The Struggle for South Yemen

JOSEPH KOSTINER

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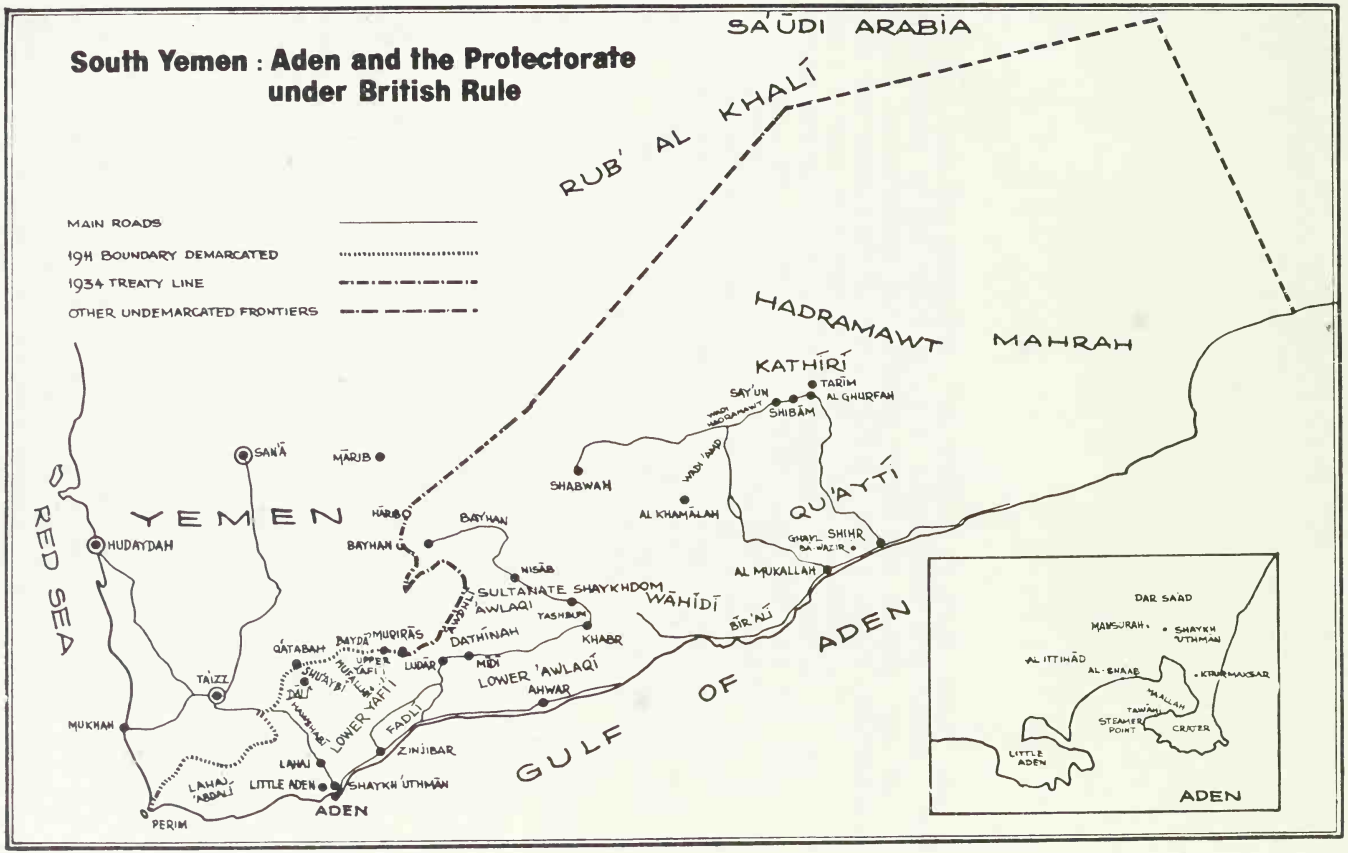
Note on the Transliteration

The standard system of transliteration, as used in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies and other works was kept in this work. Except for the underdots of ظ (ẓ), ط (ṭ), ض (ḍ) and ص (s) which were omitted.

'Arab and Islamic 'terms were underlined.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Aden Chronicle
AW	Arab World
DR	U.S. Foreign Broadcast Information Service. Daily Report: The Middle East and Africa.
DT	The Daily Telegraph
IDS	Itim Daily Summary
M.E.J.	The Middle East Journal
MEM	Middle East Mirror
MER	Middle East Record
M.E.S.	Middle Eastern Studies
N.O.	The New Outlook
R	(preceding a name of a town – Cairo, Beyrouth, etc.) Local radio broadcasting station.
R.C.A.J.	Royal Central Asian Journal
SWB	B.B.C. Summary of World Broadcast: The Middle East and Africa.
TNY	New York Times
U.A.	Al-ᶜUsbuᶜ al-ᶜArabī
W.T.	The World Today


South Yemen : Aden and the Protectorate under British Rule
MAIN ROADS
1911 BOUNDARY DEMARCATED
1934 TREATY LINE
OTHER UNDEMARCATED FRONTIERS
SA'ŪDI ARABIA
RUB' AL KHALĪ
HADRAMAWT
MAHRAH
KATHĪRĪ
TARĪM
AL GHURFAH
SAY'UN
SHIBĀM
WADI HADRAMAWT
WADI 'AMD
SHABWAH
AL KHAMĀLAH
QU'AYTĪ
GHAYL BA-WAZIR
SHIHR
AL MUKALLAH
BĪR'ALĪ
WĀHĪDĪ
SULTANATE SHAYKHDOM
'AWLAQI
TASHBUM
KHABR
DATHĪNAH
MĪDĪ
LOWER 'AWLAQĪ
AHWAR
GULF OF ADEN
YEMEN
RED SEA
SAN'Ā
MĀRIB
HĀRIB
BAYHAN
BAYHAN
NISĀB
HUDAYDAH
TA'IZZ
MUKHAH
QA'ATABAH
BAYDĀ
MUQIRĀS
UPPER YAFI'
LUDĀR
MUFALLAH
SHU'AYBĪ
DALĪ
HAMSHABĪ
LOWER YAFI'
FADLĪ
ZINJIBAR
LAHAJ
LITTLE ADEN
SHAYKH 'UTHMĀN
ADEN
LAHAJ 'ABDALĪ
PERIM
DAR SA'AD
MANSURAH
SHAYKH 'UTHMAN
AL ITTIHĀD
AL-SHAAB
KHURMAKSAR
MAALLAH
TAWĀHĪ
STEAMER POINT
CRATER
LITTLE ADEN
ADEN

INTRODUCTION

For the last few centuries, the history of South Yemen[1] has been shaped by the interaction of two conflicting forces. Its highly conservative and rigidly stratified society together with its quasi-tribal, decentralized and unstable government was a strong inhibitor to change. But the country has a unique geo-political position abutting the straits of Bāb al-Mandab, the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, the important port of Aden located at this junction and the presence of the British there from 1839, exercised a countervailing pressure for innovation and change. The stability of South Yemeni politics was related to the current interaction between these two conflicting forces -- the conservative and the innovative -- and the degree of balance between them.

The violence in the 1960s resulted from changes which South Yemeni society underwent after the 1930s. Till then the pressure to preserve the traditional pattern of society had won. However, due to a rather effective process of modernisation, the balance shifted towards new values shaped by novel political and social structures, which ultimately precipitated a conflict. To trace the origins of this conflict it is necessary to examine the traditional South Yemeni polity and the phenomena which altered it.

Prior to the 1930s, South Yemen was barely cultivated, devoid of natural resources and difficult to reach, beyond the great Rubᶜ al-Khālī Desert. Except in Aden, the great powers had hardly developed any interests there and consequently, the area was unaffected by major Middle Eastern reform processes such as the Tanzīmāt. These conditions resulted in South Yemen having no effective central rule; authority was divided amongst small state-like units, nominally known as "Emirates", "Sultanates" or "Princedoms" (the difference among the titles was quite meaningless) which were actually semi-institutionalised tribal alliances. Each unit was headed by a Sultān, Nāʾib or Amīr. A continuous state of fighting prevailed both between the Beduin tribes and the urban population and among the tribes themselves, who, in the 1920s, amounted

to 60 percent of the 1.2 million inhabitants.[2]

In the absence of alternative social or political frameworks, social strata, to which one was affiliated according to the "estate" norms, namely, by descent and lineage and not by economic standards,[3] functioned as the major framework for human activity. Referring to Ḥadramawt, South Yemen's eastern area where this system was particularly prominent, A.S. Bujra noted that the basic principle of local society was stratification.[4] The bottom level comprised military and administrative slaves (ᶜAbīd) whose African descent rendered them the lowest of the low. Above them was the urban population, merchants and craftsmen of uncertain descent who were therefore regarded as "weaklings" (duᶜafā'). They were preceded by the tribes (Qabā'il) and the leaders of the Sultanates who held the real power. They had prestigious descent, their mythological ancestor being Qaḥtān, the forefather of a large part of southern Arabia's population.[5] In first place stood the Sayyids (Sādāt or Sādah, sing: Sayyid), descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad's family, who first emigrated from Basrah to the Ḥadramawt after 952 B.C. Their religious descent, enabled the Sayyids to become the local ᶜUlamā', who functioned as teachers, judges and political mediators. They were particularly famous for this last activity: In an area where fighting was a constant feature, their residential territory became a neutral, holy ground (Ḥawṭah) where bloodshed was forbidden, which also functioned as a common ground for markets and religious festivals. In return for their services, the Sayyids became trustees of properties (mainly land) and were treated as holy ones, with special respect. They protected their status by applying special adaptations of the Muslim principle of equality in marriage (Kafāᶜah) to prevent what they regarded as retrogressive marriages.[6] Being the top stratum, the Sayyids set the example for other lower levels, which thus formed a rigid stratification.

The opportunity for exposure to other social systems through contacts with foreign populations existed but this did not alter the traditional social and political structures. One common way to make such contacts was emigration. Over the centuries the continuous fighting and economic stagnation, which worsened with the decline in transit trade with the Far East, encouraged local inhabitants to emigrate, which the relatively easy access to sea routes facilitated. By the early twentieth century there were about 100,000 South Yemenis, mainly from the Ḥadramawt, in overseas communities; about 76,000 stayed in the Dutch East Indies (notably Java), Singapore, Sumatra and Borneo; others went to East Africa, notably Zanzibar, the Qomoro Islands, Kenya and Somali. Small communities were also formed in Arab states.[7] The migrants usually succeeded in their enterprises in their new countries and particularly the Sayyids whose religious qualities were

most highly regarded among the local relatively under-developed population. Apart from being ʿUlamāʾ, they became successful businessmen and were integrated into local political dynasties in several places.[8]

The migrants kept continuous contacts with their homeland. They often visited and re-immigrated to South Yemen after years abroad. Many of them sent their sons to study in the renowned centres of Tarīm and Sayʾūn in Ḥadramawt. In the 1930s financial remittances sent by the migrants from the East Indies to South Yemen amounted to £ 600,000.[9] By settling in ascriptive formations, the migrants preserved the traditional social frameworks of their homeland in their new communities; thus Ḥadramis from the Kathīrī Sultanate settled mainly in Java, while emigrants from Fadlī or Laḥaj in western South Yemen, mainly settled in Somali and Zanzibar.[10] South Yemeni values and stratification, as manifested in the Sayyid's continued superiority, were prolonged in these overseas communities whose inhabitants strove, in fact, to strengthen South Yemen's existing position. Emigration might have been a means to ease the tensions inherent in South Yemeni society, but it only served to entrench the traditional patterns.

Other types of contact with foreigners had a similar effect. From the 19th century, contacts between South Yemenis and the Yemeni Mutawwakilite kingdom to the north, were mostly short lived and violent. The attempts by the Yemeni Imāms to claim and conquer areas in the South, alienated local tribes from the Imāms' intentions; North Yemen's activities culminated in 1915, in a short-lived conquest of Laḥaj.[11] The fact that a large part of North Yemen's population was Shiʿī-Zaydī, while South Yemen was predominantly Sunni-Shāfiʿī widened and fixed the differences between the two countries.

Contacts with the British also had little effect. In 1839, in an attempt to reinforce their control over the important route from the Red Sea to India, the British conquered Aden. However, following the principles laid down by Aden's conquerer and first Political Agent, Captain S. B. Haines (1839-1854), the British kept "The Fortress of Aden" isolated from the rest of the Protectorate. Contact with the Princedoms was minimal, sporadic and limited to signing "defense treaties" with some of the Sultāns.[12]

The character of South Yemeni Society began to change, only after the 1930s, when the British started to introduce reforms. From the end of the First World War, Britain's attitude towards the Protectorate gradually changed. The Ottoman Empire's dissolution and Britain's victory reduced Aden's strategic importance as an "imperial outpost" on the way to India. Policy makers in London thought that British control of the Indian Ocean would suffice and that Aden could, at best, serve as a coaling station.[13] It seems that the interest in Aden increased because of the town's position in

relation to the Protectorate beyond, a position about which local British officials' concern steadily grew. The original cause for that concern was military; North Yemen's brief conquest of Laḥaj in 1915, which British troops from India recovered, was prolonged in repeated attempts by the Imām Yaḥya of North Yemen to stir up tribes and to capture villages in the frontier areas of Dāliᶜ and Upper Yafiᶜī. The British fought the Yemeni attempts and conducted continuous negotiations with the Imām, which culminated only in 1934 in an agreement to delineate the frontier between North and South Yemen. The Protectorate area was thus recognised as a vital "Hinterland" for Aden, which Britain wanted within its sphere of influence.[14]

Consequently, Britain's relations with Protectorate tribes and rulers expanded, particularly in places where there was a visible North Yemeni threat or where a dispute could influence the local attitude towards the British. In 1919 British officials assisted the Sultān of Laḥaj, ᶜAbd al-Karīm Fadl, who was regarded as "a friend" and who had been awarded a knighthood, against a rival for his throne. In 1929, they suppressed a revolt by the Subayḥī tribes in Laḥaj and initiated a truce between them and the Sultān.[15] In Bayḥān, Dāliᶜ, upper and lower ᶜAwlaqī and Yāfiᶜī they established outposts and started recruiting ᶜAwlaqī tribesmen to the newly established Protectorate levies[16] (see below). In return for the Ḥadrami Sayyids' and Sultāns' [of the Kathīrī and Quᶜaytī Princedoms] resistance to the Imām's temptations, British officials stressed the importance of the Ḥadrami Princedoms in the British air routes to Oman and the Persian Gulf, and supported these Sultāns and Sayyids against their opponents, the Irshād movement (also see below).[17]

As R.J. Gavin explained, a local "Arabophile Personnel" emerged in Aden. Having a high regard for the Arabs they stressed Aden's importance, not in the context of the route to India but rather as a centre of and gate to the Arab territories behind it. The most renowned representatives of this viewpoint were Colonel H.F. Jacob and Sir B. Reilly, who was Aden's Chief Commissioner betwe n 1932 and 1937. Reilly feared that Aden's development would be curbed because the Indian Government (within whose political jurisdiction it fell) attributed little importance to it. So Reilly demanded that Aden be transfered to a different, more sympathetic, authority.[18] In the 1930s their efforts were rewarded; officials in the Foreign and Colonial offices adopted fervently the concept "Aden is an Arab city" whose "future rests in Arabia and not in India."[19] In 1932 Aden was removed from the Indian government's authority and placed under the direct rule of the Viceroy in Delhi; in 1936 it became a Crown Colony under the authority of the Colonial Office.[20]

It was during Reilly's period in office that the British took various initiatives to change South Yemen's polity and

society. The changes at the administrative-constitutional level, namely, in the authority, structure and practice of local government were of major importance.

In the Protectorate, the British institutionalised their position with a form of indirect rule. Commencing in 1937, "Advisory Treaties" were signed with the rulers of the Quᶜayṭī and Kathīrī Princedoms, in 1944 with the Sharīf of Bayḥān and after 1947, with the rulers of Laḥaj, Fadlī, the two ᶜAwlaqī Princedoms, Lower Yāfiᶜī, ᶜAwdhalī, Dāliᶜ and Shuᶜaybī. By the mid-1950s, such treaties had been signed with most of the Protectorate rulers.[21] These treaties provided that every group of several princedoms should have a local British "Resident Adviser" who functioned both as an adviser to the local rulers and as the chief implementor of British Policy in the area. He was responsible for local security and for relations between Princedoms and between tribes.[22] When a more decisive form of intervention was necessary the British used the Royal Air Force. In the 1920s aeroplanes were used to scatter infiltrating North Yemeni forces and to disengage hopelessly quarrelling tribes. The use of bombers, chosen because it was cheaper than deploying infantry and was more effective, demonstrates Britain's intention to rely on a cheap, flexible instrument which suited their concept of indirect rule.[23]

Within this framework, the judicial, educational and local administrative systems in the Princedoms remained quite autonomous. In the 1940s, five to ten member executive councils were established to assist the Sulṭāns , who alone could use them or dismiss them. Bigger councils, composed of 20 members, some of whom were elected, functioned as quasi-legislative bodies, which could propose and recommend laws for the Sulṭān's approval. In addition, a system of Sharᶜī courts based on the Shāfiᶜī persuasion was operating.[24] In contrast to their indirect rule in the Protectorate, the British ruled Aden directly and firmly. Being a Crown Colony (according to The King's Order in Council of 28 September 1936) Aden was governed by British officials and run according to British administrative and judicial methods. A veteran British official or army officer functioned as the colony's Governor (or High or Chief Commissioner). He was assisted by a five member executive council, the majority of whom (for example the Attorney General, and the Chief Secretary) were British. In 1947 a sixteen member Legislative Council, half of whom were British officials and the rest nominated town's people, was established. This Council could initiate laws, which the Governor had a right to veto, except for tax matters and the abolition of existing laws. Aden also had a Supreme Court over which a single British judge presided. In Aden's various quarters, there were lower ranking courts and municipal councils which again were dominated by the British.[25]

The distinction made between Aden and the Protectorate Princedoms derived from the basic principles of British policy in the area. While Aden was considered to be both a legally based British territory and a pivotal point for British strategy in the Indian Ocean and in the Peninsula as a whole, the Protectorate was viewed only as Aden's defensive hinterland. The British were, therefore, reluctant to impose direct rule over the Protectorate. Moreover, they were irritated by the endemic disputes among tribes and Princedoms, were unwilling to tamper with the deeply rooted local judicial and administrative systems and feared that if their involvement became any deeper it might incite the Imām to overreact. This combination of strategic considerations and administrative convenience was fostered by the romantic concept British officials had regarding the "Arab Character" of the Protectorate. Harold Ingrams, one of the major British policy makers in the Protectorate commented in regard to Ḥadramawt:

> The Hadhramaut is an Arab country and Arab it must remain. It should never be necessary for any large number of aliens to be in it either for administrative or other reasons... We [British Officials] did not set ourselves up as the rulers of the country, but merely tried to pass onto them any experience or knowledge we had which might be of value.[26]

Thus, after the 1920s, British policy in South Yemen was aimed at administrative and constitutional development. However, in an attempt to preserve traditional structures in the Princedoms and a firm British grip over Aden, this policy was exercised in the form of indirect rule in the Protectorate and in an interventionary direct rule in Aden. Hence, British officials intended to develop Aden differently and more rapidly than the Protectorate.

In the late 1930s and particularly after the Second World War new circumstances enabled Britain to institutionalise a more uniform and more definite policy in South Yemen. The new considerations influencing British policy were somewhat conflicting. On one hand strategic demands influenced Britain to entrench and strengthen its hold over South Yemen. On the other hand, British officials were under pressure to grant the South Yemenis greater self government. Aden's strategic importance grew in the late 1940s: first, despite the fact that India became independent in 1947, Aden remained a crucial link in Britain's communication lines to other areas of influence in the Far East like Singapore, Burma and Ceylon. Secondly, in the light of the emerging Cold War, Britain's bases in Aden made it a vital outpost for western control over the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, Bāb al-Mandab and East Africa. According to a concept set out in a 1957 Defence White Paper, both Britain and the United States would enlarge their

military presence in the Indian Ocean, notably by increasing the numbers of aircraft and infantry carriers. The paper emphasised that these fleets would depend on a number of vital land bases, such as Aden and Singapore.[27] Thirdly, Aden's importance increased significantly after Britain had evacuated Suez in 1954 and Cyprus in 1958. Aden was then Britain's major outpost in the region and in 1959 it became the headquarters of British forces in the Middle East. In 1961 British forces were despatched from Aden to help Kuwayt to deal with an invasion by Iraqi forces. Consequently Aden's regional military significance as a major base from which Britain could defend the conservative, pro-western, Arab states, grew further. Since some of these states were also oil producers, Britain, by defending them from attacks by radical Arab states, could to some extent, secure the stability of friendly Arab regimes and the vital flow of oil.[28]

The local situation also contributed to Britain's mounting interest in Aden and the Protectorate. The area was chronically unstable because of protracted disputes among tribes and Princedoms. The differing levels of development among various Princedoms, a fact which becomes most evident when comparing the more developed Princedoms of Ḥadramawt with the lesser developed Princedoms of the Western Protectorate (except for Laḥaj), caused further tension. Therefore British officials felt driven to undertake new projects which were intended to ease tensions and to narrow development gaps. This process, when compared to their earlier policy, inevitably led to increased British intervention in the Protectorate and to a wide range of contacts among the Princedoms.

However, Britain had to balance its perceived need to intervene in the Protectorate against the local population's demand for greater participation in their country's political affairs. This demand was a response to the spreading ideas of Arab nationalism as well as to the post-war popularity of the idea of democracy. Sir Tom Hickinbotham, one of the architects of the future Federation explained, that following the growing war-time contacts between South Yemen and the west, the wish to eliminate tyranny and to implement democracy markedly expanded. "These people [the Adenese] have become accustomed to a democratic system of government, not only in Aden, but also in countries in the West to which many of them travel" wrote T. Hickinbotham.[29] In fact their attempts to regulate relations in the Protectorate, made British officials even more aware of the necessity to widen the legitimacy of local Sultāns by introducing elections and other means of increasing the local population's political participation.[30]

It was, therefore, clear that Britain would extend its rule over South Yemen and even entrench it. As E. Monroe noted, the fact that South Yemeni affairs were conducted by two authorities such as the Defence and Colonial Offices (the latter's influence was already declining) which were

insensitive to nationalist-political changes reinforced this tendency.[31] But British officials in Aden actually expressed an opposite inclination, pressing for greater constitutional rights for the local population. Already in May 1956, on a visit to Aden, the Minister of State at the Colonial Office, Lord Lloyd, contrived to combine both viewpoints:

> ...The degree of constitutional development and the pace at which it can be realised must depend on the sense of responsibility which is displayed by the people of the Colony and their leaders. There is no reason why you should not expect to achieve further constitutional development in due course.... But I should like you to understand 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 aim beyond that of a considerable degree of internal self-government.... Her Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the importance of Aden both strategically and economically within the commonwealth is such that they cannot foresee the possibility of any fundamental relaxation of their responsibilities for the colony.[32]

In practice, a regime based on such a combining of policies could only be established on administrative and constitutional innovations. The differences between Princedoms and tribes had therefore to be taken into account. All this led to the idea of a federation. Britain thought that the introduction of such a scheme would not only foster its hold over South Yemen and at the same time bestow constitutional rights on the local population, but would also facilitate the development of the Princedoms without wrecking the diverse traditions inherent in the Protectorate. According to Hickinbotham the initial ideas for a federal scheme developed in the 1940s.

In 1954 these ideas ripened; the chief British adviser to the Western Protectorate, G.K.N. Trevaskis, then proposed that two federations should be established, in Ḥadramawt and in the Western Protectorate. Each would be run by a supreme committee composed of the Sultāns of each region and a permanent committee composed of their assistants. Aden's Governor would be the High Commissioner of both federations, in charge of customs, communications, planning, budgeting, education and public health. All other relevant matters would be left to the Sultāns, among whom the High Commissioner would serve as an "Honest Broker".[33] The scheme was thus intended to contain all the components of British policy in the area: British domination, authority given to local rulers, development and maintenance of the separate existence of the Princedoms, Aden itself was not included in the federal scheme. Several Sultāns initially gave their consent to the scheme but

intractable disputes were revealed which rendered the plan fruitless.[34] In addition, the wider the gap between Aden's constitutional development and that of the Princedoms, the more difficult it became to integrate Aden within the federal planning. This became evident in 1955 when for the first time, four of Aden's Constitutional Assembly members were elected and again in 1958 when it was decided that the majority of Assembly members would be elected. No similar development occurred in the Protectorate.[35]

Nevertheless, in the 1950s there were several processes which hastened the establishment of a federation, notably the growing influence of Nāsirism. A corollary to this process was North Yemen's joining the United Arab Republic, composed of Egypt and Syria. This act worried not only the British but also some of the Sultāns, whose Princedoms had for a long time been exposed to North Yemeni ventures. These were the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Bayḥān, the Sultān ᶜAbdullah Ibn Aḥamad from Fadlī and the Sultan Ḥusayn from ᶜAwdhalī. They became advocates for the Federation among both their fellow rulers, and the British. On 11 February 1959 the establishment of the Federation of South Arabia was announced. The six founding Princedoms were: Bayḥān, ᶜAwdhalī, Fadlī, Lower Yāfiᶜī, Dāliᶜ and Upper ᶜAwlaqī. In late 1959 Laḥaj joined, in 1960 ᶜAqrabī and Dathīnah, in 1963 Hawshabī and Shuᶜayb, and in 1965 ᶜAlawī Mufallaḥī and lower ᶜAwlaqī followed suit. By 1966, the Federation comprised all South Yemeni Princedoms, with the exception of the three Princedoms of Ḥadramawt (Quᶜaytī, Kathīrī and Mahrah) and Upper Yāfiᶜī.

The principle of self Government was most evident in the Federal Constitution. Six members from each Princedom formed a Legislative Council accordingly. The right to endorse their proposed laws and all executive rights rested with an executive council (known as "The Supreme Federal Council") which comprised all the Sultān members. The post of Chairman of the Council rotated among its members. The Federal Government was made responsible for foreign relations, federal security, customs public works, coinage, public health, educational planning and transport. A Federal Court to arbitrate inter-Princedom disputes was also founded. The Federal balance was secured by authorising the Sultāns, as heads of their Princedoms, to deal with companies and contracts engaged in economic development, criminal matters, education, health, employment, local taxation and control over units of local guards. The Sultāns were also authorised to appoint ministers to serve on executive councils in the Princedoms.[36] By relying on elements like the Sayyids, merchants, tribal chieftains and indeed on the Sultāns to fill these posts, another principle of British policy was carried out, namely, the preservation of traditional groups known as "dola" [dawlah]).

However, the British were careful to secure for themselves over-all control in the Federation. The British Governor of

Aden carrying the title of High Commissioner, became head of state. According to the Treaty of Friendship signed between Britain and the Federation on 11 February 1959, the British remained responsible for the Federation's foreign affairs, its budgeting, administrative and security planning and for the training and command of the Federal Army. Any change in the Federation's frontiers also required British approval. Furthermore, the High Commissioner had the right to declare "a state of emergency" in the Federation (according to Paragraph 15 of the first part of the constitution) in which case he could suspend any institution or political body.[37]

Aden joined the Federation only in January 1963. The reasons for this delay were indicative of the problems prevalent in South Yemen. In the 1960s there were more constitutional developments. On 2 October 1962 a constitution for Aden was introduced. Civil rights, including freedoms of expression, and political organisation; the prohibition of racial discrimination and the obligation to abide by the law, were officially granted. A new Executive Assembly was set up, five of whose ten members were appointed by the Governor and the other five elected. Its members were titled "ministers". Hence, despite being a British colony, Aden enjoyed constitutional development to an extent unknown in the Princedoms which created an even greater discrepancy between the city and the Protectorate. Unlike the Protectorate Princedoms, Aden enjoyed an expanding economy, a growing population and a dynamic life style. In the 1950s, political organisations, trade unions, new educational institutions and several newspapers were founded (see below). Aden's elite, a part of which was non-Arab, consisted of rich businessmen, who, in spite of being a minority, practically ran the city and were favoured by the British. Electoral franchise in the city was based on property ownership and wealth, consequently the members of this elite also constituted Aden's electorate and executives. It was this group which argued against Aden joining the Federation. They did not want to become involved in the inter-Princedom rivalries, nor to contribute to the Princedom's under-developed economy nor to support or to absorb their poor and unskilled manpower. Having been under British occupation for over 110 years, an occupation which had recently introduced a type of constitutional regime, these people were also opposed to falling under the "destructive influence" of the Protectorate "Kings".[38]

For over three years British officials tried to persuade Aden's notables to drop their opposition. They promised Aden a senior position in the Federation and further measures of autonomy. But the strongest arguments employed by British officials were couched in economic and strategic terms: a semi-independent polity would flourish only if it was based on the unity and co-operation of all surrounding forces. This was an argument which appealed to the British Parliament as

well as to the notables in Aden's legislature. "Events all over the world [relating to Malaysia, the European Common Market and others] show that isolation is madness" declared Ḥasan ʿAlī Bayūmī, one of these notables.[39]

Since summer 1961, negotiations about Aden's joining the Federation had been held in London and Aden. Eventually in August 1962 an agreement to include Aden in the Federation was signed. Aden would join the Federation in January 1963 and in this framework would gradually achieve full autonomy, which would ultimately lead to independence. If after seven years, two-thirds of Aden's legislature would decide that Aden had suffered from being within the Federation and that this condition could not be improved, then the city would be able to leave the Federation. Aden joined the Federation on the due date, having resolved the customs and transport problems between the city and the princedoms and the difficulties which had arisen over Aden's political representation in the ation. Being the most populated unit in the Federation, Aden received 24 seats in the Federal legislature, more than any other unit. However, Aden remained a British colony and kept its separate constitution.[40]

The administrative and constitutional changes which culminated in the establishment of The Federation of South Arabia were the foundations for additional reforms, which were designed to develop a social and economic infrastructure. These reforms received the term "forward policy". Already in the 1920s, in conjunction with the RAF's activities in the Protectorate, air routes from Aden to al-Mukallah and Shiḥr in Ḥadramawt were established. Later, numerous roads, both in the Ḥadramawt and the Western Protectorate were paved, notably the "al-Kāf" road, opened in 1958, linking Say'ūn to al-Mukallah on the Ḥadrami shore. An additional road from Aden to al-Mukallah was built, to link both parts of South Yemen. In 1963, about 9,000 lories and 19,000 passengers passed through Aden and along the Protectorates' roads.

Road building precipitated the problem of protecting the traffic. In the 1930s, the British expanded their actions against tribes who had been engaged in caravan looting and inter-tribal fighting. Commencing in 1934 in the Western Protectorate and in 1937 in Ḥadramawt, an all-out operation of "peace on the roads" was carried out which, in fact, was aimed at pacifying the incorrigible tribes. Local British resident advisers, R.A.B. Hamilton in the Western Protectorate and Ingrams in Ḥadramawt, conducted this operation; Ingrams who up to 1945 had gradually brought about a measure of tranquility among the chronically warring tribes of Ḥadramawt, concluding advisory and peace treaties with them, carried out his assignment in a particularly impressive manner.[41] Occasionally the RAF was used to maintain road security and to subdue especially rebellious tribes. However, the regular means to ensure road and political security were para-military, tribal guard units.

Already in 1928 a "Ḥadrami Legion" was established on the lines of the Trans-Jordanian "Arab Legion"; in 1934, "Tribal Guards", composed of members of the Ḥawshabī and ᶜAwdhalī tribes and in 1937 "Government Guards" were formed and put at the disposal of the Protectorate Sulṭāns. The most impressive body was the "Aden Protectorate Levies" which had been established in 1928 as a quasi-regular army for the Western Protectorate. These levies were composed of members of various tribes, notably the ᶜAwlaqī, under the command of British and Arab officers. In 1962, the "Levies" and the "Tribal Guards" were united and became the Federal Regular Army (henceforth: FA).[42]

In the 1940s the British started to assist the local economy. Until then South Yemen's main economic activity, agriculture, had suffered from lack of planning, financing and irrigation. At first, British officials limited their involvement to granting loans and providing seed, to owners of land and water pumps.[43] From 1944, special attention was given to areas such as Dathīnah (west of Wāḥidī), ᶜAwdhalī and Abyan, bordering Fadlī and Lower Yāfiᶜī, which were particularly fertile. Till 1954, utilising a £270 million loan given by the development fund of the British Colonial Office, about 45,000 acres in Abyan were ploughed for the cultivation of cotton. Ten years later the Abyan project brought in about £1.5 million profit. For this reason, as well as for its co-operative and successful conduct (the Abyan Board included both British officials in Aden and local entrepreneurs) the Abyan project became an example, which was copied fairly successfully in Dathīnah and Laḥaj.[44] In 1947, development projects started in Wādī Ḥadramawt, Bayḥan, ᶜAwdhalī and other places.[45]

Thus several economic branches were developed. In 1962, cotton fields extended to 55,000 acres, which comprised thirty percent of the cultivated land, whereas in 1952 they extended only to 10,000 acres. In 1962, solgum fields expanded to 70,000 acres and cornfields to 8,500. In 1963, the cotton yield was 44,000 tons, solgum 26,500 tons and corn 4,700 tons. Substantial improvements were made in the systems of irrigation, seed supply, ploughing, fertilizing and above all, in the mechanization of agriculture; by 1960 there were about 500 tractors in South Yemen.[46] In the 1960s, fishing yielded between 60,000 and 70,000 tons; for the first time factories for processing fish were built in Dathīnah and Quᶜaytī, which became the cornerstone of industry in South Yemen. In 1963 the income from the new aluminium industry was £140,000 per annum, from cigarettes £10,000, linen £41,500, red bricks £92,000, cement bricks £35,000, salt £78,000 and from weaving £90,000.[47] In the 1960s, the Pan American Oil Company prospected unsuccessfully for oil in Ḥadramawt.[48]

Aden port itself expanded impressively. The port served as a vital link between Africa and Asia and more so on the

Suez Canal - Red Sea route, between Europe and Africa, Asia and Australia. After the Second World War, apart from a brief period following the Suez War in October 1956, activity in the port was constantly increasing. Between 1952 and 1954, the port's management, the "Port Trust", invested about £3.5 million and in 1962 another £900,000 to deepen and enlarge the port and to improve the facilities of the old pier. Consequently, the port (mainly at its new extension near "Little Aden") could handle large tankers and ships of 42,000 tons and 900 feet length. It also served smaller ships for internal and local trade. In the early 1960s, about 6,000 vessels per annum anchored in Aden.[49] The port then employed over 10,000 workers. The port facilitated transit trade, coal and oil shipping. After the war, the British Petroleum Company decided that it would be cheaper to refine Kuwayti crude oil in Aden than anywhere else. So in 1952 it invested £45 million for the building of refineries near Aden's port. In the following years, over 5,000,000 tons of oil per annum were refined in Aden. About 4,500 tankers called at Aden every year to transport the oil. In the early 1960s, the refineries and the depot employed about 2,500 workers.[50] Aden thus emerged as an uniquely located oil refining and trade centre. This was the foundation for the city's becoming a major business centre: banks, maritime insurance, oil corporations, finance houses and airlines from both the Far East and the West established offices in Aden and attracted local and foreign entrepreneurs.[51] Aden was also the site for large British military bases, in which 20,000 local workers were employed.[52]

This survey of South Yemen's development would be incomplete without describing changes in education. From the early 1950s, efforts were made both to encourage urban youths to study and to bring education to the Beduins. Skilled teaching staff was recruited from among the Sayyids, administrators and graduates of local schools. In 1963, there were about 161 primary schools in the Federation, 34 preparatory schools for higher education, 15 secondary schools and three teacher-training colleges. These schools were attended by 36,000 male pupils and 7,500 girls, who were taught by over 1,000 teachers. 230 students attended the teachers' colleges.
In the same years, 47 students studied in Britain and another 15 in Arab countries.[53] In 1963 23 newspapers appeared in South Yemen, of which six were dailies; four appeared in Aden and two in the Protectorate.[54]

So it seems that after the 1930s, the balance between the competing forces of conservatism and innovation, which characterised South Yemen's modern history, tilted towards the latter. It was the British who had the initiative and the means to embark on a large scale process of modernisation. This process had a two-fold significance. First, the administrative, economic and educational fabrics of South Yemeni society were altered; however, as happened in many other cases,

these innovations had a conflicting and irritant effect on South Yemeni society. As E. Kedourie has pointed out, European ideas of progress and democracy intruded into Third World societies, have often aroused an anti-European reaction.[55] In South Yemen too, British efforts precipitated such a reaction. Moreover, the effects of the reforms and the British policy which loomed behind them were analagous to what C.H. Moore, in regard to French policy in North Africa, called "Colonial Dialectics".[56] The administrative, economic and educational fabrics of South Yemeni society were altered; however, as had happened in many other cases, these innovations did not amount to a coherent, complete and acceptable new order. Various groups lost their traditional social and political position and had great difficulties in adapting to the reforms. Consequently they searched for new social and political bases. Secondly, the British introduced the reforms according to their own priorities. Therefore, the reforms did not spread equally and symetrically through South Yemeni society. Sometimes in some places intervention was direct and massive, while elsewhere it was indirect and restrained. Occasionally the reforms fitted well into the old order, but often they produced rapid change. Simultaneously the reforms eased specific problems in some places, but escalated old conflicts in others.

The conflicts which precipitated the events which occurred between 1963 and 1967 rose out of situations in which the British inspired reforms either caused new problems or exacerbated old ones. The leading groups in the conflagration crystallised around the following premises: first, the actual consequences of British rule in South Yemen -- the reforms resulted in an entrenched British presence, but also gave birth to relatively educated and frustrated local groups who longed for independence. These constituted the main nationalist group. Secondly, the reforms either exacerbated or generated social divisions all over South Yemen. Various groups who regarded themselves socially deprived and offended thus emerged against the newly founded ruling establishment. Thirdly, the reforms applied differently in the various South Yemeni Princedoms, thus sharpening the administrative divisions and different levels of development among these Princedoms and notably between them and Aden town, a fact which further fuelled the opposition.

Notes

1. The area intended here borders on the Indian Ocean to the South, ʿUmān to the East, Saudi Arabia and North Yemen to the West and the Red Sea to the West. According to the enclosed map, the area included the colony of Aden and the Eastern and Western Protectorates. Henceforth, this area will be referred to as South Yemen, or by a geographic-historical

name -- "the Protectorate" or "Aden".

2. The Emirates are shown on the map. On the political-historical characteristics of South Yemen in the past few centuries see: R.J. Gavin, Aden Under British Rule 1839-1967 (London: Hurst, 1975), henceforth: Gavin, F. Halliday Arabia Without Sultans (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 153-177, henceforth: Halliday, G. Waterfield, Sultans of Aden (London: John Murray, 1968), henceforth: Waterfield. Other books devote their first chapters to this subject. These will be cited in the course of this work.

3. On the characteristics of stratification see K. Svalastoga, Social Differentiation (New York: D. Mckay, 1965), pp. 48-53.

4. A.S. Bujra, "Political Conflict and Stratification in the Hadramawt" -- Part I, MES, 3 (July 1967), pp. 355-357, henceforth: Bujra, 1967.

5. On the traditional stratification in South Yemen: A.S. Bujra, The Politics of Stratification, a Study of Political Change in a South Arabian Town (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 13-53, henceforth: Bujra, 1971, R.A.B. Hamilton, "The Social Organization of the Tribes of the Aden Protectorate," -- Part I, II, RCAJ, 30 (May and September 1943), pp. 142-157, 267-274, henceforth: Hamilton, D. Ingrams, A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate (Asmara, 1949), henceforth: D. Ingrams. Detailed data could also be found in: Naval Intelligence Division, Western Arabia and the Red Sea, Geographical Handbook series (June, 1946).

6. On the status of the Sādah see all the sources cited in the previous note, as well as: R.B. Sergeant, The Sayyids of the Hadramaut (London: Cambridge University Press, 1957), henceforth: Sergeant, Sayyids, Sallāḥ al-Bakrī al-Yāfiᶜī, Tarīkh Ḥadramawt al-Siyāsi, Vol. II (al-Qāhirah: Matbaᶜat al-Bābi al-Ḥalabi, 1936), henceforth: al-Bakrī.

7. On immigration and immigrants see: L.W.C. Van Den Berg, Le Hadramaut et les Colonies Arabs dans L'Archipel Indien (Batavia: Imprimen du Gouvernement, 1886), pp. 104-124, henceforth: Van Den Berg, H. Ingrams, A Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions of the Hadhramaut (London: Colonial Office No. 123, 1937), henceforth: H. Ingrams, Report, B.G. Martin, "Migration from the Hadramaut to East Africa and Indonesia, c. 1200 to 1900, " Research Bulletin, 7 (December 1971), pp. 1-21, henceforth: Martin, Muḥammad Ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Shihāb al-ᶜAlāwī al-Ḥadramī, Mulḥaqāt li-Shaqīb Arsalān, Ḥādir al-ᶜĀlam al-Islamī, 3rd Volume (Cairo: 1352/1934), pp. 157-183. See also al-Bakrī and D. Ingrams, op. cit.

8. See Martin, H. Ingrams, Report, in pages specified in previous note.

9. Van Den Berg, pp. 184-185, H. Ingrams, Report, pp. 146-147. See also W.R. Roff, The Origins of the Malay

Nationalism (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 37-40.

10. H. Ingrams, Report, p. 38.

11. Gavin, pp. 248-249. The events are described in detail in Gavin's first chapters as well as in J. Plass and U. Gehrke, Die Aden Guenze in der Südarabienfrage: 1900-1967 (Opladen: C.W. Leske Verlag, 1967), pp. 1-93, henceforth: Plass and Gehrke.

12. See Gavin, chapters three, four and five. Thus the British intervened in the dispute between the Quʿayṭī and the Kathīrī in Ḥadramawt in the 1860s.

13. Ibid., p. 252.

14. Ibid., pp. 257-258.

15. Ibid., pp. 255-257.

16. Ibid., pp. 280-287.

17. Ibid., pp. 301-305.

18. Ibid., pp. 254-255. See also: T. Little, South Arabia, Arena of Conflict (London: Pall Mall, 1968), pp. 14-36, henceforth: Little.

19. Gavin, p. 256.

20. Ibid., pp. 256-257.

21. On the advisory treaties and the status of advisers see H. Ingrams, 'Political Development in the Hadramaut,' International Affairs, 21 (1945), pp. 236-252, henceforth: Ingrams, 'Political Development,' H.J. Liebesny, 'Administration and Legal Development in Arabia: Aden Colony and Protectorate,' MEJ, 9 (Autumn 1955), pp. 385-396, henceforth: Liebesny.

22. According to Aden Protectorate Order in Council, March 18, 1937, Ibid.

23. Gavin, pp. 279-287. See also: Sir P. Sasson, 'Air Power in the Middle East,' RCAJ, 30 (July 1933), pp. 394-405.

24. Liebesny, pp. 385-396.

25. Ibid., p. 385.

26. H. Ingrams, Arabia and the Isles (London: J. Murray, 1942), p. 354, henceforth: Ingrams, Arabia.

27. G. King, Imperial Outpost -- Aden, Chatham House Essays (London: O.U.P., 1964), pp. 5-10, henceforth: King.

28. Loc cit., Little, p. 77 and E. Monroe, 'Kuwayt and Aden: A Contrast of British Policies,' MEJ, 18(Winter 1964), pp. 63-74, henceforth: Monroe.

29. Sir T. Hickinbotham, Aden (London: F. Cass, 1958), pp. 162-164, henceforth: Hickinbotham. See also Gavin, pp. 331-332.

30. Sir B. Reilly, Aden and the Yemen (London: H.M.S.O., 1960), p. 15, henceforth: Reilly, J.Y. Brinton, Aden and the Federation of South-Arabia, an Occasional Paper of the American Society of International Law (Washington D.C., 1964), pp. 1-3, henceforth: Brinton.

31. Monroe, pp. 63-74.

32. Little, pp. 34-35.

33. Gavin, p. 332. For details see also Hickinbotham, 164-170.

34. Loc cit. See also Brinton, pp. 4-5.

35. Ibid., pp. 2-4. Halliday criticizes from a leftist point of view, as these ideas were based on the support of the wealthy merchants. See Halliday, pp. 169-177.

36. Reilly, p. 52, Brinton, pp. 4, 8-9, Sir K. Trevaskis, The Shades of Amber (London: Hutchinson, 1968), p. 146, henceforth: Trevaskis. This subject will also be discussed further in this work.

37. See in the general constitution which determined that Aden be annexed to the Federation in 1963: Aden and South Arabian Protectorate, The Federation of South Arabia (Accession of Aden) 1963, No. 82 (London: H.M.S.O., 1963), henceforth: Constitution. See also: Treaty of Friendship and Protection between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Federation of Arab Emirates of the South, 11th February, 1959 (London: H.M.S.O., 1959), henceforth: Treaty.

38. See Constitution, Muḥammad ᶜUmar al-Ḥabashī, al-Yaman al-Janūbī Siyāsiyyan wa-Iqtisādiyyan wa-Ijtimāᶜiyyan (Bayrūt: Dār al-Taliᶜah, 1968), pp. 31-33, Gavin, pp. 342-343.

39. Cited by Brinton, pp. 4-5. The same arguments are used in Fatāt al-Jazīrah March 28, 1961.

40. Many sources discuss the accession of Aden to the Federation. On the implications of this step see: Constitution, Little, pp. 73-83, Brinton, pp. 8-10, The Times, December 18, 1962, Ch. Johnston, The View from Steamer Point (London: Collins, 1964), pp. 98-105, henceforth: Johnston.

41. A Handbook on the Federation and Protectorate of South Arabia (Aden, 1963), pp. 33-42, henceforth: Handbook. See also: Gavin, pp. 299-305, H. Ingrams, Arabia. This last book is actually a description of Ingrams' activity in the subject.

42. Gavin, pp. 298-306, Reilly, pp. 13-14, Handbook, pp. 350-352.

43. See H. Ingrams, Arabia.

44. Al-Ḥabashī, pp. 222-234, Johnston, pp. 147-156, Gavin, pp. 314-315, Little, pp. 129-130. The profits from cotton per Fedan amounted to £192 after the deduction of expenses, see: al-Ḥabashī, p. 254.

45. Al-Ḥabashī, pp. 215-217.

46. Ibid., p. 279, Handbook, pp. 14-16.

47. Al-Ḥabashī, pp. 289, 340, Handbook, pp. 19-20, 27-28, 291-292.

48. Al-Ḥabashī, pp. 294-303, Handbook, pp. 27-28.

49. Little, pp. 122-123, King, pp. 42-43, The Times, July 24, 1962.

50. King, p. 44.

51. Ibid., p. 46. It is worth noting that in the port of Aden goods could be purchased duty-free.

52. The Times of November 29, 1963, estimated that salaries paid to the workers at the base alone amounted to £107,500. See also: King, p. 45.

53. Handbook, pp. 161-167.

54. Ibid., pp. 181-183.

55. Kedourie expresses these views in his introduction to: E. Kedourie (ed.), Nationalism in Asia and Africa (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1970), henceforth: Kedourie. On the problems of modernization in the Middle East, see an interesting discussion in: M. Berger, The Arab World Today (New York: Doubleday, 1964), henceforth: Berger. See also: al-Qiyādah al-ᶜĀmmah lil-Jabhah fi Jumhūriyyat al-Yaman al-Janūbiyyah al-Shaᶜbiyyah, 'Barnāmij Istikmāl Marḥalat al-Taḥarrur al-Watanī al-Dīmūquāṭī,' Dirāsāt ᶜArabiyyah 4 (No. 6, 1968), pp. 129-130, henceforth: Completion. This is an ideological manifesto of the present regime in South Yemen, and reflects nationalist attitudes to the British rule. Compare: Al-Lajnah al-Tanzīmiyyah lil-Jabhah al-Qawmiyyah, Kayfa Nafham Tajribat al-Yaman al-Janūbiyyah al-Shaᶜbiyyah (Bayrūt: Dār al-Taliᶜah lil-Ṭibāᶜah wa-al-Nashr), p. 20, henceforth, Executive Committee.

56. C.H. Moore, Politics in North Africa: Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (Boston: Little Brown, 1970), pp. 38-39.

PART ONE

EARLY NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS:

CRISIS AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Chapter 1

THE MAKING OF CONFLICTS

The nature of the reforms in the Protectorate contributed significantly to the conflicts which were pursued in the political sphere. The British intended to strengthen the governments which already existed in the Princedoms. Apparently, they did this because local governments were in themselves the most obvious target for reform as well as the most likely channel through which to introduce further reforms. The Resident Adviser's primary concern was to find a loyal group to absorb and further the reforms.

They found the local existing notables; Sultāns, Sayyids, tribal chieftains, merchants and others to be suitable. Such people became the operators and the beneficiaries of the reforms. It seems that the "Dola" were not only the first reliable group that British officials encountered in Aden and the Protectorate but were also individuals who conformed to their image of "oriental leaders". Trevaskis commented that:

> ... in setting out to construct a federal government, we had to build on the only element of stability offered by an endemically unstable society: the clans' capricious and invariably qualified acceptance of the Dola's leadership.[1]

The notables, in their turn, became the main benefactors of the reforms, because they knew how to adapt and then to exploit the possibilities inherent in the reforms, in a way that would best serve their economic and political interests. R.J. Gavin noted that "there was inevitably a bias toward those families which had by custom provided candidates for the Sultanate".[2] The changes in the Protectorate's governmental system did bring about constitutional development but they also served to strengthen the Sultān's own and his government's position. The Sultāns were granted the right to appoint and to dismiss ministers from local executive councils; through these councils, the Sultans controlled education, health, public works and the security of their Princedoms, as well as

the budgets for these activities. In various Princedoms improvements were introduced in the functioning of the Sultāns' bureaucracies: e.g., in the collection of taxes, the control of expenditure, in government officials' aptitude and in the organisation and training of the Sultāns' private guards. British assistance, invested either in the political authority of the Resident Advisers or in the military levies, brought benefits to those who held power.[3] Bujra commented that : "Ultimate power had been . . . vested in the state, which in turn delegated its authority to its agents, the administrators and the judges at various levels".[4]

But there were people for whom the strengthening of these notables was disadvantageous. These were tribesmen, lower ranking administrators, newly educated teachers, peasants and others. There were various reasons for their antagonism to the government notables. Tribesmen suffered from the introduction of roads, lorries and the levies which guarded them, because such things prevented them from exercising their traditional occupations: acting as guides and leaders for caravans, looting and levying protection money on them. Such tribesmen viewed the Sultāns and other notables as pretenders, who, in terms of power had previously been their inferiors, but had become "heads of state" thanks to an "imposed British order".[5] In 1928 the Subayḥī tribe revolted in Dāliᶜ after a road crossing the Princedom had been paved. Between 1934 and 1938, after the construction of roads, tribal flare ups broke out in Fadlī, Lower Yāfiᶜī and ᶜAwdhalī, which were stilled only after extensive R.A.F. bombing.[6] In the early 1950s, when increased trade between Aden and the Princedoms justified the building of a road from upper ᶜAwlaqī to the beach, the Rabīzī tribes' immediate response was to rebel. "Shame on your government for robbing us of our rights", one of the rebels told Trevaskis.[7]

Lower-ranking administrators and teachers did not feel deprived of traditional rights but resented being obstructed from asserting what they considered to be their present and potential rights. This derived from the fact that the reforms also opened up new avenues of advancement for officials, teachers, officers and others. Within the ambit of the "forward policy", such people acquired new professional and intellectual skills and were in greater demand as tools to hasten the Princedoms' development. This being so, these groups complained of low salaries, slow professional advancement, and bad management by the notables of the new economic enterprises. The new administrators demanded a share in the ownership and management of these enterprises.[8] It should be stressed that such complaints were also often voiced by certain members of the notability because of what they regarded as discrimination in management and profit sharing by the British, in favour of other members of this group. To prevent nepotism and to impose proper management norms, Trevaskis

occasionally had to stop members of leading families from sharing the profits of a certain enterprise, which often triggered an angry backlash.[9]

The situation of peasants deteriorated because of the unequal distribution of land ownership and from mounting difficulties of renting land. Traditionally, almost the whole of South Yemen's land was owned by Sultāns, Sayyids (who controlled vast religiously donated wakf lands) and tribal chiefs who owned land which had originally been their tribes' grazing zones. After the new enterprises in Abyan, Laḥaj and other places had proved successful, several city-based businessmen also acquired fiefs.[10] Even under the "forward policy" the principles of heritage and leasing were governed by Islamic law and local traditions. Cultivation was practically in the hands of peasants who leased the land from its owner; theoretically, profit was supposed to be shared between the lessor and lessee according to the proportional investment by each party. In practice, the peasants, who should have had the lion's share of the profits, earned considerably less than the owners.[11]

The success of the new agricultural projects prompted a growing demand for land, which in its turn, led to a considerable increase in rents. Even though the notable landowners then invested no more than 20 percent of the amounts needed for cultivation, they contrived to make a profit of over 50 percent, by manipulating the market of tenants and by selling the crops for high prices. This situation led to constant tension between peasants and notables and to several tribal-peasants' uprisings.[12]

In places like Laḥaj, Dathīnah, Abyan and in Ghayl Ba-Wazīr in Ḥadramawt, co-operative systems developed around the new enterprises which helped peasants in as much as a part of the profit was diverted to social works such as hospital building, development and savings funds, piped water and electricity in the villages. However, since these co-operative enterprises had been particularly profitable, they mostly attracted notables who had the means to purchase land and only a few peasants became landowners incorporated in the co-operatives, able fully to enjoy the economic boom in these areas. Moreover, in the late 1950s South Yemeni cotton export prices declined due to the competition of American long fibre-cotton companies, and local landowners lost considerable sums. As a result, they off-set their losses by selling elsewhere at inflated prices the cotton which was intended for local markets. This too had an adverse effect on the local population. Only after 1961, when local cotton growers established a common cotton reservoir for internal needs, to be sold at fixed prices, did this crisis ease somewhat.[13]

How did these various tensions crystallise and erupt into open conflicts? In Ḥadramawt, where social stratification was particularly rigid, the conflict evolved around the

positions of the Sayyids. Sayyid families such as the al-Kāf, al-ᶜAttās, al-ᶜAydarūs and others were among the staunchest collaborators with the British in developing Ḥadramawt. The Sayyid Abū Bakr al-Kāf accompanied Ingrams on his inter-tribal mediation visits and contributed £50,000 to the building of the road that bore his name. R.B. Sergeant viewed him as a "political genius" and as "the true leader of Ḥadramawt."[14] A Sayyid of the al-ᶜAttās family became the Wazir (chief minister) of the Quᶜaytī Sultān and other members of this family constituted the majority of Ḥuraydah's town council. Sayyids also became teachers and judges in the newly established apparatuses of the Princedoms.[15] The common denominator of these and other Sayyid families was their links with the East Indies; it was there where the Sayyids had ventured and succeeded in politics and business and where they learnt to appreciate the benefits of an organised European administration, which they tried to establish in Ḥadramawt.

However, another phenomenon which occurred in the East Indies greatly influenced Ḥadramawt. Common Ḥadramis were exposed to a European administration, to possibilities of social and economic progress and to different cultures and peoples. For the first time in the 20th century these conditions seemed to have overwhelmed the Ḥadramis' traditional inclination towards the values of their homeland and as a result the rigid stratification of Ḥadrami society was shaken. In 1913, in Surabaya, a group called Jamᶜiyat al-Irshād ("The Society of Learning") was founded, whose members opposed the Sayyids' position and role in society. Influenced by Muḥammad ᶜAbduh's and Rashīd Ridā's ideas of Islamic Modernism, they declared the Sayyids to be people who had unlawfully and against the Islamic spirit of equality, arrogated to themselves a position of seniority in Ḥadrami society. To maintain their position, so the Irshādis claimed, the Sayyids exploited their roles as spiritual sages, to instill prejudice (Khurafāt) and stagnation (jumūd) among the Hadrami people. Originally, the dispute between the two groups was confined to the East Indies and the Sayyids, who governed religious life in Ḥadramawt managed to stifle the Irshādi religiously-modernist propaganda; however from the 1930s, the spirit of anti-Sayyid opposition had imbued Ḥadramawt with a more secular character, which brought about a deeply rooted and widespread division in Ḥadrami society.[16]

This must have been the background to the Sayyids' cooperation with the British. Deeply worried by the activities of the Irshādis (with whom they were familiar both from the East Indies and from Ḥadramawt itself), the Sayyids viewed the new British inspired regime as an appropriate orbit in which firmly to secure their position and so they chose to integrate themselves within the new system. The Sayyids' situation symbolised the crisis which gripped Ḥadrami society. On one hand, their economic and political ventures, both in the East Indies

and in the Hadramawt, drastically dented their image as "holy ones" and put them on a more mundane and vulnerable plane. Moreover, due to the decline in their prestige, the Sayyids lost their traditional place in the social stratification of Ḥadramawt and ceased to be the object of veneration by other, lower strata. In fact, the new groups of teachers and administrators, and the "non-Sayyid" landowners and businessmen, who had previously been overshadowed by the Sayyids, developed new aspirations and expectations for social and professional advancement. On the other hand, the Sayyids adapted better than other groups to the new structure of the state and its members became the main functionaries of the new regime. Consequently, a sharp division was created between "an establishment" composed of Sultāns, Sayyids, large landowners and administrators who all benefitted from the new regime and an opposition composed of peasants, teachers and other administrators who opposed the "establishment."

Tribal groups, who lost their income because of the new al-Kāf road and the imposition of "Ingram's peace" in the area, and who had had continuous disputes over landownership with the Sayyids, became further entangled with them.[17] When new possibilities of advancement were offered within the Ḥadrami Legion, groups of young officers also organised in opposition to their superiors. Even groups of dissatisfied notables followed suit; Bujra described how the leader of the "non-Sayyids" in Ḥuraydah, Shaykh ᶜUmar Bashal became more actively antagonistic to the Sayyids. Like the latter, he had connections in the East Indies, claimed to have a respectable descent (though not of a Sayyid) through his wife, traded in coffee and sugar, was friendly with the Qādī and the regional state prosecuter and was a member in Ḥuraydah's town council. He led the local opposition to the Sayyids.[18]

The most blatant case of opposition to the Sayyids was the revolt by Shaykh ᶜUbayd Bin Sālih bin ᶜAbdāt, which reached its peak between 1941 and 1944 during the days of ᶜUbayd Bin Sālih's successor, ᶜUmar ᶜUbayd. He resisted the very idea of pacification propagated and supported by the British, the Sultāns and the Sayyids. The Bin ᶜAbdāts inflicted a long and difficult fight on the British and the leaders of the Quᶜaytī Princedom; they captured the town of al-Ghurfah and stirred up the surrounding tribes. Only in 1945, after extensive air raids, was ᶜUmar ᶜUbayd subdued. Interestingly, the Bin ᶜAbdāt revolt is singled out by South Yemeni historians as a nationalistic revolt and not as a tribal flare up. A deeper look into this revolt reveals that Bin ᶜAbdāt conquered al-Ghurfah in particular precisely because the town's previous rulers were Sayyids who, in practising their traditional peacekeeping role among tribes, had thereby offended the Bin ᶜAbdāt tribal shaykhs. Moreover, the Bin ᶜAbdāts had a running dispute with the al-Kāf family, which, for its part, enjoyed the support of the British

authorities. It also became evident that the Bin ᶜAbdāts had considerable wealth in Singapore; their lawyers there demanded that the British acknowledge the family members in al-Gurfah as "independent Rajahs". All that leads to the conclusion supported by Gavin, that the Bin ᶜAbdāts were, in fact, representatives of the Irshadīs in Ḥadramawt who, for the first time, led a "quasi-nationalistic" revolt, against the local establishment and the British as a whole.[19]

In the 1950s this pattern of revolt was occasionally repeated. The Quᶜaytī government tried to stop tribal migratory movements and outbreaks of violence in those places earmarked for economic development. As a result in 1955 and again in 1957 the Khāmiᶜah, Awābithah and āl-Khujūr tribes indulged in limited revolts. In 1960, due to large-scale oil explorations, the government forbad the carrying of arms and made several areas out-of-bounds. The tribes appealed against this decision and the government conceded their right in the Shuḥūrah agree- to use firearms only for hunting and for joyful demonstrations at feasts. However, these limitations proved to be intolerable for the tribes; to go without arms, they claimed, offended their traditions and exposed them to bandits and beasts.

Moreover, the prohibition to enter certain areas, which had mostly been traditional tribal grazing zones, was the last straw. In July 1960 they launched a rebellion in Wādīs Duᶜān and al-Aysar in Ḥadramawt. They also attacked convoys on the al-Kāf road. Only in August 1961 after extensive air raids and after the Ḥadrami legion had cut their supply routes, did the Khāmiᶜah tribes surrender. Six of their leaders were executed and eleven were imprisoned.[20] The large numbers of tribesmen who took part in the fighting, the fact that they revolted against their leader who had signed the Shuḥūrah agreement[21] and that they killed a Sayyid during the fighting indicate the intensity of this revolt.

Similar revolts, rising out of social grievances, also erupted in the western Protectorate. However, the larger number of Princedoms there, the new opportunities in government posts and the new economic enterprises attracted many notable families, which in itself precipitated various rivalries and disputes among their members. Several of them led these revolts. Furthermore, since western Princedoms which bordered North Yemen maintained relatively close contacts both with this state and with other Arab states, the revolts which flared up there involved crossing the border into North Yemen and the consequent adoption of "fashionable" Arab nationalist banners.

In 1953, the Rabīzī and Damᶜan tribes revolted in Upper ᶜAwlaqī and ᶜAwdhalī.[22] However, a more serious problem broke out in 1955; Ahl Abū-Bakr, a notable family from Upper ᶜAwlaqī which claimed more powerful positions revolted against their kinsmen, the leaders of this princeom,the al-Jifrī Sayyids. Members of the Abū-Bakr family recruited tribesmen from Dathīnah and Abyan and led attacks on new agricultural projects in these

areas.[23] After considerable efforts the British managed to suppress this revolt. However, the uprising was prolonged in two successive waves. After the Suez campaign one of the sons of the Amīr of Dāliᶜ, Ḥaydarah, who had been ousted from government, organised additional tribesmen both from his own Princedom and from Fadlī, ᶜAlawī and Mufallaḥī and tried to hit the same targets; this revolt was suppressed in early 1957.[24] In April 1959, with a similar tribal base, Muḥammad Abū-Bakr revolted again and for six months attacked convoys and army units in the area. In a joint effort by the R.A.F. and the FA his revolt was stopped. In June 1960 Muḥammad Abū-Bakr was killed by sniper's fire in Muqīrās.[25] It should be noted that both the Abū-Bakrs and Ḥaydarah established their headquarters in Baydā' in North Yemen from where they operated.

The revolt which most seriously affected South Yemen in the 1950s was led by the Nā'ib of Lower Yāfiᶜī, who also controlled Abyan, Muḥammad Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs al-ᶜAfīfī. He demanded that local entrepreneurs should participate more in the Abyan board, that the landowners and peasants who participated in the co-operative project should receive a larger share of the profit and that British control over the project should be reduced. Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs argued that the comparable project in Laḥaj was more profitable than the one in Abyan because the British were less involved in it.[26] His claims might have reflected a personal ambition to obtain a larger share of the Abyan Board's profits; nevertheless, they also reflected the growing ambition of those who considered themselves to be deprived -- notables, administrators and teachers -- to obtain a leading role in the running of the Protectorate.

In early 1957, Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs started to recruit tribesmen in Dāliᶜ, Fadlī and Lower Yāfiᶜī. According to Trevaskis, the actual rebellion broke out after the British authorities had refused to comply with Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs' demand to bomb a certain disobedient tribe. He then moved off to the mountains and on his way made the officers of the Abyan project and the local guards join him; this was an outstanding expression of anti-British feelings and for a while the project was paralysed.[27] Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs based himself in al-Qārah, in the Upper Yāfiᶜī-Fadlī mountains, close to the North Yemeni frontier: arms flowed to him from Baydā' and tribesmen from all over the protectorate. Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs' forces regularly launched attacks both on convoys and on military and economic installations in the neighbouring Princedoms.[28]

During 1958 these forces proclaimed themselves more and more frequently to be "anti-colonialist" fighters and called themselves "Fadlī's Tribal Commando". In February 1959 the old Sulṭān of Lower Yāfiᶜī, ᶜAydarūs Ibn Muḥsin, died; a younger brother of Muḥammad Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs was appointed his successor. As the majority of the population supported Muḥammad, an all-out rebellion in this Princedom and in others was anticipated.[29] It was only later that the British decisively intervened. In

November and December 1960 Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs' camp was bombed; an FA column managed to scatter his forces and the political supporters of the revolt were detained and expelled (see below). Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs was driven to take refuge in North Yemen.[30] Both Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs' uprising and the earlier mentioned Ahl Abū Bakr revolt contributed to the emergence of an opposition which cut across the boundaries of the previously rigid stratification; notables, administrators, teachers and landowners, in co-operation with tribesmen, against the leading establishment in the Protectorate.

Centres of acute conflicts evolved in Aden too; they also rose out of social divisions but, unlike the conflicts in the Protectorate, those in Aden also had a very distinct political-nationalist flavour. Changes in Aden's economic and demographic structures during the years following the Second World War were the primary cause of these conflicts. A demographic problem developed on the following lines. Aden's facilities had traditionally attracted immigrant labour from various places. Before the war, it was mainly European and Euro-Asian businessmen (see below) who had established themselves in Aden, while unskilled Arab workers, from the Protectorate and North Yemen, usually only settled there temporarily to make a certain amount of money. Then they would return to their families whom they had left behind. The traditional values and rigid strata thus usually remained in tact.[31] However, after the war the development of Aden's port, its oil refineries and booming business, sharply increased the town's attraction. Moreover, in the light of the relatively poorer conditions in the Protectorate, North Yemen and in the overseas African and Asian countries which South Yemenis had traditionally been in contact with, Aden's opportunities became particularly appealing. The 1950s were years of mass immigration from North Yemen and the Protectorate to Aden; in Trevaskis' words, "The Yemenis who were now flowing down ... were taking possession of Aden far more effectively than the Zeidi troops could ever have done".[32] However, Indians, Pakistanis and West Europeans; mostly businessmen and employees of business companies, also kept coming. One group of people whose immigration had considerable significance were returning South Yemenis. After East African and East Indies states had become independent, conditions for South Yemeni migrants became more difficult there. It seems that about 10,000 to 15,000 of them came back to al-Mukallah and Aden.[33] Albeit a small group, these returning migrants had experienced a different socialisation process in alien social, cultural and economic conditions. On their return they tried to practise in South Yemen what they had learned abroad.

According to a census made in 1955, Aden had 138,141 people. There were about 55,000 Arabs, mostly from old established Adenese families. Members of the wealthiest among these families were exposed to European customs and

education, they supported the British inspired reforms, ran the major private business enterprises in Aden and staffed the governmental bodies and the state bureaucracy.[34] In addition there were about 48,000 Yemeni Arabs, both from North Yemen and from the Protectorate. Unlike their predecessors, many came to Aden to settle down. They became the blue collar employees in the port and the refineries, as well as filling unskilled jobs in construction, garages, hotels and other businesses. About 10,000 Somalians worked in similar occupations and kept close contacts with their Arab counterparts. There were about 16,000 Asians, mostly Hindus, Catholics and Muslims. Each religious group preserved its distinctiveness; the non-Muslims maintained their Indian language and culture. Most of the Indians were traders, shop owners and officials. There were about 4,500 Europeans, mostly British, but also Greek, French and Italians who were prominent in the administration, ran the port and the main oil, cotton, sugar, airline and financial enterprises. According to the same census 831 Jews, mostly businessmen and jewellers were still living in Aden.[35]

This demographic composition generated conflicts on national lines. In Aden, various Arab groups opposed their European and Asian counterparts. Although the rich Arab businessmen probably worried less about non-Arab competitors, Arab officials, teachers and the unskilled workers were quite concerned and resentful about the Indians and Europeans who, albeit a minority in the city, occupied major posts which could have otherwise been in Arab hands. The fact that the number of educated Arabs steadily increased (see below) only sharpened the problem. A book published in Ḥadramawt stressed that while the local people lack "a piece of bread to survive" (Luqmat al-ʿAysh), are forced to emigrate, though hardly welcomed in their destinations, foreigners infiltrate "by illegal means . . . compete over the limited goods still left in the country. . . [and] prevent employment for the local population". The attitude towards Asian countries, once a favoured destination for South Yemeni emigrants, had thus changed in the 1950s, immigrants from these countries in South Yemen became hated competitors and the British, who allowed this to happen, even more so.[36]

The problem was highlighted in 1959 when a new law of citizenship was introduced. It allowed anybody who was either born in Aden or who had been living there for over ten years to vote for Aden's Legislative Assembly. Aden's Arabs, particularly the newcomers from North Yemen and the Protectorate, who had not lived in Aden for ten years, did not benefit from the new law and felt unfairly discriminated against in comparison to the veteran Europeans and Asians. The law, which had been initiated by the British and had passed through Aden's Legislative Assembly, which had several veteran Arab members, seemed to be particularly offensive to

the Protectorate and North Yemeni Arabs.[37]

These rival groups also featured in a second conflict which developed along socio-economic lines. Aden's post-war boom signalled a change in the city's economic infrastructure. In the earlier period Aden had served mainly as a coaling station and as an intermediary market for the transit trade between Asia and Europe. A relaxed, business-like atmosphere usually pervaded the city.[38] After the war, Aden's economy depended more on permanent locally based projects, namely, the enlarged port, the oil refineries, the military bases and the major business companies. The demand for temporary seasonal labour shifted to a demand for a permanent work-force which would be capable of running the new projects reliably and systematically. Much of the new work was mechanised and technical; cranes, rough carts and garages as well as banks and insurance companies spread all over the city. There was a growing need for skilled labour. Governmental and British initiatives were primarily concentrated on expanding education. In 1950 the Aden Technical College was opened. In 1952, thousands of teachers were brought from India to satisfy the growing demand for education.[39]

In these circumstances industrial relations in Aden changed drastically. A man was now employed on a long term basis, in a very large framework with thousands of other competing employees. His employer was either a government official or a representative of a large, sometimes a multi-national, company, who treated his workers impersonally, according to regulations. Workers' interests thus became focused on their hierarchical, professional and social position. The traditional ascriptive worker's identity declined. "Those who worked for the same employer began to think in terms of their interests as workers rather than in the context of their different origin," wrote Trevaskis.[40] At the same time, the Sarānij and the Muqaddams, the local traditional "job brokers", who recruited and deployed workers according to their origins, also lost power.[41] Employees turned into a distinct class which confronted its government, Arab, European or Indian employers.

Among the employees the unskilled Arab workers again constituted the biggest problem. Gavin noted that in 1961 there were 49,600 registered employees in Aden out of which 3,550 were officials, 6,360 were classified as industrial workers and the rest were unskilled. In the 1950s, as more and more workers flocked into Aden, it soon became apparent that they faced acute difficulties in housing, education, and wages, in a city lacking the necessary infrastructure to support an immigrant work force recruited for a rapidly expanding modern economy.[42] However, even Aden's more educated workers were active in employment issues such as working conditions, and the criteria for promotion, etc. Both skilled and unskilled workers were concerned with workers' rights for better housing,

clothing, children's education, conditions of migration to and from Aden, and others.[43]

In fact, in negotiating such issues, Aden's workers had evolved the rudiments of industrial relations in the city; lack of experience on the part of the employers and the workers and the difficult conditions of Aden's workers affected the situation. Since the late 1940s the workers had resorted to two types of action. First, they occasionally started violent strikes. The first was in 1948 after several large private companies had refused to raise workers' salaries, after an inquiry commission had recommended increases. The strike ended in November 1948 after the commission's recommendations had been implemented.[44] In 1956, another long and serious strike broke out; about 7,000 workers, mainly from the port and the British Petroleum Oil depot, struck for a period equal to 130,000 working days. They demanded the improvement of their social conditions (i.e, payment for holidays and illnesses, the reduction of the working week to 48 hours and other benefits). Another commission of inquiry into these matters concluded that the workers had a "deep grievance".[45]

Secondly, not surprisingly, Aden's workers were among the first in the Middle East to start to form unions. In 1953, the first three unions registered in Aden's government's employment department. Contemporary observers noted that the unions' members had very little experience in organizing workers and in "collective bargaining".[46] But in late 1956, 25 unions, of over 4,000 workers, were already registered. It was then decided to form an umbrella organisation for the unions, to include an executive committee and to hold an annual members' congress. The unified body was named the Aden Trade Union Congress, generally known as the ATUC. In 1959 there were 15,000 members in the ATUC and in 1963 22,000 members, which constituted one third of Aden's officially registered workers.[47]

In its early stages, the ATUC was heavily influenced by the British Trade Union Congress, a fact which was evident even in the ATUC's name. Adenese workers who were employed in Cardiff established contacts with their British counterparts; the British TUC often sent representatives to guide Aden Unions and to mediate in their industrial disputes. As D.C. Watt asserted the strengthening of local trade unions was seen by the British authorities as another means of "self rule" and the labour advisers in the Colonial Office were particularly encouraging. Most of these officials were Labour Party members, even though Conservative governments were in power until 1964. Inspired by the British uionists, Aden workers first learnt to harness their unions to political activity and to cultivate political awareness among their working class members. In the late 1950s, the ATUC became increasingly influenced by trade unions in third world states. They encountered the leaders of these trade unions at the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions meetings and thereafter the

ATUC adopted a more radical line, of which anti-colonialism was the major component.[48] The people responsible for this development were the ATUC's relatively young, educated and politically aware leaders. Unlike the lower ranking workers, who used most of their energies to feed their families and to cope with life in Aden, the leaders were from immigrant families which already were more established in the city. They were not manual workers but rather middle class white collar employees, teachers or administrators.[49]

They created two active roles for themselves. They saw themselves as the champions of workers' rights, an activity which brought them workers' admiration and with it the title of "enlighteners."[50] Their second role was champions of Arab nationalism; their relatively high level of education and active concern for Yemeni and Protectorate Arabs motivated the ATUC's young leaders to cling to Pan-Arab ideas and particularly to its dominant ideology, Nāsirism. "Their interest in the promised land of a new revolutionary Arab world was fully aroused", wrote Trevaskis.[51] By combining a Pan-Arab nationalist ideology with socio-economic goals, the ATUC leadership managed to articulate both the socio-economic and the nationalistic grievances, which overwhelmed Aden's workers. They thus created a vehicle to express, sometimes violently, and possibly to solve these grievances. As M. Halpern explained, in the absence of fully organised widely supported and functioning political parties, trade unions, which fulfill professional, educational, co-operative and social needs, often become a central agency of modernisation and nationalistic crystallisation, and a political asset for anybody whom the unions would support.[52]

The foundations for the conflicts which ensued both in Aden and in the Protectorate were essentially socio-economic and socio-political. However, whenever the inherent tensions between the different social strata became more acute or even erupted into open revolt, they revealed a second, more conspicuous motive, of Arab nationalism. Slogans of Arab nationalism, contacts with Arab states and inclination to Pan-Arab ideas seemed to have accompanied the activities of the opposition. In fact, by embracing the cause of Arab nationalism, opposition groups crystallised more vigorously and with greater political sophistication. Hence opposition groups first evolved around socio-economic problems, then underwent a process of nationalistic socialisation which finally shaped them. Ideas of Arab nationalism and the echoes of various ideologically inspired activities in the Middle East were a source of inspiration and encouragement to nationalistic activity. Furthermore, centres of Arab nationalist activity sprang up in South Yemen as a result of both foreign and local initiatives. The ideas and aspirations inherent in nationalism reached South Yemen as part of the widespread post-Second World War movement towards liberalism and democracy. At the time such aspirations

were frequently over-simplified and unrealistic. Ingrams wrote that in 1945, in Singapore, a certain Sayyid approached him and demanded that his tiny village in Ḥadramawt (named Jāḥiz) be granted independence.[53] In the late 1940s the ideological slogans of the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine spread quickly and generated pro-Arab centres of identification. In Aden, the problem had a very real echo as most of the local Jewish population emigrated to Israel; in 1947 the traveller D. Van Der Muellen reported the great interest that the Arab-Jewish problem had generated in Ḥadramawt.[54]

In the 1950s Nāsirism had attracted an extraordinarily wide-spread and devout following. Nāsirist influence was exerted in three forms: first, by the tremendous appeal of its actions: The Suez War in 1956, the union with Syria in early 1958, etc. Secondly, the enormous ambition implicit in its slogans: anti-Imperialism, anti-Zionism, pan-Arabism and, in the 1960s, Arab Socialism. Thirdly, ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's ability to convey his message "over the heads of governments" directly to the masses and to incite them.[55] Foreigners who visited South Yemen during the high point of Nāsirism were deeply impressed by the children who shouted at them everywhere "Nāsir" .[56] Aden's British rulers noticed with anxiety how the radio receiver had become an agent for Nāsirist propaganda broadcasts from the Cairo based "Voice of the Arabs" (Sawt al-ᶜArab).[57] Arab capitals, notably Cairo, became centres for nationalist socialisation of Yemeni students. One of them, Dr. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-ᶜAddālī said :"[In Cairo] We started contact with students from other countries. We started knowing much about the outside world. Then we organized ourselves . . . . We immediately gravitated to political activities."[58]

South Yemenis were further inspired by the September 1962 revolution in North Yemen. Its close proximity to South Yemen, the increased contacts between the two countries (particularly through migration to Aden) coupled with the fact that the ousted Imām's rule had been very similar to that of the Protectorate's Sultāns, made the North Yemeni revolution an example in the South. It proved that there was a practical example on which events in South Yemen could be modelled.[59] Bujra noted that during the period following the revolution, the 200 radio sets of Ḥuraydah were all tuned to the "Voice of the Arabs" and that the existence of "Nationalistic masses" had become a problem all over Ḥadramawt.[60] "[The] Language of nationalism" he wrote "is now the prevailing idiom throughout the country."[61]

The inspiration and ideas of Arab nationalism were more deeply entrenched by the actual development of Arab nationalist centres of activity in South Yemen. Apparently, the paucity of nationalist activity in pre-war South Yemen, provoked a strong urge to fill that ideological void in later years. In 1953, a Communist party, "The Democratic Nationalist Union"

started to operate in Aden and in 1957, its members also formed a branch in North Yemen. Returning South Yemenis from Zanzibar and Indonesia supported this party.[62] The Baᶜth party, which during the 1950s had formed branches in various Arab states, opened a branch in Aden in 1956. The Qawmiyyūn al-ᶜArab ("The Arab Nationalist Movement") opened branches in North and South Yemen in 1956; in 1959 the South Yemeni branch spread further into several Princedoms in South Yemen.[63] The fact that these groups penetrated South Yemen in conditions of mutual rivalry, characteristic of the Arab world in the 1960s (see below), became marked in South Yemeni society. Youth and social clubs emerged in Aden, al-Mukallah, Say'ūn, Ḥawta, Muqīrās and other towns, which either subscribed directly to these parties or simply adopted the slogans of Arab nationalism. Moreover the opposition groups were quite clearly enriched by the ideas and activities of Arab nationalism. First, the adoption of national and socialist terms enabled them to define their goals more precisely. The various grievances inherent in South Yemeni society thus acquired a common focus. Secondly, in the light of the declining acceptance of the old social stratification and of the existing "colonially-supported" establishment, the opposition groups were able to offer the South Yemeni masses a new and most appealing mode of legitimacy in the shape of Arab unity, anti-Imperialism, etc. True, its centre in Cairo or Damascus was remote geographically, but to most of the Arab world it looked cohesive, admirable and politically most promising. Consequently these opposition groups became populistic; they spoke in the name of "the people" and held out the promise of a solution for their problems.

Notes

1. Trevaskis, p. 145.
2. Gavin, p. 316.
3. For a detailed discussion see Gavin, pp. 303-310, 312-314, 316.
4. Bujra, 1971, pp. 133-134.
5. Gavin, p. 301.
6. Ibid., pp. 299-301.
7. Trevaskis, pp. 51, 85.
8. Gavin, p. 335.
9. Trevaskis, p. 75, al-Ḥabashī, p. 245. Johnston writes: "... It was true, unfortunately that, so far, much of the financial benefits seemed to have got stuck in the pockets of the merchants." Johnston, p. 206.
10. Al-Ḥabashī, pp. 181-182.
11. Handbook, p. 14.
12. Al-Ḥabashī, pp. 188-190, Gavin, p. 301. The system most commonly used in land leasing was the murābaᶜah, known also in other Middle Eastern countries. According to it, the

owner was supposed to get 1/4 of the harvest, in return for a proportional investment. As mentioned earlier, the owners found ways of by-passing such regulations.

13. Al-Ḥabashī, pp. 200-208, 238-242, 257-258, 260-265.

14. H. Ingrams, Arabia, pp. 242-245, Serjeant, p. 23. See also: F. Stark, The Southern Gates of Arabia, A Journey in the Ḥadramaut (London: J. Murray, 1936), p. 21.

15. Bujra, 1967, pp. 125-129, D. Ingrams, pp. 69-70.

16. Bujra, 1967, pp. 133-134. Both Bujra and al-Bakrī discuss this subject at length. On the living conditions of the Sādah and wealthy Ḥadramīs in general, see: A. Leidlmair, Ḥadramaut Bevoekerung und Wirtschaft in Vandel der gegenwart (Bonn: F. Dümmlers Verlag, 1961), pp. 11-22.

17. Bujra, 1967, pp. 144-145, 165-168. The issue is discussed in detail in J. Kostiner, 'The Impact of Ḥadramī Emigrants in the East Indies on Islamic Modernism and Social Change in the Ḥadramawt in the 20th Century,' to be included in R. Israeli and A. Jones (eds.), Islam in Asia: Problems and Perspectives (forthcoming), henceforth: Kostiner.

18. E. Ben-Raphael, The Social Aspects of the Guerilla (in Hebrew), unpublished Ph.D. thesis (The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 7-8, henceforth: Ben-Raphael, Aspects. Changes which effect the institutional and the social spheres simultaneously, usually create serious conflicts.

19. Al-Ḥabashī, p. 87, H. Ingrams, Arabia, pp. 269-271, Gavin, p. 306 and his notes, p. 435. See also: al-Wikālah al-ᶜArabiyyah al-Sūriyyah Lil-Anbā', al-Mu'tamar al-Thālith li-Nusrat ᶜUmmāl Wa-Shaᶜb ᶜAdan, al-Muᶜtaqidah fi Dimashq ma bayna 10-19 Yanayir, 1967, p. 15, henceforth: The Damascus Congress. The matter is also brought up in C.O. 848/3, Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the Aden Protectorate (1939-1940).

20. Muḥammad Jibrīl, Madīnat al-Muhājirīn "Ḥadramawt" (al-Qāhirah: al-Mu'assasah al-Misriyyah al-ᶜĀmah lil-Anbā' wa-al-Nashr, n.d.), pp. 56-57, 62-59, henceforth: Jibrīl, Ḥadramawt, MER, 1960, pp. 443-445, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, March 25 and 28, 1960, August 29 and September 4, 1961, AC, December 2, 1964.

21. H. Ingrams, Arabia, p. 44.

22. Trevaskis, pp. 51-59.

23. Ibid., pp. 61-62, 78.

24. Ibid., pp. 104-110.

25. AC, May 26th, 1960, MER, 1960, pp. 391-392.

26. Trevaskis, pp. 117-120.

27. Ibid., pp. 122, 124-125, MER, 1960, p. 311.

28. Trevaskis, pp. 134-135, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, November 11, 1961.

29. Trevaskis, pp. 136-137, AC, March 9, 1960.

30. AC, December 1, 1960, MER, 1960, pp. 341, 392, AC, May 26, 1961, MER, 1961, p. 443.

31. Gavin, pp. 322-324. See also: A.S. Bujra, 'Urban

Elite and Colonialism: The Nationalist Elites of Aden and South Arabia,' MES, 6(July 1970), pp. 192-193, henceforth: Bujra, 'Elites'.

32. Trevaskis, p. 39.

33. Jibril, Hadramawt, p. 443, Ṣallāḥ al-ᶜAqqad, "al-Yaman al-Janūbī wa-al-Taqaddumiyyah al-Radiqaliyyah fī Zill al-Qabaliyyah," al-Siyāsah al-Duwaliyyah, 9(Yanāyir, 1973), pp. 68-85, henceforth: al-ᶜAqqād, Makram Muḥammad Aḥmad, al-Thawrah Janūb al-Jazīrah (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-kitāb al-ᶜArabī lil-Ṭibāᶜah wa-al-Nashr, 1968), pp. 185-186, 189, henceforth: Aḥmad, Fatḥi ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, Tajribat al-Thawrah fī al-Yaman al-Dimūqrāṭiyyah (al-Quds: Manshūrāt Ṣallāḥ al-Dīn, 1975), pp. 27-29, henceforth: ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ.

34. Bujra, 'Elites,' p. 289ff.

35. Loc.cit. See also Hickinbotham, pp. 192-193, 201-203, MER, 1961, p. 440.

36. Kostiner, op. cit., Jibril, Hadramawt, p. 41. The 'illegality' here is purely poetical, reflecting the views of the author and the opposition in general.

37. MER, 1960, p. 388.

38. Gavin, p. 323.

39. Loc.cit., King, p. 190. See also: A.P. Cumming-Bruce, "The Emergence of Aden Since 1956," RCAJ, 49 (July-October 1962), pp. 307-316.

40. Trevaskis, p. 40.

41. Hickinbotham writes that working in Aden was seen as "a place of temporary abode in which to earn a living and leave for a better land as soon as possible," op. cit., p. 201. See also: D.C. Watt, 'Labour Relations and Trade Unionism in Aden 1952-1960,' MEJ, 16 (Autumn 1962), pp. 443-456, henceforth: Watt, B.C. Roberts, Labour in the Tropical Territories of the Commonwealth (London: J. Murray, 1964), p. 69, henceforth: Roberts.

42. Gavin, pp. 324-325.

43. Hickinbotham, pp. 183-186, states that during his tenure of office, the construction of thousands of housing-units was started.

44. Ibid., pp. 186-191, Gavin, p. 336.

45. Watt, op. cit., Roberts, op. cit.

46. Watt, op. cit.

47. Roberts, op. cit., Gavin, p. 328.

48. Watt, op. cit., al-Ḥabashī, pp. 90-91. See also, H. Parry, Report on a Visit to Aden, January 29, 1960. henceforth: Parry. This document is part of: Private Papers, DS 247, A28, St. Antony's College, Middle East Library.

49. Parry, op. cit.

50. Trevaskis, pp. 96-97, Gavin, p. 328, Watt, op. cit.

51. Trevaskis, p. 96.

52. M. Halpern, The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 318-339, henceforth: Halpern.

53. H. Ingrams, 'Political Development,' p. 243, J.M. Van der Kroef, 'The Arabs in Indonesia,' MEJ, 7(Summer 1953), pp. 300-301.

54. D. Van der Muelen, Aden to the Hadramaut, A Journey in South-Arabia (London: J. Murray, 1947), pp. 170-171, Muḥammad Jibrīl, Muʾāmarah fī ʿAdan (n.p.: al-Dār al-Qawmiyyah lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr, n.d.), henceforth: Jibrīl, Conspiracy.

55. N. Safran's main thesis in his: From War to War (New York: Pegasus, 1969).

56. D. Holden, Farewell to Arabia (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 24, henceforth: Holden.

57. Johnston, p. 93. See also: Recorder, December 18, 1960.

58. J. Stork, 'Socialist Revolution in Arabia: Report from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen,' MERIP Reports (March 1972), pp. 4-5.

59. Loc.cit.

60. Bujra, 1971, pp. 161-171.

61. Ibid., p. 178.

62. Al-Ḥabashī, p. 90, al-ʿAqqād, op. cit.

63. Sulṭān Aḥmad ʿUmar, Nazrah fī Taṭawwūr al-Mujtamaʿ al-Yamanī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 1970), pp. 164-165, 232-233, henceforth: ʿUmar, Zayd ʿAlī al Wazīr, Muḥāwalah li-Fahm al-Mushkilah al-Yamaniyyah (Bayrūt: Muʾāssasāt al-Risālah, 1971), pp. 108-110, henceforth: al-Wazīr. According to al-Fattāḥ, pp. 30-31, the Qawmiyyūn started operating only in 1959.

Chapter 2

INITIAL POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

The single most outstanding characteristic about these political activities in South Yemen was their variety and complexity. These activities resulted from diverse socio-economic, administrative and nationalistic conditions in the country; they evolved around the local contradictory geo-political inclinations, namely conservatism and rigidity versus receptivity to foreign influences. Moreover, these foreign influences comprising British inspired reforms as well as Arab and East Indies inspired socialism and nationalism, were highly differentiated among themselves. South Yemen's society was often resistant to the spreading and inculcation of changes which in any case lacked consistency and often affected certain groups in certain areas more than others. Old and new conflicts were pursued against a variety of backgrounds. The significance of this legacy lies in the fact that the development of South Yemeni political groups in general and nationalist groups in particular took place in an atmosphere dense with conflict and mutual rejection.

In Aden, the first political organisations bore the ascriptive and rigidly stratified character of local society. In the late 1940s a group known as "The Islamic Society" (al-Jamᶜiyyah al-Islāmiyyah) was operating. Little is known about its activity except that it had a pan-Islamic orientation, was moderate and rather inactive politically and was connected to Pakistan. Its leader was a Pakistani lawyer on whose death the Islamic Society weakened drastically. In fact this group functioned as a social and judicial organisation for migrants from the Far East, including returning Sayyids.[1]

In the early 1950s, the "Aden Association" (al-Jamᶜiyyah al-ᶜAdaniyyah (AA)) was Aden's elite most conspicuous political expression. Its leaders were members of the established Luqmān, Makkawī, Jarjarah and Bayūmī families, who were noted for their wealth, their educational attainments and their control of the newspapers (al-Nahdah and al-Fudūl). The AA advocated self government, coined the slogan "Aden for the Adenese," demanded a share in shaping Aden's future, particularly

through participation in Aden's representative bodies. In its early days the AA did not demand independence for Aden, and only took up this cause later on, in response to the growing pressure of Arab radical nationalism. Its leaders than advocated that an independent Aden should join the British Commonwealth.[2] This was a characteristic position for Aden's veteran businessmen, who tried to blend nationalist goals with the existing political order which was favourable to them.

The AA co-operated with the British in implementing reforms. In Gavin's words, the party would be a "tailor made" fit in a colonial-reformed regime.[3] Its leaders were more apprehensive about the South Arabian Federation scheme. They knew that if the scheme materialised, Aden would have to give substantial help to the Princedoms to reduce the huge economic gap between them.[4] They also feared that the Sultāns might intervene in Aden's affairs, which might conceivably lead to the imposition of a "monarchy" in the city, or, at best, slow down its dynamic mercantile life style.[5] However, as the impact of Arab radicalism on South Yemen deepened and British pressure towards the establishment of a federation intensified, the AA leaders came closer to accepting the idea and in the early 1960s, they finally did.

In the 1955 and 1959 elections AA members won an overwhelming majority in Aden's Legislative Council. However, this only demonstrated their official position, within a British controlled ambit. The AA leaders' inclination to the British, their fear of radicalism and their socio-economic background precluded any widespread support for the AA. In fact, the growing demand for full independence, the increased opposition to a foreign presence and the inculcation of Arab nationalist and socialist ideas in Aden, brought about a drastic decline in the popularity of the AA. In April 1960, the AA leaders emphasised the need to "revitalise" the party, mainly by makng it more "political" and committing itself to a definite platform. The British, who were also interested in improving co-operation with what they regarded as "moderate" nationalists encouraged the political "revivalism" of these elements.[6]

However, the AA could not withstand the competing forces within its existing framework, and split. In 1960, Ḥasan al-Bayūmī a previous president of the AA established "The National Union Party" (Ḥizb al-Ittiḥād al-Watanī). This party tried to preserve the status of the Aden elite and to meet the opposition's growing demands, particularly regarding migration to Aden. In 1961, the new party proposed a law granting citizenship to anybody "who made Aden his home". This vague phrasing was not made more precise. Simultaneously the leadership advocated the Federal scheme but also made their opinion of the Protectorate leaders quite clear by stating that only these Protectorate governments which had been "freely elected" by the local population should be officially recognised.[7] In

June 1961 another party called "The Independence Party" (Ḥizb al-Istiqlāl) was established. It represented Adenese in the Crater quarter and was regarded as a rival to the National Union party. In fact, its principles were similar to those of its rivals, but stressed the need to provide better education for the working people and was the first to urge that a "co-operative socialist form of government" and a "national army" should be established in South Yemen.[8] The party which incorporated another splinter group from the AA was "The Organisation of the People's Constitutional Conference" (Hay'at al-Mu'tamar al-Dustūrī al-Shaᶜbī). This party demanded independence for Aden and the Protectorate, advocated a merger between the two, but suggested that this be postponed to an unspecified date. Its leader and founder, the editor of the Fatāt al-Jazīrah newspaper, Muḥammad ᶜAlī Luqmān, advocated the establishment of Social Democratic governments throughout the Arab world, including Aden. He argued that the Adenese should co-operate with other "progressive" Arab elements to achieve this aim.[9]

It seems that these parties, which represented Aden's elite voiced the increasingly urgent demands for independence, together with growing support for the Federal scheme. However their most vehement and uncompromising demand was to restrict the numbers and the position of the Asians and Europeans in Aden. Aden's political parties regarded Yemeni immigrants as harmless and tolerable, but they viewed the European communities and Asian as a potential threat to their position. In early 1960, the National Union Party forced the Aden government to introduce a law which prohibited the replacement of Yemeni and local workers with foreigners.[10] In March and April 1960 Luqmān tried in vain to persuade Aden's government to abolish laws which had made it easier for foreigners to immigrate to Aden and to accumulate property there.[11] The efforts by Aden's elite were fruitless. They failed to present a united front during this stormy period. Moreover, they were unable to bridge the gap which separated them from the Yemeni masses, who, represented by the ATUC, were staunchly opposed to Aden's elite. On 23 June 1961 the Aden daily "Aden Chronicle" indicated the elite's disappointment by noting that "negative elements" had stirred up Aden's masses with cheap games and demagogy".[12] Like other Middle Eastern traditional elitist parties, the Aden parties were weak and fragmented: they splintered over personal rivalries, lacked a comprehensive ideology and widespread popular appeal.

In the Protectorate the ruling elements were even less successful in forming political parties. In the 1950s, Sayyids and pro-British members of the new intelligensia established in Ḥadramawt the "Ḥadrami Reform Association" (Jamᶜiyat al-Iḥsān al-Ḥadramiyyah) and in Laḥaj "The Laḥaj Popular Club" (al-Nādī al-Shaᶜbī fī Laḥaj). In May 1961 "The Islamic Ḥadrami Co-operative Party" (al-Ḥizb al-Islāmī al-Taᶜāwunī al-

Ḥadramī) and later "The People's Association Party" (Ḥizb al-Rābitah al-Shaᶜbiyyah) were formed. Little is known about the activities of these bodies.[13] It seems that in the late 1950s the rulers in the Protectorate found their political satisfaction in preparing for the Federation.

Motivated by the fears of North Yemeni incursions and Nāsirist subversion, the Sultāns sought their security within the orbit of the British inspired Federal scheme. Consequently, figures like Sharīf Ḥusayn al-Habīlī of Bayḥān, Shaykh Nāsir Ibn Farīd of Upper ᶜAwlaqī, Sultān Sālih of ᶜAwdhalī and Sultān Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAbdullah of Fadlī became leading ministers in the Federation. As against Aden's Parties' moderate but growing demands for independence, the Sharīf Husayn demanded Britain's "word of honour . . . that you won't leave us to be strung up like those poor devils whom the Egyptians have executed for co-operating with you in Suez".[14] He further demanded that Britain "the defender of the faith" would honour its commitments to Bayḥān as agreed upon in the treaty between the two parties.[15] It therefore seems that the ruling elite's political organisations both in Aden and the Protectorate were a product of their insecurity and was one of the several problematic political attempts to maintain their position.

Unlike the elites' organisations, the opposition tried to assert its role in better organised and politically more conspicuous bodies. As earlier mentioned, the wave of the opposition in the Protectorate was often inspired by dissatisfied members of the ruling group itself. Already in the mid-1950s the Sultān of Laḥaj, ᶜAli ᶜAbd al-Karīm, declared that he was "a nationalist Arab" and that the "era of colonialism" had passed.[16] He agreed to prolong Laḥaj's advisory treaty with the British but with the intention of preparing his Princedom for independence; Trevaskis indeed noted that there were "friendly elements" within the ruling class who were motivated by a combination of economic reform and nationalism. They co-operated with the British in order to acquire technical knowledge and to hasten South Yemen's development but they did so in the expectation that Britain would respond in a gentlemanly way, namely, that they would relinquish their rule over the area. Moreover, despite Laḥaj's past frontier problems with North Yemen, the relations between ᶜAlī and North Yemen's ruler Imām Aḥmad, were quite friendly and the former declared that North Yemen would be a "stimulant" for South Yemen's independence.[17] In 1955 ᶜAlī had met ᶜAbd al-Nāsir and immediately thereafter had started to clamour for compulsory free education and the construction of a barrage in Wādī Tībām in Laḥaj, claims which Trevaskis identified as taken from ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's development plans.[18]

ᶜAlī put forward his demands at a time of economic expansion in the Protectorate. His own Princedom, Laḥaj, had a

successful cotton co-operative, financed by the Abyan board. As already mentioned, Muḥammad Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs rebelled after the British authorities had turned down his request that local people should have a large share of the profit and greater representation on the Abyan Board.[19] It therefore seems that it was not poverty or social deprivation which drove ᶜAli ᶜAbd al-Karīm and Muḥammad Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs into opposition. Neither were they motivated by traditional ruling class interests which would have driven them to co-operate with Sharīf Ḥusayn. What they wanted was to control or at least to obtain a larger share in South Yemen's expanding economy and developing polity. These were characteristic interests of small landowners, administrators, teachers and other groups in the new emerging South Yemeni partly upper but mostly middle class. They virtually ran the country's development projects and were themselves the most progressive and developed element in it. As Halpern, M. Berger and other writers have pointed out, the typical new middle class in the Middle East has both become strongly involved in its states' economy and has demonstrated a strong desire to take over the government of its states. This is a result both of its knowledge of and attraction to affairs of state and from its members' relatively high educational level and familiarity with the problems inherent in society. The people forming the new middle class developed a sense of public responsibility and patriotism.[20]

Such a group was already in existence in 1950; it became known as "The South Arabian League" (Rābiṭat al-Janūb al-ᶜArabī) (SAL). It was led by two men of Sayyid origin who, nevertheless, acted as middle class intellectuals rather than as divines. They were the Cairo educated Muḥammad ᶜAlī al-Jifrī, who was SAL's founder and ideologue; and the Baghdad educated Shaykhān al-Ḥabashī who later became his associate. ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Karīm and Muḥammad Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs were staunch supporters of the SAL. The SAL's ideas were neither comprehensive nor precisely formulated. It is known that its members advocated a union of the Protectorate and Aden, which was compatible with the Protectorate's middle class's economic ambitions and with the ideas of pan-Arabism. Al-Jifrī, whose family in Laḥaj had a constant relationship with the Imām,[21] viewed unity in South Yemen only as the first step towards a larger, Yemeni and Arab unity. Later, after the 1962 revolution in North Yemen, he abandoned this ideal. Furthermore, the SAL was the first body to demand absolute and immediate independence for South Yemen.[22]

In 1954, the SAL supported Saᶜudi Arabia against Britain over the Buraymī dispute.[23] However, its antagonism to Britain came to a peak during the Abū-Bakr and Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs' revolts, the SAL then functioned as the ideological and political centre for these revolts. According to Trevaskis, in 1958 the Princedom of Laḥaj, the home territory

of al-Jifrī and ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Karīm, was on the point of announcing its merger with the United Arab Republic. At the end of this year, all of Lahaj's tribal guards defected with the intention of establishing a "national liberation army".[24]

Not surprisingly, the British considered the SAL the most dangerous organisation. In 1956, towards the end of T. Hickinbotham's period as governor, al-Jifrī was exiled; however, he and his brother ᶜAbdullah anticipated the British move and fled to North Yemen.[25] In Summer 1959 ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Karīm was deposed from his office by the British and then exiled.[26]

In South Yemen's nationalist history, the SAL had two conspicuous achievements: it represented the ambitions of the new middle class in the Protectorate and it succeeded in co-ordinating a large scale, complex revolt which, at its high point, enjoyed widespread local support and assistance from North Yemen. The SAL also struggled to create a nation-wide network, but this attempt turned out to be futile.

It is true that initially the SAL had some success in Ḥadramawt. The head of the Bā-Faqīh family in al-Mukallah, a supporter of the SAL and an editor of the local "The Arabian South" paper, led the opposition to the Quᶜaytī Sultān in 1950 and in 1958 spearheaded the revolt which erupted after the British restricted tribesmen from carrying firearms (see above). In return, the authorities closed "The Educational Club" (al-Nādī al-Thaqafī) in al-Mukallah, where the SAL had operated.[27] There were other pro-SAL expressions in Ḥadramawt, notably the call for Yemen unity.[28] In addition, the SAL was the first Protectorate based organisation which tried to open branches in Aden. It is not clear who its recruits were, but they were probably teachers and bureaucrats who were the SAL's chief supporters in the Protectorate. It is also known that the establishment of one of Aden's first unions, that of "servants" (mustakhdimūn) -- a term for which no additional information has come to light -- was inspired by the SAL.[29]

In 1955, several of Aden's trade unions, youth clubs and the SAL together set up a body known as "The United Nationalist Front" (al-Jabhah al-Wataniyyah al-Muwwaḥadah (UNF)) which aimed at unifying all of Aden's political organisations. Its platform urged the full union of South Yemen's units, with Aden as its capital; the formation of an elected government; improved conditions, for workers, the expulsion of foreigners; the promotion of Arabic culture and language and the strengthening of ties with Arab states. The UNF also adopted some typically Nāsirist and/or Baᶜthist slogans, like unity among Arab states and positive neutralism.[30] Altogether the UNF was a clear manifestation of the emerging nationalist spirit. However, during and after the 1955 elections in Aden a rift was exposed between the SAL and its partners within the UNF. SAL candidates stood in these elections and lost; it was the AA which won most of the seats in

Aden's Legislative Council. However, the UNF of which the SAL was a component, and Aden's workers boycotted the elections. This indicated a new trend in South Yemeni politics. Both Aden's elite, which operated within the AA and the SA tried to adapt to the existing regime by standing in the elections; however, they could not persuade Aden's workers to follow suit. The SAL must have tried to persuade the UNF to participate in the elections as one body, but it was the union leaders (later the ATUC leaders) within the UNF who agitated successfully for the boycott. Apparently, they were primarily responsible for formulating UNF's platform and planning its actions. In 1956, it was the union-dominated UNF which stirred up Aden's workers to take part in the aforementioned strikes.[32]

So the Protectorate-based SAL failed to establish itself in Aden and to dominate the leadership of South Yemen's nationalist movement. The SAL's failure can be explained on two levels. First, in relation to the blossoming nationalist-political movement. It seems that the SAL's nationalist slogans which so impressed the Protectorate's middle classes, were hardly a match for the substantially more radical workers in Aden. The latter viewed the SAL's participation in the 1955 elections as a drastic retreat from the united resistance front to foreign rule. In 1960 the Secretary-General of the ATUC wrote that "the SAL disappointed its supporters... particularly because of its nationalist past".[33] In 1959 the SAL did boycott Aden's elections, but this could not remove the stigma of its previous weakness and retreat from radical nationalism.

The fact that in 1959 al-Jifrī visited Riyād in Saᶜūdi Arabia and obtained 200,000 Riyals "for the sake of the revolt [of Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs] in the South" was counter-productive, because the ATUC regarded Saᶜudi Arabia as "pro-imperialist."[34] What's more, the ATUC accused ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Karīm of being over-ambitious and wanting to become "King of the South", and al-Jifrī for owning an oil concession in Laḥaj which had been given to him by the European "Shell" Company.[35] Both accusations were inappropriate but had quite an impact in Aden.

The SAL also failed at the social level. The ATUC's resistance to the SAL demonstrated the Adenese low and middle classes' reluctance to co-operate with Protectorate elements even if the latter belonged to the same social class. Moreover, the ATUC, which represented an urban proletariat, could hardly merge with a Protectorate body which included Sultāns and other government officials. In ATUC's view ᶜAbd al-Karīm and Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs, as well as the Aden SAL branch which participated in the 1955 elections, basically accepted the prevailing regime and were only striving to increase their participation in it and to obtain a larger share of its benefits. In contrast ATUC members were a product of the widening social gap and the tense industrial relations in Aden; they

were not interested in co-operating with or participating in the establishment. They felt totally alienated from the ruling establishment and sought its destruction.[36] This situation must partly account for the accusations levelled against ᶜAbd al-Karīm.

Hence in the early 1960s, the ATUC emerged as the strongest political body in Aden and it became the strongest body in South Yemen after the SAL-inspired revolts were suppressed in 1960 and the SAL's leaders were exiled. The ATUC's rise to power also marked the radicalisation of local politics. From their inception ATUC's activities had both political and social-professional aims. The inquiry commission into the 1956 strikes established that it was a combination of social problems and the government's immigration policy which had created the "deep grievance" which precipitated the strikes. In April 1958, strikes broke out against a similar background. In May the authorities declared an emergency situation and in October 1958, after riots had taken place, 240 workers were exiled to Yemen. The ATUC's Secretary-General was detained and its newspaper, al-ᶜAmal, (Labour) was banned. In early 1959 in protest against the forthcoming elections in Aden, the ATUC organised new strikes: They paralysed the port for 48 days and the oil refineries for 34 days. With the help of the British TUC, which wanted to keep its contacts with the ATUC, the strikes stopped. A British TUC mediator, A. Dalgelish, tried unsuccessfully to negotiate an agreement between the government and the ATUC, but to no avail.[37] In 1960 there were 84 strikes, most of which were politically motivated. Aden's commercial enterprises suffered tens and even hundreds of thousands of pounds' worth of damage. It then became clear to the British that the strikes were used for both political and economic ends, and had a grave effect on Aden's economy.[38]

In March 1960 a special adviser on industrial relations to Aden's government, E. Parry, submitted a report in which he suggested that, in principle, it was preferable for the government to act as a mediator rather than as an employer in Aden's industrial problems. However, in practice he recommended the suspension of the workers' right to strike, unless they would agree to the deduction of tax at source from their wages, to compulsory mediation of disputes and to change the union's regulations, to prevent any "abuse" of union funds.

On 17 August 1960 Parry's recommendations became law in Aden.[39] This precipitated a crisis between the ATUC and the British and Aden's elite, whose representatives in the government had ratified the law. To avoid a head-on collision, in which they might have lost, the ATUC agreed to compulsory mediation and reduced the number of professionally motivated strikes. However, in the same time its leaders withdrew from the negotiations, launched previously announced strikes and made Aden's workers begin a "go slow" routine.[40] The

ATUC's primary response to this was in the political sphere and an elaboration of union politics is essential to an understanding of its significance. The ATUC had a federal structure and the various unions were supposed to retain considerable autonomy. However, in the late 1950s the central leadership gradually succeeded in acquiring more authority. In 1959 the individual unions were organised into larger associations; in 1960, following the outlawing of strikes, eight associations were established: oil workers' unions, the port and export unions, governmental and municipal unions, industrial unions, teachers' unions, civilian defense employees, private business and banks' employees and restaurant and entertainment unions. Each union had a secretary and two to four representatives in the ATUC's consultative assembly. This assembly annually elected a nine-member executive council, including the ATUC's president, his deputy, secretary-general and heads of departments. In forming these associations, the ATUC leaders intended to curb the powers of individual unions (such as the oil and port unions) and to further integrate smaller and less influential unions within the ATUC under a powerful, central leadership. After the legislation banning strikes came into effect, the central leadership was given by the individual unions the authority over 50 percent of each union's funds.[41]

The ATUC was dominated by ᶜAbdullah ᶜAbd al-Majīd al-Asnaj. Born in 1934 in Sanᶜā, he spent most of his life in Aden. He expressed his gratitude for his father's poetry and his mother's inclination to Arab literature, history and religion, which exposed him to Arab nationalism very early in his life. He was also influenced by central inter-Arab issues such as the 1948 war. Al-Asnaj went to a college in Shaykh ᶜUthmān in Aden and later he studied in a teacher's college, but did not finish his course. He started working as a clerk in the local branch of "British Airways" where he was noted for his part in forming a trade union. He then turned to wider activities in Aden and was one of the founders of the ATUC. He became its general secretary and then its president.[42]

In Trevaskis' opinion, al-Asnaj tried to become Aden's Macarios [Cyprus' president], namely a nationalist, shrewd, seemingly flexible, but stubborn leader.[43] Under his leadership, the ATUC adopted various political principles. First and foremost: "one people, one Yemen, one struggle. No north no south but one Yemen... no federation", noted al-Asnaj.[44] Consequently, the ATUC became the spokesman for Aden's Arabs, launching bitter attacks on foreigners. The fact that in the 1960s, 50 percent of the 22,000 ATUC members were of Yemeni descent further legitimised ATUC's "nationalist" concern. After the August 1960 law banning strikes was introduced the ATUC accused the British of trying "to destroy Aden's Arab character and to turn it into a city of foreigners... the foreigners enjoy Aden and the Arab...needs mercy in his

own homeland."[45] The ATUC demanded that citizenship should not be given to foreigners.[46]

Al-Asnaj and the ATUC were ready to negotiate but they were quite brutal about Aden's future status. Al-Asnaj demanded the abolition of Aden's Legislative Council, the dissolution of the Federation, his own and his friends' appointment to a provisional government and British withdrawal from the area. He viewed the existing Federation as "a sham, ruled over by a clique of self indulgent, feudal tyrants hated by the people and entirely dependent on British support..."[47] He saw Aden's political parties as acquiescent to imperialism, passive and incapable of uniting against the foreigners.[48] The ATUC boycotted the negotiations to determine Aden's joining the Federation; its leaders claimed that the Federation had, in fact, been imposed against the will of the local people.[49] In April 1961, when the British Colonial Secretary, I. McLeod, visited Aden and held talks with Aden's elite parties, the ATUC organised mass demonstrations against them. Al-Asnaj was then detained for a short period.[50]

Hand in hand with the ATUC's denunciation of the situation was its proposal to form a new political party which would lead and unite all nationalist forces in the struggle ahead.[51] Several motives prompted this proposal. The lessons learned by ATUC leaders from similar developments in the Congo and Algeria, ATUC's influence over Aden's masses and the encouragement given to its activity by the Soviet Union and Egypt. Hence, in February 1962 the "Popular People's Party" (Hizb al-Shaᶜb al-Ishtirākī, (PSP)) was formed. In fact, it was the formalisation of the "Nationalist Bureau" (al-Maktab al-Qawmī) established by the ATUC in 1960, headed by a North Yemeni Baᶜth supporter, Muḥsin al-ᶜAynī. Al-Asnaj was elected president of the PSP and al-ᶜAynī its secretary-general. The party reiterated familiar principles: Independence for South Yemen and British withdrawal from the whole of the Arabian peninsula; unity with North Yemen; rejection of the Sultāns, the British, Aden's political parties and the SAL as representatives of the people. Al-Asnaj placed the Baᶜth principle of "Unity, Liberty and Socialism" at the top of the PSP's list of slogans. The PSP opened branches in various Arab states and in London and developed contacts in these places as well as in Asian and African states. The party then contemplated raising South Yemen's problem in the United Nations.[52]

Hence, in the early 1960s, the ATUC and its political arm, the PSP, were the most prolific bodies in South Yemen. The PSP reached this position first, because of the ATUC's following which brought it into existence. So, the PSP assisted the lower classes in their industrial disputes, supported pan-Arabism, and built up an efficient organisation based on a relatively educated leadership and unskilled, hierarchically controlled masses. Secondly, the ATUC was able to perform its self-appointed roles in a radical and consistent manner, at

that time uncharacteristic of other Adenese political parties.

To sum up, the socio-economic, nationalist and administrative conflicts in South Yemen created a revolutionary situation. Certain conditions arose which have come to be regarded as revolutionary cornerstones. It was Lenin who pointed out the revolutionary potential inherent in the resistance to the upper class by the lower and part of the middle class. F. Fannon singled out the conflict between foreign domination and nationalist aspirations for independence as a major cause of revolution.[53] The nature of "colonial dialects" also had a destructive influence. As A. de-Tocqueville emphasised, a process of economic development brings with it a process of social disintegration which the government would not be able to check but would be inclined to aggravate.[54] The coincidence of these conditions stimulated by Arab nationalist and socialist influences, brought about a revolutionary situation.

Against this background various opposition groups sprang up. Different and conflicting causes motivated these groups. Each group derived from the specific background and problems which had shaped its leaders' attitudes. Consequently, not only did the conflicts and problems in South Yemen's society differ and vary, but the nationalist groups developed through mutual conflict and contradiction. The struggle for independence thus overlapped with an internal power struggle in South Yemen.

Notes

1. Hickinbotham, p. 192.
2. Bujra, 'Elites,' p. 199, al-Ḥabashī, p. 91, MER, 1961, p. 392.
3. Gavin, p. 320.
4. Hickinbotham, p. 196.
5. Loc.cit. See also MER, 1961, p. 443. The matter was also mentioned in the introduction to this work.
6. Fatāt al-Jazīrah, November 12th, 1967 (background review).
7. AC, June 22, 1961, MER, 1961, p. 439. Minister Saᶜīdī remarked on the plan for an immediate accession of Aden to the Federation: 'There will be twenty six Imams in the Council,' meaning the Sultāns, of course. Apparently there was strong opposition to an immediate accession, but an accession further in the future was looked upon more favourably. See The Times, August 22nd, 1962, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, August 22, 1962, MER , 1960, p. 387.
8. AC, June 22, 1961, MER, 1961, p. 439.
9. Loc.cit.
10. AC, November 28, 1960, May 18 and July 27, 1961, MER 1961, 438.
11. MER, 1961, p. 441, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, February 17,

March 23, April 18 and May 2, 1961, AC, June 22, 1961.

12. AC, June 22, 1961.
13. MER, 1961, p. 443.
14. Trevaskis, p. 65.
15. Holden, pp. 31-32.
16. Trevaskis, pp. 20-23.
17. Trevaskis, p. 64. This can be understood only as a demand for unity because in 1954 Egypt controlled its territories.
18. Ibid., pp. 70, 92.
19. On Laḥaj see: Wizarat al-'Irshād al-Qawmī wa-al 'I^{c}lām, Min Wilāyāt Ittiḥād al-Janūb al-^{c}Arabī, Laḥaj (Aden: n.d.), Trevaskis, pp. 117-120.
20. See: Berger, p. 230ff; Halpern, pp. 51-79, 251-350.
21. Gavin, p. 225.
22. Hickinbotham, p. 196, MER, 1960, p. 382.
23. On this matter see: P. Sager, Kairo und Moskau in Arabien (Bern: S.O.I., 1967), pp. 129-130, henceforth: Sager.
24. Trevaskis, pp. 136-137, AC, March 9, 1960.
25. Sager, op. cit. See also: Al- Aḥrār, November 20, 1964 (a background review).
26. Trevaskis, p. 138.
27. Jibril, Ḥadramawt, pp. 42-43, 48-49.
28. Ibid., pp. 77-78, 92, 98-101.
29. Al-Ḥabashī, pp. 94-95.
30. Ibid., pp. 96-98.
31. Trevaskis, p. 98.
32. Watt, p. 447.
33. Cited by Qaḥtān al-Sha^{c}bī, al-Isti^{c}mār al-Barīṭānī wa-Ma^{c}arakatunā al-^{c}Arabiyyah bi-Janūb al-Yaman (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Nasr lil-Tibā^{c}ah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-I^{c}lān), pp. 222-223, henceforth: al-Sha^{c}bī.
34. Fatāt al-Jazīrah, June 14, 1960.
35. Al-Sha^{c}bī, pp. 224-226, AC, May 12, 1960.
36. See in previous chapter and in Parry, op. cit. on 'Participatory' and 'alienated' political culture see G.A. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965).
37. Trevaskis, p. 156, Watt, op. cit.
38. Watt, op. cit. See also: AC, January 31, April 14, August 4, 1960, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, April 17, 1960.
39. Watt, op. cit. Recorder, November 2, 1961 (background review), The Times, August 16, 1960.
40. Watt, op. cit., AC, August 4, 11, and 17, 1960, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, August 13, 1960.
41. Watt, op. cit., AC, May 12 and 26, October 20, 1960, January 5, 1961.
42. AC, June 22, 1961.
43. Trevaskis, pp. 172-173.
44. Ibid., p. 157, Recorder, October 2, 1960, Sunday Times, August 14, 1960. This last paper even suggested

aspirations for a full, open union with Egypt, and certainly close links with her.

45. Jibril, Conspiracy, op. cit.

46. Examples for this are given in AC, April 20, 1961 and al-Ayyām, May 10, 1961.

47. Trevaskis, pp. 172-173, MER, 1961, p. 436.

48. Loc cit. See also: Jibril, Conspiracy, op. cit.

49. The Times, November 15, 1961, AC, November 16 and 22, 1961, MER, 1961, p. 495.

50. Ibid., p. 433, al-Ayyām, June 25, 1961.

51. Jibril, Conspiracy, pp. 12-14.

52. Al-Ayyam, March 16, 1961, AC, March 24, 1961, al-Habashi, pp. 116-118, Trevaskis, pp. 187-192. The party continued its activities along the lines set previously by the ATUC. Thus, for instance, large demonstrations were organized against the accession of Aden to the Federation, which even led to the arrest of al-Asnaj. On one such demonstration, see: The Times, July 17, 1962.

53. In conclusion it is worth exemplifying the phenomenon of social gaps with the following data (updated to 1963): The average expenditures for high-ranking officials or Sādah were as follows: For clothing 600 shillings, for vegetables 144 s, for 'small' expenditures some 600 s per annum. Small landowners and tribesmen spent 500 s for clothing, 72 s for vegetables and 200 s for 'small' expenditures. Agricultural workers, construction workers and coolies spent 300 s for clothing, 144 s for vegetables and 150 s for 'small' expenditures annually. See: Handbook, pp. 111-112.

54. F. Fannon, The Wretched of the Earth (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), henceforth: Fannon, W.J. Pomeroy (ed.), Guerilla Warfare and Marxism (New York: International Press, 1978), pp. 73-120, C. Brinton, Anatomy of Revolution (New York: Vintage, 1965), henceforth: Brinton, Revolution. See also: Ben-Raphael, Aspects, pp. 64-65.

PART TWO

THE EARLY STAGES OF THE NLF, 1963 - 1965

Chapter 1

ORIGINS AND EARLY ORGANISATION

On 14 October 1963 an organisation which called itself "The National Liberation Front of the Occupied South" (al-Jabhah al-Qawmiyyah li- Taḥrīr al-Janūb al-Muḥtall,(NLF)), declared an armed revolt against British rule. The NLF was a coalition of several clandestine organisations: The earlier mentioned Qawmiyyūn al-ᶜArab, "The Nāsirist Front" (al-Jabhah al-Nāsiriyyah), "The Revolutionary Organisation in the Occupied South" (al-Munaththamah al-Thawriyyah fī Janūb al-Yaman al-Muḥtall), "The Nationalist [Patriotic] Front" (al-Jabhah al-Wataniyyah), "The Secret Organisation of Free Officers and Soldiers" (al-Tashkīl al-Sirrī lil-Dubāt wa-al-Junūd al-Aḥrār), "The Yāfiᶜī Reform Movement" (Jabhat al-Islāḥ al-Yāfiᶜiyyah), "The Tribal Organisation" (Tashkīl al-Qabā'il), "The Revolutionary Pioneers" (al-Talā'iᶜ al-Thawriyyah), "The Secret Organisation of the Freemen of Occupied South Yemen" (Munaththamat al-Aḥrār al-Sirriyyah lil-Janūb al-Yamanī al-Muḥtall) and "The Youth Organisation of the Mahrah District" (Munaththamat Shabbāb Mintaqat al-Mahrah).[1]

Little is known about these organisations; as an underground organisation the NLF kept the identity of its components and their whereabouts secret; the fact that the British only outlawed the NLF in July 1965 highlights this fact.[2] However from what is known, it seems that the NLF was at one and the same time a logical development and a turning point in the history of nationalism in South Yemen. The founders and leaders of the NLF were from the middle class, and they, like their predecessors in Aden and the Protectorate, had become ardent nationalists; among them were clerks, teachers, officers. Moreover, before they joined one of the earlier mentioned clandestine organisations, many of them had had some political experience with the PSP, the SAL or the Qawmiyyūn.[3]

However, the NLF founders were quite critical of these nationalist organisations, and regarded themselves as activists who, having learned from the old organisations, now sought a new way. In 1960 Qaḥtān al-Shaᶜbī, a prominent NLF member, together with Tahah Muqbil and Nāsir al-ᶜArjī, two of the

Front's leaders, put their names to a public denunciation of SAL.[4] Qaḥṭān al-Shaᶜbī was a former SAL member[5] and was seeking "a nationalistic movement of liberation . . . progressive, organised for a struggle with a revolutionary ideology . . . which would be based on Arab nationalist noble targets".[6] The NLF was particularly keen to remedy two of the major defects of the old organisations: their inability to unite the existing nationalist forces and the absence of a clearly defined programme for the struggle for independence. According to al-Shaᶜbī's own account he had already tried to fulfill this ambition in 1960 in an organisation called "The Nationalist Alignment" (al-Tajammuᶜ al-Waṭanī) which strove to heal the "tribal and ideological (madhhabi) rifts" in South Yemen and to install a "nationalist awareness" (Tawᶜiyya Qawmiyya). This would lead to a further "unification of the popular struggle" (waḥdat al-Niḍāl al-Shaᶜbī) for independence and economic improvements.[8] Al-Shaᶜbī noted that in February and March 1961 he was the Alignment's representative in a conference of the two Yemeni states' "liberation movements" (he did not record where this event took place) where he called for the establishment of a "national front" to include all the "loyal" nationalist forces.[9]

What influenced the NLF founders to choose this way? In the best of South Yemeni tradition, the methods used by al-Shaᶜbī and his associates to generate a violent struggle against the British and to unite nationalist forces derived from a conflicting, different tradition to that influencing the parties which dominated in the early 1960s, notably the PSP. As former members of the SAL, and despite their criticism of this organisation, the NLF founders were inspired by the Protectorate-based violent struggle launched by SAL and not by the urban political struggle promoted by the PSP. The only influence which the NLF founders found in Aden was the ideology of the small communist party, whose platform was more violent and aggressive than the PSP's, and whose influence was noticeable in Aden.[10]

In order to fully understand the NLF founders' motivation, the influence of pan-Arabist activities on South Yemeni politics must be evaluated. Interestingly, in spite of Egypt's support for nationalist and insurgent movements in the Arab world, Nāsirism did not develop its own political parties in different Arab states. Basically, Nāsirism was an Egyptian movement, motivated by a desire for Egyptian hegemony in the Arab world and characterised by ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's public personality, a bureaucratic apparatus and a subversive pan-Arab foreign policy.[11] For both substantial and tactial reasons, these characteristics could not compete with an ambitious, but authentic local political party. Hence, Nāsirism was indirectly represented by most active nationalist parties in the region but it had no branches of its own in the two Yemens. In contrast to this, the Baᶜth party had some

advantages over Nāsirism: its branches grew out of the Baᶜth's basic infrastructure and raison d'etre and not out of Syria's foreign policy. They were minimally controlled by the Baᶜth centre in Syria. Unlike Nāsirism, the Baᶜth's ideology was clearly formulated, based on a theoretic synthesis of revolutionary Pan-Arabism and Arab socialism.[12] The Baᶜth was particularly successful in Aden; Michele ᶜAflaq's [the party's founder and ideologue] Fī Sabīl al-Baᶜth was well known.[13] There were Baᶜthi cells among Aden's workers. al-Asnaj wrote for the Syrian al-Baᶜth and al-ᶜAynī acted also as the Baᶜthī representative in both North and South Yemen.[14] At that time, the Baᶜth promoted a prestigious goal which further increased its appeal: unity of the two Yemeni countries, in accordance with the principles of a united Yemeni state and of pan-Arabism.[15]

The body which rivalled the Baᶜth was the Qawmiyyūn al-ᶜArab. Originally, the Qawmiyyūn was a Palestinian students' political group which was developed in the 1950s by people such as George Ḥabbash, Nā'if Ḥawatmah, al-Ḥakīm Darwazah, Muḥsim Ibrāhīm and others. The movement spread quickly by establishing branches in Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Kuwayt, Baḥrayn and Egypt. It had somewhat unusual characteristics: student leaders, diverse connections deriving from the support given to it by various Palestinian communities, it attracted local support and penetrated into the politics of various Arab states. Since the early 1950s when they had been Fida'iyyūn fighting against Israel, Qawmiyyūn members had often operated in the Arab states where they lived within the ambit of violent underground movements. They were violently opposed to existing governments, or at least to certain of their policies. Qawmiyyūn branches (khalayāt) developed autonomously and only at the level of area headquarters (Qawā'id Iqlimiyyah) was the co-ordination amongst high ranking leaders of local branches.[16] The Qawmiyyūn's intelligence and ideology attracted ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's sympathy and support. On the other hand, ᶜAbd al-Nāsir himself became the Qawmiyyūn's idol and political mentor. They passionately supported his ideological tenets: Arab unity, positive neutralism at the international level, Arab socialism and anti-Zionism. Most of the Qawmiyyūn's activities were carried out in support of and even on behalf of Nāsirist aims.[17]

After the 1962 revolution in North Yemen, ᶜAbd al-Nāsir strove even harder to gain more influence over South Yemeni affairs. He tried especially to found a political party of his own in the area. Apparently, he did not only have in mind long term aims such as the ending of Britain's position in the region and the furtherance of Egypt's influence there in order to establish what J.B. Kelly called "Muhammad Ali's dream for an empire in the Arabian Peninsula".[18] ᶜAbd al-Nāsir also had his eye on Egypt's more immediate needs: the creation of a supportive southern flank for the war he was

waging in North Yemen. This became vital after winter 1963, when pro-Monarchial forces, with Saᶜūdi Arabia's financial support and Britain's acquiescence, launched a counter-attack on Egyptian and pro-Nāsirist forces in North Yemen.[19]

Nāsirist ambitions collided with Baᶜthi ones. This was the time when "The Arab Cold War" (to use M.H. Kerr's famous phrase) had reached its peak. Arab radical forces were not only seeking to dominate the Arab world but were also locked in fierce rivalry among themselves. In M.H. Haykal's words, "... These two strong, progressive and nationalistic forces [the Baᶜth and Nāsirism] violently collided."[20] After the collapse of the UAR in September 1961 this struggle was evidenced in South Yemen by the outbreak of pro-Nāsirist and anti-Syrian demonstrations.[21] ᶜAbd al-Nāsir could hardly co-operate with the South Yemeni Baᶜth; not only were its members mostly pro-Syrian but some of them, such as al-Asnaj who favoured Egyptian ventures in North Yemen, were then forced to offer an awkward and devious explanation to justify their position. Moreover, Baᶜth activity was overt, focused on the ATUC and the PSP and confined to Aden's middle and lower-working classes. It remained an urban party, disconnected from the Protectorate. Hawatmah stressed that the Baᶜth lacked "a viewpoint" (Itlalah) on the Rīf, namely, the Protectorate countryside. "They gained inspiration only from themselves and from the ATUC and did not shape an overall national strategic and tactical policy for the South's independence."[22]

ᶜAbd al-Nāsir judged the local branch of his old ally, the Qawmiyyūn, to be his most promising and useful agent in the area. Unlike the Baᶜth, the Qawmiyyūn had expanded in clandestine cells in the Protectorate as well as in Aden. Out of the cell in Aden College emerged future NLF activists, Muḥammad ᶜAlī Ḥaytham and ᶜAlī al-Bīdh, who had originated in the Protectorate and had come to Aden to study. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāᶜīl, originally from al-Jawf in North Yemen, was first active in Aden's College and then in the oil workers' cell. From the Qawmiyyūn cells which developed within the earlier mentioned Nāsirist front, the Yāfiᶜī reform front, The Free Officers and various others, future NLF activists emerged, notably ᶜAlī Sālim Rubayᶜ. From amongst the tribes came ᶜAbdullah al-Majᶜalī and in Ḥadramawt Nāsir al-Saqqāf.[23] The Qawmiyyūn proved practical and non-discriminatory: in al-Mukallah they made contact with immigrants returning from the East Indies, who brought back with them leftist-Maoist ideas.[24] Elsewhere they succeeded in recruiting returning students and workers, who had become exposed while visiting other Arab countries, to Qawmiyyūn activities, notably in the Gulf states. Ideology itself was an asset for its expansion in the region. As ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ noted, Qawmiyyūn principles which derived from Sāṭiᶜ al-Ḥusri's rather simplistic Pan-Arabism, based on the unity of language, religion and experience

were more appealing than the more sophisticated but somewhat mystical ideas of ᶜAflaq's revolutionary socialism.[25]

In fact, in 1955 Qaḥtān and his cousin Faysal ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf al-Shaᶜbī, al-Majᶜalī and others among the NLF's founders, had been among the founders of the Qawmiyyūn branch in Cairo, under whose auspices they had later established a cell of South Yemenis.[26] After the September 1962 revolution in North Yemen, the members of this cell lived in North Yemen within the ambit of the Qawmiyyūn North Yemeni branch, which became the major link between Cairo and South Yemen. In December 1962, with the encouragement of this branch, Qaḥtān, Faysal ᶜAbd al-Latif, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāᶜīl and ᶜAbdullah al-Khāmirī went to Cairo to discuss with ᶜAbd al-Nāsir the formation of a fighting organisation in South Yemen. ᶜAbd al-Nāsir then instructed his army headquarters in Sanᶜā and Taᶜizz (where the Egyptian military intelligence was based) to assist in the task.[27] On 23 February 1963 a 1,000 member conference, composed of representatives of the seven earlier mentioned organisations, was convened in Sanᶜā, when the foundation of the NLF was announced. Faysal al-Shaᶜbī, who had remained in South Yemen, congratulated the new front on behalf of South Yemen's Qawmiyyūn.[28]

Hence, in contrast to the PSP, the NLF was protectorate based, with former SAL members as its leaders, who sought to establish a united fighting front in South Yemen. More, over, they were Qawmiyyūn members who co-operated with ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's attempts to tighten his grip over the area. As such, they were the rivals of Baᶜthi supporters who were to be found mainly in Aden town. In fact, South Yemeni Qawmiyyūn members were in a state of constant conflict with the Baᶜth, and PSP supporters; on the first anniversary of the revolution in North Yemen, they congratulated Egypt for its "heroic" and "glorious" role, while denouncing the "divergent" Baᶜth who "prevented collective leadership among the Arab socialist movements."[29] There were Baᶜthi supporters in the Nāsirist and nationalist fronts which made up the NLF. Because of Baᶜthi opposition, these two fronts joined the NLF as late as December 1963, only after Qawmiyyūn members in these two bodies under ᶜAbd al-Qādir Amīn's leadership overpowered the Baᶜthists who were led by ᶜAbdullah ᶜUbayd; from then on the Qawmiyyūn dominated the NLF.[30]

After the NLF's formation, an eleven-member preparatory committee was elected, among whom were Qaḥtān, al-Majᶜalī and al-Saqqāf.[31] This committee wrote a temporary "national charter" which spelled out the NLF's basic rationale: to make the South Yemeni population rise against British imperialism and "the forged federal unity" which only signified separation and reaction. The NLF itself was regarded by the formulators of its temporary charter as one of the Arab revolutionary movements.[32] Between 1963 and 1965 the NLF's regular organs were set up. A 12-member General Command (al-

Qiyādah al-ᶜĀmmah), half of them tribal members and half from the Qawmiyyūn, was founded (date unknown). Among the leading members were the three above mentioned ones as well as Sayf al-Dāliᶜī, Faysal ᶜAbd al-Latīf, ᶜAbd al-Fattāh Ismāᶜīl, ᶜAlī Salāmī, Salmi Zayn, Tahah Muqbil and others. Three bureaucratic bodies, which were the arms for the NLF's leadership and practically ran the Front's affairs were established: a politbureau (Maktab Siyāsī) which dealt with propaganda, foreign affairs and ideology; a financial body (Jihāz Mālī) which was responsible for the NLF's finances and for all its supplies, and a military body (Jihāz ᶜAskarī) which was responsible for the NLF's Liberation Army and its fighters (Fidā'iyūn).[33] Only a little is known about the NLF's military organisations: In September 1964, the NLF asked the Arab League to assist its Liberation Army by providing money and equipment.[34] NLF spokesmen also mentioned "The Headquarters of the Secret Branches" (Qiyādāt al-Furuᶜ al-Sirriyyah) which were probably unorganised units within the NLF.[35]

On 22 June 1965 the NLF convened a three-day general conference; it was the high point of the NLF's organisational activities. The Front's leaders, fighting commanders and representatives of South Yemeni sectors were there. They discussed the Front's fighting, propaganda and recruitment activities. The conference decided to adopt a "national charter" which became the NLF's prime manifesto. At the end of the conference a ten paragraph statement illuminating the NLF's current policies was issued. Among other items, the NLF declared itself to be the sole representative of the South Yemeni population, and it undertook to continue fighting until all the NLF's goals had been realised. The NLF also declared the November 1963 United Nations' Resolution to be inadequate (see below), denounced Britain's policy and stressed the need to foster its ties with other Arab or "progressive" non-Arab states.[36] The Conference decided to establish a 42-member "National Council", which first convened in August 1965[37] (see below).

The NLF's structure had two characteristics of major significance. First, the NLF professed to be a body which would unite existing parties but would not itself become a new party. It strove to cut across different ideologies and political approaches and to concentrate on the struggle against the British. Its propaganda emphasised that the NLF intended "to take in every person loyal to the fight. . . but he would have to waive his party affiliation."[38] The fact that the names of the various organisations comprising the NLF, with the exception of the Qawmiyyūn's name, were no longer heard, suggests that the Front had indeed managed to integrate these organisations within the NLF, although there is no evidence of how this was done. However, in so doing, the NLF ceased to be an umbrella for a number of different organisations and

became instead a new party organisation, dominated by the Nāsirist-inspired Qawmiyyun. With the apparent neutralisation of the various founding organisations of the NLF, the Qawmiyyūn remained as the most powerful leader of the front.[39] As such, the NLF did not become a "popular revolutionary organisation" (Tanzīm Jamāhīrī Thawrī) as it professed.[40] Various groups were indeed incorporated within the NLF, but the nature of their incorporation did not demonstrate genuine proportional representation. In fact, only in August 1965 was a National Council, representing various sectors of society, such as students, fighters, workers, and women, formed.[41] Its structure resembled that of the Egyptian "People's Assembly" (Majlis al-Ummah) but in practice it exerted virtually no influence on current affairs.

Secondly, the NLF made strong links with Arab states, notably with Egypt. The existence of the NLF was first made public in July 1963 on the Cairo-based "Voice of the Arabs".[42] A month later this station broadcast that the various NLF branches would be co-ordinated from headquarters in Cairo and Sanᶜā.[43] On 13 August 1964 an NLF office was opened in Cairo, Qaḥtān praising Egypt's capital as "the centre of Arab struggle, unity, socialism . . . the meeting place for African and Arab revolutionary and progressive movements".[44] The NLF's newspaper "Liberation" (al-Taḥrīr) was published there; Qaḥtān, who had been the Imām's consultant on South Yemeni affairs before the 1962 revolution, later directed the NLF from the Egyptian intelligence headquarters in Sanᶜā and Taᶜizz; he also spent time in Cairo where he was known as a "mysterious person" with excellent contacts.[45] NLF activists like al-Dālicī, Ismāᶜīl, Muqbil, Salāmī and others, also spent time there.[46] Cairo, Sanᶜā and Taᶜizz together constituted a safe and flexible supporting base for the NLF: its leaders could meet in these places with their Yemeni and Egyptian supporters to plan the Front's operations. The avenue connecting these cities and South Yemen became the NLF's vital training and supply line.

The NLF's contacts with Arab states also had a financial value. At the Arab League summits in October-November 1964 and April 1965 the NLF clamoured for financial aid and assistance in arms and ammunition for both its Liberation Army, its wounded and refugees. Consequently, the League created a fund to aid the NLF.[47] Egypt and other Arab states also aided the NLF directly. In September 1965 Qaḥtān declared that neither arms nor other sorts of aid for the NLF "constituted a serious problem; the Front is supported by Arab brethren, Egypt, Iraq, Algeria, Kuwayt and others".[48]

Notes

1. Al-Muḥarrir, October 13, 1964 and January 18, 1965, ᶜUmar, p. 235, the NLF covenant in Executive Committee, pp.

198-199. Other sources mention this matter as well.

2. The Times, July 7 and 8, 1965.

3. ᶜUmar, p. 235, ᶜĀdil Ridā, Thawrat al-Janūb, Tajribat al-Nidāl wa-Qadayā al-Mustaqbal (Cairo: Dār al-Maᶜārif, 1969), pp. 72-73, henceforth: Ridā.

4. Al-Shaᶜbī, p. 221.

5. Trevaskis, pp. 112-113.

6. Al-Shaᶜbī, p. 227.

7. Among these: The ATUC, the SAL, the Istiqlāl party, the Yemenite Islamic Association, the Arab Boycott Committee, the Committee in Support of Algeria and several sport organizations. See MER, 1961, p. 433, al-Shaᶜbī, p. 234.

8. Ibid., pp. 234-235.

9. Ibid., p. 241.

10. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 44, al-Wazīr, p. 119. See also Nā'if Ḥawatmah, ʿAzmat al-Thawrah fī al-Yaman al-Janūbī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Taliᶜah, 1968), pp. 25-26, henceforth: Ḥawātmah.

11. Al-Wazīr, p. 114. On Nassir's Arab policy see M.H. Kerr, The Arab Cold War (London: O.U.P., 1971), henceforth: Kerr, Cold War. See also his 'The Domestic, Political and Economic Background of Foreign Policy,' in P.Y. Hammond and S.S. Alexander (eds.), Political Dynamics in the Middle East (New York: Elsevier, 1972), pp. 195-224.

12. On this subject: G.H. Torrey and J.F. Devlin, 'Arab Socialism,' in J.H. Thompson and R.D. Reischauer (eds.), Modernization of the Arab World (New York: Van Norstrand, 1966), pp. 178-196.

13. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ 'Ismāᶜīl, Al-Thawrah al-Wataniyyah al-Dīmūqrātiyyah fī al-Yaman (Bayrūt: Dār Ibn Khaldūn, 1972), p. 27, henceforth: Ismāᶜīl.

14. Ḥawātmah, p. 25.

15. Ismāᶜīl, p. 30.

16. W.W. Kazziha, Revolutionary Transformation in the Arab World (London: Ch. Night, 1975), henceforth: Kazziha, B. al-Kubaisi, The Arab Nationalist Movement 1951-1971: From Pressure Group to Socialist Party, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (The American University, 1971), henceforth: Kubaisi. The facts on the Qawniyyūn are derived from these sources.

17. Kubaisi, pp. 86-88. See also Kerr's views, Cold War, p. 46. On the movement's organization, see Kazziha and Kubaisi.

18. J.B. Kelly, 'The Future in Arabia,' International Affairs, 42 (October 1966), p. 630, henceforth: Kelly, The Future in Arabia.

19. Al-Wazīr, p. 110.

20. Fu'ād Matar, Ḥiwār maᶜa Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal bi-Sarāḥah ᶜan ᶜAbd al-Nāsir (al-Quds: Matbaᶜat al-Sharq al-Taᶜāwūniyyah, 1975), p. 146.

21. R. London, October 8, 1961 - IDS, October 9, 1961.

22. Ismāᶜīl, p. 29, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, pp. 40-41, 43, Ḥawātmah, p. 27.

23. ᶜUmar, p. 235, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 46.
24. ʾAḥmad, pp. 188-191.
25. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 45, Executive Committee, p. 48.
26. Kazziha, p. 43. See also: R.B. Sergeant, 'The Two Yemens: Historical Perspectives and Present Attitudes', Asian Affairs, vol. 60, 1 (1973), pp. 3-16.
27. Al-Anwār (Lebanon), November 3, 1967.
28. ᶜUmar pp. 235-236, Ridā, p. 23, R. Sanᶜā, August 11, 1963 — SWB, August 13, 1963.
29. MENA, September 28, 1963 — DR, October 1, 1963.
30. ᶜUmar, p. 234, Ismāᶜīl, p. 30, Ridā, pp. 72-73. There are reports of three organizations joining the NLF in March 1965, and these could be the ones mentioned here. R. Cairo, April 18, 1965 — DR, April 19, 1965.
31. As well as Muḥammad ᶜAlī Sammāth, Thābit ᶜAlī al-Mansūrī, Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Daqm, Bakhīth al-Malīt, Aḥmad ᶜAbdullah al-ᶜAwlaqī, ᶜIdrūs Ḥusayn Qādī, ᶜAlī Muḥammad al-Kāzimī, ᶜAbdullah Muḥammad Sāliḥ, Ridā, p. 63.
32. Ibid., pp. 63-67.
33. Al-Muḥarrir, April 18, 1964, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, January 10, 1965.
34. MEM, October 3, 1964.
35. Al-Muḥarrir, October 13, 1964.
36. R. Cairo, June 29, 1965 — SWB, July 1, 1965, MENA, August 28, 1965 — DR, August 29, 1965.
37. MENA, July 24, 1965 — DR, July 26, 1965. According to Faysal ᶜAbd al-Latīf, the council comprised of only 30-35 members, al-Muḥarrir, July 6 and December 3, 1965.
38. Ibid., October 13, 1964.
39. The reason for this is that apparently the tribesmen in the leadership were not united and lacked ideological distinctiveness.
40. Al-Muḥarrir, Ocrober 13, 1964.
41. MENA, July 24, 1965 — DR, July 26, 1965.
42. R. Cairo, July 25, 1964 — SWB, July 27, 1964.
43. R. Sanᶜā, August 8, 1963 — SWB, August 10, 1963, R. Cairo, August 17, 1963 — SWB, August 20, 1963. The personalities intended here are Sāliḥ al-Khawshabī and Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Hādī al-ᶜAjīl.
44. R. Cairo, August 13, 1964 — SWB, August 15, 1964.
45. MEM, December 26, 1964, Plass and Gehrke, p. 271.
46. Loc.cit.
47. Al-Muḥarrir, October 13, 1964, R. Cairo, March 2, 1965 — SWB, March 31, 1965, al-Ahrām, March 28, 1965, R. Cairo, September 15, 1965—SWB, September 17, 1965.
48. TNY, December 8, 1964, R. Cairo, October 26, 1965 — SWB, October 28, 1965.

Chapter 2

THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STRUGGLE: THE BRITISH AND THE FEDERATION VS. THE NLF

From its inception the South Arabian Federation endured the quite impossible position of a buffer between the British and the radical opposition. A pattern had developed whereby the opposition and the British collided again and again over various matters, the Federation being the battleground. The Federal leaders tried to preserve the Federation by adopting a conciliatory policy towards the ATUC and by escalating their demands to the British. Ḥasan Bayūmī, the first Chief Minister of the Aden Incorporated Federation ruled firmly and earned respect from all sides. T. Little even described him as a new Nūrī Saʿīd.[1] However, in April 1963 he died. His successor, a 32 year old Adenese of respectable descent, Zayn ʿAbduh Bāharūn, enjoyed less prestige. He tried to conciliate the unions by nominating an independent leftist, ʿAlī Sālim ʿAlī, to the post of Labour Minister.[2] Goaded by Luqmān, Bāharūn also pressed the British for a more rapid Adenisation of the Federal bureaucracy and for obtaining authority over the ATUC.[3]

It was against this background that various events, which brought about a further political deterioration, occurred. In November 1963, the United Nations Special Committee on Colonialism delegated a five-member sub-committee to investigate the situation in Aden. The British prohibited the sub-committee to enter South Yemen. Nevertheless, its members gathered in North Yemen, where they met South Yemeni representatives of all political shades including the Federal Government. The sub-committee recommended the dissolution of Aden's Legislative Council and called for new elections.[4] It viewed the situation as one which "endangered international peace and security", and blamed the British for obstructing a union of the two Yemens, a goal, which according to the Committee, "the populations in both states adamantly pursue".[5] In December 1963, following the sub-committee's further recommendation and in the face of British opposition, the U.N. General Assembly, by a vote of 77 to 11, adopted a resolution which called on Britain to evacuate Aden's bases, to grant the

people civil rights and the right of self determination, to release political prisoners, and to allow free elections under UN supervision.[6] In April and May 1964 the Special Committee endorsed this resolution and again accused Britain of suppression.[7] So the South Yemeni nationalists acquired an influential ally.

At the same time the unrest in Aden town intensified. The British rejected Bāharūn's proposal to change Aden's electoral system on the grounds that the proposed system would discriminate against non-Arabs. On 10 December 1963 at Aden airport there was an attempt to assassinate the High Commissioner Trevaskis and some Federal Ministers (see below). In response, Aden was put under martial law, 160 Yemenis were expelled and 57 ATUC activists were detained. ᶜAlī Sālim ᶜAlī resigned and the government thus lost a major link with the opposition.[8]

It seems that the British Government then decided to discuss the future of British rule in Aden.[9] In June 1964 the British Colonial Undersecretary, D. Sandys, convened a "Constitutional Conference" in London, which was attended by Federal Ministers and Sultāns but boycotted by the PSP and the NLF. The British government then announced its intention to grant independence to South Yemen in 1968 and meanwhile to prepare a constitution for the state, which could incorporate Ḥadramawt's Princedoms into the Federation and to negotiate an agreement that would allow Britain to keep its military bases in Aden even after independence.[10] This London conference provoked a dispute between the Aden and the Protectorate ministers over the future regime for the independent state. Moreover, despite the triumph of Aden's elite in the October 1964 elections, the PSP and the NLF declared that the incumbent leaders had no mandate to represent the population, that the conference was therefore useless and that the British should evacuate South Yemen immediately.[11]

At the same time a debate took place in the British Parliament over the real value of the Aden bases and the credibility of the Federal leaders.[12] Against this background, the new British Labour Government led by Harold Wilson (which came to power in October 1964), set out to change several of the premises on which Britain's policy in the area was based. According to "The Economist", Aden was going to be a test case for the new government, to prove that it really was of "a new colour".[13]

Labour's policy was made clear in November 1964 during a visit by the new Colonial Secretary, Anthony Greenwood, to Aden. It became clear that Britain would indeed evacuate Aden in 1968 but would retain its military bases and would incorporate independent South Yemen into the Commonwealth. Two new tactics were adopted to facilitate this new policy. First it was proposed to expand the Federation's political base by including the PSP in the government. The PSP seemed to be organised and

efficient and a more viable component for the Federation than the "Feudal Sultans". Al-Asnaj personally was regarded as reliable and positive. As "The Times" then asserted, any constitutional arrangement which excluded the PSP would be useless, while an arrangement supported by the PSP would be more stable and therefore more advantageous for Britain.[14] Secondly, following an idea put forward by local politicians, Greenwood proposed to try to merge the South Yemeni Princedoms into a single, united state. It seems that both the British and the Federal authorities struggled to devise a plan which would satisfy all parties, including the opposition.[15]

However, various intractable difficulties arose. The High Commissioner Trevaskis, who had been the architect of the Federation, opposed the plan to negotiate with the PSP and to establish a united state. In January 1965 he resigned and was replaced by an official from Tanganika, Sir R. Turnbull.[16] In November 1964 and May 1965 the UN Committee on Colonialism criticised British conduct in Aden.[17] Greenwood tried to arrange another constitutional meeting in March 1965, to include all of Aden's political bodies. However, Al-Asnaj again rejected the idea of the Sultāns' participation, while the Federal leaders could not agree among themselves whether or not to incorporate Ḥadramawt's Princedoms in the Federation. Consequently, Greenwood had to retract his idea for a special conference.[18] Bāharūn resigned and on 3 January 1965 the British appointed ᶜAbd al-Qawwī Makkawī to be Chief Minister. He came from one of Aden's richest families and was a director of a large company (A.B. Besse & Co.).[19] He had, nevertheless, profound nationalist convictions: since entering office he had called for the ending of martial law, the release of political prisoners, for self determination, for universal suffrage and for the formation of a provisional, non-Federal, government which would deal with Britain's withdrawal.[20] Greenwood did not accept these demands; he tried, instead, to devise further constitutional and political improvements: on 23 June 1965 he visited Aden and met with various politicians.

However, his efforts were overtaken by events. In August 1965 Aden's Chief of Police, Harrie Barrie, and the Chairman of Aden's Legislative Council, Dr. A. Charles, were assassinated by gunmen.[21] Makkawī's government expressed its regret but did not condemn the act; it even called on the British to enter into negotiations with the NLF, which was suspected of being the assassins' organisation. As a result, on 25 September 1965 Turnbull suspended Aden's constitution, declared that a state of "subversion" existed in Aden, dismissed Aden's government and placed the city under direct British rule.[22] Wilson explained that the decision to evacuate Aden in 1968 still stood; two British officials (Sir R. Home, Sir G. Bell) were sent to Aden to formulate a new constitution.[23] However, Arab and Eastern

Bloc states condemned Britain's reaction.[24] In November 1965, following Makkawī's criticism of "British terror" which he voiced to the UN, the General Assembly condemned Britain and called for its withdrawal from Aden.[25]

Until then, the British-backed Federal regime constituted the main target for the NLF's struggle. Relatively little is known about the NLF's political attitudes; even less is known about the intellectual origins of their views, which echoed ideas raised by the middle class in South Yemen and in other Arab and Third World societies.[26] In the absence of a systematic and definitive text setting about the NLF's early ideas, it is necessary to draw on al-Shaᶜbī's and Ismāᶜīl's writings and the NLF's National Charter. The foundation of the NLF's ideology was the existence of a foreign occupation in South Yemen. Reflecting other Third World ideologies, the NLF argued that the conquest of South Yemen was originally "part of a plan to control the area", exercised by means of advisory and defence treaties.[27] Apart from mentioning that control over South Yemen moved from the Indian government to the Colonial Office,[28] the NLF did not discern different aspects or types of British rule. According to al-Shaᶜbī the British authorities exercised "a full, unlimited rule" (Yatasarruf Tasarrufan Kāmilan, Ghayr Maḥdūd) in all the affairs of the region.[29] Consequently al-Shaᶜbī argued the British were responsible for all of South Yemen's problems. First and foremost, they perpetuated the division of the area into Princedoms as well as the divisions between the Zaydis in North Yemen and the Shafiᶜīs in the South, by preserving these divisions "for the best interest of society".[30] In the Protectorate, which the British particularly neglected, transportation remained very primitive, to maintain the "separation" (ᶜAzlah) in society.[31] With regard to education, the British sought to keep the local population in a state of ignorance because only then "the people would not grasp its legitimate rights and the honorable life it deserves" and would abstain from "revolting against a tyrant and cruel ruler."[32]

The leaders of the NLF could not ignore the fact that under British rule there had been developments in various fields. However, these NLF leaders attributed such cases to Britain's wicked designs. Educational development in Aden, for instance, was intended to cultivate a circle of clerks "in the service of foreign exploitation and the British . . . [accompanied] by an attempt to make them forget Arabic." Albeit growing in numbers, Aden's newspapers were regarded as tools of their rich foreign or local financiers. Any newspaper which deviated from that function [i.e., al-ᶜAmal, al-Baᶜth] or any social club which tried to exercise an independent line, was closed down.[33]

Economic development projects like these of Abyan and Laḥaj were interpreted by the NLF as an exploitation of the South by the British and other foreigners. The Arabs employed

in these projects had no administrative control and were given no opportunity to acquire knowledge of agriculture and earned very little.[34] Moreover, the British had no interest in constructing barrages and water canals to improve irrigation.[35] Al-Shaᶜbī detailed the incredible benefits that the Pan-American Oil Company would obtain if its oil explorations in Ḥadramawt proved successful. According to him, the local Princedoms would receive no more than 20 percent of the profits[36]; an assertion contradicted by other data, though the general principle of allowing the American company the larger share of any profit was confirmed by other sources.[37]

The South Arabian Federation was a major target for the NLF's criticism. It was regarded as a more sophisticated scheme than direct rule, by which the British set out to neutralise new challenges to their presence: Arab nationalism, the demand for self government and unity. Moreover, the Federation became an "artificial state" (Dawlah Mustaniᶜah) without an authentic means of existence. It only preserved political fragmentation, made it easier for the British to exploit local natural resources and to mould the state as a market for British goods.[38] The British prohibited any type of authentic local politics: they forbad strikes, denied civil rights to the local population, persecuted the Unions and used emergency regulations to suppress opposition.[39] In the Protectorate the British were accused of causing the degeneration of the local population by encouraging them to chew Qat leaves with an opium-like effect.[40]

In the NLF's leaders' view the various facets of British policy were designed to achieve two aims: First, to weaken the Arab elements in the state, "who are the rightful owner of the country". The economic projects involving foreigners were designed to achieve this end.[41] Secondly, to use Aden as a military base for Britain's strategy in the Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula in particular. Al-Shaᶜbī even argued that Aden would in the future become a nuclear base.[42]

Al-Shaᶜbī's and other NLF's leaders' views seem exaggerated; thus, their belief in the conspiratorial nature of the British occupation of Aden; in the exploiting character of British interests in the area and their conviction that the British were willingly inflicting harm on local society. However, from their standpoint these accusations have a certain logic. Although they probably did not appreciate this, the NLF leaders were in fact describing problems which arose in South Yemen during a process of economic and political modernisation. They witnessed the growing gaps in society, the hardships which the Yemeni lower classes had to face and the impotence of the Federal government to surmount these problems. They simultaneously experienced indoctrination into the themes of Arab nationalism. From the NLF leaders' viewpoint this was a hopeless situation, because the more modernisation progressed in South Yemen, the more intractable the problems became.

The Framework of the Struggle: The British and the Federation vs. the NLF

From their viewpoint the only beneficiary of the situation was Britain. The NLF's image of the British was demonic and frightening. Despite Britain's declining international position, or possibly because of it, British ventures were viewed as a last ditch stand by imperialism to suppress the South Yemenis, because only in this way could imperialism prevail.

Hence NLF leaders developed a deterministic theory about the dangers inherent in the British presence in South Yemen. To break this pattern, the NLF adopted a doctrine of violent struggle against the British. In his proposal for the NLF's establishment, Qaḥtān prepared "a program for an active struggle,"[43] and the principle of "the revolutionary armed struggle" (al-Niḍāl al-Thawrī al-Musallaḥ) was employed by the NLF from then on. He drew on several sources for this theory. First, the idea of a "revolutionary struggle" was a pillar of Nāsirism and of the Qawmiyyūn's ideology which the NLF duly inherited.[44]

Secondly, the NLF believed that it was impossible to obtain independence without fighting; that alternative, political ways were practically blocked. Hence, "imperialism would not allow the people their rights but only armed struggle".[45] A major criticism against the SAL and the PSP was their abstention from armed struggle;[46] Ismāʿīl explained that these parties focused on "marginal" issues like representation and constitutionalism while other groups understood that "with imperialism no peace can exist".[47] Events like the Suez war and the economic projects in South Yemen inevitably lead to a "basic contradiction" between capitalist imperialism and a "labouring people", which must end in a "revolutionary struggle".[48]

Thirdly, the NLF adopted the concept that a popular armed struggle was of value not only as a device against the British but as a means to improve the morale, solidarity and self-respect of the fighting population. NLF leaders knew Mao Tse-Tung's and Giap's theories of popular guerrilla warfare and particularly Fannon's theory of the Algerian war of independence, which emphasised that violent struggle was a means of uniting the fighting population, of "purifying" it and improving its mental health.[49] Following Fannon's ideas, the NLF announced that people in South Yemen "are beyond the threshold of poverty, humiliation and slavery. They fight to restore their rights as human beings."[50] Hence, the NLF advocated fighting even after it had been announced that the British would leave the area in 1968, because fighting was regarded as a vital mental preparation for the local population's independence.[51]

Fourthly, the NLF adopted the strategy of armed struggle because of its practical benefits; its leaders could utilise the tribal propensity to react violently against foreign rule; could unite the population against a clearly defined

enemy and could offer tangible goal and practical results. The Algerian revolution served once more as the example.[52] The NLF thus devised a doctrine intended to destroy the British supported Federal regime.

Notes

1. TNY, January 14, 1963, The Times, January 18, 1963, Little, p. 101.
2. TNY, July 10, 1963, The Times, July 2, and 10, 1963.
3. Little, pp. 74-89, 94-99, Trevaskis, pp. 176-181.
4. R. San^{c}ā, May 30, 1963 — SWB, 1 June 1963, MEM, June 6, 1963.
5. MENA, May 2, 1963 — SWB, May 30, 1963, R. Cairo, July 3, 1963 — SWB, July 5, 1963, Little, pp. 100-102.
6. R. Cairo - December 12, 1963 — SWB, December 14, 1963.
7. MEM, April 11, 1964, R. Cairo, July 7, 1964 — SWB, July 9, 1964.

8. Little, pp. 103-104.
9. On the aims of Sandys, see: TNY, May 15, 1964, MEM, May 16, 1964.

10. Little, pp. 111-113, Trevaskis, pp. 216-222.
11. On this criticism see: Al-Ahrām, July 10, 1964, al-Ḥayāt, November 11, 1964, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, November 27, 1964, Bujra, 'Elites', p. 206.
12. Nevil Fisher, the Conservative Colonial Secretary, emphasized the necessity of continued British rule over the Aden base (during a visit he made to Aden in May 1964), al-Ḥayāt, May 29 and June 2, 1964.
13. The Economist, December 3, 1964.
14. In the words of D. Healy, Little, p. 114. Healy came strongly against arrests and the banning of newspapers, and had advocated elections as early as 1962. See: The Times, November 14 and December 14, 1964. See also: MEM December 5, 12 and 19, 1964; The Times, December 8, 1964, C.S., vol. 10, (no. 261, December 22, 1964), p. 1244.
15. When Greenwood returned the matter was discussed in Parliament. See in St. Antony's Papers: Statement by the Secretary of State on his Aden Visit, Friday, 11th December, 1964, as well as TNY, December 1, 8, and 13, 1964.
16. Al-Watan (Aden), January 23, 1965, Trevaskis, pp. 201-206.
17. Al-Ahrām, July 12, 1964. This was relevant especially in the case of the Emirate of Fadlī, whose chief took the opposition's stand. See below, and also C.S., vol. 10 (no. 26, December 22, 1964), p. 1247, MEM, May 22, 1967.
18. On the events which led to the cancellation see Little, pp. 148-170, The Times June 16, 18 and 23, 1965. On P.S.P. opposition see: The Times, May 13, 1965.

19. Fatāt al-Jazīrah, February 28, 1965, TNY, March 4, 1965.

20. Makkawī appealed to the Arab League as well - al- Aḥrār, August 13, 1965.

21. See H. Wilson's (the British Prime Minister) reaction in H. Wilson, The Labour Government 1964-1970 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1971), p. 138, henceforth: Wilson.

22. Little, pp. 140-143, Trevaskis, pp. 232-236, TNY, September 27, 1965, The Times, September 27, 1965, C.S., vol. 11 (no. 22, November 26, 1965), pp. 1027-1029.

23. W. Whiatt, M.P., argued that the base is too costly and should be evacuated. On the debates, see: R. Cairo, January 18, 1965 — SWB, January 20, 1965. See also Little, pp. 139-140 and below.

24. Al-Aḥrār, November 12, 1965, Rūz al-Yūruf, December 6, 1965.

25. MEM, October 9, 16 and 20, 1965.

26. The middle class has already been discussed, briefly in this work. Compare: C. Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution, 3rd edition,(New York: Vintage, 1965, pp. 26-67. Brinton stresses that the great revolutions all over the world were carried out neither by the poorest of the poor nor by the wealthy classes but rather by the intermediate classes and those moving up the social ladder, in a process of development.

27. Al-Shaᶜbī, pp. 24, 37, the NLF covenant, Executive Committee, pp. 120-121.

28. Al-Shaᶜbī, p. 42.

29. Ibid., p. 43.

30. Ibid., p. 50.

31. Ibid., pp. 84-85, al-Ahrām al-Iqtisādī, August 15, 1964.

32. Al-Shaᶜbī, p. 70.

33. Ibid., pp. 70-71,73.

34. Ibid., p. 79.

35. Ibid., pp. 80-81.

36. Ibid., pp. 92-101.

37. For a more matter-of-fact description, with similar data and conclusions, see: al-Habashī, pp. 294-319.

38. Al-Shaᶜbī, pp. 104, 170-180, al-Muḥarrir, October 9, 1964.

39. Al-Shaᶜbī, pp. 170-180, al-Muḥarrir, October 9, 1964.

40. Al-Shaᶜbī, pp. 84-85, al-Ahrām al-Iqtisādī, August 15, 1964.

41. Al-Shaᶜbī, p. 104.

42. Ibid., pp. 118-120, 132-150. He bases this on the words of the Defence Secretary, J. Profumo, who spoke of 'long term' plans for Aden and of investments there, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, January 19, 1962. Profumo denied that nuclear weapons were the subject of these words. It seems that al-

Sha^{c}bī's claims are unfounded. See also: al-Aḥrār, November 6, 1964.

43. Al-Sha^{c}bī, p. 234.

44. R.H. Dekeme'jian, Egypt under Nasser: A Study in Political Dynamics (Albany, N.Y.: Suny Press, 1971), pp. 97-118, henceforth: Dekeme'jian.

45. See for instance: R. Cairo, July 28, 1964— DR, July 29, 1964, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, January 10, 1965, R. Cairo, September 8, 1965— SWB, September 10, 1965.

46. Al-Ahrām al-Iqtisādī, September 10, 1964, Executive Committee, p. 67, NLF Covenant, Ibid., p. 184.

47. Ismā^{c}īl, pp. 30-31, al-Sha^{c}bī in interview, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, January 10, 1965 and al-Hurriyyah, December 14, 1964, Rūz al-Yūsuf, December 19, 1967.

48. NLF covenant, Executive Committee, p. 193.

49. Loc.cit., al-Sha^{c}bī, p. 233. For discussions on guerrilla warfare see Y. Harkabi (ed.), On Guerrilla , in Hebrew (Tel Aviv: Ma^{c}arakhot, 1969), henceforth: Harkabi. General Giap Va Nguyen, People's War, People's Army (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1962), M.T. Tung, Theorie des Guerrilla Krieges (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1976).

50. See Fannon, op. cit., R. Cairo, July 26, 1964 — SWB, July 28, 1965.

51. R. Cairo, January 16, 1965 — SWB, January 19, 1965.

52. Executive Committee, p. 48, 'Ismā^{c}īl, p. 27. The Algerians themselves said that 'the war which started in the Aures mountains, started again nine and a half years later in the Arab South,' R. Algeria, May 9, 1964 — SWB, May 12, 1964. See also: ^{c}Āmir Uzīghān, al-Jihād al-Afdal, al Tab^{c}ah al-Thāniyyah (Bayrūt: Dār al-Tali^{c}ah, 1964).

Chapter 3

THE FIGHTING: TACTICS, ORGANISATION AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The date 14 October 1963 signifies the commencement of the NLF's revolt. In fact, it emerged as a local tribal revolt by the Qutaybī tribes in Radfān, located in the East Dālīc Mountains. The Qutaybī leader, Ghālib al-Būzah, then returned from North Yemen, where, according to Egyptian and North Yemeni sources, he had assisted the Republican rebels. On his return the British tried to confiscate his and his men's arms; they resisted and Ghālib was killed. Consequently, Ghālib's son Bālīl commenced a revolt.[1] NLF activists then succeeded (on a date unknown) to assume the leadership of the revolt and to direct it.

The NLF's decision to take over and run the Radfān revolt exemplifies the basic tactics of guerrilla warfare. The area had actually never been fully integrated in the Dālic Princedom; the local Qutaybī tribes had enjoyed full autonomy in the past and had fought against the Amīr's growing ambitions to subjugate them. As such, the NLF chose to exploit an existing revolt of the prevailing pattern, directed against the central government's measures to extend its power.[2] Moreover, the Radfān Mountains controlled the main route from Aden to Baydā' in North Yemen. The NLF could thereby maintain contact with the Republicans in the north, enjoy the proximity of a friendly base and the possibility of obtaining supplies, and, at the same time, could block the route to the British.[3] The fighters used classical guerrilla methods; small scale surprise attacks, according to the "tip and run" method. They used their superior topographical knowledge to ambush convoys on the main roads, afterwards to quickly disappear into the mountains.[4] They moved only in small groups, tried not to remain in one place longer than several hours, used donkeys and camels to carry arms over mountains and sited their headquarters and supply reserves in caves.[5] J. Paget, who commanded one of the British units and who was also familiar with guerrilla warfare in Malaya and Cyprus, indeed praised the Radfān fighters' guerrilla talents: their mobility, sniping capacity, courage and exploitation of the topography.[6]

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The annals of the Radfān battles, even when presented by South Yemeni writers, reflect only British accounts; this is probably so because it was the British who initiated the campaigns there and because the NLF published no accounts of its own. The main battles have already been described elsewhere[7] and a short description will suffice here. The tribesmen concentrated around the Wādis Taym, Rabwah and Misrāḥ and dislocated movement on the Dālic Road.[8] Since December 1963 FA and British forces had been engaged in what was known as "Operation Nutcracker". They landed soldiers by helicopters to open the way for heavier infantry and armoured units to an alternative route to the Dālic Road. They succeeded only in May 1964 after sustaining heavy losses, including an aeroplane.[9] The British then organised a force of 3,600 men, part of which (including "Special Air Service" units and paratroopers) was flown in from Britain. The mission of "Radforce" (as it was called) was to land at Danbah, near the North Yemeni border, cut the tribesmen's link with North Yemen and then to push southwards to Radfān.

Radforce accomplished this mission by 9 May,[10] but sustained further losses. A regular British division was then brought in to fight the tribesmen in the main wādis of Radfān; the British were ambushed at Misrāḥ and Dubsān and only on 8 June managed to defeat the NLF-led Qutaybīs at their centre in Jabal Ḥurriyyah.[11] Albeit victorious, Paget stressed that the British had great difficulties to overcome the Qutaybīs' superior intelligence, the heat and the mountainous topography.[12]

The NLF's greatest achievement seems to have been its utilisation of "the fluidity of force" tactics, namely the spreading of the fighting in order to achieve a maximum number of attacks on a given area and to prevent the enemy from concentrating in one locality where he might obtain an advantage.[13] The NLF indeed claimed to have opened several fighting "fronts" (Jabahāt). In Radfān itself, small scale clashes between tribesmen and British soldiers continued.[14] However, fighting spread into Dālic itself: In September 1964 and January 1965 NLF squads twice bombed the Resident Adviser's House[15]; throughout 1965 they made repeated attacks on the British camps near Khiblayn, Jabal Batāḥ and Thamīr[16]; they often attacked or mined convoys on Dālic's main roads.[17] This front spread southwards into Hawshabī, where contenders to the local throne commenced a tribal revolt; already in November 1963 the British had bombed the area, but the NLF carried on a continuous counter attack there, mainly by attacking British patrols.[18]

Another front opened further to the east, in Bayḥān. In March 1964 and March 1965 North Yemeni tribesmen invaded Bayḥān and even captured villages there; the British then drove off the invaders by air raids, which also facilitated a royalist anti-Egyptian offensive in North Yemen.[19] The NLF focused

their attacks on Bayḥan's ruler, the Sharīf Ḥusayn al-Habīlī, one of the Federation's architects. This they did in September 1964 and October 1965, but in vain.[20]

The "Eastern front" spread further into Wāḥidī, where a local tribal organisation, "The Free Revolutionaries" (al-Thawriyyūn al-Aḥrār) started operating.[21] In Muqīrās, al-ᶜAwdhali, another organisation, "The South Arabian Liberation Army" sprang up.[22] The NLF initiated and inspired their activities: they made sporadic attacks on British soldiers there and on the Resident Adviser's house in Muqīrās.[23] In Shuᶜayb, NLF adherents killed the ruler, ᶜAbdullah al-Salāqī who, according to the NLF, had been warned not to temporise with the British, but nevertheless joined the Federation.[24] In July 1964, NLF tribesmen started attacking in the ᶜArqūb Mountains, thus opening another "Middle Front" in Fadlī and Dathīnah; they successively attacked British camps in Shāfiᶜiyyah, al-Qalīṭah and al-Ḥudayrah as well as official and private houses.[25]

The NLF's methods need some further elaboration. Ostensibly, the Front's achievements were marginal: they failed at Radfān, their efforts and fighting quality were marked but not impressive, they did not succeed in "liberating" for themselves any piece of territory or even in inflicting unacceptable losses on the British. However, the NLF's efforts should be judged by different criteria. As Mao Tse Tung asserted, guerrilla tactics constitute the weapon of the weak party; such a party is a-priori too weak to achieve conventional goals defined in terms of immediate victories and captured territories. Its goals should be strategic rather than tactical: of a long term political significance. Guerrilla warfare would then be useful not as a means to obtain immediate results but as a way to slowly, but constantly burden and weaken the enemy's conventional forces, to disrupt law and order and thereby gain a reputation among the local population.[26]

In this respect the NLF's activities seem more impressive; despite their defeat in Radfān, the NLF fighters managed to initiate intensive fighting in 12 other Princedoms; they became a constant irritant to the British and the Protectorate governments, by threatening their security and disrupting daily life in the Princedoms. They succeeded in obstructing supplies for the British forces in several places, inflicted casualties on the British and local elites and cut the supply routes maintained by the British to aid the royalists in North Yemen. In fact this was probably the only effective way for the NLF to achieve its political ambitions.

The NLF's fighting tactics, i.e., ambushes, grenade attacks and assassinations, are infamous acts of terrorism. To fully grasp the NLF's strategy, it is necessary to elaborate on these methods. Analysts have usually pointed out three major effects of terrorism: First, it has a symbolic effect,

as the victim represents the fate of the institution he is part of.[28] Secondly, terrorism is meant to affect the victim's environment, namely the public, by provoking fear, anxiety, despair and confusion among them. This of course would be most apparent if the terrorist act was public and injured many people.[29] Y. Harkabi has distinguished types of "disintegrating terrorism" and "disruptive terrorism" which are intended to disrupt the government and the society which it rules.[30] Thirdly, terrorism in its nature, has a tactical value which links up with guerrilla warfare; a sudden most impressive act which at one and the same time hits an enemy and publicises the organisation which did it. Moreover, in a crowded city or in a mountainous area, the terrorists proved the efficiency of their organisation by quickly disappearing, leaving no traces.[31] Hence, terrorism has usually been adopted not as a method to obtain immediate military gains but rather because of its cumulative effect. It has a deleterious effect on society and makes it difficult for the government to function; basically, terrorism aims at raising the price which the government in power will have to pay if it prolongs its policies.

The NLF practised terrorism in the Protectorate but it was Aden where its leaders brought it to a peak. The indigenous conflict, the relatively better technical means and transport and the relatively dense population made Aden the finest setting for terrorist acts and for the perpetrators' escape and shelter. It began on 10 December 1963, when a grenade attack on the High Commissioner Trevaskis at Aden's airport in Khurmaksar, killed his deputy, who had tried to protect Trevaskis with his own body, and 53 other people, including several Federal ministers. The officials were on their way to London for constitutional discussions. The British response was to expel 160 Yemenis to North Yemen and to detain al-Asnaj and Ḥusayn al-Qādī of the ATUC. Another ATUC activist, ᶜAbdullah Hasan Khalīfah, was accused of the atrocity, but he never admitted it.[32]

There is no evidence to prove that at that time the NLF was not directly associated with terrorism. However from the summer of 1964 NLF initiated activities spread in Aden. One type of action was to attack gatherings of people: On 12 December 1964 grenades were thrown into an officer's club in Khurmaksar killing an officer's daughter; throughout 1965 more grenades were thrown at British patrols and into markets in Maᶜallah and Shaykh ᶜUthmān[33]; in December 1965 another explosion occurred in Aden's airport, injuring 24 people.[34] Another type of terrorist act was the bombing of vital installations. In November 1964 and again in March, May, August and November 1965 transformers were blown up in Aden's refineries, in the port and in army bases.[35] A third and equally effective type of terrorism was the assassination of public figures or persons whom the NLF regarded as

collaborators with the British. In addition to the earlier mentioned Charles and Barrie who had been assassinated in Summer 1965 and whom an NLF spokesman later called "pillars of imperialism", the NLF murdered in April 1965 the commander of the Crater Prison, where 40 NLF members were then detained.[36] According to Paget, the NLF particularly focused on Aden's special intelligence police units and killed most of their personnel, including two of its commanders, Fadl Aḥmad Ḥalīl and ᶜAlī Warsamah.[37] In July 1965, Sayyid ᶜAbdullah Darwīsh, Aden's Minister of Trade was shot dead, to be followed by other members of his family.[38]

The prospects of effective counter-insurgency were bleak. Paget explained that only on 5 June 1965 was a co-ordinating body, under the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in the Middle East, General Ch. Harrington, set up to co-ordinate the various bodies dealing with counter insurgency. These were the Colonial and the Foreign Offices, the British Army's 24th Division which was responsible for the actual operations in Aden, the Federal Minister of the Interior Sālih Ḥusayn al-ᶜAwdhalī and before its dissolution, the Aden government.[39] Despite their experience gained in Malaya, Kenya and Cyprus, the British did not manage to contain the NLF in Aden; they only outlawed the NLF in July 1965. The local population was most uncooperative, NLF members managed to infiltrate the police and the FA, while the British soldiers, who had to operate among a civilian population, were caught in a dilemma between the recommended policy of using "minimum force" and the necessity to react more forcefully. Hence, till summer 1965, the British did not have a striking success in their anti-terrorist activities.[40]

To complete the picture of the NLF it is necessary to describe its combat setting in more detail. From the little which is known about it, the following picture can be composed. First, the NLF forces were usually trained in North Yemen, under the auspices of the Egyptian intelligence headquarters in Taᶜizz. Several miles south-west to Taᶜizz, in what had been the Imām's summer palace, NLF fighters as well as North Yemen Republican fighters underwent basic guerrilla and sabotage training. A Swiss journalist, P. Sager, who visited the area in the mid-1960s even named the Egyptian commanders of this camp. Successful graduates were then sent to Cairo to specialise in these fields.[41] Additional training camps existed in Qaᶜtabah, the graduates of which were sent to operate in the western Princedoms; in Baybdā', the graduates of which operated in the central Princedoms, and in Ḥārib.[42] Hospitals and recreation centres also existed in these places. In 1965 there were reports that Arabs from a "secret organisation" in South Yemen were being trained in sabotage and guerrilla warfar by Cypriot EOKA members.[43]

Secondly, it seems that the fighters operated in small squads and were mostly highly professional and experienced.

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The writer ᶜAdil Ridā offers an example of a fighter, ᶜAbdullah Maḥfūz, who committed "daily" acts of sabotage, was caught, escaped to Sanᶜā, then went to Cairo where he acquired further training, only to come back to South Yemen and continue fighting.[44] In Aden and in the Protectorate the fighting squads were despatched as individual sabotage groups and were also combined for more intricate operations including ambush attacks, diversion, mortar firing and others. Captured fighters divulged this information.[45] Thirdly, the fighters were under an established commanding and planning apparatus. Captured documents showed that it was usually Egyptian officers who supplied the fighters with operational plans and intelligence about British forces as well as with wireless communication systems, uniforms and Russian, Chinese and Egyptian made arms.[46]

What precisely was the NLF's role in this framework? Unlike other revolutionary organisations, the NLF leaders had no misgivings about who should be "the carrier of the revolution" in South Yemen, i.e. tribesmen, Fallāḥs, industrial workers, intellectuals or a party-elite, and what should be the relationship among these groups.[47] The NLF relied on all of them, according to the prevailing conditions. When operating in the Protectorate countryside they relied mainly on Fallāḥ's and tribesmen, which seems to have been the Qawmiyyūn's advantage over other opposition movements. However, when operations in Aden were considered, the NLF recruited different, more educated elements, a choice which was also manifested in their different training, appropriate for urban sabotage and terrorism. The commander of the NLF in Aden was ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāᶜīl who operated in extreme secrecy. Between May and December 1965 he was replaced by ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlim. The latter was then arrested and Ismāᶜīl went back to his old post in Aden.[48]

The NLF leadership prevailed over this structure. This is evidenced by the role the permanent NLF members adopted for themselves mainly in the Protectorate. While tribesmen engaged in the actual fighting, NLF members used to visit the fighters on the eve of fighting and elaborate to them on the nature and significance of the forthcoming operations.[49] The NLF leaders were thus the ideological and commanding elite of their fighting bodies,[50] serving as planners, administrators and political agitators. This structure allowed the NLF leaders to control and direct the lower ranking subordinates. Among the prominent NLF leaders were ᶜAbdullah al-Majᶜalī and Nāsir al-Saqqāf who operated in Radfān and Dathīnah, and ᶜAlī ᶜAntar who was regarded as the overall commander of the Radfān Front.

Several conclusions can be drawn: The NLF did not develop an integrated organisation embedded in South Yemeni society. Except for the earlier mentioned application to the Arab League to finance "A Liberation Army",[51] there was no organisational

indication of its existence. From what is known, it seems that fighting broke out in places where local flare-ups existed. The fighters were organised in squads and divided among themselves according to education, tribal descent and affiliation to the NLF. The NLF members distinguished themselves from the rank and file by functioning as political directors and staff officers, with the Egyptian and North Yemenis as trainers and suppliers. Hence, the NLF fighting structure complemented its tactical nature: emphasis was put on expanding the fighting into various localities, based on existing rebel cadres, outside aid and careful NLF control and direction. The NLF did not aim to build a deeply rooted organisation to achieve immediate and significant military and territorial gains, but rather at a loose organisation to engage in continuous fighting activity. Even nationalist writers indicated that by joining Shaykh Ibn Ghālib's revolt in Radfān, the NLF merely responded to an existing opportunity.[52]

Notes

1. Al-Ḥayāt, May 21, 1964, Rūz al-Yūsuf, July 13, 1964. During July and August of that year, Rūz al-Yūsuf correspondent Jamal Ḥamdī stayed in South Yemen, where he wrote a series of valuable, on-the-spot articles on the rebellion.

2. New Times (Moscow), October 23, 1964. The magazine's correspondent G. Maslow was the first to designate the fighters 'Red Wolves'. See also: Muḥammad ᶜAlī al-Shaᶜbī, Al-Yaman al-Janūbī Khilf al-Sitār al-Ḥadīdī (n.p.: 1972), p. 27, henceforth: M.A. Al-Shaᶜbi, Beyond the Iron Curtain.

3. Al-Ḥayāt, May 10, 1964. As mentioned earlier, the subject of the tension was discussed in the previous chapter. It was rumoured that the British also built an air-strip in Bayḥān, which was supposed to serve against North Yemen. al-Naṣr (Syria), December 9, 1962 — IDS, January 5, 1963. In June 1963 several British troops were captured while patrolling inside North Yemenite territory, The Daily Telegraph, June 25, 1963.

4. See Y. Harkabi, 'The Guerrilla,' in Y. Harkabi, op. cit., p. 61, for an analysis of the theories of Mao, Giap and others had on the subject. On the considerations which guided NLF activities see Qaḥtān al-Shaᶜbī in al-Muḥarrir, August 15, 1964.

5. H.B. Liddell Hart, Strategy: The Indirect Approach, translated into Hebrew by Elḥanan Oren, 2nd Edition (Tel-Aviv: Maᶜarakhot), 1978, pp. 370-380. Henceforth: Liddell Hart. C. Von Klausevitz, On War, edited with an introduction by Anatol Rapoport (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), pp. 35, 53, henceforth: Clausevitz. On NLF applications of these theories see Rūz al-Yūsuf, July 13, August 1 and 24, 1964, al-Aḫbār, September 18, 1964, Aḥmad, p. 97. See also: R. Moscow, May 23, 1964 — SWB, May 26, 1964, TNY,

October 10, 1964.

6. J. Paget, Last Post: Aden 1964-1967 (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), pp. 40-49, henceforth: Paget.

7. Paget, op. cit., Sultān Nājī, al-Ta'rīkh al-ᶜAskarī lil-Yaman 1839-1967 (n.p.: n.d.).

8. R. Cairo, February 21, 1964 — SWB, February 24, 1964, R. Cairo, March 19, 1964 — SWB, March 29, 1964.

9. Paget, pp. 42-48, 50. On the rebels' activities see: R. Cairo, December 19, 1964 — SWB, December 21, 1964, TNY, January 5, and 6, 1964, MEM, February 8 and 22, 1964, R. Cairo, February 18, 1964 — SWB, February 20, 1964, R. Sanᶜā March 19, 1964, SWB , March 21, 1964 — DR, March 20, 1964, R. Sanᶜā, April 13, 1964 — SWB, April 15, 1964.

10. On British lessons drawn from the fighting see: The Times, May 9, 1964, TNY, May 3 and 5, 1964, Paget, pp. 53-73. On combat moves see: al Ḥayāt, May 3 and 4, 1964, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, May 5, 1964, Rūz al-Yūsuf, May 4, 1964, TNY, May 5, 7 and 9, 1964, MEM, May 9 and 10, 1964.

11. R. Cairo, May 25, 1964 — SWB, May 27, 1964, R. Sanᶜā May 27, 1964 — SWB, May 29, 1964. On Wādī / Dubsān battles see: al-Hayāt, May 21 and 29, 1964. Around Jabal Ḥurriyyah the rebels made several attacks -- in al-Bayz, Dūban, Qaryah, and planted bombs in the British headquarters at Thamīr. See: al-Ḥayāt, June 2 and 3, 1964, R. Sanᶜā, June 11, 1964 — DR, June 12, 1964, TNY, June 12, 1964, MENA, June 14, 1964 — DR June 16, 1964, R. Sanᶜā, July 3, 1964 — SWB, July 6, 1964.

12. Paget, pp. 57, 80.

13. Liddell Hart, op. cit.

14. MENA, June 21, 1964 — DR, June 22, 1964, MEM, July 18, 1964, Blair reported 22 incidents of sniping in Wādī al-Taym during July and August 1964. See MEM, August 1, 1964.

15. Al-Jumhūriyyah (Egypt), July 31, 1964, IDS, August 4, 1964, R. Sanᶜa , August 8, 1964 — DR, August 12, 1964, R. Sanᶜā, August 28, 1964 — Aḥmad, p. 164.

16. MEM, February 27, and March 27, 1965, R. Cairo, June 1 and 3, 1965, R. Cairo, June 2, 1965 — SWB, June 4, 1965, R. Cairo, June 10, 1965 — SWB, June 12, 1965, R. Cairo, July 1, 1965 — SWB, July 12, 1965, R. Cairo, July 28, 1965 — SWB, July 30, 1965. On mining and other acts of sabotage specifically, see: R. Cairo, August 3, 1965 — SWB, August 5, 1965, R. Cairo, August 8, 1965 — SWB, August 10, 1965, R. Cairo, September 1, 1965 — SWB, September 3, 1965, R. Cairo, September 21, 1965 — SWB, September 23, 1965, R. Cairo, October 22, 1965 — SWB, October 25, 1965, R. Cairo, December 2, 1965 — SWB, December 4, 1965, R. Cairo, December 8, 1965 — SWB, December 10, 1965.

17. R. Cairo, December 13, 1965 — SWB, December 15, 1965.

18. R. Cairo, November 30, 1963 — SWB, December 3, 1963.

19. MEM, March 27, April 3 and 10, 1964, March 20, 1965.

20. R. Cairo, September 21, 1964 — SWB, September 23, 1964, R. Sanᶜā, October 6, 1965 — SWB, October 8, 1965, R.

San^{c}ā, October 10, 1965 — SWB, October 12, 1965. See also: J. Lunt, The Barren Rocks of Aden (London: H. Jenkins, 1966), pp. 85, 97, henceforth: Lunt.

21. R. Cairo, August 23, 1965 — SWB, August 25, 1965.

22. MENA, May 24, 1965 — DR, May 25, 1965, R. Cairo, May 25, 1965 — SWB, May 27, 1965, R. Cairo, August 23, 1965, — SWB August 25, 1965. Lunt, op. cit., pp. 110-114.

23. R. Cairo, May 21, 1965 — DR, May 26, 1965.

24. His house was first attacked as early as October 1964 -- see Fatāt al-Jazīrah, October 15, 1964. See also R. Cairo, July 9, 1964 — DR, July 12, 1964, al-Muḥarrir, July 9, 1965, MEM, July 17, 1965.

25. Akhbār al-Yawm, August 1, 1964 — IDS, August 5, 1964, R. Cairo, August 6, 1964 — SWB, August 8, 1964, R. Cairo, August 3, 1964 — SWB, August 5 and 8, 1964, R. Cairo, August 21, 1964 — SWB, August 27, 1964, al-Muḥarrir, August 5 and 15, 1964 (interview with al-Sha^{c}bi), August 31, 1964, al-Aḥrār, August 5, 1964. The 23rd of July is the anniversary of the army officers' revolution in Egypt in 1952. R. San^{c}ā, July 16, 1964 — SWB, July 18, 1964, R. San^{c}ā, July 30, 1964 — SWB, August 3, 1964, DR, August 11, 1964, R. Cairo, August 16, 1964 — DR, August 18, 1964, R. Cairo, September 10, 1964 — SWB, September 12, 1964, MEM, September 5, 1964.

26. R. Cairo, July 29, 1964 — SWB, July 31, 1964. On this matter see the 'antigame' principle, Harkabi, pp. 18-21.

27. Compare: Ben-Raphael, p. 68.

28. T.P. Thornton, 'Terror as a Weapon of Political Agitation,' in H. Eckstein (ed.), Internal War: Problems and Approaches (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 73, 80-92.

29. M. Rajai, The Strategy of Political Revolution (New York: F.A. Prager, 1973), p. 36.

30. See Harkabi, op. cit. On the issue of terrorism in general see the first part of: G. Ben-Dor, 'The Terrorist Strategy in the Arab-Israeli Conflict' (in Hebrew), Riv^{c}on le-Meḥqar Ḥevrati (Nos. 12-19, 1977), pp. 35-43.

31. M.G. Hutchinson, 'The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism,' Journal of Conflict Resolution, 16 (September 1972), pp. 383-396. See also: P. Wilkinson, Political Terrorism (London: McMillan, 1974), pp. 136-151. On urban terrorism see: R. Moss, The War of the Cities (New York: Coward, McCann, 1972).

32. Much was written of this event. See, for instance: Paget, p. 23. On the imposition of a state of emergency: TNY December 11, 12 and 13, 1963. On putting the blame on North Yemen: TNY, December 16, 1963, February 23, 1964, R. London, December 15, 1963 — IDS, December 17, 1963, The Times, January 1, 2, 10 and 18, 1964, and other papers of this period. On the defendant Khalīfah and charges that Britain exploits the situation for taking oppressive measures: R. Cairo, December 11 and 12, 1963 — DR, SWB, December 13, 1963, R. Cairo,

December 13, 1963 — SWB, December 14, 1963. On Khalīfah's trial: MEM, February 8, 1964.

33. R. Cairo, August 20, 1964 — DR, August 26, 1964, TNY, November 11 and 27 and December 26, 1964, MEM, December 26, 1964, Paget, p. 135.

34. R. Cairo, March 17, 1965 — SWB, March 19, 1965.

35. Al-Muḥarrir, September 17 and November 5, 1964, August 17, 1965, R. Cairo, May 27, 1965 — SWB, May 31, 1965, R. Cairo, August 29, 1965 — SWB, September 1, 1965, MEM, February 29, March 13 and November 20, 1965.

36. F. Gross, in his: The Revolutionary Party (London: Greenwood Press, 1974), pp. 172-174 distinguishes between 'crisis assasination,' which is the result of a difficult psychological situation, and 'tactical assasination,' aiming at destroying a central figure. The two motives can of course, combine. On the incidents themselves, see: al-Muḥarrir, June 23 and September 2 and 3, 1965, Paget, p. 139, R. Paris, August 29, 1965 — DR, August 31, 1965, MEM, April 3 and September 9, 1965, TNY, October 2 and 13, 1965, R. Cairo, September 3, 1965 — SWB, September 6, 1965.

37. R. Cairo, April 25, 1965 — DR, April 26, 1965, Paget, p. 135.

38. MEM, July 10, 1965, al-Muḥarrir, September 15, 1965.

39. For a detailed description, see: Paget, pp. 120-132.

40. Ibid., pp. 149-158.

41. Sager, op. cit., p. 170. al-Ḥayāt, May 21, 1964: large groups of rebels from Radfān were observed in Taᶜizz training under instructions of Egyptian officers and passing in lorries in the town.

42. Sager, op. cit., p. 171. The Daily Express, December 3, 1964, The Sunday Telegraph, June 11, 1964.

43. According to Mahi newspaper of Cyprus, brought by al-Ahrām, December 3, 1965, al-Muḥarrir, December 3, 1965.

44. Ridā, pp. 138-139.

45. Stork, p. 6. On Egyptian aid see also: The Times August 10, 1964, TNY, May 11, 1965.

46. Al-Ḥayāt, May 3 and 4, 1964, MEM, April 3 and September 25, 1965, The Times, December 29, 1965.

47. Harkabi, op. cit., E. Ben-Raphael, "The Guerrilla in its Own Eyes" (in Hebrew), Rivᶜon le-Mehqar Ḥevrati (Nos. 7-8, 1974), pp. 25-38, J. Bowyer Bell, On Revolt (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 149, henceforth: Bowyer Bell. See also an interview with ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāᶜīl in Rūz al-Yūsuf, December 14, 1967.

48. For instance: Ridā, p. 117.

49. In the articles of Ḥamdī, Rūz al-Yūsuf, July 7, August 17 and 24, 1964.

50. See Ben-Raphael's analysis, based of De Toqueville and others, op. cit., pp. 59, 66.

51. MEM, October 3, 1964.

52. See: Ridā, pp. 62-67.

Chapter 4

POLITICAL STANDPOINT AND ACHIEVEMENTS

In 1964 and 1965 the NLF tried to weaken the Federal regime and Britain's hold over South Yemen. Its leaders often repeated the NLF's goals: The release of political detainees, the return of exiled nationalists to Aden, the ending of the emergency situation in Aden, immediate British evacuation from the whole country, the abolition of the Federation and then, the arrangement of elections under UN supervision.[1] The common denominator of the NLF's efforts was its complete rejection of British policy as manifested in the 1964 and 1965 London conferences. The Front's leaders condemned the official policy designed to lead to independence in 1968 as a forgery and as an "imperialist plot".[2] The Labour Party had not abandoned the "imperialist complex" (ʿUqdat al-ʿUthmah) which had characterised previous governments.[3] The fact that the British contemplated allowing the "imperialistic agents" of the Federation to remain in power after independence turned all such plans into "a comedy" (mahzalah).[4] In February 1965, following a special session of its leaders, the NLF decided to reject the constitutional conferences' decisions and forbade the South Yemeni people to accept them.[5]

Beyond the anti-imperialist slogans, the situation must have given rise to a genuine anxiety among the NLF's leaders, emanating from the dynamics which the decision to bestow independence in 1968 generated. They feared that years of bitter struggle lay ahead: 1968 was both sufficiently distant to preclude a final decision about who should rule in the future but near enough to commence a struggle over this issue. The NLF leaders particularly feared the strengthening of British rule in the Federation, which could only diminish the NLF's prospects for the future. British bombing of the rebel areas, detentions and deportations seemed to be a means to finally weaken the nationalists prior to 1968. For propaganda purposes as well as from genuine fear, the NLF leaders announced that Britain had not only found oil in Ḥadramawt but also Uranium,[6] that the Labour government was deeply associated with the Federal regime[7] and that Britain contem-

plated building a military bases 25 miles west of Aden[8] (an assertion which was never confirmed) all of which indicated that Britain would not leave the area. There were also indications that Britain was reinforcing the Federation preparing it to dominate the area after 1968. The Federal Foreign Minister, Muḥammad Farid al-ᶜAwlaqī, announced that Britain would support the Federation financially[9] and the Minister of Information, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jirjirah announced that after independence Britain would retain its bases in Aden on a leasehold arrangement, and not as part of a politically compromising military pact.[10] Jirjirah obtained the support of the Saᶜūdi King, Faysal, for this plan and it was said that Britain would bring in both "moderates" and "rebels" to support the scheme.[11] In 1965, as the al-ᶜAlawī and Mufallaḥī Princedoms joined the Federation, the British constitutional committee commenced its work and rumours spread that the FA would be substantially enlarged to include a navy.[12] The NLF saw its main task to be the weakening of the British-reinforced Federation. Its guerrilla and terrorist activities were thus aimed at intensifying the struggle, to create an impression of a weak and unviable Federation. This was the only political advantage which the NLF could obtain in a direct confrontation with the Federal authorities and the British.

To achieve its goal, the NLF maintained close contacts with various Arab states. The Arab League commissioned the Arab Lawyer's Association to act on behalf of South Yemeni detainees[13] and sent doctors to treat the wounded and refugees.[14] The League's council and the Committee of Arab Heads of State decided to supply medical aid to the fighters in South Yemen,[15] to grant a budget for the NLF[16] and to line up in a united anti-British posture.[17] The League's deputy Secretary-General, Sayyid Nawfal, acted as the official propagandist of and Liaison officer with the NLF. He proposed a joint Arab plan "to fight British imperialism in South Yemen."[18] He initiated the formation of "The Committee of the Occupied South" composed of members from Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwayt and North Yemen; Qaḥṭān, Faysal ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf and the NLF's Egyptian representative of the day, ᶜAbd al-Malik Ismāᶜīl, often met with this committee and with Nawfal.[19] Their assistance, in financial and propaganda terms, was vital for the NLF.

Iraqi, Syrian, North Yemeni and even Lebanese and Jordanian high ranking figures denounced Britain for "bombing the tribes" and expressed their support for the "fighters in the South."[20] Egypt, more than any other Arab state, substantially supported the NLF's struggle. Interestingly, in late 1963, soon after the outbreak of the Radfān revolt, ᶜAbd al-Nāsir limited his response to Shaykh Sāliḥ al-Ḥawshabī's request for aiding the revolt, to offering his condolences to the victims' families.[21] However, he must have changed his attitude after it had become apparent that Egypt's protege,

the NLF, was indeed leading the revolt, and that the fighting was sufficiently widespread to constitute a friendly flank for the Egyptian and republican forces in North Yemen, and to be a burden for the British in South Yemen. Moreover, although it did not render immediate tactical and territorial achievements, ᶜAbd al-Nāsir, like the NLF's leaders themselves, probably found some wide, political advantages in the revolt. This is evident from contemporary Egyptian declarations: That the British invested money and efforts in the Federation and shed their blood for this same but in vain.[22] The rebels reminded the British that their grip on South Yemen was "a hopeless cause".[23] The events there constituted "a phase in the overall Arab revolution" to "liberate the Arab homeland", a goal which was openly championed in the Egyptian 1962 National Charter and in the face of which "Egypt could not remain neutral".[24] It was also argued that the London conferences were a fraud as they did not include the "revolutionary pioneer from Radfān" who was "the real representative of the population".[25]

ᶜAbd al-Nāsir probably realised that the NLF would not overpower the British. However, outstanding financial problems between Egypt and Britain, British agreement for long term aid to Egypt and the question of recognition of the Republic of North Yemen[26] were then on the agenda between the two states and, faithful to his "positive neutralism", it was in ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's style to exert pressure on a negotiating partner, notably a western power like Britain. He, therefore, aimed at hampering Britain in a sensitive spot like South Yemen, where a supportive group like the NLF operated. In addition, as shown in statements mentioned above, ᶜAbd al-Nāsir presumably took into account the fact that Britain would leave the area in 1968 and so he groomed Egypt to become the power behind the "true representative" of the people in South Yemen. As Egyptian forces were then already partly dominating North Yemen, ᶜAbd al-Nāsir might thereby have acquired a substantial stake in the Peninsula. Like the NLF leaders themselves, the Egyptian leaders supported dynamic activity to disrupt the Federal, British-inspired regime.

Hence, strategically, Egypt constituted the NLF's most fervent supporter. This was so not only because of the tactical military support Egypt offered to the NLF but also for the congruence between Egyptian and NLF aims. By strategically co-operating with Egypt, the NLF leaders could feel assured that their further aims were cherished by the best possible supporter, the lack of immediate military achievements thus turning into an asset for the future. J. Bowyer Bell noted:

> The General Command [of the NLF] believed Britain was vulnerable, a decaying imperial power, that the

> anticolonial tides ran with them, that Nasser was the wave of the future. There was no real intention to lever the British out by making use of British virtues...but rather to open the armed struggle and wait for imperial withdrawal. And, from the point of view of the NLF, why not? The British had been withdrawing for a generation.[27]

The NLF leaders attempted to pursue deeper, more ideological Nāsirist maxims for the Front which reflected its additional goals. Arab unity, or solidarity in which Egypt was "a natural noble nucleus" (Nawᶜah Tibᶜiyyah Asīlah)[28] was a goal much hailed by the NLF. Its leaders stressed that "the struggle in all parts of the homeland has an equal character."[29] They particularly aimed at implementing Arab unity in their area of activity. They argued that the two Yemens were in fact one "natural, complete unity", belittling the religious differences between the Zaydis in the North and the Shāfiᶜīs in South Yemen.[30] Nevertheless, the leaders were careful to designate their Front for "the occupied South" only and it seems that like ᶜAbd al-Nāsir himself, the NLF was reluctant to embark on a widespread and complex plan for unity with neighbouring Arab states and avoided practical steps for immediate Yemeni unity. They rather emphasised local unity among the tribes and Princedoms of South Yemen. They sought to eliminate "the tribal spirit" (al-Ruḥ al-Qibliyyah), the "schisms" and "diversity" which prevailed mainly "through British interest".[31] No doubt, the NLF viewed itself as fulfilling the Nāsirist, very pragmatic maxim of "unity of ranks" (Waḥdat al-Ṣaff) in South Yemen.[32]

In so doing, the NLF leaders viewed themselves once more in a Nāsirist role, that of pioneering liberators. Following Sāṭiᶜ al-Ḥusrī's mythological and romantic arguments for Arab unity which loomed behind Nāsirism,[33] the NLF leaders regarded the seeking of unity and independence as "an historical necessity"[34] which the present generation must carry. The achievement of this goal would introduce the South Yemeni people into "civilisation" (al-Ḥadārah).[35] This was the NLF's mission. Its leaders went to great lengths to prove that the Federal regime, the London conferences and local elections were simply false, because the NLF represented the majority and the real will of the people and the NLF was not a part of these frameworks.[36] The Front comprised the "nationalistic" forces in the area (workers, tribesmen, Fallaḥs, students and intelligensia, women and others) and enlisted their loyalty.[37]

Britain's fierce bombing of the rebel areas and persecution of the NLF was described by its leaders as a proof of the Front's success; the British panicked because the NLF was a credible political alternative to their own hold in South Yemen and to the Federation, and it would spread into

Zufār (in ᶜUmān) and the Persian Gulf.[38] Wilson's government stood empty-handed against the NLF.[39]

The NLF's contacts with Egypt were thus multi-fold and entrenched. Tactically, the NLF aimed at uniting local fighting forces and creating a widespread fighting front; these aims tallied with Nāsirist interests, a combination which generated assistance and supplies for the NLF. Strategically, the NLF relied on the inspiration and on the anti-Western record of Nāsirism to see it through to a long term victory. The NLF further cemented its reliance on Nāsirism by adopting the maxims of Arab liberation and unity and the image of a liberator, in Nāsirist shape. As such the NLF's fighting activities were only one aspect of its purpose and the less important one; its long-term political goal was to align with the most effective Arab state and rely on it.[40] This situation opened up possible avenues of success for the NLF but also put it under the straw of certain risks.

Notes

1. R. Sanᶜā, May 19, 1964 — DR, May 20, 1964, R. Cairo, July 8, 1964 — DR, July 9, 1964. On January 13, 1964, the NLF called upon Wilson to recognize the South Yemenis' right to self-determination, al-Muḥarrir, January 14, 1964.
2. MEM, November 28 and December 12, 1964.
3. Al-Aḥrār, December 10, 1964.
4. Al-Muḥarrir, June 23, 1964 (on the London Conference), and December 26, 1964, al-Ahrām, December 9, 1964, al-Aḥrār December 16, 1964, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, December 17, 1964.
5. Al-Muḥarrir, February 18, 1965, Rūz al-Yūsuf, February 22, 1965. See also an interview with al-Shaᶜbī, al-Muḥarrir, July 29 and August 3, 1965.
6. Rūz al-Yūsuf, May 4, 1964, al-Ḥayāt, May 10, 1964, al-Muḥarrir, November 26, 1964.
7. Al-Muḥarrir, November 20, 1964, al-Aḥrār, December 16, 1964 (it was even spoken of preserving Britain's 'good reputation' -- after her apparent failure in the Suez in 1956).
8. Al-Muḥarrir, November 16, 1964, including photos and descriptions of the respective army camp.
9. Al-Muḥarrir, June 10, 1965. See also the opening speech by N. Fisher, the Colonial Secretary, at the London Conference, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, July 24, 1964.
10. al-Ḥayāt, November 13, 1964, al-Muḥarrir, June 11, 1965.
11. Ibid., Rūz al-Yūsuf, May 4, 1964.
12. Al-Muḥarrir, June 18, 1964 and February 9, 1965, al-Quwwāt al-Musallaḥah (Egypt), June 16, 1965 — IDS, June 23, 1965.
13. Rūz al-Yūsuf, May 4, 1964, al-Ḥayāt, July 29, 1964. The association had started acting in support of the South Yemen nationalists as early as the end of 1962, when al-Asnaj

and others were first detained, see al-Ahrām, February 22, 1962.

14. Sayf al-Dālic̄i explained in an interview that support by the Arab states was not full, see al-Ḥurriyyah, January 21, 1965, al-Ahrām, March 20, 1965.

15. A call upon Britain to stop her 'war of annihilation' (Ḥarb al-Ibādah), al-Ḥayāt, May 20, 1964. Detailed memoranda were forwarded to the League, covering a variety of subjects: al-Ḥayāt, August 30, 1964 and October 8, 1965, al-Jumhūriyyah, September 2, 1965, al-Ahrām, September 7, 1965.

16. Aḥbār al-Yawm, April 17, 1965 — IDS, April 25, 1965, al-Jumhūrriyyah, May 17, 1965 — IDS, May 23, 1965, Kull Shay' October 9, 1965 — IDS, October 15, 1965.

17. See all sources on preceding note.

18. MEM, May 9, and Jun 27, 1964, R. Cairo, September 28, 1964 — DR, September 30, 1964, SWB, September 12, 1964, al-Muḥarrir, September 29, 1965, R. Cairo, October 9, 1965 — DR, October 11, 1965.

19. On these meetings: MENA, January 23, 1965 - DR, January 26, 1965, R. Cairo, March 29, 1965 — DR, March 30, 1965, R. Cairo, December 22, 1965 — SWB, December 23, 1965.

20. R. Damascus, October 2, 1965 — SWB, October 5 and 6, 1965, R. Damascus, October 8, 1965 — SWB, October 10, 1965, al-Baᶜth, December 27, 1964 and October 17, 1965, al-Thawrah, December 27, 1964 and October 28, 1965, MEM, May 9, 1964 and September 5, 1965, R. Sanᶜā, June 22, 1964 — SWB, June 24, 1964, al-Muḥarrir, September 29, 1965.

21. R. Cairo, November 28, 1963 — DR, December 2, 1963.

22. R. Cairo, April 27, 1964 — SWB, April 30, 1964, al-Akhbār (Cairo), May 26, 1964, R. Cairo, May 27, 1965 — SWB May 29, 1965.

23. R. Cairo, January 18, 1965 — SWB, January 20, 1965.

24. Al-Ahrām, May 4, 1964, R. Cairo, December 18, 1964 — SWB, December 19, 1964.

25. R. Cairo, June 1, 1964 — SWB, June 3, 1964, R. Cairo, June 7, 1964 — SWB, June 10, 1964, R. Sanᶜā, June 8, 1964 — SWB, June 10, 1964.

26. Al-Ḥayāt, July 20, 1965, al-Baᶜth, July 19, 1965.

27. See Bowyer Bell's thesis on this subject, op. cit., p. 150.

28. Al-Shaᶜbī, p. 233.

29. Ibid., p. 246, Dekmejian, op. cit.

30. Al-Shaᶜbī, p. 65.

31. Ibid., pp. 61-62.

32. Al-Muḥarrir, August 27, 1964.

33. L.M. Kenny, 'Sāticˇ al-Ḥusrī's Views on Arab Nationalism', MEJ, 17 (1963), pp. 231-256. See also: Sāticˇ al-Ḥusrī, Abḥāth mukhtārah fī al-Qawmiyyah al-ᶜArabiyyah (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Maᶜārif, 1964), S.G. Haim (ed.), Arab Nationalism, an Anthology, paperback edition ,(Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 3-75, 147-154.

34. S. Shamir, 'The Question of National Philosophy in

the New Arabic Thought' in Hebrew, Hamizrah Hehadash, 14 (No. 1, 1964), pp. 1-31.

35. Harkabi, pp. 55-58.

36. Interview with F. ᶜAbd al-Latīf, al-Muḥarrir, February 9, 1965, as well as August 27, 1965.

37. R. Sanᶜā, May 19, 1964 – DR, May 20, 1964. See also the above-mentioned interview.

38. R. Baghdad, August 29, 1964 – SWB, September 1, 1964 (interview with al-Shaᶜbī).

39. al-Muḥarrir, March 28 and April 2, 1965, R. Cairo, July 28, 1965 – SWB, July 30, 1965.

40. Compare: Bowyer Bell, pp. 180, 277.

PART THREE

SOUTH YEMENI SOCIETY AND THE STRUGGLE: THE SOCIO-POLITICAL DIVISIONS

Chapter 1

FEDERAL LEADERS SPLIT

Federal leaders seem to have agreed about independence for South Yemen. Already on 9 November 1963 six leading Adenese wrote to Britain's colonial secretary demanding a British declaration of South Yemen's independence, to be issued before December 1964. Following the visit of the UN Inquiry Commission, copies of this letter were also sent to the UN General Assembly and to the Secretary General.[1] Several weeks later, Aden's Chief Minister, Bāharūn, declared that his government's main mission was "to obtain freedom from imperialism" and that he "would wear black" till the emergency regulations were ended in Aden.[2] In February 1964 the Sultān Aḥmad Ibn al-Fadlī, who officiated as the Federal Minister for education and information, also demanded independence.[3]

However, there were differences of opinion regarding the means to achieve independence. After the imposition of the emergency regulations in late 1963 there arose in Aden a group of leaders who became totally disillusioned with the British. Being members of Aden's elite they found it extremely difficult to cope with the restrictions imposed on the city. They identified Britain's heavy hand behind the "facade" of self-government. The growing attraction of Arab nationalism and of al-Asnaj as its local representative constituted an alternative to the present Federal regime which they could support against the British. During the early weeks of 1964 three ministers in Aden's Government and two Federal ministers resigned their posts in protest at the detentions and the "inhuman" treatment given to detainees. One of them, who had been Aden's Minister of Finance, ᶜUmar ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Shihāb, declared in Beirut that "Aden has become one big prison".[4]

Various events brought into being an opposition of Federal and Adenese leaders to the British and to the local governments. Bāharūn and other ministers went to London to participate in the first Constitutional Conference which they declared would lead to independence.[5] A group led by Makkawī opposed the Aden government's participation in this framework (Makkawī himself came to the Conference privately). Makkawī

became more forceful over the issue of Aden's electoral law. According to a Federal decree of the 15 February 1964 every person over 21 years old who had lived in Aden for ten years, who spoke Arabic and who was under no "foreign influence" could vote. This meant that many South Yemenis had not resided in Aden long enough to earn this right. Makkawī demanded the amendment of the decree "which prevented South Yemeni Arabs from participating in the elections".[6] In November 1964, during Greenwood's visit, Makkawī proposed that Aden's government should resign and that a petition should be given to Greenwood asking for new elections, the termination of the emergency situation and the release of political prisoners. Bāharūn refused and Makkawī declared that he would present the petition on his own.[7] In August 1964 the newspaper al-Ayyām was declared to be a "security threat" and was closed down by Aden's government. After the local elections this became the the fate of another local newspaper, "The Recorder". Consequently, a member of Aden's Council, Hāshim ᶜUmar Ismāᶜīl vented the opposition's anger by proposing a non-confidence motion against Bāharūn for "serving [alien] interests".[8]

In 1965, the direction headed by the opposition group which had developed within South Yemen's elite, became quite clear. Makkawī's petition was strikingly similar to a petition which the PSP actually did present.[9] Trevaskis wrote that Shihāb had told him that "When we get independence...it will be al-Asnaj who will be president. Be realistic about it and come to terms with him now, before it is too late".[10] Either because of a genuine inclination to Arab nationalism or only because of political realism, members of this group became supporters of the PSP or at least of the prevalent nationalistic line. In 1964 several PSP members, notably Hasan al-Khalīfah, who had been accused of the attempt to assassinate Trevaskis, were elected to Aden's Council.[11] The new Prime Minister, Makkawī, also held deep nationalist convictions.[12]

Another problem which divided South Yemen's elite's ranks revolved around the disputes between the Protectorate Sultāns and the Adenese leadership. The armed struggle and the necessity to prepare for the forthcoming independence exacerbated these disputes. During 1964-1965 the Federation operated with a £ 3 million budgetary deficit.[13] The British provided 86 percent (!) of the Federal budget. In summer 1965 the Federal Finance Minister, ᶜAbdullah Sālim Bāsindūh, visited London and was promised a grant of £9 million but only £3.3 million was designated for the current Federal budget, and £4 million for military expenditure. Hence, only about £1.7 million was earmarked for development projects.[14]

In such circumstances the Federation failed to achieve one of its central goals, namely, to reach a position equal to that of Aden. Unlike the Federation's dire financial situation, Aden's financial balance showed a credit of £7 million (!).[15]

Various disagreements thus broke out between the two leaderships: Should Britain invest more in the Protectorate than in Aden? How should the budget between the two territories be split, particularly after independence? Another question arose concerning the future of Aden's British controlled undertakings, namely, the port, refineries and army bases.[16] These problems only added to the old ones over the differences between Aden's more sophisticated and open political system and the quasi-tribal and monarchial system in the Protectorate. Already in late 1963 and early 1964, these problems became apparent when the Adenese accused the British of fostering the Protectorate's feudalism,[17] while on the other hand, the Sultān Aḥmad al-Fadlī stated that Aden's position, being at the same time both a Federal member and a British colony, was an impediment to independence.[18]

In August 1964, during the Conference in London, the rift deepened when al-Fadlī who had then officiated as the Federal Prime Minister, retired unexpectedly, flew to Egypt and announced that he was joining the "nationalist" camp. Apparently al-Fadlī was prompted to act the way he did after his demand, supported by other Sultāns, was rejected. However, al-Fadlī's demand indicated a deeper problem; the Federal leaders wanted independence Cypriot style, which would leave the power in their hands, would possibly allow them, as leaders, to obtain more finances from Aden and would give the British special rights to maintain bases in South Yemen. The Sultāns who were relatively close to the British, had a vested interest in immediate independence which would establish their domination in a regime they favoured. Their opposite numbers from Aden, who were characteristically more radical in demanding independence, were then less adamant about it. Prior to independence they wanted to secure a constitution for the future independence of the state, which would assure Aden's dominant position.[19]

Hence the dispute revolved not only about independence itself but also about the division of future political and economic prerogatives. The two elites of Aden and the Protectorate formed two schools which differed about the future type of society, regime and economic system they wanted to see in South Yemen. In the next weeks, al-Fadlī appeared on "The Voice of the Arabs", denounced "British imperialism" and declared that he would return to South Yemen and fight with the tribes against the British.[20] British and Adenese sources accused al-Fadlī of receiving money from "a foreign source". However, his own propaganda and the fact that a brother of his, Major Sālih Nāsir of the FA as well as Jaʿbal, the brother of the ʿAwdahalī Sultān made similar spectacular voyages to Egypt, had a considerable impact on the opposition which erupted within the South Yemeni elite.[21]

Prior to the second London Constitutional Conference which took place in March 1965, the Federal Sultāns demanded

that the Ḥadrami Princedoms would join the Federation. Their large territories, relatively developed polity and wealth (it was still thought that oil would be found in Quᶜaytī) were a major attraction for the Federal Princedoms but, at the same time, were a dangerous rival for Aden. For themselves, the Ḥadrami Sultāns decided to participate in the London Conference as observers. However, in February 1965 the Aden Government declared that the Sultāns were incapable of ruling a "modern and democratic" state because of their "objection to reforms and to the participation of political parties in the Conference". The Ḥadrami Princedoms were warned to avoid joining the Federation "by force, as had happened to Aden". The High Commissioner, Turnbull, tried to publish the declaration in a modified form, which prompted the resignation of four of Aden's Ministers and consequently Bāharūn and his Government had to resign. The Conference was then deferred.[22] Aden's elite thus found another way to get even with the Sultāns, by opposing their call for a rapprochement with the Ḥadrami Princedoms and by expressing their resentment of the PSP.

The problems which engulfed the Federation varied and became more intractable. The old South Yemeni elite thus faced two growing difficulties: first, during perpetual fights with the British over the demand for growing measures of independence, the elite's power was eroded. The dismissal of Makkawī's government (after the assassinations of Charles and Barry) and the resignation in April 1965, of 16 Federal Council members arguing against what they defined as "the Federal Government's neglect of constitutional and civil rights",[23] made the situation worse. Secondly, rifts splitting the elite were revealed. They revolved around moderate pro- and radical anti-British feelings which beset parts of the elite, particularly in Aden as well as around the problems in which Aden and the Protectorate were embroiled. The results were the weakening of the governing elite and its increasing difficulty to act.

Notes

1. MEM, Novmeber 9, 1963.
2. MEM, January 1, 1964.
3. MEM, February 29, 1964.
4. MEM, January 4, 19, 21 and May 23, 1964. Investigations were even conducted, as well as visits by British MPs concerning brutal treatment of detainees, MEM, January 1 and February 15, 1964.
5. MEM, December 19, 1964 and February 5, 1965.
6. MEM, February 15, 22, 29 and May 23, 1964. The extent of participation in the elections is worth clarifying (in contrast to numbers given by the NLF and the PSP): 9,635 out of Ander's 220,000 inhabitants had the right to vote. Of those

8,017 actually voted, 6,525 of whom were Arabs (around 82 per cent). See also: The Times, February 13 and 26 and August 5, 1964, MEM, September 26, 1964, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, August 10, 1964, TNY, October 16, 1964.

7. MEM, November 28, 1964.

8. MEM, August 12, 1964, The Times, August 13, 1964, TNY, August 13, 1964, MEM, October 31, 1964. Since the 1950s, the following papers were closed down: al-ᶜUrūbah, al-Fusūl al-Nahdah, al-Shabbāb, al-Baᶜth, al-Janūb al-ᶜArabī and al-ᶜUmmāl, for a short period (later it re-appeared as al-ᶜAmal). On this, see: al-Aḥrār, June 19, 1964. Al-Ayyām re-appeared on February 8, 1965, and other papers were given licenses allowing them to appear, but the banning of the paper had already made its impression. See: MEM, January 23 and February 6 and 13, 1965.

9. MEM, December 5, 1964.

10. Trevaskis, p. 204.

11. MEM, October 31, 1964.

12. Fatāt al-Jazīrah, February 28, 1965.

13. £13,678 revenues, £16,665 expenditures, MEM, May 21 and 22, 1965.

14. MEM, December 28, 1964.

15. MEM, May 22, 1965.

16. On the economic situation of South Arabia, see C.F. Jones From Aden, Enclosure no. 1.A-161, 7 (the Archives of the Shiloah Centre, Tel-Aviv University), pp. 1-6. henceforth: Jones Paper. The author of this interesting document (only part of which is referred to in this work) was the Consul General of the U.S. in Aden.

17. MEM, November 8, 1963.

18. MEM, July 25, and August 22, 1964. This situation did not in itself deter the NLF from claiming that the country was being 'exploited' by the British. See R. Cairo, April 8, 1963 — SWB, April 10, 1963; accordingly, the British should pay rent for 12,000 Feddan in Aden. See also: Little, p. 116.

19. Ibid., p. 112, TNY, July 4, and 10, 1964. Explanation: Fatāt al-Jazīrah, May 4, 1964.

20. On the al-Fadlī issue, see: The Times, July 4, 6, 8 and 10, 1964, MENA, July 5, 1964 — DR, July 6, 1964, al-Ahrām, July 10, 1964 (an article by Haykal), MENA, July 10, 1964 — DR, July 10, 1964, R. Cairo, July 11, 1964 — SWB, July 14, 1964, MEM, July 11, 1964.

21. See: TNY, July 5 and 10, 1964, The Times, July 20, 1964, MEM, August 1, 1964, R. Cairo, August 1, 1964 — SWB, August 4, 1964.

22. MEM, February 23 and 27, March 6 and 13, 1965.

23. MEM, April 24, May 1 and 15 and August 9, 1965, al-Muḥarrir, August 3, 1965. On the background to these allegations see: al-Muḥarrir, June 12 and 26, 1964.

Chapter 2

THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF SUPPORT: GROUPS AFFECTED BY THE STRUGGLE

One of the NLF's major principles was:

> ... to exercise a political, cultural and social struggle, to comprise all the inhabitants in the framework of a progressive society which would live on political and social justice...and would necessarily bring the end of feudalism, monopolism and particularism [of the prerogatives given to] descent [of] tribalism and primitivism and the signs of the ancient past...to save the Arab people from the reality of conquest, reaction, divisions and political and economic exploitation...and the ameliorated society we would strive to become, would pursue socialist basics in economics, the division of wealth, just democracy in law and politics...freedom of individual and society, social welfare for all and the raising of living standards.[1]

This statement, made in 1962 by al-Shaᶜbī, was typical of the quasi Nāsirist trend at that time. It is inclined towards social improvements but does not aim at a class struggle or the destruction of capitalism. Indeed, al-Shaᶜbī proposed the above mentioned changes as well as "a just division of land" and criticised British and American exploitation, particularly concerning the search for oil in Ḥadramawt.[2] However, al-Shaᶜbī's viewpoint was nationalist-political and not socialist. He stressed that it was the British presence which created divisions in South Yemeni society; he did not aim at sharpening these divisions to precipitate a class struggle but rather he wanted to bring about unity and co-operation. In his book, al-Shaᶜbī criticised youth clubs and the FA for lacking "nationalist awareness" and for being indifferent to unity.[3] He viewed the NLF as an organisation which would incorporate any body to produce such unity.[4]

In later years, either because of the increasingly socialist outlook in Egypt or as a result of similar tendencies in the

NLF itself (see below), its leaders started using more typically socialist language. In September 1964 al-Shaᶜbī stated in an interview that "socialist thought" (al-Fikr al-Ishtirākī) became a maxim (Badīhah) in the NLF's thinking. However, in the same interview, al-Shaᶜbī also stressed that the intention of the NLF was to reach "tribesmen, workers (kādiḥīn), other workers (ʿumāl), agricultural workers (muzāriᶜīn), officers, students and primarily the revolutionary intelligensia (Muthaqqafīn Thawriyyin)".[5] Again it seems that rather than socialism, al-Shaᶜbi thought of "populism", namely of focusing on society not so much as a target for internal revolutionary class changes, but rather as a body to be united and encouraged to become a source of widespread support for the NLF.[6] This approach was attractive to many people, because the NLF was apparently ready to accept anybody willing to cast aside his characteristic social prerogative (imtiyāz mutamayyiz) and to integrate fully within the NLF's ranks. Only this would prove his loyalty to the people and the revolution.[7]

In the NLF's charter, formulated in summer 1965, socialist attitudes were evidently more characteristic. The charter stressed that the very occupation of Aden by the British resulted from a capitalist need to find for itself markets and natural resources overseas.[8] The cleavages in society were a result of British capitalist initiative to establish for itself "a safety factor" (unsur al-Amn) to guard its interests in society, and of the gaps between the towns (the centre of capitalist rule) and the countryside, generated and maintained by capitalism.[9] The first groups to rebel were workers who suffered directly from economic exploitation and the relatively well to do educated youths, who had first benefitted from economic development but then, after studying and/or spending time in other Arab states, turned against capitalism.[10] Even Arab unity, one of the NLF's dearest goals, could only be achieved following the destruction of "exploiting forces".[11] "Arab unity must be shaped as a social revolution. The movement of Arab masses is necessarily socialist, for the sake of Arab unity".[12]

This socialist analysis appeared rather late in the NLF's development and seemed inappropriate for the actual problems in South Yemen, which the NLF professed to tackle. Moreover, even the authors of the Charter still sought to defeat British rule, to unify fighting ranks and the Arab world, namely, the NLF's traditional goals, rather than a socialist revolution. It is not therefore surprising that the various groups who joined the fighting did not do so as a result of a far flung effort to spread the NLF's ideology among them. They had authentic reasons to fight, arising out of what they saw as a threat to their vital interests. But the NLF knew how to harness their grievances to further its own struggle.

As we have seen, the Radfān revolt erupted prior to the NLF's intervention and was locally motivated.[13] In Dathīnah,

whose inhabitants could enjoy Abyan's booming economy, it was the children of wealthy Fallāḥs who studied in Aden where they took up the ideas of revolutionary Arab nationalism. On their return, they spread their new ideas among the local Dhamkī, al-Mansūrī and al-Ḥusayn tribal groups. Arabic sources suggest that in the past the British had exploited a dispute among these groups to tighten their grip over Dathīnah. However, the new leadership united these tribes which then turned against the British. During the 1950s (no accurate date was given) a British political officer was killed there.[14]

Arabic sources also indicate that in the ᶜArqūb area in the Fadlī Princedom where the al-Shaqqah, al-Azāriqah and al-Maḥrabī tribal groups were dwelling, the revolt was in reaction to the Sulṭān's pressure on tribes and Fallāḥ's. He imposed on them a tax as high as one third of a season's crops; there were no schools and hospitals in the area; the people lived in poverty and "had to hunt mountain hares to survive".[15] In Bayḥān too, there was a running dispute between the local Masᶜabī and Bil Ḥārith tribes, which at the beginning of the century had been mediated by the Ashrāf of the Habīlī family who, under British protection, had ruled ever since. Hence, the disputes revolved around authentic local constellations; in one place the conflict erupted because the local population was ill-prepared for organised rule; in another, because the local ruler pressured his subjects too much. The collision of these two opposing drives usually precipitated a potentially revolutionary situation.[16]

Moreover, between 1963 and 1965 cotton prices fell (although 1964 was in itself a better year than 1963).[17] As a result, the farmers and Fallāḥs of Dathīnah, Laḥaj and Fadlī suffered. In June 1964 farmers demonstrated in Laḥaj, demanding "the cotton profits which are denied" to them. The local ruling establishment was accused of taking for itself the lion's share of the profits and of diverting water from small landowners.[20] Moreover, while urban enterprises (fishing, soft drinks, oil refining etc.) kept on expanding, both the cotton and salt industries declined (unlike 1964 when 90,000 tons of salt were sold; in 1965 only 71,000 tons were sold) which made the disparity in South Yemen's development even more glaring and fuelled the farmer's frustration.

In Aden, too, the NLF's struggle attracted more support from incidents arising out of familiar grievances. This was particularly true of Aden's trade unions and workers. In March 1964, the ATUC President, Ḥusayn al-Qādī, was detained once more (he had been detained previously, after the attempt on Trevaskis' life) to which hundreds of people responded by demonstrating. In October 1964, 3,000 of the oil depot's workers, who were soon joined by the port workers began to strike in protest at the detention of the secretary of the oil workers union, Muḥammad Sālih al-ᶜAwlaqī, during which a student was killed and hundreds were detained.[21] In December, the

head of the oil trade union, ᶜAbd al-Malīk Ismāᶜīl was again detained.[22] In June 1965, 2,500 workers at the Khurmaksar base went on strike in protest to "the officer's attitude to workers".[23] In December this union's secretary, Amīn al-Aswadī, announced that if the British would not comply with the workers' demands, they would strike. In that month, 10,000 civilian workers, employed by the army, began a strike, demanding higher pay.[24] Apparently, the port and oil workers were most sensitive to a recession in these enterprises; in 1965, there was a decline of 11 percent in the volume of transported goods and of 18 percent in the warehouse stored ones. The quantity of refined oil, 6-8 million tons, did not increase; exports slightly increased, from 4.1 to 4.2 million tons; the quantity of stored oil dropped from 3.9 to 3.2 million tons. Changing international market prices and local strikes caused losses which precipitated further unrest.[25]

There were also problems within the FA. It comprised four battalions composed of the former tribal and governmental levies, led by a British brigadier and financed by Britain.[26] There were at least two traditional centres of conflict: the first revolved around relations between the governmental and the tribal levies. While the former were close (and even relatives of) to the Sultāns and acted as bodyguards for them and for British political officers, the tribal levies were ordinary tribesmen who had been trained and equipped by the British, but who had no local standing. There was jealousy and rivalry between these groups?[27] Secondly, a dispute erupted between the FA's leadership (particularly of the tribal levies) which was mainly composed of ᶜAwlaqī tribesmen and the FA's rank and file. The ᶜAwlaqī tribesmen had a reputation for being fine warriors (they had served as mercenaries in Ḥaydarabad in India for the last 400 years), dwelt in the middle of South Yemen and were quite loyal to the British. Consequently, the British encouraged them to occupy over half the leading FA posts. The senior FA commanders occupied major posts in the FA and the Federal administration and received high salaries.[28] The gap between them and lower ranking officers and ordinary soldiers had grown substantially; this was particularly unsettling because for over two decades the FA had been attracting a variety of tribesmen, on account of its economic and career opportunities.[29]

Arab sources report that already in December 1962 there were 200 officers and soldiers who had deserted and fled to Sanᶜā. In July 1963 another 20 followed suit.[30] After the "nutcracker" operation in Radfān, the British accused the FA of fighting only half-heartedly and even of treachery by withholding their units from any serious combat.[31] Consequently, FA soldiers felt frustrated; this was also one of the main reasons for the Sultān al-Fadlī's brother's departure for Egypt. On his arrival there he declared that the "British had

turned the FA into honourless scarecrows".[32]

In all of these social pressure points, the NLF acted mainly as a stimulus, trying to recruit potential fighters and to manipulate them to the NLF's purpose. One way to achieve this was to expose the population to the authorities' reaction and pressure. The severity of British bombing, detentions, suppression of demonstrations and other emergency measures precipitated a counter reaction by the population. In late 1965, there were 1,500 political detainees, two-thirds of whom were from Aden. Some of them were tortured which often had international repercussions. Some of the detainees were tribal hostages, held to prevent further fighting. There were many tribesmen whose houses had been bombed by the RAF and who therefore became refugees. Some of their tribal zones were then declared to be restricted military areas. Consequently the NLF took these refugees under its protection: the Front maintained contacts with their detained relatives, and supplied their needs in terms of education, clothing and food. According to Arab sources there were 70,000 (!) of these refugees,[33] a number probably grossly exaggerated. However even if there were only several thousands, they all became NLF people.[34]

The NLF was directly involved in the tribal arena. Senior leaders like Muḥammad ᶜAlī Ḥaytham passed through villages and explained to the local elders that the NLF members were not "communists", as well as expounding the "aims of the revolution".[35] In ᶜArqūb, Ḥaytham met local leaders in an attempt to pacify two fighting groups; immediately after that, he made people sign NLF recruitment forms.[36] This method was repeated in other cases, when the NLF succeeded in uniting rival groups into anti-British teams.[37] Similarly, at a fighter's funeral, NLF activists would recruit supporters from among the mourners.[38] In Dathīnah and Bayḥan the NLF established secret, ideological and military cells among high school students.[39] In their propaganda, the NLF leaders conveyed the idea that their struggle was an extension of previous struggles, notably of Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs's 1957 tribal revolt. However, people should not sink into dreams about the past, neither should they indulge in small-scale tribal rivalries ("tribal solidarity" - ᶜasabiyyat al-Qabā'il) but rather they should fight under the national leadership of the NLF.[40] Continuity and nationwide co-operation were the main pillars of the NLF's message.

The NLF was particularly active in exploiting current political problems. In Fadlī, the NLF helped to arrange demonstrations in support of Sultān Aḥmad's departure for Egypt and against his successor, his brother Nāsir. Several of Fadlī's council members, led by ᶜAlī Ibn Sālim al-Shardawaḥ, were deposed; they and another brother of the absent Sultān, the Major Sāliḥ, left for Egypt where they came out in support of the NLF.[41] In December 1965 elections were due in Dathīnah;

the NLF could not prevent them but did succeed in creating widespread opposition to them.[42] In al-Mukallah, NLF activists were involved with workers, and students. They acted against the local trade-lodge, 14 members of which, all local wealthy businessmen, were attached to the SAL. They were also active in youth clubs in Shihr. In co-operation with the PSP the NLF also aided groups such as "The Sons of Ḥadramawt" and "The National Ḥadrami Association" which opposed the Federation.[43]

The NLF had sometimes to compete with rivals for the loyalty of certain groups. The Front succeeded in penetrating the ranks of the FA. Already in late 1963, prior to Aḥmad al-Fadlī's desertion, a certain lieutenant, Muḥammad ᶜAlī Ḥamid, had defected to the Ḥawshabī tribes.[44] After the fighting commenced, a problem of duel loyalty -- whether to the FA or to the rebelling tribes, from which many soldiers were descended -- arose within the FA. Pro-NLF sources indicate that during 1964 and 1965 there was a marked increase in the number of desertions from the FA.[45] There were others who remained within the FA either as ordinary rank and file soldiers, as officers, or as camel drivers, who informed the NLF about British and FA movements and supplied the Front with arms.[46] NLF leaders used, indeed, to warn its fighters from harming FA soldiers by stressing that they were not the enemy.[47] In return, the British released many FA soldiers whom they considered unreliable.[48] They also tried to form alternative, military units in the main battlefronts; "al-Fadlī guards", the "Beduin guard" in Dathīnah and in May 1964, in Radfān, they managed to persuade the Shaykh Maḥmūd Ibn ᶜUmar al-Sayf of the ᶜAbdallī tribe, to desert the NLF.[49] In their turn, NLF leaders conducted "public trials" for defectors from their ranks, which were usually followed by severe punishments.[50] In Dathīnah, they announced that local councillors had received money from the British. The alleged slur sufficed for the NLF to torpedo the attempt to set up a local guard there.[51] The NLF's contacts with the FA proved most valuable in the future.

The NLF was also conspicuously active in stirring up high school pupils and students. In the mid-1950s, the Aden College (which in 1955 became a university) and other schools all over South Yemen became public and were opened to the majority of the population. This was the Yemeni families' opportunity; their younger members joined these schools and, with the help often given by the Arab teachers (from various Arab states) indulged in demonstrations and political activity.[52] In April 1963, students demonstrated following the dismissal of Jordanian women-teachers from the Girls College in Aden (which precipitated the resignation of Aden's Minister of Education, ᶜAbdullah al-Saᶜīdī). Three students were detained.[53] Demonstrations resumed later in the year, notably after the British reaction to the attempt on Trevaskis' life. However, in 1965 the most widespread series of riots

took place, following the dismissal of Makkawī's government and the detention of Nāsir al-ᶜAwlaqī. Thousands of students then demonstrated in Aden, Muqīrās and Ludār.[54] In return the government closed the Aden College, which caused further riots: students stoned policemen, there were many detensions, and one student was killed.[55] The NLF seems to have been behind the riots: most of the student associations and notably the Aden's College Association, headed by Anwar Khālid, were NLF controlled. They prevented the re-opening of the college until December 1965 and dictated the terms for this: The punishment of those guilty of bloodshed, the release of detained students and the re-opening of all schools. When medical students of the Bayūmī College in Aden protested against these conditions, they were threatened by the NLF.[56]

The NLF's activity with students in Aden was the Front's first experience in the most difficult arena, that of Aden town. There, acting in deep secrecy, the NLF had to face not only the British but also the established power of the PSP which was most apparent in the ATUC. However, in April and June 1965 initial indications came from Cairo to the effect that al-Asnaj was facing opposition within the ATUC. In June 1965 elections were held in the ATUC and for the first time, al-Asnaj was outvoted as Secretary-General. These indications suggested that it was Qawmiyyūn members from Kuwayt who had guided the opposition to al-Asnaj, that the opposition had accused the ATUC's Executive Committee of being too soft vis-a-vis the British and that the Committee was in fact defunct. They also accused the Committee's members of being "Baᶜthists".[57] It seems that the NLF was behind this opposition, which developed within the oil, civil aviation, port, teachers, banking, construction and housing unions. These were the largest and most important unions; the workers were the most frequent strikers and suffered most from the economic recession. Moreover, they had continuously resisted the Executive Committee's attempt to curb the power of the strong and large unions. Since the early 1960s the Qawmiyyūn penetrated these unions. The activities and detentions of persons such as Nāsir al-ᶜAwlaqī, ᶜAbd al-Malik Ismāᶜīl (who had already been detained from 14 December 1964 to 14 May 1965 and had then gone to Cairo) and of Farūq Makkawī, Muḥammad al-ᶜAwdhalī and others, all of whom were NLF activists, shows the Front's efforts in this direction.[58]

In an open declaration (on 27 December 1965 in the al-Ḥurriyyah newspaper), the opposition's representatives announced that they had first organised in 1960, following the introduction of the bill which prohibited strikes. As a result, the power of the traditional ATUC leadership which complied with the bill declined. "Strong Youngsters" (Shābah Madᶜūmah) took over. The opposition was particularly critical of al-Qādī and al-Asnaj, after the two had agreed to negotiate with the Government in 1965, to improve the workers' situation

and to re-examine the strikes bill. They did this without obtaining a "Mandate from the Workers" and without consulting the six senior unions. Consequently, claimed the opposition, the workers' position had worsened; moreover, the ATUC detainees were neglected by their leaders. Therefore, the declaration went on, it was decided not to support them any longer. The people who signed the article were Tawfīq al-ᶜAwlaqī, ᶜAbd al-Qādir Amīn and Muḥammad ᶜAbd Rabbuhu. The last two at least were veteran NLF activists.[59]

One of the significant methods used by the NLF was propaganda. In broadcasts and leaflets, the NLF inflated Britain's "barbaric deeds" against "the freedom fighters" and its own heroic and efficient role in the fighting.[60] The front also exposed and publicly threatened the "lackeys who follow the Satan" by collaborating with the British,[61] which further strengthened their position.

From public announcements released by the NLF it seems that among the dead, injured and detained were NLF activists. Unlike other figures who fought and possibly died in the fighting -- the NLF's members received special obituaries, with long biographical details.[62] The criteria for distinguishing between NLF cadres and mere supporters and the boundaries between these groups are not absolutely clear, yet they surely existed. Generaly speaking, the NLF differed from South American guerrilla organisations and was closer to Mao's and Giap's perceptions of recruiting the population into fighting, while leaving the leadership and planning to "the party". As earlier mentioned, the NLF thrived by exploiting existing problems in society, or in Harakabi's words, "exploiting a revolutionary situation by a historical manipulation, bringing about a revolution by the elite which is the party".[63] The NLF's elite and activist ranks seem to have remained quite restricted. While during the fighting in Radfān new fighters were being recruited into the actual NLF ranks (a fact which was again made clear through public interviews or announcements)[64] there were no later indications of this happening.

However, there was a striking exception in the case of the intelligensia, and people such as one ᶜAlī Nāsir who had been a teacher, Shaykh ᶜAbdullah Bakhār who had been an ᶜĀlim, Nāsir al-Saqqāf who had been a Sayyid and others were reported to have joined the NLF.[65] This was partly due to the relatively high qualifications of the intelligensia, which could be of practical use for the NLF. Moreover, it seems that members of the intelligensia had for some years been inclined to join the Qawmiyyūn, as an organisation that fulfilled their aspirations.[66] This indicates that there was a certain propensity for recruitment to the NLF cadres, giving priority to one group over the others. This was connected to a strife within the NLF, a phenomenon which will be elaborated hereafter. It, therefore, seems that till 1965, the NLF's

attitude towards South Yemeni society matched the Front's strategic intentions: not to establish a too rigid organisation but rather to prepare an infrastructure for continuous fighting, whereby the population would be supportive of but not a full participant in the NLF.[67]

Notes

1. Al-Shaᶜbī, p. 244.
2. Ibid., p. 82.
3. Ibid., p. 75.
4. 'Majrā Qawmī salīm' a complete national process, this was al-Shaᶜbīs goal, ibid., p. 169. See also R. Cairo, July 28, 1964 — DR, July 29, 1964.
5. Al-Ahrām al-Iqtisādī, September 10, 1964.
6. On populism, see: M. Khadduri, Political Trends in the Arab World (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1972), pp. 106-107, henceforth: Khadduri.
7. Compare: M.H. Haykal, 'Communism and Ourselves: Seven Differences between Communism and Socialism,' in K.H. Karpat (ed.), Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East (New York: F.A. Prager, 1968), pp. 156-161.
8. Al-Ahrām al-Iqtisādī, September 10, 1964.
9. The NLF covenant, Executive Committee, pp. 169, 210-211.
10. Ibid., pp. 169-170.
11. Ibid., pp. 176, 178.
12. Ibid., pp. 226-227.
13. Ibid., pp. 230-231.
14. Aḥmad, p. 97, MENA, June 21, 1964 — DR, June 22, 1964.
15. Aḥmad, pp. 117-119.
16. Ibid., pp. 111, 114.
17. H. Bienen, Violence and Social Change (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 49-56, henceforth: Bienen.
18. Jones Paper, pp. 5-6.
19. R. Cairo, May 3, 1963 — SWB, May 5, 1963, al-Muḥarrir June 27, 1964, Rūz al-Yusuf, July 13, 1964.
20. Jones Paper, pp. 5-6.
21. Al-Muḥarrir, December 16, 1965.
22. MEM, March 7, 1964.
23. Al-Muḥarrir, December 14, and 23, 1964.
24. Al-Muḥarrir, June 15, October 29 and November 14, 1965, The Times, June 15, 1965, al-Jumhūriyyah, December 1, 1965.
25. TNY, October 6 and 8, 1965, R. Cairo, October 5, 1965 — SWB, October 6, 1965, al-Muḥarrir, October 7, 1965, MEM, October 9, 1965.
26. Jones Paper, p. 7.
27. MEM, May 9, 1964.

28. Lunt, pp. 172-178.
29. Aḥmad, pp. 157-159.
30. Rūz al-Yūsuf, August 27, 1964. Even earlier, 23 officers and soldiers had announced their wish to join the Republican army in the North, al-Jumhūriyyah, October 6, 1962 — IDS, October 24, 1962, al-Jumhūrriyah, December 4, 1962 — IDS December 17, 1962, al-Jumhūriyyah, July 7, 1963 — IDS, July 18, 1963.
31. R. Cairo, August 4, 1964 — SWB, August 6, 1964.
32. On manipulative steps made by guerrilla movements in this context, see: Ben-Raphael, op. cit., pp. 60-61.
33. Al-Ḥurriyyah, January 27, 1965 (interview with Sayf al-Dālicī).
34. R. Cairo, March 27, 1965 — SWB, March 30, 1965, R. Cairo, October 1, 1965 — SWB, November 2, 1965.
35. Al-Ḥurriyyah, January 27, 1965, al-Jumhūriyyah, April 3, 1965.
36. Aḥmad, p. 109.
37. Ibid., p.112.
38. Rūz al-Yūsuf, August 27, 1964.
39. R. Cairo, February 1, 1965 — SWB, February 3, 1965.
40. Aḥmad, pp. 117-119, 179-182.
41. Ridā, p. 128.
42. Al-Ahrām, July 12, 1964, The Times, July 11, 1964, R. Cairo, July 22, 1964 — DR, July 24, 1964, al-Muḥarrir, August 9, 1964, R. Cairo, December 12, 1964 — SWB, December 14, 1964.
43. R. Cairo, August 23, 1965 — SWB, August 28, 1965, R. Cairo, December 1, 1965 — SWB, December 3, 1965.
44. Compare, for instance: P. Berman, Revolutionary Organization (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1974), on the NLF activities in Vietnam.
45. R. Cairo, November 11, 1963 — SWB, November 13, 1963.
46. Rūz al-Yūsuf, August 27, 1964.
47. R. Cairo, March 16, 1964 — SWB, March 18, 1964, R. Cairo, June 28, 1964 — SWB, June 30, 1964, R. Cairo, May 15, 1965 — SWB, May 18, 1965, R. Cairo, May 18, 1965 — SWB, May 19, 1965.
48. Al-Ahrām, September 20, 1964.
49. Al-Muḥarrir, October 28 and November 3, 1964.
50. Al-Ahrām, September 2, 1964, Rūz al-Yūsuf, July 13, 1964 and June 14, 1965.
51. Rūz al-Yūsuf, August 27, 1964.
52. Ibid., July 13, 1964 and June 14, 1965.
53. On the development of national awareness among pupils see: al-Aḥrār, November 5, 1965.
54. R. Cairo, July 2, 1963 — SWB, July 4, 1963.
55. R. Sanc ā, October 6, 1965 — SWB, October 8, 1965, al-Muḥarrir, October 14, 1965.
56. TNY, October 9 and 14, 1965, al-Muḥarrir, October 14,

and 28, 1965.

57. R. Cairo, December 12, 1965 — SWB, December 14, 1965.

58. See: Aḥmad, p. 125, AC, June 24, 1965, MEM, October 30, 1965, The Times, November 29, 1965.

59. Rūz al-Yūsuf, October 18, 1965.

60. Al-Ḥurriyyah, December 27, 1965, Ridā, pp. 70-71, R. Sanᶜā, July 9, 1964 — SWB, July 11, 1964, R. Cairo, February 4, 1964 — SWB, February 4, 1964, R. Cairo, August 1, 1964 — SWB, August 4, 1964.

61. R. Sanᶜā, May 18, 1964 — SWB, May 20, 1964, R. Cairo, December 30, 1964 — SWB, January 1, 1965, R. Sanᶜā, November 4, 1965 — SWB, November 6, 1965, R. Sanᶜā, May 18, 1964 — SWB, May 28, 1964, R. Cairo, September 7, 1964 — SWB, September 9, 1964. Here are some further examples: A call for the people of Radafān to treat the enemy 'without mercy', R. Cairo, May 6, 1964— SWB, May 8, 1964, R. Cairo, May 30, 1964 — SWB, June 2, 1964, says the British would be defeated 'like Napoleon'; al-Jumhūriyyah, June 23, 1964 — SWB, June 24, 1964, claims that God supports the rebels and sanctions their fighting (religious motifs were often used as part of the rebels' propaganda, and ᶜUlamā' took part in their broadcasts). See also R. Cairo, September 15, 1964 — SWB, September 17, 1964.

62. For the NLF communique see: R. Cairo, September 9, 1964 — SWB, September 11, 1964, see also: R. Cairo, September 15, 1964 — SWB, September 15, 1964.

63. Stork, p. 6.

64. Rūz al-Yūsuf, August 17, 1964, al-Ahrām, September 20, 1964.

65. Rūz al-Yūsuf, August 17, 1964.

66. Aḥmad, p. 111, Rūz al-Yūsuf, August 10, 1964.

67. Harkabi, pp. 45, 63-66, Bienen, pp. 40-48.

PART FOUR

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE FLOSY

Chapter 1

TOWARDS A MERGER: AL-ASNAJ'S ACTIVITY

In view of the NLF's activities, it is worth while emphasising that it was al-Asnaj, nevertheless, who stood in the political lime-light. In the British Labour Government's view, al-Asnaj seemed to be the key man in Aden's politics. The PSP seemed to be efficiently organised, nationalist and opposed to the British, but it was also open to political discussions and was not a terrorist body. It controlled the powerful ATUC and enjoyed far-reaching contacts with Arab, British and Eastern-bloc organisations. If, as mentioned above, Trevaskis thought that al-Asnaj viewed himself as a new Makarios, in Bowyer-Bell's opinion the British government perceived him as a new Nkrumah, who, when necessary would be able to control the leadership and to prevent bloodshed.[1]

Al-Asnaj's significance was evidenced by his ideas and his activities. He openly denounced British policy in South Yemen. In April 1963 he stated that Aden's military base had been used against the Arabs both in the 1956 Suez campaign and to counter the 1962 revolution in North Yemen and that "it is our duty, as Arabs, to fight this".[2] The British thrived on the separation of North Yemen from its South, which they intended to perpetuate.[3] The Federation was a nationalist-historical "distortion". Its government reigned tyranically, it precluded the Yemenis from citizenship and deported its inhabitants. As the small numbers of participants proved, the elections were of no value and served only to preserve Britain's position.[4] However, al-Asnaj was sceptical about and resentful of the Radfān revolt and the NLF's methods as a whole. He criticised the lack of widespread tactical preparation for these activities: "Anybody cooks his own fight, without co-operation...the struggle must be more general and better defined".[5] At present, this was only a "traditional tribal flare-up" (thawrat Qabāʿil) which commonly occurred".[6] Moreover, al-Asnaj denounced the very use of violence as a means to achieve independence. He upheld a humanistic universal view which he first published in his book "This is Our Standpoint" (Hadhā Huwwa Mawqifunā) first published

in 1962 and in his article "The Direction [Indoctrination] and Publicity" (al-Tawjīh wa-al-Nashr) from 1964. Accordingly Third World states were destined to obtain independence, to shake off imperialism. However, this would occur without bloodshed, which only results in the destruction of the soil" (Tahrīb al-Ard) and in "the waste of innocent blood".[7] "Why not expel imperialism with no bloodshed, if it can be prevented, and without the destruction of the soil if it can be fertilised".[8] Bloody fighting would precipitate an endless, uncontrollable struggle".[9] Al-Asnaj was even relatively moderate about British policy; despite its inherent faults, British rule was better than French rule in Algeria because the British themselves would bring independence to South Yemen and the military base in Aden was therefore not just an enemy's stronghold but a source for future employment.[10]

Al-Asnaj was careful to demonstrate both viewpoints whenever possible. He and al-Qādī met the UN Inquiry Commission and further meetings between PSP and UN representatives continued thereafter. In 1965 a PSP official, Abdullah Sālim Bāsindūh was appointed regular envoy to the UN and to this commission in particular. At all these meetings PSP members asked for help to bring about the termination of the state of emergency and for support for the right of self determination.[11]

This pattern was repeated during meetings by PSP members with Arab statesmen; al-Asnaj often met Sayyid Nawfal and demanded "assistance for the struggle and denunciations of British policy".[12] In January 1964 Bāsindūh met ᶜAbd al-Nāsir and in August, he met the Iraqi President ᶜAbd al-Sallām ᶜĀrif.[13] The PSP was particularly successful in eliciting the support of other Arab trade union organisations.[14] In summer 1963, al-Asnaj and al-Qādī visited Moscow to attend an international trade unions' meeting, at the end of which the Soviet Union declared its support for the struggle of South Yemen's unions.[15] In 1964 and 1965, al-Asnaj also met trade union leaders in China and Yugoslavia.[16]

During this period he also met British TUC representatives, to whom he repeated his determination to negotiate and to reach a political solution. But at the same time he was very critical of the British and did not fail to point out that his criticisms were supported by Arab and Eastern bloc states. Prior to the first 1964 London Constitutional Conference al-Asnaj informed Sandys that the PSP rejected a "false" independence, demanded an end to the state of emergency and all its ramifications and called for UN supervised elections.[17] He and several of his aids showed up in London during the Conference but announced that they had done so only "to refer to public opinion". He then argued that the South Yemeni delegates were not representative because they had been chosen by the colonialist power. Britain, which professed to be "neutral" in fact aimed to embroil South Yemenis in a conflict among themselves.[18] Later, during Greenwood's visit

to Aden, al-Asnaj met him and once more demanded free elections.[19]

It therefore seems that al-Asnaj tried to lead the PSP in what appears to have been a new and more modest version of "positive neutralism": to maintain a dialogue with the British over relevant issues but, concomitantly, to be consistently critical of them, backed up by a network of contacts with Arab and Eastern bloc states and organisations. As such, al-Asnaj's course should not be construed as another attempt to exert stronger pressure on the British. He was probably trying to establish himself as a contender for the leadership of South Yemen after independence, by offering an alternative political strategy. In contrast to the NLF, al-Asnaj pursued his own, political way, towards independence. In so doing he tried to overpower the NLF by obtaining the support of Arab and Eastern bloc states as well as of the British government. Al-Asnaj presumably thought that this strategy would establish his position as the local leader, must have been influenced to undertake that course after he and the PSP had experienced several misfortunes and setbacks.

The 1964 Conference was disappointing from al-Asnaj's viewpoint, not only because it did not immediately abolish the restrictions on political freedom and did not bestow immediate independence on South Yemen, but also because the Conference reinforced the pattern of British co-operation with the Federal establishment. Al-Asnaj explained that his main objection to the Federation was its being a "federation of feudals",[20] which suggests that al-Asnaj proposed another body to be the rulers of South Yemen. But despite his earlier hopes, the British did not choose him for the post. Consequently, al-Asnaj declared that he would call a "counter-conference" to the British one.[21]

At the same time and particularly after ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's speech in Taᶜizz, the NLF seemed to have most of Egypt's attention and support. Al-Asnaj was criticised on "The Voice of the Arabs" for being too moderate. An observer of the day, P. Kilner, noted that in the last months Qaḥtān al-Shaᶜbī had replaced al-Asnaj as Egypt's favourite.[22] Al-Asnaj must have sought ways to increase his power, thus to attract Egypt's favour once more.

In July 1964, al-Asnaj declared the PSP to be an "Avant Guard" leading both Yemeni states to unity and independence.[23] Unifying nationalist bodies was the current political fashion and in the same month the PSP convened an "Alignment" (Tajammuᶜ) of "Nationalist Forces" in Cairo, under the auspices of the Arab League. These forces included unknown organisations such as a women's association, "The Peasants Society", "The Socialist movement of the South" and others. Another group consisted of "independents" (Mustaqillīn) which included the former Sulṭāns Aḥmad al-Fadlī and ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Karīm. In later meetings prominent men such as Muḥammad Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs,

Muḥammad Abū-Bakr Ibn Farīd, Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn Mazyad (the Nā'ib of Lower ᶜAwlaqī) and Jaᶜbal Ibn Ḥusayn al-ᶜAwdhalī also attended.[24] For al-Asnaj, the alignment was a means to bring other South Yemeni political groupings under his control. For al-Fadlī, it was an opportunity to re-enter politics and to acquire a stake in the state's political future. After his arrival in Egypt, al-Fadlī had announced his intention of joining the "Freedom Fighters" in the South[25] but did not specify whom he meant. Al-Asnaj's relatively moderate, non-violent policy and the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of a newly established body were more suited for al-Fadlī and for other Sulṭāns, who therefore preferred this alignment to the NLF's. For SAL leaders like Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs and ᶜAbd al-Karīm this was a chance to regain some of the prestige and power which they had lost when they declined in importance. In recent months, the SAL expressed its support for the UN resolution and had denounced the London Conference.[26] Consequently it was a propitious moment to link up with al-Asnaj.

The peculiar composition of the Alignment precluded a forthright declaration at the end of its first convention. The participants denounced British imperialism and the London Conference and called for the implementation of the UN resolutions, for the British evacuation from Aden, self determination, free elections and Arab unity to be decided by the inhabitants.[27] In March 1965 a second conference composed of the same groups took place; similar resolutions were adopted on 15 March, to the effect that no organisation would negotiate with Britain before the earlier mentioned conditions had been fulfilled. It was apparent that the participants tried to counter the contemplated second London Conference.[28]

On 30 April 1965 a conference of 200 members of the organisations in the alignment was convened in Taᶜizz. Subsequently, between 14 and 17 May, talks were held between Bāsinduh, al-Jifrī, Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs, al-Fadlī, Jaᶜbal and Muḥammad ᶜAbduh Nuᶜmān (leader of an organisation for the Liberation of the South, with no connection to the NLF) and the Organisation of the Liberation of the Occupied South (Munatthamat Taḥrīr al-Janūb al-Muḥtall,(OLOS)) was established. Bāsindūh and Nuᶜmān then announced the merger of their previous organisations into the OLOS. Al-Jifrī refused and the SAL was given one month to make up its mind, at the end of which it would be regarded as having left the OLOS.

In the next months it became known that the OLOS's leadership comprised al-Asnaj, al-Fadlī, Jaᶜbal Ibn Ḥusayn, Muḥammad Ibn al-ᶜAydarūs and an unknown figure, Muqbil Baᶜza. In late August, September and October 1965 a steering committee, which included these leaders, met to formulate the OLOS's policy. It was decided to accept any nationalist organisation on condition that it would integrate fully into the OLOS. It was decided to reject British policy and, for the first time, to "retaliate firmly", and to pursue "the

struggle and resistance" and to "execute traitors". This was aimed particularly at the Federal leaders. The British emergency laws were declared by al-Asnaj as "Fascist methods".[29] The OLOS internal organisation was determined: a 60 member national assembly was formed (the "popular sectors" in the OLOS) to formulate a National Charter.[30] It seems that al-Asnaj tried to counteract the NLF's national assembly which was meeting at that time.

The establishment of the OLOS had some immediate repercussions. First, it was apparent that the various components in the OLOS avoided controversial issues, which could cause internal splits. Thus, social issues were not discussed and the OLOS had no soil programme. The leaders definitely tried to consolidate the common ground they had reached. Secondly, partly as a result of this, there was, a transformation in al-Asnaj's and the PSP's positions. Probably as a pro-SAL gesture, the PSP waived its traditional claim for a union of the two Yemens and the OLOS's manifesto referred only to the liberation of the "Occupied South".

In addition, for the first time al-Asnaj agreed to the use of force as a means to attain the OLOS's ends; following the failure of the second London Constitutional Conference in August 1965, The Times had indeed predicted such an about turn. It seems that al-Asnaj had few misgivings about this step. It was mainly a matter of tactical significance: to make things more difficult for the British and to place the OLOS on the same footing as the NLF.

Thirdly, al-Asnaj simultaneously increased his inter-Arab activities, this time adopting a more flexible approach. In agreeing to the use of force he attempted to come closer to Egypt; through the ties with the SAL he must have improved his relations with Saudi Arabia. North Yemen Prime Ministers of the day, Muḥammad Aḥmad Nuᶜmān (who was in office till 1 July 1965) and Ḥasan al-ᶜAmrī were friendly. The Syrians declared that they viewed the OLOS as the most popular organisation in the South.[32] This flexibility in itself blurred the OLOS' position in inter-Arab affairs and probably made it more difficult for the veteran SAL to integrate within the OLOS. Al-Jifrī stated that the SAL "which had existed for 15 years would not accept dictates of organisations only several months old." The fear of becoming embroiled in violence and of an unwelcome unity with North Yemen increased their opposition to joining the OLOS.

However, despite the SAL's reaction, the OLOS and al-Asnaj could then appear as equals to the NLF. In late 1965, the two organisations were fierce rivals. On one hand each organisation tried to assert its uniqueness and denounced its rival. Al-Asnaj emphasised: "Act your way, we shall act in our own way". He called the NLF's revolt "a tragedy" (Ma'sah) and the Qawmiyyūn "a dervish movement".[33] In November 1964, al-Shaᶜbī was called a traitor, who received money from

the infamous North Yemeni Prime Minister ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Baydānī, which all goes to "the pockets of the Ḥarakiyyin [the Qawmiyyun] and the philosophers in Beirut".[34] At the same time the NLF not only claimed to be the sole representative of the South Yemeni people (as it had declared on 11 September 1964 at an Arab League meeting in Alexandria) but dismissed al-Asnaj as "a politician in decline" who was trying to regain his power.[35] However, the NLF spokesman went on, the result could only be negative. The Alignment's political stance was "blurred" (mustahtarah) and dangerous because it had defined the NLF revolt as "an adventure". This was a "knife in the back of the revolution. In the past, the PSP and the SAL had attacked each other; they grew out of different social backgrounds; what advantage was there for them in unity? Only to fight the revolution".[36] The NLF clearly feared that the PSP's attempt to unify the nationalists in South Yemen would be a political threat to the Front.[37]

It was therefore surprising that in October 1964 al-Shaᶜbī stated that the NLF and the PSP would meet to discuss "the struggle", the preparation for government in the post-independence period and the recruiting of "political, military and ideological cadres" to shoulder the burdens of the revolution.[38] Apparently, this plan did not materialise. Nevertheless, NLF representatives took part in the first OLOS conference. (According to another version this conference had to decide on the division of £80 million which Kuwayt had contributed, of which the NLF claimed the lion's share[39]; no further details were given). The NLF then did not become part of the OLOS. In August 1965, the question of unifying the two umbrella organisations was again discussed with al-Shaᶜbī in Cairo.[40] Five days after the Aden government was suspended, ᶜAbd al-Qawwī Makkawī reached Cairo to take part in new discussions about the matter held under Sayyid Nawfal's auspices; al-Asnaj and Bāsindūh represented the PSP, al-Shaᶜbī and Sayf al-Dāliᶜī the NLF. After several days a very generalised agreement was reached, which only emphasised the existing common denominators: the abolition of the Aden bases, the granting of unconditional independence and the despatch of a commission composed of members from both Fronts, to the UN.[41] Makkawī's participation was of major importance: his personal prestige, his "nationalist" views and previous governmental position gave the impression that part of Aden's elite would join the struggle. As the NLF also seemed ready to co-operate, the opposition seemed to be united.

At that time Egypt was in favour of the unification. ᶜAbd al- Nāsir was then facing growing difficulties in Yemen and at home. In July 1964 the Royalists in North Yemen regained most of the northern parts of North Yemen. Additional Egyptian attacks conducted in late 1964 and early 1965 against Jawf and Ḥārib were fruitless.[42] In Egypt itself, for the first time in many years, basic foods such as flour, corn, meat, sugar

and fish were in short supply. Due to Egypt's reluctance to pull its forces out of North Yemen, the United States had drastically cut its food aid to Egypt, which worsened the situation. Egypt was also beset with problems in operating the Red Sea navigation lines. In 1965 a conspiracy by Muslim Brethren against ᶜAbd al-Nāsir was discovered and, for the first time for many years, the anniversary of the death of the late Wafd leader, Mustafā Maḥās, caused public disturbances.[43]

In summer 1964, ᶜAbd al-Nāsir had tried to reach a peaceful settlement in North Yemen. On 14 September he met the Saᶜūdi King Faysal to prepare a conference for a comprehensive settlement in Yemen. The North Yemeni republican leaders Muḥammad Aḥmad Nuᶜmān and Maḥmūd al-Zubayrī supported this move. In August 1965 ᶜAbd al-Nāsir met Faysal in Jidda, to decide on the venue for such a conference, to prepare the evacuation of Egyptian forces within ten months, and to arrange a plebiscite to determine North Yemen's future regime. The Ḥarad Conference which was convened in October 1965 to implement these decisions failed, but Egypt's inclination to end its intervention in North Yemen continued.[44]

Against this background and in preparation for the approaching independence of South Yemen, Egypt had to change its policy there too. The Egyptian regime still advocated an armed struggle but also pursued diplomatic methods. To achieve control over all sorts of nationalist activities in South Yemen, Egypt sought to unify all political and para-military groupings and to control them. Apparently Egyptian intelligence services decided this. Consequently, Egypt could take full advantage of the fact that both the OLOS and the NLF depended on Egyptian aid and competed for its favours. It seems that it was Egyptian intelligence which exerted the greatest pressure on both the NLF and the OLOS to agree to unite.

On 9 November after the joint mission returned from the UN, unification talks began under Nawfal's auspices. On 15 November in Taᶜizz, al-Shaᶜbī and ᶜAlī al-Salāmī of the NLF met Bāsindūh and Aḥmad al-Fadlī. On 10 December the NLF members left for Cairo to meet Nawfal, on 5 January 1966 al-Salāmī flew to Taᶜizz and on 13 January a unification between the NLF and the OLOS was announced. The united organisation was named "The Front of the Liberation of the Occupied South" (Jabhat Taḥrīr al-Janūb al-Muḥtall), (FLOSY).

The FLOSY's foundations were summarised in eleven points. From these points and from other statements, the FLOSY's platform can be deduced. The unification of nationalist organisations was said to be "a natural development" which imperialism tried to hamper by cultivating "personal greed" in South Yemen. The aim of the FLOSY was declared to be "a struggle against British tyranny" and the achievement of the rights of "Liberty, Unity and Progress" in economic, political and

military spheres, to be implemented both in the South Yemeni mainland and its surrounding islands (Suqotra, Quryā-Muryā, Qamrān and Perim). To achieve this aim, the FLOSY demanded unconditional and immediate British evacuation and the establishment of a "democratic socialist regime" to raise the people's level, in terms of "liberation from exploiting capitalism and monopolism", expansion of cultivated land and the enlightment of the Fallahs. The FLOSY undertook to establish a network of educational institutions, to make children's education compulsory, to open universities and to promote Arab nationalist education. Preventive health care would be encouraged. The FLOSY emphasised its "popular base" and called for the establishment of "a popular revolutionary army". It declared its commitment to Arab Unity (including an inter-Arab Detente) and notably to Egypt as "the centre of Arab revolutionary forces". It also advocated positive neutralism as South Yemen's preferable foreign policy. The FLOSY undertook to accept any organisation which accepted the slogan "liberty or death" and was prepared to integrate fully.[46] The merger of all the earlier mentioned groups, really seemed to be the peak of nationalist efforts in South Yemen.

So it came as a shock when two days after the FLOSY's founding, al-Shaᶜbī announced in Cairo that al-Salāmī's decision to join the FLOSY was "illegitimate" and that the NLF in fact remained independent.[47]

Notes

1. Bowyer Bell, pp. 146-148.
2. R. Cairo, April 30, 1964 — SWB, May 2, 1964.
3. R. Cairo, September 23, 1964 — SWB, September 25, 1964.
4. R. Cairo, July 13, 1964 — SWB, July 14 and 15, 1964.
5. R. Cairo, July 13, 1964 — SWB, July 15, 1964.
6. Al-Muḥarrir, April 25, 1964.
7. ᶜAbdullah al-Asnaj, Hādhā Huwwa Mawqifunā (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Maᶜārif, 1962), p. 10, henceforth: al-Asnaj, Our Position.
8. Al-Asnaj, 'Directing and Publicizing,' (al-Tawjīh wa-al-Nāshr), al-Muḥarrir, December 7, 1964.
9. Al-Asnaj, Our Position, pp. 7, 11.
10. Al-Muḥarrir, December 7 and 10, 1964.
11. R. Cairo, May 13, 1964 — DR, May 14, 1964.
12. R. Cairo, January 7, 1964 — DR, January 9, 1964, R. Baghdad, August 12, 1964 — DR, August 18, 1964, R. Cairo, August 17, 1964 — SWB, August 19, 1964.
13. See all sources on preceding note.
14. R. Peking, January 10, 1964 — DR, January 14, 1964, al-Muḥarrir, October 29, 1965.

15. R. Moscow, August 14, 1963—SWB, August 16, 1963, TAS, August 17, 1963 — SWB, August 20, 1964.
16. R. Peking, September 3, 1963 — SWB, September 17, 1963, MENA, April 24, 1964 — DR, May 1, 1964, R. Cairo, November 6, 1965 — DR, November 9, 1965.
17. R. Cairo, May 13, 1964 — DR, May 14, 1964.
18. R. Cairo, June 24, 1964 — DR, June 25, 1964.
19. Al-Muḥarrir, December 2, 1964.
20. Ibid., September 9, 1964.
21. R. Cairo, June 8, 1964 — DR, June 9, 1964.
22. P. Kilner, 'The Future of South Arabia,' W.T., 21 (April 1965), pp. 131-135, henceforth: Kilner.
23. R. Cairo, July 13, 1964 — SWB, July 15, 1964.
24. Al-Ahrām, August 17, 1964, R. Cairo, July 5, 1964 — SWB, July 7, 1964.
25. Al-Muḥarrir, July 22, 1964.
26. Al-Muḥarrir, June 9, 1964, MENA, May 26, 1963 — SWB, May 30, 1963, MENA, June 20, 1964 — DR, June 22, 1964.
27. MENA, July 5, 1964 — DR, July 6, 1964, Plass and Gehrke, pp. 229-230.
28. Aḥmad, p. 126.
29. MEM, May 8, 1965, The Times, May 8 and 12, 1965, R. Cairo, May 11, 1965 — DR, May 12, 1965, R. Cairo, July 30, 1965 — SWB, August 2, 1965, MEM, August 28 and September 25, 1965.
30. R. San^{c}ā, September 11, 1965 — SWB, September 14 and 15, 1965.
31. The Times, August 9, 1965. See also: Plass and Gehrke, p. 171.
32. Ibid., pp. 273-278.
33. Al-Muḥarrir, December 7, 1964.
34. Al-Aḥrār, November 25, 1964. On al-Baydānī (ex-Prime Minister of North Yemen) see: Y. Vered, War and Revolution in Yemen (in Hebrew) (Tel-Aviv: ^{c}Am ^{c}Oved, 1966), pp. 98-105, henceforth: Vered.
35. Al-Muḥarrir, November 26, 1964, al-Ahrām al-Iqtisādī, August 15, 1965, Aḥmad, pp. 123-131.
36. Aḥmad, op. cit.
37. Rūz al-Yūsuf, October 12, 1964.
38. Plass and Gehrke, pp. 261-262.
39. MEM, August 21, 1965, Plass and Gehrke, pp. 282-283.
40. Vered, pp. 198-201, 216-248.
41. Ibid., pp. 228-230.
42. Ibid., pp. 232-234.
43. Ibid., pp. 245-246, ^{c}Abd al-Fattāḥ, p. 25.
44. On the course of these events, see: Plass and Gehrke, pp. 284-285, The Times, November 8, 1965, R. Cairo, January 13, 1966— SWB, January 15, 1966.
45. These facts -- according to MENA, January 13, 1966 — DR, January 14, 1966, R. Cairo, January 14, 1966 — SWB January 18, 1966, R. Beirut, April 22, 1966 — DR, April 22,

1966 – DR, April 22, 1966. See also ᶜAlī al-Salāmī in MENA, April 24, 1966 – DR, April 26, 1966.

46. Rūz al-Yūsuf, December 6, 1965, R. Cairo, January 13, 1966 – SWB, January 15, 1966, MENA, January 13, 1966 – DR, January 13, 1966.

47. Al-Muḥarrir, January 15 and 17, 1966.

Chapter 2

NLF CHANGES: THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW LEADERSHIP

The attempt to incorporate the NLF into the FLOSY exposed a rift among the NLF's ranks, between the Qawmiyyūn supreme leadership and the Front's lower ranking leaders and rank and file. The attempt at unity with the OLOS was not, in itself, the rift's cause, but rather the last straw. The rift actually stemmed from deep-rooted and bitter grievances against the Qawmiyyūn elements. Most of the information available is found in sources hostile to the NLF; the Front itself managed quite successfully to conceal the internal rupture till the end of 1965. However, there is hardly any doubt about its existence and gravity.

From the accusations against the Qawmiyyūn, it seems that the NLF fell victim to its own, Qawmiyyūn devised structure and policies. The problems arose in three areas: political strategy, methods of the struggle and representation. With regard to political strategy, the Qawmiyyūn leaders were accused of "drawing room diplomacy" (Ijtimāᶜāt al-Ghuraf) while the lower ranking members were risking their lives.[1] As already mentioned, the NLF concentrated on achievements in foreign policy, notably supporting Egyptian efforts in the area. However, since fighting was actually taking place in South Yemen, the Qawmiyyūn leadership was perceived to be diplomatically over-active, isolated from the arena itself and, in general, to be over dependent on foreign interests. This criticism was exacerbated in connection with the method of fighting; as there were no military or territorial achievements, it became an aimless and therefore an endless struggle, dependent on a vague logic, contingent on an obscure ideological attachment to a foreign power and having no immediate visible benefit.

The NLF's internal structure, mechanism of representation and attitude towards the population were meant to support its political and fighting strategies. Thus, the fighting corps were directed, manipulated and supervised by the NLF while the Front maintained its own elite. Its ranks were not open to mass participation and it did not become a popular power

sharing organisation. In summer 1965, when the first nationalist assembly took place, the Qawmiyyūn leadership was already well-established and there was no other group to challenge its position. However, this situation must have been the outcome of an internal power struggle; tribal leaders like ᶜAbdullah al-Majᶜalī and Sālih al-Ḥawshabī who took part in the initial stages of the fighting later disappeared from the political stage. There are only a few indications that disputes over leadership and finances brought about their downfall.[2] Throughout 1965 the Qawmiyyūn leaders were accused of monopolising the NLF's headquarters and other offices while others bore the burdens of fighting.[3] They were also accused of sending their own people to conferences abroad even when other NLF members were better qualified.[4]

The very fact that accusations were voiced against the NLF means that, despite the Qawmiyyūn's attempts to eliminate any rival group, a widespread opposition had emerged within the Front. The impact of combat on various groups among the population caused some genuine social changes which the Qawmiyyūn leaders could scarcely control.[5] Thousands of tribal refugees had become the NLF's responsibility; pupils and trade union members were regularly involved in fighting, demonstrations and riots. People's expectations, work and social life had been affected by the revolt. The public atmosphere had thus changed. On the battlefield itself, the need to solve urgent tactical and organisational problems while the Qawmiyyūn leaders were pre-occupied with diplomacy, magnified their shortcomings and simultaneously highlighted the achievements of the lower ranking field leaders.

In these circumstances, a group dissociated from the old Qawmiyyun leadership (al-Qiyādah al-ᶜĀmmah) known as the "Secondary Leadership" (al-Qiyādah al-Thanawiyyah), had emerged, and claimed supreme command. They included the aforementioned ᶜAbd al-Fattāh Ismāᶜīl, Muḥammad ᶜAlī Ḥaytham ᶜAlī ᶜAntar (the first commander of the Radfān front), Muḥammad ᶜUshaysh (a trade union activist in Aden), Aḥmad al-Shāᶜir (a clerk and trade union activist), ᶜAlī Sālim al-Bīdh (a fighter and trade union activist from Ḥadramawt), ᶜAlī Sālim Rubayᶜ (a fighter and worker, from Zinjibār), Faysal al-ᶜAttās (a teacher and trade union activist from Ḥadramawt), Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Bishshī (a fighter) and others. Some of them, like Ismāᶜīl, ranked highly in the NLF's establishment; others were lower ranking, relatively obscure leaders. They shared some very general characteristics. The writer ᶜAdil Ridā described them as "educated persons, of no clear party identity" (Baᶜd anāsir al-Muthaqqafah wa-Ghayr al-Multāzimah Ḥizbiyyān).[5] Indeed many of the Secondary Leadership members were relatively well educated, either graduates of the Aden College or of another school; some of them were teachers. As earlier mentioned, the NLF-Qawmiyyūn leaders viewed the intelligensia as the only potential leadership cadre and recruited from

among them. However, the result was counterproductive because these educated leaders chose an independent way and became their mentor's opponents. Moreover, most of them were younger than the Qawmiyyūn leaders and were less attached to the Nāsirist apparatus. They emerged from local milieus such as student organisations and trade unions and seemed to have had some combat experience.

The most conspicuous characteristic of the Secondary Leadership was its members' adherence to Marxism, which had a number of causes. First, it seems that these Secondary Leaders were part of the anti-Nāsirist wave which then seized various pro-Nāsirist groups. These leaders occasionally accused the NLF of "ideological emptiness"[6], but this was apparently directed at Nāsirism as a whole. In late 1965, Egypt's internal problems, its futile efforts to introduce "Arab Socialism", to gain a victory in North Yemen and to achieve Arab unity, had become apparent. ᶜAbd al-Nāsir was at the time being criticised by so-called radical states such as Syria and also by conservative states such as Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Consequently the Qawmiyyūn al-ᶜArab, which thrived on ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's popularity and doctrines more than any other inter-Arab organisation became bitterly disappointed in its idol. In the Qawmiyyūn's conference in autumn 1964 in Beirut, a rift was exposed among its leaders. A group led by Muḥsin Ibrāhīm and Hānī al-Hindī, which centered around the al-Ḥurriyah newspaper, demanded that more supporters be recruited into the organisation and integrated into the Central Committee through elections and not through appointing committees. This was a sign of opposition to the established, pro-Nāsirist Qawmiyyūn leadership, (and notably to George Ḥabbash), by a group which pursued a staunch Marxist policy.[7] In this conference, al-Shaᶜbī and other NLF leaders sided with Ḥabbash, but the Qawmiyyūn branch in North Yemen supported Ibrāhīm's group. In the next months, the Secondary Leaders adopted the North Yemeni Qawmiyyūn's policy becoming anti-Nāsirist and Marxist.[8] Somewhat belatedly, in August 1966 this split was made public when the Aden Qawmiyyūn branch declared its opposition to Egypt's policy and on 31 August the Beirut Qawmiyyūn headquarters denounced this information as "British forgery".[9]

The Secondary Leadership members had been imbued with Marxist attitudes through contacts which they made with the Popular Democratic Union (henceforth: PDU) party in Aden. In 1961, the PDU was established as an anti-imperialist and pro-Soviet force in Aden. As such, in the early 1960s, it advocated the separation of South Yemen from the Imāmi North Yemen and from Egypt. Later, the Soviets changed their attitude but the PDU remained anti-Egyptian.[10] Albeit small and active only among Marxist supporters in the ATUC, the PDU succeeded in transmitting its ideas to the NLF. The PDU leader, ᶜAbdullah Bā-Dhīb strongly advocated the NLF's

armed struggle in the PDU's organ al-ᶜAmal. Moreover, he assisted the NLF, in infiltrating the ATUC.[11]

It is thus interesting to note that it was not direct Soviet influence which inspired the Secondary Leadership. An analysis of Soviet policy towards the area is beyond the scope of this study; but it should be mentioned that the Soviets followed the NLF's ventures closely and warmly supported its struggle and denounced British policy.[12] However, during the mid-1960s the Soviet Union was involved with Egypt in a number of ways including promoting Egypt's second Five Year Plan and the building of the Aswān dam.[13] Therefore they supported Egypt's policies in the area and did not foster an independent, pro-Communist policy.[14]

The Secondary Leadership was also exposed to a certain extent to Maoist ideas and activity. Returning Ḥadrami emigrants had encountered such ideas in Indonesia and Zanzibar (where a relatively large Chinese communit- existed) and had brought them back to Ḥadramawt. Two people, Faysal al-ᶜAttās and ᶜAbbās al-ᶜAydarūs (both of them of Sayyid origin) were most conspicuous. Al-ᶜAttās was said to have visited China several times and both he and al-ᶜAydarūs had made contacts with communists in Indonesia and possibly in Zanzibar. They then penetrated trade unions and pupils' groups in al-Mukallah tried to organise them along quasi-Maoist lines.[15] After 1966, more and more NLF groups raised red flags and shouted Maoist slogans during demonstrations.[16] In June 1966 it was announced that China had agreed to train South Yemeni youths in guerrilla warfare.[17] Marxist ideas appealed to many particularly because of the fighting in South Yemen. The Nāsirist movement became less attractive precisely because it could not offer any experience in guerrilla tactics. Marxist theories, particularly the Maoist and Vietnamese concepts of "peasants' wars"[18] satisfied the fighters' morale, tactical and organisational demands. For the fighters and the Secondary Leadership, most of whom came from the lower and middle classes, Marxism became a powerful alternative ideology, to unsuccessful Nāsirism.

For them, traditional Qawmiyyūn thought, rooted in Garibaldi, Mazzini and more immediately in al-Ḥusrī's and ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's ideas, was "chauvinistic". According to Ismāᶜīl, the Secondary Leadership members had a "universal" outlook, seeking similar situations in other parts of the world and for the conditions which had brought them about. The rationalist ideologies behind these conditions were perceived as mythological and vague. These conditions rather depend for their effect "on reality and social classes".[19] Hence, the argument went, under Colonialism, which was in essence an economic phenomenon, an unholy trinity had developed: feudal landlords in the countryside, capitalists and quasi-capitalists, (notably business entrepreneurs, officials and petit bourgeoisie) in the cities, all of whom depended on

the foreign imperialists. In such circumstances political independence would be useless because the social setting and economy would remain colonialist-shaped. Thus, imperialist powers would be able to dominate such a country, even after its independence, through marketing, finance and building companies, aid etc., without which a newly independent state could scarcely survive.

The local ruling classes and supporters of capitalism would assist the imperialists and together they would share "what good has been left" (Taqāsum Tarakā).[20] The closer independence came the more worried the Secondary Leadership members became. Their ideological commitment insisted that every revolution had to undergo two stages: a political stage, which had begun on 14 November 1963, when fighting broke out in Radfān, and a socio-economic phase which "by its very nature and essence" (Fikr wa-Madmūn Ijtimāᶜī) was designed to organise society into truly popular frameworks and to wrest the revolutionary leadership from the bourgeoisie which grew out of capitalism. This stage was due in 1965.[21]

In 1965, the opposition group, led by the Secondary Leadership challenged the Qawmiyyūn leadership. In June, during the NLF's conference, the old leadership managed to defeat its rival and produced the National Charter.[22] However, in late 1965 Secondary Leadership groups (including fighters, students and policemen) held a number of meetings in Taᶜizz, when they criticised the old general leadership, whose members had refused to attend. These groups then composed an 83-point questionnaire which was submitted to the General Leadership. They also demanded a second NLF conference to correct the "mistakes" which had been made during the first conference. The North Yemeni Qawmiyyūn branch supported them.[23] The General Command yielded to this pressure and a second conference was called for 23 January 1966. It looked as though the NLF would undergo a radical change under the Secondary Leadership.[24]

The issue of joining the FLOSY then intervened and exposed the rift. Not all the members of the Qawmiyyūn Leadership supported the FLOSY; those who did, thought that through unification the NLF would gain access to Aden's urban population which, after all, was the PSP's constituency. Moreover, they wanted the NLF to recover from the blow delivered by the British who had arrested 42 NLF activists in September 1965. Unification seemed to be a reasonable way to strength, to involve more people in the fighting and to make progress.[25] Most of all, Egyptian intelligence exerted considerable pressure on the NLF to merge with the OLOS. In late 1965, they blocked arms shipments from North Yemen intended for the NLF. Apparently, these intelligence officials detested the NLF's radicalism and individuality and thought to fetter its freedom within an Egyptian controlled FLOSY.[26] NLF members such as al-Salāmī, who signed the merger documents, Tahah Muqbil

and Sālim Zayn supported Egypt; in fact they joined the FLOSY with no reservations. Qaḥṭān and his cousin Faysal ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf were more sceptical and opposed the FLOSY. Qaḥṭān, who had negotiated with Egyptian intelligence members more often than any other NLF leader, guessed their real motives.[27]

It was at this time that the Secondary Leaders came into the open. Qaḥṭān al-Shaᶜbī's resistance to the FLOSY did not satisfy them. In fact, they exploited the General Command's internal split to convene an NLF conference in January 1966 in Taᶜizz, in order to agree that the NLF would not join the FLOSY, to suspend the old General Command and appoint "A New General Command" (al-Qiyādah al-ᶜĀmmah al-Jadīdah) composed of Secondary Leadership members.[28] At Egypt's request, the leading Qawmiyyūn members participated in the conference and the above-mentioned resolutions were passed with Muḥsin Ibrāhīm's support and against Ḥabbash's advice. The new General Command then declared ᶜAbd al-Nāsir to be "an Arab imperialist".[29] In May 1966 another conference took place in Jablah, in South Yemen. On Rubayᶜ's and al-Shāᶜir's initiative, the old criticism against the Qawmiyyūn's elitism was voiced once more. It was again decided to condemn the old General Command and to expel the members who had joined the FLOSY.[30]

The Secondary Leadership's accusations against the FLOSY became clear in the following months. FLOSY's social composition was described as an alliance between the bourgeoisie and feudal landlords (probably referring to the Sultāns who had joined the FLOSY) and hence, an unfit partner for the NLF which could only link up on a radical social class basis (Tabaqī Jidhrī). They argued that Egypt, which was dominated by the bourgeoisie and advocated a policy of appeasement in Arabia, wanted similar groups to dominate the FLOSY so in the future it could negotiate with the "counter revolution" (al-Thawrah al-Mudādah).[31]

Tactically, the FLOSY's demands for the closure of the British base in Aden, the return of deported political figures, the release of detainees and reinstatement of the Aden Constitution, were viewed by the Secondary Leadership as marginal issues, to be easily satisfied through full independence.[32] The FLOSY leaders and particularly al-Asnaj were criticised for being opposed to serious armed struggle, and paid lip service to it only to counter the NLF.[33] The Secondary Leader's attitude was very rigid, and unlike the old General Command, not tempered by diplomacy. As an Egyptian newspaper noted, its members did not agree to waive their "Diplomacy of War" (Diblumāsiyyat al-Ḥarb) in favour of "a war of diplomacy" (al-Ḥarb al-Diblumāsiyyah).[34] It therefore seems that the secondary leadership, which, in January 1966 was on the verge of changing the NLF's nature, viewed the attempt to establish the FLOSY as a stop which would not only upset their personal prospects but also contradicted their ideological, social and strategic commitments. FLOSY's formation

was likely to turn them again into ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's pawn, moving in the orbit of an organisation more nationalist, pan-Arabist and traditional than the NLF was, less committed to armed struggle, with a leadership having a strong bias to diplomacy.

As a result, the Egyptians stopped all material and propaganda aid to the NLF (in Ḥawatmah's words, they imposed a "blockade" in these fields) and ceased to report the Front's operations.[35] They also renewed the pressure on the NLF to unite with the FLOSY. They were successful inasmuch as the NLF agreed to despatch Qaḥtān, Faysal ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāᶜīl and Sayf al-Dāliᶜī to new unification negotiations; and after the Jabbah Conference, al-Shāᶜir and Ḥaytham joined in these talks on behalf of the new leadership.[36] The negotiations lasted for several weeks during which the NLF members were threatened (Ismāᶜīl said that Sāliḥ Nāsir, head of Egyptian intelligence told him: "You either join the FLOSY or suffer the withdrawal of material and military assistance")[37] and held under custody. The NLF leaders were told that it was only the Egyptian "state Apparatus" that resisted them and ᶜAbd al-Nāsir himself sympathised with them. Qawmiyyūn members were once more brought from Beirut to try to persuade them. They even used Marxist arguments in an attempt to influence them.[38]

Consequently, in August 1966 the "Alexandria Agreement" recording a merger between the NLF and the FLOSY was signed. It had 13 paragraphs and a three-part supplement, which repeated some of the NLF's principles but which gave substantial advantages to the existing FLOSY. Thus, a "unification of the fighting ranks" (Tawḥīd sufūf al-Munādilīn) in the political, military and organisational spheres was agreed, but the proportion of NLF officials to FLOSY officials would be 1:2. A National Council would be elected which would in turn elect the Revolutionary Leading Council (majlis qiyādah lil-thawrah). The NLF's military establishment would first disarm and would then be reinstated according to the directions of FLOSY's military establishment.[39] The FLOSY would become the only liberation organisation in the area with whom Britain would negotiate the formation of a caretaker government, the process leading to independence, elections and a constitution.[40]

These terms annoyed both the NLF rank and file and the Secondary Leadership. All their fears of political failure and neutralisation by tne Nāsirist backed organisation surfaced again. In September another NLF conference was held in Taᶜizz, attended by representatives of the fighting fronts, students women and trade union activists. On 14 October 1966, the third anniversary of the commencement of the Radfān revolt, the conference demanded to secede from the FLOSY "which was coated in petit bourgeoisie thought, directed by the Central Qawmiyyūn Leadership" and according to Sulṭān Aḥmad ᶜUmar presented it as an ultimatum, threatening to leave the NLF if

their demand was rejected. It was then decided, by a substantial majority, "on an ultimate and total rejection of the political meaning of the Alexandria Agreement" (al-rafd al-qāṭiᶜ lil-taḥlīl al-siyāsī lil-itifākiyyat Iskandariyyah).[41] However, to decide on the ultimatum another conference was necessary; in a preparatory meeting in Qaᶜtabah in North Yemen, several NLF activists tried to block any decision which would precipitate an open conflict with Egypt. But, in the Khamr (also in North Yemen) Conference of November 1966, it was finally decided to secede from the FLOSY.[42] Qaḥtān, Faysal and Ismāᶜīl arrived at the Khamr Conference and announced their rejection of a united FLOSY; they were received back into the NLF's command which then included ten members, mostly from the Secondary Leadership.[43] In its final announcement, the NLF clarified that it was all in favour of unity (it repeated the appropriate paragraph from the NLF's charter) but "FLOSY cannot constitute a real framework for popular forces, and a revolutionary mechanism to withstand the enemy's plots".[44] The announcement clearly emphasised that the NLF saw itself as much superior to the FLOSY.

Notes

1. Ridā, p. 75, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ., p. 68.
2. ᶜUmar, pp. 241-242. From ᶜUmar's point of view this was considered the 'dismissal of bourgeoisie elements' from the NLF.
3. Al-Aḥrār, February 20, 1965.
4. Ridā, pp. 75-76.
5. Loc. cit.
6. Ḥawatmah, p. 36, for instance. In his social attitudes Ḥawātmah is close to many of the Secondary Leadership.
7. Halliday sees this as a major cause for the Secondary Leadership's opposition to ᶜAbd al-Nāsir, Halliday, op. cit., See also: Kazziha (in lengthy discussion), pp. 65-106, Kubaisi, pp. 126-144, T.Y. Ismael, The Arab Left (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1976), pp. 62-68.
8. ᶜUmar, pp. 243-244.
9. Al-Muḥarrir, August 31, 1966.
10. Sager, p. 148.
11. Ḥawatmah, p. 31. Halliday, pp. 209, 318, explains the later hostility between the FLOSY and the Democratic Union, which supported the NLF. FLOSY men killed ᶜAbd ᶜAbd al-Majīd al-Salafī, one of the leaders of the organisation and broke into the editorial office of al-ᶜAmal. Al-Salafī had also headed the bank workers' union, which had been closely connected with the NLF, as early as 1965.
12. Sager, pp. 180-181. See also, S. Page, The U.S.S.R. and Arabia (London: Central Asian Research Center, 1971), pp. 77-90, The Times, July 9 and August 4, 1964, MEM, July 25, 1964, R. Moscow, June 15, 1965 – SWB, June 17, 1965, R. Moscow, July 30, 1965 – SWB, August 2, 1965, TNY, August 26, 1964 and

October 6, 1965.
13. Vered, p. 246.
14. Sager, p. 182.
15. The Jerusalem Post, May 17, 1968 (dispatch by U.P. correspondent in Aden).
16. Al-Ḥayāt, July 30, 1966.
17. Al-Akhbār, June 12, 1966, R.PLO , June 12, 1966 — IDS, June 13, 1966.
18. Ḥawātmah, pp. 73-74.
19. Cited by ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 66.
20. Executive Committee, pp. 41-60 (in detail), al-Ḥurriyyah, October 2 and 30, 1967. These are ideological essays reflecting the views of the NLF's Secondary Command.
21. Loc. cit.
22. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 67, ᶜUmar, pp. 244-245, Ismāᶜīl, p. 32.
23. ᶜUmar, p. 245, Ḥawātmah, pp. 43-44.
24. ᶜUmar, op. cit.
25. MEM, September 25, 1965, The Times, November 11, 1965, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 73-74, Ridā, p. 136.
26. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 75.
27. Ibid., pp. 76-77.
28. ᶜUmar, p. 247, Ḥawātmah, pp. 43-44.
29. AW, August 30, 1966, ᶜUmar, pp. 248-249.
30. Ridā, pp. 169-171.
31. Al-Ahrām al-Iqtisādī, August 15, 1965, Ḥawātmah, pp. 37-38, 40, 44, 49, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 77, Ismāᶜīl, p. 33.
32. Al-Ahrām al-Iqtisādī, August 15, 1965, al-Aḥrār, January 14, 1967.
33. Al-Ahrām al-Iqtisādī, August 15, 1965.
34. Ibid.
35. ᶜUmar, p. 252.
36. Ridā, p. 171.
37. Cited by ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 78.
38. ᶜUmar, p. 252.
39. Ridā, pp. 169-171.
40. Loc. cit. See also ᶜUmar, p. 253, Ḥawātmah, pp. 49-50, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 79.
41. ᶜUmar, pp. 253-254.
42. Ridā, pp. 184-186.
43. ᶜUmar, pp. 254-256, Ḥawātmah, pp. 53-54, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, p. 79.
44. Al-Aḥrār, January 14, 1967.

Chapter 3

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ARENA: THE NLF AND THE FLOSY IN EARLY FIGHTING STAGES

On 22 February 1966 the British Government published a new "White Paper" which fixed 31 December 1968 as the date for British withdrawal from Aden. The paper also stated that no agreement would be made with the South Arabian Federal Government; this meant that Britain would give up its base in Aden, a change in the principle which had so far guided British policy.[1] The British Government had concluded that to prolong its former policy would be too expensive in view of the weakness inherent in the Federation and the hostility in the surrounding states (Egypt in North Yemen, the Soviets in Somali and the Chinese in Zanzibar). In fact, at that time it was a general British policy to contract its overseas military presence.[2] This decision was fiercely debated in Parliament. Conservative members (Sandys, Fisher) accused the Government of abandoning its allies.[3] However, in May 1966 the British Government announced its acceptance of the November 1965 UN resolution; in late 1966 it even invited a UN mission to visit in South Yemen.[4]

As a result, a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty pervaded the Federation. Gavin noted:

> With the declaration that Britain would hand Aden over, the network of personal relationships, promotion prospects, feelings of professional duty and expectation of political gain which still bound many individuals to the government machine began to fray ... disaffection spread to the very heart of the administration and the federal armed forces.[5]

The earlier mentioned problems which beset the Federation worsened. Not only was Aden ruled directly by the British, but acrimonious discussions took place between Aden representatives and their opposite numbers from the Protectorate over the appointment of four ministers in the Federal Government. The Federal Government could cover only £4 million of the £20 million it had spent in 1966. The British

gave another £14 million, and even so there was a deficit of £3 million. As £9 million of the British grant was allotted to the FA, only a relatively small share was left for daily expenditure. In the words of Federal Finance Minister Muḥammad al-ᶜAwlaqī, the Federation was "a debtor state", dependent on outside help.[6] No oil was found in Ḥadramawt and in the light of the continuous aid given by North Yemen to the Guerrillas in the South, the Federal Government had closed its northern frontier, thus further damaging the Federation's economy: exports to North Yemen earlier reached £5 million and imports of £2 million,[7] were prevented from the Federation.

Apart from Britain's initiative to draft a constitution for South Yemen, the £9 million grant was the only other contribution by Britain to the Federation. In desperation, the Federal leaders appealed to the opposition: On 13 May 1966 the Government announced its acceptance of UN resolution of November 1965.[8] It also announced its willingness to join the Arab League, to help "Arab fraternal states in their fight for Palestine"[9] and to hold a "popular conference" in South Yemen in which groups from "within and without the Federation" would participate.[10]

Confronted with such uncertainty the Federation's leaders tried to bolster their regime by signalling to the opposition. However, their efforts were in vain, because the prevailing uncertainty also enabled FLOSY and the NLF to act. In fact, because the Egyptian media boycotted NLF activities and because of the NLF's internal crisis, the FLOSY's activities seem to have dominated. Among other actions in 1966, Robin Thorn, an assistant to the High Commissioner and the Secretary to the Aden Government was killed by a bomb.[11] The Mayor of Ludār, Nāsir al-ᶜAwdhalī was shot dead in Shaykh ᶜUthmān;[12] in July, the commander of the Ḥadrami Legion, Lt. Col. Gray was murdered by one of his soldiers;[13] in August an Aden Councillor, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Bāsindūh, who had proposed the setting up of a "Public Security Council" to fight terrorism, was shot.[14] Paget stressed that among the 17 people who were assassinated in 1966, four were from the Special Branch and five were union leaders.[15]

Between March and June 1966 the throwing of grenades at British patrols, police stations and prisons became a daily phenomenon in the Aden districts of Shaykh ᶜUthmān and Crater. In one attack in March, 19 people were killed.[16] Following the murder of ATUC's president, Ḥusayn al-Qādī, (see below) there was a general strike by Aden's workers.[17] In July the Special Branch police headquarters was blown up and many files were damaged and in November a water pump in Aden was blown up.[18] FLOSY's ventures in the Protectorate seemed to have fallen short of the NLF's earlier activities: While 1372 incidents occurred there in 1965, the number dropped to 868 in 1966.[19] The fighters chose to concentrate on familiar targets: they attacked British camps in Khiblayn, blew up

the house of the Amīr of Dāliᶜ and a power station there.[20] Mines and grenades were also used against British patrols in Khawshabī, ᶜAwdhali and Bayḥān.[21] The Sharīf Ḥusayn's residence in Bayḥān was repeatedly attacked.[22]

The FLOSY exploited fully their contacts with the Nāsirist apparatus to follow the NLF as a foreign policy oriented body. FLOSY's leaders met in Cairo and Taᶜizz. In 1966 they demanded that Arab states should establish an "occupied South Yemen Fund" to finance the FLOSY's activities and to allow the FLOSY free telephone and postal services in each Arab state.[23] It is unknown whether these demands were granted but it is clear that the FLOSY's members made a number of visits to Arab and Eastern bloc states; its leaders visited Algeria, Sudan, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and, of course, Egypt.[24] Egypt acknowledged the FLOSY as "the legitimate representative of the people in the South" and gave the organisation financial and military support.[25]

It is understandable that the FLOSY tried to succeed the NLF as the representative of all South Yemeni fighters. Consequently, it first and foremost asserted its political position. The FLOSY credited itself, as the leader of "the heroic struggle", with Britain's and the Federal Government's acceptance of the 1965 UN resolution. However, it emphasised that Britain should carry out the resolution at once, that "the people in the South" would then determine their own future and that the FLOSY would not accept any partial solutions. Its leaders asserted that Britain had had "no right" in 1965 to offer constitutional proposals which only "tore the people further apart". The Federation was a tool in British hands and it was the FLOSY's duty to react violently, for the sake of "the people's rights."[26] It seems that the FLOSY's leaders were particularly frustrated because Britain's acceptance of the UN resolution had not prompted a dialogue in which they would constitute the people's representatives. They, therefore, viewed British policy as a prolongation of "the 1964 Sandys' and the Sultan's policy".[27] Thus, when the Federal Government refused to include the FLOSY leaders in the mission due to meet the UN group which the British had invited to South Yemen, the FLOSY called on "all the labouring forces in the area to unite around their FLOSY".[28]

The FLOSY also strove to secure its position as the representative of South Yemen's population in the Domestic arena. As an organisation composed of different groupings and existing parties, the FLOSY had to prove its claim to be the sole legitimate representative by demonstrating that its constituent organisations were well integrated within the FLOSY and that it spoke on their behalf. Ostensibly, the FLOSY's internal structure reflected this policy. In early March 1966 the establishment of the FLOSY's "Revolutionary Council" was announced. It was to operate from Taᶜizz under the auspices of the Arab League. It included 20 members,

notably Muḥammad Bāsindūh, Aḥmad al-Fadlī, Sayf al-Dālicī, cAlī al-Salāmī, Ṭaḥah Muqbil, Sālim Zayn, cAbdullah al-Majcalī, Jacbal Ibn Ḥusayn, cAbdullah cUbayd, cAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismācīl, cAbdullah al-Asnaj as the head of the FLOSY's "Political Bureau" and cAbd al-Qawwī Makkawī, who acted as the FLOSY's Secretary-General and as the Council's secretary.[29] On 18 March the Revolutionary Council decided to form four committees; to formulate a national charter, to decide on political action, to prepare the elections for the FLOSY's National Council and to deal with military affairs. Makkawī contemplated the expansion of the FLOSY's military and political activities, including the formation of a government to take over after independence, the reactivation of the fighting zones and mass recruitment.[30] In this the FLOSY leadership tried to stamp its mark on the organisation.

However, in practice it failed to create a cohesive body and each constituent body went its own way. In March and April 1966 two meetings took place, in Asmara in Eritrea and then in Qarsh near North Yemen's frontier. They were attended by FLOSY members Aḥmad al-Fadlī and Jacbal al-Ḥusayn as well as by SAL leaders al-Jifrī and cAlī cAbd al-Karīm together with a Federal mission composed of the Ministers Jarjarah, Sālih al-cAwdhalī and the Sultān Nāsir al-Fadlī. It became known that the Federal mission purged a united front to deal with independence, elections and a government to be elected on this basis. The FLOSY members demanded that issues such as the nature of the future regime and the constitution should also be decided on this basis.[31] After the first meeting the Government announced that as a gesture, it would allow the return to South Yemen of such political detainees as the al-Jifrī brothers, the Sultāns cAlī cAbd al-Karīm and Muḥammad al-cAydarūs and others.[32] At the second meeting, also attended by the Ministers cAbdullah Darwīsh and Muḥammad Ibn Farīd al-cAwlaqī, problems arose in connection with the FLOSY's demand to proceed forthwith to unite North and South Yemen. However it was agreed to arrange further meetings, to hold elections and to work for the reinstatement of civil rights and for independence. Jirjirah and al-Jifrī were optimistic about the possibility of a future settlement with the FLOSY.[33]

The reasons why declining bodies such as the Federation and the SAL chose to co-operate with what seemed to be the strongest South Yemeni Nationalist organisation were self evident. The FLOSY's standpoint to engage in such a co-operation seemed more obscure; however, it soon became obvious that al-Fadlī's and Jacbal's decision to negotiate with SAL and Federal members was their own initiative and was not endorsed by the FLOSY's other leaders. Apparently, these two tried to renew contacts with people whom they had known well and who had similar social background; in fact, their opposite numbers, Sultāns Nāsir al-Fadlī and Salih al-cAwdhalī were their brothers. Other FLOSY leaders accused Aḥmad al-Fadlī and

Jaᶜbal of having a "lust for power"; however there are other reasonable explanations. These two claimed that once Britain had agreed to grant full independence to Aden (including giving up its military bases) and the Government had proved its good will by returning exiles and by endorsing the UN resolution, the appropriate climate for independence had been created and, therefore, it was unnecessary to continue fighting.[34] ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Karīm also emphasised the need to use persuasion as a means to debate South Yemen's future. He further stressed the advantages which the Federation would gain if the Ḥadrami Princedom of Quᶜaytī was integrated, a goal that could not be achieved by violence and fighting.[35] Their moves were meant to prove that there was no consensus approving the way of violence and that a new, more productive political and territorial consensus could be built up to support it.

However, after the meetings were made public the FLOSY's leaders were fiercely critical of the line advocated by al-Fadlī, Jaᶜbal and the SAL which contradicted the FLOSY's maxims: the adoption of armed struggle as the method of fighting for independence, interpreting Nāsirism of its socialist-populist pretensions as the Front's leading ideology and the preclusion of any contact with the Federal Government.[36] Makkawī and al-Asnaj declared the al-Fadlī and Jaᶜbal had no authority to conduct such negotiations. On 21 April Makkawī informed the Arab League that both of them had been expelled from the FLOSY. He called them "wrong doers and misleaders who held talks in dark rooms", talks that were "a political circus".[37] The FLOSY's leaders stressed that such a policy could only "extinguish the fire of the armed revolution".[38] The FLOSY's aim was to achieve "real independence" (Istiqlāl Ḥaqīqī) a goal worth fighting for while compromises only served the British.[39] As a result there were talks along such lines. The SAL members had several further fruitless meetings with Federal ministers. In May and June 1966, in retaliation for "the SAL's destructive role in the South", its offices in Sanᶜā and in Cairo were attacked.[40]

So it seems that the FLOSY had decided on its future path: by expelling the Sulṭāns it chose to ignore the possibility of pursuing a moderate but unconventional policy and relinquished its pretension as a genuine unifying leader of at least most of the nationalist South Yemeni forces. It rather became an unrepresentative, rigidly ideological body moving in a single direction. Moreover, in comparison to the NLF's previous similar position, the FLOSY was even more dependent on Nāsirism and enjoyed less room to maneouvre.[41]

The FLOSY's leaders made great efforts to obtain the support of South Yemen's various social sectors. In June 1966, a meeting of the 70 representatives to the FLOSY's National Council was due to take place in Taᶜizz. The Council intended to formulate the FLOSY's National Charter.[42] However, by the end of June the groupings incorporated in the FLOSY had

not concluded their internal elections for Council members and only in July did the representatives of the "Military sector" arrive, except for those of ᶜAwdhalī, Bayḥān, and Fadlī.[43] In fact, on 4 June radio Sanᶜā had already announced the cancellation of the meetings of the National Council.[44] These delays indicate the difficulties which the FLOSY encountered in recruiting popular support.

One such troublesome group was the ATUC. Apparently, the struggle between the NLF and the PSP supporters, particularly in the civil aviation, teachers', port workers', construction, banks' and oil installations workers' unions was most acute. As mentioned already, in 1965 NLF supporters had increased within these unions and they managed to outvote al-Asnaj from his position as the ATUC's secretary. However, they could not prevent the election of one of al-Asnaj's close supporters, Ḥusayn al-Qādī (whom they criticised in the earlier mentioned anti-PSP article) as the ATUC's president. Al-Qādī obviously took a line which must have angered NLF supporters; on 18 January 1966 he sent a telegram to the Arab League in which he announced "the ATUC's willingness to join the FLOSY". Moreover, the ATUC's Executive Council announced publicly that the FLOSY was "a decisive step in the nationalist liberation movement", to help and bring "the day of victory" closer.[45] On 24 February, al-Qādī was murdered by unknown assassins; in view of the existing split, such an act inevitably precipitated suspicion and probably exacerbated the internal struggle.

It seems that this struggle directly impeded the meeting of the National Council, as Radio Sanᶜā's earlier mentioned announcement of the meeting's cancellation also said that leaders of the above-mentioned trade unions had been summoned to Cairo to resolve internal problems.[46] Fearing a total breakdown of the National Council, the FLOSY's leaders preferred to cancel its convention and instead, summoned union leaders for discussions. Between June and August 1966 well-known NLF trade union activists such as ᶜAbd al-Malik Ismāᶜīl and Muḥammad ᶜUshaysh sat with well-known FLOSY counterparts such as ᶜAlī al-ᶜAswadī and Saᶜīd Bāshābīn, both in Cairo and in Taᶜizz. Dr. Fawzī Muḥammad al-Sayyid, the Secretary General of the Arab Trade Union Confederacy, tried to force these six unions, who opposed the FLOSY, to accept the ATUC's 1960 regulations which meant their acceptance of the ATUC's Executive Council as the ultimate authority. Al-Sayyid also tried to persuade the leaders of these unions to merge with other unions and thus, to soften their unions' strong opposition.[47] In return these union leaders were promised that the ATUC elections would be held under the supervision of a neutral five-member committee.[48] The results of the talks were not publicised; this might indicate that the confrontation had not been averted. In late 1966 ᶜAbd al-Malik Ismāᶜīl and ᶜUshaysh increased their pro-NLF activities within the ATUC. The fact that among the initiators of the NLF Khamr Conference

there was a considerable number of ATUC activists suggests that the FLOSY was unable to recapture the leadership of this sector.

The FLOSY was more successful in Ḥadramawt. Despite all the inherent difficulties in its relations with the SAL and the Sultāns, the very existence of such relations increased FLOSY's popularity among Ḥadrami sultāns, tribesmen and urban businessmen. Moreover, as the FLOSY did not accept the idea of Ḥadrami Princedoms being integrated within the Federation (one facet of the 1965 British proposed constitution) and vehemently denied a rumour to the effect that these Princedoms would become part of Saudi Arabia after South Yemen's independence, made the FLOSY even more acceptable in Ḥadramawt.[49] The growing popularity was accentuated because the NLF was then pre-occupied with its internal problems and did not make a stand on these issues. On 16 April 1966 "a Conference of Popular Organisations" convened in Say'ūn. It included previously unknown organisations, which indicated greater participation by Ḥadramawt's population in the struggle.[50] The Conference declared its rejection of the British proposed constitution and denounced any group which might negotiate with the British on that basis, or who might come to terms with Saudi Arabia. It rejected resolutions submitted by the notability ("al-Bilād"). They argued that the people must have a direct say in all relevant matters. The Conference supported the unification of Quᶜaytī, Kathīrī and Mahrah Princedoms, recognition of the UN 1965 resolutions as a basis for independence and of the FLOSY as the sole representative for the Ḥadramī people. It was decided to announce the Conference's decisions throughout Ḥadramawt and also to send a "people's mission" to the Arab League.[51]

The FLOSY's success was attributable to the somewhat growing anti-Federal and anti-British feeling which was then widespread in Ḥadramawt. The majority of the population rejected unity with the Federation for familiar reasons: fear of economic exploitation by the Western Princedoms and of subjection to all the problems overwhelming the Federation. Quᶜaytī's Chief Minister Muḥammad al-ᶜAttās had served for 23 years in his office and was a renowned rejectionist of the idea of joining the Federation.[52] He nevertheless did not support the NLF or the FLOSY; he even criticised the formation of the FLOSY. However, in April 1966 rumours spread that he had negotiated with Saudi Arabia about Hadramawt's joining the Saudi state.[53] In August 1966 the Quᶜaytī Sultān ᶜAwad Ibn Sālih was deposed after he had publicly supported Aḥmad al-Fadlī and the 1965 UN resolutions. His removal looked like a British move, initiated by al-ᶜAttās;[54] the latter denied these accusations but riots and demonstrations followed and in November 1966 al-ᶜAttās was forced to resign.[55]

In the light of the earlier mentioned Conference of Popular Organisations, the FLOSY's supporters increased and became stronger. In July 1966, in al-Mukallah, the Arab

Socialist Party, a Ḥadramī PSP off-shoot, called for "Yemeni Unity", the merger of South Yemen's organisations, peace among local tribes and the acceptance of the UN resolutions. This call focused on the FLOSY as the people's leader.[56] FLOSY supporters must have organised the riots which led to al-ᶜAttās's resignation. Their number increased still further after September 1966 when an SAL supporter, ᶜAbdullah al-Jaᶜbarī, fired into a crowd of demonstrators who had gone there to protest against the High Commissioner's visit to Ḥadramawt, and killed a student. This act provoked riots and long interruptions in the school year.[57] However, according to pro-FLOSY sources it was discovered during al-Jaᶜabrī's trial that the SAL had organised a secret cell in al-Mukallah and in the Ḥadramī Legion, and had planned armed riots and various assassinations, helped by Saᶜudi Arabia.[58] This allegation was not confirmed by other sources; however, the SAL's position in the Ḥadramawt drastically declined and the FLOSY took its place. On 14 September, the FLOSY's growing popularity was highlighted when a conference of Ḥadramī tribal representatives rejected Saudi meddling in the area and declared their support for the FLOSY's activities.[59] In November a body named "Ḥadramawt's Workers Organisation" called on its followers to join the FLOSY.[60]

The FLOSY had difficulties in enlisting comparable support in the Western Protectorate. The FLOSY headquarters in Taᶜizz occasionally announced the occurrence of anti-British demonstrations in Jabal Jiḥāf, Dāliᶜ, Subayḥah, Ḥawtah and other places. There was, however, no other evidence to indicate whether these incidents were initiated by the FLOSY.[61] Tribal support was crucial for the FLOSY. However, on 16 March, SAL leader ᶜMuḥammad al-Jifrī met leaders of five tribal commands which had previously been part of the NLF (from Subayḥah, Dathīnah, Mufallaḥī, Lower Yāfiᶜī, Dāliᶜ and Raḍfān) and persuaded them to join the SAL and not the FLOSY.[62] Apparently these tribal commands had become disenchanted with the NLF in early 1966, but they joined neither the Secondary Leadership of the NLF nor the FLOSY. While the NLF's internal struggle might explain the tribesmen's reluctance to join the NLF, their reasons rejecting the FLOSY seem more convoluted and merit elaboration.

During 1964 and 1965 various tribal groups deserted the NLF; this probably resulted from the earlier mentioned political and financial problems that provoked differences between the Qawmiyyūn and tribal figures such as ᶜAbdullah al-Majᶜalī, Sālih Ibn ᶜAwas al-Ḥawshabī and Jaᶜbal al-Shāwī. They, and particularly al-Majᶜalī, were popular leaders and must have encouraged other tribal groups to leave the NLF. (Ridā called them "tribal-military factors", ᶜAnāsir ᶜAskariyyah-Qibliyyah[63]). They might well have collaborated with the Secondary Leadership against the Qawmiyyūn-led leadership. However, al-Majᶜalī who was among the founders of the first Qawmiyyūn cell in

Cairo was not attracted by the Secondary Leaders' anti-Nāsirism and Marxism. He and other tribal groups preferred to join the FLOSY.

He soon became the FLOSY's military leader in command of a body known as the "Popular Organisation of Revolutionary Forces" (al-Tanẓīm al-Shaʿbī) (PORF). Formally, the PORF was part of the FLOSY; in practice it developed quite separately. Its manpower came from a "military command" which was founded in February 1966 and included students, trade unionist and former NLF tribal groups.[64] It was described as the main executor of "the revolutionary aims". The PORF's fighters were trained in "special centres" and some of them in the Cairo-based "War College" (al-Kulliyyah al-Ḥarbiyyah). In addition to special training in urban guerrilla and terrorism they also had educational sessions in Arab social and political problems.[65]

It seems that the PORF was Egypt's long arm in South Yemen. In addition to supporting the FLOSY, Egypt cultivated the PORF as a separate and dominant power in Aden and as a crack unit which could function as an effective counterweight to the NLF's military organisation.[66] According to Ridā, the only FLOSY leader who was on good terms with the PORF was Makkawī.[67] Apparently, despite al-Asnaj's and the PSP's loyalty to Nāsirism, the Egyptian intelligence preferred, in this case, Makkawī, particularly because he had no party political roots in Aden. Shortly before the meeting of the FLOSY's National Council in July 1966, the "independent factors in the fighting arenas" (al-ʿAnāsir al-Mustaqillah fī jabahāt al-Qitāl) a title behind which al-Majʿalī's forces can be identified, seem to have gained a decisive majority. This situation caused anxiety with "the party affiliated factors" (al-ʿAnāsir al-Ḥizbiyyah), within the FLOSY and came as a surprise to them (al-Asnaj was then absent, visiting East Germany).[68] Hence, as well as its declining support in the ATUC, the FLOSY also failed to establish a viable collaboration between tribal and non-party affiliated and party affiliated groups in the Western Protectorate.

The futile attempt to convene the National Council demonstrates the FLOSY's failure to become the dominant group in South Yemen. Egypt must have discerned this problem as, according to Makkawī, in October the PORF was due to take command of the twelve fighting zones in South Yemen.[69] However the earlier-mentioned secession of five tribal commands from the FLOSY foiled this attempt.

In fact, these units only joined up with the SAL briefly. In summer 1966 ʿAlī ʿAntar returned to Radfān and in the NLF Jablah Conference, during which widespread opposition to the FLOSY was expressed. These tribal commands were once more duly represented.[70] In fact, since summer 1966 the Secondary Leadership led NLF renewed its efforts throughout South Yemen. ʿUshaysh and ʿAbd al-Malik Ismāʿīl were active in the

ATUC. At the same time al-ᶜAttās was busy in al-Mukallah, ᶜAlī Sālih ᶜAbādh, a trade union activist from Abyan and ᶜAbdullah al-Khāmirī, a worker and ideologue, organised political circles (dirāsāt fikriyyah) in Aden for NLF cadres. Being without Egyptian assistance, ᶜAlī ᶜAntar organised collection and supply centers in Radfān, Dāliᶜ and Hawāshib; cultivated land was also exploited to that end. NLF activists robbed banks and businesses, notably Jewish businesses. There were rumours that China was helping the NLF but they were never confirmed.[71] ᶜAbādh, al-Khāmirī and Haytham initiated renewed contacts with NLF cells in the FA and the police. The fighting Fronts were also reorganised.[72] The NLF thus reactivated it structure, popular support, logistics and fighting capacity.

Hence in 1966 the South Yemeni body politic was shattered. This resulted partly from political events such as the British decision to evacuate the Aden base in 1968 and the establishment of the FLOSY. However, this year also witnessed the active and often violent involvement of social groups; the ATUC, students and tribesmen. The NLF's strategy of fighting which was meant to be controlled and cautious, nevertheless triggered such outbursts, while Marxist and pro-Nāsirist influences caused internal rivalries which, in turn, precipitated further agitation. The FLOSY and the NLF tried to direct and to exploit this shattering, each for its own ends, by reorganising and gathering popular support. Yet, neither of them was able completely to control the social and political upheavals and both failed to achieve all their aims. In these circumstances, the NLF's re-emergence as a powerful organisation in late 1966 was of particular significance for the last phase of the struggle, in 1967.

Notes

1. TNY, February 31, 1966, Little, p. 148, Wilson, p. 213.
2. Ibid., pp. 231, 235, Bowyer Bell, pp. 156-158.
3. The Times, May 16, 20 and 23, 1966, TNY, May 23, 1966, MEM, May 21, 1966.
4. The Times, May 14 and December 11, 1966.
5. Gavin, p. 348.
6. MEM, August 13, 1966.
7. Al-Ḥayāt, August 23, 1966, MEM, August 27, 1966.
8. MEM, May 14 and 21, 1966, AW, May 16, 1966.
9. R. Kuwayt, April 13, 1966 — DR, April 14, 1966.
10. MEM, May 14, 1966.
11. Al-Muḥarrir, January 18, 1966, al-Akhbār, January 18,
12. Al-Muḥarrir, October 6, 1966.
13. R. Cairo, August 2, 1966 — SWB, August 4, 1966, R. Cairo, August 8, 1966 — SWB, August 9, 1966, DR, August 10, 1966, Paget, p. 173.
14. Ibid., p. 162.

15. Loc. cit.
16. R. Cairo, March 2, 1966 — SWB, March 4, 1966, al-Muḥarrir, March 7 and 17, 1966, R. Cairo, April 4, 1966, R. Cairo, June 1, 1966 — SWB, June 3, 1966, R. Sanᶜā, June 5, 1966 — SWB, June 7, 1966, as well as the incidents where a hand grenade was thrown at a British patrol in Shaykh ᶜUthman, al-Muḥarrir, October 6, 1966, and in Maᶜallah, al-Muḥarrir, November 1, 1966.
17. MEM, March 5, 1966.
18. R. Cairo, July 5, 1966 — SWB, July 7, 1966, The Times, November 12, 1966.
19. Paget, p. 171.
20. R. Cairo, February 7, 1966 — SWB, February 9, 1966, R. Cairo, March 20, 1966 — SWB, March 22, 1966, R. Cairo, June 21, 1966 — SWB, June 23, 1966, R. Cairo, September 1, 1966 — SWB, September 3, 1966. They even killed the deputy-commander, ranked Colonel, in a clash at an army camp, which took place in September 1966, according to al-Muḥarrir, September 24, 1966.
21. Al-Muḥarrir, January 15, March 17 and 22, May 17 and September 22, 1966, R. Cairo, March 13, 1966 — SWB, September 15, 1966.
22. R. Cairo, January 8, 1966 — SWB, January 10, 1966, R. Sanᶜā, October 10, 1966 — SWB, October 12, 1966.
23. R. Cairo, March 14, 1966 — DR, March 15, 1966, R. Cairo, March 16, 1966 — SWB, March 17, 1966, R. Cairo, March 24, 1966 — SWB, March 26, 1966, R. Cairo, March 28, 1966 — SWB, March 30, 1966.
24. MENA, June 8, 1966 — DR, June 9, 1966, R. Cairo, May 31, 1966 — SWB, June 2, 1966. On the visit to Sudan, R. Cairo, April 26, 1966 — SWB, April 29, 1966; in North Yemen: R. Cairo, August 31, 1966 — DR, September 2, 1966; in East Europe: Sager, p. 182, R. Cairo, May 31, 1966 — DR, June 1, 1966.
25. R. Cairo, May 29, 1966 — DR, May 31, 1966.
26. R. Cairo, March 14, 1966 — SWB, March 16, 1966, R. Cairo, May 14, 1966 — SWB, May 17, 1966, R. Baghdad, May 6, 1966 — SWB, June 13, 1966, R. Cairo, June 15, 1966 — SWB, June 16, 1966 (Makkawi's complaint in front of the UN Committee), MENA, August 12, 1966 — DR, August 15, 1966. FLOSY's position is also expressed in A. al-Asnaj, Head of FLOSY's political bureau, Torture in Aden, 1966 (Tel-Aviv University, Shiloah Centre Archives).
27. Makkawi's words, R. Cairo, March 9, 1966 — SWB, March 11, 1966.
28. MEM, December 10, 1966, R. Cairo, December 15, 1966 — SWB, December 17, 1966, al-Muḥarrir, December 7, 1966.
29. R. Cairo, March 2, 1966 — SWB, March 4, 1966, DR, March 3, 1966, al-Ahrām, March 3, 1966, al-Ḥayāt, March 3, 1966, AW, March 4, 1966, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, March 5, 1966.
30. R. Sanᶜā, March 16, 1966 — SWB, March 18, 1966, MENA

March 10, 1966 — DR, March 17, 1966, MENA, March 29, 1966 — DR, March 30, 1966, al-Muḥarrir, March 29, 1966.

31. Al-Ḥayāt, March 18, 1966, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, April 12, 1966.

32. MEM, February 19 and March 12, 1966. Following these exiles, others were allowed to return.

33. AW, April 4, 1966, R. Beirut, April 7, 1966 — DR, April 8, 1966, al-Ḥayāt, April 8 and 13, 1966, al-Muḥarrir, April 5, 1966, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, April 9, 1966, R. Beirut, April 11, 1966 — DR, April 12, 1966, Rūz al-Yūsuf, April 11 and June 20, 1966, MEM, April 16, 1966, AC, September 1, 1966. It is interesting to note that the participants even thought of a name to the united body which would emerge out of their meetings: Command of the Nationalist Forces in South Arabia (CONFISA), see MEM, April 9, 1966.

34. Fatāt al-Jazīrah, April 9, 1966, al-Ḥayāt, April 13 and 16, 1966, Akhbār al-Yawm (Egypt), May 7, 1966, Rūz al-Yūsuf, June 20, 1966, al-Jaridah (Lebanon), May 18, 1966 — IDS, May 21, 1966, AC, September 1, 1966, Sager p. 141.

35. Al-Ḥayāt, October 15, 1966.

36. R. Cairo, April 4, 1966 — SWB, April 6, 1966.

37. MENA, April 10, 1966 — DR, April 11, 1966, R. Cairo, April 22, 1966 — SWB, April 23, 1966, al-Ḥayāt, April 22, 1966, al-Muḥarrir, April 23, 1966.

38. Al-Muḥarrir, April 23, 1966, MEM, April 23, 1966.

39. Al-Ḥayāt, April 23, 1966, al-Aḫrār, April 23, 1966, R. Cairo, May 21, 1966 — SWB, May 25, 1966, R. Cairo, June 8, 1966 — SWB, June 10, 1966.

40. R. Cairo, June 8, 1966 — SWB, June 10, 1966, R. Cairo, July 9, 1966 — SWB, July 11, 1966, al-Ḥayāt, July 10 and October 11 and 20, 1966, MEM, October 22, 1966, MENA, June 6, 1966 — DR, June 7, 1966, The Times, May 5 and June 16, 1966.

41. R. Algiers, June 8, 1966 — SWB, June 10, 1966, R. Baghdad, June 23, 1966 — SWB, June 25, 1966, R. Cairo, June 29, 1966 — SWB, June 30, 1966.

42. See all sources in previous note.

43. MENA, June 29, 1966 — DR, July 1, 1966.

44. MEM, June 4, 1966.

45. MENA, January 18, 1966 — SWB, January 19, 1966.

46. MEM, June 4, 1966.

47. R. Cairo, July 22, 1966 — SWB, July 23, 1966, R. Cairo, August 7, 1966 — SWB, August 9, 1966.

48. Loc. cit.

49. R. Cairo, August 31, 1966 — SWB, September 3, 1966, R. Cairo, September 2, 1966 — SWB, September 5, 1966.

50. For instance, the al-Shabbāb al-Watanī Say'ūn club vigorously called for the conviction of tribes accused of helping Saudi Arabia and for the intensification of the FLOSY's anti-British activities, al-Akhbār, July 14, 1966 (background review). See also: Fatāt al-Jazīrah, April 9, 1966.

51. Al-Aḥrār, April 16, 1966 and later: R. Cairo, May 18, 1966 — DR, May 20, 1966, SWB, May 21, 1966.
52. Al-Ayyām, November 12, 1966.
53. They only became known in August, R. Cairo, August 31, 1966 — SWB, September 3, 1966, R. Cairo, September 2, 1966 — September 5, 1966. See also: Fatāt al-Jazīrah, April 12, 1966.
54. R. Cairo, August 31, 1966 — SWB, September 2, 1966, al-Ahrām, September 2, 1966, al-Muḥarrir, September 3, 1966, MENA, August 31, 1966 — DR, September 1, 1966. The Sultān died at the beginning of October, al-Muḥarrir, October 12, 1966.
55. Al-Ayyām, November 22, 1966, MEM, November 26, 1966.
56. Al-Ahrār, July 24, 1966, R. Cairo, July 24, 1966 — SWB, July 26, 1966, DR, July 26, 1966.
57. R. Cairo, September 17, 1966 — SWB, September 19, 1966, al-Akhbār, December 14, 1966.
58. R. Cairo, September 20, 1966 — SWB, September 21, 1966, MEM, November 16 and 26, 1966.
59. R. Sanᶜā, December 19, 1966 — SWB, September 21, 1966.
60. R. Cairo, November 28, 1966 — SWB, November 30, 1966.
61. Al-Ahrām, March 6, 1966, R. Cairo, November 20, 1966 — SWB, November 22, 1966.
62. MEM, March 19, 1966.
63. Ridā, pp. 145-146.
64. Al-Ahram, June 10, 1966, Ridā, p. 182.
65. Ibid., p. 181, al-Musawwar (Egypt), December 8, 1966.
66. In 1967 the 'revolutionary' image of the organization even created the impression that the PORF is directed by the NLF itself, inspired by the leadership of the Egyptian left in 'The Arab Socialist Union', see: al-Ḥayāt, April 8, 1967, and next chapter. This impression is incorrect.
67. Ridā, pp. 176-177.
68. Ibid., pp. 167-168, MEM, June 4, 1966.
69. R. Cairo, March 31, 1966 — SWB, April 2, 1966, al-Aḥrār, April 2, 1966, Rūz al-Yūsuf, June 20, 1966.
70. Ridā, pp. 168-169.
71. ᶜUmar, pp. 251-252, Sager, p. 139. The FLOSY denied 'having anything to do with bank robberies' which supports the suggestion that those were NLF men, see R. Cairo, June 24, 1966 — SWB, June 27, 1966.
72. ᶜUmar, p. 255, The Times, December 6, 1966.

PART FIVE

THE PERIOD OF DECISION

Chapter 1

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TOWARDS COLLAPSE

Despite its marked weaknesses, the Federal Government had so far proved capable of ruling, which means that the Government was able to perform its basic duties of sustaining a measure of integration among the Princedoms incorporated in the Federation, of overcoming terrorism, and of maintaining at least the passive support of large social groups who were unsympathetic to the insurgent movements. To achieve even this minimum, the Federal Government had to lean heavily on British support.

The British decision in February 1966 to give up its Aden base after South Yemen's independence was the first major alarm signal, warning of the dangers which might result when Britain withdrew its support from the Federation. In February 1967 the Federal Ministers Jirjirah and al-ᶜAwlaqī visited London in what seemed to be a last effort to secure British support. In March, G. Thompson, Minister of State at the British Foreign Office, visited Aden and said that Britain did not intend to leave troops in South Yemen after independence and promised no other help but air support. He stressed that Britain had a right to choose South Yemen's independence Day;[1] under the prevailing circumstances this could have been construed as a decision to leave the area earlier than had been specified (namely, before 9 January 1968) and to ignore the agreements between Britain and the Federation.[2]

On 12 April Lord Shackleton, Minister without Portfolio visited Aden.[3] The main consequence of his visit was the replacement of Turnbull by Sir H. Trevelyan. He had served as ambassador in Cairo and Iraq in the 1950s and was considered an expert in handling crises provoked by Arab nationalists. Prior to Aden, he had served in Moscow.[4] His appointment had two major ramifications. First, that Britain would endeavour, in Trevelyan's words: "to evacuate the British forces and their stores in peace, including the large Middle East headquarters" and only secondly: "if possible, to leave behind an independent government which would assure peace and stability...."[5] Shackelton and Trevelyan then became the chief formulators of British policy in South Yemen. In their

speeches, they contemplated the establishment of a "Caretaker Government", and negotiations with the leaders of every "South Arabian Party" for the sake of constructive co-operation. The release of political detainees and the lifting of the emergency regulations were promised in return for an end to violence and terrorism.[6]

The message was clear: If terrorism stopped Britain would be willing not only to restore full civil rights to Aden's population but to include FLOSY and NLF representatives in a caretaker government. The release of political detainees would thus help to remove the stigma of "terrorist organisation" from the NLF. Apparently, Shackelton sought to meet representatives of the two Fronts. According to the writer T. Little, he was due to meet al-Asnaj in Geneva, but the latter cancelled at the last minute.[7] Further attempts were made to no avail.[8]

It thus became clear that Britain was not only preparing its evacuation but that the Federation was not necessarily Britain's most vital interest. On 19 June Foreign Secretary G. Brown, announced in Parliament a final assistance programme for the Federation. It had been prepared by Shackelton and Trevelyan and it allocated a last payment of £10 million to the Federation, the provision of aircraft, artillery and light weapons and a British undertaking to station Royal Navy ships in neighbouring waters and in the Masīrah Island, for six months after independence.[9] In so doing Britain hoped to give the Federal Government a last boost. Furthermore, it was decided to adopt the earlier-mentioned constitution for Aden (as proposed in 1965 by two British officials), to incorporate it in the caretaker government scheme, and then to try and implement it throughout South Yemen. Independence Day was set for 9 January 1968. In May 1967 British forces evacuated Bayḥān and in June a further 3,000 British soldiers were due to leave. The remaining British forces were to stay in Aden, but no later than the day of independence. At the same time the evacuation of British administrative staff was also due to take place.[10]

In spite of its intention to strengthen the Federation, over-all the British programme was a failure. First because the contemplated assistance was to compensate the Federation when Britain renounced reponsibility for its security. This not only dealt a serious blow to the Federation's government's prestige, but, in practice, precipitated the collapse of the Federation (see below). In addition, the proposal for a caretaker government to include the two Fronts, indicated a lack of confidence by the British in the Federal government, which in turn lowered its credibility with the local population. The Federation's problems were evident in various aspects, notably in internal security. Paget noted that in comparison to 1966 which was the last year of "normal internal security" in 1967, terrorism grew in quality and quantity.[11] The change

was not so apparent in the Princedoms, where attacks on army patrols and road mining continued in the familiar patterns.[12] The main problems occurred in Aden. On 19 January 1967, the anniversary of British occupation, the NLF organised a demonstration and a general strike. Grenades were thrown at police patrols and eleven policemen were killed.[13] On 6 February both the NLF and the FLOSY claimed to have blown up Aden's broadcasting station.[14] On 11 February, being the anniversary of the Federation's establishment, both Fronts called for a general strike. In spite of the curfew, there were 66 shooting incidents and an attempt on Turnbull's life. After a week of riots over 1,000 people had been arrested (including the FLOSY's leader M.S. Bāsindūh) and 89 others were expelled to North Yemen. In Aden itself 19 people were killed and 69 wounded.[15]

On 27 February there was an incident, which even by local standards was outrageous. Makkawī's house was blown up and three of his sons and two policemen were killed.[16] The assassins were not found but the repercussions, which included the victims becoming martyrs, were very grave: Shaykhan al-Ḥabashī of the SAL was attacked and injured, the Jirjirah and al-ᶜAwdhalī families were attacked, schools were closed and riots broke out in which another eight people died and 30 others were injured.[17] In February, the Deputy-Chairman of Aden's police, Niyāz Ḥusayn, was murdered and so was Saᶜīd Muḥammad Ḥasan, a former minister in Makkawī's government and a FLOSY supporter.[18] In April and May, tens of people were killed in the NLF-FLOSY feud (see below)[19] and in late April a bus carrying school children blew up on a mine; five pupils were killed and 14 injured. The Government announced that the Egyptians "knew about the disaster in advance, but the FLOSY demanded revenge against the British."[20] Still in April, during a visit by a special UN Commission to Aden (see below), there were continuous riots which paralysed Aden completely; several people died and about 100 were detained.[21] During the June Arab-Israeli War the British army was compelled to run Aden's port after the local workers failed to do their work.[22] In fact, in June there was a drastic change in the local fighting which will be analysed below.

The riots and acts of terrorism were particularly damaging because the Federation was then undergoing an extensive transformation in preparation for independence. The FA was to be enlarged by four batallions to be based on the previous Federal Guards. An infrastructure was also being prepared for naval and air forces. Moreover, since January 1967 Turnbull had decided that the FA should take part in patrols and policing in Aden. These changes were supposed to take place gradually over a period of three years; however, in the prevailing circumstances they were made in just a few months,[23] which obstructed the full and immediate utilisation of the FA and curtailed the future efficacy of the changes. Moreover,

both the NLF and the FLOSY had managed to infiltrate the FA and Aden's police force (known as the "Armed Police Force") and these bodies were hardly trusted by the authorities; in fact, vehicles belonging to the FA and the Police were probably used for concealing the Front's arms and fighters.[24]

These problems were accompanied by a deepening feeling of insecurity among the population; it became apparent that the Federal Government could not protect its citizens. The earlier-mentioned types of disruptive and coercive terrorism hit the population hard; people were deterred from supporting the Government both because they supported the aims of the fighting Fronts and through fear of the consequences if they disobeyed the Fronts' orders. In April the FLOSY had indeed called for "civil disobedience" (ʿIsyān Madanī)[25] and the various earlier-mentioned events which took place in April seem to have been a sufficient warning. The decline in public security brought about an acute deterioration in the functioning of the public services. Trevelyan's description of the situation on his arrival was that the country was overwhelmed by continuous strikes (and it should be borne in mind that strikes occurred both in Aden and in various Protectorate towns[26]) which, of course, meant a considerable loss in working days, a breakdown in the sewage works and water supplies, the destruction of public building and an abundance of arms at the disposal of the two Fronts.[27] According to the Commander of the British forces in Aden, Brigadier Ch. Donbar, in 1967 the phenomena of citizens failing to pay their taxes and closing down their business and shops,[28] increased substantially. The Government had occasionally to resort to "morale boosting campaigns, by offering special prizes for workers who worked regularly.[29]

Already in March it was reported that the Sultān of Laḥaj, Fadl, usually crossed the five kilometres separating his home from the Government's residence (at al-Ittiḥād near Aden) by helicopter, to avoid terrorist acts on the roads.[30] During April the Federal Ministers Jirjirah and Darwīsh deported with their families to Saudi Arabia and Beirut and although they did not declare their intentions openly, they never returned to South Yemen.[31] In response to daily bank robberies and personal attacks, many Jews, Indians and Somalis, officials and businessmen alike, left Aden.[32]

Foreign powers and international bodies also became less sympathetic to the Federation. A special UN mission, despatched by the Secretary-General and comprising a Venezuelan diplomat, Dr. M.P. Guerrero, as chairman and two diplomats from Mali and Afghanistan, visited Aden in early April and took a marked anti-Federal view.[33] They refused to meet Federal representatives, but FLOSY and NLF representatives in their turn refused to meet them unless political prisoners were released. The mission achieved nothing and after several days its members returned to New York.[34] On 25 July, Trevelyan met the

mission at the UN residence in Geneva and persuaded them to meet Federal representatives. Once again both Fronts refused to follow suit and the mission only met Shackleton. As several of the Federal Ministers had by then already lost their territorial bases (see below), the project was pointless.[35] The Federation was also haunted by its longstanding problems, such as, the refusal by Ḥadramawt's Princedoms to join the Federation. In 1967, the Ḥadrami officials and leaders were exploring ways to obtain financial and political support for the period after independence.[36] An atmosphere of fear and uncertainty about the future was reported in Ḥadramawt,[37] which only reduced the possibility of the Ḥadrami Princedoms joining the Federation, whose future was clearly problematic.

The last attempt to revive the Federation took place in July when ᶜAlī Bayūmī was elected Chief Minister. On Trevelyan's initiative and according to the new constitution he tried to establish a "Provisional Administration" which would see the Federation through independence and would be the nucleus of a caretaker government.[38] Bayūmī was ready to negotiate with both FLOSY and NLF representatives; however, the latter still rejected talks with "agents" and this attempt failed.[39] So Bayūmī met only with politically unknown and unimportant figures such as the principal of Aden's royal hospital Ibrāhīm al-Qawaqnī, the secretary of the union of local government employees Aḥmad ᶜUmar al-Jān, other pro-FLOSY trade union activists such as Amīn al-Aswadī and Ḥusayn Bā-Wazīr, and possibly also with Aḥmad al-Fadlī and Jaᶜbal Ibn Ḥusayn.[40] Bayūmī's goal was to establish an eight member cabinet, five from Aden and three from the Protectorate which would represent different sectors. The cabinet would decide about a constitution, release political prisoners and could take effective control over Aden, Lahaj and Fadlī as a nucleus for the future state. Bayūmī also intended to negotiate with both Egypt and Britain about defense treaties with the Federation.[41]

However, by late July it was too late for his efforts. The lives of various cabinet candidates were threatened and one of them, Shafīq Maḥfūth, was kidnapped by the NLF; on 20 July all the candidates withdrew.[42] In the next days both Bayumī himself and the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Bayḥān appealed to the public to support Bayūmī's efforts as "a barrier to anarchy".[43] However, on 27 July the incumbent Federal government, with Trevelyan's approval, decided to debar Bayūmī from his future post.[44] The attempt to revive the Federation was foiled by the two Front's opposition, the people's lack of confidence as well as the splits among Bayumī's fellow ministers and Trevelyan's erratic support.

It was obvious that in July 1967 British policy makers lost all hope for the Federation and were hastening to get out of South Yemen. Trevelyan's own words best demonstrate the

atmosphere he operated in. He recollected that prior to his leaving to Aden Harold Macmillan had parted from him saying: "Poor man, poor man".[45] After his arrival in Aden, Trevelyan realised that "The Federation was powerless to influence events and lacked credibility".[46] He further explained that formally and in principle Britain maintained its support for the Federation; however, British policy makers understood that a stable future South Yemeni regime, capable of resisting revolutionary waves, would have to gather widespread support, including that of the fighting Fronts, though Trevelyan himself realised that this was impossible.[47] It therefore seems, that the British had run into what appeared to them to be an intractable situation. They realised that the Federation, in which they invested so much would survive only by bringing to its support a larger and more popular body, notably the two Fronts. The difficulties were compounded because British officials had hardly any contacts with either the NLF or the FLOSY and because the Fronts were bitterly hostile to each other. This proved to be a knot too entangled even for Trevelyan to untie although like Hannibal he could have cut it with a sword, namely, he could have fought the opposition resolutely. However, as Kelly put it, Trevelyan was "a diplomatist not a colonial officer ... the guiding spirit of the one being accommodation, that of the other, consolidation".[48] Moreover, his commission was to terminate British rule in South Yemen in the smoothest way. He explained that in the circumstances, if Britain wanted to reverse the trend, it would have had to despatch armies, invest large sums of money, involve itself politically and with no obvious results.[49] The alternative he chose was to allow the political sequence to take its own course, namely, to evacuate the British safely and to forsake the Federation. The attitudes of Britain's officials were influenced by the prevailing anti-imperialist atmosphere, the fear of military and financial complications and the conviction that the Federation was doomed.

Interestingly, in the memoirs of Britain's Prime Minister of the day, Harold Wilson, Aden, which objectively constituted one of the major issues confronting the British Government at that time, was mentioned only several times, notably in connection with technical procedures or Parliamentary debates.[50] The desire to dispose of Aden quickly and to avoid embarrassing discussions over the issue must have affected the highest echelons of British decision making. Even Saudi Arabia's King Faysal's talks with British leaders, when he stressed the importance of Western control of the Bāb al-Mandab Straits and the fear of Nāsirist aggression in the Arabian Peninsula[51], did not alter British policy.

Notes

1. The Times, March 1, 2, 3, 18 and 20, 1967. MEM, March 25, 1967.

2. Al-Ḥayāt, February 3, 1967, Little, pp. 161-162. November was suggested as a possible date for British evacuation.

3. The Times, April 8 and 12, 1967, MEM, April 8, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah April 10, 1967.

4. On the appointment of Trevelyan and the debate which surrounded it, regarding the question of whether Turnbull had actually been dismissed, see The Times, May 8, 11 and 12, 1967, DT, May 8, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, May 12, 1967, MEM May 13, 1967.

5. H. Trevelyan, The Middle East in Revolution (London: MacMillan, 1970), p.211, henceforth Trevelyan.

6. The Times, May 17 and 22, 1967, DT, May 22, 1967, Little, pp. 167-168. The idea had actually been brought up before, see: al-Ḥayāt, March 15, 1967.

7. Little, p. 166.

8. MEM, April 22, 27 and 29, 1967, MENA, April 23 and 25, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, April 24, 1967, The Times, April 28, 1967, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, May 18, 1967, al-Akhbār, May 18, 1967, MEM, May 27 and July 8, 1967.

9. Al-Ḥayāt, April 11, 1967, The Times, June 20, 1967, DT, June 20, 1967, Little, pp. 168-169.

10. The Times, May 3, 1967, DT, May 3 and 9, 1967, al-Akhbār, May 10, 1967.

11. Paget, pp. 175-176.

12. On these attacks, see: R. Cairo, January 9, 1967 — SWB, January 11, 1967, R. Baghdad, January 15, 1967 — SWB, January 17, 1967, R. Cairo, March 14, 1967 — SWB, March 16, 1967, R. Cairo, March 28, 1967 — SWB, March 30, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, March 29, 31 and April 17, 1967, R. Sanᶜā, April 17, 1967 — SWB, April 19, 1967, R. Cairo, April 20, 1967 — SWB, April 22, 1967, al-Jumhūriyyah, April 17, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, April 22, 1967, R. Cairo, May 4, 1967 — SWB, May 9, 18 and 20, 1967.

13. The Times, January 17, 20 and 23, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, January 20, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, January 20, 1967.

14. Al-Ḥayāt, February 8, 1967, The Times, February 8, 1967, R. Cairo, February 8, 1967 — SWB, February 10, 1967, MEM, February 11, 1967.

15. R. Cairo, February 12, 1967 — SWB, February 14, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, February 10, 11, 13, 15, 18 and 20, 1967, al-Ḥayat, February 11 and 12, 1967, al-Akhbār, February 14 and 21, 1967, MEM, February 18, 1967, al-Jumhūriyyah, February 27, 1967.

16. Al-Ḥayāt, February 28 and March 1, 1967, R. Cairo, February 28, 1967 — SWB, March 1, 1967, Paget, p. 180.

17. R. Cairo, February 28, 1967 — DR, March 3, 1967, al-

Jumhūriyyah, March 1, 1967, R. Baghdād, March 1, 1967 – IDS, March 22, 1967, al-Ḥayāt March 3, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, March 8, 1967, R. Cairo, March 9, 1967 – SWB, March 11, 1967, MEM, March 11, 1967, al-Quwwāt al-Musallaḥah (Egypt), March 16, 1967 – IDS, April 10, 1967.

18. The Voice of Palestine, February 26, 1967 – SWB, February 28, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, February 27, 1967, al-Aḫbār, March 21, 1967.

19. DT, May 8, 1967.

20. The Times, May 1 and 2, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, May 3, 1967, DT, May 1, 1967.

21. Al-Muḥarrir, April 1 and 5, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, April 4, 1967, MENA, April 3, 1967 – DR, April 4, 1967, R. Cairo, April 5, 1967 – DR, April 12, 1967, R. Cairo, April 5, 1967, SWB, April 7, 1967, MENA, April 10, 1967, DR, April 12, 1967, Rūz al-Yūsuf, April 24, 1967.

22. Paget, p. 202.

23. Ibid., pp. 176-177.

24. Ibid., p. 186, Trevelyan, p. 216.

25. Paget, p. 177, al-Muḥarrir, April 6, 1967.

26. Al-Muḥarrir, March 16, 1967.

27. Trevelyan, p. 217.

28. Rūz al-Yūsuf, April 10, 1967.

29. Paget, p. 182.

30. Al-Muḥarrir, March 16, 1967.

31. Al-Jumhūriyyah, April 1, 1967, al-Anwār, April 7, 1967.

32. Al-Jadīd, March 17, 1967, Fatāt al-Jazīrah, May 19, 1967.

33. The Times, February 24, 1967, MEM, February 25, 1967.

34. The Times, April 8, and 9, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah, April 10, 1967, R. Cairo, April 10, 1967 – SWB, April 12, 1967, Little, pp. 162-164.

35. Al-Ḥayāt, July 7, 1967, MEM, August 3, and 8, 1967, Little, pp. 171-172.

36. On the programme of his tour, see: al-Muḥarrir, April 25, 1967. On his visit to Egypt: al-Ahrām, August 24, 1967.

37. Trevelyan, pp. 238-239, al-Ḥayāt, April 26, 1967.

38. The Times, July 6 and 18, 1967, DT, July 6, 1967, R. London, July 7, 1967 – IDS, July 8, 1967, MEM, July 8, 1967, R. Sanᶜā, July 10, 1967 – DR, July 12, 1967.

39. Al-Muḥarrir, July 12, 1967, MEM, July 15, and 22, 1967, DT, July 17, 1967.

40. U.A., July 24, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah, August 14, 1967.

41. The Times, July 8 and 19, 1967, DT, July 8, 1967, U.A., Ibid., al-Ḥurriyyah, August 14, 1967.

42. The Times, July 19, 21, 22 and 28, Trevelyan, pp. 235-236.

43. The Times, July 13, 1967, MEM, July 15, 1967.

44. MEM, July 29, 1967, al-Hurriyyah, August 7 and 14, 1967.
45. Trevelyan, p. 211.
46. Ibid., p. 216.
47. Ibid., p. 222.
48. J.B. Kelly, Arabia the Gulf and the West (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980) p. 38.
49. Trevelyan, pp. 221-227 (in detail).
50. Wilson, pp. 391-392, 396, 399, 405, 444-445.
51. Ibid., p. 396.

Chapter 2

DIVIDING THE SPOILS: THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

The Federation's disintegration signified the elimination of the South-Yemeni elite as a political power. The FLOSY accused the SAL and Federal Ministers of organising against the Nationalists and of blowing up Makkawī's house[1] but since M.S. Bāsindūh also accused the NLF of the same deed,[2] these allegations seem to be baseless and there was no other indication of elite elements indulging in such an activity. The political arena was left open to an overt struggle between the FLOSY and the NLF. The Federation's decline and the growing likelihood that the Fronts would in fact form South Yemen's future government, brought the struggle to a head. It developed in various directions. Publicly both Fronts competed for the position of the legitimate "people's representative". The FLOSY, which enjoyed greater [Egyptian inspired] publicity, invested tremendous efforts to obtain this position.[3] In April, in connection with the arrival of the UN mission, Makkawī announced that the FLOSY would establish "a government in exile". On 18 April it was announced in Taʿizz that a "National Government" (Ḥukūmah Wataniyyah) would be established, with Makkawī as President, al-Asnaj as Prime Minister and other FLOSY leaders as ministers.[4] The NLF on its part announced that, if it formed a government "we would not let Egypt in, because Egypt imposed Makkawī and al-Asnaj on the population."[5] It also became known that following FLOSY's declaration of the establishment of a government in exile, the NLF threatened several of the FLOSY's leaders in Aden who subsequently left the country.[6]

On the more practical level, the two fronts indulged in a bitter struggle for power and support. On 11 January 1967 the premises of the communist paper al-ʿAmal, whose editors (including Bā-Dhīb) were staunch NLF supporters, were burnt down.[7] The strike the NLF called for 19 January was at first opposed by the FLOSY for being a provocation by "separatist factions". When the strike was successful, the FLOSY claimed that the people had turned it into a "victory for the FLOSY and the armed struggle".[8] Later strikes were called by

the two Fronts for different dates.[9] In the next weeks the FLOSY called for the earlier-mentioned "civil disobedience" campaign and for the intensification of the struggle, including the formation of a body to co-ordinate the fighting groups.[10] Subsequently, in April and May a series of reciprocal assassinations began, of which the bombing of Makkawī's house might have been part. All the victims had a clear political identity; among them a former minister in Makkawī's government and the latter's friend ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm al-Qāsim, and Bāsindūh's father-in-law. There were others, whose names appeared on a FLOSY assassination list.[11] Bowyer Bell estimated that during these weeks 44 FLOSY and NLF supporters were assassinated.[12] In late April, it was announced in Cairo that the FLOSY had set up a special body "to fight traitors".[13] In protest at the killings, the two Fronts called for another strike to take place in May; again on different dates.[14]

However, relations between the two fronts were more complicated than they appeared. Despite its support for the FLOSY, Egypt attempted to mediate between the NLF and the FLOSY; its efforts were made public in May but seem to have started several weeks earlier. In several reports during the period between March and May 1967, the Lebanese daily "al-Ḥayāt" stressed that Egypt was in fact aiding both the Fronts. The Egyptians had learnt from their own and states' experience that it was counter-productive to support only one "revolutionary force", particularly when a Marxist-radical force was operating: "The Bourgeoisie is always expelled by the radicals" wrote the paper.[15] Accordingly, while Egypt "the state" (namely, the military and intelligence services and the Government) preferred the FLOSY, Egypt "the revolution" (namely leftist intellectuals and the leaders of Egypt's one political party, the Arab Socialist Union) persuaded ᶜAbd al-Nāsir not to neglect the pro-Marxist NLF.[16] Al-Ḥayāt pointed at the "political leadership" of the "Armed Adenese Army" (al-Jaysh al-ᶜAdanī al-Musallaḥ), a body which according to the paper was trained by the Egyptians in Taᶜizz and Ismāᶜiliyya in Egypt and equipped with Soviet arms, as the target for Egyptian efforts in South Yemen, whose leader they wanted to be Qaḥṭān al-Shaᶜbī.[17]

The Adenese Army cannot fail to remind one of the PORF. To support this theory, al-Ḥayāt and other Middle Eastern newspapers quoted both British intelligence sources in Aden and Brigadier Donbar himself to the effect that in early 1967 Egypt had indeed tried to establish the PORF as a body amalgamating all of the FLOSY's and the NLF's crack units in Aden, under the direct control of Egyptian intelligence in Taᶜizz. However, the attempt failed and the Egyptians then decided to support both Fronts according to the "Divide and Rule" principle, in order to secure for itself maximum control in the period after independence.[18] It therefore seems

that in early 1967 ᶜAbd al-Nāsir did try to bring about a new merger between the NLF and the FLOSY, or at least between their military arms. Perhaps influenced by a feeling of regret among Egyptian decision makers about Egypt's unequivocal support to the FLOSY. It is not clear when al-Shaᶜbī returned to Cairo after the Khamr Conference, but it is clear that in early 1967 he was there and the Egyptians tried to make him accept their plan, in return for which he would become the PORF's leader. According to F. Halliday, al-Shaᶜbī was inclined to accept the proposal, but the NLF, dominated by the Secondary Leadership, refused.[19] According to another version, there was an undercurrent in the NLF led by ᶜAlī Antar and al-Bishshī which was ready to accept the Egyptian initiative but was overruled.[20]

The subsequent reciprocal assassinations between the NLF and the FLOSY were presumably a backlash from the Cairo negotiations, reinforced by their mutual suspicion and enmity. When it became apparent that the merger was impossible any restraint was thrown aside and the Fronts' crack units began their campaign for mutual assassinations. This seems to have been the reason why the Egyptians called openly for negotiations. In late April and May the two Fronts' leaders, ᶜAbd al-Nasir, the Egyptian Minister of War ᶜAbd al-Ḥakīm ᶜĀmir, George Ḥabbash and others met in Cairo. Progress looked possible: Makkawī declared in Beirut that "the road is open for any organisations to join the FLOSY" and in reply to a quesiton he said that he did not blame the NLF for his sons' death.[21] Leaflets distributed by the NLF in Aden announced that after independence Makkawī would be President and al-Shaᶜbī Prime Minister.[22] However, this was denied by the FLOSY[23] and it soon became obvious that the talks failed. Apparently the FLOSY demanded a "full merger" under this guise it would seize full control; in fact the FLOSY had already styled itself "the unified organisation". The NLF on its part wanted only military and political coordination, apart from which it would maintain its separate existence. The FLOSY also demanded two-thirds of all representation in any unified bodies and in the future government; the NLF sought a 50 percent division between the two fronts. These differences were intractable and so the talks collapsed.[24]

Consequently the FLOSY and the NLF faced each other in a mood of violent confrontation. An analysis of each Front's political and military position helps to clarify what ensued. The FLOSY still enjoyed massive Egyptian support; in May, when the Cairo talks failed the Egyptian General commanding the Egyptian forces in North Yemen, Talᶜat Hasan ᶜAlī, met with Makkawī and al-Majᶜalī to plan future Egyptian assistance to the FLOSY.[25] In early May, Makkawī even met with ᶜĀmir in Cairo.[26] It was obvious that the North Yemeni Government also assisted the FLOSY[27] and that Egyptian intelligence officers helped to organise demonstrations in Aden.[28]

The FLOSY's fighting strength rested mainly on the PORF. From what is known the PORF consisted of some nine to twelve armed units, with 12 to 30 men in each. The units had Islamic and Nāsirist names like "Sallāḥ al-Dīn," "al-Walīd", "Al-Fatḥ" and even "al-Sadd al-ᶜĀlī", namely "The High [Aswan] Dam".[29] The PORF was active mainly in Aden. In addition it was announced that the FLOSY was preparing a regular army of 1,200 men to be based in Taᶜizz. Some of the officers were Egyptian trained, both in political indoctrination techniques and in fighting.[30] The organisational infrastructure and the manpower reservoir of this army are unknown. But there is evidence that it was not intended to carry out day-to-day operations (which the PORF handled) but for future decisive battles which would secure the FLOSY's post-independence position.[31] The FLOSY also conducted a series of contacts with Arab states.[32] The failure of the talks also broke military co-operation between the Fronts; FLOSY's leaders then declared that the phase of "internal splitting" (al-Taḥṭīm min al-Dāḥil) was then over and the FLOSY was looking forward to a new future.[33]

Very little is known about the NLF at this stage. As earlier mentioned, it reasserted its position both in the Princedoms and in Aden. It was aided by Baᶜthi and Communist elements "who preferred the NLF to Nāsirism,"[34] and it supported itself through robberies and farming.[35] Because Egypt boycotted information about the NLF, its effective strength remained a mystery to observers of the day.

The enmity became more acute, evidenced by the ferocity of the mutual violence and its spilling over into new areas. The body which became an obvious target for both Fronts was the FA. It was not set up originally to defend South Yemen from external attack. Its organisation, structure, command and training shaped it into an internal militia; however these characteristics and the overall British command, themselves prevented the FA from intervention in internal politics. However, this situation changed in 1967: it then became apparent that South Yemen's main problems were internal and that the FA's role as a militia was in great demand by all political parties. From January 1967, its units were brought into Aden to take part in security missions; army wages were raised substantially. The building of three new army camps were contemplated and, as earlier mentioned, new air and naval units were planned.[36] Moreover, the FA offered substantial benefits for both the NLF and the FLOSY. Its organisation, discipline and arms were superior to their own and its contacts with the British and the Federal elite were also advantageous. Consequently, after 1964 the NLF chose to infiltrate the FA, rather than to collide with it.

In May 1967 it became apparent to the FLOSY and the NLF that only by subverting the FA, would one of them be able to gain a decisive advantage in South Yemen. On 1 June 1967

the five FA batallions and the four Federal Guards' battalion were restructured and renamed "The South Arabian Army" (SAA) and "The South Arabian Police". As these new arrangements were supposed to standardise the structure of South Yemen's security forces for the post-independence period, they triggered opposition by dissatisfied groups within the SAA who feared for their future position. Young officers and non-ᶜAwlaqī officers protested against the privileges enjoyed by the ᶜAwlaqī officers such as rapid and favourable promotion and their numerical majority in high ranking positions (nine out of the nineteen SAA colonels were of ᶜAwlaqī descent). The complaints were particularly directed against the plan to appoint Colonel Nāsir Burayq al-ᶜAwlaqī as the SAA's commander after independence (replacing the British Commander, Brigadier J. Dye). Nāsir Burayq was not noted for outstanding military skills, but he was loyal to his clan (of Abū-Bakr Farīd al-ᶜAwlaqī, one of its sons, Muḥammad Farīd was the Federal Foreign Minister) and to the elite as a whole.[37]

On 16 June, in breach of regulations, four other colonels protested to the Federal Minister of Defence about Burayq's appointment and the discrimination against them. They were immediately suspended and according to rumours, were put in jail. In response to this, SAA soldiers mutinied in the military camps at Lake Lines near Mansūrah and Champion Lines near Khurmaksar in Aden's vicinity and fired on British patrols. Near the second camp they killed eight British soldiers. After several hours the mutiny spread into other areas, rumours originating in the Crater district said that British forces were preparing to storm the area after Aden's Police units had joined the mutiny there. A 13-man British patrol which tried to break into Crater was forced back and 12 soldiers were killed. During the day another 22 British soldiers were injured.[38] British forces then surrounded the area and a grenade throwing and sniping fight broke out along the roads leading to Crater.[39] However, the British feared bloodshed, particularly among civilians, and since not many units were nearby they decided not to break into Crater right away.[40]

Militarily, the rebels gained no real victory; on 3 July, following proper preparation and planning, in an operation lasting just one day, Scottish Argylls and Highlanders' units, led by Colonel C. Mitchell were landed in Crater by helicopters and took control almost without a fight, causing only one death.[41] The importance of the Crater mutiny was apparent in other ways. First, it proved that the Federation was facing a total breakdown; discredited and betrayed by its main military force and helpless in the face of a mutiny. Secondly, it proved the expediency and importance of the two Fronts. From 21 June NLF and FLOSY units had fought in Crater with the mutineers. The fact that it took the British forces several weeks to prepare for Crater, conquest

was presented by the Fronts as a glorious achievement of Arab Nationalism, the first since the Six Days' War.[42] It also became apparent that the Fronts, which may have taken over once the mutiny had begun, or which may have possibly kindled it in the first place, were successful leaders of and spokesmen for the mutiny.[43] On 27 June the Daily Telegraph wrote that it would be representatives of the fighting groups in Crater with whom the British would have to negotiate over independence.[44]

The major question was which Front would gain the upper hand in Crater. According to Bowyer Bell, mutual fighting between the Fronts commenced on 20 June when two NLF men were killed there.[45] Later on, FLOSY men, including the Aden Council's chairman, Fu'ād Maḥfūz, were killed.[46] The rivalry primarily revolved around each Front's ability to control and direct the mutinous SAA and Police units in Aden; only a little is known about this, but the available information indicates that while there was a genuine military grievance for the mutiny, its leaders were in touch with the Fronts. True, non-ᶜAwlaqī elements in the SAA felt discriminated against and deprived of their rights. The Colonel Ḥaydar al-Habilī, the Sharīf Ḥusayn's (of Bayḥān) nephew and the SAA's current Chief of Staff, was surely no member of any Front and his objection to Burayq's appointment stemmed from personal and professional rivalry. Other army and police officers feared replacement or dismissal after independence.[47] However, it also transpired that only one of the four colonels who wrote the letter protesting against Burayq's appointment was a veteran NLF member, Ḥusayn ᶜUthmān ᶜAshāl. During the 1964 Radfān battles he was said to have coined the phrase "the wind blows in all directions" (al-Hawwā yatassaᶜ li-kull shay) namely, that the FA units who had then been assigned to fight the NLF in the area, should fire in the air and avoid hitting the NLF fighters.[48] Aden's Police Commander, ᶜAbd al-Hādī Shihāb, a previous SAL member, was also an NLF supporter.[49] It is also clear that the NLF had substantial support among the SAA's lower raking officers; they opposed Ḥaydar al-Habīlīs'pretentions by maintaining that he had obtained his position without any battlefield experience (He had headed a military mission in Jordan), an argument which echoed the ideas of the NLF's Secondary Commands.[50] The FLOSY was known to have one high ranking supporter, Colonel Muḥammad Saᶜīd al-Yāfiᶜī, although his role in the Crater events remains obscure.[51] (see also below). The NLF seems to have gained more influence over Crater's mutineers, although there is insufficient evidence to prove this completely.

If the NLF's supremacy was not yet evident in Crater and among the SAA, the following events[52] must have substantiated its dominance: - On 12 August al-Mufallaḥi's Princedom ruler, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān died. On the next day it became known that the NLF took over control there. - On 14 August al-ᶜAwdhālī

was captured by the NLF after a battle with the FLOSY.[53] - On this day the NLF announced that it controlled Dāliᶜ and Shuᶜayb after it captured the major cities there. Apparently a battle with FLOSY supporters must have taken place in Radfān (see below). - On this day the NLF attacked the palace of Laḥaj's Sultān, Fadl Ibn ᶜAlī, and the latter escaped to al-Ittiḥād. A number of actions which were repeated in several other places then commenced: The NLF broke into the local jail and released its prisoners. The local police was ordered to fight the NLF but its commander, the Sultān's uncle, Colonel ᶜAlī Ibn Aḥmad, ignored the order. An SAA force then tried to impose law and order, but did not try to fight the NLF in power. - On 15 August, tribesmen took over Dathīnah's capital, Mīdī, in a "mass marching" on the city, led by Muḥammad ᶜAlī Ḥaytham.[54] A short battle with governmental guards ensued and five people were killed and nineteen injured.[55] The ruler, ᶜAbd al-Qādir Shayā, was forced to resign and Dathīnah's Council ratified the deed. Prisoners were again released.[56] - On 27 August NLF groups, accompanied by supportive tribesmen captured Fadlī's capital, Zinjibār. The Sultan Nāsir was then in Geneva to meet the UN mission; his brother the "troublesome" Aḥmad al-Fadlī managed to escape to Saudi Arabia.[57] An SAA force was despatched to impose order, but it did not fight the NLF.[58] - On this day the NLF captured Lower Yafiᶜī. The Front then scored a double victory: it captured Lower Yafiᶜī's ruler, who was also the Federal Minister of Health, ᶜĀtif al-Kallādī.[59] - On 28 August ᶜAlawī (whose ruler had been captured by the NLF when Dāliᶜ fell under the Front's control) was captured by the NLF. - On the same day after a short fight with the Sultān's guard, the small Princedom of ᶜAqrabī, north of Aden, where the Federal capital al-Ittiḥād was sited, was also conquered by the NLF.[60] Soon after that, the ruler of Lower ᶜAwlaqī, ᶜAbdullah Ibn Muḥsin resigned and the NLF's supporters took over the Princedom.[61] - On 4 September an aeroplane carrying the ruler of Wāḥidī, ᶜAlī Ibn Muḥammad Saᶜīd, who on a flight from Aden to his Princedom accompanied by the two British officials, suddenly disappeared. Several days later the aeroplane and the escort were found crashed, the ruler was missing. It then became known that the NLF had captured him and that Wāḥidī fell under NLF control.[62] - In early September al-Shaᶜbī declared his Front's intention to capture Bayḥān. Several days later NLF fighters took over Bayḥān's main towns. On 3 September the Sharīf Ḥusayn fled to Saudi Arabia; NLF supporters then released prisoners and the SAA stood aside once more.[63] In October Ḥusayn allegedly tried to organize support in North Yemen and reconquer Bayḥān, but in vain.[64] - On 14 September it was announced that the NLF had captured Upper Yāfiᶜī.[65] — On 17 September, the three Ḥadrami Sultāns, Ghālib Ibn ᶜAwad of Quᶜaytī, Ibn ᶜAlī of Kathīrī and Khalīfah Ibn ᶜAbdullah Khalīfah of Mahrah, met on

board a ship in al-Mukallah's port. This was after they had returned from the meeting with the UN mission in Geneva and they met for consultations. While on board, Sultān Ghālib was informed by the local Ḥadramī Legion that Quᶜayṭī had "joined the revolution". Ghālib remained on board and his two colleagues, who could have gone back, preferred to stay with him.[66] By the middle of October 1967, the NLF had completed its capture of Quᶜayṭī.

In view of the lack of information about the NLF and the dominance of propaganda about FLOSY, the NLF's quick and easy capturing of the Protectorate Princedoms surprised all observers. So, a question arises how could an operation of such scope have been prepared and successfully executed without any overt indications. It seems that the operation included the following elements. First, the timing: as earlier-mentioned in April the British commenced evacuating the Protectorate a process which terminated in June. In August, when the take-over took place, the Federation had already been considerably weakened and six of its leaders as well as the Ḥadramī Sultāns were in Geneva.

Secondly, the standpoint of the local security forces was crucial. The SAA forces, which announced that they had "the situation under control" in the Princedoms did not obstruct and might even have aided the NLF in capturing them.[67] The SAA's support then became an undeniable reality. The British authorities regarded the SAA as a relatively solid and stable body which would keep the Federation intact during the forthcoming transitional period and, when the British failed to establish a caretaker government, they even thought that the SAA could be a potential government. For this reason the British command refrained from heavy punishment and restriction on the SAA. However, according to Trevelyan, the Command had difficulties in imposing its authority on the SAA; the commander, Dye, acted more as a tribal Shaykh, lobbying and persuading, but could not command. Consequently, the SAA could safely follow its own policies and persuasions which, in this case, was of crucial importance to the NLF.[68] The attitude of tribal guards was also critical. Since the 1930s they had functioned as the Princedom's governments' guards; under the new programme they were supposed to join the SAA. It seems that even more than other groups they feared the ᶜAwlaqī's pre-eminence and the possibility of being denoted and humiliated in the new scheme. They continued to be the strongest force in each Princedom and their indifference to the Federation's future and their rare resistance to the NLF's assaults, made it possible for the Front to take control in the Protectorate.[69] Apparently, in the Ḥadramī Legion there were tensions between junior and senior officers and of delays in the payment of wages. In addition, one of the senior Legion officers, Muḥammad Aḥmad Ibn ᶜArab, was an NLF supporter.[70]

Thirdly, it seems that the NLF did little to prepare for

the takeover. In the case of Wāḥidī, the Princedom's Council deposed the Sultān Nāsir Ibn ᶜAbdullah, and made it easier for the NLF to get rid of his son who had been nominated his successor.[71] There were attempts to gather sympathetic tribes in Bayḥān and Lahaj[72] and in Upper Yāfiᶜī the ruler's son (who ruled in practice) was assassinated.[73] However, there were no massive military preparations or planned fighting. The action of the takeover usually included sporadic attempts to hit the Sultāns in person, the neutralisation (with or without a fight) of his personal guard (known as al-Khāris al-Khās, which was separated from the Tribal Guard) and of the British Adviser and the Princedom's administrative staff who were usually taken captive. Then, tribal masses rushed into the capital, led by the NLF, but they were scarcely organised or militarily sub-divided, and they consolidated the takeover.

It seems that the NLF's fighting strategy had after all some advantages. Albeit to the new leadership ideologically shallow, non-power sharing with the tribes and unimpressive militarily -- defects which since later 1966 the Secondary Command tried to improve -- this strategy bore effective results. First, the NLF's activity was sufficient to incite the tribal groups to fight, even if they did not fully integrate within the Front. Secondly, the NLF focused on the vulnerable point in the Princedom's polity, the rift between the Sultān and the majority of the population. Since the 1930s the British initiated reforms in the Princedoms had revolved around strengthening the Sultān and his military and administrative services which were also directly supported by the British. The new social and political tensions emanating from the reforms experienced by various dissatisfied groups had no legitimate outlet and gradually these groups had become alienated from the Sultān's elite. However, in what now appears to have been a serious British misjudgement, they kept on aiding only the elite. Consequently the Princedoms' strength did not stem from Sultāns' ability to attract a majority in support of their rule but rather in the British supported elite's administrative-military machinery.

It was actually British credibility and aid which really cemented the Sultān's power. Once the British left the Protectorate the remaining vestiges of power proved too weak to withstand the opposition. This situation was the NLF's target. Its leaders did not try to fully integrate the tribes within the Front, or to initiate widespread and impressive military campaigns, nor to slowly subvert the Princedom's Government. With the British gone and the SAA susceptible to its goals all the NLF had to do was to topple the Sultān and neutralise his administrative-military service; the Princedom's Governments were then left defenceless. The people were already sufficiently hostile to react to the first signs of encouragement given by the NLF, by marching to

the capital and consolidating the takeover. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāᶜīl explained later that the NLF understood that the Sultāns were the essence of the regime but that in reality they were weak. Moreover, without British and SAA protection, their governments would quickly crumble,[74] and this was what the NLF intended to bring about.

It is obvious that the NLF was more successful than the FLOSY; as mentioned before the FLOSY failed to penetrate the Western Protectorate. This could be explained by the fundamental distinctions between the NLF and the FLOSY. While the NLF was inclined to operate in the countryside, the FLOSY remained basically an urban movement. Consequently the NLF, particularly its Secondary Leadership, had a formative experience in the area as well as contacts and support, which were decisively superior to those of the FLOSY. In fact the FLOSY leaders seemed to have learnt little from the old NLF General Command's experience and spent most of their time in Taᶜizz and Cairo, gaining no experience in the Protectorate system. The FLOSY tried however to exploit the turmoil which prevailed during the takeover period to disturb and possibly overpower the NLF in several Princedoms. According to Cairo radio a battle between "freedom fighters" and "mercenary tribesmen" took place in ᶜAwdhalī[75] and the latter, probably NLF supporters, had the upper hand. As mentioned, there was also fighting in Radfān where the FLOSY had previously managed to enlist some support, including the participation of Bālīl Ibn Rājiḥ[76] to no avail. After Wāḥidī was captured the NLF announced that a "reactionary organisation"[77] was working against them in the area, but when the FLOSY complained about "crimes"[78] being committed there, it became apparent that it was losing the struggle. In Ḥadramawt, clashes occurred between the FLOSY supporters who in October had warned of "a leftist conspiracy to take over Ḥadramawt" and NLF supporters, who broke into banks and trade union offices carrying Mao's picture and who assisted the Hadrami Legion to consolidate the NLF's control there.[79]

The most severe fight took place in Laḥaj. On 16 August, about ten days before the NLF takeover, a FLOSY force, perhaps the earlier mentioned regulars which the FLOSY had been preparing, marched into Laḥaj from North Yemen and conquered Qarsh.[80] The FLOSY then announced that it had faced "armed gangs",[81] which would indicate that the NLF had resisted. Apparently, the SAA shouldered this effort together with the NLF (The SAA command even requested RAF bombing against the invaders, but to no avail) and jointly succeeded in capturing Laḥaj. The remnants of the FLOSY's forces were found only in Lower ᶜAwlaqī and in Aden itself.

It must be stressed that the NLF's campaign in the Protectorate was also intended to improve the Front's chances to conquer Aden. NLF spokesmen emphasised that Aden, of its economic, administrative and cultural importance, was highly

prized by the NLF and that "a victory without Aden was nothing". However, to achieve that, it was necessary to surround Aden with "countryside revolutionaries" (thawriyūn rīfiyūn) who would lay a siege to Aden. So the "Liberation" of the Princedoms was an essential preliminary step to hasten Aden's conquest.[82]

This strategy included the NLF's efforts to establish a "revolutionary base" in Aden.[83] In practice, this meant giving further encouragement to pro-NLF students and trade union activists. A bitter struggle again erupted in the ATUC. The strike called by the NLF on 19 January 1967 was against the policy of the ATUC's president, al-Aswadī, who maintained close contacts with the FLOSY.[84] In April the oil, port and banking unions refused to take part in a strike called by the FLOSY (in connection with the visit of the UN mission).[85] Several of the people assassinated in April and May were ATUC members who were activists in the two Fronts.[86] Between 9 and 15 August ATUC representatives met and an "Executive Office" was elected, with a wide range of authority in industrial, administrative, cultural and social issues. It took upon itself the responsibility for waging "the bitter struggle against British imperialism and its agents". Apparently this was an internal coup led by the NLF: The new Executive members were Muḥammad Sālīḥ Awlaqī, Muḥammad ᶜUshaysh, ᶜAbd al-Malik Ismāᶜīl, Aḥmad Saᶜīd ᶜAlī, Najīb Ismāᶜīl, Muḥammad ᶜAlī ᶜUmāyah and Faḍl ᶜAlī ᶜAbdullah, most of whom were renowned NLF activists.[87] In a letter to the Arab Trade Union Federation the new leaders asserted that they had been elected according to the "peoples' will", being a majority in nine out of the twelve ATUC unions. Al-Asnaj and his men were described as "a group of usurers".[88]

Between April and September 1967 the Federation of South Arabia collapsed. In the fight over the spoils the NLF seems to have gained a decisive advantage over the FLOSY.

Notes

1. FLOSY announcements and Egyptian propaganda also gave the dates and places (including an Aden hotel) where the gang's affairs were discussed. See al-Aḥrār, January 28 and February 4, 1967, al-Ahrām, March 1 and 6, 1967, Rūz al-Yūsuf, March 6, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, April 6, 8 and 24, May 5, 6 and 15, 1967, R. Cairo, April 28, 1967 — SWB, May 1, 1967, R. Cairo, May 13, 1967 — DR, May 16, 1967, MENA, May 7, 1967 — DR, May 10, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah, May 8, 1967, al-Akhbār, May 15, 1967.

2. Bāsinduh made these allegations on April 26, 1967, al-Akhbār, April 27, 1967, MEM, April 29, 1967.

3. See for instance al-Asnaj's speech on R. Cairo, February 3, 1967 — SWB, February 6,1967, during the visit of the U.N. delegation, R. Cairo, April 7, 1967 — SWB, April

10, 1967, R. Cairo, April 8, 1967 — SWB, April 10, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, March 20 and 31, 1967, R. Cairo, May 2, 1967 — SWB, May 5, 1967.

4. Akhbār al-Yawm, May 3, 1967, The Times, May 5, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, May 5, 1967, al-Anwār, May 18, 1967.

5. MEM February 18, 1965.

6. The Times, May 5, 1965.

7. R. San^{c}ā, January 11, 1967 — DR, January 12 and 13, 1967.

8. R. San^{c}ā, January 20, 1967 — SWB, January 23, 1967, R. Cairo, January 20, 1967 — SWB, January 23, 1967.

9. Al-Jadīd, April 14, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, April 20, 1967, MEM, April 22, 1967. Bombs were also thrown at the offices of the local paper, 'al-Ra'y,' see al-Jadīd, April 21, 1967.

10. Al-Muḥarrir, March 25, 1967.

11. Al-Ḥayāt, April 20, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, April 20, 1967, MEM, April 22, 1967, MENA, April 19, 1967 — DR, April 20, 1967.

12. Bowyer Bell, p. 154.

13. MENA, April 27, 1967 — DR, April 28, 1967.

14. Al-Akhbār, May 8, 1967, R. Cairo, May 8, 1967 — SWB May 10, 1967, DT, May 11, 1967.

15. Al-Ḥayāt, March 11 and May 13, 1967.

16. Ibid., April 8, 1964.

17. Loc. cit.

18. Ibid., March 26, 1967, al-Bilād, March 29, 1967.

19. Halliday, p. 214.

20. Al-Muḥarrir, March 8, 1967.

21. Al-Anwār, May 18, 1967.

22. Al-Ahrām, May 18, 1967.

23. Al-Ḥayāt, May 19, 1967.

24. Riḍā, pp. 191-193, al-Nahār, May 16, 1967, al-Ahrām, May 17, 1967.

25. Al-Jumhūriyyah, April 17, 1967, R. San^{c}ā, May 1, 1967 — SWB, May 9, 1967.

26. See all sources in previous note.

27. The words of al-Aswadī, Minister for the Affairs of the South in the North Yemen Government, R. San^{c}ā, February 27, 1967 — SWB, March 1, 1967.

28. Al-Nahār, March 24, 1967.

29. R. Cairo, February 24, 1964 — SWB, February 27, 1967, R. Cairo, June 3, 1967 — June 6, 1967.

30. R. Baghdad, February 3, 1967 — DR, February 8, 1967, MENA, April 5, 1967 — DR, April 6, 1967, R. Baghdad, July 27, 1967 — DR, July 28, 1967, al-Musawwar, September 8, 1967.

31. Loc. cit.

32. R. Cairo, March 8, 1967 — SWB, March 9, 1967, R. San^{c}ā, May 1, 1967 — SWB, May 9, 1967, R. Cairo, July 25, 1967 — SWB, July 27, 1967.

33. Riḍā, pp. 186-187.

34. Al-Nahad (Lebanon), April 9, 1967.

35. Al-Ḥayāt, November 11, 1967.
36. According to Aḥmad, the salary of a soldier was raised from 87 shillings to 320s, while that of an officer was raised from 158s to 700s. In doing this, the British intended to raise the level of income of the FA, to that of Kuwayti soldiers, see Aḥmad, p. 159.
37. Al-Nahār, April 9, 1967, The Times, June 21, 1967, DT, August 29, 1967 (background review), Paget, p. 212.
38. The Times, June 21, 1967, DT, June 22, 1967.
39. Paget, pp. 213-231, a detailed description of the fighting.
40. UA, June 26 and September 18 (background review), 1967, The Times, June 23, 1967, Paget, pp. 221-222. See also: C. Mitchell, Having Been a Soldier (London: H. Hamilton, 1969) pp. 169-171, henceforth: Mitchell.
41. In the next few weeks Mitchell was to emerge as a tough, ruthless figure for which he was nicknamed 'mad Mitch'. Halliday described him as "a crazed fusion of the Celtic madman, a belligerent imperialist and a cantankerous military commander", see Halliday p. 226, n. 42. Mitchell himself declared that "There was a method in my madness," Mitchell, p. 235. See also pp. 173-200 for a detailed description of the operation and later of restoring civil order there. See also: The Times, July 4 and 5, 1967, Paget, pp. 224-231.
42. R. Cairo, June 26, 1967 – SWB, June 27, 1967, R. Cairo, June 6, 1967 – SWB, June 28, 1967 (FLOSY announcements), The Times, June 29, 1967 (NLF announcements), al-Muḥarrir, July 1 and 7, 1967.
43. See all sources on previous note.
44. DT, June 27, 1967.
45. Bowyer Bell, p. 158.
46. MEM, July 1, 1967.
47. Aḥmad, p. 161.
48. Rūz al-Yūsuf, December 18, 1967.
49. Loc. cit.
50. Aḥmad, p. 160.
51. Ibid., p. 158, al-Ḥurriyyah, November 13, 1967, Rūz al-Yūsuf, December 28, 1967.
52. The following facts are based on the description in MER, 1967, p. 480.
53. R. Cairo, July 14, 1967 – SWB, July 16, 1967.
54. Al-Ḥurriyyah, September 18, 1967.
55. MEM, August 19, 1967.
56. All the above facts -- according to: The Times, August 14, 15 and 16, 1967, DT, August 15 and 16, 1967, MEM, August 19, 1967.
57. Al-Ḥayāt, September 14, 1967.
58. R. Paris, August 27 and 28, 1967 – DR, August 29, 1967, The Times, August 28, 1967, DT, August 28, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, August 28, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah, September 18, 1967.
59. R. Cairo, August 27, 1967 – SWB, August 30, 1967,

R. Paris, August 28, 1967 — DR, August 28, 1967, The Times, August 30, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah, September 25, 1967.

60. Al-Ḥurriyyah, September 28, 1967.
61. The Times, August 30, 1967.
62. The Times, September 5, 1967.
63. Al-Ḥayāt, September 19, 19-7, MEM, September 23, 1967, Aḥmad, pp. 172-182.
64. Trevelyan, pp. 252-253, al-Akhbār, September 29, 1967, R. Cairo, October 22, 1967 — SWB, October 24, 1967.
65. The Times, September 14, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, September 14, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, September 14, 1967.
66. The Times, September 18 and 19, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, September 19 and 29, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, September 29, 1967.
67. R. Paris, August 26, 1967 — DR, August 29, 1967.
68. Trevelyan, pp. 243-244.
69. Rūz al-Yūsuf, November 27, 1967.
70. Al-Ḥurriyyah, September 25, 1967, Rūz al-Yūsuf, December 18, 1967.
71. MEM, February 25, 1967.
72. Aḥmad, pp. 172-182
73. R. Paris, May 9, 1967 — DR, May 10, 1967.
74. An interview, al-Ḥurriyyah, November 20, 1967.
75. R. Cairo, July 11, 1967 — SWB, July 16, 1967.
76. Al-Muḥarrir, March 17, 1967, Rūz al-Yūsuf, November 27, 1967.
77. R. Aden, September 23, 1967 — SWB, September 26, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah, October 2, 1967.
78. R. Cairo, September 19, 1967 — DR, September 21, 1967.
79. Al-Ḥayāt, October 8 and 27 and November 4, 1967.
80. Al-Akhbar, August 16, 1967, R. Cairo, August 16, 1967 — SWB, August 18, 1967, R. Cairo, August 17, 1967 — SWB, August 19, 1967, The Times, August 19, 1968, Rūz al-Yūsuf, August 21, 1967.
81. R. Paris, August 16, 1967 — DR, August 17, The Times, August 19, 1967, MEM, August 19, 1967.
82. Jaᶜfar ᶜAwad and ᶜAbdullah al-Khāmirī at an interview in Beirut, al-Muḥarrir, September 2, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah, September 4, 1967.
83. Loc cit.
84. MEM, January 21, 1967.
85. MEM, April 8, 1967.
86. R. Cairo, February 1, 1967 — SWB, February 3, 1967, MEM, April 22, 1967.
87. Al-Ḥurriyyah, September 4, 1967.
88. Al-Ḥurriyyah, November 20, 1967.

Chapter 3

IN THE SHADOW OF INDEPENDENCE: THE STRUGGLE OVER GOVERNMENT

The Federal Government continued trying to demonstrate that it had the situation under control and on 12 August it organised a helicopter tour for journlaists, but the helicopter did not land anywhere.[1] However on 29 August the Federal Chief Minister, ᶜAlī Musāᶜid al-Bābakrī, announced that "this is a peoples' revolution, we cannot resist it".[2] On this day he requested the SAA to take over the Government, which it refused to do (see below). Al-Bābakrī then resigned and Sālih al-ᶜAwdhalī became formally the new Chief Minister.[3] In fact by then several of the Federal Ministers had been captured by the NLF or had fled abroad. Ironically, Husayn Alī Bayūmī was the only Minister who remained in office in Aden.[4] Before his resignation al-Bābakrī himself hinted about who would form the future government in South Yemen: "Our nationalist brethren, acting as a widespread popular force would negotiate with the British and achieve independence."[5]

The British appeared to be completely unaware of the internal dynamics. They were taken by surprise when the Princedoms collapsed and were easily taken over by the NLF. They rejected any possibility of their involvement with internal politics. On 1 September Trevelyan declared that Britain was not committed to a specific form of government.[6] On 3 September he left for London for discussions and returned the next day. He then announced that in view of the Federation's disintegration, he would recognise "the national forces" as the people's representatives and was prepared to negotiate with them.[7]

This was an open invitation to the NLF and the FLOSY to negotiate with the British authorities as candidaates for the future South Yemeni Government. This move required both Fronts to decide precisely who should represent the people and the form of representation. In other words, either the NLF or the FLOSY had to overpower its rival or to compromise. The British invitation itself prevoked the first crisis. The

Arabic translation of Trevelyan's declaration could be interpreted as giving priority to the NLF. Several days later Shackleton declared that the NLF was "the real force on the ground"[8] Consequently, both FLOSY and NLF spokesmen began a war of words over who was better qualified to be the representative.[9] Trevelyan himself insisted that the British did not know how to put an end to this quarrel. They were reluctant to impose their own solution and could not contribute anything to stop the situation from deteriorating either.[10] They were careful not to favour one Front over the other and even though the NLF did not attend the negotiations the British did communicate with it through a third party; the FLOSY did send someone to Trevelyan to suggest that the British allow the FLOSY to conquer the country with forces from North Yemen. Trevelyan rejected this proposal.[11] When this attempt to negotiate failed, fighting broke out again.

What conditions did each Front now find itself in? The NLF had its headquarters in Zinjibār. Sometime in summer 1967 Qaḥṭān al-Shaᶜbī had returned from Cairo (where he might have been held prisoner by the Egyptians since he had last been there), and apparently had kept his position as leader. From Zinjibār he declared his willingness to negotiate with Trevelyan; according to the Peking Radio, he also attributed the NLF's victories to "Chairman Mao's People's War Theory".[12] The NLF Command was then composed of 21 members, from both the old General Command and the new Secondary Leadership.[13] According to Halliday, in September 1967, Qaḥṭān, Faysal, ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf and others who urged reconciliation with Egypt and with the FLOSY, quarrelled with the majority of the new leadership (notably ᶜAbādh, al-Khāmirī, al-ᶜAttās and also ᶜAshāl) who opposed this course. Qaḥṭān might again have been neutralised[14]; his remarks, as broadcast by Peking Radio, reveal the NLF's internal conflicts, politically and militarily. The NLF governed the Protectorate and since late August also Dār Saᶜad, one of Aden's suburbs.[15]

The FLOSY's main force was stationed in Aden, where it still enjoyed some support within the ATUC and among businessmen. The PORF was active in Aden itself as well as in Mansūrah near Aden and in Laḥaj. A quasi-regular FLOSY force was on alert in North Yemen; it sustained a defeat in Laḥaj, the extent of which is unknown. In late September the FLOSY sustained another serious blow when its senior military commander, ᶜAbdullah al-Majᶜalī was killed in a road accident in Sanᶜā.[16] At this time Egypt was evacuating its forces from North Yemen, and consequently had reduced its assistance to the FLOSY (see below).

On 3 September fighting broke out between the NLF and the FLOSY. It is not clear who started it but it soon became evident that the NLF was on the offensive. It tried to move from Dār Saᶜad to Shaykh ᶜUthmān and the heavy armoured fighting which took place caused civilian casualities. The

NLF also attacked two PORF headquarters in Sabr which is near Ḥawṭah in Laḥaj and in Bīr Aḥmad in ᶜAqrabī. Since 30 August when the NLF announced that it had conquered the Princedoms, the PORF had been trying to seal off those areas which it dominated and to consolidate the FLOSY's rule.[17] It was obvious that the NLF's main target was the PORF: however, after two days of fighting the SAA intervened and brought about a ceasefire. There were two more days of fighting on 9-10 September and once more guns and mortars were fired in Shaykh ᶜUthmān and Mansūrah, causing hundreds of casualties. At this stage the South Yemen's people's participation in the power struggle peaked when tribesmen supporting both Fronts came to Aden to help their leaders.[18] Once more the SAA brought about a ceasefire, this time in conjunction with a new attempt to get the combatants to negotiate. Another round of fighting took place from 21-23 September. Finally negotiations began about a merger of the Fronts.

Egypt had to moderate its radical policies in South Arabia and its military effort there. This was the quid-pro-quo for Saudi Arabia's assistance to replace Egypt's losses in the War and to compensate for the closure of the Suez Canal. In practice it included the evacuation of Egyptian forces from North Yemen, the cessation of assistance to the FLOSY and the formation of a coalition government in South Yemen to include five FLOSY, five NLF and three SAL representatives.[20] It seems that Egypt was also trying to avoid a future rivalry with the Soviet Union, who after the Egyptian evaucation, might gain the upper hand in the area by backing the Egyptian-boycotted NLF.[21] In such conditions, stability and tranquillity, best achieved by a merger of the Fronts, seemed the best means to secure Egypt's future interest in the area. Through an Egyptian sponsored merger, ᶜAbd al-Nāsir could obtain maximum control for himself.

Moreover, as a result of the attrition caused by the fighting and of Egyptian pressure both Fronts were then ready to enter negotiations. In the light of its deteriorating position in the Protectorate and of diminishing Egyptian assistance it was the FLOSY which was most anxious to talk[22] and Makkawī in particular urged the need for national unity. But, there were also NLF voices calling for a merger; as mentioned earlier, Qaḥtān's group might have favoured this course; it was rumoured that Faysal ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf was held in prison in Taᶜizz to exert pressure on the NLF to enter negotiations.[23] For one reason or another, at least in order to gain time, in late September the NLF was also ready to negotiate the possibility of a merger with the FLOSY.[24] Already after the second round of fighting the two Fronts' leaders had been summoned to Cairo. Negotiations, held under the auspices of the Arab League and with ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's personal intervention, thus commenced. The parties discussed the possibility of restoring Aden to normality and of releasing

political prisoners.[25] This time the negotiations foundered on the issue of each Front's representation in the future government.[26] On 9 October, the parties reconvened. This time a strict time limit and agenda were set to resolve four issues: national unity, the formation of a transitional government, the preparation of a political strategy for the period of transition and the drafting of a temporary constitution.[27] In fact the discussions expanded to include the ending of the civil war and the establishment of a super-Front Council.[28] On 1 November it was announced that "agreement on most issues" had been achieved and that the negotiations were suspended for further consultation.[29] It was, therefore, surprising that on 3 November a new wave of violence between the two Fronts broke out.

The NLF explained that the negotiations could not have been successfully concluded because the FLOSY would have had to accept the principle that as its power had declined its representation in any future South Yemeni body should be proportionately reduced. The FLOSY delegates were reluctant to accept this.[30] Accordingly the NLF felt compelled to act. Moreover, it seems that the British had once more inadvertently helped to precipitate a showdown. On 2 November Trevelyan announced that the British would evacuate by the end of the month; apparently, neither the killing of the British escorts of the Sultān of Wāḥidī, nor the ferocious internal fighting, influenced the British to contemplate retaliation. In Trevelyan's words: "It was obvious that after what had happened we had better be out as soon as we could..."[31] This situation made both parties, especially the NLF, eager to reach a final result in the South Yemeni power struggle.

Between 2 and 13 November, notably in the first few days, heavy fighting broke out in Shaykh ᶜUthmān, Tawāḥī and Mansūrah. About a hundred men were killed and 300 injured. The NLF had a decisive victory. In a hand-to-hand fight, accompanied by kidnappings and personal assassinations, the NLF command launched its trained "hit squads", which according to Bowyer Bell, passed through Aden's districts with lists of targets in their hands and systematically murdered FLOSY adherents and PORF members.[32]

In these circumstances, and given the British reluctance to intervene, the SAA's standpoint was crucial. Since its refusal in early September 1967 to accept Bābakrī's proposal to take over the Government,[33] the SAA had been increasingly disposed to intervene in politics. This was partly due to the fact that the SAA had become officially responsible for security in Aden districts evacuated by the British. On 24 September the British withdrew from Mansūrah and Shaykh ᶜUthmān, on 1 November from Crater and on 26 November from Maᶜallah and Tawāḥī, as well as from the last British outposts in Crater. British forces only remained in Khurmaksar.[34] The SAA then

found itself as the only force capable of intervening in the fighting. Its forces replaced the British in all the above-mentioned places,[35] and tried, time after time, to impose a ceasefire. On 21 September the SAA ordered the two Fronts to start negotiations forthwith.[36] However, this seemed to have been the last occasion when the SAA acted as a united, responsible body.[37] On 24 October, the SAA command reprimanded 40 officers who had held a press conference and declared their loyalty to the FLOSY.[38] However, on 6 November the SAA and Police units publicly recognised the NLF "as the sole representative of the people in South Arabia". They called on both Trevelyan and the NLF to enter negotiations for the transfer of sovereignty in South Yemen.[39]

On the next day the SAA Command explained in a special declaration that the NLF had brought about the "colonialist defeat", had "control over the entire South" and had achieved "unparalleled victories". The SAA had taken note of all that and had therefore decided that the NLF was "the peoples' authority which speaks in the name of the people at this decisive stage". The SAA declaration asserted that the "armed forces" wanted a ceasefire, thus upholding the FLOSY as one part of the "nationalist forces". However, unlike the NLF, the FLOSY had refused to comply with the SAA's initiative, "wanting to stab the 14th October Revolution in the back...in sinking the country in a sea of chaos". The declaration concluded by affirming that the Armed Forces "will strike with an iron hand at all conspirators... attempting to halt the march of the revolution under the leadership of the National Front".[40]

The hint that the SAA "had observed" the NLF's development evidences the socialisation undergone by the SAA in recent years. As a militia, the SAA was familiar with internal political affairs; as a product of British training and command, the SAA had learnt to appreciate the leadership of a civilian-political authority. Consequently, when internal conflicts broke out within the SAA groups, they became susceptible to the political agitation directed at them by the Fronts. Hence, the SAA did not develop into a homogeneous political group, but split into pro-NLF and Pro-FLOSY groups. In Trevelyan's opinion, when Bābakrī suggested that the SAA should take over the Government, its commanders had not then decided who to support. So, fearful of an internal split, the SAA had rejected the proposal.[41] The pro-FLOSY declaration by 40 SAA officers was an indication that the internal struggle continued.[42] It was also known that most junior officers were pro-NLF. The Commanders were also divided: al-ᶜAshāl, who officiated as the Commander of the Eastern Area, the Police Commander Shihāb and another Police officer Sadīq Aḥmad were NLF supporters. The NLF argued that it had a serious "internal network within the SAA".[43] The SAA Commander of the Western area, Muḥammad al-Yāfiᶜī, was a

FLOSY supporter. In Summer 1967 the would-be SAA commander, Nāsir Burayq, met al-Asnaj and inclined slightly towards the FLOSY. His deputy Aḥmad al-ᶜAwlaqī and the Chief of Staff Haydar al-Habilī and another police officer, ᶜAbdullah al-Śahm maintained a neutral position.

In October the outcome of the differences seemed inevitable. While two ᶜAwlaqī factions were bickering, another group which had been a main FLOSY supporter, led by Shaykh ᶜUmar Ibn Farīd al-ᶜAwlaqī left the FLOSY.[44] The disintegration of the al-ᶜAwlaqī clan allowed its enemies to act. A force of policemen and tribesmen took over Upper Yāfiᶜī and either captured or expelled FLOSY's adherents.[45] Burayq resigned and Muḥammad al-ᶜAwlaqī replaced him.[46] After the 6 October coup in North Yemen, which toppled ᶜAbdullah al-Sallāl's government, SAA commanders feared that the new regime might launch a pro-FLOSY invasion into South Yemen. Concentrations of the FLOSY forces along South Yemen's northern frontier supported this fear.[47] The SAA then gave its full support to the NLF.

On 7 November, FLOSY groups tried to surround a unit of SAA soldiers in Mansūrah and in retaliation the SAA bombarded the FLOSY positions and helped the NLF to drive them away one by one.[48] The FLOSY was thus eliminated as a fighting power. The NLF's advantages over the FLOSY then became evident. In spite of their differences, the leaders, who remained in South Yemen during the last crucial months co-operated successfully. The FLOSY leaders stayed outside the country and did not maintain an adequate degree of co-operation. According to NLF sources, the hostility between Makkawī and al-Asnaj was so deep that the former provoked the early November clashes on his own initiative, without obtaining previous confirmation from the FLOSY headquarters.[49]

While the NLF learnt to operate as a self-contained organisation, the FLOSY remained fully dependent on Egyptian support; when, during summer 1967, this support declined and stopped, the FLOSY became helpless. In fact, Egypt's attempts to bring about a merger in the last weeks before independence, may prove that Egypt too understood that to rely solely on the FLOSY was "a lost cause".[50] In spite of its relatively extensive and varied military preparations, the FLOSY did not employ its units to the best advantage. Again, it seems that its over-reliance on Egypt, coupled with the internal disputes of its absent leaders obstructed the Command from grasping the reality of events in the fighting zones. Thus, the armed forces which had been trained in North Yemen remained passive. Al-Majᶜalī's death must have added to the ineffectiveness of the FLOSY's units because not even the PORF was able to achieve a significant victory in Aden. Above all, the FLOSY failed with a few exceptions, to enlist real support in the Protectorate. It basically remained an urban, diplomacy-oriented confederation of politicians, wherever

the NLF not only had a genuine supportive infrastructure in the Protectorate but its emerging Secondary Command knew how to expand and to consolidate this base both in the Princedoms and in Aden itself. Moreover, its military units were fully intact.

It was, however, the British who banged the last nail in the FLOSY's coffin. In the final weeks the British assumed the role of a spectator watching the contest between the NLF and the FLOSY and waiting to crown the winner. On 6 November Foreign Secretary Brown declared that the negotiations for the transfer of Government would be held with the NLF in Geneva because the NLF had proved to be the strongest organisation in South Yemen.[51] The FLOSY announced that the would-be Government would only mean "a new sort of British imperialism"[52] and, in al-Asnaj's words, "Britain handed over South Yemen to the NLF just as it handed over Haifa to the Jews in 1948."[53] The FLOSY leaders, then operating from friendly Arab states such as Syria, declared that it would not be bound by the Geneva decisions and would maintain itself as a "permanent organisation", dedicated to the struggle in South Yemen.[54] However, at this stage, declarations were the only outlet left to the FLOSY's leaders.

In the second half of November the NLF, led by Qaḥtān al-Shaᶜbī, demonstrated considerable pragmatism, leadership and diplomatic skill. Diplomatic missions to explain and NLF's views and programme, were despatched to Arab states. The Front's leaders called on Egypt and Britain to give assistance to the would-be independent state. The British could scarcely open discussions with the NLF because it was still officially regarded as "a terrorist organisation", so al-Shaᶜbī sent Brown several letters, in an attempt to improve the situation. The NLF insisted that the British should leave in an orderly manner and honour its previous undertakings. The day of independence was set for 30 November; on 20 November negotiations began in Geneva.

The NLF was represented by Qaḥtān, Faysal ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāᶜīl, Sayf al-Dāliᶜī and Muḥammad ᶜAbd, accompanied by several advisers and jurists. The British mission was led by Lord Shackleton. During the discussions various differences between the parties came to light, notably in connection with future British assistance to South Yemen and the possibility of transferring the Island of Perim to UN control, an idea which the NLF vehemently rejected. The British saw in the NLF's ascendance to power a drastic change which relieved them of the payment of the £60 million promised to the Federation. Al-Shaᶜbī argued that in order to compensate for the years of Colonialist rule, Britain should pay at least £100 million. In the end, Perim was not put under UN control but left within South Yemen's jurisdiction and Britain undertook to pay £12 million to the independent South Yemeni state. These items were included in a six

paragraph agreement, which stated that on the 30 November 1967 British rule in South Yemen would end and "The Popular Republic of South Yemen" (Jumhūriyyat Yaman al-Janūbiyyah al-Shaᶜbiyyah) would be created.

During this period the NLF assumed de-facto power and initiated various steps to foster its rule in South Yemen.[55] About one hundred officers were dismissed from the Armed Forces; political prisoners including FLOSY members, were released and deported. Arms and ammunition were collected from the population, censorship was imposed on foreign journalists[56] and negotiations with businessmen to prevent the smuggling of money out of the country and to stabilise prices and commerce, commenced.[57] In the Princedoms the rulers' assets and territories were confiscated and their frontiers and customs arrangements were abolished. Symbolic gestures such as making the 14 October a national holiday were introduced.[58] The Sharᶜī courts were abolished and a network of revolutionary committees was reinstated in their stead.[59] A new regime consolidated in South Yemen.

Notes

1. The Times, August 18, 1967, MEM, August 19, 1967.
2. The Times, August 29, 1967.
3. The Times, August 30, 1967, DT, August 30, 1967, R. Aden, August 29, 1967 – SWB, August 31, 1967.
4. R. Aden, September 1, 1967 – SWB, September 4, 1967, DT, September 2, 1967.
5. The Times, August 29, 1967.
6. The Times, September 1, 1967.
7. The Times, September 4 and 6, 1967, DT, September 5 and 6, 1967.
8. The Times, September 7, 1967.
9. Al-Aswadi for the FLOSY, al-Ḥayāt, September 6, 1967, al-Shaᶜbī for the NLF in his first press conference in Zinjibār on September 2, 1967. See The Times, September 4, 1967, DT, September 5, 1967.
10. Trevelyan, p. 256.
11. Ibid., pp. 247-248.
12. The Times, September 4, 1967, DT, September 5, 1967, Rūz al-Yūsuf, September 11, 1967, R. Peking, October 7, 1967 – SWB, October 10, 1967.
13. Aḥmad, p. 149.
14. Halliday, pp. 219-220.
15. Al-Ḥurriyyah, September 25, 1967, R. Paris, August 30, 1967 – DR, August 31, 1967.
16. R. Cairo, August 8, 1967 – SWB, August 10, 1967, R. Cairo, August 9, 1967 – SWB, August 10, 1967.
17. Al-Ḥayāt, September 7, 1967, R. Cairo, September 3, 1967 – SWB, September 5, 1967, Ridā, pp. 195-198, Paget p. 236.

18. The Times, September 11, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, September 9, 1967.
19. R. Aden, September 21, 1967 — SWB, September 23, 1967.
20. Al-Dustūr, July 23, 1967, Trevelyan, pp. 254-255.
21. Paget, p. 111, A. Yodfat, 'The U.S.S.R. and South Arabia', in Hebrew, Keshet, 13 (No. 2, 1970), pp. 145-146. On U.S.S.R. policy towards the two Yemens in 1967, see also: Y. Roʿi (ed.) From Encroachment to Involvement (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1974), pp. 496-497, a speech by the Soviet Ambassador to North Yemen.
22. R. Cairo, August 30, 1967 — SWB, September 2, 1967, R. Cairo, September 7, 1967 — SWB, September 8, 1967, MENA, September 12, 1967 — DR, September 13, 1967, al-Ahrām, September 12, 1967, al-Akhbār, September 12, 1967, MEM, September 23, 1967.
23. MEM, September 26, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, September 27, 1967.
24. R. Cairo, September 25, 1967 — DR, September 26, 1967. Makkawi's speech: R. Cairo, September 26 ,1967 — SWB, September 28, 1967. Faysal ʿAbd al-Latīf's speech, R. Cairo, September 27, 1967 — SWB, September 29, 1967.
25. R. Aden, September 13, 1967 — DR, September 14, 1967, R. Cairo, September 14, 1967 — DR, September 15, 1967.
26. Al-Muḥarrir, September 18, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah, September 18, 1967, The Times, September 20, 1967.
27. R. Cairo, September 25, 1967 — SWB, September 27, 1967 (points of agreement between Makkawī and ʿAbd al-Latīf), al-Anwār, September 19, 1967, al-Ahrām, September 24, 1967, MENA, September 28, 1967 — DR, September 29, 1967, al-Muḥarrir October 5, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, October 22, 1967 (on the four principles), al-Ahrām, September 28, 1967, R. Cairo, September 28, 1967 — DR, September 28, 1967, al-Anwar, September 29, 1967, MENA, October 4, 1967 — DR, October 5, 1967 (on FLOSY's preparations and the arrival of the delegations).
28. Al-Anwār, September 29, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah, November 7, 1967.
29. MENA, November 1, 1967 — DR, November 2, 1967, The Times, November 2, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, November 2, 1967.
30. Al-Ḥurriyyah, November 13, 1967.
31. Trevelyan, p. 246. Ridā goes as far as to accuse the British of a deliberate attempt to cause the breakdown of the Cairo Conference with this announcement, see Ridā, p. 199.
32. Al-Ḥayāt, November 5, 1967, Bowyer Bell, p. 160.
33. R. Aden, August 29, 1967 — SWB, August 31, 1967, The Times, August 30, 1967, DT, August 30, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, August 30 and September 2, 1967.
34. The agenda had actually been prepared as early as August 20, 1967, but later got slightly confused, DT, September 13, 1967, The Times, September 4 and 19, 1967, R. Aden, November 27 ,1967 — SWB, November 29, 1967.
35. R. Aden, September 24, 1967 — SWB, September 24, 1967.

36. R. Aden, September 6, 1967 — SWB, September 8, 1967, R. Aden, September 8, 1967 — SWB, September 11, 1967, The Times, September 8, 1967, DT, September 8, 1967.
37. R. Aden, September 21, 1967 — SWB, September 23, 1967, The Times, September 22, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, September 22, 1967.
38. The Times, October 25 and 31, 1967.
39. R. Aden, November 6, 1967 — SWB, November 9, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, November 7, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, November 8, 1967.
40. R. Aden, November 7, 1967 — SWB, November 9, 1967, DR, November 9, 1967.
41. Trevelyan, p. 245.
42. See the evaluation in MER, 1967, p. 483.
43. Rūz al-Yūsuf, December 18, 1967.
44. MEM, October 31, 1967.
45. Trevelyan, pp. 256-257.
46. R. Aden, Ocrober 31, 1967 — DR, November 2, 1967.
47. Al-Sayād (Lebanon), November 9, 1967, al-Anwār, November 3, 1967 and November 8, 1967 (an article by Ghassān Kanafānī).
48. MENA, November 8, 1967 — DR, November 9, 1967, al-Ḥurriyyah, November 13, 1967, Bowyer Bell, p. 160.
49. R. Aden, September 20, 1967 — DR, September 29, 1967.
50. R. Cairo, November 7, 1967 — SWB, November 9, 1967 al-Ahrām, November 9, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, November 12, 1967.
51. R. Beirut, December 4, 1967 — DR, December 5, 1967 (al-Asnaj).
52. Al-Muḥarrir, November 14, 1967, al Ḥayāt, November 14 and 16, 1967, al-Difāᶜ (Jordan) November 15, 1967.
53. UA, November 20, 1967.
54. R. Baghdad, November 16, 1967 — DR, November 17, 1967 (Makkawī), MENA, November 11, 1967 — DR, November 14, 1967, (Makkawī), al-Muḥarrir, November 14, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, November 14, 1967, R. Beirut, December 4, 1967 — DR, December 5, 1967 (al-Asnaj).
55. The Times, November 8, 1967, DT, November 9, 1967, al-Difāᶜ, November 10, 1967, al-Ḥayāt, November 10, 1967.
56. DT, November 17, 1967, The Times, November 18 and 27, 1967.
57. R. Aden, November 25, 1967 — SWB, November 25, 1967, al-Muḥarrir, November 25, 1967.
58. Al-Ḥurriyyah, November 20, 1967.
59. Al-Ḥayāt, November 18, 1967.

CONCLUSION

The events occurring between 1963 and 1967 signalled the height of the several development processes which had been taking place in South Yemen since the 1930s. These processes derived from the dialectical encounter between Britain's modernising innovations and a rigid, traditional society and polity. A variety of conflicts sprang from this encounter. First between those who joined the new social and political elites in the British reformed regime and the rest of the population. The former became increasingly powerful both because of the military levies, which they controlled, their higher education and the financial benefits provided by the British. Whereas for the latter, mostly tribesmen, peasants, lower ranking administrators and workers, the new regime either deprived them of their former livelihood, or failed to offer them any of the new benefits. This was particularly true of workers in Aden who experienced new and very difficult conditions. Secondly a conflict developed between the different administrative units, generated by Britain. The existing disparities in the degree of modernisation grew and heightened the tension between these units, notably between Aden and the Protectorate Princedoms. A third conflict was between the South Yemeni people, except for the new elites, and the British administration. Together these conflicts contained social, political, administrative and nationalist strands.

This dialectic between modernism and traditionalism precipitated a number of opposition groups, who, in the 1960s led the struggle against the regime. But ultimately the opposition was shaped by the several pan-Arab ideologies which penetrated South Yemen: Baᶜthism, Nāsirism, and other forms of Arab nationalism. These ideologies provided the opposition with defined goals and legitimacy in the wider Arab world. However the significance of both the internal conflicts and the pan-Arab influences was that they compounded the existing dialectics which characterised South Yemen, because the opposition groups were themselves moulded by the various indigenous conflicts and the competing external Arab

influences. These pan-Arab movements were already experienced when they percolated into South Yemen in the 1960s. Consequently they were able to offer such assets as ideology, organisational and financial help to the emerging South Yemeni opposition groups; but at the same time they imported their rivalries into South Yemen. Thus the formation of the NLF was actually an expression of ᶜAbd al-Nāsir's attempt to overpower its competitors, mainly the Baᶜth and the traditional groups in South Yemeni society.

From its inception, especially among Aden's workers, the nationalist movement in South Yemen evolved in rival groups. Nāsirist initiative culminated in the attempts to establish the FLOSY in late 1965 as an umbrella for the several nationalist groups. South Yemen might have gone the way of other Arab states and developed a nationalistic quasi-Nāsirist regime. However the particular circumstances in South Yemen impelled its people in other directions. South Yemen's main distinction, compared with other Arab societies at the time, was the guerrilla warfare which had begun in October 1963. The form of warfare was not in itself unique, being an adaptation of the quasi-clandestine patterns of the Qawmiyyūn al-ᶜArab activity to South Yemen's tribal conditions, together with tactics imported from Algeria and Cuba and the Maoist versions from China and Vietnam. In fact in spite of several years of guerrilla fighting the NLF's leadership added nothing to existing theories of guerrilla warfare. The significance of the guerrilla warfare was that it imbued South Yemen with novel conditions of chronic fighting, riots, strikes, and general disruption.

Nāsirism had no remedy for these conditions. It could supply organisational, political and subversion techniques, finance, arms and a safe haven in Cairo, but it could not control a chronically unstable society which was undergoing constant disruptive violence. Hence a new group of leaders surfaced as a result of these violent conditions to become the NLF's Secondary Leadership. Not only did they transform their own organisation, but for the first time in the Arab world they made an overt attempt to resist and to curb Nāsirism. The challenge was ideological and military, social and political. Evidently during 1966 and 1967, Nāsirism was becoming weaker, as indicated by the FLOSY's troubles, and Marxism flourished at its expense to become the foundation of a communist regime. Indeed what helped the marxist-led NLF were the conditions of guerrilla warfare, coupled with marxist ideology which the secondary leadership knew well how to operate. Guerrilla warfare conditions supplied the means with which to fight the British, to recruit support, to produce new symbols and slogans with which to influence people. The rural version of Maosim in particular reinforced the guerrilla activities with proven tactics and a populist ideology. Consequently the NLF, which had grown in rural

areas and which, unlike the FLOSY, had organic ties there, was more successful in attracting most of South Yemen's countryside population.

It thus managed to gain control over ever more territory, a fact which became apparent after the British had left the Protectorate in May 1967. The NLF also managed to subvert the most influential bodies in South Yemen: the SAA and the ATUC and thus gained supremacy in Aden town itself. The NLF's leaders and hit squads proved to be tough, ruthless and experienced. Thus insofar as violence and social recruitment were at stake the NLF did better than its rivals and triumphed over them. British misjudgements also contributed to the NLF's success. During the period of modernisation in South Yemen some political institutions were strengthened more than others, the local rulers and their military and administrative arms being the focus of British attention, while the wider population was neglected. Moreover, later on, British officials underestimated the significance of the guerrilla movements, both in political and military terms. Finally Britain's political leaders moved abruptly from an attitude of superiority and dominance to one of indifference and detachment. The NLF, while not beating Britain on the battlefield, succeeded by violent techniques of attrition in making it too costly, in all respects, for Britain to remain in South Yemen. So the leaders of the movement which took over in late 1967 and became the rulers of independent South Yemen, symbolised the various contradictory tendencies in South Yemen during the 20th century. But the story of South Yemeni politics was not over, for the forces which shaped the country's development and provoked the internal struggle in 1967, did not evaporate and were clearly visible in the following years.

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Al-Akhbār (Cairo)
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Ākhir Sāᶜah (Cairo)
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Al-Ayyām (Beirut)
Al-Baᶜth (Damascus)
Al-Bilād (Jiddah)
Al-Difāᶜ (ᶜAmman)
Al-Dustūr (ᶜAmman)
Fatāt al-Jazīrah (Aden)

Al-Ḥawādith (Beirut)
Al-Ḥayāt (Beirut)
Al-Ḥurriyyah (Beirut)
Al-Jadīd (Beirut)
Al-Jumhūriyyah (Cairo)
Al-Jarīdah (Beirut)
Al-Kātib (Cairo)
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