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**Se refiere a:**

**03JUN82 – Holmes a Coles. Otras disputas territoriales. (liberado restricción 40 años)**

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

3 June 1982

*CAF*  
*Top copy*  
*on*  
*Versailles*  
*Summit*

*Dear John,*

Falklands: Other Territorial Disputes

In your letter of 1 June you said the Prime Minister wished to have a comprehensive list of territorial disputes before she went to Versailles.

I enclose a list which we have attempted to make as comprehensive and as accurate as your deadline allowed. Only Eastern Europe has been excluded: none of the historical 'claims' there is being seriously pressed at present (those of Hungary on Romanian Transylvania, of Romania on Soviet Bessarabia, Bulgaria on Yugoslav Macedonia and Albania on Yugoslav Kosovo).

The list is intended for background only. Third parties might regard it as expressing or implying a British official view of the facts or merits of any particular case and it could be used against us. Moreover, some of the entries (eg those relating to possible claims by Saudi Arabia on Oman and by Vanuatu on the Wallis and Hunter islands) include 'sensitive' information. You will see that Africa has a large number of territorial disputes. Member states of the Organisation of African Unity are pledged not to use force in the settlement of disputes and are bound by the Boundary Resolution of 1964 to accept frontiers inherited at independence. But these constraints have not proved fully effective.

No attempt has been made to assess the possible impact had Britain failed to resist Argentina's invasion of the Falklands. But the 'ripple effect' could have exacerbated at least the disputes between Argentina and Chile, Venezuela and Guyana, and Guatemala and Belize.

/I might.

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I might mention incidentally that Mr Rostow has told us he had referred to the existence of some 150 (not 100) territorial disputes and that he had plucked the figure out of thin air. Our figure comes to just short of 90.

*Yours ever*

*J E Holmes*

(J E Holmes)  
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq  
10 Downing Street

## TERRITORIAL DISPUTES

(other than those relating to the Falklands and its dependencies)

## LATIN AMERICA

## Argentina/Chile: Islands in the Beagle Channel

Argentina's claim dates from the 1840s. She rejected H M The Queen's Arbitration Award in 1977 which gave the Islands to Chile. War was averted in 1978 by the offer of Papal mediation. Argentina has not rejected the Pope's 1980 proposals but abrogated a treaty with Chile in January 1982 agreeing to submit all disputes to arbitration. Dispute remains highly volatile.

## Bolivia/Chile/Peru: "Corridor" along Chilean-Peruvian Border

As a result of the Pacific War between the three countries in the 1880's Bolivia lost territory to Chile and her outlet to the Pacific. Bolivia still seeks her own corridor to the sea. Peruvian consent must also be obtained before Chile can alienate Chilean territory that was formerly Peruvian. Dispute quiescent (diplomatic relations between Chile and Bolivia were broken off in 1978).

## Ecuador/Peru: Upper Amazon Basin

Ecuador claims some 75,000 square miles of the Upper Amazon Basin in Peru resulting from the failure to agree a boundary at the end of the Spanish Colonial period. The Protocol of Rio de Janeiro (1942) assigned most of the territory to Peru and established a substantial part of the border. The Protocol was declared null and void by Ecuador in 1960 but not formally repudiated. Issue dormant although minor hostilities occurred in 1981.

## Guatemala/Belize

The Guatemalan claim to the whole of Belize dates from the 1820's when Guatemala inherited Spain's claim to the Colony of British Honduras. Outlines of an agreement were reached between the United Kingdom and Guatemala before Belizean independence but Guatemalan claim remains active.

## Honduras/Belize: Sapodilla Cays

Honduran claims emerged in 1981 on the occasion of the admission of Belize to the United Nations. Issue dormant.

## Nicaragua/Colombia: San Andres and Providencia Archipelago

Following overthrow of Somoza, the Sandinista régime in Nicaragua declared null and void the 1928 Treaty giving sovereignty over these Caribbean Islands to Colombia, arguing that the Treaty was invalid because it was agreed only under pressure from the United States. Currently quiescent.

## Surinam/Guyana

## Surinam/Guyana

Surinam claims a 6,000 square mile triangle of land in the South of Guyana known as the New River Triangle. (Guyana maintains a counter-claim on the other side of the border.) A draft Anglo-Dutch Treaty providing for Dutch cession of the area to Britain was overtaken by the 1939-45 war. Claim remains dormant; but some possibility of an opportunistic move by Surinam if Venezuela enforced its claims in Guyana.

## Venezuela/Colombia: Part of La Guajira Province

Failure to agree a boundary between Venezuela and Colombia at the end of the Spanish Colonial period has led to disagreement on maritime delimitation in the Gulf of Maracaibo, heightened with the discovery of rich oil reserves in the area. Currently quiescent; last round of negotiation ended in stalemate.

## Venezuela/Guyana: Essequibo Region

Venezuela's claim dates from shortly after Venezuela's independence in 1830. An Arbitration Treaty between Venezuela and Britain in 1897 awarded most territory to Britain but shortly after the last war Venezuela began to claim that the Arbitration Award was invalid. In 1966 a Venezuela-Guyana Mixed Commission was established to seek a solution in four years; in 1970 a twelve year moratorium on this agreement was signed which expires in June 1982, after Venezuelan decision not to renew it. The agreed 1966 procedures for a settlement of the dispute are to be reactivated.

## ANTARCTICA

## Argentina and Chile/British Antarctic Territory (Britain)

The bulk of the continent is subject to claims to territorial sovereignty by seven states: Australia, New Zealand, Norway, France, Chile, Argentina and the UK. The claims of the last three overlap. Those of Argentina and Chile are based in part on possession of, or claims to, territory on the Latin American continent and adjacent islands within longitudes converging on the South Pole. The Antarctic Treaty which entered into force in 1961 prohibited new claims to sovereignty in the Antarctic and froze disputes over existing claims so long as the Treaty remains in force. The Treaty runs indefinitely but there is provision for its review after 30 years in 1991.

## WESTERN EUROPE

## Greece/Turkey: Aegean Islands

The Aegean Islands were Turkish until around the time of the First World War. They passed to Greece (via Italy in the case of the Dodecanese) under the Treaties of Lausanne and Paris: Greece believes that Turkey has territorial ambitions on the islands; Turkey denies this. Other points of tension in the region are the division of the Continental Shelf (possible oil deposits), a possible Greek extension of territorial waters, and control of air space over the Aegean. Greece remains very sensitive to what she sees as Turkish trespassing in the area.

## Cyprus/Turkey

The Turks have occupied the northern third of Cyprus since July 1974, and in February 1975 a Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was declared (unrecognised except by Turkey). The stated objective of both sides remains a unified and independent Cyprus, but there is a dispute over the constitutional form this should take. There has been no serious outbreak of fighting since 1974, but a resumption of hostilities cannot be ruled out.

## Spain/Gibraltar (Britain)

The British title to the Rock of Gibraltar and the Isthmus is based on the Treaty of Utrecht and prescription. Although Spain accepts the validity of the British claim to sovereignty over the Rock (but not the Isthmus) she has never accepted the loss of territory. The present Spanish claim for the return of Gibraltar, based on the principle of territorial integrity, has been actively pursued since the 1950's. Spain continues to renounce the use of force; it is inconceivable that a Spain enjoying democratic Government and membership of NATO and the European Community would overturn this policy.

## AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

## Botswana/Namibia/Zambia/Zimbabwe

The quadrijunctional boundary point close to the Kazungula ferry across the Zambesi is in dispute. Claims dormant.

## Comoros/Isles Glorieuses (France)

In 1980 the Comoros' Government expressed a claim, based on historical grounds. Claim now appears dormant.

## Comoros/Mayotte (France)

Comoros has since her unilateral declaration of independence from France in 1975 claimed sovereignty over Mayotte, the fourth main island in the Comoros' archipelago, which refused to associate itself with that decision and has remained under French sovereignty. Comoros seeks eventual "return" of Mayotte by way of negotiated settlement.

## Gabon/Equatorial Guinea

Gabon and Equatorial Guinea claim two small uninhabited islands - Mbane and Cocotiers - and there are disputed pockets of territory along their common mainland border. The claim arises from differing interpretations of the Franco-Spanish convention of 1900. The dispute concerning the islands became active in 1972 and that concerning the land boundary in 1974. The disputes now appear dormant.

## Kenya/Sudan (The Elemi Triangle)

An area of Sudan administered for convenience by Kenya during the past fifty years. Kenya does not question Sudan's present sovereignty but would like to regularise the situation.

## Guinea/Guinea Bissau

Guinea and Guinea Bissau both claim territorial waters, believed to contain oil deposits. Guinea bases its claim on a Franco-Portuguese convention of 1886. The dispute, dating from 1974, now dormant, although tension increased in July 1980 when Guinea Bissau objected to Guinea's prospecting for oil in the area.

## Lesotho/South Africa

Since independence in 1966 Lesotho has pressed claims for the return by South Africa of the "conquered territory", areas of land in the Orange Free State lost by the Basotho in the 1860s. Claims last actively made in the mid-1970s.

/Libya/Chad

## Libya/Chad

Libya claims Aouzou Strip, 114,000 square kilometres in northern Chad: rumoured uranium deposits. Claim, based on boundary alignment set out in an unratified Franco-Italian treaty of 1935 activated following accession to power of Colonel Qadhafi. Libyan troops occupied the Strip in 1971.

## Libya/Niger

Libya claims a 20,000 square kilometre triangle of land in north-east Niger; mineral potential. Claim believed to be based on boundary alignment set out in an unratified Franco-Italian treaty of 1935 (see also Chad). Libyan troops occupied the triangle in 1975 (and still control the border oasis of Toumno) following overthrow in 1974 of Niger President Diouri.

## Madagascar/Tromelin, Juan de Nova, Europa, Bassas da India, Isles Glorieuses (France)

Madagascar's claims over these small islands in the Mozambique Channel date from independence in 1960 and rest on historical and geographical grounds. Claim to Tromelin appears dormant; claims to the other islands are still being pressed.

## Malawi/Mozambique

Dr Banda claimed part of northern Mozambique up to the river Zambezi in 1967, but has not revived the claim since. Claim was based on the area controlled by a former tribal empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

## Malawi/Tanzania

Dr Banda claimed areas of southern Tanzania in 1967, but not since. Basis of claim as for Malawi/Mozambique.

## Malawi/Zambia

Dr Banda claimed an area of eastern Zambia in 1967. General claim not revived since, but in late 1981 five Zambian villages bordering Malawi were reported to have been claimed by the Malawians.

## Mali/Upper Volta

Mali claims a 150 square mile strip of land along the Mali/Upper Volta border; rich grazing land, possible mineral wealth. Claim based on pre-independence documents. Dispute dates from 1961; brief hostilities in 1974/75. In 1981 both countries pledged to resolve the dispute by negotiation, but talks broke down after Upper Volta recently vetoed Mali's re-admission to the West African Monetary Union.

## /Mauritius/British Indian Ocean Territory (Britain)



## Mauritius/British Indian Ocean Territory (Britain)

Mauritius' claim is active but not contentious. Britain has given an undertaking to cede the islands to Mauritius (from which they were detached with Mauritian agreement in 1965) when no longer required for defence purposes.

## Mauritius/Tromelin (France)

Mauritius' claim, based on historical and geographical grounds, is active but low key. Island also claimed by Madagascar.

## Namibia/South Africa

The status of Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands, which have been parts of South Africa since they were annexed to the former Cape Colony in the 1870s and 1880s, is disputed by SWAPO and the OAU. Issue could become a serious bone of contention once Namibia becomes independent, particularly if SWAPO were to form the government.

## Nigeria/Cameroon

In 1975, Nigeria and Cameroon agreed alignment of the maritime boundary over waters containing oil deposits (previously ill-defined): Cameroon ratified the agreement; Nigeria did not. Following serious border incident in 1981 Nigeria denounced the 1975 agreement as null and void. Both sides currently considering best means of achieving a negotiated settlement.

## Somalia/Ethiopia

Somalia has claimed the Ogaden. Claim based principally on ethnic affinity of the inhabitants to the Somalis, reinforced by uncertainties regarding exact location of Somali-Ethiopian boundary dating from the colonial period and the expansion of the Ethiopian Empire in the late 19th century. Somalia conquered much of the area by force during 1977 but was ejected by Ethiopia (with Cuban and Soviet backing) in 1978, since when Somalia has continued to support insurgents in the Ogaden without claiming the territory as such.

## Somalia/Kenya

Somalia has claimed the former Northern Frontier District of Kenya, an administrative region created under British colonial rule. Claim based principally on the ethnic affinity of the inhabitants to the Somalis, reinforced by the findings of a 1962 Commission (1 Nigerian/1 Canadian) set up to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants. Since 1967 the claim has not been pursued by force and in 1981 Somalia renounced all territorial claims to Kenyan territory.

## Swaziland/South Africa

## Swaziland/South Africa

Swaziland has had claims on territory in South Africa since before its independence in 1968. The South African Government is now negotiating with the Swazis on the cession of territory on Swaziland's western and south-eastern borders.

## Swaziland/Mozambique

Swaziland has had a claim on territory in Mozambique since before independence in 1968. Claim dormant.

## Tanzania/Malawi

A Tanzanian claim to the north-east area of Lake Malawi has been active since 1967, although it has been low-key and has not seriously disturbed Tanzania/Malawi relations recently. A Border Commission has met occasionally to try to resolve the dispute.

## Zaire/Cabinda

Prior to Angolan independence, Zaire threatened to annex Cabinda enclave 1973-75. Claim based on geographic proximity, tribal links, presence of oil, and its Protectorate status. Congo (Brazzaville) also claimed tribal affinity but did not press a territorial claim. After Angolan independence, both Zaire and Congo (B) supported the separation of Cabinda from Angola, as independent state in its own right.

## Zambia/Zaire

Zambia has claimed pockets of territory from Zaire (and Zaire makes similar claims) along several stretches of their common boundary. The claims arise from inconsistencies, based on inadequate mapping, in the original treaty of 1894 between Britain and the Congo Free State. The dispute dates from 1894 but was inherited by Zaire in 1960 and Zambia in 1964. Active.

/Zimbabwe/Namibia (Caprivi Strip)

## Zimbabwe/Namibia (Caprivi Strip)

A dormant claim not pursued since the 1930s. Derives from the conquest of the area by British forces in Rhodesia during World War I and subsequent administration.

## MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

## Bahrain/Qatar: Seabed Frontier

In 1939, HMG awarded the Hawar Islands to Bahrain, against protests from Qatar, on the basis of Bahraini usage and administration and Qatari failure to offer evidence in favour of its claim beyond geographical propinquity. In 1947 this award confirmed as part of an award laying down the seabed frontier between the two states. Bahrain objected to the alignment of the seabed frontier and Qatar objected to the confirmation of the award of Hawar to Bahrain. Dispute still live.

## Egypt/Libya

After World War II, Egypt claimed territory awarded to Libya by the Italian-Egyptian agreement of 1925. Issue dormant although mentioned occasionally, viz. during the hostilities between Egypt and Libya in 1977.

## Egypt/Sudan: Halaib Triangle

Egyptian Interior Ministry decrees of 1902 entrusted to Sudanese administrative control an enclave north of the 22nd parallel which had been defined by the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1899 as the Egypt/Sudan border. Issue dormant since 1958, but could be activated by the discovery of substantial mineral deposits coinciding with serious deterioration in bilateral relations.

## Greater Syria

Not a conventional territorial claim, but an ideal adopted by the Syrian Ba'th and some other political parties in the area dating back to the dismemberment of the Arab region after World War I. "Greater Syria" would comprise Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel and the occupied West Bank. Iraq is also included in some versions as is Alexandretta. Currently dormant; Syrian ministers refer to it occasionally as an ideal of unity to which the Arab nation should aspire.

## Iran/Bahrain

Iran's long-standing claim to sovereignty over Bahrain, based on half-truths, apparently settled in 1970 following UN intervention, has been resurrected since the revolution. Not clear how seriously, but further Iranian action cannot be ruled out.

/Iran/Tanbs/Abu Musa

## Iran/Tanbs/Abu Musa

In 1887, Iran claimed a number of islands in the Gulf which had been considered by HMG and the Trucial States as appertaining to Sharjah and Ras al Khaimah, on the grounds of historic title and a British map showing the islands in Iranian colours. As part of the British military withdrawal and the change of treaty relations, agreement was reached between Sharjah and Iran over the future of Abu Musa in which neither side acknowledged the other's sovereignty and was entitled to maintain a presence on the island. No such agreement was reached in the case of the Tanbs, which were occupied by Iran on 30 November 1971. Iran has since remained in effective control but the Arab claim has been raised periodically by both the UAE and Iraq.

## Iraq/Iran: The Shatt al Arab

In 1975 Iran and Iraq signed a frontier agreement which reconfirmed the land frontier established in 1913-14 and modified the frontier in the Shatt al Arab so that it ran down the Thalweg instead of down the Iranian low water mark of the waterway. In 1980 Iraq abrogated the 1975 agreement, on the grounds that Iran had not withdrawn from territory recognised as Iraqi under the 1975 agreement, and claims the frontier runs down the Iranian shore of the waterway. A cause of the present Iraq/Iran war.

## Iraq/Kuwait

Iraq has maintained a claim of sovereignty over Kuwait since 1961 on grounds that Kuwait had been administratively attached to the Basrah vilayet of the Ottoman Empire before its dissolution. Although Iraq has formally renounced the claim on a number of occasions since 1961, it remains a potential problem which might be resurrected if Iraq loses the war with Iran.

## Israel/Egypt: Taba

In 1906 an administrative dividing line between Egypt and the rest of the Ottoman Empire was agreed after considerable British pressure. The line subsequently became the international frontier between Egypt and Palestine, and therefore between Egypt and Israel. Israel claimed a coastal terminal point about one mile south of the point claimed by Egypt in order to include a half-built hotel complex.

## Israel: Golan Heights

Israel occupied the Golan Heights in the 1967 war and in December 1981 extended her civil law to the region, thereby effectively annexing it from Syria. This action was, exceptionally, unanimously condemned by the UN Security Council in its Resolution 497 of 17 December 1981.

/Israel/Jerusalem

## Israel/Jerusalem

Israel occupied East Jerusalem in 1967 and quickly extended her civil law to the area, in effect annexing it. Israel regards Jerusalem on historic and religious grounds as her indivisible capital and in July 1980 enacted a law having constitutional status which formalised her claim to East Jerusalem.

## Israel: (Trans)Jordan

Leading Israelis sometimes argue that, under the Mandate for Palestine, Jews were entitled to settle east of the Jordan and that consequently Israel has territorial rights there. Israel is prepared to forgo this "claim" on condition that the Palestinian homeland is acknowledged to be Jordan and not the West Bank.

## Israel/West Bank/Gaza

Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza in 1967. Although both regions are subject to the autonomy provisions of the Camp David agreements, Israel has claimed ultimate sovereignty, advancing security, religious and historic arguments for her retention of effective control. HMG recognised Jordanian sovereignty over the West Bank, but Egypt has never claimed sovereignty over the Gaza Strip.

## Israel/South Lebanon

No formal claim. However many Lebanese believe that Israel intends to seize an area of the South up to the Litani River, basing her claim on her (undefined) view of her biblical borders. A number of Lebanese border villages were occupied by Jewish forces in 1948. Israel is interested in maintaining a cordon sanitaire against the PLO inside Lebanese territory between the border and the area occupied by United Nations forces.

## Libya/Gulf of Sirte

Libya claims the international waters of the Gulf of Sirte as part of her internal waters on the ground that she has exercised "sovereign rights throughout history" over the whole Gulf. The claim has been contested most actively by the US, which in August 1981 shot down two Libyan fighters which attacked US planes over the Gulf. Further clashes are possible.

Morocco/Ceuta and Melilla (Spain)

## Morocco/Ceuta and Melilla (Spain)

Morocco claims that the enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla are parts of Morocco which have been detached and occupied by a colonial power. The dispute is currently dormant, but might be re-activated were Spanish-Moroccan relations to deteriorate (eg if Spain were to come out in support of Polisario in the Western Sahara dispute) and certainly if Spain were to recover Gibraltar. Morocco has disputed Spain's possession sporadically since 1937, but not effectively since November 1975, when the Tripartite Agreement between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania on the Western Sahara gave Morocco and Mauritania effective control of that territory.

## Morocco/Western Sahara

Morocco claims the Western Sahara, which was ruled by Spain from 1884 to 1976. Morocco asserts a pre-colonial claim but is opposed by the Polisario movement and its state-in-exile, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. Dispute active.

## Palestine Liberation Organisation

Israel, occupied West Bank, Gaza. Claim dates from 1947 in respect of the territories occupied by Israel (excluding the Golan and Sinai) in that year. Active.

## PDRY/YAR

In 1934 HMG agreed a "status quo" line between the Yemen and the Aden Protectorate (now part of PDRY) based on tribal land holdings. The matter is raised periodically by both sides but no agreement has yet been reached, both claiming a frontier well beyond the "status quo" line. No identifiable trigger.

## Saudi Arabia/Oman

A residual dispute arising out of the "Buraimi" dispute between Saudi Arabia on the one hand and Abu Dhabi and Oman on the other remains following the settlement of the Saudi Arabia/Abu Dhabi sector in 1974. The origins lie in Saudi Arabia's administration during the early part of the 19th century in the Buraimi oasis. Dormant Saudi claims to territory traditionally regarded as Omani, which Oman fears may be revived.

## Saudi Arabia/PDRY

HMG laid down the frontier between the Aden Protectorate (now part of PDRY) and Saudi Arabia in 1955. Saudi Arabia has consistently claimed a frontier lying further south than this line and there have been counterclaims by PDRY in one small sector of the frontier, near the Saudi Arabia/PDRY/YAR tripoint. Issue dormant.

\*/State of Israel and from 1967 in respect of the

Saudi Arabia/YAR

## Saudi Arabia/YAR

The Yemen/Saudi frontier was agreed in 1934 and demarcated in 1935/6. The Yemen maintains a residual claim to the Asir triangle while Saudi Arabia has attempted to push the frontier further south. In addition there are largely irreconcilable counter claims on the as yet undefined eastern frontier of the YAR based on inflated assessments of tribal holdings. It is possible that a change to a radical régime in the YAR might move Saudi Arabia to press a maximalist position and to take action in support of it.

## Sudan/Libya: Sarra Triangle

In 1934, the British and Egyptian governments ceded to the Italians territory which had been regarded as Sudanese since 1899. The issue is dormant (the only Sudanese reference has been in 1965, in a Sudanese MFA Note to British Embassy, Khartoum: no public claim has been made). The claim could be triggered by discovery of substantial mineral deposits in Sarra Triangle or neighbouring north-west Sudan.

## Syria: Alexandretta

In 1939 the former Sanjak of Alexandretta was ceded by the French Mandate Authorities to Turkey. Syria's claim is dormant but could be reactivated if (a) the concept of Greater Syria (qv) was revived or (b) the continued independence of Lebanon was brought into question.

## SOUTH AND SOUTH EAST ASIA

## Afghanistan/Pakistan: Durand Line

Eastern and southern frontiers of Afghanistan defined and partially demarcated by the British in 19th century and accepted by Afghan government under Treaties of 1919 and 1921. Since the 1950s Afghanistan has refused to accept that the Durand Line constitutes its international border with Pakistan.

## China/India

China claims 30,000 square miles in India's northeast, while India claims 14,000 square miles in Ladakh, progressively occupied by China between 1956 and 1962. Origins of dispute lie in 19th and early 20th century delineation by the British of the northern limits of the Indian Empire. Talks currently under way.

## India/Bangladesh: Bay of Bengal

Each claims the silt island of New Moore on South Talpatty Island, formed in 1971. The dispute relates to the method of determining baselines from which each state's exclusive economic zone should be calculated.

## India/Pakistan: Kashmir

## India/Pakistan: Kashmir

Origin in 1947: partition of India and Maharaja of Kashmir's accession to India under threat of covert Pakistani military action. The territory, which has seen fighting in 1947-9, 1965 and 1971, is divided between the two states by a UN administered ceasefire line. India claims the 1947 accession to the Union was legal, Pakistan that India has failed to abide by UN Resolutions calling for a plebiscite to determine the wishes of the Kashmiris.

## Indonesia/Portugal: East Timor

Indonesia invaded the Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975 and announced its integration into Indonesia in 1976 in order to avert the prospect of an unstable leftwing state on her borders. Portugal confined itself to diplomatic protests. Dispute not settled, but Portugal is unlikely to resort to force. Local resistance movement against Indonesia.

## Philippines/Malaysia: Sabah

The Philippines claims parts of the Malaysian state of Sabah, on the grounds that the Sultans of Sulu (now part of the Philippines) once exercised authority over these areas. Claim first publicly taken up by Philippine Government in 1962. Dormant since 1976 but not formally dropped.

## Vietnam/China: Paracel Islands

China took the islands by force from South Vietnam in 1974.

## Vietnam/China/Philippines/France: Spratly Islands

A widely scattered archipelago on the South China Sea; some islands are occupied by the Philippines, others by Vietnam and by Chinese Nationalist forces from Taiwan. France's long-standing claim not yet formally renounced.

## FAR EAST

## China/Hong Kong (Britain)

Hong Kong ceded to Britain in 1847; Kowloon in 1860. New Territories leased by Britain for 99 years from 1898. China does not accept the validity of the treaties. Future UK policy under consideration in preparation for Prime Minister's autumn visit to Peking.

## China/Macao (Portugal)

Portuguese settlement since 1557. Ceded (5 sq miles) 1887. The Chinese do not accept the validity of the treaty. Portugal

/reported



reported to have given private assurances in 1979 acknowledging that sovereignty ultimately belongs to China.

China and Taiwan authorities (as the "Republic of China")/Japan: Senkaku (or Diaoyutai) Islands

Small groups of islands (2.5 square miles), annexed by Japan 1895. Administered by the United States from 1945 to 1972 when handed back to Japanese administration. Both the People's Republic of China and the Taiwan authorities have publicly asserted their claims since 1970.

China/USSR: Sino-Soviet border

Large parts of the Western border (Pamir Mountains) and Eastern border (Amur and Ussuri rivers) are in dispute. China claims that the 19th century Russo-Chinese treaties were "unequal" but expressed readiness to abide by them. She claims that the Russians have occupied territory in excess of that ceded under the treaties. Moscow is pressing Peking to reopen border talks, last held in 1979.

China/Taiwan

Taiwan and some islands off the coast of China are still held by the Kuomintang (Nationalist) authorities who fled there in 1949 at the end of the civil war and still claim to be the legitimate government of China. Kuomintang has rebuffed recent PRC overtures, and China has not ruled out the use of force.

Japan/Republic of Korea: Tokto Islands (Takeshima)

Two small rocky islets midway between Korea and Japan. Incorporated within Japanese administration, 1905. Occupied by Korea since 1953.

Japan/USSR: Northern Territories

The territory consists of islands at the southern end of the Kurile chain (5,000 sq kms), which were ceded by treaty to Japan in 1855, but handed to the USSR under the Livadia agreement in 1945. Japan claims that the Livadia agreement was not an instrument with legal effect.

PACIFIC

USA/Central/South Pacific Islands

The USA has in the past claimed over 25 islands in the Central/South Pacific area but intends to renounce claims to sovereignty in favour of Tuvalu, Kiribati (both now independent), the Cook Islands (an associated state of New Zealand) and Tokelau (an external territory of New Zealand), in return for military

facilities and for consultations if a third country wishes to use any of the islands for military purposes. The arrangements have yet to be ratified by Congress.

Vanuatu/New Caledonia: Matthew and Hunter Islands

Vanuatu has asked the UK for views. The UK position is that the islands are part of New Caledonia.