status quo; but the British will not return to the Cape alone; and what is now a petty trickle in a few years will be an overwhelming torrent, and Egypt seems destined to become a province of the British realm.

55. Play, op. cit. p. 54.

56. ibid.

for, providing that the Sultan of Lahej made the proper amends, Haines was authorized to effect the purchase of Aden so that British commercial interests could be carried on more safely and that a coaling depot might be established.

Just one year elapsed from the "Deri Dowlut" incident until Captain Haines landed at Aden. Haines charged the Sultan for this foul act. The latter denied any knowledge of the incident, but Haines discounted this denial because the property of the "Deri Dowlut" was being sold in the markets of Aden. Haines demanded 12,000 dollars indemnity or the return of all the property. The Sultan managed to collect and return some 7,808 dollars of stolen property from the markets, and passed a bill for the remaining money, and so settled the first score.

Captain Haines then turned to his second mission, that of obtaining the port of Aden from the Sultan of Lahej. On 23 January 1838 Haines received the Sultan's bond that he would cede Aden Peninsula to the East India Company for 8,700 dollars on the following March. A plot, hatched by the Sultan's son to seize Haines and his copies of the agreement while Haines was attending the last meeting, was discovered by Haines. He foiled this plot simply by eliminating the last meeting and sailed away to Bombay.

The "Coote" and Captain Haines returned again to Aden in October of that year. Haines proceeded to the Sultan with demands that the Sultan abide by the agreement reached in January; however, the number of Muhammad Ali's troops in close proximity to the Sultan's

territories, and the pressure brought upon him by the Pasha's agents outweighed Haines and his single warship. The Sultan thereupon refused to honor the previous agreement. He prohibited the return of the plundered booty, and issued orders that the "Coote" would not be supplied with water or provisions. Haines retaliated by blockading the port of Aden. The Sultan's soldiers fired upon the Indian warship and wounded two of her sailors.

One month later the Sultan begged for a three-day truce. During that time he sent a boat to Siarrah on the African coast, where the "Coote" was receiving its supplies, and with a small bribe he tried to induce the Somalis to kill any Englishman that landed there. Early in January a skirmish took place between the East Indian vessel the "Mole" and the Sultan's schooner "Mahi", the latter receiving the bulk of casualties.

On 16 January 1839 two additional Indian naval vessels put in at Aden, the "Volage" and the "Cruizer". On board these ships were 300 British troops and 400 native soldiers under the command of Major Baillie. A new demand was sent to the Sultan to deliver Aden to the British. The Sultan again refused. The two vessels opened fire on the fortress, landed their troops and assaulted the city. The British were victors in the short battle that followed, and thus Aden became the first new accession of territory in the reign of Queen Victoria.

Upon capturing Aden, Captain Haines threw up hasty fortifications across the isthmus at Khormaksar to resist any Arab attack,

then he set about to restore peaceful relations with the local Arab tribes. Captain Haines first concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with the 'Uzzaibahs, a sub-tribe of the Abdalis of Lahej. On 2 February 1839 Captain Haines entered into two agreements with the Sultan of Lahej; one a "Treaty of Friendship", (see Appendix 2), the second a "Treaty Entered Into By The Sultan of Lahej Engaging Not To Permit Insult or Molestation on The Roads of Aden". (see Appendix 3).

Muhammad Ali was displeased with this latest British action, for the port of Aden, even though in a decayed condition, was still a port of significant strategic importance. He insisted that Aden belonged to him by virtue of a firman issued by the Sublime Porte, which authorized him some ten years earlier to take possession of the Yemen. The British argued that Aden was not part of the Yemen.

Soon after Muhammad Ali's loss of Aden took place, the big powers began to squeeze him back into the original borders of Egypt. As the local Arab chieftans saw the collapse of the Egyptian forces in their areas, they were soon ready to come to an agreement with the British who were endeavoring to gather these sultanates and sheikhdoms within their sphere of influence. Thus we see that the return of the Arabian Peninsula, in part at least, to the Turkish Sultans was effected, but the British grip on the eastern and southern littorals was tightened and has remained fairly firm even to this date.

58. Treaties, Agreements and Bonds of the Aden Protectorate, *op. cit.*, p. 4-5.

59. Hoskins, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

60. A point that the British are still making today in reference to the Imam of Yemen's claims on Aden.

The British foothold in Aden was challenged from the very beginning, for the Sultan of Lahej and some of his neighbors attacked Aden from time to time, even though in June 1839 the Sultan reiterated his intentions of peace and good will in the form of an agreement with the Governor General of India. A stipend of 6,500 dollars was to be paid the Sultan annually, along with smaller sums to be paid the Fadhli, Yafa'i, Hawshabi, and Amiri tribes, so long as they all behaved themselves.

November of 1839 saw the Abdali and Fadhli chieftains attempt to retake Aden, and the stipend stopped. On 21 May 1840 another attack of 4,000 to 5,000 men was repulsed. In July of the following year 5,000 Abdali and Fadhli men attacked Aden at 02:45 the morning of the fifth, but alert sentries soon aroused the defenders who drove off the Arabs with heavy losses. Other aggressive acts occurred and the British retaliated by destroying the villages of Bir Ahmed and Shaikh Othman. A new Treaty of Peace was signed in 1843, and the stipends flowed again in 1844.

This peace was short lived for in 1846 a Sayyid Ismail launched a Jihad , or holy war, against the British but failed to dislodge the infidels. The pattern remained the same for some time to come: the British were interested in keeping the trade routes opened into the interior and offered stipends to perpetuate the peace. The tribes, whose national pastime was either warring on a neighboring tribe or against the British, continued to look upon

61. In certain remote parts of the Western Aden Protectorate, this hostile attitude prevails even today.

Aden with an envious eye. Attacks would occur and the British would retaliate either by a blockade or by dispatching troops against the trouble-makers or both.

Despite the continual harrassment at the isthmus, Aden Settlement enjoyed a stable administration and increasing prosperity. This waterless, treeless rock grew in importance as a coaling station, attracting ships, merchants, and many Arabs from the surrounding tribes. From the time the British entered Aden in 1839 the population increased from 600 to some 21,000 persons by January 1856. A census taken in 1856 lists the following population figures by religions:

Christians	1,129
Indian Muslims	2,557
Arab Muslims	4,812
African Muslims	3,627
Other Muslims	58
Hindus	5,611
Parsees	61
Jews	1,224
Miscellaneous	<u>1,659</u>
63	
Total	20,738

62. Captain Haines reported the population of 600 in Aden at the time of his entry (see p. 31), but did not include 700 troops manning the fortress in this count. Hunter's account of Aden states that in 1842, three years after the British occupation of Aden, the population increased from 6000 to 15,000. He further states that there has always been a tendency to overestimate the populations of the settlement. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

63. The census taker estimates an additional 4,000 persons uncounted, for the Muslims were reluctant to accurately state the number of females in their household. Playfair, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

It is interesting to note the great influx of Indians into the Aden Settlement for these people have played an influential role in Aden, both as merchants and civil employees.

A brief word about Perim Island can be said at this point. Perim is located a mile and a half from the extreme western shores of the Aden Protectorate and eleven miles from the African coast. This island, like Aden, is formed principally of volcanic rock, a sandy plain, and is completely waterless.

The Portuguese Albuquerque landed there in 1513. For a time it was a haven for pirates. In 1738 the French occupied it for a brief period, and as noted above, Lieutenant Colonel Murray of the Indian Navy attempted to establish a post there in 1779, but was forced to leave. The British again took formal possession of Perim in 1857 and placed it under the control of the Assistant Political Resident of Aden. A small garrison of troops were placed on the island, and a lighthouse was built there in 1861.

The Fadhalis, who had caused the British continual trouble, entered into an agreement with the British for the "Security of Roads ⁶⁴ Leading into Aden" in which [the Sultan] would be held responsible for any acts of violence committed along the way; but the British in return promised non-interference in any quarrel that might arise between the Fadhalis and the neighboring Abdalis. The Abdali Sultan was displeased by this agreement, fearing loss of his control of the area, and in 1858 he arbitrarily placed an exorbitant tax on Aden's water supply coming from Sheikh Othman. The British protested this

64. Treaties, Agreements, and Bonds of the Aden Protectorate, op. cit., p. 67.

action, but Ali, the Sultan of Lahej, responded by closing all his borders to any communications. A month later he filled the well at Sheikh Othman, so the British sent "an adequate force of artillery and infantry, together with a party of seamen from the honorable Company's vessel of war" to Sheikh Othman. The village was captured, and "after blowing up Sheikh Othman", the British forces returned to Aden. Sultan Ali saw the handwriting on the wall and came to terms. Peace prevailed for almost a decade.

The year 1869 was a significant one for Aden, for in that year the Resident of Aden effected the purchase of Little Aden from the Aqrabi Sheikh for the sum of 30,000 German crowns. Such a purchase doubled Aden's size and gave her control of both sides of the entry to the harbor. The second event was the opening of the Suez Canal, for with this water link between the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea world shipping traffic via the Cape of Good Hope was all but a thing of the past. Aden's strategic position, economically as well as militarily, greatly increased in importance.

Undoubtedly this enhancement of Aden's strategic position attracted the Turks who again exerted their control over parts of the Yemen. In 1872, we see a gradual encroachment by Turkish troops

65. Hunter, op. cit., p. 168.

66. ibid.

67. Little Aden included Jebel Ihsan, Khor Bir Ahmed, Al Gadier, and Bunder Fuqum. On 23 January 1863, the Governor of Aden made an agreement with the same Aqrabi Sheikh not to sell, mortgage, or give for occupation, except to the British this same territory which was purchased in 1869. The former agreement was settled for 3,000 dollars and a monthly stipend of 30 dollars. Treaties, Agreements, etc., op. cit., p. 39-40.

into the neighboring regions of Aden as well as pressure being applied to have the local sultans and sheikhs recognize the suzerainty of the "Shadow of God on Earth", the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. The Turks moved southward to the borders of Lahej, and made the British a little nervous. A show of force was made by both sides, and the British protested to the Sublime Porte. Finally the Turks withdrew to the north.

The British made an additional purchase of land in 1882, which brought Aden Settlement to its present size. For the sum of 25,000 dollars and an increase in the monthly subsidy from 541 dollars to 1,100 dollars, the Sultan of Lahej agreed to sell the community of Sheikh Othman and environs, thus giving Aden additional room for expansion and a water supply.⁶⁸

The first forty-odd years of British relations with the various sultans, sheikhs, and amirs who surrounded Aden Settlement were in the form of treaties of commerce and amity, stipends paid for good behavior, and other similar agreements. The British remained aloof from the blood feuds, plunderings and quarrels that plagued the entire area. They had no political concern in tribal matters, and were singularly interested in keeping the land roads of commerce open to Aden. The British desired peace with their neighbors, and resorted to military action only in the form of retaliatory measures when trade was disrupted, their water supply curtailed, or when directly attacked as so frequently happened during their early occupation of Aden.

68. ibid. p. 18

The Turkish infringement into the southwestern territories in the early '70's; British occupation of Egypt in the early '80's; the continual British concern for the preservation of her lines of communications to India; plus the pressing "Eastern Question", all moved Great Britain to secure her position more effectively in southwestern Arabia. The strengthening of the buffer area around Aden Settlement seemed advisable; therefore, in 1888 the British Government embarked upon the policy of signing Protectorate Treaties with the various tribes in the vicinity of Aden. In fact, this policy was soon enlarged to include much of the area along the Arabian Sea and northwards into the Persian Gulf. These Protectorate Treaties all included two main points: a. the British Government extended to the local ruler "the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen - Empress", and b. the local ruler promised to "refrain from entering into any correspondence, agreement or treaty, with any foreign or native power, except with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government". A third article binding the local ruler, his heirs or successors "not to cede, sell, mortgage, lease, hire, or give or otherwise dispose of his territories to any power other than

69. "We had but newly arrived in Aden and secured a foothold on the shore of Arabia, and following the practice which we had found to be so successful in India and which . . . brought practically the whole of that sub-Continent under the British flag, were anxious to surround our new possession and its valuable harbour with friendly States which would act as a buffer between our property and any potential enemy from the landward side. Our motives were entirely selfish and our conduct remained so until this present century was well advanced." Hickinbotham, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

70. Protective agreements similar to those in the Aden area were signed with Muscat, "Musqati Non-Alienation Bond", 20 March 1891; with Bahrein, "Exclusive Agreement", 13 March 1892; with Kuwait, "Exclusive Agreement", 23 January 1899. Hurewitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 208, 209, 218.

the British", is included in most of these Protectorate Treaties. The first of the tribes signed in 1888, others shortly thereafter, and some held out until 1914. (See Appendix 4 for a list and dates of these Protectorate Treaties). It is interesting to note that the Abdali tribe ruled by the Sultan of Lahej, who is Aden's closest neighbor, and the most powerful and probably the most influential ruler did not sign a Protective Treaty until 1951.

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While these Protectorate Treaties relieved these states of certain of their sovereign rights in favor of Great Britain, the British did not take any steps to improve their position in so far as direct control over the area was concerned. If the roads remained opened, and there was no foul play along these trade routes, the British were content to leave things as they were and not to interfere with the local chieftans.

With the Turks once again in power over most of the Yemen, the British, who were now fortified with their Protectorate Treaties, decided that it was time to settle the frequently disputed border which separates the Yemen from the Aden Protectorates. In 1902 the Anglo-Turkish Boundary Commission was formed and commenced its work on the ground proceeding from Sheikh Said, the western tip of the boundary on the Red Sea and worked slowly eastward. Tribal territorial disputes had to be settled en route which was time consuming, to say nothing of the difficult terrain the commission had to cross. By 1903 the Commission had entered Dhala (Dal'), the capital of the Dhala Amirate, and by 1904 it had reached a point slightly north-

71. States is probably a misnomer for most of these bits of real estate were single-handedly ruled by a sheikh with little or no form of governmental machinery.

northeast of the Yemeni town of Qa'taba (Qa'tabah). Here the Commission stopped, and for several good reasons: a. the mountainous terrain was becoming increasingly difficult to traverse; b. neither the Turks nor British held sufficient control of that portion of the country to guarantee the safety of the Commission; and c. the whole thing was taking a good deal of time. To further delineate the border beyond the Commission's stopping point, the two governments agreed to draw a line at 45 degrees extending into the Rub El-Khali.⁷³ It was not until some ten years later, however, that this demarcation line was officially accepted, being ratified as part of the Anglo-Turkish Convention of 1914. This border agreement is still quite important for it forms a basis of future settlement between the British and the Yemenis.

In 1911 the Zaidi Imam and the Turks who were continually quarrelling over control of the Yemen, came to an agreement in which the Imam was to control the Zaidi area of the country while the Turks would rule over the Sunni portion.⁷⁴ This agreement must have pleased the Imam, for Yemen is the only "occupied" country which did not turn its back on the Ottoman Sultan during World War I.

While the Arabs were in revolt against the Ottomans in the north, the Turks were actually gaining ground in southwest Arabia. In 1915 a Turkish column moved southward from Taiz to the borders of

72. 13°50' N: 44° 40' E.

73. This line known as the "violet" line extended to the northern reaches of the Rub El-Khali. From here it veered northward and included the base of Qatar. This line depicted the areas of Turkish and British spheres of influence prior to World War I. Hickinbotham, *op.cit.* p. 56.

74. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

Lahej, having already walked through the "Protected" Haushabi Sultanate. The Sultan of Lahej sent word to the British that the Turks were moving south; he, in turn, gathered a small force and moved northward to stop the Turks. A poorly organized British column came to Lahej to reinforce the Abdali irregulars, but when the Sultan of Lahej returned to advise the British column as to the whereabouts of his troops and the disposition of the Turks he was shot, being mistaken for a Turk. The British column reversed itself, and set up its defenses at the borders of Aden. The Turks advanced and occupied not only Lahej, but the northern shores of the harbor and the British purchased territory of Little Aden. These enemies glared at each other for two and a half years, then finally a British general took the initiative and drove the Turks back to Lahej in 1918. The Turks remained there until the surrender of the Sublime Porte later that year.

Immediately after the Turkish withdrawal from Yemen, the Imam did his best to assert his authority over the entire southwestern Arabian Peninsula. In fact he laid claim to all the Aden Protectorate and the Aden Settlement as well. The Idrisi of Asir, who accepted British assistance during the war, gained control of the Yemeni port of Hodeida in 1919, but the Imam regained this seaport in 1921. The Imam penetrated the northern "Protectorate" states on numerous occasions, but little, if anything, was done on the part of the British to fulfill their agreements. A possible explanation for this

75. "That Yemeni troops were allowed to enter the Protectorate at all in breach of Britain's treaties with the Protectorate States reflects little credit on the government of the day. This sorry state of affairs continued for 25 years." Hickinbotham, Tom, "Unfriendly Relations", The Times British Colonies Review, First Quarter, London, 1959, p. 17.

lack of interest was that war-weary Britain lacked enthusiasm to skirmish over a remote buffer state, to say nothing of the expense to form a military operation to halt this aggression.

In 1917 the tribal affairs of the Protectorate had been transferred from distant India to the also distant office of the British High Commissioner in Egypt, one of whose chief concerns during the war was the Red Sea countries. A further change was made ten years later when the military affairs of the Aden Settlement and the business of the Aden Protectorate were put into the hands of the British Colonial Office in London. ⁷⁶ The administrative affairs of Aden Settlement remained with the Bombay Presidency for the time being.

The Colonial Office relieved the army of the responsibility of the defense of Aden early in 1928, and placed this task upon the Royal Air Force. It was decided then that a small force should be formed locally whose mission it would be to provide guards for the Aden air base, garrison Kamaran and Perim Islands, and assist the R.A.F. in maintaining internal security within the Western Aden Protectorate. Lieutenant Colonel M. C. Lake, who had previously ⁷⁷ commanded the 1st Yemen Infantry ⁷⁸ was recalled from his regiment, the 4th Grenadiers (Indian Army) to form this new force and become

76. Robbins, *op. cit.* p. 704.

77. British possession in the Red Sea Off the Yemeni coast.

78. The 1st Yemen Infantry, a battalion drawn from the Yemen and Aden Protectorate was formed in World War I to garrison Kamaran and Perim Islands. This unit was disbanded in 1925. Wood, Peter N., "A Rifle, a Camel and a Wife", *Soldier*, v. 15, n. 4, June 1954, pp. 8-11.

its commanding officer. This new unit was called the Aden Protectorate Levies.

In this same year 1928, the Imam's forces made two new thrusts into the Protectorate, one in the area of the Amirate of Dhala, and the second into the Audhali Sultanate. The Yemeni penetration in the Dhala region was pushed back by the local tribes in cooperation with the R.A.F.'s Number 8 Bomber Squadron. By 1933 the Colonial Office permitted the Resident in Aden to express himself firmly to the Imam concerning the continual occupation of the Audhali highland by the Yemeni forces.

Yemeni-Saudi Arabian relations were becoming strained about this time as well. Imam Yahya thought it best not to over-extend his meager forces; he, therefore, made temporary peace with the British in the form of the Treaty of Sana, known also as the "Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Cooperation", signed on 11 February 1934.⁷⁹ Initial talks in this Treaty began in October 1931, but were delayed because of non-compliance on the part of Imam Yahya to release 40 hostages he had taken from the Audhalis. Guaranteeing their release was a time consuming matter upon which the British insisted before signing the Treaty.

The Treaty of Sana declared that the border, as it stood on the day of signing, would be the demarcation line between these two areas until a final agreement is reached.⁸⁰ However, the Treaty had 40 years to run, and the final agreement is still pending.

79. Hurewitz, v. 2., *op. cit.*, p. 196-7.

80. The Imam refused to renounce his territorial claims on Aden and the Protectorate, explaining that the religious restrictions placed on the Imam prevented him from changing the God-ordained boundaries of his country. Lenczowski, George, Middle East in World Affairs, Cornell University Press, New York, 1957 p. 457.

While negotiations were being argued in the Yemen, the fate of Aden Settlement was being decided, for India was soon to have provincial autonomy. Up until this time Aden Settlement had been part of the Bombay Presidency, but was not an Indian Colony as such. The Resident of Aden, prior to taking administrative action, was often required to obtain concurrence from three different authorities: The Bombay Government, the Government of India, and the Colonial Office in London. This was cumbersome and time consuming, and in view of the forthcoming change in India's status, all parties concerned, Resident of Aden, Bombay Government, Government of India, and the Colonial Office, approved Aden's change of status from that of being part of the Bombay Presidency to a Chief Commissionership under the direct control of the Government of India. This was the first step toward internal self-government.

The British were at last beginning to show some signs of deeper interest in the Aden Settlement and the Aden Protectorate in particular and at an opportune time. For across the narrow straits of Bab El-Mandeb, Benito Mussolini, Italy's Fascist dictator, was beginning to carve out a rich East African Empire while friendship agreements were being reinstated between Italy and the Yemen. However, by 1938 the British and Italians came to an agreement that neither nation would seek a privileged position either in Yemen

81. Robbins, *op. cit.*, p. 702.

82. Hickinbotham, *Aden, op. cit.*, p. 23

83. This is a moot point. It appears that much British policy after WW I was based more on "reaction" than on "action."

or Saudi Arabia.

British foreign policy and colonial policy reacted not only to Mussolini and the Imam, but numerous other stimuli in the six years before World War II; Hitler, oil, the United States, India, Palestine, Arab Nationalism, to name just a few. But react Britain did to the best of her ability. Then the world was plunged into another global war. Aden Colony continued to fly the Union Jack over Government House, and the various sheikhs, sultans, and amirs behaved relatively well during the war period. After the war a different Britain arose. A different policy which brought about some interesting changes in the British Administration in the Colony followed.

84. Hurewitz, v. 2., op. cit., "Agreement of Mutual Interest in the Mediterranean, the United Kingdom and Italy", pp. 216-8.

Chapter 3

Administration of Aden Colony

Political:

Aden's history has been traced from its occupation in 1839, when it became part of the Bombay Government, down through the years. In 1932 Aden passed from the administration of the Bombay Presidency to become a Chief Commissioner's Province of Aden under the Government of India, with its military needs being looked after by the Colonial Office. Section 288 of the Government of India Act of 1935 provided that "on such a date as His Majesty may by Order in Council appoint, the then existing Chief Commissioner's Province of Aden shall cease to be a part of British India"⁸⁵. The appointed date was set as 1 April 1937, and on that day Aden became a Crown Colony within the British Empire. As a Colony, Aden is part of British national territory and its inhabitants are British subjects.

Only one legal tie remained with India after 1937, that being a matter of the court of appeals. When Aden became a Colony its District and Sessions court became the Supreme Court of the Colony, appeals from this court were passed to the High Court of Judicature in Bombay.⁸⁶ Economic and "blood" ties with India persisted, for 10,000 Indians lived in Aden. As James Morris notes,⁸⁷ the "spirit of

85. Orders in Council, Royal Instructions, Legislative Council Elections Ordinance and Legislative Council Standing Orders, Government Printing Office, Aden, 1959.

86. This was later changed and appeals from Aden's Supreme Court were referred to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, and then to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

87. Morris, James, The Market of Seleukia, Faber & Faber, London, 1957.

India lives on" with the large number of Indian merchants and lawyers. Laborers are "coolies", the British are "sahibs", and the "suk" or market is the "bazaar".

When Aden was granted Colonial status, it was given a constitution which followed the usual colonial type constitution as set down in the British Settlements Act of 1887. A governor was appointed to administer the affairs of the Colony.⁸⁸

The Governor was assisted in the work of administering the Colony by an Executive Council, which consisted of the "officer lawfully discharging the functions of Chief Secretary", and such other persons that either the Crown may appoint, or that the Governor himself shall appoint. Should the Governor want the advice of a person relating to the affairs of the Colony on any special occasion, he was empowered to make such a person an "Extraordinary Member" of the Council.⁸⁹

The Governor of the Aden Colony is also the Governor of the Aden Protectorate.⁹⁰ The Aden Protectorate Order in Council of 18 March 1937 established his authority there, being assisted by a political secretary and staff, which will be discussed in the next chapter. The Executive Council has no powers or jurisdiction over the Protectorate.

88. His full title was Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

89. Liebesney, Herbert F., "International Relations of Arabia", Middle East Journal, v. 1., February 1947, p. 152.

90. The Executive Council is now composed of ten members presided over by the Governor.

Aden's executives had little chance to alter any of the Colony's administrative machinery before the beginning of World War II. The war impeded political development within the Colony, for Aden was under constant threat of attack from the Italian colonies in East Africa. A few raids did occur. In November 1940, an Italian plane was shot down over the Colony, and later in the war the Italian submarine, "Galileo Galilei" was captured in the outer harbor of Aden.

On 23 November 1944, the Aden Colony (Amendment) Order established a Legislative Council whose functions were to vote on all legislation enacted for the Colony. The members of the Legislative Council can initiate legislation, with the exception of taxes, and can suspend any Orders in Council previously enacted. However, the Governor who presides over this Council, has absolute veto power.

The Legislative Council, which was inaugurated in January 1947, consisted of the following members; the Air Officer Commanding (British Forces, Aden), the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General, and the Financial Secretary as ex-officio members; four official members, and not more than eight unofficial members. Membership in the Legislative Council was by selection and not election. It was not until July 1955, when the Council's membership was enlarged, that four of the unofficial members could be elected by qualified voters of Aden Colony. The Constitution was again modified in June 1958 at which time the Legislative

91. From four to five official members, and from eight to nine unofficial members.

Council was again expanded and the elected members constituted a majority. Twelve of the members were now elected, six were nominated, and the ex-officio members increased to five as the Assistant Chief Secretary became one of its members. Four of the elected council members have been appointed Members-in-Charge of certain departments in the government. A local Adenese political leader is of the opinion that putting four of the elected members of the council in charge of departments relegates these persons to government "stooges", so while the majority of members are elected, the govern-
92
ment insures a working or voting majority in the council. The Legislative Council cannot be said to be a truly representative body of the people of Aden Colony, but a start has been made.

A start also has been made in the way of opposition to these democratic processes, for the general elections which were held in the Colony in 1958 were boycotted by many eligible voters because the qualifications for electors restricted the vast number of Yemenis who resided in the Colony from voting. The Legislative Council Election Ordinance states that a person may vote if he is a British subject born in the Colony, or, if not born in the Colony, have resided there at least two of the three years prior to registration. The elector must be male, not less than 21 years of age, and the owner of property in the Colony worth at least 1,500 shillings, or in occupation of residential or business premises value^d at 2,500 shillings, or have earned

92. The five Members-in-Charge and the five ex-officio members of the Legislative Council constitute the Executive Council, the Governor's advisory group.

at least 150 shillings per month for the past twelve months prior to registration. The usual sanity, criminal, and allegiance clauses are included.

A large number of Yemenis have crossed the borders into Aden seeking employment in the Colony. While many of these Yemenis can qualify under the income or property clauses, they are nonetheless not British subjects. Since citizenship has not been offered to the Yemenis, the Arab element resents this move ⁹³ and seems to think that it is all part of a plot to perpetuate the Indian minority. Ingrams calls this boycott "Cairo-directed, and supported by the Aden Trade Union Congress (A.T.U.C.)." ⁹⁴ He further states that "qualifications for electors and candidates retain in principle that only those who have permanent interest in Aden should manage its domestic affairs. Race has nothing to do with it. Unfortunately, as the recent election period showed, Aden's swollen population is forgetting that it is the service of Aden's real role which counts and is inclined to look on elections, not as a part of the machinery for establishing the representative government of the real Adenese, but as a plebiscite for establishing Aden as simply part of the field of Arab nationalism."

Be it Arab nationalism, Nasserism, liberalism or anything else, the population of Aden is becoming politically conscious. The British are in sympathy with the political aspirations of the people, but stress the usual caution that one must crawl before he can walk. Sir William Luce, Governor of Aden, had this to say about political

93. Barbour, *op. cit.*, p. 306

94. Ingrams, "History of Fortified Frontier Haven", *op. cit.*, p. 8

development while speaking at the opening of the Second Session of the Legislative Council, 25 January 1960. "In its constitutional development I am satisfied that the Colony is taking the right road and at the right pace. There are, I know, many critics, often very vociferous, who will not accept this statement, but some of them at any rate are little concerned with retaining the individuality of this unique port and territory and prefer to put other interests above the interests of Aden. Their opposition will not prevent Her Majesty's Government and this Government from continuing by gradual and ordered steps along the road to more fully responsible self-government."^{95.}

There is another administrative layer in the Colony, one that deals with some of the housekeeping responsibilities of Aden. This is the Municipal Council. Practically from the time the British set foot in Aden some 120 years ago, the form of local government was a municipality managed by a small body of military officers appointed by the local Commander and Resident. In 1900 this board was changed and re-named the Aden Settlement,⁹⁶ but its members continued to be nominated. The body was responsible for all local government affairs with the exception of police, education, or hospital services. One of the main responsibilities was the management of the water and electric services for Aden, and a second major function was the care of all the Colony lands. The Settlement was not a very active group and limped along from decision to decision. It was dissolved in 1945,

95. Aden Colony Gazette, No. 5., 28 January 1960.

96. Municipal Government in Aden", The Times British Colonies Review First Quarter, 1959, p. 21.

and its two main responsibilities were assumed by the Central Government, and in place of the Settlement, two township authorities were established; the Fortress Township Authority (Fortress of Aden) and the Sheikh Othman Township Authority.

These townships were managed by boards whose members were appointed by the government. However, the first elections in the colony were held in 1949 when it was decided that three members could be elected to the Fortress Township Authority, but still its four official and three other unofficial members were appointed. The duties of the board were to supervise various services such as the control of markets, maintain public health and sanitary services, the maintenance and improvement of roads, provision of recreation facilities, and control of building operations.

The Fortress Township Authority was changed into the Aden Municipality in April of 1953. Its new constitution provides for 16 members exclusive of the President, and six of these members were to be elected posts with a two-year tenure. The responsibilities of the Municipality remained the same as indicated by the standing committees in effect at the time: Finance and General Purpose Committee, Works Committee to be responsible for roads, drainages, recreation grounds, etc., a Market Committee, Housing Committee, Plans Committee and Library Committee.

April 1955 saw the creation of a new Township Authority of Little Aden, which had been formerly part of Sheikh Othman. The completion of the new oil refinery at Little Aden in 1953 pointed to

the need for this additional authority. The members of these two townships are still appointed, none are elected.

Elections were held every two years in the Municipality. By 1959 the Council was enlarged to some 20 members of which 14 are elected (12 Arab members, two Indian members). The other six are still appointed: four European, one Indian, and one Somali. The functions and duties remained the same.

The elections first held in the local government boards had their faults, but did serve as a lesson in the principles which lead toward additional self-government. In successive years, when the elections ran somewhat smoother, elected members were introduced into the higher governing body, the Legislative Council.

The greater participation in governmental affairs by local residents, the elections, the appointing of certain members of the Legislative Council as officers-in-charge of departments, plus "Adenization" of many government positions all point to a genuine British effort to give the Colony more freedom of action and self-government experience. Only the future can tell whether the British may have started this process too late, for the flames of Arab Nationalism are being fanned from within Aden and from the outside as well.

In the organization which has been established to administer the Colony of Aden, the Governor is the Chief Executive. The Executive Council advises the Governor and assists in administration, while the Legislative Council enacts the laws; five of its members (four elected)

are members-in-charge of various departments. Areas of responsibility for the departments are practically self-explanatory. A semi-graphical explanation follows:

Governor

Executive Council:

Air Officer Commanding, British Forces, Aden
 Chief Secretary
 Assistant Chief Secretary
 Attorney General
 Financial Secretary

Legislative Council:

The Speaker
 Five ex-officio members
 Six official members
 Twelve unofficial members

Colony Departments

Departments under Authority of the Chief Secretary

Civil Aviation
 Lands
 Police
 Printing
 Public Relations
 Township Authority, Little Aden
 Township Authority, Sheikh Othman

Departments under Authority of the Attorney General

Legal
 Immigration
 Prison

Departments under Authority of the Financial Secretary

Finance
 Cooperative & Marketing
 Income Tax
 Trade including Customs
 Treasury

Member-in-Charge: Education
 Member-in-Charge: Labor and Welfare and Antiquities
 Member-in-Charge: Medical Services
 Member-in-Charge: Post, Telephones and Electricity
 Member-in-Charge: Public Works

In addition to the above, the Governor has the following listed staff to further assist him in the running of affairs of Aden Colony and the Protectorates:

Judiciary
 Audit
 Public Service Commission
 Chief Secretary
 Colony
 Assistant Chief Secretary
 Protectorate
 Secretary
 Protectorate Financial Secretary
 Assistant Chief Secretary
 Establishments
 Security

Some of the functions and operations of the departments of the Colony, particularly those which have been placed under a Member-in-Charge, will be discussed.

Education:

Education plays a vital role in the present and future development of the Colony. As additional steps are taken toward self-government, trained and qualified indigenous personnel must step forward to fill the awaiting positions.

A brief glimpse into the history of Aden, from the education viewpoint, reveals that about one century ago, 1856 to be exact, an

attempt was made to establish a Government school in Aden Settlement by the Reverend P. Badger, the Chaplain of Aden, with the approval of the Resident, of course. Up until this time education was provided by the traditional Koranic schools, which were attached to each mosque, but here little was learned other than the memorization of the Koran, and the Roman Catholic mission had limited facilities for a few European students.

Chaplain Badger had hoped that in addition to local children some of the surrounding chiefs would send their sons to this new school, so that a few of the local prejudices might be eradicated.⁹⁸ A head master and small staff were obtained, but after two years complete lack of interest on the part of the local populace, as well as the chiefs, caused the school to close its doors.

A second attempt was made eight years later, when the Resident Colonel Mereweather reopened the government school, but did so on a modest basis, only offering a primary education to those few who wanted it. A few sons of the Sepoys, plus six local boys attended.⁹⁹ The school's first two years were not particularly successful. Then attendance began to increase slowly. Some few years after its opening, when government jobs were offered to some of the students who could read and write English, education became a desirable thing.¹⁰⁰ Ten years later enrollment reached 60.

97. Hunter, op.cit., p. 148

98. ibid.

99. Indian soldiers on duty with the Bombay Government in Aden.

100. The curriculum offered at that time was: elementary histories of England, India and Rome, Euclid as far as the first book, geography, arithmetic, and algebra. Hunter, op. cit., p. 149.

Prior to 1937 a regular system of schooling had been operating by the Government of India, but expenditures by the Government of India were always small, and the educational facilities were therefore quite meager. Girls' education was confined to one small primary school at Sheikh Othman and the Convent School.

When Aden obtained Colonial status in 1937, the responsibility of education was placed directly on the Governor. To assist the Governor a British Director of Education was appointed. Both were assisted by an "Educational Advisory Committee" which was composed of representatives of various communities and educational interests.¹⁰¹

Unlike the beginning years of Government schooling in Aden when students were hard to find; the Colonial Office found that the demand for education exceeded the number of places available in the schools. There were four types of schools operating in the Colony: the Government schools, the grant-in-aid schools, private schools, and Koranic schools. A system of "recognized" and "unrecognized" schools was soon developed, the Koranic schools fulfilling the "unrecognized" slot because of their limited curriculum. For purposes of this study these "unrecognized schools" will not be considered.

World War II made for no appreciable expansion in the field of education in Aden. The only significant action was that British principals were appointed for the boys' secondary and girls' primary schools in 1944.

101. Colonial Annual Report, Aden, 1946, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1947, p. 25.

Education in the Colony began a marked expansion in 1946. The Government schools provided primary and intermediate (lower secondary) education through the medium of Arabic. Secondary schools were taught in the English language, English having been introduced into the system at the lower intermediate level. The aided schools provided primary and intermediate education through the media of English, Hebrew, Gujarati, and Urdu, but secondary education was also in English. Girls' education in these aided schools was very limited, and the single primary girls' school operated by the government had not expanded.

Although classroom facilities were limited, enrollment did increase in the government and "recognized" schools from 2,100 in 1940 to 2,877 by 1946.

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The year 1948 saw the implementation of a Five-Year plan for educational expansion and improvement. Under this ambitious program plans were undertaken for the construction of Aden College, a technical college, a girls' college, additional primary and intermediate schools, plus expanding existing facilities, and improving equipment and furniture. The years of this plan 1948-1953 saw a marked increase in the number of girls being educated in the Colony. In the years 1949 and 1950, two new primary schools for girls were opened in Crater, and other facilities were expanded.

102. The Colony Department Plans, 1947 and 1949 included money for the building of schools. The education program was called "Education, First Five-Year Plan", Aden Colony Development Plan, 1955-60, Government Press, Aden 1956. p. 21.

The Advisory Board which had been established in 1937 was allowed to lapse in 1948 upon the creation of a Parents' Committee for each Government Primary School. This direct and personal contact between parents and teachers proved a more satisfactory arrangement to all.

The Technical College of the Five-Year Plan was completed and opened for students in November 1951. The cost of this unit, including an administrative block and eight workshops was 100,000 pounds sterling. Some 60 boys entered initially, enrolling in one of its four courses: carpentry and joinery, cabinet making, engineer fitting, or motor mechanics. Each course is of four years duration. Students completing their training at this technical school could sit for the Intermediate Examination of the City and Guilds of London Institute. Additional students enrolled in this Technical Institute (renamed from College), and courses in electrical engineering and craft work were added. Two-year clerical classes were later added. The school's enrollment increased from the original 60 in 1951 to 287 in 1957. Plans were later made to construct a "branch" of this Industrial Institute in Little Aden, the location of the oil refinery.

Aden College, also part of the Five-Year Plan, opened its doors at Sheikh Othman in 1952. This school consisted of 15 staff houses and appropriate servants' quarters. Its construction and equipping cost 200,000 pounds sterling. Aden College, as does the Technical Institute, receives students from government schools, aided, or independent schools. Students who have finished the prescribed courses at Aden College may be examined for a Cambridge School

Certificate or the General Certificate of Education.

At the end of 1952 the Department of Education was comprised of a Director of Education, an Arab Education Officer, an Assistant Education Officer, the British Education Officer for the Protectorates, and an Accountant.

The policy of the Department at that time was to provide primary and intermediate education for all boys and girls within the Colony and a higher education on a selective basis, leading to scholarships abroad, as well as training as adequately as possible men and women for teachers within the Colony.

Education at the primary level was free. A small charge of about 20 pounds was made for intermediate schooling per annum, while 40 pounds per year was the annual fee for Aden College or the Technical Institute.

Instruction during the four-year primary schools, and three-year intermediate schools was given in Arabic. All secondary education was in English.

The following is an account of the number of schools in the Colony and the number of children enrolled in these schools in 1952.

Type	Boys			Girls			Schools		
	Prim	Inter	Secnd	Prim	Inter	Secnd	Prim	Inter	Secnd
Government	1,778	362	257	806	96	-	10	2	2
Aided	1,105	779	149	563	194	34	11	4	1
Independent	269	629	69	193	-	-	7	-	-
Totals	3,152	1,770	475	1,562	290	34	28	6	3

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103. Colonial Office Report on Aden, 1951-52, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1954, p. 28.
104. Annual Report of the Education Department, 1950-1952, Government Press, Aden, 1953, p. 8.

The goals of the first Five-Year Plan were realized, but continuing demands for more schools led to the formulation and implementation of a Second Five-Year Plan (1955-1960). Its goals are to provide a full seven-year primary and intermediate course for every Aden-born child who desires an education. New schools have been built, others enlarged, while proficiency in educational methods have been improved. The Aden College curriculum will lead students to the General Certificate of Education at the Advanced Level.

The following is an account of the number of schools in the Colony and the number of children enrolled in these schools in 1957.¹⁰⁵

Type	<u>Boys</u>			<u>Girls</u>			<u>Schools</u>		
	<u>Prim</u>	<u>Inter</u>	<u>Secnd</u>	<u>Prim</u>	<u>Inter</u>	<u>Secnd</u>	<u>Prim</u>	<u>Inter</u>	<u>Secnd</u>
Government	2,387	973	334	1,291	281	97	13	4	2
Aided	1,187	774	321	895	324	393	12	9	5
Independent	891	1,055	316	133	-	-	6	3	1
106									
Totals	4,465	2,775	971	2,319	605	169	31	16	8

The Second Five-Year Plan took into consideration the construction of a new Teacher Training Center in Crater.¹⁰⁷ The earlier teacher training and recruitment programs were interesting. Some teachers, of course, have been brought into the Colony from the United Kingdom, while others were recruited from Jordan, Egypt, and the Sudan. Efforts to train local Adenese were made, particularly in the recruitment of elementary school teachers. Some candidates were trained by the locally

105. Education Department Triennial Report 1955-56-57, Government Printing Office, Aden, 1959, p. 34.

106. These totals do not include the Technical Institute with its 287 students.

107. Completed in October 1957, Education Department Triennial Report, *op. cit.* p. 30.

employed teachers in an "on-the-job" training program. A fairly large number were sent to the Institute of Education Bakht er-Ruba in the Sudan.

In 1948 the Education Officer in charge of male teachers' training arrived in Aden. Twelve men per year were to be trained, who would continue their academic work and receive additional instruction in educational methods and teaching practices. The quota of twelve managed to be maintained until 1953 when no male candidate appeared, but in 1954 six men did show interest. The quota of twelve was attained again in 1955, and in 1956 the number of trainees totalled 36, of which 24 were from the Colony, and the balance came from the Western Aden Protectorate. The year 1957-58 saw a further increase to 44 for the total number of trainees.

The new Teacher Training Center is located in Taweela, in a plant that cost 15,000 pounds sterling, which was granted by the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. The center is staffed with six full-time teachers, and four part-time instructors. Its curriculum of three terms is relatively complete and certainly an improvement over the previous systems.

The women's teacher training program is in the hands of a woman education officer. The program is housed at the Besse Center for Women. In 1956 there were nine trainees, seven from the Colony, and two from the Eastern Aden Protectorate. In 1957 the fourteen candidates in attendance were all from the Colony.

There are a few other facts about the Colony's education program worthy of note. At the end of 1956, there were over 50

scholars taking courses in higher education abroad, of which 36 were financed by the Government of Aden, 18 being paid for from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, and the remainder receiving scholarships by the Aden Municipality, Aden Port Trust, and the Abyan Board.

Adult education courses are offered at the Technical Institute; classes in English, arithmetic, and civics are offered to members of the police force; while women may attend a variety of classes offered at Besse Center.

Religious instruction is provided at all schools and levels; however, no child is given religious instruction in any other religion than his own without the consent of his parents.

Playgrounds, athletic fields, dental and health services are all part of the education program within the Colony. Most primary and intermediate schools have small libraries, and the libraries of Aden College and the Technical Institute are growing. The largest library in the Colony is Lake Library which contains nearly 12,000 volumes in Arabic, English, Hebrew and Urdu.

The cost of education has increased considerably since Aden became a Colony. In 1937-38 the expenses ran 6,370 pounds sterling, increasing to 23,000 pounds sterling after ten years, and in the 1955-56 period 181,707 pounds sterling was spent on educating the youth of Aden. The First Five-Year Plan (1948-53) totalled 2,396,400 pounds sterling and the estimate for the Second Five-Year Plan (1955-60) is 2,900,000 pounds sterling.

Since Aden has come under the administration of the Colonial Office, good progress has been made in the field of education. Although

compulsory education is still a thing of the future, most parents who are truly desirous of obtaining an education for their children in the Colony can do so today.

Medical Services:

The program of medical and health services of the Aden Colony has increased since World War II. New hospitals have been built, government dispensaries have been added, the maternity clinic has been enlarged, the number of trained medical personnel practicing in the area has increased, and preventive medicine and public sanitation programs have been expanded. This development of the health services is due to several factors: the increase in population has demanded additional facilities; the Colonial Office is genuinely interested in the welfare of its people; and education and experience has taught some of the more backward people the benefits of accepting medical treatment and cooperating with programs offering preventive measures.

The health services offered have not always been limited to the residents of the Aden Colony, for medical facilities, particularly the hospitals, have been heavily patronized by Yemenis and Protectorate people. In 1955, a representative year, 39.2 percent of the admissions to the Civil Hospital were patients whose country of origin was Yemen

108. The population of Aden in 1946 was 83,000; in 1955 it was recorded at 139,000. Census Report, 1955, op. cit., p. 9.

109. Alien Yemenis have no claim to the medical services of the Colony either by residency or nationality. "Their only claim is on the score of humanity, a plea which is difficult to resist for many of them have dragged themselves along for distances varying from 150 to as much as 500 miles to obtain care and attention in Aden." Colonial Office Report on Aden, 1949-50, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1951, p. 29.

while 13.9 percent of the admissions were from the Aden Protectorate.

Aden Colony has few diseases attributable to water-borne infection because its water supply is both protected and chlorinated. While Aden lies within the Torrid Zone, the usual tropical diseases, with the exception of skin ulcers, do not prevail. Malaria, leprosy, and bilharzia are rare; the cases found are imported from the surrounding countries. The open borders between the Yemen and the Protectorate, and the Protectorate and the Colony increase the difficulty of controlling the importation of infectious diseases from the north. The Port Health Service, a government responsibility, is capable of keeping a close health check on the port and airport of Aden, but its staff is too small to keep a watchful eye all along the borders of Aden Colony.

Pulmonary tuberculosis remains a major problem in the Colony, although it is not the chief killer. Overcrowded living conditions, and the poor quality of housing make it difficult to eradicate this disease; however, steps are being taken to substantially improve the housing shortage by constructing new government housing units. Tuberculosis is also being fought through vaccination of the general public with particular emphasis placed upon the inoculation of school children. The government tuberculosis service provides in-patient treatment for some 150 in hospitals, and home treatment is provided to other cases

110. The bulk of the Yemeni and Protectorate people came to the Colony primarily for employment and not specifically for medical treatment.

awaiting hospitalization. The death rate of 113 per 100,000 resulting from tuberculosis in 1950 had been reduced to 61.6 per 100,000 in 1956.¹¹¹

The chief causes of death in the Colony over the past years have been from gastro-intestinal infections (diarrhoea and enteritis).¹¹² The sanitation measures in the slum areas and the smaller eating places, coffee houses, and public vending of food and drink are sadly lacking.

The infant mortality rate in the Colony, while being gradually reduced is still extremely high: 159.1 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1955; 151 per 1,000 in 1956. The main causes of infant deaths are gastro-intestinal and respiratory infections, malnutrition, and premature births. The maternal mortality rate in 1956 was 2.99 per 1,000 births.

The Government Medical Department today is comprised of three divisions: the Curative (Medical) Division, Public Health Division, and the Port Health Division. The Curative services is charged with the operation of the new Queen Elizabeth Hospital with its 495 beds,¹¹³ the Maternity Clinic with 60 beds and 40 cots, and four general dispensaries. In 1956 the four dispensaries and the hospital treated 308,931 persons at their out-patient facilities.

Certain non-government organizations provide curative services¹¹⁴ as well. These are the Church of Scotland Mission which operates an

111. In the years from 1933 to 1944 the rate was 293 per 100,000. Colonial Office Report of Aden, 1949-50, op. cit., p. 30.

112. Deaths from such diseases were 487 in 1953, 260 in 1954, 322 in 1955, and 410 in 1956. Colonial Office Report of Aden, 1953-54, also 1955-56.

113. This new hospital replaces the Civil Hospital. Its equipment is the most modern, offering 265 beds in an all air-conditioned block. "Queen Elizabeth Hospital", Port of Aden Annual Report, 1958-59.

114. The military services provide their own medical care, but assist the civilian authorities when needed.

80-bed hospital in Sheikh Othman, the BP Refinery provides a 70-bed hospital for its employees, and two charitable organizations each provide dispensaries for out-patient treatment.

The Public Health division is charged with the responsibility of environmental sanitation and hygiene of the area. The Public Health authority of Aden Municipality is under the direction of its own Medical Officer, but receives funds from the government; however, the township authorities of Little Aden and Sheikh Othman, each with an assistant medical officers, are supervised directly by the central government. The Public Health Division in coordination with the Public Works Division have finally commenced work on the sewage system for the Colony. Plans for such a sewage scheme originated in 1947; however, lack of funds, or diversion of funds, or low priority has postponed this important project. Some work was started in 1956, but serious construction was not begun until 1959.

The Port Health Division, under the control of the Port Health officer, is charged with control of the entry of quarantinable diseases. All ships which disembark passengers at Aden are boarded on arrival and the necessary inspections are performed prior to granting a clearance. The Port Health people are also responsible for giving the necessary inoculations required for international travel.

Obtaining trained medical personnel is an ever-present problem in most parts of the world, and Aden is no exception. A number of ~~expatriate~~ expatriate medical personnel are recruited of necessity, but the

115. The 1955-56 Development Plan called for 300,000 pounds sterling expenditure on the drainage system. By 31 March 1957 only 3,701 pounds sterling had been spent. Public Works Annual Report 1957-58, op.cit., p. 18

Government of Aden through scholarships is encouraging Adenese students to pursue the medical and nursing professions. Some difficulties were encountered in staffing the new Queen Elizabeth Hospital, but additional doctors, nurses and other medical personnel were found to fill the vacancies.

In the past year the maternity clinic was heavily patronized. The demand for beds had been so large that it was difficult for patients to be kept for more than 48 hours after delivery. ¹¹⁶ The Government dispensaries were working at full capacity, and the need for additional staff personnel was felt, particularly for the treatment of women and children.

Over the past fifteen years the health service of Aden has been able to reduce the death rate, while treating an ever-increasing number of patients. The combined efforts of the Curative, Public Health, and Port Health Division have left Aden free of any serious epidemics over the past decade.

Labor and Welfare:

The Labor and Welfare Department is a recent innovation to the Colony. The first social welfare officer arrived in Aden in 1947, but limited staff and funds prevented him from assuming the usual duties associated with a welfare department. Much of the welfare work was carried on by a number of voluntary organizations. Prior to 1950 only one relief organization was functioning, the Aden Central Poor Relief Fund, which distributed and administered an annual government

116. Administrative Survey, 1959, Government Press
Aden, p. 13

grant of 50,000 rupees.

The Labor and Social Welfare Department was created in 1950. The welfare section began its investigations of the needs of the blind of Aden, and direct interest in juvenile offenders was taken. By 1951 the Aden Society for the Blind had opened its facility at Reilly Center in Crater where training in braille and handicrafts was made available to over 300 blind people of the Colony. Children's play centers were first opened in 1952, and additional encouragement was given to the formation of voluntary charitable organizations.

The arrival of the Labor Commissioner in 1953 permitted the allocation of a full time welfare officer for welfare work. Heretofore the work was done by a European labor and welfare officer and a trained Arab assistant. This Arab assistant became the Colony's first welfare officer. His staff now includes an assistant welfare officer, a probation officer and the warden of an approved school with remand home facilities.

Probation service legislation was enacted which provides for the hearing of cases in juvenile court and for the detention in approved places other than the civil prison. Community centers were established at Sheikh Othman and Maalla. Free distribution of medical supplies, including milk and glucose, to expectant and feeding mothers and young children has been carried out by the Medical Department

117. In October 1951, East African currency was introduced in the Colony in place of the Indian Rupee. Colonial Office Report on Aden, 1951-52, op. cit. p. 4.

118. This legislation parallels probation service practices applied in the United Kingdom. Colonial Office Report of Aden, 1956, op. cit., p. 50.

through its Maternity and Child Welfare Scheme. These are but a few of the welfare services performed. However, considerable assistance is always required; therefore, it is interesting to see the number of local voluntary societies engaged in social welfare and relief work:

Aden Boy Scouts Association
 Aden Girl Guides Association
 St. John Ambulance Association
 Aden Women's Voluntary Services
 Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis
 Aden Women's Club
 Aden Association for Women
 Government Guards' Family Association
 Aden Society for the Blind
 Aden Children's Society
 Association of Boys' Club
 Aden Protectorate Wives' Club
 Aden Ladies Child Welfare Committee
 King Edward VII Dispensary
 Aden Centenary Poor Relief Committee
 Medical Charities Fund
 Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
 Society for the Support of Students
 Discharged Offenders Aid Committee

One of the most glaring needs of Aden Colony has been that of adequate housing for its inhabitants. In 1950 it was considered the gravest social problem in the Colony, and again in 1956 the Social Development Advisory Committee in its report on existing social development problems put housing at the head of the list demanding top priority. Although the plans for improved housing have been included in the Colony's Five-Year Development Plans, and the actual construction falls under the responsibility of the Public Works Department, the fact that it is the outstanding social problem permits

119. Colonial Office Report of Aden, 1949-50, op. cit.,
 p. 33.
 120. Colonial Office Report of Aden, 1955-56, op. cit.,
 p. 50.

the discussion of this matter under the Social Welfare heading.

For years Aden Colony has been a haven for migrant workers. A large number of unskilled laborers come to Aden from Yemen and the Protectorate seeking employment. Many of these workers stay only for eighteen months or two years saving what they can and return to their homes. Others decide to stay. During the war, large military construction projects and famine in the hinterland brought many such people to the Colony. These people built kutchas huts of reed, tin, or any other scrap material available. These huts had the poorest of sanitary conditions. Many workers without families slept on the streets. Little was done during the war or immediately thereafter to improve these slum areas other than take the minimum health control measures to avoid any epidemics, and to replace as many kutchas huts with mud brick houses as was possible.

Plans were made in 1947 to construct working class dwellings as part of a town-planning scheme. One-third of the cost of such housing was later assumed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, and construction of these working class dwellings began in earnest. Although the government had constructed 524 such houses by 1952, it was estimated that there were still 25,000 squatters' huts in Aden Colony.

This initial housing project was carried on in Sheikh Othman,

121. Kutchas is a Hindustani word meaning "of poor construction". Aden's large Indian population undoubtedly gave this name to these huts used by the migrant Arabs.

and by 1955 a total of 876 dwellings were completed. Another project was begun at Maalla which called for the building of 1,500 Class 'C'¹²² flats for workers. To augment these projects the Public Works Department assisted in a housing development scheme by giving technical advice to owners building their own homes. In early 1957 this scheme had produced 640 houses with an additional 400 planned.

To alleviate the problems of the non-family workers, barrack-type housing has been provided for the stevedores working for the shipping companies. These barracks are well ventilated and incorporate adequate sanitation facilities. Employees of the shipping companies are housed in these units free of charge. In addition to the shipping companies the BP Refinery at Little Aden, the Aden Port Authority, and Besse and Company are doing much to provide adequate housing for many of their employees.

Aden Colony still has a long way to go to eradicate these slum areas, for while the development programs are making strides in this direction, the ever increasing population seems to prevent construction from overtaking the demand. It is doubtful that the British administration has any intention of making Aden a "sample Colony", as borne out by James Morris' statement,¹²³ "During more than a century of prosperous rule, Britain has not brought one single beautiful thing to Aden, and it stands there on its bay blasted and despondent as if life had become one awful hangover". However, the

122. A rental of 25 shillings per month is charged for these Class 'C' flats. Annual Report of Department of Labor and Welfare, 1956-57, Government Printing Office, Aden.

123. Morris, op. cit., p. 198.

problem has been recognized and steps have been taken to correct this situation as much as possible, although there are always financial limitations. The housing problem is not confined to the unskilled labor class; many British military personnel who spend a tour of duty in Aden are forced to occupy civilian quarters that are sub-standard (by European standards), before finding a place in the much sought-after military housing project at Khormaksar.

While labor and welfare are lumped together in a single department in the Colony, and although they do have a certain affinity for each other, the joint discussion of them would be confusing; therefore, the role of the Labor Section of the Labor and Welfare Department will be briefly traced with some explanation as to the development of the labor movement which has recently taken place in the Colony.

The primary duties of the Labor Department are to "foster and help maintain good relations between employees and employers, to encourage joint consultation and collective bargaining, and to ensure that the provisions of the labor and factory law are observed".¹²⁴ The department also maintains a domestic servants' bureau, looks out for the interests of workers leaving the Colony for employment in other countries, approves the entry into the Colony of persons proposing to take gainful employment, advises the government on labor matters, and in association with the Education Department establishes criteria for apprentice training.

124. Annual Report of Department of Labor and Welfare, 1956-57, op. cit., p. 1.

As noted previously the Labor Department only began its activities in 1950, although certain labor legislation had been enacted in the Colony prior to and during World War II. ¹²⁵ Laws governing minimum wages and hours, workmen's compensation, factory safety and health inspections, regulations concerning the employment of women and young persons, registration of trade unions, etc., were enacted, but no effective policing of the labor situation had been done. The newly created Labor Department carried on factory inspections making recommendations for safety and health measures. It endeavored to "educate" both management and labor on what was required of them, and settled labor disputes, particularly those arising from workmen's compensation claims and wage disagreements. Unskilled and semi-skilled labor had no organized voice when the Labor Department was first organized, but once this voice was found the department has had to settle numerous labor-management arguments.

The first trade union to register in the Colony was the ¹²⁶ Aden Harbor Pilots Association whose membership was eleven Europeans. Local labor lacked leadership. The Labor and Welfare Department approached certain organizations, which were registered as clubs or associations, and persuaded them to establish trade unions. Three trade unions registered in 1954, nine more in 1955, and as the fad caught on 32 unions were registered as of 1957, growing to 44 in 1959.

125. Colonial Office Report on Aden, 1946, op. cit., p. 15.

126. Colonial Office Report on Aden, 1951-52 makes mention of this union, but previous reports do not mention this or any trade unions.

In the beginning the unions were assisted by an active group of trade unionists who also were interested in politics. It appeared that political parties might dominate the labor scene, so the trade unions severed the ties with the political parties. However, politics has continued to play an active part in trade union life. While many of the demands of labor today stem from legitimate work grievances, others are inspired by political promptings.

In March 1956 the Aden Trade Union Congress (ATUC) was officially registered in the Colony. The ATUC is not a trade union as such, but a confederation of trade unions, each union being represented on the ATUC's Executive Council by two representatives.

1956 was a particularly stormy year insofar as labor disputes were concerned, and this appears to be partly due to the Suez Canal crisis and the Arab ill-feeling toward the British; 1957 was considerably calmer.

The ATUC, which affiliated itself with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions whose headquarters is in Brussels, became the spokesman for most of the trade unions in the Colony. The Labor Department looked with favor upon this move for it felt that such a federation would have a "stabilizing influence on trade union activities as a whole and will bring to the forefront those personalities upon whom the responsibility for developing a healthy movement will rest."

127. Annual Report Labor and Welfare, 1956-57, op. cit.,
p. 8.

The ATUC which publishes an Arabic weekly newspaper, Al 'Amil, is gaining considerable influence among labor and nationalist circles. This federation assists its member unions in negotiating with employers, and has proved to be quite effective in the field of collective bargaining. The ATUC has worked for the reduction of the work week to 45 hours, free medical treatment for labor, public holidays, sick and annual leave, wage increases, etcetera. On the political side the ATUC has participated in and organized a number of demonstrations in protest against the Government Colonial policy of immigration and deportation of Arab nationalists. It continues to wage its fight against the immigration of Commonwealth citizens.

The ATUC, whose motto is "Union, Freedom, and Socialism", reorganized the union structure to more closely conform to labor movements in other countries. The reorganized ATUC is composed of the following industry-wide unions: Federation of Port Workers Unions, Federation of Petroleum Workers Union, Federation of Transport Workers Union, Light Industry Workers General Union, Government Civil Servants' General Union, and Technical Laborers Union. The ATUC today claims to have the support of 16,000 union members. The political role of the ATUC will be discussed in a later chapter.

Public Works Department and Posts, Telephones, and Electricity Department.

The Departments of Public Works, and of Posts, Telephones, and Electricity are separate organizations, each having its own Member-in-Charge, and its individual administration. In view of the fact that these departments render services to the community which could be termed "public utilities" in the broad sense, they will be discussed

together in this paper.

Prior to 1928 most of Aden's water supply was derived from condensed sea water,¹²⁸ the remainder was obtained from a few wells in Sheikh Othman and some drilled wells in Crater. Experimental borewells were sunk in the vicinity of Sheikh Othman, and a reasonably good supply of water was found. Pipes were laid to Aden and pumping stations were added, augmenting the quantity of water available to Aden.

The Aden Settlement, which was the administrative echelon below the central government, was responsible for the distribution of water in the Colony. This same administrative body was in control of the electric supply of Aden, which was begun in 1928¹²⁹, as well as being charged with land matters.

In 1945 the Aden Settlement was dissolved, giving way to a system of township authorities (see p. 57). Management of water,¹³⁰ electricity, and lands was taken over by the central government; electrical services became a separate department of Posts, Telephones and Electricity, and water supply became the responsibility of the Public Works Department. The Director of Public Works serves in a

128. Colonial Office Report of Aden, 1946, op. cit.,
p. 42.

129. A steam plant driving three 300 K.V.A. generators was built in Aden in 1926, ibid., p. 44.

130. The Aden Settlement administration has been accused of lack of foresight and poor planning. Problems arising in the management of lands, water or electricity were solved on an ad hoc basis. Shortly after the central government assumed control of the two public utilities, it was found necessary to replace almost all of the equipment, for the material was in the state of disrepair with insufficient replacement parts. "Municipal Government in Aden", op. cit.

dual capacity, for he is also the Commissioner for Crown Lands and
 131
 Town Planning Authority.

After World War II expansion, improvement and maintenance of the services rendered to the inhabitants of the Colony is noteworthy. Among these departments electrical output was increased; roads were built, surfaces improved, and existing streets maintained; drainage and sewerage schemes were developed; post offices, public buildings, schools, hospitals, and government housing projects were built; tele-communications services were enlarged and improved; civil
 132
 airport facilities were increased; the water supply was augmented by new wells being bored at Bir Ahmed and Bir Nasir; a cooperative market was constructed; and the workshops, storehouses, and accounting offices required to maintain these services were expanded and more efficiently organized to keep up with the increased demand for services resulting from the population increase.

The improvement of living conditions in the colony is not the work of a single department, but the coordinated effort of the central government, plus some outside financial assistance. Expansion

131. The Lands Section, "which is under the control of the Estates Surveyor, handles the leasing and management of all land in the Colony, the preparation of all new plot lay-outs, leases, and the subsequent enforcement of the Lease Covenants. It also deals with the renting of Government quarters, the collection of rents payable under leases, the preparation of Town Planning Schemes and their subsequent control, Land Registration, and the issue of permits connected with the use of land." Public Works Department Annual Report 1957-58, op. cit., p. 22.

132. The RAF jointly uses the Aden International Airport. In 1955 a separate Civil Aviation Department was created; however, certain construction and maintenance is the function of the Public Works Department. Colonial Office Report of Aden, 1956, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

and improvement of the services above has been noted, and previous mention was made of the progress in the fields of education, public health, welfare, and medical services. However, such improvements were needed, and in most cases additional work is still required in order to bring such facilities up to western European standards, if that is the goal. Significant action was taken shortly after World War II which eventually proved of benefit in planning and coordinating the Colony's efforts for bettering its living conditions. This action was the Five-Year Development Plans.

A Development Committee was appointed in January 1946 to consider proposals for development of the Colony and the Protectorate. On the basis of funds available, the committee prepared a schedule of practical schemes, and submitted its findings to the central government as the First Report of the Development Committee in 1947. The first plan estimated that the cost for the development schemes would amount to 1,614,500 pounds sterling. Additional schemes, expansion of existing ones, and increased construction costs led to the revision of this plan as submitted in the Second Report in 1949, which estimated the costs that could be financed by the Colony as 2,033,000 pounds sterling. While these estimates were being reviewed and revised certain development work was being done.¹³³ By the end of March 1952, 805,688 pounds sterling had been spent on development projects.

133. The Education Five-Year Plan had started and public housing projects were underway.

A Development Fund was established in April 1952 by transferring 1,000,000 pounds sterling from surplus balances, and to which the Colony agreed to contribute 200,000 pounds sterling annually from its general revenue. With this funding apparatus established, a
 134
 Five-Year Development Plan 1952-1957 was sent to the Secretary of State for his consideration. Anticipating that the total expenditure of this Five-Year Plan would be 5,205,000 pounds sterling, an application was submitted at the same time for a loan of 2,385,000 pounds sterling. The Secretary of State approved this plan in principle in January 1953, and submitted a Memorandum Five-Year Development Plan, 1952-53 to 1956-57 to the Colony. The plan finally filtered down to the Legislative Council which began its consideration of the plan in November 1953, finally approving it in June 1954. Fortunately certain monies were available and some improvement projects were already underway, therefore the delay did not halt the development projects, but their progress was certainly impeded until full financial backing could be found.

Certain events between the years 1952 and 1955 had their effects on the development planners: an oil refinery was planned
 135
 at Little Aden; Her Majesty's government granted a loan of 4,000,000 pounds sterling; Aden Port Trust planned for considerable improvements in its harbor facilities; a Colony loan of 1,000,000 pounds

134. Aden Colony Development Plan, 1955-1960, op. cit.
 p. 1.

135. BP Company, Ltd., planned to expend 50,000,000 pounds sterling on its refinery. Although the cost was borne by the company, certain facilities of the Colony had to be expanded to accommodate this new industry.

sterling was approved; and the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1955 allocated 100,000 pounds sterling for Aden's development schemes.

Work in the Colony was continuing and between April 1952 and March 1955, 2,155,255 pounds sterling was spent on development. It was realized that the number of projects scheduled in this Five-Year Plan could not be completed by the termination date of the plan, March 1957; therefore, to keep in step with development financing of all overseas territories, it was agreed that the original Five-Year Plan, 1952-1957, would be considered terminated as of March 1955, and that projects underway or pending would be included with new projects in a new Five-Year Plan dating from 1955 to 1960. Surplus funds from the terminated 1952-57 plan were transferred to the fund for the new plan, loans were refigured, new appraisals made, and it was estimated that the Colony could expend 5,372,000 pounds sterling during this next five year period.

The actual work moved along at an ever-increasing pace bringing many needed improvements to the Colony. From the inception of these schemes in April 1947 until 31 March 1959, a total of 8,562,524 ¹²⁷⁽¹³⁶⁾ was spent on development projects in the Aden Colony.

The British efforts in the Aden Colony have provided the area with a sound system of administration. Almost all of the essential elements required for a smooth-running government are present. Its financial condition is sound. Aden's refinery, bunkering services,

136. Administrative Survey, 1959, op. cit., p. 22.

X

trade and commerce have provided adequate capital to help finance the development programs. The Colony can boast of its work in public works and public relations, of its legal system and cooperative markets, and its progress in health, welfare and education. Today in the Colony immigration is being regulated and prisons are being modernized. Aden's Civil Aviation Department controls the air traffic over the Colony, while a fairly efficient police force controls the ground traffic operating on well surfaced roads. The British administration seems to have taken care of everything from fisheries to fire departments, and a sound round of applause is due these administrators. However, the question is bound to arise -- why? Why pour all this money and effort into 75 sun-baked, square miles? The answer in part is commercial interests, for British investments are realizing dividends from the refinery and port activities. But this is just part of the answer, for the commercial interests in Aden itself are small as compared to those in the surrounding area. Aden is a link, a very important link in the British chain of protected territories extending from the Persian Gulf to East Africa.

Aden's strategic location makes it an ideal spot for the headquarters of British Forces Arabian Peninsula. This unique command undertook, at its inception, operational commitments in the Arabian Peninsula and British Somaliland. After the closure of the East Indian naval stations, the composition of this military headquarters included the operations of the navy units in the Persian Gulf and Arabian Seas. A vice air marshal heads this tri-service command

137. Heath, Air Vice-Marshal, "British Forces in Aden", The Times British Colonies Review, First Quarter, 1959, p. 25.

whose mission is, should the occasion arise, to "maintain British oil interests on the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean by giving armed protection to the regimes at present existing there. 138

The two strategic spots which rate military priorities in Aden are the refinery and the harbor of Aden. However, being a headquarters and an air base, the number of troops stationed in Aden, though relatively small in number, are out of proportion to the defense needs of the Colony today.

The treaties and agreements which tie the British and the rulers of the Protectorate do necessitate the use of R.A.F. aircraft to assist the Protectorate military forces (Aden Protectorate Levies, Government Guards, and National Guards) in maintaining law and order in the Western Aden Protectorate, and protecting the northern states from Yemeni sorties and raids. On occasion British ground forces are employed in such actions, but this is infrequent.

The naval portion of this tri-service command can be counted on to give logistical support to any of these operations. The conception, however, that Aden is a bristling naval base is erroneous. A few small craft (mine layers and mine sweepers) are stationed there. While capital war ships could refuel and resupply at Aden with the greatest of ease; dry docks, shipyards, or other major repair facilities do not exist.

Militarily the Colony of Aden is secure from any potential enemy in the area today, with the exception, of course, of an atomic

strike, if Aden is worth spending an I.C.B.M. on. The Aden Colony Armed Police, specially trained in riot techniques, can cope with internal security matters, keeping in mind that the British forces can immediately augment the police force if need be; however, the threat of armed aggression or internal revolt is quite remote in these days.

The loss of the Colony could result from the growing spirit of Arab Nationalism whose xenophobic attitude would prefer to see Aden break its ties with Great Britain here and now, rather than wait for the orderly evolution of political maturity. Of course, it can be soundly argued that the speed of attaining self-government, requiring trained indigenous leaders and technicians, can be gauged at whatever pace the British decide, and it is assumed by the nationalists that such would be a snail's pace. But, Britain has supplied Aden with a workable administration, and has permitted limited self-government. The next few years should unfold an interesting chapter in the political evolution in Aden's history.

The British acquired Aden Settlement by military conquest and land purchases. Their influence and limited control over the tribal areas (the Protectorate) has been gained by treaties, agreements, occasional military action, financial assistance and advice. Treaties of friendship and commerce were signed between tribal heads and the British Government; bonds were proclaimed to keep the roads to Aden clear for the passage of merchants and goods; and to induce the sheikhs, amirs and sultans to keep their promises, regular grants of money were doled out so long as the ruler behaved himself. Important rulers in good standing could visit Aden where they would be treated with respect, and a stipulated number of salutes would be fired depending upon the importance of the person. ¹⁴⁰ These payments and honors were much coveted by the local rulers.

The dependency of the tribes on Aden increased and with it the British influence in the area. The Government of India maintained a policy of non-interference in the area, non-interference so long as the local rulers did not interrupt trade and abided by their treaty commitments.

139. The sultanates, amirates, or sheikhdoms comprising the Western Aden Protectorate will be called "Protectorate" in the remainder of this study. Any reference to the Eastern Aden Protectorate will be spelled out in full.

140. Hunter, op. cit., p. 157.

The Protectorate treaties beginning in the 1880's increased British influence and control in the area, particularly as these agreements contained clauses (or the clauses were later added) which restricted the rulers from dealing with foreign countries or from selling or ceding their lands without the express approval of the British Government. Such Protectorate treaties announced a "hands off" policy insofar as foreign powers were concerned, specifically the Ottoman Turks and the Imam of Yemen; however, it has been pointed out that the British did not provide effective protection during World War I.

In 1917 the tribal affairs of the Protectorate were released from the Indian administration and passed to the British High Commissioner of Egypt. Such an action was undoubtedly the result of the British campaign to eliminate the Turkish threat in southwest Arabia, for the British in Egypt were encouraging the Arab Revolt in the Peninsula. It is interesting to note that at one point in the British negotiations with Sherif Husain of Mecca, the latter's ideas of an Arab nation included the entire Arabian Peninsula, but excluded Aden.

141. The Aden administration was authorized to establish contacts with Mohammad Nasir Mukbil, a prominent sheikh on the Yemen border, and with Mohammad al-Idrisi of Asir to resist the Turks in Yemen. Thought was even given to asking the assistance of the Imam of Yemen, but the Government of India felt that the Imam's agreement with the Turks in 1913 and his "Shiite fanaticism" against all Christians would be too difficult to solve, so decided against such action. Temperley, H. W. V., History of the Paris Peace Conference, v. 6., Frowde and Hodder and Staughton, London, 1924, p. 126.

142. Sherif Husain's First Note to Sir Henry McMahon, 14 July 1915, Antonius, George, The Arab Awakening, Khayats, Beirut, 1955, p. 413.

The defeat of the Turkish Fourth Army in northern Syria drove the Turks out of the war, and shortly thereafter the Turkish forces in southwest Arabia were evacuated. Imam Yahya then extended his control over much of the Yemen and laid claim to parts of the Protectorate previously ruled by the Zaidi Imams until the early nineteenth century. The British hotly contested these claims, and futile efforts were made to clarify the borders of southern Yemen.

In 1927 the military and business affairs of the Protectorate were transferred to the Colonial Office;¹⁴³ however, as far as active administration of the area was concerned, it remained at a minimum. The present British Agent and Adviser of the Western Aden Protectorate, Mr. G. K. N. Trevaskis, recently stated that the government's policy prior to 1937 was similar to that followed by the British in the northwest frontier of India. A system of treaties bound the local rulers and the government rather loosely, protection was available if wanted, but the policy of non-interference in local affairs was the order of the day. During that time a political officer or secretary, sitting in Aden, and without a staff, had the responsibility for the entire Protectorate.

In their colonial, mandated or protected areas throughout the world, the British have been accused by some of 'acts of omission' as well as 'acts of commission'. In the Protectorate, 'acts of omission' can be levied against the British up until World War II, for little was done to improve the status of the

143. Robbins, op. cit., p. 704.

local inhabitants. Neither the Government of India nor the Colonial Office took any steps to sponsor schools, hospitals, clinics, agricultural or commercial development. The Colonial Office did however organize two small military forces, the Aden Protectorate Levies and the Government Guards, to assist in local security matters. As one British official put it, "We have been condemned for interfering in local matters in some areas, and we have been condemned for not interfering in others."

The turning point in British administration in the Protectorate was in 1937, when the Aden Settlement became the Aden Colony, passing from control of the Government of India to the Colonial Office. At the time Aden became a Colony new rules had to be drawn up to extend the jurisdiction of the Governor of Aden into the Protectorate. Heretofore, the Government of India exercised its jurisdiction in these areas under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council of 1902, which was passed under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890. On 18 March 1937 the Aden Protectorate Order in Council was issued giving the Governor of Aden jurisdiction over the Protectorate. This Order in Council reserves for the Crown (the Governor of Aden, Aden Protectorate and Commander-in-Chief) the power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Protectorate. This appears to be a unilateral action, as does the Indian Order in Council of 1902, insofar as the Aden

144. This act passed by the British Parliament authorized the Crown to exercise jurisdiction in a foreign country "which it has obtained in the same or ample a manner as if it had acquired jurisdiction by cession or conquest." ibid.

Protectorates are concerned. By proclaiming such a jurisdiction the British presented the area with a fait accompli, but it is questionable whether such an order would be legally binding on either party.¹⁴⁵ The various treaties and agreements between the tribes and the British Government speak of friendship, commerce, security of roads, protection, etcetera, but do not spell out the acceptance of a British Governor over their territories.

Legislation enacted by the Colony can be extended into the Protectorate, but such legislation applies only to persons who are not native to the Protectorate. To have this legislation effective upon the native population it must be passed by the local legislatures or council of sheikhs.¹⁴⁶

The Governor of Aden, assisted by the Protectorate Secretary, is responsible for looking after the affairs of the Protectorate; however, an adequate staff is present in the Protectorate today to implement instructions received and to carry on the day to day administrative work.¹⁴⁷ The local governments of the various sheikhdoms, emirates and sultanates have remained in tact, and the principle of indirect rule applies. The British administrative policy towards

145. The treaties, agreements, bonds, etcetera between the British and the tribes are not regarded in the eyes of international law as treaties, agreements, or bonds. If Great Britain chose to override these commitments, she would not be liable under international law or under the Constitution of the Empire. ibid.

146. Liebesney, op. cit., p. 152.

147. British administrative personnel in the Protectorate increased 3,000 percent between the early 1930's and post World War II. Lenczowski, op. cit., p. 461.

the Protectorate differed from that of the Colony in that the political administration of the Colony was being "westernized", while the Protectorate political structures were being "modernized" where need be.

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Attention was given to development plans in the Protectorate. The actual development work, similar to that in the Aden Colony, did not begin until after World War II, although the ground work was laid before and during the war in the form of Advisory Treaties.

Through the work of W. H. Ingrams, British Resident in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, the Qa'aiti state signed an Advisory Treaty with the British. This type of agreement proved to be a satisfactory working arrangement between the Colonial Office and the rulers for solving the latter's internal administrative and development problems. Ingrams, after the signing of the "Treaty between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and His Highness the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla", established a local advisory council over which the Sultan presided. The council was composed of Ingrams as Resident Advisor, the Qa'aiti Secretary of State, and two Arab members. The cooperative efforts of both sides contributed materially to the advancement of the state. While British domination of the state was not the object of such treaties, the lack of trained Arab technicians resulted in an increased number of British experts being employed to assist in development schemes. Needless to say,

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148. Liebesney, H. J., "Administration and Legal Development in Arabia", Middle East Journal, v. 9, .955, p. 385.

149. Treaties, Agreements, etc., op. cit., p. 134.

the Resident Advisor was in a position to keep a watchful eye for any anti-British measures that the local councils might have in mind.

The success of this Advisory Treaty in the Eastern Aden Protectorate prompted the Colonial Office to adopt this scheme on the western side of the line. On 22 March 1944 the Sherif of Beihan¹⁵⁰ signed an Advisory Treaty and other more important states followed suit. (See Appendix 5 for a list of Advisory Treaties and dates). With the exception of the treaty between the Sultan of Lahej and the British Government, these treaties all included the same terms:

- (a) that the state would honor and abide by all previous treaties;
- (b) full cooperation with the acceptance of advice of the Governor of Aden in all matters connected with the development of the territory;
- (c) participation in the costs of agricultural, social, and security services; and
- (d) Her Majesty's Government would abide by all treaties, agreements, etcetera entered into with the local parties.

It is interesting to note that in these Advisory Treaties, as well as other agreements entered into between the British Government and the local rulers, there was no time limit specified for the duration of these accords.

These Advisory Treaties, as in the case of the Protectorate Treaties, extended the British control over the area; however, it opened doors to economic and social development. Such development

150. *ibid.*, p. 64.

had its influence toward the later acceptance by some of the states of the Federation of Arab Emirates of the South.

The point is then made as to why the British were interested at this time in developing this extremely backward area when nothing had been done for over one hundred years of British connection with the area. In part such action was a trend of the times. Enlightened colonial rule was the word of the day, and many British officials in the Colonial Office in London were sincerely interested in helping these undeveloped lands. A second point is that the British world position was shaky because two world wars in close succession had weakened her economically. The colonial empire of Great Britain was breaking up, and certain positive steps had to be taken to keep the remainder cemented together. A third point was expansion of Arab nationalism and the creation of the Arab League. Such Arab voices could be, and were, raised against British domination over South Arabia. Lastly, and perhaps most important, the Imam of Yemen had never relinquished his claims to South Arabia. The Imam's despotic rule was not cherished in the Protectorate, although the religious and ethnic ties between Yemen and the Protectorate were strong. By building a better Protectorate, the British could easily point to their control as being much more desirable and profitable than it would be under the Imam. A Protectorate more closely tied economically and politically would naturally reinforce the British position in the area, for the Aden Colony does command a very strategic position and the bunkering services and entrepot activities carried on at this port were indeed profitable.

Certain Arab circles claim that the British who are prospecting for oil in the Eastern Aden Protectorate will construct a pipe line from the new fields, if and when oil is found, and connect it with the refinery presently operating in Little Aden, thus creating a new "Abadan" on the shores of the Arabian Sea. With such plans in mind the retention of control over the Eastern and Western Aden Protectorates is necessary. British Officials in Aden deny the fact that oil enters into their policies towards the Protectorate.

Regardless of the claims and counterclaims, the British have begun to take an increasingly active part in the social and economic development of the Protectorate. A system of administration has developed which appears to accomplish a maximum of work with a minimum of personnel. A headquarters for the British Agent and Advisor and his staff has been established north of the Port of Aden. To facilitate administration the Protectorate was divided into five districts, each with an advisor (political officer) stationed therein.

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The five areas are:

Northeast	States of Beihan, Upper 'Aulaqi Sultanate, and Lower 'Aulaqi Sheikhdom.
Southeast	'Audhali Sultanate, Lower 'Aulaqi Sultanate, and the Dathina Confederation. 152

151. The areas include places which are not bound by any treaty or agreement with the British, such as the case of Redfan. It was felt that numerous treaties with less important places would "perpetuate fragmentation which the British are trying to eliminate". Liebesney, "Administration and Legal Development in Arabia", op. cit., p. 386.

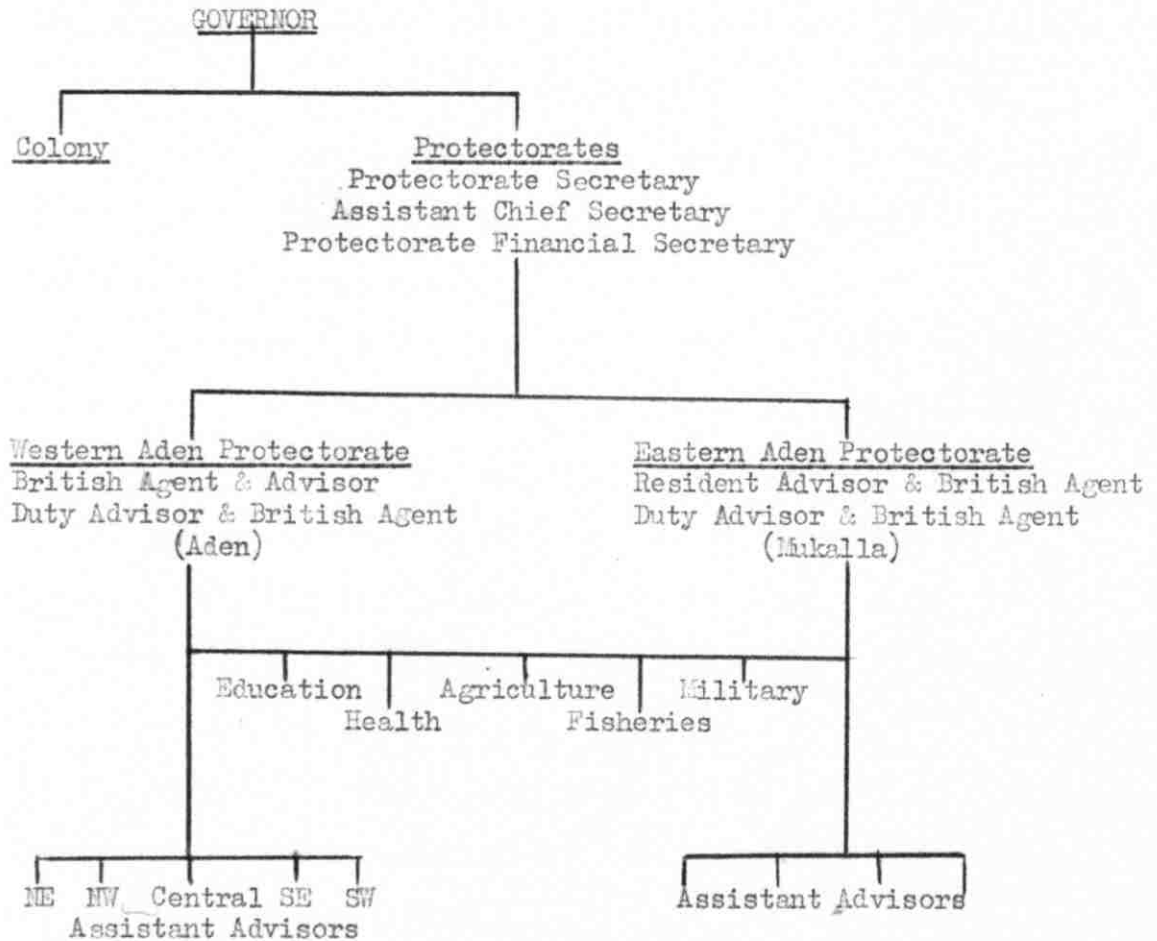
152. Dathina Confederation comprises three principal tribes: Hassani, Meisari, Saidi, with one or two minor groups attached to each principal tribe.

Central	Fadhli Sultanate, Lower Yafa'i Sultanate.
Southwest	Sultanate of Lahej, Haushabi Sultanate, 'Agrabi Sheikhdom, and 'Alawi Sheikhdom.
Northwest	Amirate of Dhala, Sha'ibi Sheikhdom, Malfahi Sheikhdom, Radfan Sheikhdom.

The Protectorate Secretary has various departments to assist him in executing his responsibilities. These are: Protectorate Health Service, Education, Agriculture, and Fisheries. Two military organizations fall within this organizational structure, the Federal National Guards (formerly the Government Guards) and the Hadhrami Beduin Legion. The Aden Protectorate Levies are still under the operational control of the R. A. F.

The current administrative set-up is depicted on the following page.

Administrative structure of the Western Aden Protectorate:



The role of the Assistant Advisors, sometimes referred to as Political Officers, is to offer assistance and advice to the local rulers in matters of administration and developments, as well as taking an active part in seeing that these tasks are accomplished. These Assistant Advisors are also in a strategic position to keep a watchful eye on local tribal matters.

The political machinery of the various states varies from a constitutional sultanate to a council of sheikhs. In 1951 Lahej, the most progressive state, adopted a constitution establishing itself as an Arab, Muslim Sultanate. The legislative powers were vested in the Sultan and a twenty-one member legislative council which is appointed for a two-year term.

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The constitution prohibits the Sultan from appointing an heir apparent. The responsibility for electing a new Sultan is vested in the Council. A Council of Directors is charged with the executive functions of the government, which in turn is responsible to the Sultan and the Legislative Council. In order to facilitate the administration of the Sultanate, the area is divided into the capital and four districts, each area being headed by a na'ib.

While the Sultan of Lahej is elected by the Council, he must be approved by the Governor of Aden. Such is the case with all heads of governments in the Protectorate.

Several states in the Protectorate have state councils and are tending to modernize their internal governmental structures by subdividing their areas into administrative districts. In the more backward areas, rule is by a council of sheikhs with the tribe being the only administrative sub-division.

153. Provisions for an elective council have been included in the constitution, which also stipulates that the council must include representatives from the royal family, notables, tribes and the common people. Liebesney. "Administration and Legal Development, etc.", op. cit. p. 387.

In several states in the Protectorate, such as Lahej, Beihan, Fadhli, Lower Yafa'i, Dhala, the ruling houses were imported from noble families originating outside their own areas, usually Yemen. This is not necessarily a recent innovation for in the case of Lahej it goes back many generations. This practice stemmed from the inability of the local sheikhs to elect one of their own members as leader without much bloodshed. For this reason an outsider was called in to head the state. The potency of these rulers depends upon their own personalities plus the amount of support the tribes offer such men, or that they get from the British.

The formation of the Federation will be discussed in a later chapter; however, the development plans introduced by the Colonial Office, plus the encouragement, prodding, cajoling, and in some cases, threats of the British advisors and officials has successfully led to the adoption of this Federation by nine member states.

The social and economic development within the Protectorate as accomplished over the past twenty years will be discussed. These will include education, health, agriculture and marketing, fisheries, plus a brief description of the military establishment. The attention given the coastal areas denotes the strategic importance of this littoral strip, for the development of this area is much ahead of that of the hinterland. For a time the self-development program of the State of Lahej ran in competition with the development plans of the Colonial Office in other areas, but in 1952 the Advisory Treaty between Lahej and Her Majesty's government brought Lahej, in part, back into the area-wide development program.

Education:

The first attempt at Protectorate education under government auspices was in 1935 when Harold Ingrams opened the Aden Protectorate College for Sons of the Chiefs. It was felt that if the future chiefs could be brought up to consider the interests of their people, many of the inter-tribal conflicts plaguing the area could be eliminated. In addition a sound, basic education, properly presented, could do much to orient the future leaders of the Protectorate to be more favorably disposed toward British policy. Ingrams selected a site in the vicinity of Khormaksar in the Colony, recruited teachers from Zanzibar where he had served previously, and offered primary education free to the sons of the chiefs. The chiefs were contacted and told of the offer being made, but the chiefs, as was expected, were highly suspicious, thinking that the British wanted to hold their sons as hostages. There were places for 36 boys in this school, but only three boys from the Fadhli state accepted the offer. Ingrams selected four boys from the Aden school system to augment this meager beginning, and the school opened with these seven students. Gradually the idea caught on. The suspicions of the chiefs dwindled and the enrollment increased.

With the exception of the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of the Chiefs, there was no government provision for or supervision of education in the Protectorate prior to 1937. There were no trained teachers in the Protectorate and very few buildings. Education received was from the little Koranic schools, usually conducted by the

154. Ingrams, "Arabia and the Isles", op. cit., p. 95.

155. Annual Report of Aden 1946, op. cit., p. 65.

Imam, the classes being limited to the recitation of the Koran.

The first ten years under the Governor of Aden, educational development in the Protectorate showed signs of improvement. By the end of 1943 three schools had been opened: a primary school in Lahej sponsored by the Sultan, a "sub-grade" school in Dhala maintained jointly by the amir and the government, and a "sub-grade" school at Shugra in the Fadhli state. Six Koranic schools that had undertaken the teaching of the "three-R's" received small grants-in-aid.

The general education policy in the Protectorate was to build up self-supporting state departments of education as soon as the states were sufficiently advanced. The Aden Government through its Department of Education and British Agents inspected the schools, giving advice and assistance and supervising the programs offered. Some financial assistance was given and by 1946 Her Majesty's government was spending 5,373 pounds sterling on ten "sub-grade" and eight Koranic and primary schools, including the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of the Chiefs. This was a small amount to be distributed to so many schools, particularly when the bulk of the money went to the Aden Protectorate College, but nevertheless it was a start.

The Abdali state, the wealthiest and most progressive state in the Protectorate, ruled by the Sultan of Lahej, had not signed a Protectorate treaty or advisory treaty with the British until 1952. (1951)
Up until that time its education program was left without benefit of

156. Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of the Chiefs cost between 3,000 and 4,000 pounds sterling to operate annually. Annual Report of the Education Department 1950-52, op. cit., p. 22.

(X)

supervision or advice from the British. However, in 1946 the British gave special credit for the growing advancement in Lahej, contributing this to Amir Ali, "who has keenly supervised every stage of the development." By 1951 Lahej had progressed sufficiently to have opened its own intermediate school using Egyptian teachers, but the British felt that "political instability in recent years has caused an educational stagnation". This inconsistency was resolved when "progressive" Amir Ali, who is reported to have refused to sign any treaty with the British, fled Lahej under pressure, being replaced by Prince Fadhl. After this occurred the British reports speak more kindly of education in the Abdali state.

Since 1939 the British had been making plans to replace the school for the sons of the chiefs by a new Lord Lloyd College which would be for Protectorate boys. Implementation of this plan was postponed repeatedly, until at last the project was dropped in 1948. The whole scheme was replaced by the Aden College, a secondary school, built at Sheikh Othman in 1952. The Aden College reserved 20 percent of its places for boys from the Protectorate who could qualify.

Colonial Development and Welfare Funds were made available for school construction in 1949. The original sum of 16,000 pounds sterling was later reduced to 12,000 pounds sterling for expenditure in the Protectorate. The government of Aden Colony did not expend any funds for Protectorate education; however, Her Majesty's government has made numerous grants absorbing a portion of the recurrent expenses as well as contributing to improvement and construction of buildings.

157. Colonial Office Report on Aden, 1946, *op. cit.* p. 66.

158. "Annual Report of Education Department 1950-52", *op. cit.*, p. 18.

The number of schools increased and the quality of education continued to improve as time went on. The "sub-grade" schools still existed. In such schools little other than rudimentary arithmetic could be taught as a non-secular subject. Improvement in the primary school curriculum to match the Aden Colony syllabus was accomplished in the Fadhli state, and others did their best to follow this example. The Fadhli state opened a girls primary school in 1950, the first in the Protectorate, and planned for an intermediate school to be in operation at Zinjibar in 1953. By mid-1952 the Protectorate, excluding the Abdali state, had 33 primary schools for boys and one girls' primary school for a total enrollment of 1,755 boys and 12 girls.

Finding sufficient teachers has always been a problem in the Protectorate. Often untrained teachers who had received only a concentrated two-week, summer teacher training course were all that could be found to fill many of the lower paid teaching positions. Some Protectorate students entered the more formal teaching training center in Aden Colony, while a few were sent abroad to study. It was necessary to import ex-patriate teachers from the Sudan and Egypt, in the case of Lahej, to augment the teaching staffs. Even today qualified teachers are in great demand in the Protectorate.

Schools were not established in all parts of the Protectorate, for some areas are considered outside the control of the British. Even in the areas of British control internal security problems

159. Statistics not available until after 1952.

often hamper the education program.

Financing the education program has had its problems. Education is still a rather recent innovation and there are still certain prejudices against teaching modern subjects. Teachers' salaries are still quite low, and there is always a need for additional teaching material and buildings. The richer cotton states of Fadhli, Abdali, and Lower Yafa'i can and do support an expanding educational program, but the poorer states naturally suffer. In the 1956-57 financial year 60,234 pounds sterling were spent from state funds for education, while Her Majesty's government contributed 21,860 pounds sterling.

Schools increased in number and by October 1957 there were 48 primary schools for boys (some still "sub-grade") and three primary schools for girls -- two in the Fadhli state and one at Dhala in the Amiri state. Six intermediate schools existed, two temporarily housed in and sharing primary school facilities. The two temporary schools were located at Loder in the Audhali state and at Mudia in the Dathina state. (See Map 4 for the location of schools in the Protectorate).

Although there are no secondary schools in the Protectorate, the Aden College and the Technical Institute reserve places for boys in their classes. The new Teacher Training Center offers courses to Protectorate men interested in pursuing this career, and the Abyan Board and other organizations offer scholarships for study abroad for the more capable students. Girls completing their primary education in the Protectorate can be channelled into the appropriate girls schools in the Aden Colony.

Enrollment in the schools of the Protectorate as of October 1957 numbered 3,871 boys in primary schools, 230 in intermediate schools, 32 in Aden College and the Technical Institute, and 12 enrolled in the teacher training center. The girls numbered 214 in primary schools only. This total of 4,215 students represents approximately only one-tenth of the potential student population in the Protectorate.

Education administration today is under the immediate supervision of the Adviser and British Agent. He is assisted by a Protectorate Education Officer and an Assistant Education Officer, both of whom are Arabs. The education personnel of the Protectorate work

160. Education Department Triennial Report 1955-57, op. cit., p. 19.

161. In February 1960 the author interviewed Mr. Ahmed Ali Músaid, Protectorate Education Officer, who had been appointed in 1955. It is his responsibility to supervise and inspect the 50 primary schools and the four intermediate schools throughout the Protectorate. Mr. Músaid stated that the two intermediate schools planned at Mudia and Loder were still operating in temporary quarters.

The Sudan syllabus is still followed by the most part, because the Protectorate has none of its own and it still employs Sudanese teachers who prefer their own system. The primary schools teach history, Arabic, geography, arithmetic, and elementary sciences. Mr. Músaid said that all the instruction was in Arabic and all the teachers were Arabs.

In addition several schools were visited during a trip by the author to Abyan cotton area (Fadhli and Lower Yafi states). The schools have the benefit of being situated in the most prosperous agricultural area in the Protectorate, and the author was still favorably impressed by the modern buildings, the relatively good equipment in the classrooms, and the alertness of the students. The author inquired if any agricultural subjects were taught in the schools or if there were any gardens or small farms connected with the schools. The British official stated that this had been considered, but such a plan was discarded as the farmers in the area who send their children to school feel that their boys are in school to study other subjects. If the students were to be farmers, the parents felt that there was no need to send them to school for they could learn all they needed to know on the farms without going to school.

closely with the Director of Education of the Aden Colony, consulting on matters of expansion and development, and coordinating the flow of students from the Protectorate into Colony schools.

Within the structure of the new Federation of Arab Emirates of the South, created in February 1959, a Department of Education was established headed by the Minister of Education who sits as a member of the Supreme Council. (This Federation will be discussed in a later chapter.) The initial duty of the Department of Education is the supervision of primary schools of the member states, but the administration and management remain under state control. The Protectorate Education Officer under the British Agent and Adviser continues his duties. As the Federal Education Department gains more experience, some of the duties and functions performed by the Protectorate Education Office will be assumed by the Federation.

Health:

The Protectorate Health Program followed a similar pattern to that of education. It was not until the post World War II period that a systematic program was established. Hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries did not exist prior to the war. Protectorate inhabitants who could make the journey were treated at the Keith Falconer Church of Scotland Mission Hospital located in Sheikh Othman, or in either the Civil Hospital or Aden Protectorate Levies Hospital in Aden Colony.

Malaria, dysentary, pulmonary tuberculosis, malnutrition, trachoma and skin ulcers are the most common diseases and ailments

in the Protectorate. Occasional smallpox epidemics have struck
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 the area. Statistics for the birth rates, death rates, causes
 of death, etcetera cannot be maintained accurately because
 internal security reasons prohibit the health services from ex-
 tending to all parts of the Protectorate. The infant mortality
 rate is high and is estimated at about 400 deaths per 1,000 births.

The first step adopted by the Protectorate Health Service
 was to establish small dispensaries throughout the area where treat-
 ment could be given to the local inhabitants. This was done by
 recruiting young men from various tribes and villages and training
 them along first-aid lines. These men could treat minor injuries
 and administer shots and vaccinations as preventive measures. Once
 or twice a month the government would resupply these dispensaries,
 and most of these dispensaries were visited monthly by a doctor or
 a nurse from the Church of Scotland Mission Hospital. Cases too
 serious to be treated at the dispensaries were sent to the hospitals
 at Sheikh Othman or Aden.

The work of these dispensaries proved quite successful and
 their numbers gradually increased. In 1949 the Protectorate Medical
 Service took ten of the most promising and experienced aid-men and
 gave them a year's course in curative and preventive medicine at the

162. Dr. Lohammad Khan who had come to Aden in 1936 and
 was deputed by the Indian Army to the Aden Protec-
 torate Levies (APL) told the author of an incident
 which occurred in 1941. A soldier of the APL from
 Loder reported that his family was stricken with
 smallpox. Dr. Khan was sent to Loder and found 90
 cases of the disease. The town was ordered to be
 isolated and Dr. Khan vaccinated some 900 people
 during his stay. The Mission Hospital followed up
 by sending a doctor and a nurse to carry on his
 work. This incident occurred before the days of
 an organized government health program.

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Mission Hospital. In that same year malaria control measures were carried on in the Abyan district, ridding this disease plagued area almost entirely of its anapholine (malaria bearing) mosquito. Colonial Development and Welfare funds were used in this anti-malaria campaign as the Abyan area was developing into a very productive agricultueal region.

Increased cotton production and high cotton prices brought money into the Abyan area (Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i states). Some of this money was channelled into the health program and in 1952 a hospital was begun. In this same year Lahej, the capital of the Abdali state, began its hospital. The hospital at Makhzan in the Abyan district planned a Health Service Training Center which would in time replace the training center at the Mission Hospital at Sheikh Othman.

The Protectorate Health Service embarked on a campaign to employ preventive measures in the Protectorate by encouragement, demonstration and propaganda. Spraying of the natural breeding places of mosquitoes was increased, and prominence was given to the matter of waste disposal and the building or rebuilding of privies to combat dysentary.

In addition to the government dispensaries the Church of Scotland and the Danish Mission established clinics staffed by nurses and midwives in Dathina, Abyan, and Beihan. The Dathina clinic was later transferred to Zinjibar in the Abyan district.

163. Colonial Office Report on Aden, 1949-50.
op. cit., p. 78.

The health administration had three functions: (1) co-ordination and standardization in the interests of efficiency, (2) direction of activities financed by Her Majesty's government, that being health work among states which had no health services of their own, and (3) to give advice and practical help to administrations with health services and doctors in their own employment. Money for the increased medical services was furnished both the states that could afford it and by the British Government. The latter contributed Colonial Development and Welfare funds which were used primarily for new construction. The table below will give an indication of the increased amount of money spent on the health program and the amount contributed:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Expended</u>	<u>Amt. Contributed by Her Majesty's Govt.</u>
1951-52	£ 43,000	£ 16,000
1952-53	48,500	20,500
1953-54	63,500	25,000
1954-55	75,000	27,000
1955-56	90,000	47,000

The Church of Scotland Mission, the Danish Mission, and the Neufield Foundation made significant contributions either materially or financially.

164. These figures have been rounded off to the nearest 500. Figures from 1951 to the 1954-55 period were obtained from the Colonial Office Report on Aden 1954-55, op. cit., p. 93. Figures for 1955-56 were obtained from the Annual Report for that year, op. cit., p. 116.

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The thirty dispensaries scattered throughout the Protectorate underwent an improvement program in 1955-56. The older buildings which were in use were being replaced by a standardized three-room structure comprised of a clinic office, a combined store-room-laboratory-dispensary, and a maternity and child health room. The Adenese staffing these health units are now receiving their training from the Health Training Center at the Makhzan Hospital. ¹⁶⁶

The Protectorate Health Service maintains an adviser at his headquarters in Aden. An Assistant Health Adviser is stationed at the Makhzan Hospital. The three outstanding problems confronting the Protectorate Health Service today are ignorance and superstitions of the Protectorate people, lack of technically trained personnel and security. As regards the first, inroads are being made continually, and the Protectorate people regard the hospitals, clinics and dispensaries more kindly. Unfortunately many illnesses, which could have been treated in their earlier stages, do not appear until in an advanced stage. Preventive measures such as cleanliness in towns and villages, protected water supplies, proper disposal of refuse and waste are being supervised by the local British Political Officers and some evidence of progress can be seen.

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165. The number of dispensaries due to insecurity, staff-wasteage and policy. *ibid.*
166. A visit was made to this hospital and training center. The hospital appeared adequate. The buildings were of concrete structure, well lighted and well ventilated, and were comprised of men's wards, women's wards, operating room, laboratory, X-ray room, office, clinic, store-rooms, kitchen, laundry, etc. The trainees' quarters were orderly, although no trainees were present at the time. The resident doctor was not on the premises during this visit; however, male and female attendants were on duty. (See Map 5).

Recruiting and training of indigenous personnel to staff the hospitals and dispensaries remains a problem. Education in the Protectorate has been a recent development, and this only to the intermediate level. Technical assistants and sick attendants require a certain amount of scientific training which takes not only time but qualified people to absorb this training. Students at the training center are paid for attendance. Scholarships and assistance are given those who study abroad, and at present there are ten men pursuing the study of medicine on such terms.

Internal security prevents health measures from being applied in the entire Protectorate. While there are certain areas that are unsafe for the establishment of dispensaries, dissident tribes by raids or by threat of raids hamper the efforts of the Protectorate Health Service in even the more settled areas.

The post of Minister of Health is also incorporated in the new Federation and he controls the Federal Health Department which is in the process of being established.

Agriculture:

Agricultural development in the Protectorate is characterized by two important steps, the first is the large-scale planting of cotton and the establishment of the Abyan district as an important cotton center; the second is the improved marketing facilities to encourage farmers to produce more and a wider variety of crops required by the Colony.

Approximately 30 to 50 miles to the east of Aden lies an area of fertile ground which is watered twice yearly by run-off waters

from the upper regions flowing through the Wadi Bana and the Wadi Hassan. The summer floods occur usually from April to May and the fall floods, which are heavier, begin about mid-July and extend through September. This area, called Abyan, has an irrigation potential of approximately 100,000 acres.¹⁶⁷ The area is presently divided between the Lower Yafa'i and Fadhli states, the latter having the larger share.

The Abyan district possessed an ancient system of irrigation works long since unused. A limited amount of farming had been done in relatively recent years, but the long standing tribal feuds and rivalries which existed between the Lower Yafa'i and Fadhli tribes prevented any serious plantings or cultivation from being accomplished.¹⁶⁸

Shortage of food during World War II, and particularly a famine which occurred in the Eastern Aden Protectorate in the early war years, prompted the British government to encourage the growing of grain as a famine relief measure. The Colonial Office sought a fertile area which had a water supply and a place where farm machinery could be used. The Abyan district was such a place.

The British settled some of the outstanding differences between the two tribes and in 1943 an agriculture plan was started.¹⁶⁹

167. Reilly, Bernard, "Farming Development in Abyan", Times British Colonies Review, First Quarter, 1959, p. 12.

168. Ingrams, "Arabia and the Isles", op. cit., p. 122-128.

169. The area was not fully pacified. The Yafa'i's were not agricultural people and resisted sedentary life. There was opposition by both tribes toward government interference in the area. As the plan later expanded anyone from the Protectorates could farm the land; however, the lands are still owned by the two tribes.

This first program was called the Khanafar Development Scheme which undertook land clearing, irrigation and land improvement. This four-year development plan was controlled by the Department of Agriculture, but financed by the Colony of Aden as part of an increased food production campaign. Efforts were made to restore, by traditional methods, the irrigation systems in the southern and central sectors of the district. A few diesel tractors were brought into the area and they were used together with local oxen teams in the canals, but the tractors were singularly helpful in ridding the land of sida'a, a weed-type grass (¹⁷⁰desmostachy bipinnata). By 1946 limited irrigation canals were opened, land improved, and approximately 5,000 acres were under cultivation.

The Khanfar Scheme gave way to the Abyan Development Plan in 1947. On the advice of the Governor of Aden, Lower Yafa'i state established the Abyan Board which was composed of the British Agent and Adviser of the Protectorate as chairman, the Director of Agriculture as Managing Director, the Political Officer of the Abyan ¹⁷¹ area, plus two Fadhli and two Yafa'i members. The objectives of the Board were to: (1) utilize all surface flow and suitable underground supplies of water in order to develop and maintain irrigation farming in the Abyan district; (2) to organize and develop the production

170. This weed covered much of the area. It was too slow and costly to pull this grass out by hand or eradicate by ox-plow. This weed is still a problem to cotton farmers.

171. Colonial Office Report on Aden, 1953-54, op. cit., p. 105.

of food crops and cash crops, and to assist in their marketing; and (3) to increase the wealth and prosperity of the people and of the Governments of the local states and of the Aden Protectorate.

Under the Abyan plan a sound and broad system of irrigation and land improvement was established. Loans were made available to the Board in 1947 when 20,000 pounds sterling were granted and an additional quarter of a million pounds were offered in August of 1948. Irrigation experts, surveyors and engineers were brought to Abyan to get the project under way. Tractors and yokes of oxen were used to build these diversionary systems. Individual fields were surrounded by earthen banks, which permit the water to be stored. These fields were fed by a series of earth dams, off-takes, regulators and canals. In addition to building the irrigation system and improving the land, workshops, offices, and staff houses were constructed.

The raising of food crops was the first objective of the Abyan project, so in addition to sorghum, millet and sesame, the staples of the area, new crops were introduced from Africa. Varieties of cane, hemp, beans and ground-nuts were planted and observed. In 1948 a cotton variety known as X-1730-a¹⁷² was planted on 82 acres and harvested in early 1949. This cotton grew rapidly and some of the plants reached more than six feet in height. The yield was

172. A type of cotton successfully grown in the Sudan.

outstanding and it was free from pests and diseases. In the 1949-50 season 1,100 acres were devoted to cotton. This acreage yielded 1,587 bales of long-staple cotton which was sold to the Raw Cotton Commission in Liverpool for 115,000 pounds sterling. Indeed, a suitable cash crop for Abyan had been found. Cotton soon became known as "white gold" and cotton acreages and incomes increased. Below is a table showing the increase of production over the first six-year period.

Season	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55
Acreage	1,100	7,000	8,800	11,300	22,000	32,000
Yield (bales)	1,587	9,954	7,206	10,268	21,736	22,140
App. value in sterling	115,000	856,000	722,000	880,000	1,410,000	1,675,000

Other states, notably Lahej, took notice of the prosperity that the cash crop brought Abyan and started growing cotton. Such places as Yeramis to the east of Abyan, Ahwar on the southwest coast of the Protectorate, Am Wadhia, Dathina and Loder, all in the vicinity of Loder began cotton production; however, Lahej is the largest producer other than Abyan for it is blessed with an oasis and seasonal waters rushing from the Yemen in the Wadi Tiban. In the 1955-56 season Lahej planted 7,000 acres which yielded 10,500 bales of grades 3 and 4 cotton. Since that time it too has increased its acreages.

The Abyan Board mentioned above was reorganized in 1956 at the request of the Fadhli and Lower Yafa'i states who were dissatisfied with the board's membership. The Board is now made up entirely

173. Anthony, K. R. M., "Cotton Production in Aden Protectorate", Empire Cotton Growing Review, v. 34, n. 1, 1957.

174. Reilly, op. cit.

of Arabs. The British Agent of the Protectorate and the Director of Agriculture act as advisors, and the Manager of the Board is also the Board's secretary. The Abyan Board is charged with controlling the finances of the scheme, collecting, processing (ginning) and marketing the crop, distributing the profits, giving advice, and supervising the project as a whole.

The financial position of the Abyan project is not solvent. The 270,000 pounds sterling loans acquired at its inception have not been fully repaid. The loan agreement set thirteen annual installments at 26,000 pounds sterling per installment, of which only five payments had been made up to September 1958. "As long as these repayments remain outstanding, the Secretary of State for the Colonies must retain sufficient control, through the Governor of Aden, over the financial policy of the Board to ensure that the Board's activities and finances are run as efficiently as possible."¹⁷⁵

Most of the lands of the Abyan scheme are owned by the tribes of that area. Some land was purchased by Adenese from the Colony, but none of this farming area is owned either by the British or by other Europeans. The area is principally worked by tenant farmers, for very few of the farmers own their land. The average size farm is from 5 to 8 acres.

The growing of cotton in Abyan is a cooperative project. Its costs and revenues are shared by tenants, landlords, states and the Abyan Board.¹⁷⁶ From the gross revenue derived from the sale of cotton

175. *ibid.*

176. Anthony, K.R.M. and Eyre, V.E.F., "Economics of Abyan Cotton Production", Empire Cotton Growing Review, v. 36, n. 4, 1959, p. 264.

certain charges common to all the partners are made. This includes: cost of seed, collection and transportation of cotton, ginning and baling, warehousing, insurance, marketing, and the cost of capital works. The net revenue is distributed on an agreed percentage basis of which 50 percent goes to the tenant, 20 percent to the landlord, 20 percent to the Board for management costs, and 10 percent to the states as taxes.

In 1955-56 a Research Station of the Department of Agriculture was established at El Kod in the Abyan district. The station was staffed by an agronomist and plant breeder, a soil chemist, and an entomologist. Cost of this research section was paid from the Colonial Development and Welfare funds, the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, and the states. The work of this unit has been most valuable for it developed a pure seed producing extra long staple cotton which grows well in Abyan. Problems of irrigation, use of fertilizers, pest control, plant diseases, and planting and cultivation techniques have been studied. Unfortunately the findings and recommendations of this research section have not been fully applied by the cotton farmers.

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Cotton farming is relatively new in the Protectorate and the first high yields brought good prices with little work. This pleasant state of affairs did not last long for world market prices dropped for a time, and cotton yields as a result of poor farming methods declined.

177. Cotton was seen growing in Lahej in 1809 when a Mr. Salt visited Aden, but no substantial quantities have been grown until the last decade.

Efforts are being made to teach the farmer improved techniques which require more work on his part, but progress is slow. Some of the problems facing the Abyan today are: the practice of growing cotton on the same ground year after year, over-watering which leads to a rising water-table with an accompanying increase of salinity of the soil, inadequate weeding, and late picking of the crop and crop rotation. The table below shows the decline in yield per acre over the past ten years in the Abyan area.

<u>Season</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Yield/acre</u>	<u>Season</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>Yield/acre</u>
1949-50	1,100	1,620	1954-55	21,000	620
1950-51	7,000	1,600	1955-56	18,000	990
1951-52	9,800	830	1956-57	24,000	640
1952-53	11,300	1,030	1957-58	25,000	650
1953-54	20,000	1,080	1958-59	14,000	760

The Yeramis cotton producing area, adjacent to but independent from the Abyan project, has followed more closely the advice of the Research Station for while its total acreage is much smaller than that of Abyan (1,800 acres planted in 1958-59) its yield per acre is higher, averaging 1,000 pounds of cotton seed during that same season. This can be accounted for in part by the fact that most of the farmers of the Yeramis area own their lands. They have banded

178. The initial irrigation practice of one meter of standing water per field has been changed. It has now been found that 30 cms. of water is sufficient. The tenant farmers find it hard to believe that less water will raise a better crop, and most of them still insist on their share of one meter.

179. Farmers normally get two crops per year from the land. Millet, sesame and other crops are grown after the summer floods, and cotton is planted when the fall waters recede. Successful crop rotation requires that the lands lie fallow one year out of every three.

together and formed their own farmers' co-operative society. In the 1958-59 season the Yeramis farmer, after deducting a state tax of 5 cents per pound, received 50 cents per pound for his cotton seed as compared to the Abyan farmer's share in that same season of 30 cents per pound.¹⁸⁰

While farmers' incomes have declined in the Abyan in recent years, his financial position even now, as compared to pre-Abyan development days, is infinitely better. The use of improved techniques and inexpensive nitrogen fertilizers can increase the farmers' yields substantially. Abyan which once was a battle field has been changed into an area of peace where new houses, roads, a hospital, schools, clinics, markets, etcetera have sprung up, and with these things a much higher standard of living has evolved.

Marketing is a joint venture between the Aden Colony and the Protectorate. A Co-operative and Marketing Department established in 1955, operates under the Colony Financial Secretary. The work of this department benefits both the Protectorate producer and the Adeni consumer in that the producer receives a better price for his fruits and vegetables while the consumer can buy for less. Heretofore marketing of fruits, vegetables and fish was in the hands of local merchants in the Aden Colony, usually non-Arabs. These merchants extended credit liberally to the producers, who once in the debt of the merchant, were obliged to sell their products to the merchant at the price fixed by the merchant. Due to the scarcity of fresh

180. Anthony & Eyre, op. cit., pp 265-66.

produce in the Colony, the merchant could charge high prices to the consumer and thus reap a sizeable profit. Even the producers who were not in debt had to sell to the independent merchants who monopolized the wholesale and retail trade in the Colony.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the British encouraged the growing of vegetables in the Protectorate as well as assisting in the distribution of fruit trees, but to get added production the marketing system had to be revised from both ends. At the Colony end the Central Warehouse Produce Market at Khormaksar was opened in 1959 permitting farm produce to be brought in and auctioned off, with a nominal percentage being taken for warehouse costs. The prices paid the farmer were higher, he received his money immediately, and the saving resulting from the removal of the middle-man was passed on to the consumer or retailer.

On the Protectorate side, co-operative credit and marketing organizations are being set up to facilitate the movement of farm produce from the hinterland to the markets and to free the farmer from his indebtedness. In addition Colonial Development and Welfare funds are being used to construct grading and packing sheds in the Protectorate plus introducing the use of improved containers and packing material. Such actions reduce spoilage and wastage and net the farmer better prices. This entire marketing procedure has been slow in starting, but the present and new marketing developments should do much to stimulate increased farm production in the Protectorate.

Fisheries:

The Fisheries Department serves the Western Aden Protectorate, the Eastern Aden Protectorate and the Aden Colony. The problems faced by the department are similar along the entire coast, therefore no attempt will be made to isolate the problems of the Western Aden Protectorate.

The Fisheries Department was started by the British in 1947 when the government was seeking additional sources of vitamin A and fish suitable for canning. A survey team consisting of two officers of the Fisheries Department, a chemist, a canning expert, and a taxonomist arrived in Aden April 1948 to study the existing fishing industry and examine the possibilities of opening a cannery. Investigations proved that the sardines, although fairly abundant, were of poor quality and their price too high. The king fish and tuna were of satisfactory quality but their season was short and a continuing supply would be required to warrant a cannery at Aden. In addition, Aden consumes most of the fish that is caught in its surrounding water, so the idea of a cannery was discarded; however, a small cannery was established at Mukalla in the Eastern Aden Protectorate where the fishing is much better.

The Fisheries Officers found the Aden fishermen to be very conservative, poor, and highly suspicious of change. Fishermen would fish only once a day and at that with hook and line for fear of depleting the stock of fish in the sea. New type fishing gear, such

181. Four million cans of fish per year would be required before cannery production could operate at a break-even point.

as gill nets, were introduced but the local fishermen felt that these nets would drive the fish from the coastal waters. The Fisheries Officers worked slowly and patiently to break down the traditional barriers and to replace antiquated methods with new ones. One progressive step which has caught on is the mechanization of boats. In 1950 one single boat was converted by installing a 9-horsepower diesel engine. Formerly a captain needed a crew of 14 men, but with mechanization a crew of five was sufficient. The mechanized boat provided greater range and speed, leading to more certain fishing grounds where the catches were larger. The government embarked on a program of loaning money, interest free, to fishermen who wished to purchase motors, repaying the loan in four years. This method of modernization has proved fairly successful for in 1958 twenty-seven boats were mechanized.

The fishermen of Aden and the Protectorates have long been indebted to the fish merchants of the colony, similar to the plight of the farmers. The merchants would loan the fishermen money during off-seasons, putting a lien on the next catch. This entitled the merchant to purchase the fish at a price which he set, leaving the fisherman only enough money to subsist for a time, then having to borrow money again.

Colonial Development and Welfare funds have been made available to enable the fishermen to buy modern fishing gear, and
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the interest-free loans for purchase of motors were aimed at

182. The Director of Fisheries, Mr. V. Hind, said that most fishermen pay off their debts in time; however, it was necessary to take action against six long overdue accounts. Five of the delinquent accounts were paid up immediately suggesting that the fishermen went to the merchants and placed themselves in further debt. The sixth one was reclaimed.

ridding the fisherman of his indebtedness.

Two fisherman co-operatives were formed; the Fukum Fishermen's Credit Co-operative Society, Ltd., in 1955 and the Colony Fishing Gear Supply Co-operative Society, Ltd., in 1956. These groups are assisting the fishermen in the purchase of new equipment and in supplying short-term credit. Improved cold storage facilities are helping to solve the marketing problems.

The Fisheries Department operating stations at Aden, Mukulla, and Shuqra have been recruiting and training Arab fishery officers. On-the-job training and training abroad is available to such candidates; however, Arab interest in this field has been poor.

A detailed study and survey of the off-shore waters of the South Arabian coast has not been made as concerns fish migrations, currents, feeding grounds, etcetera, but it is estimated that the yearly catch could be doubled without risk of depleting the present supply of fish.

Fishing has been going on for centuries along the Aden coast. It is difficult to eradicate the traditions and suspicions of the fishermen in such a short time, but progress is being made and this industry offers the Protectorate an additional source of income and food.

Military:

Security has always been a major problem within the Protectorate and continues to be a problem today. The surface of the Protectorate is made up of either sand or volcanic rock with only

183. Catches vary from 20,000 to 70,000 tons annually of which 75 percent of the catch is made in the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

one percent of the total area suitable for cultivation. Water is scarce and the pasture lands are meager. In such hostile surroundings it is little wonder that the people themselves are hostile. Tribal feuds and blood killings have plagued the area for generations with the situation becoming worse rather than better. Raiding to supplement meager incomes became the national pastime. A tribesman's badge of office is his dagger and his rifle. Whether for revenge or booty, a tribesman is ready to fight on short notice.

The outsider, the infidel, has always been a natural target for raids as depicted in the early history of the British occupation of Aden. After subduing their tribal neighbors around the Aden Settlement, the British turned to the security of the trade routes for this meant money to Aden. The route to the northwest through the Subeihi country, the main route to Taiz through Lahej and Misaimir, the road to Dhala, and the northeast route to Loder, Mukairas, and Beihan were the principal avenues of trade. In time these routes were the main objects of British security. Robberies and murders along the highway brought quick reprisals, but oddly enough, should such crimes occur a few yards off these beaten paths, the policy of non-interference prevailed.

Security problems do not all come from within the Protectorate because in recent years Imam Ahmed of the Yemen, who classifies Aden and the Protectorates as "Occupied Yemen", has sent arms

184. Burns, A., In Defense of Colonies, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1957. p. 187.

and money to the Protectorate tribes so that they might rise against the British. In addition, the ill-defined border has been violated frequently.

The Aden Protectorate Levies (A.P.L.) have been mentioned as a local internal security force under the command of the R.A.F. This military unit is composed of three battalions dispersed along the northern frontier and an armored car squadron. Headquarters and training center of the A.P.L. is in the Aden Colony.

This strictly volunteer outfit is British led,¹⁸⁵ trained and equipped. Problems arose in this volunteer organization when its companies were formed of men from different tribes. The inter-tribal animosities led to unhealthy situations within the unit and when deployed in the field for A.P.L., soldiers did not like to fight against their own tribes. It is the policy where possible to recruit whole companies from a single tribe to assure unit efficiency. The main mission of the A.P.L. is to quell large-scale tribal disorders and rebellions, because it is the best trained and best equipped military organization in the Protectorate.

The Government Guards, often called the "Gigi", were organized by Major Hamilton, British Political Officer, in the late
¹⁸⁶1930's. This force operating in platoon strength is the instrument of the British Political Officer in the Protectorate for the

185. The responsibility for officering and administering the A.P.L. has reverted to the British Army. Frequently technical non-commissioned officers are attached to A.P.L. companies because of lack of local skills.

186. Belhaven, op. cit., pp. 189-190.

maintenance of law and order where local forces of the ruler cannot accomplish this task. The "Gigi's" are British trained and are equipped with rifles and light machine guns; however, their training is less formal than that given the A.P.L.

The headquarters for the Government Guards is in Aden Colony, but they can be transported on short notice by airplane to remote areas of the Protectorate. Since the increased activities along the Yemeni frontier have occurred, the Government Guards man many of the frontier posts. The "Gigi's" are effective against minor troubles but the larger security problems are left to the A.P.L.

A third force, known as the "Tribal Guards", is organized by the local ruler for constabulary duty within his own state. Their equipment is merely a rifle; they have no uniforms and their effectiveness goes little beyond patrolling the borders.

A unique unit was formed in Lahej a few years ago called the "Lahej Regular Army".¹⁸⁷ This unit, numbering slightly over one hundred, is uniformed, trained, and equipped by the Sultan of Lahej. The mission of this "army" is the defense of Lahej; however, its effectiveness cannot be determined. If appearance is any criteria, the "Lahej Regular Army" ranks slightly below the A.P.L.

In 1955 the British Army sent units to Aden Colony because of the increasing tribal difficulties in the hinterland. Their primary mission however is internal security in the Port of Aden and in the BP Refinery at Little Aden. Such troops have been

187. Rankin, W., "Local Forces for Defense", Times British Colonies Review, First Quarter, 1959, p. 26.

called on to assist within the Protectorate.

The last arm of defense and powerful keeper of the peace is the fighter aircraft of the R.A.F. The terrain of the Protectorate
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is difficult to traverse, and the use of foot soldiers against dissident tribes, murderers and bandits perched on the top of a remote mountain is time consuming, costly in material and life, and often ineffective. To effectively deal with such hostile people, the R.A.F. bombs and strafes their villages and flocks after sufficient warning has been given to the tribal people,
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often resulting in the surrender of the criminals or submission of the tribes.

A British Official of the Protectorate related a recent incident which occurred when a tribe in the vicinity of Shuqra ambushed a truck coming to Aden from the Eastern Aden Protectorate. Several passengers on the truck were killed, the truck was looted and some hostages taken. The tribe returned to their mountainous hideouts which the British considered inaccessible. A short time
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later a second attempt to halt a convoy was made by the same tribe. This convoy had armed guards who successfully drove off the attackers, but several people were killed. The R.A.F. served notice to this band of about sixty men to give themselves up or else. The tribe refused this ultimatum, so the R.A.F. flew a few sorties and killed

188. Four miles a day is considered good progress in such areas.

189. Yemeni and U.A.R. authors charge that warnings are not always given the tribes, and pre-planned attacks occur on Yemeni troops well within their own borders.

190. Approximately November 1959. ((957))

twenty-five goats belonging to the tribe. The tribe came to Aden and submitted, handing over the guilty ones who were imprisoned, while the rest of the tribe was disarmed. Such an incident is obviously told to show that no loss of human life occurred, but there have been air attacks which have killed tribal people. Air action has been severely criticized, but can there be any difference in sending in aircraft to subdue a dissident tribe from sending a company of soldiers on foot, except that the economy of forces is on the side of the British? This study does not condone either method, for it appears to be a poor way of winning friends, but if the policy of internal security calls for armed action, then the most efficient and economic way to maintain this security is the logical course to follow.

Changes in the military arrangements within the Protectorate are being made since the establishment of the Federation. The "Government Guards" are being integrated into an arm of the Federal Government called the "National Guard". The duties of the new "Guard" will be that of a gendarmerie, the job of internal security.

Although not yet effective, it is planned that the A.P.L. shall become the nucleus of the Federal Army and shall be responsible for the defense of the Federal States.

Chapter 5.

The Federation of the Arab Emirates of the South

The year old Federation of the Arab Emirates of the South is one of the most controversial subjects that can be brought up in any political discussion of southwest Arabia. This study will trace its history, acceptance, constitution and some of the pro's and con's heard today about this new "nation".

The idea of confederation has deep roots in Arab history. Tribes have frequently joined together for security reasons. Even today within the Protectorate the state of Dathina is a confederation of tribes.¹⁹¹ Federation is one step further than confederation in that the federal state becomes a sovereign power, but the local states continue to retain control over their own local affairs. Federation has been suggested as a possible cure-all to the idea of Arab unity that today occupies much of the efforts of the Arab countries in the north.

The tribal leaders in the south have long enjoyed the feeling of being autocratic. Although their actions often require the sanction of their council of sheikhs or state legislature, the rulers' words have carried much weight in their own domains. By joining in a federation certain sovereign rights of the state and the ruler must bend a little, and this is distasteful to the local leader for he has frequently fought and fought hard to retain his position with its accompanying privileges. On the other hand the thought of

191. Dathina is a confederation of three principal tribes: Hassani, Meisari, and Saidi each with one or two minor groups attached to it.

remaining a small autocratic state, poor and weak, with the threat of being over-run has not been a happy prospect. The strength derived from a combination of states with the accompanying promise of perpetuating the ruler's position because of this security has been an enticing factor of federation. It is not that easy to accept, though. Years of inter-tribal rivalries and blood feuds cannot easily be put aside. To bury the hatchet and then to sit down to discuss impartially and unemotionally a plan of affiliation and cooperation requires some strong motivation not present when federation was suggested some twenty years before.

The idea that federation in south Arabia originated with and
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 has been the work of the indigenous people is not necessarily the case. It is impossible to say who had the original thoughts about federation, but the first concrete proposals did not come until the early 1950's. Sir Tom Hickinbotham, who was Governor of Aden at that time, stated that he had entertained such thoughts even in his pre-governorship days, but for a black and white proposal Sir Hickinbotham credits Mr. G.K.N. Trevaskis who is now serving in the capacity of
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 British Agent and Advisor to the Western Aden Protectorate. Trevaskis' plan suggested that not one but two federal states be established, one in the east, the other in the west. This was based on the fact that the states of the Eastern Aden Protectorate were more advanced administratively and socially and had little to do with their western counterparts.

192. Phillips, H. and Conde, B., "Federation of the Arab Emirates of the South", Middle East Journal, v. 35., n. 8, Oct. 1959, p. 11.

193. Hickinbotham, Aden, op. cit., p. 164.

The charge of divide and conquer cannot be applied here for nothing could have been more divided than these south Arabian tribes.

The head of these two political entities would be the Governor of Aden. A Council of Rulers within each division would be the supreme ruling body represented in a Working Committee by deputies who would convene at frequent intervals to discuss the affairs of state. It was felt that the rulers would be too busy with the affairs of their own states to be able to devote much time to frequent meetings.

The Federations were to have an Executive Council and a Legislative Council each, which would first be nominated by the rulers and perhaps elected at some future date. These two bodies would carry on the functions of the government. Customs, communications, education and public health were to be the responsibilities of the authorities for such services lent themselves to central controls quite easily. Other services could be added later when the government became more experienced.

The rulers were invited to Government House, Aden, in January 1954 and the mechanics of this federation were explained. The rulers accepted the scheme in principle, but wanted time to study these plans. The Governor of Aden consented, adding that such plans were merely blueprints, leaving the local rulers to accept or decline this proposition or offer amendments to make it more palatable. The British felt quite optimistic about their plans and its acceptance by the rulers, but their hopes were short lived for when the rulers returned home,

194. ibid., p. 168.

outside forces began to exert pressures on the Arab rulers and their people.

The Imam of Yemen saw the birth of new unified states to his south as a blow to his dreams of extending his rule over the Protectorates and Aden Colony. He claimed that this action was in violation of Article 3 of the "Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Cooperation, Britain and Yemen",¹⁹⁵ ratified in September 1934. The Imam felt that any change in the south, including the formation of this federation, altered the status quo of the area, as defined by this article which reads, "Pending the conclusion of negotiations [settlement of the southern frontier of Yemen] the high contracting parties agree to maintain the situation existing in regard to the frontier on the date of the signature of this treaty" The British made the counter-claim that the status quo referred only to the boundary and not to altering the political status within the Protectorate.

The Governor of Aden was of the opinion that the tribes united into a federation could not only stop infringement of the Yemen on the Protectorate states, but also he envisaged the Federation in time achieving Dominion status and joining the British Commonwealth of Nations. In fact the British went one step further, for they had continually propagandized the religious breach between the Zaidi's who ruled the Yemen, and the "oppressed" Shafi'i Sunnites who make up the majority of the population of southwest Yemen, making it clear that these Shafi'i tribes would be perfectly welcome to break away

195. Hurewitz, op. cit., v. 2., p. 196.

from the Imam and join the future Federation. This was no idle chatter and the Imam realized this.

Charges were levied against the British that the rulers were being forced into this agreement, which the British categorically denied.¹⁹⁶ British-Egyptian relations were quite strained about this time due to the bickerings between the two over the Suez Canal. The Egyptians unleashed their potent propaganda instrument, Radio Cairo. The "Voice of the Arabs" even shook up the semi-politically conscious south Arabian tribesmen. It began to instill in them the feeling that they were Arabs, belonging to a great Arab race, and occupying a piece of Arab territory. But linking their lands with the Imam of Yemen was no more pleasant than having their rulers ally themselves with the infidel. Local pressure was brought to bear on the rulers to shy clear of this arrangement. The Arab League sent a mission to the Imam of Yemen who gained their support against the Federations. This mission came to Aden and expressed their views to Governor Hickenbotham, but nothing concrete was accomplished.

Something must be said on the other side for it has been charged that the rulers who favored the Federation were only interested in perpetuating their own rule and self-interests without any thought of social, political or economic development.¹⁹⁷ These rulers have been branded as puppets of the British by some Arab nationalists, because they are chosen by the British (the Governor of Aden must approve

196. Barbour, op. cit., p. 305.

197. Phillips and Conde, op. cit., p. 14-15.

their appointment) and are maintained in office only by British subsidies and through the British controlled Government Guards and
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 A.P.L. There is truth in these statements for it would be foolish for the British to support a ruler who was hostile to their plans; however, such does not give the British the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the tribe. It has been reported that the deposing of Amir Ali of Lahej and the appointing of deputies in place of the legitimate rulers in states such as Lower Yafa'i and Fadhli, is evidence to support the claim of interference.

Federation talk in the Eastern Aden Protectorate soon came to an end when inter-tribal quarrels again sprang up indicating that any unity at the moment was hopeless. The rulers in the Western Aden Protectorate began to worry seriously about the threats made against them by the Yemen and asked the British for a cooling-off period. The British saw the futility of pressing for federation at this time, so they changed their policy and shelved the plan.

It is interesting to note that about the time the Federation was shelved by the British officials of the Colony, the House of
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 Lords debated the British role in Aden and the Protectorate. Although much of this debate has to do with the Colony it does reflect the thinking of the day towards the British position in the Protectorate as well as the Colony.

198. ibid.

199. British Role in Aden, Government Printer, Aden, 1956.

The Earl of Listowell called attention to the political status of Aden, noting that it was a key point among the defensive outposts of the Commonwealth, and asked that mistakes in policy be avoided which would later result in "violence and estrangement". What prompted this statement by the Earl of Listowell was that Under Secretary of Colonial Affairs, Lord Lloyd, on his visit to Aden had declared to the Aden Legislative Council that "for the foreseeable future it would not be reasonable or sensible, or indeed in the interests of the colony's inhabitants, for them to aspire to any more beyond that of a considerable degree of internal self-government", and such a statement seemed to be a flat denial of eventual self-government. In addition this was contrary to the long accepted principle of all political parties in Britain that full self-government within a reasonable time was the goal of every British dependency. The Earl added "that basic principle of colonial policy had never hitherto been made contingent on strategic considerations."

The Earl of Swinton said that some of the criticisms he had read regarding Aden indicated that the British Government was not fully cognizant of local realities. "One would have thought this territory was occupied by sophisticated gentlemen whose thoughts and activities were motivated by the Declaration of Human Rights and other similar charters. If there was any parallel to draw with Aden and the protectorates behind it, it would be that of the War of the Roses". He continued saying that the propaganda from Cairo and more distant

200. ibid. All statements extracted from the same publication.

stations was misleading the people, and that "the sultans were anxious to know whether Britain was to clear out or be kicked out or surrender Aden and the protectorates as they had gone out of other places." The Earl of Swinton said that it must be made clear that Britain was not going out, but would remain to fulfill her commitments that of protecting those whom she had guaranteed.

Lord Colyton said that as far as the protectorates were concerned that it should be made known that the ultimate British intention was to assist in the establishment of an Arab state on the lines of Jordan. He felt that British control must remain there as long as it was required in order to carry out the obligations to the Aden rulers and meet "the strategic requirements of Britain and the free world".

Lord Lloyd replied to these statements by reiterating the "flimsy" claims of the Imam of Yemen on the Protectorate and the Colony and that Yemen was bound by treaty to observe the status quo frontier until 1974. He added that not only did the British government discount the Imam's claim but so did the Arab rulers of the Protectorate. The propaganda to undermine the local rulers continued despite "Yemeni professions and wishes of friendly relations with Britain." Although Great Britain was interested in maintaining friendly relations with the Yemen, she would not forsake the local rulers, being determined to honor the treaties between the rulers and the British government and "it was against this background that the future policy of Great Britain must be considered".

As the prosperity and livelihood of the people of the colony depended on the maintenance of economic development and the efficient function of the port, Lord Lloyd made it clear in his statements in Aden that the government could not foresee the time when they would be prepared to abandon their responsibilities for these communities which had grown up round the port, nor could they abandon the obligation they had contracted for the protection of the rulers of the Protectorate. The dislike of the phrase 'a considerable degree of internal self-government' was based on the assumption that it was wise in all places and in all circumstances to draw a clear distinction between internal and external affairs. Because of the close connection between defense both local and in the free world and internal security that was not always possible and for that reason he had not thought, nor did he think now, it would be wise for the Government to be more specific on the point at this stage, but it was not their idea that when the time came that the matter should be interpreted with any undue rigidity.

Lord Lloyd claimed that wherever he went in the Protectorate he had been asked for an assurance that it was the intention of the British to stay and protect them. The British desired to maintain friendly relations with the Yemen and Saudi Arabia, but they were equally determined to render protection to the rulers against outside attack or interference. He made it clear to the local rulers that the government advised their banding together into some form of a federation.

Such was the debate in the House of Lords, but no mention was made of the Protectorate playing the role of a buffer state between the Yemen and the Colony, which appears to be the primary role played by the Protectorate in the past. In the active political world today where lines are finely drawn, it is difficult to depict an area, particularly an Arab area, suspended in the political vacuum of a buffer state. While the British probably desire this, and a few of the local rulers would offer no objection, the crushing weight of political events will not permit it. As the British were partly pressured into inaugurating certain social and economic developments in the Protectorate, so too did they see the need for political change. It would be better to establish a government that will remain friendly to them, than to have some outside power create a hostile government.

The magic word "oil" has not been mentioned. This consideration was certainly in the minds of the British as it has been in the minds of the Imam of Yemen, King Saud, and the local tribal rulers. Unfortunately the geological make-up of the Western Aden Protectorate seems to exclude this area from finding any "money wells"; however, the Eastern Aden Protectorate does look promising. It has been suggested that because of the promising signs of oil, the Eastern rulers want nothing to do with their Arab brothers of the west for fear that any political tie would necessitate their sharing of this precious commodity.

201. Morris, op. cit., p. 206.

As for any other mineral wealth, the British claim that only a small quantity of slab salt exists in some of the northern districts. A spokesman of the U.A.R. in discussing the resources of the Eastern Aden Protectorate not only includes salt, but adds cement, mica, agate, coal and iron.

A series of events took place which practically pushed the rulers back into the Federation and the action of the Imam of Yemen heads the list. The Imam who had felt that Federation would bar his chances at fulfilling his claim to the Protectorate was aware of how close the British came to succeeding in this latest effort. To thwart any future attempts the Imam felt that it must be he who annexed this territory and began a campaign of subversion in the Protectorate. Yemeni officials invited the tribesmen of the Protectorate to come to the Yemen where they would be given rifles, ammunition, and money on the promise of inciting a revolt against their local rulers. In this barren land no commodities are more cherished than these three, and fighting is second nature. The response to this invitation was good. Rifles, ammunition and money were doled out, a few hostages were taken by the Yemen as insurance, and the troubles in the Protectorate began again. Frontier posts were raided, vehicles stopped and sometimes looted, administrative buildings shot-up, and border

202. Federation in the Western Protectorate, op. cit.

203. 'Abd al Hamid, Mohammad Kamal, Al Isti'mar al Baritani fi Janub al Jazirah al 'Arabiyah, (British Imperialism in the South of the Arabian Peninsula), Nahdat Misr Printing Press and Bookshop, Cairo.

204. Federation in the Western Protectorate, op. cit.

raids were made into the Protectorate. Confusion reigned. The Protectorate rulers now became quite concerned about their positions and looked not only to the British for assistance, but to each other, for security was needed if they were to maintain their roles. The announcement of the affiliation of the Yemen with Egypt in forming the United Arab States in 1958, gave the rulers cause to ponder their own futures. Would Gamal Abdul Nasser, who is very popular in the Protectorate, throw his full support to the Imam of Yemen in his attempt to dislodge the rulers? The "Voice of the Arabs" was having its effect in arousing an "Arab consciousness" among the tribesmen, but the appeal of the Imam as their ruler was lacking.

The rulers began to talk of Federation again. The British needed little persuasion to dust off the Federation plans, and in the summer of 1958 the six local rulers were flown to London where they received solid assurances from the British Government that support would be offered a new Federation. The Imam's scheme of subversion in reality backfired because it made the sultans, sheikhs, and amirs cognizant of their weaknesses which could be bolstered by federating themselves within a combined government that was offered protection from the outside by the British.

On 11 February 1959, at a ceremony at Khormaksar, Aden, six rulers of the Protectorate signed the Constitution of the Federation of Arab Emirates of the South. The first six states to enter into this Federation the Amirate of Baihan, Audhali Sultanate, Amirate of Dhala, Upper Aulaqi Sheikhdome, Fadhli Sultanate, and Lower Yafa'i Sultanate.

This inauguration ceremony was also attended by the British Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Aden and the Protectorates as also signed at the same time was a Treaty between the Federal States and the British Government which offers British protection and British control of foreign affairs for the new government. (See Appendix 6).

Constitution: (See Appendix for text of the constitution).

In the Preamble of the Constitution the six states wanting peace, security, internal development and a guarantee for collective independence agreed that an Arab Islamic Federation of States is the best method to achieve these goals.

The constitution of the Federation is quite limited in scope, for aside from the matters of national defense and foreign affairs which by treaty are assumed by the British Government, many concessions are made to the individual states and their rulers. It is the responsibilities of the states to execute the ordinances and decrees enacted by the Federation, which themselves are quite limited in scope. In addition there is no provision within the constitution for a judicial system, such cases arising under the Federal law shall be disposed by the state courts.

The general executive authority of the Federation lies with the Supreme Council, which initially was composed of six ministers elected by and from the Federal Council for a term of five years. The ministers were in charge of the following posts:

Minister of Interior is responsible for Public Relations and Information, Immigration, Communications, including Posts and Telegraphs, Aviation, Roads and Motor Traffic. He is also in charge of a Public Works and Surveys department.

Minister of Internal Security is responsible for internal security in conjunction with state authorities. To fulfill this function he has control of the National Guard. As stated in the previous chapter the Government Guards became the National Guard. The Tribal Guards likewise were integrated into the National Guard. The National Guard is a unified force commanded by a British official; however, the rulers, as federal agents, are responsible for security and have for this purpose detachments of National Guard at their disposal.

Minister of Agriculture is in control of Agricultural and Co-operative and Marketing departments.

Minister of Education controls an Education department. Primary schools are subject to Federal supervision, but, for the purpose of administration and management, remain under the control of the States.

Minister of Finance is responsible for the Federation's finances which are administered by a Chief Accountant.

Minister of Health controls a Health department.

The Supreme Council headed by a Chairman, who has his own vote and a casting vote, is elected by a majority vote. The chairmanship rotates among all members of the council for an equal period throughout the five-year term. Meetings of the Supreme Council are held monthly.

A second larger body within the government structure is called the Federal Council. It is composed of not more than six members per original state, and whatever number this body may decide for new states joining the Federation, not exceeding six. The members of the Supreme Council are also members of the Federal Council. The chairmanship of the Federal Council is chosen from among the members of the Supreme Council and this position rotates among its members. The Federal Council meets once a year.

Legislation for the Federation is initiated by the Supreme Council but can only deal with peace, order and good government providing such laws fall within a specified scope known as the schedule (see Schedule page 22 of the Constitution), and no legislation can be introduced that would conflict with any Treaty obligation of the Federation. The Federal Council votes on this draft legislation. If a majority of the Federal Council passes this bill it becomes an ordinance of the Federation.

The Supreme Council may legislate by Provisional Order. In this way the Supreme Council which meets monthly may enact legislation which has the effect of law until the Federal Council, meeting annually, convene, at which time all Provisional Orders are put to a vote.

The Supreme Council may also legislate by decree in times of emergency in the entire Federation or in any part of the Federation, the Supreme Council having the authority to declare and terminate such emergencies. Decrees are limited to public safety, internal

security and defense of the Federation within the Schedule of limitations. The Supreme Council may also make decrees in order to effect or expedite the obligations of the Federation or the Federal Government under treaty.

The Federation is financed by contributions given by the states at prescribed rates, and from charges for services rendered by the Federation to the member states.

As stated above the execution of Federal Ordinances lies with the state governments; however, if the Supreme Council is of the opinion that any state has not fulfilled its obligations it may order direct enforcement.

In the matter of interpretation or disputes arising from rights or obligations of states, the Supreme Council may call upon an impartial third party (the British) to amicably settle such a dispute, the settlement to be binding on the Federation and said state.

The last paragraph of the constitution permits a state of the Federation, who has had an advisory or assistance agreement with (the British) to keep such treaty in effect as regards matters not included in the Schedule of limitations of the Constitution.

The shortcomings of the Constitution are apparent. Its lack of a legal branch is a drawback. Its inability to enforce its laws directly, to levy and collect taxes, or regulate customs are all weaknesses. However, it must be kept in mind that the political level of this area is not very advanced, and the prejudices, rivalries, and inter-tribal jealousies have not abated. These deficiencies

and ills take time to cure, and given sufficient time and assistance the Federation will undoubtedly gain more authority and prestige.

The Constitution provides for the admittance of new states and for amendments to its constitution. Both of these provisions were tested within the first year of the Federation when the Sultanate of Lahej, the wealthiest and most powerful state, asked for admission. It was hoped that Lahej might be one of the original subscribers to the Federation, but it chose to wait. As an inducement to join, the Sultan of this important state was offered a newly created post, that of Minister of Defense, such action requiring a constitutional change. It is the responsibility of the Minister of Defense to interpret the Federation's defense needs to the British so that both parties can see to the fulfillment of these needs. In time the A.P.L. will become the Federal Army. When this occurs the Defense Ministry shall be a most important one.

The Sultanate of Lahej was the first new member to join the Federation. Since then three other states have gained admittance: the little Sheikdom of 'Aqrabi, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultanate, and the Dathina Confederation.

The matter of selection of a site for the Federation's capital is worthy of mention. When the 1954 attempt at Federation was being made, Governor Hickinbotham stated that in a previous attempt to bring the Protectorate ruler into a closer relationship the meetings were to be held within one state, the jealousies and ill-feelings of the other rulers over this matter contributed to the failure of this attempt.

205. Hickinbotham, Aden, op. cit., p. 167.

It was further decided that the Federation capital did not belong within the limits of the Aden Colony, so a minute enclave in the vicinity of Bir Ahmed, between the Sultanate of Lahej and the Colony was given to the Federation to be its very own for the construction of its capital. On 28 September 1959 the corner stone for the new capital building was laid with appropriate speeches being given. (See Appendix 7 for speech by the President of the Supreme Council given at this corner stone laying ceremony.)

The Federation of Arab Amirates of the South celebrated its first anniversary on 11 February 1960. (See Appendix 8 for the speech by the Chairman of the Supreme Council on the occasion of the first anniversary). The celebration was well attended and enthusiastically received although some of the more ardent Arab nationalists of Aden Colony "boycotted" it. The Federation, despite its shortcomings, has held together for one year; it has increased its membership; and is slowly gaining experience. The Protectorate Secretary, Mr. Horace Phillips, remarked about the first year's progress, "In one year it (the Federation) is working surprisingly well . . . the British have continued to have an intimate say, but the Federal administration is growing alongside the British. In time it shall be able to stand on its own feet."

Chapter 6.

Problems of Aden Colony and the Protectorate

The administrative set-up and the role of the British in the Aden Colony and the Protectorate have been explained in the previous chapters. Problems have been present in these areas of which some are common to both, while some seem to be strictly "private" affairs; but whatever the problem, the British administration at Aden is directly affected. These problems include the British-Yemeni relations, Adenization, and political parties.

Yemeni-British Relations: The Imam of Yemen concluded an agreement with the Ottoman Turks in 1911 for the co-governing of Yemen -- the Imam appointed his own governors for the Zaidi districts, normally the mountainous areas, while the Turks governed the Sunni areas, which included much of the coastal regions. The Imam did not participate in World War I, although the Turkish Army from the Yemen penetrated deep into Protectorate territory. At the conclusion of the war the commander of the Turkish forces occupying Lahej surrendered to the British at Aden. The British moved their forces back into the Protectorate and thwarted any plan that the Imam may have had to take possession of the area. ²⁰⁶ Imam Yahya laid claim to all southwest Arabia including the Protectorates and the Aden Settlement, and announced his non-recognition of any agreement made between Britain and Turkey stating that the Turks were not the legal possessors of the Yemen. The Imam no doubt referred to the Anglo-Turkish agreement concerning the border between the Yemen and the Protectorate reached in 1914.

206. 'Abd al-Hamid, op. cit., p. 14.

The British did not repossess the entire Protectorate for one area specifically, Dhala, was controlled by the Imam. In 1919 Colonel Harold Jacobs and Major Reilly headed a British Commission sent from Aden to Sana via Hodeida to discuss the British evacuation of Hodeida and Yemeni withdrawal from Dhala. As this commission proceeded inland from Hodeida it was captured by hostile tribes and held for ransom. The Imam attempted to intercede but his efforts came to naught. A second delegation was sent by the British from Aden to negotiate with the tribesmen for the release of the Jacobs-Reilly Commission. Payment was made and the British were freed, but they returned to Hodeida instead of proceeding to Sana as originally planned. ²⁰⁷

Hodeida was handed over to the Idrisi of Asir upon the withdrawal of the British in 1921. Such an action did not please Imam Yahya as Yemen had claimed this port also. ²⁰⁸

The Yemeni-Protectorate border remained in dispute. The Imam sent a commission to discuss the situation with the British in 1920, but no results were forthcoming. The following year skirmishes took place along the border and the British have been charged with using aircraft against the tribes in the vicinity of Asabah ('Asabah). ²⁰⁹ This is the first mention of airplanes being used by the British.

The British sent General Gilbert Clayton to Sana in 1922 to demand that the Yemen hand over Dhala and Jebel Jehaf (Jihāf),

207. ibid., p. 16

208. The Yemen succeeded in capturing Hodeida from the Idrisi of Asir in 1925.

209. St. Groom, N. J., "British Case in the Aden Protectorate", Port of Aden Annual 1956-57, p. 40 states that the first air action did not take place until 1926.

but the Imam refused to budge. Clayton came back to Sana two years later on the same mission, but again nothing was accomplished.

In 1923 the Imam's forces overran Baidha (Baida'). The following year the Imam's troops moved into the upper part of the Audhali Sultanate, and in 1926 they penetrated the lower part of that same sultanate; however, R.A.F. action against the Imam's forces caused them to withdraw from this latter area. In that same year Colonel Jacobs arrived at Sana for new talks concerning British-Yemeni relations, but again nothing was resolved.

Fresh skirmishes came early in 1928 in the vicinity of Qataba. The British adopted the tactics of dropping leaflets on the city of Qataba trying to broaden the gap between the Shafi'is and the Zaidis, blaming the latter for the state of hostilities in the southern Yemen.²¹⁰ Later in 1928 the Sultan of Lahej interceded between the British and the Yemen and a temporary peace was maintained for several months with no real serious clashes occurring until 1933 when fresh incursions were made by the Yemen against the Subaihis in the extreme western part of the Protectorate.

Colonel Reilly who was now Governor of Aden and a Mr. Champion, the Secretary General of the Colony, went to Sana in 1933 to discuss a settlement of the border areas. The British were becoming quite concerned about Italian interests across the Red Sea, and the Imam was having disputes with Asir and Saudi Arabia. The time was right for talking. These conversations culminated in the 1934 Treaty of Sana (See Chapter 5) in which the British formally recognized the

210. Abd al Hamid, op.cit., p. 17.

Imam of Yemen, established the then present border as the status quo, and agreed to form a committee to settle the border before the expiration of the treaty some forty years hence.

For the next fourteen years Anglo-Yemeni relations were somewhat improved; however, Imam Yahya was murdered in 1948. A revolt took place in Yemen, and after a time Imam Ahmed succeeded in gaining sufficient power to ascend the throne. Ahmed was certain that the British had conspired in this murder, particularly since they were quick to recognize the new rebel government in the Yemen, which was replaced by Ahmed. Since Ahmed's ascendancy to the Imamate, Anglo-British relations have deteriorated. Border incidents have become more numerous requiring the British to take strong retaliatory air attacks against these Yemeni incursions. By 1951 the Imam appeared ready to resume discussions of the situation and sent his representatives to London.

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The 1951 Agreement between Yemen and Britain established diplomatic relations between the two countries, and a joint committee was to be formed to settle the border differences. The joint committee was never set up. Peace prevailed along the border for a short time only, for in 1953 the British began their campaign to bring the rulers of the Protectorate together into a federation. The Imam's reaction to the federation attempt was described in the previous chapter. In addition, the Suez crisis of 1956 did much to stir up anti-British sentiment in the Protectorate as well as in the Colony. Border skirmishes and internal disorders continued until about the last

half of 1959. Since that time the border has remained relatively peaceful. This latest "peace" has been attributed to the Imam's ill health and the uneasy internal situation within the Yemen.

Whatever the reason, Sir William Luce, Governor of Aden, took the opportunity of this calm to visit Yemen in November 1959 and discussed the two countries' relations with the Imam. The Governor had this to say about Yemeni-British relations in his speech opening the second session of the Legislative Council of Aden on 25 January 1960:

". . . . I would emphasize that it is my earnest wish that this Government's relations with near-by countries shall be those of good neighbors and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs. Only in this way can governments devote their resources to constructive and productive enterprise rather than dissipate them on barren disputes and resultant problems of security. I was particularly pleased at the warm hospitality I received on my private visit to Taiz in November, and it is my intention to ensure that so far as this Government is concerned everything possible shall be done to maintain the improved relations which now exist between the Yemen and ourselves."

The British-Yemeni relations over the past forty years cannot be considered as having been friendly, and there is no guarantee that the present lull in hostilities will last for any length of time. But who will succeed? Each side lays claims to the area, the British, while not flying the Union Jack over the Protectorate, do intend to stay on and fulfill their protective and advisory obligations to the various states. The Yemen feels that its old claim of former Imams

having ruled the area gives it license to move back in. There appears to be one factor missing, however, and that is the desire of the people living in the Protectorate.

The people inhabiting this area are for the most part not in an advanced state of civilization. With the exception of Lahej and Abyan, living conditions in the Protectorate are quite primitive. Education has been a recent innovation and has not had sufficient time to touch most of the people. The crops and flocks which are raised there barely offer more than a subsistence level of living. Old superstitions and traditions prevent rational thinking. Hate, jealousy, distrust and deceit are unfortunately all too prevalent in tribal behavior. Much of the action and reaction in the area is predicated upon self-interest, with loyalty going to the highest bidder. A rifle and a handful of ammunition go a long way toward buying friendship, regardless of whether the purchaser is from the Yemen or from Aden Colony. In the unsettled areas of the Protectorate blood-feuds, raids, and inter-tribal fights are commonplace. Such violence is not of recent origin and certainly pre-dates British administration. The tribal leaders are opposed to any authority which restricts their activities. The British are this authority. It can therefore be concluded that the dissident tribes are anti-British. But it also can be assumed that should the authority be given to the Yemen or some other country, that any curtailment of hostile tribal activities would result in the same anti-authority feeling.

The tribal leaders maintain their positions by force and by

their wits. It may be very noble to talk about democratic processes and the will of the people, but such refinements of social and political behavior have little place in the Protectorate today. A tribal leader in the Abyan district predicted his loss of power at the time the British were arbitrating local disputes there in order to begin their new agricultural development scheme. This leader worried not so much about the British advisors and technicians who would enter the area, but more about his control over his people, for he felt that a "full stomach", a small income, and some semblance of security spelled doom for his leadership, because his power was derived from his ability to keep the tribe entirely dependent upon him for protection.

From the above it might be concluded that the British who have at last started their social and economic development in the Protectorate should be able to retain their control there, particularly if the new federation achieves any sort of success in forming a centralized government; however, such may not be the case.

Arab nationalists who oppose Britain's place in the Protectorate do not dispute the benefits of education and economic development, but they cling to the popular statement that the British are not sincerely interested in the welfare of the people, and only choose to develop the local people to the "level of clerks" so that the menial tasks can be performed by the indigenous people, and the lucrative positions of management retained by the British.

This charge is frequently heard in the Colony and appears to be quite valid when a survey is made of the positions held by expatriates

in the government, refinery, bunkering service, import-export businesses, airlines, etcetera. This may not be the case in the Protectorate as agriculture, which is the chief source of income in that area, is in the hands of the local Arabs. Such action may be indicative of a change in Colonial Office tactics, but of equal importance is the educational development which has taken place in the Protectorate over the past fifteen years. Educational advancement coupled with the new spirit of Arab nationalism infused by Radio Cairo, plus the old inherent characteristic of the Arab to be his own master may well demand some revision of the Protectorate's political status in the future; however, the Protectorate is still too poverty-stricken, too backward, and too divided to act as a political whole at this time.

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Contrary to the desires of the Federation leaders, and contrary to some of the opinions in the Colony, the political future of the Protectorate and the Colony are intrinsically entwined. A look, therefore, should be taken at a few of the Colony's problems before discussing the political future of the area.

Adenization: The people of the Colony frequently speak about self-government and independence and the British talk about it as well; however, the British are said to be awaiting the day when all the responsible positions in the government may be filled by trained and qualified Adenese. This seems to imply the distant future, for there are no indications that Britain would voluntarily leave Aden in the

next few years. Aden is still a strategic link between Britain's commonwealth interests in southern Asia, the oil of the Persian Gulf, and her political and economic ties in south and east Africa.

While not anticipating immediate departure, the British have taken a few steps which will eventually assist the Colony to attain its independence. One such step is permitting the local inhabitants to elect a majority of the members of the Legislative Council. A second step presently underway is the program of "Adenization". In this program the British are taking steps to replace many of the high expatriate officials with indigenous personnel.

The first action along this line occurred in June 1957 when the Colonial government created a "Committee to draw up a long-term program for Adenization of the Civil Service". This committee was to study and make recommendations for a ten-year program whereby officers recruited from abroad can be progressively replaced by Adenese officers without injustice to the individuals or undue loss in efficiency".²¹³ Many of the committee's recommendations and suggestions have been adopted and the program of Adenization is gradually being implemented. Finding people suitable for these higher tasks is a problem, and once found, their training, which often includes university work abroad, is time consuming; however, experience and innate ability are given careful consideration in lieu of certain educational qualifications. The movement for Adenization is not limited to the government. The trade unions of Aden strongly advocate the training and

213. Report of the Adenization Committee, Government Printing Office, Aden, 1959.

employment of local people in the better positions in industry and commerce.

It is unfortunate for the aspirants of self-government that Adenization was so long in coming; however, "localization", such as Sudanization and Egyptianization, etcetera are quite recent steps taken in the Arab world. Whether these more avid aspirants of Aden independence will be willing to wait for this ten-year program, which is due to end in fiscal year 1966-67, seems unlikely. On the other hand, it is equally unlikely that the British intend to withdraw from the Colony when this program is complete. The British have not announced any such timetable, and in all probability do not intend to do so.

While the program of Adenization has its problems, the main source of irritation has been the satisfactory definition of an "Adeni". For almost a century the Government of Bombay and India controlled the Aden Settlement. During that time many immigrants moved from the sub-continent to Aden to become merchants or traders. A number of these immigrants and their descendants have made Aden their home, but have retained their native customs, dress and language, having little interest in the Arabic ties of Aden. Another commonwealth country which has supplied a fair share of the population of Aden is Somaliland. Both these non-Arab races have been accorded certain civic rights in the Colony, while the Yemenis who have poured into the country seeking employment are debarred on the grounds that they are citizens of a foreign country. These Arabs make up the big majority of the population of Aden and must eventually be heard. The

elections of 1958 were boycotted by these Arabs on the grounds of discrimination against them, and the definition as set forth by the Colonial government does not seem to improve the situation.

The terms of reference of the Adenization committee stated
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that the term "Adenese" would mean:

- A. In the case of officers who have been 10 years in service of the government -
- (1) a British subject born in the Colony/or
 - (2) a British subject born outside the Colony whose father was born in the Colony.
- B. In the case of other serving officers, and all potential recruits -
- (1) a British subject born in the Colony whose father was also born in the Colony/ or
 - (2) a British subject born outside the Colony whose father was born in the Colony and who himself has lived in the Colony for 5 years during the previous 10 years.

It further added that such a definition was to have no political implication.

The committee disagreed with this definition and even disagreed among themselves as to what was an "Adeni". They all did agree that the definition was too limited, and a knowledge of Arabic of a certain standard should be possessed by the person as evidence of "assimilation to the life of Aden". Proof of father's birth in an

area where birth registrations were not always accurately maintained was considered a stumbling block. Some felt that the Arab from the Protectorate should be given special consideration. Others felt that the term "Arab" should be included in the definition, while still another felt that it was unwise to try to differentiate between the "Adenese" who could vote. The latter argued that Aden will be independent some day and that the nationality of the area will be Arab.

There was a sincere effort on the part of all not to discriminate against the Indians, Pakistanis, Somalis, etcetera as long as these people held the interests of Aden at heart. The trade unions, which are made up mostly of Yemeni Arabs, have protested strongly against the non-inclusion of the term "Arab" in the government's original definition. Because of this controversial term, racial friction has increased in the Colony which may be construed as a "divide and rule" motive, but it more realistically appears that the majority group does not want to be dominated by the minority, and vice versa. The question still remains unsettled.

Political Movement:

The political movement in the Aden Colony has only begun in the last decade. Its beginning is partially attributed to a handful of Adeni students, who, having graduated from universities in Cairo, returned to Aden to find little other than a political vacuum existing there. Aden had only one Arabic newspaper, a daily called the Fatat al Jazira whose editorial policies were entirely pro-government. The motto of this newspaper was "Self-Government for Aden Under the British Commonwealth". The young Arab nationalists experienced some

difficulty when they took an opposing stand to the editors of Fatat al Jazira, but in 1952 one of the group, Abd al-Rahman, a graduate of the American University of Cairo, succeeded in procuring government permission to publish an Arabic weekly newspaper, Al Nahdha which immediately attacked the pro-government paper. Political interest was aroused, and about this time the first political organization, the Muslim Association, was formed. This group was composed of religious leaders and some politicians. Its political objectives were quite vague. The leader of the Muslim Association was a Pakistani lawyer who infused a Pan-Islamic complex about this organization. ²¹⁵ Shortly after this political group gained some attention its leader died and the organization lost its popularity.

A second group, the Aden Association, took on a political look at this time. The Aden Association was composed of Aden-born members of various races and creeds, chief among them was the publisher of the pro-government newspaper Fatat al Jazira. This group ²¹⁶ has been called the "Queen's Arabs". Its president Hassan Ali Bayyumi is a member of the Legislative Council and heads the department of Labor and Welfare. The strength of this association comes from the bulk of Aden's civil servants, and the more conservative, non-Arab element in the Colony. The Aden Association whose motto is "Aden for the Adenese" has advocated self-government for Aden within the British Commonwealth. Since the Federation of Arab Amirates of the South came into being in early 1959, the Aden

215. Hickinbotham, Aden, op. cit., p. 195.

216. Morris, op. cit., p. 203.

Association has broadened its scope and now advocates a union of Aden Colony and the Protectorate under a constitutional government to be annexed to the Commonwealth. This party while influential in the government today represents a minority opinion.

A second party formed in the early '50's was the South Arabian League (S.A.L.). Its beginnings are traced back to Cairo where Adeni students formed an association to study the affairs of South Arabia. This group soon evolved a Greater Yemen plan which proposed a union of the Yemen, the Protectorates, and Aden Colony. This group is anti-British and wants no ties whatsoever with the Commonwealth.

The S.A.L. was fairly strong in the Protectorate, particularly in Lahej, and it still has a certain following in the Colony. Its former president, Sayyid Mohammad Ali Gifri, was chairman of the Lahej Legislative Council and worked closely with the deposed Sultan of Lahej, Ali Abd al Karim. In 1956 Gifri and Shaikhan Abdulla Al Habshi, Secretary General of the S.A.L., were deported from Aden. These two men are presently in Cairo operating the Cairo Branch of the S.A.L. and contribute anti-British propaganda to the "Voice of the Arabs".

The South Arabian League recommended a Federal Government composed of the rulers of the Eastern and Western Aden Protectorates. S.A.L. originally talked of a federation with the Yemen, but since the Imam became a member of the U.A.S., the S.A.L. now advocates the annexation of the south Arabia states to the U.A.R.

The S.A.L. is not a strong party today. Most of its members are religious leaders, and some opponents of the S.A.L. hint that there are elements of the Akhwan al Muslimiin (Muslim Brotherhood) within its ranks. Since the departure of Gifri and Habshi, its acting president is Sayyid Salim al Safi and the Acting Secretary General is Jummad Salim Ba-Wazir.

A third party formed in early 1955 was the United National Front (U.N.F.). The original founders of the U.N.F. were Arab nationalists and a few Free Yemenis who sought a more enlightened ruler in the Yemen. ²¹⁷ This group gained in strength when the left-wing elements of the S.A.L. bolted from Gifri's domination and joined the ranks of the United National Front. The U.N.F. also had the support of many of the working class in the Colony.

This political group supported the boycott of the 1955 elections of the Legislative Council in which the majority of Yemenis were barred from voting and running for office. As for the territorial aspirations of the United National Front, it advocates the union of Aden Colony, the Protectorates, the Yemen, and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The union with the Yemen is to take place only after the present Imam resigns or dies.

The United National Front lost much of its effect in 1957 when a number of its leaders had a difference of opinion over the importation of qat into the Colony. ²¹⁸ Although the U.N.F. continues

217. The Free Yemenis are said to have been the backbone of the 1948 revolt in Yemen. Hickinbotham, op.cit. p. 197.

218. The plant qat (*catha edulis*) is a shrub which when smoked or chewed give the consumer the sensation of mental alertness. It is not a drug, but excessive use of qat can produce injurious effects. Qat was banned for a time in the Colony in 1957, but this ban was soon lifted.

to hold occasional meetings and issues statements every so often, its effectiveness as a political party ^{is} ~~is~~ nil.

A fourth and short-lived amalgamation of parties was the National Congress which was formed in mid-1956 and died the following year. This Congress represented twelve organizations and clubs including the S.A.L. and the U.N.F. The National Congress strongly opposed the tactics of the Aden Association and recommended the achievement of two goals: (1) the establishment of an Arab national government in Aden, which would be one of the independent states of South Arabia; and (2) the formation of an independent Federal State composed of Aden and the Protectorate states to be administered by a democratic central government.

The National Congress organized a demonstration in May 1956, which coincided with the arrival of Lord Lloyd, the Undersecretary of State for the Colonies. The demonstrators carried banners which demanded the suspension of immigration of Commonwealth citizens into Aden, and rejected the idea of self-government within the British Commonwealth. They later called a general strike when Shaikhan Abdulla al Habshi, the Secretary General of the S.A.L., was deported.

Two of the principal members organizations the S.A.L. and the U.N.F. soon fell to quarreling over the leadership of the National Congress. This dispute ended the effectiveness of the organization.

The most powerful political organization in the Colony today is not a political party as such, but the Aden Trade Union Congress

(A.T.U.C.). As explained in Chapter 3, the A.T.U.C. is a federation of trade unions in the Aden Colony. It represents a total labor strength of 16,000 workers and claims additional non-labor support in the Colony, the Protectorate and in the Yemen. The A.T.U.C. has many Yemeni workers on its rolls and strongly opposes the civic and political discrimination against these members. The A.T.U.C. is anti-Aden Association, anti-S.A.L., anti-British, and anti-Imam. It advocates a union of Aden Colony, the Protectorates and the Yemen, after some political change for the better has been brought about in the latter area.

Some of the most experienced and influential political leaders of the Colony are members of the A.T.U.C. While its purpose is to protect the workers rights, and improve working conditions of the laborers in Aden, it cannot remain aloof from politics. Unlike many trade union federations, there appears to be no communist elements within this organization.

The A.T.U.C. looks to a united Arab World, and more specifically to President Gamal Abdul Nasser as its unifier.

As previously stated, the political future of Aden Colony is inseparable from that of the Protectorate. This has been borne out by the platforms of each of the political organizations that have been or are now active in the Colony. All these parties have at least included a union of the Colony and the Protectorate when Aden receives its independence. Others have gone farther and have either intentions of bringing the Yemen into this new union or the union

into the Yemen. The sweeping hand of the U.N.F. even threw in Muscat for good measure.

How can this union then be brought about? Assuming that the Colony receives its independence can Aden persuade the new Federation to join them? Not very likely, for the rulers of the Federation have little desire to be subservient to the urbanite of Aden. Would then the new state of Aden be willing to become a member of the Federation of Arab Emirates of the South? This seems to be equally remote, for the progressive Arabs of Aden have little in common with the tribes of the Protectorate, and have no desire to be a one-eleventh partner in a loose federation.

Some say that it would be economic suicide for the rich port of Aden to tie itself with the poverty-stricken Protectorates. This is quite true. If Aden chose to remain independent, it does not seem likely that it could support the Federation as a buffer state between itself and Arab nationalism. Such an arrangement would undoubtedly collapse in a short time.

The question of the Eastern Aden Protectorate also enters the picture. This area refused federation. If Aden were cut from the British Empire and save for the discovery of oil, there seems to be little doubt but that Great Britain would terminate her treaties and advisory arrangements with the Protectorates, would then the independent rulers in the east rush to join a greater south Arabian state? Not for some time at least, for the East has always considered itself, and rightly so, further advanced than the Western Protectorate and can see no advantage of such a move.

It can be concluded from the above that any union of Aden and the Protectorates which might be aimed at establishing an independent south Arabian state would have many obstacles to surmount before it could create a government that would please the Eastern Protectorate, the Federation and the people of Aden.

The matter of the Protectorates and Aden joining "mother" Yemen at this time is out of the question. It is true that the "Voice of the Arabs" and its sister station in Sana have aroused the political consciousness of the southern Arab and have instilled in him a new Arab spirit. It is true that President Abdul Nasser is the personification of this new Arab spirit, for his picture appears in many towns and villages, and school children sing his praises, much to the distaste of the local British political officers; but the politicians and educated southern Arabs who can comprehend the words "democratic, socialist, and cooperative", which officially describe the U.A.R.,²¹⁹ realize that their political future does not lie with an absolute monarchy which is 1,000 years behind the times, the Yemen.

A seemingly logical answer to the question of the political fate of the Protectorates and Aden might be to request annexation to the U.A.R. This also presents obstacles, but more so from Cairo's side. If President Nasser accepted such an arrangement, and it seems highly unlikely that he would, how then could he pacify the Imam before the Arab world, for surely he would not forget his claims to "occupied Yemen". If President Nasser discounted the Imam's

219. Barbour, op. cit., p. 307.

claims and annexed these south Arabian states, what would he do with it? The port of Aden is a profitable bit of real estate now, but if the British left, would not much of their shipping be diverted to Djibouti for bunkering services? Secondly, could the U.A.R. afford such a liability as the Protectorates if social and economic development were to continue? The answer is no.

The key to the whole situation seems to rest with the Imam of Yemen. It is paradoxical that the man who has caused the British so much concern on the northern borders of the Protectorate should be the person, who, through his warlike tactics, moved the local rulers of the Protectorate into Federation. It is this absolute monarch who now stands in the way of the Arab nationalists' desire to unite southern Arabia with the Yemen, or to be annexed by the United Arab Republic.

It appears in these past few pages that independence of Aden is just around the corner. Such may not be the case, but indications seem to point that it is closer at hand than once thought. The British claim that Aden does not have sufficient experience at self-government; nor does she have an adequate supply of trained officials or technicians to be cut loose without faltering. Aden, however, appears to be no worse off than Togoland, or Ghana, or any of the other recently released countries in Africa.

The British administration in Aden Colony and the Western Aden Protectorate can be criticized for its late start in social and economic development, and its reluctance to let this area slip from

its hands. However, when independence is gained, the standard of living this area will try to retain will be that which has been inspired by the British. The democratic procedures it will try to emulate, and the civil administration it will attempt to follow will be those that the British have left behind.

Appendix I

PRINCIPAL IMPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS OF ADEN COLONY 1958
(Values in pounds sterling, units of quantity in 1,000's)

Commodity		Imports		Reexports	
		Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
Sheep and goats	nr.	294	056	57	272
Fish, preserved	cwt	32	92	62	209
Rice	"	280	1,114	291	740
Beans, peas, lentils	"	206	318	137	222
Wheat flour	"	536	822	308	532
Sugar, refined	"	819	1,689	614	1,339
Coffee, unroasted	"	99	1,581	105	1,843
Beer	gal	383	146		
Distilled Alcoholic bevs	"	24	47	1	2
Oat	lbs	2,202	549	53	26
Tobacco, unmgf	"	9,293	400	6,475	364
Tobacco, mfg	"	1,821	780	829	417
Hides & calfskins, raw	nr.	86	26	70	14
Sheepskins, raw	"	1,756	267	1,685	364
Goatskins, raw	"	1,261	241	1,824	318
Kidskins, raw	"	262	33	462	42
Cottonseed	cwt	202	244	168	221
Oilseeds	"	134	508	60	182
Salt	ton			147	179
Natural gums and resins	cwt	35	231	33	252
Motor spirits	ton	21	466	621	8,724
Kerosene	"	29	345	310	3,873
Crude oil	"	3,692	24,434		
Fuel oil	"	1,381	11,023	739	5,729
Textiles	lbs	1,721	225	640	98
Cotton fabrics, grey	yds	22,638	965	16,948	780
" " white	"	11,137	629	6,425	329
" " printed	"	12,978	1,189	27,006	1,499
Rayon piece goods	"	30,749	2,968	2,611	222
Cement	cwt	699	291	107	59
Iron and steel	"	114	389	19	63
Ships bunker:					
Fuel oil	ton			5,220	25,668
Coal	"			11	38

Source: Colony of Aden, Trade Bulletin, December 1958

Appendix II

Treaty of Friendship Concluded with
The Sultan of Lahej, Dated 2nd February 1839

Treaty of Friendship between the Abdalees and English signed
by Sultan Muhsin's accredited Agent and Son-in-law, 1839.

Bismillah Ir-Rehman Ir-Rehim Be Minnet Allah!

From this day and the future, Syud Mahomed Houssain bin Wais bin Hamed Suffrain gives this promise to Commander Baines, gentleman, on his own head in the presence of God, that there shall be friendship and peace, and everything good between the English and Abdalees. I promise no wrong or insult shall be done, but it shall be peace and the British Government agree to the same. Sultan Muhsin and all interior Sultans agree to this, and I am responsible; all those even on the roads to the interior shall be kept from molesting any one by me, as they were when Sultan Muhsin possessed Aden. This is agreed upon between me and Commander Haines on the part of Government, and I promise to do even more than I have hitherto done, please God. I require respect from Commander Haines in return, and more than before if possible.

Sud Mahomed Houssain bin Waise
Hassan Khatteb
S. B. Haines

17th Zilkadah, (1254)
The 2nd February 1839

Appendix III

Treaty Entered Into by the Sultan of Lahej
Engaging Not to Permit Insult or Molestation
On the Roads to Aden, Dated 14th February 1839

Treaty between Sultan Muhsin and his children and the English through his accredited Agent, 1839.

This treaty is formed between Syud Mohamed Houssain and Hassan Khateeb on account of the Sultan of Lahej and Commander Haines, the Agent to the Government.

On the word and promise of Sultan Muhsin, I promise that no insult or molestation shall take place on the road, or between the English and my people and that all shall be peace and quietness; and I agree that between my people and your people there shall be no difference or oppression, and that the English agree that all shall be peace, and that all merchants shall be free to trade without oppression.

The witnesses to this are:

Rashed Abdoollah
Hadjee Mahomed Houssain
Shah Minnatee
Hadjee Jaffer

Syud Mohamed Houssain bin Waise

Hassen bin Abdoollah Khatteb

S. B. Haines

4th February 1839

Approved by the Bombay Government on 23rd February 1839.

Appendix IV

List of the Protectorate Treaties concluded between the British Government and the tribes in the vicinity of Aden, with effective dates. (Note: Several of the Tribes entered into more than one agreement with the British Government. In such cases the previous treaty was either reaffirmed or revised. The list includes Eastern Aden Protectorate).

1888	'Aqrabi
1888	'Aulaqi (Lower)
1888	Fadhli
1888	Haura
1888	Irka
1888	Qaiti
1888	Wahidi (Bir Ali)
1888	Wahidi (Bal Haf)
1889	Subeihi (Atifi)
1889	Subeihi (Barhimi)
1895	'Alawi
1895	Haushabi
1895	Wahidi (Bal Haf)
1895	Yafa'i (Lower)
1896	Wahidi (Bir Ali)
1902	Irka
1902	Haura
1903	'Aulaqi (Upper: Sheikhdome)
1903	Beiham
1903	Haura (Dhuyaibi)
1903	Yafa'i (Upper) (Dhubi)
1903	Yafa'i (Upper) (Mausatta)
1903	Yafa'i (Upper) (Muflahi)
1903	Yafa'i (Upper) (Sultanate)
1903	Yafa'i (Upper) (Hadrakmi)
1903	Yafa'i (Upper) (Shu'eibi)
1904	Amiri
1904	'Aulaqi (Upper, Sultanate)
1905	Wahidi (Bal Haf)
1914	Audhali
1951	'Abdali

Appendix V

List of Advisory Treaties concluded between the British Government and certain tribes of the Eastern and Western Aden Protectorates, with dates:

1937	Qaiti
1939	Kathiri
1944	Amiri
1944	Beiha
1944	Fadhli
1946	Yafa'i (Lower)
1949	Wahadi (Bal Haf)
1951	'Abdali
1952	'Audhali
1952	'Aulaqi (Upper Sheikhdum)
1954	Yafa'i (Upper) (Shu'eibi)
1954	Socotra & Qishn

Appendix VI

Treaty between the Federal States and Britain

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
and the Federation of Arab Emirates of the South;

Considering that the Rulers of the Amirate of Beihan, the Audhali Sultanate, the Fadhli Sultanate, the Amirate of Dhala, the Upper Aulaqi Sheikdom and the Lower Yafa' Sultanate each having a Treaty of Friendship and Peace with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (hereinafter referred to as "the United Kingdom") have, with the agreement of the United Kingdom, formed their States into a Federation called the Federation of Arab Emirates of the South (hereinafter referred to as "the Federation") for the mutual defence of those States and their development in all social, political and economic matters for the betterment of the country and its people;

Considering that the Federation desires to develop ultimately into an economically and politically independent State in friendly relations with the United Kingdom and that the United Kingdom undertakes to assist the Federation to become ultimately an independent State;

Considering that the United Kingdom and the Federation desire to strengthen the traditional bonds of friendship which have long existed between the United Kingdom and the States now comprised in the Federation;

Having decided to conclude a treaty to these ends;

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship and full and loyal co-operation between the United Kingdom and the Federation.

ARTICLE II

(1) The United Kingdom shall conduct and have full responsibility for the Federation's relations with other States and their Governments and international organizations and the Federation shall not enter into any treaty, agreement, correspondence or other relations with any such State, Government or international organization without the knowledge and consent of the United Kingdom.

(2) The Federation shall promptly inform the United Kingdom of any interference, or attempt to interfere, with the affairs of the Federation by any other State or Government.

(3) The United Kingdom shall consult the Federation regarding the conduct by the United Kingdom of the relations referred to in paragraph (1) of this Article and shall not enter into any treaty or agreement providing for any change in the frontiers of the Federation or otherwise recognize any such change without the consent of the Federation.

ARTICLE III

(1) Her Britannic Majesty's gracious favour and protection is hereby extended to the Federation.

(2) The detailed arrangements contained in the Annex hereto for mutual assistance and co-operation with respect to defence and internal security shall have effect as part of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE IV

(1) The United Kingdom shall provide the Federation with advice and financial and technical assistance in order to assist the Federation in its social, economic and political development and the establishment and maintenance of a Federal Army and a Federal National Guard. The amount and form of such financial and technical assistance shall be determined from time to time by the United Kingdom after consultation with the Federation and taking into account all relevant factors.

(2) The Federation shall receive such advisory and technical staff as the United Kingdom, with the agreement of the Federation, may provide for the assistance of the Federation and the Federation shall provide all necessary facilities for such staff.

ARTICLE V

(1) The Federation shall accept and implement in all respects any advice given by the United Kingdom in any matter connected with the good government of the Federation; provided that before such advice is given the Federation shall have the opportunity to express its views to the United Kingdom.

(2) The Federation shall provide the United Kingdom with copies of such documents relating to the proceedings of the

Legislative and Executive bodies of the Federation as the United Kingdom may from time to time require.

ARTICLE VI

(1) Any State not comprised in the Federation at the date of signature of the present Treaty may with the prior agreement of the United Kingdom be permitted to accede to the Federation.

(2) Upon the accession of any such State to the Federation in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Federation and of this Article the United Kingdom and the Federation shall recognize the present Treaty as applying to that State as part of the Federation.

ARTICLE VII

Save in so far as they are inconsistent with the present Treaty all treaties agreements and other engagements heretofore entered into between the United Kingdom and the Rulers of the States comprised in the Federation shall continue in force.

ARTICLE VIII

For the purposes of the present Treaty the channel of communication between the United Kingdom and the Federation shall be the person holding or acting in the office of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Aden Protectorate.

ARTICLE IX

The present Treaty shall enter into force on signature and may be reviewed or amended at any time by the mutual consent of the Contracting Parties.

ANNEXSECTION I

The United Kingdom shall take such steps as may at any time in the opinion of the United Kingdom be necessary or desirable for the defence of the Federation and after consultation with the Federation for its internal security.

SECTION 2

(1) The Federation shall maintain a Federal Army and shall take such steps as are necessary to maintain it in a state of efficiency. Having regard to the obligations undertaken by the United Kingdom with respect to the defence of the Federation and the common interest of the United Kingdom and the Federation in providing for mutual defence, the Federation shall, at the request of the United Kingdom, make available such part of the Federal Army as may be required by the United Kingdom for service outside the Federation for the defence of the Federation or for the defence or internal security of that part of the Aden Protectorate outside the Federation. Any such part of the Federal Army shall be under the control of such officer of Her Britannic Majesty's United Kingdom Forces as the United Kingdom may select.

(2) The officer who shall be the Commander of the Federal Army shall be a person appointed by the Federation with the agreement of the United Kingdom.

SECTION 3

The Federation shall maintain a National Guard for the purpose of maintaining internal security and, when necessary, assisting in frontier defence and shall take such steps as are necessary to maintain it in a state of efficiency. At the request of the Governor the Federation shall make available such part of the National Guard as he may require for service under his control in that part of the Aden Protectorate outside the Federation.

SECTION 4

In pursuance of the United Kingdom's obligations under Article IV of the above written Treaty of Friendship and Protection to afford financial and technical assistance with respect to the establishment and maintenance of a Federal Army and a Federal National Guard the United Kingdom shall, to such extent as may be determined under that Article, provide:

- (a) personnel to assist in staffing, administration and training of the Federal Army and the National Guard;
- (b) facilities, including instructional courses abroad, for training members of the Federal Army and the National Guard;
- (c) expert advice and assistance in operational and technical matters;
- (d) assistance in the supply of equipment for the Federal Army and the National Guard;
- (e) the use of depot facilities in Aden Colony.

SECTION 5

(1) The Federation shall permit Her Majesty's Forces to be based in and to move freely within and to and from the Federation together with their equipment and stores and to fly their aircraft over the Federation and to carry out such other operations as may be necessary. The Federation shall grant any Forces that may be in the Federation in pursuance of this Section such facilities and take such other steps to assist them as may be necessary.

(2) Save as may be otherwise agreed between the United Kingdom and the Federation in any particular case or class of case exclusive jurisdiction with respect to all proceedings against members of such Forces and the personnel mentioned in paragraph (1) (a) of Section 4 of this Annex shall be exercised by Courts and authorities established or recognized by the United Kingdom for this purpose; provided that, in the case of proceedings involving persons or the property of persons other than members of such Forces or such personnel, such jurisdiction shall be exercised after consultation with the Federation. The United Kingdom shall take such steps as are necessary and practicable to ensure the maintenance of law and order among such Forces and personnel.

SECTION 6

(1) The Federation shall from time to time nominate such number of persons as the Governor may from time to time invite to serve as members of the Defence Council established by the United Kingdom to advise the Governor on matters relating to the defence

of the Aden Protectorate.

(2) The Federation shall consult the Defence Council on all matters relating to the defence and internal security of the Federation, including the administration, training and operation of the Federal Forces and shall keep the Council informed on all such matters.

SECTION 7

In this Annex the expression "the Governor" means the person holding or acting in the office of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Aden Protectorate.

In witness whereof the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto by the respective Contracting Parties, have signed the present Treaty and Annex.

Done in duplicate in the English and Arabic languages at Aden this eleventh day of February 1959 A.D. corresponding to the third day of Sha'ban, 1378 A.H.

For the United Kingdom

Governor and Commander-in-Chief
of the Aden Protectorate:

.....
W.H.T. Luce

For the Federation

Chairman of the Supreme Council
of the Federation:

.....
Ahmad bin Abdullah al Fadhli

Members of the Supreme Council
of the Federation:

.....
Salih bin Hussein al Audhali

Cont'd.

Members of the Supreme Council
of the Federation: Cont'd.

.....
Sha'fal bin Ali

.....
Hussein bin Ahmad al Habili

.....
Abdullah bin Mohsin al Aulaqi

.....
Ali Atif al Kaladi

Appendix VII

SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME
COUNCIL FOR THE ARAB AMIRATES OF THE SOUTH ON THE OCCASION
OF THE CEREMONY TO LAY THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE NEW
FEDERAL CAPITAL - AL ITTIHAD.

Your Excellency, Your Highness, Ashab as-Samu,
Gentlemen,

It gives me the greatest pleasure to stand here at this moment, on behalf of the members of the Supreme Council of the Federation of the Arab Emirates of the South, and say a few words to express my hopes and the hopes of my Government on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the capital of the Federation.

My colleagues and I feel, indeed, a very great pride on the laying of the foundation stone of the Federal capital; this city which we all hope will develop and become a model capital for the Government of the Arab Emirates of the South which the Federation has come into being to achieve. We firmly believe that the creation of this Government is a practical step towards the realization of greater Arab unity.

The site of the Federal capital was chosen for two main reasons. Firstly, it is in the Protectorate and this makes it possible for the Federal Government to enjoy complete sovereignty over the territory. Secondly, the place is highly suitable and in close proximity to Aden, the chief harbour of the South and a cultural centre.

The building of the capital inside the Federation does not on any account mean that the people of Aden or others will not enjoy the same privileges as are extended to the people of the Federation. I wish to affirm on behalf of my colleagues, the members of the Supreme Council, that this city will be open in particular to every Arab and in general to every honest citizen whatever his race or creed.

It is the policy of the Federal Government to extend every facility to all who desire to share in the creation of the capital. It gives me pleasure to tell you that the Minister of the Interior, Sharif Husain bin Ahmad al Habili, has received many applications from banks, commercial firms, industrial concerns, and from individuals for building plots of all classes. The Federal Government

will provide all the necessary facilities that a modern town requires in the way of light, water, health services, schools, roads and other essential services.

I should like to take this opportunity to refer to a political matter - that is to say the thought underlying the creation of the Federal Government. This Federation embraces many scattered principalities which have existed divided for long years, each chief ruling a principality and every tribal leader ruling his tribe in his own way. This state of affairs has never been truly acceptable to the people.

The Amirates could never hope on their own to achieve prosperity or tranquillity as they lacked the necessary resources. For this reason various attempts were made in the past to form a Federation embracing the Amirates of the Arab South. These attempts failed for political reasons. As time passed the people of the Amirates felt more and more the need to federate.

Last year the powers that be saw that any delay in forming a Federation was not in the interests of the welfare, progress and security of the Amirates.

Talks then took place between six of the Amirates of the Arab South which resulted in complete accord and the founding of a Federal Government at the beginning of this year. There is great hope that other Amirates, if God wills, will join the Federation in the near future.

The object of the Federal Government, as I have said, is to achieve unity and the creation of a democratic sovereign Arab Government in the Arab South which will be responsible for its own destiny.

In conclusion, I would like to express, on behalf of the Supreme Council to the Federal Government, our sincere thanks to all those who have responded to our invitation and attended this ceremony.

Now I will ask our honoured guest, His Highness The Sultan of Lahej, Sultan Fadhl bin 'Ali al 'Abdali, to be pleased to lay the foundation stone.

28 September 1959

Appendix VIII

Speech given by the Chairman of the Supreme Council on the occasion of the first anniversary of the inauguration of the Federation of Arab Amirates of the South.

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MERCIFUL THE COMPASSIONATES

Your Excellency, Right Honorables, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a pleasure for me to address you on this memorable occasion which is without doubt one of the greatest events in our beloved South. Only last year I had the honor of laying the Foundation stone of the Federal Capital and today it is my privilege to speak to you at this historic ceremony - the celebration of the first anniversary of the Federation of Arab Amirates of the South.

The celebrating of the Federation's first year of its life is not for us a mere formal ceremony but carries with it considerable significance. It is a sacred occasion not to be forgotten by the people of the South. If we are today gathered here to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the Federation it is to remember that great historical event which echoes throughout the South, the Arab World and the World in general. We are not gathered here however merely to celebrate the anniversary but to review our achievements during this first year of the life of our Federation.

The Federation came into being with six member states and during its first year four other states have joined; it is hoped that in the near future further states will accede.

During its first year the Federation has concentrated on establishing security and peace in the Federal territories, since no progress of any kind is possible without security. It has been possible to deal with elements instigating disturbances in certain areas of the frontier. Because of these disturbances no progress could be made in the carrying out of development projects planned for the Federal areas by the Federal Government.

Today, while we are saying good-bye to the first year of the Federation's life and welcoming the new year, it is worthy of mentioning that an improvement has taken place in the general situation with prospects of improved relations with Yemen as a result of His Excellency the Governor's visit to Taiz and his friendly reception there. The Federation welcomes this and will do all it can to preserve good neighborly relations: it has no other wish than to live in peace with its neighbors and to be left to work out its own future.

Those who were the cause of trouble and disturbance in the Federation have realized that they were misled and mistaken and are returning to their homes peacefully. The Federal Government wish to make it known that it will extend its clemency to those who show sincerity and good will towards the Federal Government. This does not mean that the Federal Government will condone killings, injuries and damage which must be dealt with justly according to law.

We should record the great role the Federal National Guard has played in the restoration of peace and order within the Federation and also the valuable assistance offered by the Aden Protectorate Levies and the British Forces. It also adds to my pleasure to mention that as a result of the absorption of State forces, the Federal National Guard has now increased in number from 1,409 to 4,119 all ranks. We greatly appreciate the magnificent work done by the Federal National Guards, the Protectorate Levies and the British Forces.

During the first year of the Federation, efforts have been made to build up its organization - seven Ministries are now in existence: they have come into being slowly in the past year because of the difficulties of recruiting suitable staff and other complications which always face the establishment of a new organization. At present, the Federation is running its offices in its temporary Secretariate at Champion Lines, but the Federal buildings at the Capital "Al Ittihad" will be shortly completed and it is hoped that the Federation will move there in a few months' time. The Federal Government is also planning to develop the town of "Al Ittihad" into a Capital worthy of the Federation: much work has already been done to achieve this aim.

Today, now that the Federation is established, getting well into its stride and with security restored there is fervent desire to work for the advancement of our Arab people. The Federation intends to open up roads, to facilitate movements of goods and develop the country agriculturally and economically to rid the country of the spectre of famine and poverty. A delegation has been sent to the United Kingdom and India under the chairmanship of the Right Honorable the Minister of Agriculture and Economic Development, in order to obtain the best possible prices for the Federal cotton farmers. I am pleased to say that the result of the mission were successful. It is also its wish to expand education in order to expel ignorance and to develop the medical services to rid the country of disease and epidemics. Plans are being prepared to achieve these aims. I am confident that with the cooperation and support of the people these projects shall come into being within the shortest possible time, because no government alone can achieve its noblest aims without the cooperation and support of the people. We therefore appeal to all people to work and cooperate sincerely and to do all they can for the interest and advancement of their

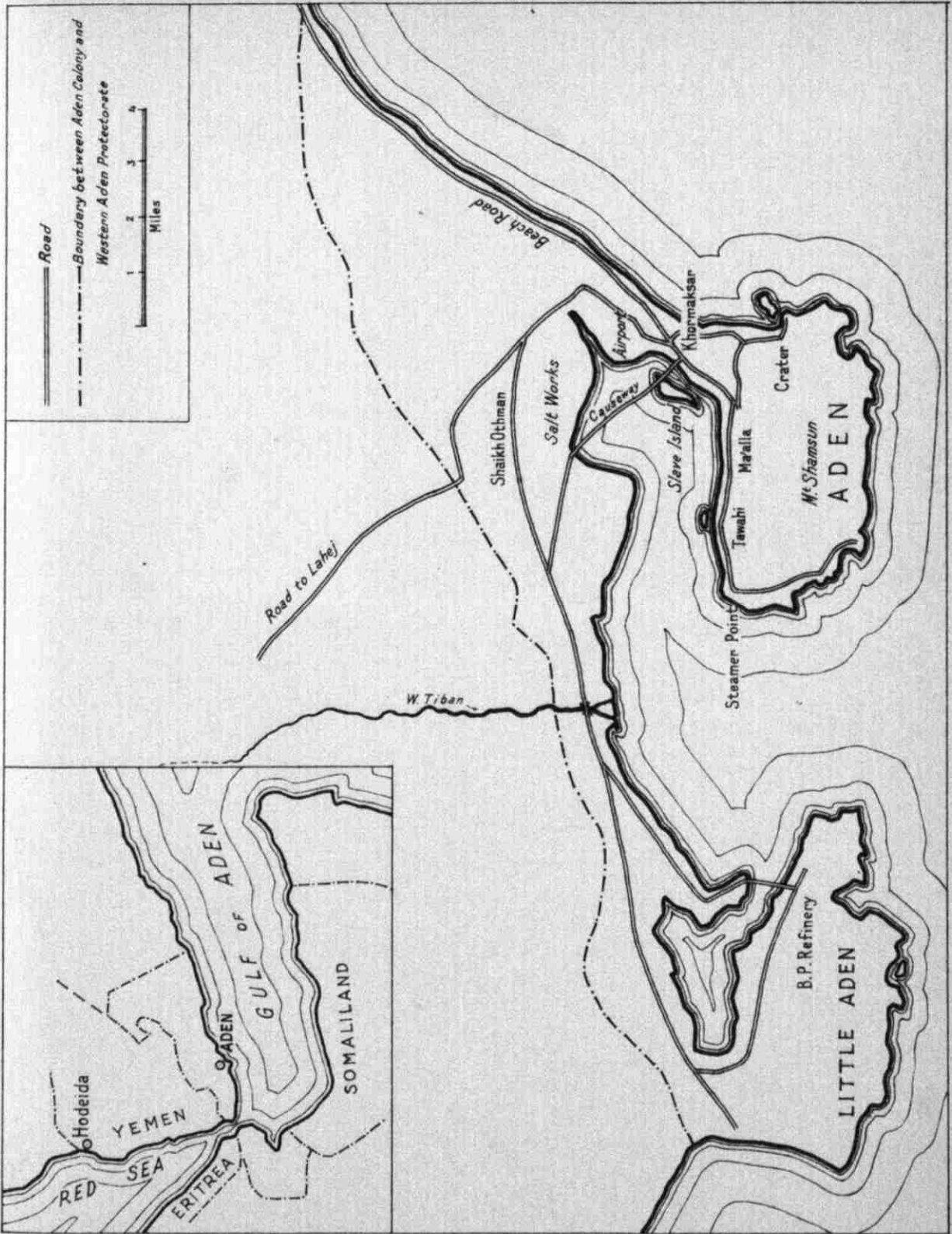
country, because it is only with cooperation and support that government can function and the people progress. The prosperity and welfare sought by this Federation shall be for all the people and not for a few individuals. Let us therefore move forward with this glorious Federation and participate in achieving that great desire which is the hope of every sincere Arab.

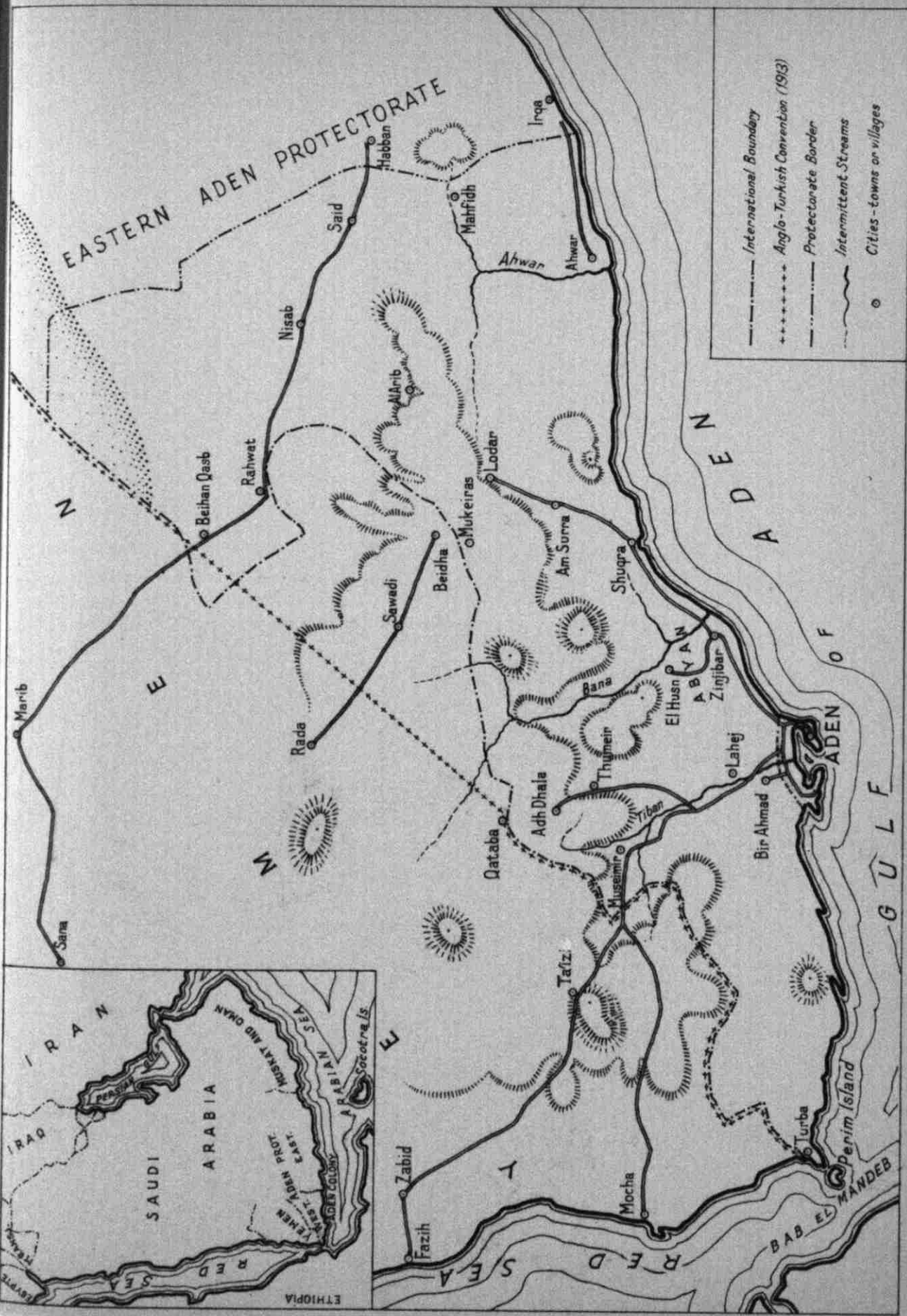
The Federal Government wishes sincerely to confirm statements made by its responsible Ministers throughout the last year, concerning the Federation's relations with Aden and with the States outside the Federation: that is to say we regard the Adenis and the people in the non-federated states just as we regard our people in the Federation. The Federal Government is always eager to strengthen these ties of cooperation and mutual interest. Our building up a Capital for the Federation close to Aden is sufficient evidence of the affection and sincerity which our hearts carry to that beloved country and its people.

Let us proceed further with this glorious Federation through which we can participate in achieving the great aim to which every sincere Arab aspires - the aim of Arab unity. We declare frankly that we do not seek personal interests but we work for the general good and the prosperity and welfare of the people of our Arab South. The establishment of the Federation is evidence that we have thus made an end to individual authority and replaced it by constitutional rule. We have taken a vow that we shall never deviate from the path which we believe will lead our country and its people to prosperity and happiness in spite of all the obstacles placed in our way, regardless of the fabrications and the accusations levelled at us and our country.

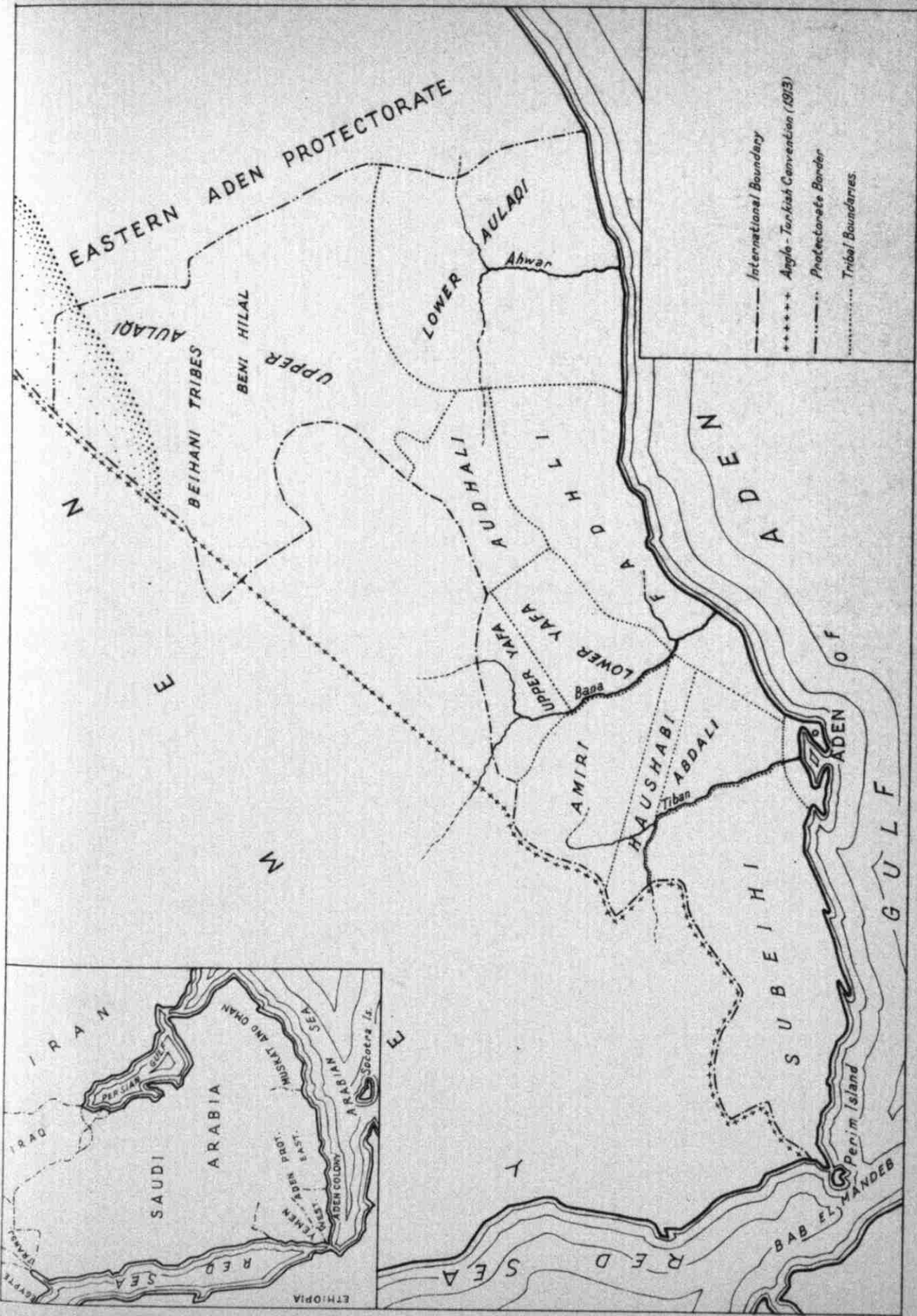
Finally, I wish to thank all those who have participated with us in this glorious festival and pray that God Almighty will lead us to prosperity for the common good.

MAP OF ADEN COLONY





WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE



MAIN TRIBES OF SOUTH WEST ARABIA

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THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERATION OF ARAB

AMIRATES OF THE SOUTH

In the name of God, the Compassionate and
Merciful.

P R E A M B L E

WHEREAS the Rulers and Peoples of the States of THE AMIRATE OF BEIHAN, THE AUDHALI SULTANATE, THE FADHLI SULTANATE, DHALA, THE UPPER AULAQI SHEIKHDOM and THE LOWER YAFAL SULTANATE are desirous of improving and strengthening their economies in peace and security and are convinced that this can only be done by their mutual cooperation both in matters appertaining to their collective internal development and in measures for ensuring and guaranteeing their collective independence and freedom from strife and aggression:

AND WHEREAS the said Rulers and Peoples are determined to achieve these ends through an Arab Islamic Federation of their States and of other States in Southern Arabia sharing their objectives;

NOW this solemn and irrevocable covenant is entered into by or for and on behalf of the said Rulers their heirs and successors their States and Peoples to establish the aforesaid Federation and to define and regulate its functions and government.

CHAPTER I

Establishment of the Federation

Federation established 1.

There shall be a Federation of the States of THE AMIRATE OF BEIHAN, THE AUDHALI SULTANATE, THE FADHLI SULTANATE, DHALA, THE UPPER AULAQI SHEIKHDOM AND THE LOWER YAFAL SULTANATE (hereinafter called

"the Federating States") which shall be called "The Federation of Arab Emirates of the South" (hereinafter called "the Federation") and which shall come into being in the manner provided by this Chapter of this Constitution.

Method of bringing the Federation into force 2.

(1) Each Federating State shall by whatever constitutional means are appropriate -

a) appoint and authorise the Ruler of such State or some other person to ratify this Constitution by signing the same on behalf of the State;

b) provide that this Constitution shall have the force of law throughout such State upon its signature on behalf of all of the Federating States; and

c) provide that any amendments which are from time to time duly made to this Constitution shall have the force of law throughout such State.

(2) This Constitution shall come into force when the requirements of sub-section (1) of this section have been complied with by each Federating State and when the Ruler or person appointed by each Federating State under the provisions of sub-section (1) of this section has signed this Constitution.

CHAPTER 2

Accession of Other States to the Federation

Other States may accede to the Federation 3.

After the coming into force of this Constitution States other than the Federating States may become members of the Federation

in the manner provided by this Chapter of this Constitution.

Method of accession of other States 4.

(1) Any State mentioned in section 3 of this Constitution which wishes to accede to the Federation and whose accession is acceptable to the Supreme Council provided for in this Constitution shall, by whatever constitution means are appropriate -

a) appoint and authorise the Ruler of such State or some other person to sign on behalf of the State a copy of this Constitution embracing all amendments hereto which shall have then been made and which copy shall be maintained by the said Supreme Council;

b) provide that this Constitution and all amendments hereto which shall have then been made shall have the force of law throughout such State upon the accession of such State to the Federation; and

c) provide that any amendments which are from time to time duly made to this Constitution shall have the force of law throughout such State.

(2) Before the Ruler or person appointed under paragraph (a) of sub-section (1) of this section signs the Constitution as hereinbefore provided for a Federal Ordinance shall be passed accepting the accession to the Federation of the State wishing to accede.

(3) The day upon which a State shall be deemed to have acceded to the Federation shall be the day upon which the provisions of sub-sections (1) and (2) of this section having previously been complied with the Ruler or such other person who may be appointed or authorised

as aforesaid to sign this Constitution signs the same in the form mentioned in paragraph (a) of sub-section (1) of this section.

CHAPTER 3

The Supreme Council of the Federal Government

The Supreme Council 5.

There shall be a Supreme Council which shall have vested in it the general executive authority of the Federal Government and in particular such powers as by this Constitution are conferred upon it.

Composition of Supreme Council and Chairmanship thereof 6.

(1) The Supreme Council shall consist of not more than six Ministers who shall be elected by and from the members of the Federal Council hereinafter mentioned for a period of five years and upon the expiration of their respective terms of office they shall each be eligible to be re-elected for a further term.

(2) There shall be a Chairman of the Supreme Council and each member of the said Council shall during the term of office of the Council be Chairman thereof in rotation being that upon which the members of the Supreme Council shall decide by a majority vote.

Joint and individual responsibility of Supreme Council and delegation of Powers 7.

(1) The Supreme Council and the members thereof shall be jointly and individually responsible for the due exercise of their authority.

(2) The Chairman of the Supreme Council acting in accordance with the instructions of the said Council shall enter into such undertakings as the Supreme Council may desire for and on behalf of the Supreme Council.

(3) The Supreme Council may delegate powers to Ministers.

Death, resignation, incapacity or removal of Ministers 8.

If any Minister dies, resigns, becomes incapable of performing the duties of his office, ceases to be a member of the Federal Council, or, if in the opinion of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Federal Council, he has been guilty of misconduct prejudicial to the interests of the Federal Government, the Federal Council may elect in his stead another qualified person to be Minister for the unexpired period of the Minister's term of office.

Submission of matters to Supreme Council 9.

Any member of the Supreme Council may submit to the Council for its consideration any matter relating to the interests of the Federal Government.

Procedure of Supreme Council 10.

(1) Every decision of the Supreme Council shall be taken, in the event of a vote being taken, by a majority of the votes of those members present who are not disqualified by this Constitution or any law from voting upon the matter for decision.

(2) At every meeting of the Supreme Council the Chairman shall preside but in his absence or in the event of his being disqualified from voting on the matter for decision by this Constitution or any law such member of the Supreme Council as it may appoint by a majority of votes of those present and voting shall preside.

(3) The person presiding at any meeting of the Supreme Council shall have, in addition to his own vote, a casting vote.

(4) At any meeting of the Supreme Council each Minister may be accompanied by one or more of his permanent officials.

(5) A quorum shall consist of not less than one half of the members comprising the Supreme Council at any one time. In the event of there being an uneven number of members of the Supreme Council a quorum shall consist of the nearest number over one half of the members of the Supreme Council at that time.

(6) There shall be a meeting of the Supreme Council at least once in each month on the first day of each month or on such other day as the Supreme Council may from time to time direct and if at any time any two members of the Supreme Council request the Chairman to summon a meeting the Chairman shall do so as soon as possible.

Remuneration of Ministers 11.

The remuneration to be paid to Ministers shall be prescribed by a Federal Ordinance and shall be charged upon and payable out of the revenues of the Federal Government.

Place of meeting of Supreme Council & recording of proceedings 12.

(1) The meetings of the Supreme Council shall usually and generally be held at the seat of the Government of the Federation.

(2) The Chairman of the Supreme Council shall cause an accurate record of the proceedings of the Council to be maintained and no decision of the Council shall be of any validity unless it is recorded in such record.

CHAPTER 4

The Federal Council

Establishment of Federal Council 13:

There shall be established a Federal Council for the Federal Government which shall be composed as hereinafter provided:

Legislative authority conferred 14.

The Supreme Council acting with the advice and consent of the Federal Council shall have legislative authority in and over the Federation and shall have power to make laws (in this Constitution referred to as "Ordinances") for the peace, order and good government of the Federation in respect of the subjects specified in the Schedule to this Constitution.

Composition of the Federal Council 15.

- (1) The Federal Council shall be composed of representatives of each State which is a member of the Federation.
- (2) Each of the Federating States shall be entitled to have six members in the Federal Council and each State which accedes to the Federation in accordance with Chapter 2 of this Constitution shall be entitled to such number of members not exceeding six as shall be specified in the Federal Ordinance referred to in sub-section (2) of section 4 of this Constitution.
- (3) Each member shall be selected by the State which he is to represent by whatever constitutional means are appropriate.
- (4) Each member shall receive an Instrument of Appointment signed by the Ruler of the State which he represents (or such other person as may be appointed by whatever constitutional means are appropriate in such State), which shall be deposited with the Supreme Council.
- (5) Every appointment shall be made on such conditions, including conditions relating to the duration thereof and the termination thereof (whether by reason of the person appointed being incapable or performing his duties or otherwise) as may be specified in the Instrument of Appointment or in any law from time to time in force in the State which

(6) Where any person appointed to represent a State on the Federal Council is temporarily unable by reason of illness, absence or for any other cause to perform the functions of a member, the Ruler (or such other person as may be appointed by whatever constitutional means are appropriate in such State) may, by Instrument of Appointment under his hand, appoint another person temporarily on such conditions as may be prescribed in the Instrument of Appointment or under any law from time to time in force in the State which the person appointed represents to represent the State on the Federal Council for the period of the first named person's inability as aforesaid. Every Instrument of Appointment granted under this sub-section shall be deposited with the Supreme Council.

Chairman of the Federal Council 16.

(1) There shall be a Chairman of the Federal Council and each member of the Supreme Council shall be Chairman for one meeting of the Federal Council in turn, the order of rotation being that upon which the members of the Supreme Council shall decide by a majority vote.

(2) For the purposes of this section meeting means the sitting or series of sittings of the Federal Council which are held consequent upon a summons issued by the Supreme Council in accordance with section 19 of this Constitution.

Members of the Federal Council to be able to raise matters 17.

Any member of the Federal Council may submit for discussion by the Council any matter relating to the legislative or executive authority of the Federal Government or in any way relating to the interests of the Federal Government and the Federal Council may refer any such matter

to the Supreme Council for its consideration and for any action thereon which the Supreme Council may consider appropriate.

Procedure of the Federal Council 18.

(1) The Chairman of the Federal Council shall have no original vote, but shall have a casting vote.

(2) Every decision of the Federal Council shall in the absence of provision to the contrary be taken, in the event of a vote being necessary, by a majority of the votes of those persons who are present and not disqualified in accordance with this Constitution or any law from voting on the matter for decision provided that if such a majority is not obtained and, in the opinion of the supreme Council, it is necessary in the public interest that further consideration should be given to the matter it may summon a further meeting of the Federal Council and the matter may then be determined by a majority of the votes of such aforesaid persons present and voting at such further meeting.

(3) a) The Federal Council, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, may adopt and from time to time amend standing orders for the regular and orderly conduct of its proceedings and the despatch of its business but all such standing orders shall require the consent of the Supreme Council.

b) On all procedural matters in relation to which no provision is made in the standing orders hereinbefore referred to the ruling of the Chairman shall prevail until the Federal Council has made a decision on the matter.

(4) A quorum shall consist of not less than two-thirds of the members comprising the Federal Council at any time. In the event of the number of members not being divisible by three a quorum shall consist of the nearest number of members over two-thirds of the members of the Federal Council at that time.

Annual meeting of Federal Council and summoning of meetings 19.

The Supreme Council may summon a meeting of the Federal Council whenever it considers it necessary or expedient and shall summon a meeting at least once in each year in order to receive and pass the estimates of expenditure and the draft measure authorising expenditure referred to in sections 31 and 32 respectively of this Constitution.

Place of meeting of Federal Council 20.

The Federal Council shall usually and generally hold its meetings at the seat of Government of the Federation.

CHAPTER 5

Legislative Procedure

Part 1

The Ordinary Method of Legislation

Supreme Council to initiate legislation 21.

The Supreme Council shall be exclusively responsible for the initiation of all legislation and all Ordinances of the Federation shall be passed into law in the manner provided for in this part of this Chapter.

Passage of legislation in the Federal Council 22.

The Supreme Council shall introduce into the Federal Council a draft of any measure which it considers should be enacted as an Ordinance

and thereupon if the Federal Council shall either pass the draft un-amended or amended in a form acceptable to the Supreme Council it shall become an Ordinance and have the force of law throughout the Federation or any part of it to which it relates on such date as the Supreme Council shall direct.

Limitation on legislation 23.

The Supreme Council shall not present to the Federal Council a draft of any measure or accept any amendment thereto which:

- a) does not relate to the peace, order and good government of the Federation in respect of the subjects specified in the Schedule to this Constitution; or
- b) would be in conflict with any Treaty obligations of the Federation:

Provided that the prohibition in paragraph (a) of this section shall not extend to the presentation to the Federal Council of proposals for the amendment of this Constitution.

Part 2

Legislation by Provisional Order

Supreme Council may make Provisional Orders 24.

If at any time when the Federal Council is not in session the Supreme Council shall deem it necessary or expedient to enact any legislation which could otherwise have been presented to the Federal Council having regard to section 23 of this Constitution and which is not an amendment to this Constitution the Supreme Council may make a Provisional Order and such Order shall have the force of an Ordinance subject as hereinafter provided.

Provisional Orders to be laid before Federal Council 25.

At the next session of the Federal Council held after the issue of a Provisional Order the Order shall be laid before the Federal Council and unless the Federal Council during such session decided that the Order shall cease to be in force the Order shall be deemed to be an Ordinance of the Federation.

Effect of annulment of Provisional Order 26.

If the Federal Council decided that a Provisional Order shall cease to be in force the Order shall cease accordingly one month after the date of the decision of the Federal Council but the decision of the Federal Council shall not invalidate anything done or to be done before the expiry of the said period of one month under the Order and shall be without prejudice to the right of the Supreme Council to introduce fresh legislation on the same subject.

Confirmation of Provisional Order subject to amendment 27.

If the Federal Council decides that a Provisional Order should be confirmed subject to amendments which are acceptable to the Supreme Council the Order shall become an Ordinance on such date as the Supreme Council shall direct.

Part 3

Legislation by decree of the Supreme Council

Supreme Council may make decrees in times of public emergency 28.

(1) The Supreme Council may declare that a state of public emergency exists in the Federation or in any part of the Federation in respect of which such declaration is made and may subsequently terminate such state of public emergency.

(2) While a declaration such as is referred to in sub-section (1) of this section is in force the Supreme Council may make such decrees as could have been made as Provisional Orders in accordance with section 24 of this Constitution and which shall have the force of an Ordinance of the Federation as appear to it to be necessary or expedient for securing public safety and internal security, the defence of the Federation or any part thereof, the maintenance of public order and the suppression of mutiny, rebellion, rioting and subversion and for maintaining supplies and services in relation to the subjects specified in the Schedule to this Constitution essential to the life of the community.

Decrees to give effect to Treaty obligations 29.

The Supreme Council may at any time make such decrees which shall have the force of an Ordinance of the Federation as appear to it to be necessary or expedient for giving effect in the Federation or any part thereof to the obligations of the Federation or the Federal Government under any Treaty.

CHAPTER 6

Finance

Consolidated Fund established 30.

(1) All revenues and moneys raised or received by the Federation shall be paid into and form the Federal Consolidated Fund (hereinafter called "the Consolidated Fund").

(2) All expenditure authorised under this Constitution or any Federal law shall be met out of the Consolidated Fund.

(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-sections (1) and (2)

of this section, a fund or funds in addition to the Consolidated Fund may by Ordinance be established for specific purposes into which all or any part of any specific revenues or moneys shall be paid.

Estimates of expenditure to be laid before and approved by Federal Council 31.

(1) The Supreme Council shall in respect of each financial year cause to be laid before the Federal Council on such date as will allow reasonable time for their consideration and approval before the beginning of the year to which they relate estimates of the expenditure of the Federation.

(2) The estimates of expenditure shall show under specified heads:

- a) the amounts required to be spent to carry out the functions of the Federal Government during the financial year to which they relate; and
- b) the sums required to meet expenditure specifically authorised under this Constitution or any Federal law.

(3) There shall accompany the estimates of expenditure a statement of the estimated revenue for the corresponding financial year and a statement of the assets and liabilities of the Federation for the last completed financial year.

Appropriation Ordinance authorising expenditure to be passed 32.

After the estimates of expenditure have been approved with or without amendment by the Federal Council the Supreme Council shall present to the Federal Council a draft measure (which shall be dealt with in the manner prescribed by Part 1 of Chapter 5 of this Constitution) authorising under the specified heads set out in the approved estimates

the expenditure for such heads but the said draft measure shall not include expenditure of the sums referred to in paragraph (b) of subsection (2) of section 31 of this Constitution.

Payments from Consolidated Fund to require authorisation 33.

No disbursement from the Consolidated Fund or other funds of the Federation shall be made unless:

- a) the expenditure is authorised by this Constitution or any Federal law; and
- b) a warrant has been signed by a Minister who is authorised by the Supreme Council to order such disbursement.

Authorisation of payments before the passage of the Appropriation Ordinance 34.

An Ordinance of the Federation may authorise the payment of such sums as are necessary to enable the existing functions of the Federal Government to be continued during any period not exceeding three months between the beginning of a financial year and the coming into force of the Ordinance for that year which is referred to in section 32 of this Constitution.

Supplementary estimates and Appropriation Ordinance 35.

When during any financial year it is found that expenditure is required under a new head in the approved estimates or that additional expenditure is required under any existing head of such estimates and that such expenditure could not have been foreseen and cannot be postponed without detriment to the interests of the Federation, supplementary estimates of expenditure to cover such

unforeseen items shall be laid by the Supreme Council before the Federal Council together with a draft measure authorising the additional expenditure and such draft measure shall be dealt with in the manner prescribed by Part 1 of Chapter 5 of this Constitution.

Accounts to be maintained and audited 36.

(1) The Supreme Council shall ensure that full accounts shall be kept which shall be audited annually by the Federal Auditor hereinafter provided for and which together with the Auditor's report on them and the Supreme Council's comments on such accounts and report shall be submitted annually to the Federal Council.

(2) The Supreme Council shall appoint a fit and proper person to act as Federal Auditor who shall only be removed from office with the approval of the Federal Council and who shall report annually to the Federal Council concerning the audit of the accounts of the Federation.

CHAPTER 7

The Federal Service

Federal Public Service established 37.

There shall be established a Federal Public Service which shall be organised in Ministries and under them Departments and all appointments thereto shall be made by the Supreme Council.

Measures to be taken to regulate the Public Service 38.

The Supreme Council shall be responsible for regulating, whether by promoting a Federal Ordinance or by other appropriate means, the discipline salary pensions gratuities security and conditions of service

of the Federal Public Service and shall be responsible for the maintenance of the efficiency of the Service.

CHAPTER 8

The Responsibilities and Powers of the Federation
and States which are Members of the Federation

Federation to have exclusive legislative and executive
authority on specified matters 39.

The Federation shall have exclusive legislative and executive authority in respect of the peace order and good government of the Federation in respect of the matters set out in this Constitution and the Schedule hereto.

States to be responsible for enforcing Federal laws 40.

The authorities in the States forming the Federation shall be responsible for enforcing within their respective territories all laws of the Federation and for giving effect to all executive instructions issued in accordance with law and conveyed to them by the Federal authorities within the authority of the Federation:

Provided that if, in the opinion of the Supreme Council, any State has failed to meet its obligations under this section the Supreme Council may order the direct enforcement of any law or instruction by the Federation and such law or instruction shall be enforced accordingly.
Limitation on legislative and executive authority of the States 41.

After the coming into force of this Constitution or after any State has acceded to the Federation the Federating States or the acceding State as the case may be shall cease to have any legislative

authority in respect of the matters mentioned in section 39 of this Constitution and shall cease to have executive authority in respect of such matters otherwise than for and on behalf of the Federation.

Provision of services by the Federation 42.

The Federation shall within the limits of its executive and legislative authority provide such services as it deems necessary or expedient having regard to the financial resources of the Federation and to the interests of the Federation and the States forming the Federation.

Contributions by the States 43.

The Federation shall in an Ordinance determine the contributions to be paid by the States forming the Federation to the Federal Revenues and fix the payments to be made to the Federation by the said States for services rendered in or for the benefit of such States and may provide for the methods of collection of such contributions and payments through the States provided that the contributions so determined shall be equal in proportion to the resources of each State and to the services it enjoys from the Federal Government.

CHAPTER 9

Amendment of this Constitution

Method of amending this Constitution 44.

(1) Subject to the provisions of this section this Constitution may be amended from time to time in the manner prescribed for the enactment of Ordinances in Part 1 of Chapter 5 of this Constitution provided that the amendment is approved by the Federal Council by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members thereof and any

amendment shall come into force on such date as the Supreme Council shall direct not being earlier than 28 days after the amendment has been passed by the Federal Council.

(2) If, before the date prescribed by the Supreme Council for the coming into force of any amendment to this Constitution, the Ruler of any State forming part of the Federation represents to the Supreme Council that such amendment should not be made or should only be made in a modified form the Supreme Council shall summon a meeting of the Federal Council for the earliest possible date and refer the proposed amendment back to the Federal Council for its further consideration at such meeting and the procedure prescribed in Part 1 of Chapter 5 of this Constitution shall be followed in all respects as though the proposed amendment had for the first time been introduced into the Federal Council by the Supreme Council:

Provided that at such meeting the decision of the Federal Council shall be taken by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members thereof and if the amendment is passed and approved by the Supreme Council it shall not again be referred back to the Federal Council and shall be enforced notwithstanding any further objection.

CHAPTER 10

Transitional and Miscellaneous Provisions

Necessary steps to bring the Federation into being to be taken 45.

On the signature of this Constitution as provided for in subsection (2) of section 2 hereof the signatories shall take all such steps as may be necessary or expedient for bringing the Federation into being.

Continuing validity of State laws. 46.

On the coming into force of this Constitution or on the accession to the Federation of any State if there is in any Federating State or acceding State as the case may be any legislation on any of the matters specified in the Schedule to this Constitution such legislation shall be deemed to be an Ordinance of the Federation applying to the State concerned and shall remain in force until replaced by Federal legislation and any staff employed in connection with the administration or enforcement of such State legislation shall until other appropriate arrangements are made continue to administer and enforce such legislation subject to the directions of the Federation.

Interpretation of this Constitution 47.

If any claim or dispute should arise between the Federation and any State which is a member of it either as to the interpretation of this Constitution or as to the respective rights and obligations of the Federation and any such State the Supreme Council may unless the claim or dispute falls to be dealt with as may be provided by a Federal law cause such dispute to be referred to such impartial person or persons as it may select or otherwise arrange for the amicable settlement of such claim or dispute and the Federation and the said State shall be bound by the settlement reached.

Provision with regard to States' treaties 48.

Where any treaty agreement or other engagement between a Federating State and a country outside the Federation or between a State which has acceded to the Federation and such country which is in force at the commencement of this Constitution or on the date of the accession

of a State to the Federation, as the case may be, provides for the giving of advice or assistance by that country or any authority thereof to any such State, such State may, so long as that treaty agreement or engagement remains in force, receive such advice or assistance thereunder in relation to matters not included in the Schedule to this Constitution.

THE SCHEDULE HEREINBEFORE REFERRED TO

(Sections 14 and 39)

1. External Affairs.
2. The defence and internal security of the Federation and of the States from time to time forming part thereof.
3. Borrowing of money for the purposes of the Federation.
4. Agriculture (including animal husbandry), the marketing of the products thereof and their protection against pests and diseases, and the provision and use of agricultural and veterinary services.
5. Fisheries and the marketing of fish and their conservation.
6. Aviation including aerodromes.
7. The maintenance and improvement of postal, telegraph, telephonic, wireless and other like services.
8. The public relations of the Federation.
9. The construction, maintenance and improvement of trunk roads, that is to say roads declared by the Supreme Council to be Federal trunk roads, and the regulation of traffic using such roads.
10. Education with the exception of the management and financing of primary schools for which State authorities will continue to be responsible.
11. The improvement and maintenance of the health of the inhabitants of the Federation.
12. The regulation of currency.
13. Banks (including savings banks) and banking.
14. Insurance.
15. Exchange control.
16. The Federal Public Service.

17. The assessment and collection of the revenues of the Federation by means of contributions from the States forming part thereof, and the imposition and collection of charges and fees for services rendered or things done by the Federation whether on or from the said States or otherwise.
18. The arrangement of trade and commerce.
19. The seat of Government of the Federation, that is to say such area of land vested in the Federation or any person on behalf of the Federation as may be declared by the Supreme Council to be used as the seat of Government of the Federation.
20. The acquisition of movable or immovable property or any interest therein on just terms acceptable to both parties from any State forming part of the Federation or person for any purpose within the legislative or executive authority of the Federation and the management of such property or interest, and in particular the making of laws for the peace, order and good Government of any place acquired for the establishment of the seat of Government of the Federation.
21. Matters incidental to the execution of any power or authority vested in the Federation, the Supreme Council, the Federal Council or in any Ministry department or officer of the Federation.