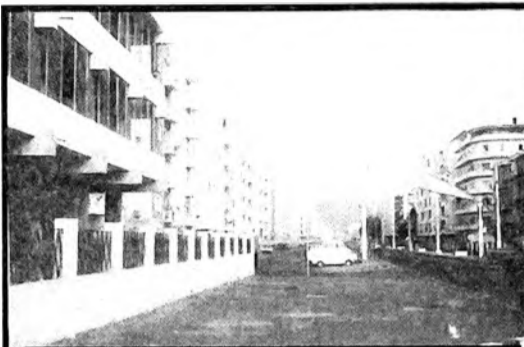


YEMEN'S ONLY ENGLISH - LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER

SANA'A; 11 - 17 NOVEMBER, 1992; VOL II, NUMBER 46

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OUR VIEWPOINT



Cleaning Our Cities

There has been a revolution in the Yemeni style of living. We use today a lot more of many things, notably, plastics, paper, etc. Unfortunately for our environment, we are neither culturally ready to properly dispose of these elements, nor are many of these items degradable. Therefore, one sees in many of our streets bundles of plastic bags and other refuse piling up. This is also true in our villages, although to a lesser extent simply because of lower population densities.

One of the first remarks of tourists and visitors relates to our dirty cities. It takes a little bit of commitment to clean the cities, and it is not just the government's duty to do so.

Many organizations and associations now exist in Yemen, and it would be appropriate if some of these addressed themselves to this issue. We have boy scouts and girl scouts, we have clubs and school-based youth groups. The political parties could create a presence for themselves (outside talk rooms, that is) if they help in the city-cleaning process.

There must also be a vigorous system of local supervision, and we must penalize people who are careless or irresponsible in the way they dispose of their garbage. This is important, not only as an aesthetic value, but also because it has health and economic implications.

Let me mention the phenomenon of ruralization of our cities. Since most of us are village folks, and we are brought up in that environment, we bring to our cities elements of that background. So we see city people who herd goats and raise chickens. We cannot stop this; but we can regulate the behavior, even if little by little. What I am saying is that how our cities look is the responsibility of all of us, and it would be nice if we can address this responsibility in a proper and full way.

The Publisher

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD EXTENDED TILL 27/4/1993

THE BETRAYAL

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DELAYS AND THIS SITUATION?

Read details on page 9

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YEMEN TIMES

YEMEN'S ONLY ENGLISH-LANGUAGE WEEKLY

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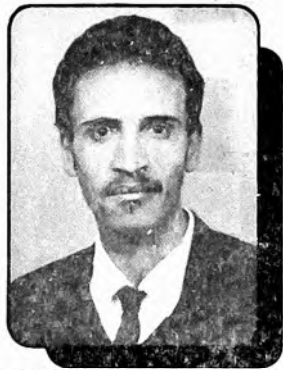
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PERSONAL VIEW

"Please Go and Vote!"



Abdo Taher Al-Ashwal,
Sanaa University

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Yemen, as per article (42), the right to vote and candidacy is guaranteed to all citizens. Thus, both candidates and voters have to comprehend that they have a national responsibility to perform their duties properly and fully in the parliamentary elections.

First of all, I want to stress that parliamentarians are accountable for their duty to ALLAH. Not only that, but they also will be holding a great responsibility for four years.

Second, parliamentarians should not limit their loyalties to any particular idea, group or region. They are not supposed to hold certain pre-conceptions about this or that party but should be interested in the well being of the entire country.

Finally, parliamentarians should not submit to any kind of pressure, persuasion or blackmail. Their obligation to the country is more important than any other incentive.

Having spoken about parliamentarians, let me now turn to the voters. A voter has a vital role to play in the elections. He/She shares in the responsibility. Therefore, the voter has to pay extreme care in choosing the right candidate. We should strive to enable the best candidates to reach the House of Representatives. It is a basic fact that we must choose the candidate who is well-known for his/her honesty and good character, he/she must have a good educational background. Finally, the candidate must be trustworthy, decent and devoted to Yemen.

Continues on page 7

LOCAL BRIEFS, LOCAL BRIEFS, LOCAL BRIEFS, LOCAL

Friends of Kuwait Hold Festival

Under the theme of "For Love and Peace", the Friends of Kuwait Association at Sana'a University plans to host a grand festival in the second half of November. Many national communities living in Yemen are participating by organizing their tents/sections in which they display ethnic costumes and other products. It will be noted that the State of Kuwait has financed the construction, furnishing, and most of the operating costs of Sanaa University for over twenty years.

University Syndicate Sponsors Far-Reaching Action

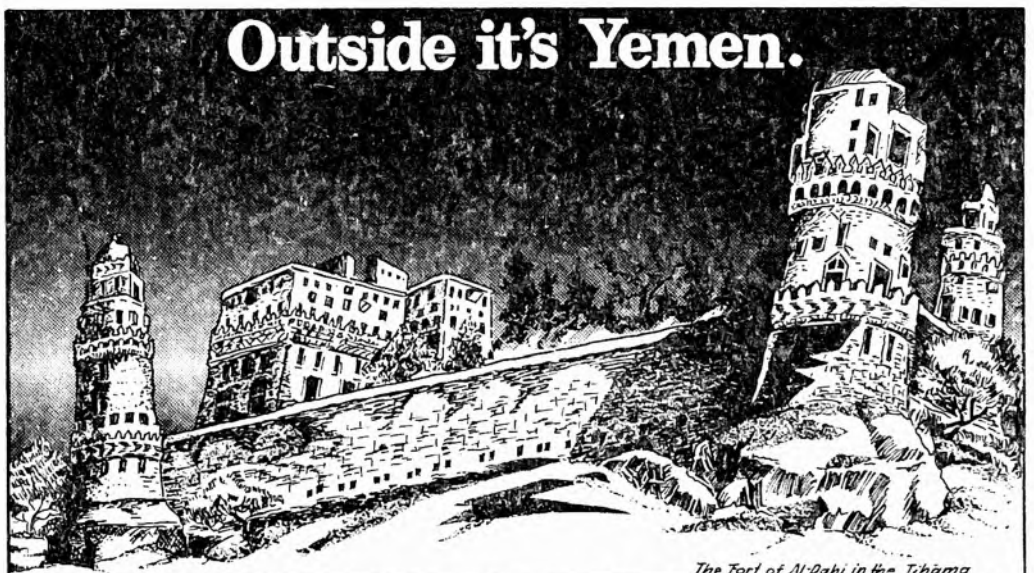
In a meeting held on Sunday, November 8th, a broad-based meeting was held by the Sana'a/Aden Universities' teaching staff. They agreed to draw up guidelines for electing the rector, vice-rector, deans, and vice-deans. Another meeting will be held on 16/11/1992 to approve the guidelines and to invite candidates for the top university jobs. It should be noted that the present rector and vice rector were appointed to a four-year term each in 1983. Upon expiry of the terms, nothing happened. It should be further noted that Sana'a University, in particular, suffers from visible negligence at the academic and administrative levels.

Elections Timetable

"We finalize around twenty constituencies per day of work," explained Mr. Yassin Abdo Saeed, Rapporteur of the Technical Committee and member of the Supreme Elections Committee. At this rate, the SEC expects to complete the definition of the constituencies before the end of November. "Before Ramadhan, we shall have finished the first stage of the work, (includes voter registration)" he added. Immediately following the post-Ramadhan holidays - Eid Al-Fitr (on 28th March, 1993), the President will issue a decree inviting Yemenis to cast their ballots. The same decree will invite candidates to file their candidacy within ten days thereof. Then, the candidates will be able to mount their campaigns all the way up to the eve of election day, 27/4/1993. Yassin Abdo Saeed was optimistic about the prospects of a smooth election process.

Appeal on Mansur Rajih

The Federation of Writers and Literary Men and the Syndicate of Journalists are jointly sponsoring today, Wednesday, November 11th, an appeal to the government in favor of Mansur Rajih. Amnesty International, calling Mr. Rajih a 'prisoner of conscience', had launched an appeal in May 1992. Mansur languishes in the Taiz prison cells.



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NEST '92

Akram Abdul-Malik Al-Aghbari:

"The Jordanian authorities accord Yemenis special treatment."

Relations between the Republic of Yemen and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan are special. The high level of cooperation in business, education, health, etc. is clear from the traffic flow between the two countries. According to the immigration records, 31% of the Yemenis going abroad put Jordan as their destination. That is why there are eight weekly flights and many additional ones between Sanaa/Aden and Amman. The man to whom most Yemenis go to when in Amman is Mr. Akram Abdul-Malik Al-Aghbari. A young man in his late twenties, he is known for his kind services to most Yemenis who travel to Amman. You will hardly find a Yemeni who has been to Amman who does not know Akram.

Mr. Al-Aghbari is the Assistant Cultural Officer at the Yemeni embassy in Jordan.

Yahia Yusuf Hodeidi of Yemen Times flew out to Amman last week to report on the Yemenis in Jordan. He filed the following interview with Mr. Al-Aghbari.

Q: Could you give us an estimate of the number of Yemenis who come to Jordan?

A: I do not have an exact number, but the flow of traffic is rising rapidly. I can say that some 1,900 persons come from Yemen to Amman every week. That adds up to almost 100,000 per year. I am talking here of the one-way (Yemen-to-Jordan) traffic.

Q: What kind of Yemenis come to Jordan? I mean for what purposes?

A: We can speak of four broad categories.

The largest by far is related to medical treatment. Most Yemenis come to Amman to take care of an ailment, because such services are either not available or not adequate in Yemen.

The second group is the students and trainees. We have a large number of Yemenis enrolled in Jordanian universities and community colleges. There are also government bureaucrats who come here for short-term training. Finally there are some military/police trainees.



The third category consists of the business group. These are traders who seek Jordanian goods and products. Unfortunately, very limited Yemeni private sector exports reach Jordan.

The final group is the tourists, honeymooners, and transit passengers. Given the good treatment of Yemenis by Jordanian officials, Yemenis on a trip to Europe or the Americas prefer to transit through Amman.

Q: You mentioned good cooperation in education. Could you give details?

A: First, let me mention that various agreements and protocols regulate the cooperation between the two fraternal countries in this and other fields.

Regarding cooperation in education, I can mention three distinct aspects:

a) There are the Yemeni students enrolled in Jordanian universities. There are today exactly 816 Yemenis doing university and graduate studies. Of these, some 500 are sponsored by the Yemeni government, and the others are on their own.

b) Then, there are the Jordanian teachers who serve in Yemeni schools. Their numbers are rising, although I have no specific estimate, because many Yemeni private schools have started employing Jordanians to replace other foreign teachers.

c) Evolving the curricula, assessing educational progress, evolving new programs. Jordanian experts have been involved in all those and other fields.

Q: What difficulties do you face in your work?

and other allowances. This problem places a difficult psychological and financial burden on us as well as the students.

Q: Given the large number of Yemenis in Jordan, have you encountered any serious complications with the Jordanian authorities?

A: The answer is a definite "No!". There are two reasons for that. First, Yemenis are, by and large, straight forward people. They do not get involved in illegal activities. Second, the Jordanian authorities are very understanding and helpful. Even when there is a problem, they handle it in a very sympathetic way.

Q: What problems does your office face at the moment?

A: Again it is a financial problem. We try hard to make Yemenis living in Jordan continue to be

emotionally attached to the homeland. For example, Jordan University has graciously allowed us to use its facilities to commemorate the anniversary of the Yemeni Revolution (26th September and 14th October). It was a good occasion to bind ourselves with our people in Yemen. But we do not have the resources to do that kind of thing more often, although what we need is really peanuts. Another example, we wrote to the Ministries of Information and Foreign Affairs asking them to send us multiple copies of the major Yemeni newspapers and magazines. We received no answer. What would something like that cost?

Q: Any last comments?

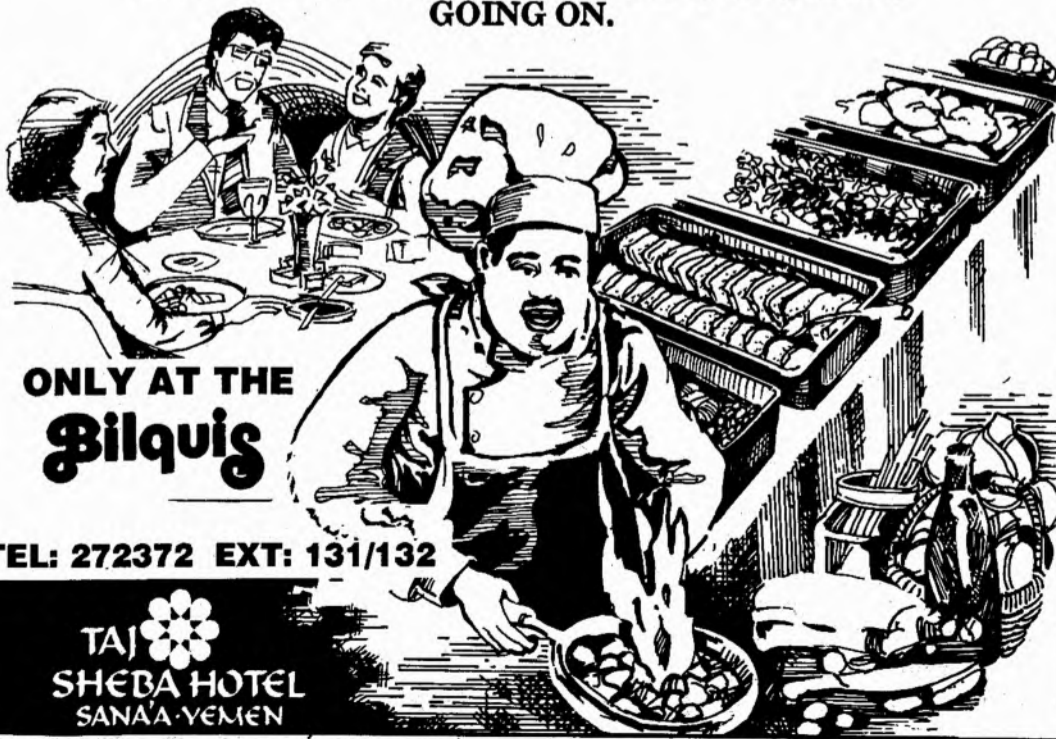
A: I repeat my thanks to the Jordanian authorities, and I hope Yemeni officials pay more attention to the needs of Yemenis here.

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SANDY ROGERS:**A Symbol of the Bond between
the Jibla Hospital and the Local Community**

On November 5th, 1992, at 9:30 p.m., Jibla Hospital nurse Sandy Rogers pulled on her rubber boots to prepare for her trek to the Jibla Baptist Hospital. She had no idea as she closed the door that she would become a physical embodiment of the strong bond that has developed between the hospital and the local community.

Sandy walked down the mountainside and crossed the river, as she had done hundreds of times before. It had been raining earlier that day, and water was flowing down the riverbed. As she made her way to a second river crossing, she was thankful for those boots that kept her feet warm and dry. She stepped in the stream and headed for the opposite bank. Water engulfed her and her thoughts were, "I've got to keep my head above the water."

Events developed quite rapidly. The raging torrent swept Sandy downstream over a 20 foot drop, through a small channel and finally to a rock to which she clung a mile from the place where the water had hit her. A Yemeni on the bank of the river saw her fall. He rushed to the nearest village, and then to the hospital compound to get help. In a short while, a large number of Yemenis and the hospital staff rushed to the river, using car headlights to search the water, fearing the worst.

It was 80 minutes after the accident occurred that Sandy was saved by a Yemeni man. "I saw her white uniform glimmering in the dark night. It was my guiding light," he later said. Sandy was rushed to the hospital, suffering from bruises, lacerations near her eye and on her knee and hypothermia. Still, thank God she was still alive. It took two hours of with hot water bottles, an electric blanket, and portable heaters to warm her body. Once she came out of it, she began sharing the thoughts that had gone through her head as the waters rushed around her. With a grin she said, "I remember thinking, this will make a great 'Reader's Digest' story." Then in a more serious tone, she recalled that she felt no fear

as she saw the giant walls of water coming towards her. God gave her peace and courage.

She remembered when her boots were pulled off, when her Yemeni bloomers tore off, when her glasses were removed and when she sailed over the twenty foot drop. She remembered grabbing a rock, trying to hold on to it, but giving way to the raging waters.

"Lord, either let someone find me before I freeze to death, or take me Home now," she prayed. And the Lord answered her call. He chose to save her from certain death.

Drew Whitson of the Hospital felt extremely gratified. "All of us from Jibla Baptist Hospital are praising God that our precious colleague is alive," he said. He was also very thankful for the response of the local community. "We would like to praise God for the many Yemenis who aided in the rescue operation," he said.

The spontaneous and strong response of the local community indicates the strong bond that has evolved between the two the local community and the hospital.

It will be noted that the Baptist medical team first set up shop in Taiz in 1964. A year later, they moved to the Jibla site, where they have been providing their services to the community ever since.

Over those years, the Jibla hospital has provided medical treatment to almost 350,000 patients, and each year, some 13,000 new names are added to the record.

On this occasion, Mr. Jamal Al-Mutarreb, Secretary-General of the Yemen-American Friendship Association praised the efforts of the Jibla Baptist Hospital in building mutual confidence, and wished a quick recovery for Sandy.

By:
Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf,
Chief Editor.

THE LANGUAGE OF DREAMS

By: Farah Askar

We all dream, and we all like to know what our dreams mean. The science of dream interpretation and analysis has reached highly sophisticated levels. Every event, uttering and picture can now be traced to its sources and causes. We are told that science can now define our dreams in an exact and "scientific" manner. Dreams are consistent and they have a language of their own. Therefore, those who study this language, are able to tell what dreams mean.

Our brain is in a permanent state of movement or action, it never stops; otherwise we would die. Yet, when asleep, our brain performs its functions at a different level and pace. It is still fed by the realities and experiences, but it takes a different pattern in its performance.

Many people believe that dreams fall within the realm of the supernatural. In a sense that may be true, but they are always rooted in the realities of everyday life.

Most people dream about people and things they long for or they miss. By extension, we can do in our dreams what we are unable to do in real life. So, if you are a woman, you will dream to have attracted the man of your "dreams". If you are a government employee, you may be clobbering your boss in your dream.

Dreams are also our secrets. They are a symbol of our inner soul. In a sense, it is a situation in which our subconscious takes over.

In the old days, dreams were categorized as good and bad depending on their source of inspiration. Good dreams come from God, and bad dreams are satanic.

In the good dreams, there is wisdom, freedom (e.g., floating high up) and a number of other lifting thoughts and actions. In bad dreams, which we call nightmares, we see distorted faces, horrible scenes, depressing situations. Most people are jolted awake from their sleep by horrible images and dangerous situations. Like it or not, dreams are an essential part of our lives.

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TEXT OF THE YEMENI-OMANI BORDER AGREEMENT, Part A

On October 1, 1992, Haidar Abubakar Al-Attas, Prime Minister of the Republic of Yemen, and Shihab Bin Tuwaini, Special Advisor to Sultan Qaboos of the Sultanate of Oman, signed the border agreement between the two countries. The agreement which is the culmination of two years of negotiations, was ratified by the supreme executives of the two countries on October 31st. This agreement is expected to open new horizons in the cooperation and understanding between the two countries. Yemen Times offers its readers its translation of the agreement.

Quote:

The Republic of Yemen and the Sultanate of Oman: In view of the fraternal ties between them and the common interests which bind their two countries and peoples, In implementation of the Islamic Sharia, In light of the desire of the two fraternal countries to strengthen their brotherly and neighborly relations, And due to the interest of the two countries to define the border between the two countries in a final way, The two sides have agreed on the following:

Article (1):
The borderline dividing the territories of the two countries is as specified in article (2) below, which is based on GeoDeci 84 system.

Article (2):
The borderline between the two countries starts at a point on Ras Dharbat Ali, which is marked as (#1) on the ground and which falls at 16.39.3.83 N (latitude) and at 53.6.30.88 (longitude) and extends northwards to a point marked as No. 8 on the ground which falls at 19 degrees North and 52 degrees East. This line passes through the points marked #2, #3, #4, #4A, #4B, 5, 6, 7) on the ground, and which fall on the following locations:
- #2 at 17.17.7.91 North and 52.48.44.22 East,
- #3 at 17.17.7.91 North and 52.44.45 East,
- #4 at 17.18.6.93 North and 52.44.33.50 East,
- #4A at 17.18.8.87 North and 52.44.34.24 East,
- #4B at 17.18.8.42 North and 52.44.35.57 East,
- #5 17.18.15 North and 52.45.2 E,
- #6 at 17.18.21 N and 52.45.2 E,
- #7 at 17.20.59.4 North and 52.46.55.83 East.

Article (3):
From the coastal point at

Ras Dharbat Ali, the borderline extends into the sea dividing the territorial waters and the economic zones as stipulated in the international laws of the sea and the UN Convention for Maritime Law.

This definition of the land and marine borderline dividing the two countries is conclusive and final.

Article (4):
A specialized committee is to be jointly formed to perform the following tasks:

a) To pinpoint and survey the points and borderline as stipulated in article (2) above. The committee will also prepare detailed maps, which once signed by the two sides, will be the official maps to be used by them, and such maps will be deemed an integral part of this agreement.

b) To fix demarcations of the borderline agreed upon, and to determine the distances between those demarcations.

Article (5):
All issues relating to the demarkation of the borderline, and any other issues are to be addressed by direct contact between the two parties in an equal and amicable manner and in a way not detrimental to the interests of either side.

Article (6):
In case mineral and other natural joint resources are discovered, these are to be exploited and shared in accordance with the international standards, and in a fair and just way.

Article (7):
The exploitation of water, pasture land, and the right to transportation at the border region is governed by the annexes attached to this agreement. Regarding property rights of citizens, the two sides have agreed to regulate the same by a separate annex to be agreed upon.

All annexes mentioned in this article are considered an integral part of the agreement.

Article (8):
This agreement is prepared in two original copies in Arabic. Each country retains a copy.

Article (9):
This agreement goes into effect immediately as it becomes ratified by the relevant authorities in each country.

Article (10):
This agreement was signed in Sanaa on 3/4/1413 H, 1/10/1992.

ANNEXES: NEXT WEEK

A POINT TO PONDER

This was the first time ever a large segment of the Yemeni population, and watched US presidential debates. It was the first time our people were exposed to the drawn-out process of US election campaigns. It was the first time they saw a real democracy at work, and they saw a president who conceded defeat, vowed to bow to the wish of the people, and agreed to hand-over power.

All this was possible, thanks to CNN and to a lesser extent to the BBC, VOA, and lastly to Yemeni television.

The question I am trying to raise is: "What is the impact of this process on the expectations of our people from our infant democracy?"

There is no doubt that it will lead to higher expectations, and they will compare our system and leaders to the US example. Although the comparison is a bit absurd, still you can hear people asking, "Why can't our leaders behave like that?"

If you have a good answer, please call the Yemen Times!

Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf, Chief Editor.

DIARY DIARY DIARY DIARY DIARY DIARY DIARY DIARY



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Int'l Bank of Yemen	272920/3
United Bank Ltd	272424
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Foreign Affairs	202544/7
Interior Affairs	252701/7
Immigration	250761/3
Inter-city Bus Co	262111/3
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United Insurance	272890/91
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Marib Insurance	206112/14

The Rule of Law

The rule of law is a basic component of any civil and democratic society. For democracy to flourish, or even to survive, the rule of law is a must. This means that abiding by the law, even bad laws, is very necessary, and individuals or groups who break the law must be held accountable and punished.

The first element in this regard is the need to plant in ourselves the belief and conviction in supremacy of the law. Unless the law is respected, democracy has little meaning and becomes Strife becomes prevalent. This respect for the law is the first step towards building a civil society which is organized along principles agreed upon by the majority of the people. These principles form a basic foundation for interaction among individuals and groups in society.

Let me use traffic rules as an example. If people respect the signs and lights, then circulation will be easy and smooth, and traffic flow will be fast. Can we imagine a city without traffic rules? Of course not.

The same thing is true of a civil society that is unable to enforce its laws. The very value of a democratic system lies in the degree of freedom it can offer to individuals in their lives, work, movement, etc.

The basic problem today is that certain elements in our society are either ignorant of the laws, or unwilling to abide by them. The worst part of it is that some of those who make the laws are often the first ones to break them. As a result the whole system suffers from a state of helplessness. We like to be as good as others, but we are unable to be as responsible. In fact, social habits enjoy more respect/adherence in Yemen than the laws. How can habit enjoy more force than the law?

To be more responsible, we should not engulf ourselves with these piles of laws, which we are unable to comprehend, let alone apply. It would have been better for our own credibility to have fewer laws which we can enforce than all these laws which are not respected. It is our choice.

By: **Hassan Mohammed Zaid Raay, Sanaa, 3/11/1992**

The Meaning of Opposition Parties

The concept of opposition politics (in Third World countries) is a mirror image, a mere reflection of the authorities. In western democracies, however, opposition politics play a vital role not only as a watchdog, but also in a constructive way. If I may use the British example, the opposition party there creates a shadow government whose job it is to address issues and come up with solutions in meaningful ways.

In the Third World, the opposition parties do nothing else but strive to simply replace the ruling party. They forget all the advice and criticism with which they bestowed on the ruling party before they replaced it.

Let us talk about us in Yemen. We pride ourselves in having achieved our country's reunification at a time when countries around us are splintering and falling apart. Moreover we have bonded our unification with a democratic system. This in a region which has become famous as a hallmark for fighting off democratic ideas.

Yet, this is not enough. We want to really establish genuine opposition politics which are effective and serious. Both sides -- those in power and those outside it -- are responsible for evolving this genuine opposition political system.

Unfortunately for Yemen, the opposition parties do not have their own raison d'etre. Many opposition parties are subservient to one or the other of the ruling parties. In this light, we can say that even the ruling parties practice opposition party politics, as they often criticise the "authorities" for not doing this or that, and each tends to blame the other partner for the shortcomings.

It was hoped that opposition parties will not be pulled to either of the two ruling parties simply to be used against the other. In addition, most opposition parties continue to hold grudges and aim to settle old scores with either of the ruling partners.

The search for a truly new approach for opposition politics is the duty of all of us. We must bypass the past, and work together to create a new political environment in line with the new world realities.

The main point is to believe in the growth or the very existence of a political party is tied to its submission to the dictates of the people.

By: **Ms. Huda Ali Ablan, Al-Wahdah, Sanaa, 4/11/1992**

Elections Without Forgery

Though many among us hate President George Bush, we were compelled to listen with awe to the US presidential debates.

It was a source of great respect and admiration to watch the most powerful man in the world, the president of the USA, give up his post and concede defeat. It was wonderful to see the majesty of the people as the presidential candidates pleaded with the people to give them their votes. The people had the chance to listen to all three candidates, evaluate them, and then decided who will be the next president.

This is a true democracy at work. For example, Bush didn't say that the future of the country would be in jeopardy if he did not continue to rule. The rivals didn't think of power-sharing behind closed doors and behind the people's back.

The main point is that, even while competing against each other, the candidates were deeply involved in building their nation, each in his own way. They all work hard for the development of their homeland.

By: **Ahmed Othman, Al-Sahwah, Sanaa, 6/11/1992**

What Kind of Elections Do We Want?

It is accepted that the newly-born unified Yemen and the accompanying democratic transformation are great achievements. It is natural and expected to witness this evolution proceed slowly.

Whatever the degree of agreements or differences or whatever the Supreme Elections Committee's decision regarding the postponement of elections, the point remains that such preparations are unique and the approach is different.

It is also to be noted that such an intensified daily consideration involves a lot of paperwork and effort. For a long time after the

unification of the country, no attention was given to the issue of preparing for elections.

The Supreme Elections Committee was confronted with a lot of impediments during its short life. Thus there was no choice, but to postpone the elections date. It is worth mentioning that organizing elections is a major undertaking which we cannot downplay. We must make sure that democratic and clean elections will proceed. We need to prepare in a thorough way. After the finalization of all the technical, legal, financial, administrative, and other matters, then we pin down the date of the elections.

We also have to encourage the largest number of Yemenis to participate in the elections and to exercise their constitutional rights. In this way we can all move forward in the path leading to the final and vital stage of elections.

Al-Thawri, Sanaa, 5-11-1992

Gentlemen, Be on Alert!

The world media these days is busy with the establishment of a European bank for development and reconstruction of the Middle East. This bank is an embodiment of the new world order and its political trends. The focus of donor countries is to

intervene in the economic development of poor countries. As a condition to assistance to Arab states, for example, they plan to force the Arabs to abandon their economic boycott of Israel. The basic goal is to turn the Arab world into a large market for Israeli products. In this way, Israel will fulfill its dream of extending from the Nile to the Euphrates.

The purpose of this article is to call attention to the need for economic, social, financial problems.

By: **Ahmad Saleh Bashraheel Al-Ayyam, Aden, 4-11-1992**

Self-Criticism

Every criticism and point we raise should be responsible in order to have an impact on the scene. Otherwise, it is just plain verbose and useless talk. First, let us address the exaggerations and sensationalism that have become so typical in our media. Information is falsified, and trivial issues are blown out of proportion.

Second, freedom of expression does not mean living in a jungle, in which supremacy is for the strong and powerful.

Our self-criticism must be done in a productive way.

An-Nabaa, Sanaa, 6/11/1992.

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Continued from p. 2

PERSONAL VIEW

These specifications must be on our mind as we go to cast our votes. Other considerations, such as tribal affiliation and friendship should be secondary.

We really have to be conscientious about this matter. This precious right that we have in choosing the person who should go to parliament must not be compromised by various considerations. We must concentrate on creating a new parliament which will interact positively and effectively with our needs and aspirations.

Here is one example. It's not wrong to elect a suitable candidate even if the candidate belongs to an opposite party.

Why not? Especially if the country's interests are better served by the arrival of that person to parliament.

On the other hand, I think that the present House of Representative is ineffective and paralyzed because it is filled up with the wrong people. Therefore it would be good to learn this lesson in order not to repeat the same mistake. Indeed, this attitude would be so alien to our traditional culture that it is going to take a real effort on our part to stick to it. But this is part of the learning process, of becoming good citizens in a democratic system.

Finally, there is the most important advice I would like to give. Please go and register, and please go and vote. It is your right, and don't give it up. I'd like to urge every eligible voter to cast his/her vote and carry out this national duty.

GARGAR ASSOCIATION

Our warm greetings to the Yemen Times family.

After the downfall of Siad Barre, Somalia entered a bloody civil war that brought disaster to the country.

The war spread all over the land forcing millions of people to flee the country. Every day we hear through the international media that hundreds of people are starving and dying daily.

Somali refugees have swarmed the neighboring countries. In Aden there are thousands of refugees who lack their daily needs.

In order to assist them and improve their standard of living through education, health and other skills of development the Gargar Association to serve the Somali refugees in Aden was established. We appeal to Yemeni businessmen, national figures, religious leaders, international companies, world organisations, and others to please give humanitarian assistance to these Somali refugees in Aden.

All assistance may please be channelled to the organisation's bank account No. 182762, Tawahi or contact:

Gargar Association for the Service of Somali Refugees Office,
Somali Community Center
St. Hafid, P. O. BOX 6168,
Maalla,
Aden.
TEL: 33237.

Yemen Times Note:

While we do strongly encourage all parties to contribute to the well-being of the refugees, we would like to state that we have not done any investigation or study on the association.

Even then, please help if you can!

REMEDY FOR TRIBAL TRIBULATIONS

Tribalism was established as a form of social bond since man's history on earth began. The evolution of association along tribal lines has not been diluted in a tangible way, as blood relations, common interests and geographic affinity have imposed themselves as the criterion for affiliation and attachment.

The tribe provided, after all, a genuine protection for its members. It protects their rights and properties, it regulates their place in terms of nobility, blood, etc., and it provides a kind of insurance in conditions of disaster - individual or collective. Tribal activities are carried out and supervised by chiefs, called sheikhs in the Yemeni context.

Evidently, tribalism is/was a world-wide phenomenon. It is, no doubt a primitive form of association.

Gradually, the tribal structure is being eaten away and replaced by new forms of association in the modern times. This is what progress is all about. But, parts of the world continue to be dominated by tribal affinity. A case in point is the northern parts of Yemen. A second example is Somalia.

Tribal interests supercede the national interest. Order and law are issued and respected only as far as they serve the tribe. This tribal tribulation is a troublesome phenomenon which is prevalent in the developing countries, and it stands in the way of progress and future prospects.

From my personal point of view, the effective remedy for this tribal tribulation in the developing countries lies in:

- 1- A strong dose of moral and religious teachings stressing that we are all children of God,
- 2- Creating a strong sense of nationhood, unity and patriotism,
- 3- Embarking on massive development programs and investments in transportation and communication,
- 4- Better education that shun chauvinism and racism,
- 5- Creating a strong and just nation-state with all the modern institutions.

By:
Mohamed Ali Shidle
"Afgoie",
Taiz.

WOULD DEMOCRACY SURVIVE IN YEMEN

The question of the democratization of Yemen is a critical and vital part of our political evolution. We as people have been subjected to one of the most ruthless dictatorships in the world in the past. Marxist communism in the former PDRY and feudal-military rule in the former YAR have taken their toll. Much has to be done internally and externally.

Internally, we know that the past continues to cast its shadow on the present and future. To compound that, we have to deal with tribalism, acute rivalry among political parties, and a leadership driven by personal ambitions.

Externally, the effects of the Gulf Crisis continue to haunt us, specially in terms of the returnees who have brought havoc to our economy. Almost at once after the peaceful birth of the Republic of Yemen, our enemies have unleashed anti-Yemen rhetoric and slogans. The success of Yemeni unity suddenly raised the specter of pan-Arabism and the possibility of a new push towards the unity of Arab states. That is why countries interested in the preservation of the status quo suddenly started their anti-Yemen and anti-unity campaigns.

We can undermine these efforts by standing true to the ideal of democracy. Let us all open our hearts and embark on the elections in a manner fitting with to our civilizational heritage.

Abdullah Mohd. Baraja,
Seiyun, Hadhramaut.

WRONG ANNOUNCEMENT

There was something strange in what the BBC announced. It said Somalis in Sanaa were ruining the security of the capital. It seems that the Yemeni authorities agree with that announcement. Otherwise, how can we understand their behavior in which so many Somali citizens in Sanaa were arrested.

I know that these Somali refugees were supposed to settle in the UNHCR-sponsored camps in Aden. But lack of telecommunication facilities in Aden city made these refugees move to Sanaa where these facilities exist. The Somalis need to contact their families and relatives who are now scattered all over the world.

To safeguard the security of the Yemeni capital, Sanaa, is a sacred duty. But arresting innocent Somali refugees will not do it.

Sharif Ali Sharif, Taiz.

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Habib Ishaq: YR. 5 billion are annually invested in house construction in Sanaa alone!

"On average, some 600 houses are constructed each year in Sanaa city. Given that the average cost per house is about YR. 8 million, we are talking of an annual investment of YR. 5 billion in the capital city alone," explained Mr. Habib Ishaq, one of the real estate experts in the country.

Mr. Ishaq is the managing director of the Property Centre, which is involved in leasing/renting and servicing apartments and houses for residential and office purposes.

"The reason our company is successful is that we are not just bringing landlords and tenants together, we are taking care of the needs of both," said Habib pointing to his company's new approach in this business.

The coming of democracy, the discovery of oil, the rise in foreign diplomatic representation in Yemen, the growth in business and market opportunities in Yemen, have all led to a large inflow of foreigners who now live in Yemen. "Although the Yemeni people are well-known for their hospitality and courtesy, the foreigners, needed, and continue to need, professional real estate services," the Property Centre official stated. That means providing the whole range of services including 24-hour repair and maintenance facilities. "We even pay the bills for utilities, telephones, etc., if the tenants want us to take care of them."

One of the problems facing investors is that they are not in tune with the market demand. "Over 80% of the demand is for medium and small-size housing. That is for houses with six rooms (2-3 bed-rooms). And yet investors build extremely large houses, which are almost palaces. Although impressive, these have limited demand," he said.

"That is why we have branched into consultancy work for real estate investors. We guide them to the optimal size and best design/lay-out for their houses," he added.

The Property Centre, with 57 full-time employees on its payroll including some foreign experts, has grown to become the country's



largest, most active and professional real estate agency. In addition to its Sanaa and Aden branches, it has just opened a Mukalla branch.

"We are not just leasing. We do the leg-work, make the phone calls, complete the paperwork, and do the bargaining on behalf of our clients," added Habib.

The company also has several premises which it rents out. These are like 5-star hotels, just much cheaper. They are fully-furnished apartments with everything the tenant needs, including guards, a front office reception, etc.

Regarding the dollarization of the real estate business, Mr. Ishaq indicated that in real estate, today's goods are sold at tomorrow's prices. What this means is that investors need to hedge against the fall in the return on their investments. In light of a continuously depreciating rial, people demand that the rent be specified in hard currencies, such as the US dollar. This is specially true in medium and long-term leases.

"The government has some times intervened against rent payments in dollars, specially by oil companies; but there is really no alternative," explained the

Property Centre official. (Editor's Note: It is actually the government officials, who in most cases own the real estate, and who demand payment in US dollars.)

Another problem according to Mr. Habib Ishaq is the absence of a zoning system in our cities. "You would find a beautiful palace that must have cost anywhere up to YR. 30 million. All a sudden, a welder would set up shop next to it. I know of a palace that is so beautiful, and next to it is a tire repair shop. We have to address the zoning issue in our cities.

Speaking about the rates of rent in Yemen, Mr. George Shamat, the Marketing and Sales Manager at the Property Centre explained that direct tenant to landlord deals often lead to higher rents, especially when the tenant is a foreigner. "I think that it would be worthwhile for prospective tenants to consult real estate agents and get a feel for the rent structure, or even let the agents do the work. I am not implying that rent in Yemen is exorbitant, in comparison to Gulf rates and in light of the beauty of the stone buildings. But I am saying tenants could get better deals if they work through real estate agents," he asserted.

There are often quite a few legal or other difficulties, that mar the relations of tenants and landlords. "We do not have such problems because we have carefully-worded and prepared contracts which satisfy and protect both sides. 90% of our clients are happy with the service," he stated.



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THE BETRAYAL: The Transitional period Extended Until 27/4/1993

It came as a shock to everybody. The piecemeal policy of passing on the dose of bad news to the people by bits has created a disturbing level of frustration. The news came after two days of deliberations by the senior members of the system's apparatus - the Presidential Council, the Presidium of the House of Representatives, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Ministers, Members of the General Committee of the PGC and the Political Bureau of the YSP, members of the Supreme Elections Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Judicial Council, the Presidential Advisory Board, and token members of the opposition political parties.

The debates were heated as the system's people, about 95% of the attendants, demanded more understanding for their continued rule over Yemen, without elections, or without even any change.

The seven attendants from outside the system pleaded

for sanity and credibility. But they were told, if we disagree on any decision, let us vote about it here and act in a civilized manner. What a joke!

At the end, the people outside the system proposed either of two alternatives:

a) that a new broad-based system (government?) be formed to pull the country through whatever time is required to hold elections; b) that if the present system is to remain, it should be treated as lame-duck and should not make any real decisions other than those related to preparations for the elections.

Neither was accepted as the group decided it was business as usual, and the Supreme Elections Committee's deadline of 18/2/1993, already an extension of the transitional period by 88 days, was further extended by 70 days, all the way to April 27th, 1993.

The main excuse for the new extension is that Ramadhan would come just after the elections

according to the first extension. Hence, the need for an extension.

What a bad excuse!

Now if they want a good excuse for a third extension it is, of course, the Haj season which comes within about a month following the new date following the second extension.

The National Conference has decided to act on its resolutions which had outlined certain actions to be taken in case the system engages in self-extension of its rule, without proper legitimization.

"The sovereignty and legitimacy of any system come from the people. After 21st November, the present system is neither legitimate nor is it democratic," said Omer Al-Jawi, one of the leaders of the National Conference.

In an emergency meeting on Saturday, November 7th, followed by a second meeting on Monday the 9th, the Coordination and Follow-up Committee of the National Conference

decided on four steps:

1- To organize a march/demonstration at the House of Representatives to hand over a letter demanding it to dissolve itself by 21st November, 1992, as at the end of that date it would lose its legality and legitimacy.

2- To write a memo with the objective of demanding that all organizations created by the Re-unification Agreement (Presidential Council, the Parliament, Government, Advisory Boards, etc.) should lose their validity as the agreement expires on 22/11/1993. All the above organizations are to be deemed illegitimate and unconstitutional after the 21/11/1992.

3- To withdraw the five members of the Supreme Elections Committee who represent political parties in the National Conference (Mohammed Al-Mikhlafi, of Tanzeem Al-Wahdawi Asha'abi Annaseri, Abdullah Sallam Al-Hakeemi of Itihad Al-

Qiwa Asha'biyyah, Dr. Hassan Bazara'a of Rabitat Abnaa Al-Yemen, Dr. Ahmed Sharafuddeen of Hizbul Haq, and Abdullah Al-Baseer of Hizb Attas-heeh Annaseri).

4- To organize a general strike throughout the Republic on November 21st, 1992.

If those steps do not lead to a positive response from the system in the direction of constitutional legality and legitimacy, the people of the National Conference are studying additional measures such as a sit-in at the House of Representatives, and a general civil disobedience.

The frustration and helplessness that prevails today is the direct result of short-sightedness and the self-centered approach of the leadership. Everybody agrees that elections cannot be held within the time prescribed in the unification agreement. The point is, however, that the people responsible for bringing about this situation (delay) should pay for their faults.

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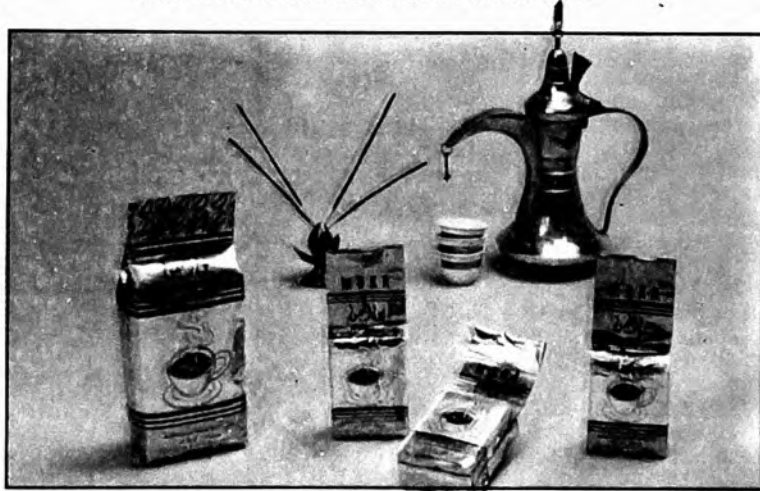
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LE TEMPS DU YEMEN

Alors que les petits partis de l'opposition appellent à la grève générale pour le 21 novembre et réclament la dissolution du Parlement

Les élections reportées au 27 avril prochain...

La date des élections législatives du Yémen a été fixée par le Conseil Présidentiel à l'issue d'une réunion nationale élargie à toutes les instances de l'Etat concernées et quelques représentants des principaux partis politiques, jeudi 5 novembre. Cette décision d'un report de cinq mois au total, qui constitue une entorse flagrante à la Constitution et aux accords d'unification qui ne prévoyaient que 90 jours, a été prise, selon la presse officielle, à l'unanimité des personnes présentes à la réunion élargie. Cependant il s'avère que, lors de cette réunion, quelques personnalités de l'opposition et des petits partis indépendants qui ont participé à la première Conférence nationale des partis début septembre, ont manifesté leur re-

La télévision et la presse écrite "officielle" ont annoncé le report des élections au 27 avril prochain avec un aplomb sans faille justifiant le viol caractérisé de la constitution et de la volonté populaire (la même constitution ayant été ratifiée par référendum) par le consensus réuni autour de cette décision. Consensus qui a été obtenu, selon ces mêmes sources, à l'unanimité. Alors que la réunion de l'appareil politique - Conseil Présidentiel, Premier ministre, présidium du Parlement - était élargie à la Haute Commission Electorale, au Conseil Consultatif, à la Cour Suprême de l'ordre judiciaire, aux principaux dirigeants des deux partis au pouvoir et de leurs alliés de fait ou déclarés (lire à ce propos notre article dans *Le Temps du Yémen* N° 43 du 21 octobre 1992) ainsi que sept représentants des petites formations de l'opposition, ces derniers ont en fait exprimé leur refus du report; mais la décision n'a pas été prise à l'issue d'un vote mais sur un accord autour des deux partis au pouvoir. Cette décision a été confirmée lors d'une autre réunion élargie, dimanche 8 novembre, au cours de laquelle ces mêmes personnalités ont réitéré leur opposition, en vain.

Aussi, ces "personnalités de l'opposition", dont la figure la plus importante est Omar Al-Gaoui, du parti Al-Tajamou, ont-elles décidé de maintenir l'appel à la grève générale le 21 novembre, mais également d'organiser une marche-manifestation devant le Parlement ce même jour pour lui demander de s'auto-dissoudre. Les partis qui avaient participé à la Conférence nationale début septembre ont également demandé à leurs cinq représentants à la Haute Commission Electorale de ne plus participer aux travaux de préparation du scrutin.

Le "consensus" autour de la date du 27 avril a réuni en fait les six piliers de ce que nous avons déjà défini comme la future majorité gouvernementale d'après les élections dans un article du *Temps du Yémen* N°43 du 21 octobre dernier: le CPG, le PSY, l'Islah du Cheikh Al-Ahmar, le Baas du Cheikh Abou Chawareb, le Parti Républicain du jeune député Mohamed ali Abou Louhoum et deux ou trois formations nassériennes. D'ailleurs, selon des sources concordantes, les tractations ont déjà commencé entre ces différents partis non seulement pour le partage des sièges au parlement (par le biais du découpage des circonscriptions en cours et par la présentation de

fus mais sans pouvoir peser dans la balance. Ces mêmes personnalités appellent aujourd'hui à une grève générale le 21 novembre prochain ainsi qu'à d'autres actions pour manifester leur mécontentement.

Il ne fait aucun doute que la rencontre entre le Président Ali Abdallah Saleh et le Vice-président Ali Salem al-Bid a été décisive dans cette affaire du report des élections, mettant les autres partis devant le fait accompli. Malgré les accusations portées par le Cheikh Al-Ahmar qui qualifiait déjà le report au 18 février de "viol de la Constitution", l'Islah semble accepter ce fait accompli puisque ses représentants ont accepté la nouvelle date lors de la réunion de jeudi.

candidats "officiels" certains d'emporter la majorité), mais aussi pour le partage des futurs portefeuilles ministériels. Le dénominateur commun de toutes ces négociations serait l'assurance pour le Président Saleh d'être réélu par le prochain parlement à la tête de l'Etat, mais comme le président de tous les Yéménites avec la bénédiction des principaux partis. A côté de cela, dans le cadre d'élections qui n'ont pas pour but manifestement de laisser une quelconque ouverture pour un changement de l'équipe dirigeante, on peut très bien imaginer que l'on permettra (ou que l'on ne pourra pas s'y opposer) à quelques personnalités indépendantes ou de l'opposition, d'accéder au parlement, afin de conserver une façade démocratique. Mais déjà, cela pourrait être considéré comme une tribune importante pour l'opposition.

Un moyen d'écartier le spectre de la guerre civile ?

Le système paraît donc rouillé, du moins jusqu'aux élections car un tel édifice, porteur des plus inquiétantes contradictions, peut s'écrouler lorsqu'il s'agit de gouverner, pour peu qu'une des composantes (le PSY ou l'Islah au pire) se retire du

consensus.

Le ralliement du PSY à ce consensus, dont la seule inconnue était l'attitude du Vice-Président Al-Bid, retiré dans le sud depuis trois mois, vient d'être officialisé par le retour du secrétaire général du PSY à Sanaa (lire ci-contre). Avant la rencontre de Hodeidah entre les deux Ali, le bruit courait, et pas seulement dans les rangs du CPG, que le Président Saleh était d'accord pour le report des élections au 18 février proposé la semaine dernière par la Haute Commission Electorale, soit 89 jours après le 22 novembre, en accord avec le délai supplémentaire de 90 jours autorisé par la Constitution. Ce serait le Vice-Président Al-Bid qui aurait demandé et obtenu un délai supplémentaire de 68 jours, jusqu'au 27 avril. Dans tous les cas, le consensus entre les trois ou quatre principales forces politiques - et tribales - du pays, pourrait permettre d'éviter le pire - l'affrontement dans la rue -, au détriment cependant de la transparence et du véritable exercice de la démocratie; le spectre de la guerre civile brandi par de nombreuses personnalités politiques ces temps-ci, semble momentanément écarté. La "réconciliation" Saleh-Al-Bid et les déclarations très modérées du Cheikh Al-Ahmar dans l'entretien publié en page 11 semblent aller dans ce sens.

E.G.

... après une "réconciliation" entre les deux Ali

A la plus grande surprise des observateurs qui ne sont pas dans le secret des dieux et des Yéménites eux-mêmes, le Président Saleh et le Vice-Président Al-Bid se sont "réconciliés" lors d'une rencontre de sept heures à huis-clos, lundi 2 novembre, sur un terrain neutre: Hodeidah. Le secrétaire général du Parti Socialiste Yéménite est revenu ensuite dans la capitale, après une absence de 85 jours, considérée comme une "bouderie" au sommet de l'Etat.

Selon la version officielle, la rencontre serait fortuite et les deux Ali se seraient trouvés en même temps à Hodeidah pour l'inauguration de projets dans cette ville portuaire sur la Mer Rouge. La ficelle est grosse. En fait, cette rencontre est l'aboutissement de trois mois de démarches incessantes auprès du Vice-Président dans son fief du Hadramaout ou à Aden pour qu'il revienne dans la capitale. Dans des interviews récentes, il a déclaré qu'il n'avait rien à faire à Sanaa puisqu'il estimait que le CPG, refusait de travailler dans le concret, notamment pour mettre en application tous les objectifs fixés par les accords d'unification, et qu'il ne reviendrait que si des programmes de travail concrets étaient établis.

Il semble en fait que le secrétaire général du PSY ait voulu opérer un "retour aux sources" à la base des électeurs, afin de contredire, pour ce qui le concerne, les accusations de plus en plus fréquentes dans l'opinion publique du sud, selon lesquelles les dirigeants du PSY ont cédé aux sirènes des villas luxueuses de Sanaa, des voitures de fonction, des postes importants dans les ministères et de la corruption en général, oubliant que la base souffrait de l'unification, sur le plan économique et social. Ce retour aux sources a été bénéfique et sa cote de popularité est remontée, à mesure qu'il se tenait éloigné des tractations entre les partis (y compris le sien) pour le futur par-

tage du pouvoir.

Lors de cette rencontre de Hodeidah, le Président Saleh a donc été considéré par de nombreux observateurs du monde politique comme le "demandeur". Et il semble avoir fait pas mal de concessions. On parle, sans pouvoir confirmer l'information étant donné le secret qui a entouré la rencontre, d'un accord entre les deux chefs pour présenter des candidats communs dans des circonscriptions. Cet accord, s'il est confirmé dans les jours qui viennent, représenterait donc de fait une alliance électorale et mettrait un terme aux tentatives du Président et du CPG de phagocytiser le PSY dans une fusion des deux partis. Dans le cas où cette information ne serait pas officiellement confirmée, certains témoignages de futurs candidats prouvent que des ententes sont déjà réalisées ou le seront afin de faire élire un candidat de compromis, le PSY ou le CPG présentant, selon les circonstances, un "parachuté" sans aucune chance de rassembler un nombre significatif de suffrages. Ce qui est valable pour le sud et dans la région de Ta'ez avec le PSY, le serait aussi dans le nord avec l'Islah ou le parti Baas, où de tels compromis seraient en cours de négociation. La nécessité de discuter des cas particuliers expliquerait la décision du report du scrutin au 27 avril, si l'on considère que le 18 février initialement proposé par la Haute Commission précédait de cinq jours le Ramadan et qu'il est inconcevable, dans le mois qui suit, de toucher un nombre important d'électeurs par une campagne électorale pendant les 28 jours de jeûne et de recueillement religieux.

Une autre raison peut expliquer la précipitation par le président Saleh de la résolution de cette crise au sommet: pour reporter les élections, même au 18 février comme prévu initialement, la constitution imposait l'unanimité des cinq membres du Conseil Présidentiel, comme pour toutes les décisions importantes: la présence du Vice-Président était donc impérative.

Les deux autres points d'accord entre les deux hommes sont d'importance mineure puisque difficile à mettre en oeuvre et ressemblant plutôt à des promesses sans lendemain: mise en place d'une instance chargée de la sécurité composée de représentants de tous les partis politiques et une répartition plus équitables des revenus entre le nord et le sud.

Le résultat de cette rencontre ne s'est pas fait attendre puisque, à la surprise générale, les deux Ali réapparaissent en public le mercredi 4 novembre lors de la réunion élargie qui devait, le lendemain, annoncer publiquement le report des élections au-delà des délais autorisés par la constitution. Notons que cette réunion avait été annoncée par la Haute Commission Electorale il y a une dizaine de jours, et qu'elle pouvait difficilement avoir lieu sans le Vice-Président. Le hasard fait décidément bien les choses.

E.G.

Une visite du Secrétaire d'Etat français à la Mer le 17 novembre

Un projet de société mixte franco-yéménite dans le domaine de la pêche

Récemment, le Vice-Ministre des pêches du Yémen, M. Ahmed Al-Bichari, s'est rendu en France, notamment sur les côtes bretonnes. Il a proposé aux propriétaires de chalutiers de Saint-Malo notamment et à tous les professionnels de la pêche, qui manquent de travail, de venir travailler en coopération avec les Yéménites afin de pêcher au large des 1.600 kilomètres de côtes sur la Mer Rouge et sur l'Océan Indien.

Le message a été bien reçu et s'est concrétisé notamment par la décision d'un riche homme d'affaire français d'investir au Yémen dans une "joint-venture" à répartition égale des capitaux avec des Yéménites. M. Ahmed Chaker, en visite la semaine dernière à Sanaa et Aden, est venu mettre au point les dernières modalités de cette coopération franco-yéménite. Il a l'intention d'acheter cinq chalutiers en

France et de les faire venir au Yémen le plus rapidement possible. M. Charles Josselin, Secrétaire d'Etat à la Mer français est attendu pour une visite officielle à Sanaa le 17 novembre prochain pour renforcer la coopération entre la France et le Yémen en matière de pêche, dont le projet de M. Chaker est la première pierre. Ce projet de joint-venture devrait également comprendre un volet formation par des marins français, dont l'expérience en la matière est réputée dans le monde entier. Et les projets de M. Chaker au Yémen ne devraient pas se limiter à la pêche: l'homme d'affaire est également venu pour "chercher d'autres créneaux d'investissements dans le pays".

M. Ahmed Chaker est également le président fondateur d'une Association pour le Développement des Relations Arabo-françaises à Paris (la DRAF) et présente la particularité d'avoir des

origines yéménites: son père a quitté le Yémen au début du siècle pour s'installer à Djibouti et partir ensuite en France. M. Chaker est venu au Yémen pour la première fois. "Pourtant, je me sens vraiment chez moi", lance-t-il. La DRAF a pour but de développer les relations entre les pays arabes et la France mais aussi d'aider les gens défavorisés: livraison de médicaments au Soudan, pour les enfants cancéreux de Tunisie, pour les enfants du Liban, arbres de Noël en France, etc.

La DRAF développe aussi des actions dans le domaine culturel. Dans le cas du Yémen, l'association a financé l'équipement audiovisuel du Centre Culturel Yéménite à Paris et prendra à sa charge le transport et l'hébergement d'une troupe musicale yéménite qui doit se produire à l'Institut du Monde Arabe à Paris dans le cadre de l'exposition "Yémen, Architecture Millénaire", jusqu'au 10 janvier 1993.

Un entretien avec le chef suprême des tribus Hached et président du parti islamiste Al-Islah

"Notre action restera toujours dans le cadre de la légalité"

Nous déclare le Cheikh Abdallah Ben Hussein Al-Ahmar

Le Cheikh Abdallah Ben Hussein Al-Ahmar, chef suprême de la puissante confédération des tribus Hached, président du parti islamiste le Rassemblement Yéménite pour la Réforme (Al-Islah), nous a reçu jeudi 5 novembre dernier dans sa "forteresse" d'Al-Hasabah, à Sanaa. Pour des raisons de délais d'impression, nous n'avons pu publier l'intégralité de l'entretien dans le dernier numéro. Les propos rapportés ici ne tiennent donc pas compte de la décision récente du Conseil Présidentiel de reporter les élections au 27 avril prochain mais déjà, la date du 18 février était retenue, soit trois mois de plus que le délai prévu par les accords d'unification.

Deux jours avant cette interview, le Cheikh Al-Ahmar avait appelé le peuple yéménite à "refuser une nouvelle période transitoire". Au cours de cet entretien, il a été très prudent et affirme qu'il restera dans la légalité. Il confirme ainsi implicitement le fait que, tout en maintenant la pression sur les deux partis au gouvernement, l'Isilah accepte le fait accompli et entend participer aux négociations sur le futur partage du pouvoir, tout en cultivant l'image du parti qui dénonce la compromission des autres. Le Cheikh Al-Ahmar n'est pas le boutefeu "fondamentaliste" qu'une certaine presse à l'étranger se plaît à décrire.

- Vous avez récemment appelé, par voie de presse, le peuple yéménite à refuser une "nouvelle période transitoire", à refuser le report des élections. Comment comptez-vous procéder ? Par quels moyens entendez-vous mobiliser les gens ? Allez-vous clairement appeler à manifester ce refus ou acceptez-vous le fait accompli ?

- La prolongation de la période transitoire est refusée par le peuple yéménite tout entier. Le Rassemblement Yéménite pour la Réforme a déjà manifesté son propre refus du report des élections lors de la réunion de sa Commission des élections.

- Selon vous, les véritables raisons de ce report sont-elles d'ordre technique ou bien d'ordre politique ?

- On a analysé cela comme étant une proposition de la Haute Commission Electorale. Il s'agit donc davantage de raisons techniques.

- Mais derrière cela, il n'y a aucune raison politique ?

- Nous supposons qu'il y a aussi des raisons politiques mais la Haute Commission a affirmé qu'elle n'avait pas assez de temps pour accomplir sa mission.

- Un report de trois mois change-t-il fondamentalement la situation ?

- Je crois que le pouvoir ignore la constitution par ce report. Si on repousse les élections de trois mois, le procédé est anticonstitutionnel. Aucune autorité au pouvoir n'est habilitée à prendre une telle décision car la constitution ne l'autorise pas. Seuls les légis-



lateurs peuvent résoudre ce problème.

- Pensez-vous que, derrière cette décision, il y a la volonté des deux partis au gouvernement, le CPG et le PSY, de se mettre d'accord pour minimiser l'audience de l'Isilah, d'une manière ou d'une autre, notamment dans les opérations de découpage des circonscriptions ?

- Cette décision de report des élections est dirigée contre le peuple tout entier.

- Imaginons trois cas de figure pour ces élections, trois hypothèses. Voici la première: Al Islah remporte la majorité absolue des sièges au Parlement. Changez-vous la constitution pour instaurer une république islamique ? Vous avez appelé à voter contre la constitution l'année dernière...

- Le peuple yéménite entier est contre la constitution et le référendum a été truqué. Elle a été approuvée par eulement 20 pour cent du corps électoral.

- Donc, vous entendez changer la constitution. Dans quel sens ?

- Le peuple entier veut changer la constitution. Même les deux partis au pouvoir veulent changer la constitution...

"Le référendum sur la Constitution a été truqué"

- Qu'entendez-vous par là. Votre objectif serait d'établir une République Islamique avec l'accord de tous les yéménites ?

- Tout le peuple yéménite est musulman.

- Deuxième cas de figure: vous n'avez pas la majorité aux élections mais votre parti obtient suffisamment de sièges pour imposer une participation au gouvernement avec les deux partis dirigeants actuels.

Sous quelles conditions ?

- L'engagement ferme à appliquer la Charia, la loi islamique.

- Dans ce contexte, avez-vous déjà entamé, avec les deux partis au pouvoir, des négociations en vue du futur partage des portefeuilles ministériels ?

- Il n'y a pas encore eu de discussions à ce propos.

Les Yéménites sont contre la guerre civile

- Troisième cas de figure: les élections sont truquées pour minimiser le score de votre parti. Quelle sera votre réaction ?

- Nous ferons tout pour empêcher les fraudes.

- Vous croyez donc qu'elles sont possibles ?

- Oui, elle sont possibles.

- Si vous ne parvenez pas à les empêcher, que ferez-vous ? Etes-vous prêt à appeler vos partisans à prendre les armes ?

- Nous nous opposerons à toutes formes de fraude électorale. Nous emploierons pour cela tous les moyens tout en restant dans la légalité.

- Mais s'il y a des fraudes, cela risque de dégénérer en guerre civile ?

- Pour ce qui est de guerre, ce serait plutôt une guerre des mots, des débats, des discussions. Mais notre action restera toujours dans un cadre légal. Quant à la guerre avec des fusils et des canons, les Yéménites sont contre. Ils forment un peuple responsable. Ils veulent préserver ce qui a été réalisé et ne veulent pas se battre pour n'importe quelle raison.

- Et vous, personnellement, entendez-vous dans l'avenir, exercer un mandat quelconque:

député, ministre ou même, président de la République ?

- Dans ma situation actuelle, je suis déjà plus que cela. Je n'ai pas d'autres ambitions.

- Dans tous les débats en ce moment, dans toutes les interventions dans la presse, on ne parle que de politique politique et jamais de ce qui touche directement le peuple. Vous avez accusé récemment les deux partis au pouvoir d'être responsables de la situation économique et sociale désastreuse et de "l'appauvrissement du peuple yéménite". Pouvez-vous, en quelques mots, résumer votre propre programme économique et social ?

- Notre programme est en cours d'élaboration. De même que notre programme politique. Nous les rendrons publics plus tard.

"Il faut que le rôle de l'Etat soit renforcé"

- Mais quelles en sont les principales orientations. Libéralisme économique ou renforcement du rôle de l'Etat ?

- Il y aura des réformes dans tous les domaines. Economique, social et politique. Il faut que le rôle de l'Etat soit renforcé. Sa présence est nécessaire pour que ses lois soient appliquées, que ses décisions soient exécutées.

- Sur le plan économique aussi ?

- Sur tous les plans.

- Que devient le pouvoir tribal dans ce contexte ? Et le droit tribal ?

- Les tribus ne s'opposent pas à une organisation étatique ni à une loi votée dans l'intérêt du pays, à partir du moment où ces lois sont fondées sur la Charia, la loi islamique.

- Avant l'unification, l'ennemi

pour vous c'était les "marxistes" du sud. En deux ans, vous avez appris à cohabiter. Sont-ils devenus plus "fréquentables" pour vous ?

- Dans le passé, il y avait deux états, deux régimes. Maintenant, il n'y en a qu'un. Nous ne formons qu'un peuple. L'ancien nord musulman, l'ancien sud communiste, le peuple yéménite aujourd'hui, dans un seul Etat, la République du Yémen. Et après l'unité, on a pu mettre en place le pluralisme politique. Rien n'est impossible ici.

"L'Arabie Saoudite est un pays ami"

- Même une alliance contre nature de votre parti, islamiste, avec le parti Baas yéménite, laïc ?

- Il ne s'agit pas d'une alliance mais d'une simple coordination. Il n'y a pas un grand paradoxe: les deux partis oeuvrent dans l'intérêt du pays, pour sa souveraineté, son indépendance et son honneur.

- Comment envisagez-vous l'évolution de la querelle entre l'Arabie Saoudite et le Yémen à propos des frontières ?

- Les conflits frontaliers sont monnaie courante dans de nombreuses régions du monde. Celui entre le Yémen et l'Arabie Saoudite n'est donc pas un cas isolé. J'espère qu'il se règlera pour le mieux et que les commissions d'experts des deux pays qui travaillent en ce moment arriveront à résoudre ce conflit.

- Est-il exact que vous recevez de l'argent de l'Arabie Saoudite ?

- Le Royaume d'Arabie Saoudite donne de l'argent au peuple yéménite et à l'Etat depuis des dizaines d'années. Il a financé de nombreux projets au nord comme au sud. Le dernier grand projet du Royaume est celui de l'hôpital d'Aden, un hôpital qui devrait être le plus grand de tout le pays.

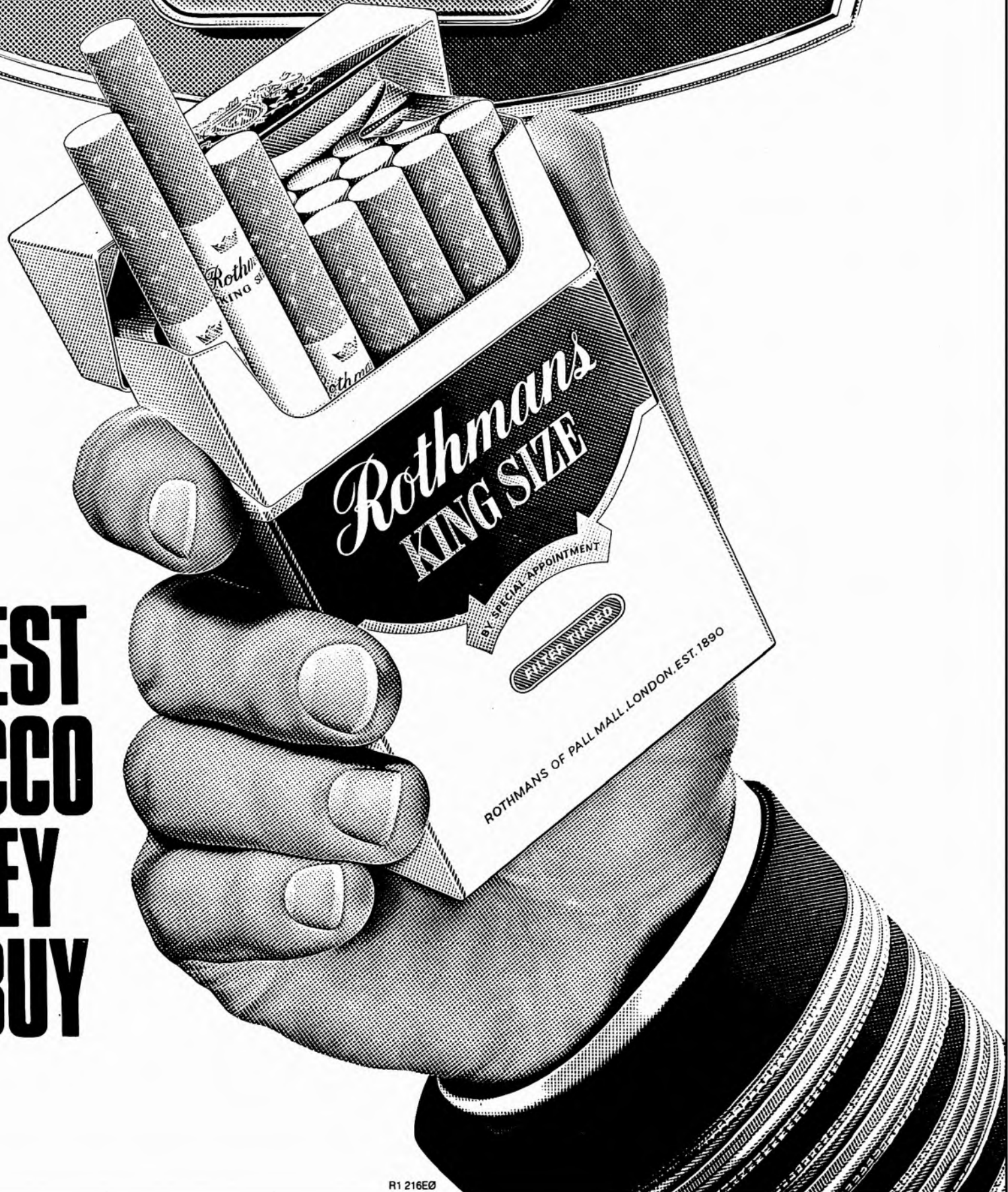
- Mais depuis la Guerre du Golfe, l'Arabie Saoudite a suspendu ses subventions à l'Etat Yéménite...

- Le Royaume d'Arabie Saoudite n'a pas arrêté ses projets et ses programmes en cours. Jusqu'à aujourd'hui, il n'a pas cessé de financer ses projets en cours au Yémen. C'est le cas pour le grand hôpital d'Aden.

- Confirmez-vous que les principaux chefs de tribus du nord touchent de l'argent de l'Arabie Saoudite ?

- L'Arabie Saoudite est un pays ami et ses portes étaient ouvertes à la plupart des Yéménites, hommes de tribus, responsables de l'Etat, intellectuels, étudiants, travailleurs, etc. Et tout le monde a profité du bien que le Royaume a fait pour le Yémen.

Propos recueillis par
E.G. et B.L.



**THE BEST
TOBACCO
MONEY
CAN BUY**

ROLE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND STATISTICAL STUDIES

By: Ismail Ali Al-Ghabri,
English Department,
Sana'a University.



Scientific research and statistical studies are given prime importance in advanced countries because they are seen as the critical first step in promoting business, industries, and technology.

They are the cornerstone of the success and development of any business. In Yemen both the private and public sectors neglect the role of research. They think they can handle all the problems by themselves without benefitting from such specialized studies. The main reason why research is not encouraged is that our approach is not future-oriented. If society ever encourages research and statistical studies, in business and industry for example, we would see the contributions to the development of the country almost at once.

To my astonishment, company owners and factory personnel behave as if they are deaf and dumb, ignoring the very facts that plans are always based on sound scientific research and thorough studies. There is no room for chance or random decisions, and speculations and whimsical predictions are something of the ancient past. This is the secret behind the success of the advanced countries, and it is the reason for the backwardness of the developing countries.

In industrial countries, huge allocations are usually made for conducting research and studies. The government as well as the private sector chip in. Proposals are associated with serious studies and research, all designed to break new ground in the frontiers of technology. Pre-planning saves time, effort and money, and research studies lend themselves nicely to good pre-planning.

As is known in the science of modern management, when an employer asks a job applicant about his/her qualifications and his references, the purpose is not simply to learn about previous employment. The idea is to learn about the career and the extent of contribution in terms of research and studies.

Regretfully, businessmen and industrialists in Yemen do not pay attention to these basic facts. Studies and research are the cornerstone of success and development to any business. Due to lack of interest in this respect, we are now facing innumerable problems of bad organization and mismanagement.

Businessmen believe that they can handle all the problems by themselves and overcome any difficulties without need of the experiences of their counterparts in the advanced world. They are not in a position to plan for tackling the problems, which might hamper the progress of their industry or expose their business to stagnation in the future. By contrast, businessmen and industrialists in the advanced world never take any steps or make any decisions, unless they have made sure that the necessary studies have been carried out.

Undoubtedly, the results of studies help expect any problems that may arise in the future, so that we can find solutions for them before they occur. Unfortunately, I have never heard of any company in the private sector that has ever tried to finance any research work at either of the two universities - Sanaa University and Aden University. Need I mention here that our universities are capable of conducting all kinds of research and studies and they have the needed equipment and sophisticated devices to carry out in-depth studies.

With reference to Yemen and the potential of studies and research works, I assume much can be done to adapt foreign technical know-how to Yemeni needs and the local environment. I propose to start by asking university professors to look into certain imported technologies, and their potential application in Yemen with an eye to local and environmental considerations.

ENGLISH LESSON - #18 Comparing British and American English

This isn't really a lesson, it's just some fun and interesting information for you to know. There are many differences between the way Americans speak compared to the British. Here are just a few:

I. Vocabulary

In school...

The British call it a....	full stop.	The Americans call it a....	period.
	timetable		schedule
	copybook		notebook
	mark		grade
	brackets		parentheses
	clever, intelligent		smart
	(whereas 'smart' in Britain, is used to mean what Americans would call fashionable.)		

Other differences in words...

The Brits say ...	lorry	But the Americans say...	truck
	air-hostess		flight attendant
	queue up		line up
	trousers, knickers		pants
	mad		crazy
	angry		mad
	lift		elevator
	flat		apartment
	torch		flashlight
	biscuit		cookie

--The British "go to the cinema to see a film", whereas the Americans "go to a movie theater to see a movie".

--The British "go on holiday", but the Americans "go on vacation."

--Americans "take a bath" and the British "have a bath."

--An American would say "He just went home", whereas a Brit would say "He has just gone home."

II. Spelling

A. In British English many words are spelled with an '-our' ending, where American English uses just an '-or.'

examples: British ...	neighbour	English ...	neighbor
	colour		color
	favour		favor

B. Many American words which end with '-ize', end with an 'ise' in Britain.

examples: British...	recognise	English ...	recognize
	apologise		apologize
	organise/organisation		organize/organization

C. Some words may end with an '-er' in America, and an '-re' in Britain.

examples: British...	theatre	English ...	theater
	centre		center

III. Structure - Usage

A. The word "got". British usage..... Have you got a pen?
Do you have a pen?.....American usage.
British ...I've got a problem.
I have a problem.....American.
British ... I have just got home.
I have just gotten home.....American.

B. In Britain, people use 'shall' and 'shan't' as well as 'will' and 'won't.' In America, people use 'will' and 'won't.'

examples: British: I shall have tea, but I shan't have lunch.
American: I'll have tea, but I won't eat lunch.
British: We shan't be going to the party after all.
American: We won't be going to the party after all.

C. The Americans use 'would' where British use 'should' or 'would.'

example: I should get up earlier if I were you. - British
I would get up earlier if I were you. - American

WEEKLY IDIOM:

This week's idiom is "pissed."
This idiom is used in both America and Britain, but with two different meanings. If you hear an American say, "I'm pissed." or "Boy, is that man pissed." It means angry. Brit, it means drunk - has had too many alcoholic beverages.



THE AIRLINE INDUSTRY FACING TROUBLE

The world's airline industry is awash with problems and concerns about their profitability and credit-worthiness mounting day by day, according to the journal, The Banker.

In an article on aircraft published in its latest issue, the London based monthly says worldwide recession is hitting passenger volumes hard and few airlines are showing profits.

With long-term forecasts predicting a 5.5% growth in air traffic by the end of decade, the critical issue is how to finance the huge number of new aircraft needed to meet future demand, the journal says. A massive gap is emerging between traditional funding sources, adequate in the 1980s, and the high cost of new aircraft in the 1990s. An estimated \$40 to 50 billion will be needed per annum over the next 10 to 15 years.

With banking undergoing worldwide restructuring and the failure of the \$800 million share issued by the largest aircraft operating lessor (GPA group) earlier this year, the traditional means seem unable to fill the gap.

Japanese banks and other financial institutions, which provided about 50% of the financing for new aircraft purchases over the last decade, have recently dried up, the journal says.

While optimists say that innovation will provide the means for funding, the industry's low profitability and its repaying capacity remain ticklish issues. With aircraft spending programs put at \$900 billion over the next 18 years, many ask whether the sector can genuinely pay its way.

Over the last two decades, the industry has only generated an average cash flow of \$20 billion per annum - not enough to finance the future planned expansion.

With existing long-term debt of \$90 billion, there is a possibility of \$160 billion more. But even this falls short of the \$450 billion needed for the new planes by the end of the decade.

In the US, the low operating margins are even more stark, averaging only 2.3% over the last 20 years. US manufacturer

Boeing estimates that for the current debt equity ratio of the US airlines to remain at 1.5:1 in the 1990s, then operating profit margins will have to rise to 6%.

With the recent liquidation of big carriers such as Eastern and Pan American, there are concerns for investors and lenders.

The journal says bankers suggest that airline profits over the last six years worldwide have been wiped out by losses in the last two years, with only a handful of carriers in the black.

The end of the recession can bring the airlines back on course by 1993/94 but with negative cash flows predicted up until 1977, the airlines will be hardpressed to finance the expansion themselves.

Middle East Peace Talks Drag On

Delegates from Palestine, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon resumed their negotiations with the Israeli side in Washington on Monday, November 9th.

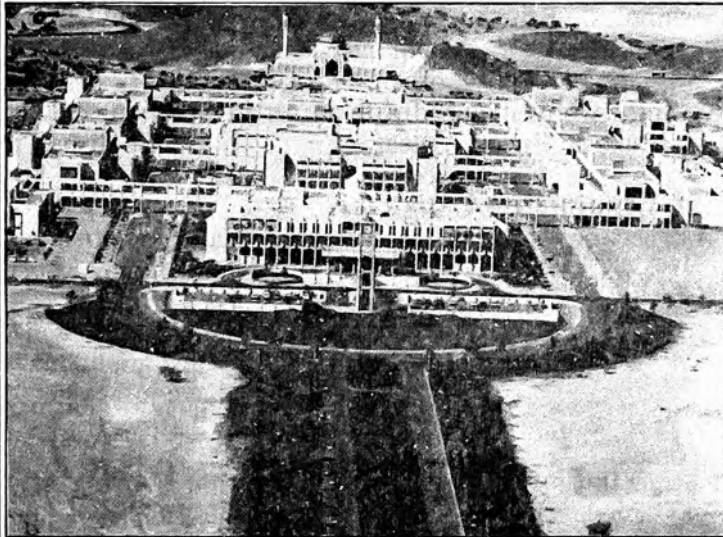
"This seventh round of talks will deal with the real issue of UN Resolution 242 which calls for peace for Israel in return for Arab land," Dr. Hanan Ashrawi, the Palestinian spokesperson said.

The Israeli side continues to drag its feet, unwilling to submit to the UN resolutions and to the mounting world opinion. Israel is also hoping to benefit from the change in guards in the US administration.

This round of talks will continue until November, 27th, 1993.

Sultan Qaboos University Graduates New Batch

Sultan Qaboos University in Muscat graduated its third batch of students. 558 young Omanis in various fields of specialization got their certificates. Of these, 291 are graduates in education and Islamic studies, 59 in agriculture, 109 in arts, 69 in engineering, and 60 in science.



His Highness Sayyid Fahd Bin Mahmood Al Saeed, Deputy Prime Minister for Legal Affairs, was at hand on October 31st to hand over the certificates.

Addressing the graduates on the occasion, the official praised the efforts of the students and asked them to continue their efforts in their careers.

Mr. Al Saeed disclosed that the Sultanate gives education and manpower development, in general, a high priority in its investments.

The Minister of Education and Vice Chancellor of the University, Mr. Yahya bin Mahfoodh Al-Mantheri, stated that the first batches from the Colleges of Medicine and Economics will graduate in 1993.

The university, modelled after the best American universities, uses both English and Arabic in its teaching programs. It is based on the American credit hour system which offers students the opportunity to pace their own progress.

Finally, the university strictly requires the students to wear traditional Omani uniforms. Although co-educational, most facilities (e.g., library, labs, etc.) have two distinct sections, one each for men and women. The Sultan Qaboos University truly stands out as a model among Arab universities.

King Hussein:

"Let us open wide the gates of freedom, democracy, pluralism, and respect for human rights."

In an address to the nation on Thursday, November 5th, Jordanian Monarch King Hussein elaborated on the transformation of Jordan towards real democracy. "These, then, are the traits of our common journey, rooted in the nation's spirit, its martyrs, and its all-engulfing challenges," he said.

Moving on from the Jordanian transformation, the King appealed to all Arab nations to rekindle their spirits by adopting democracy. "Let us together launch an appeal to our beloved nation -- one that would renew itself across distance, direction and time -- to stand up to the over-ambitious and renegades; to protect against those who would advocate tyranny; or those who would tie the destiny of nations to individuals; and to open wide the gates of freedom, democracy, pluralism, and respect for human rights."

The King proudly pointed to the vibrant Jordanian model, which is developing roots every day. "Our own model is open to the whole nation," he said. The King then called for the establishment of a center in Amman dedicated to the "study of freedom, democracy, and human rights in the Arab World. For the light of righteousness must wipe out the dark of evil."

Regarding his own health situation, the King disclosed that he was going to go back to the US for additional treatment. The King had been on an earlier medical treatment. On August 17th he had travelled to the US for a kidney cancer, which was successfully removed. Upon his return to Amman on September 24th, the King arrived at a tumultuous reception and an outpouring of emotion from hundreds of thousands of Jordanians lined up along the streets of Amman and other cities.

Communique of the Saba Conference

The General Secretariat of the Saba Conference for the Yemeni Tribes issued on November 8th a communique regarding the resolutions of the conference. ✓

"We call on the decent and honest tribes and tribal leaders of Yemen to consider the grave situation in which the country has been put by the irresponsible behavior of the authorities," the communique reads.

It further states that the absence of law and order, the prevalence of corruption, bribery and favoritism, and the open and dramatic mis-use of public funds, have all led to a critical condition which "threatens the well-being, unity, and very survival of the country".

The communique then called upon the country's ulema (religious leaders) to play their destined role by giving advice and guiding the nation out of the darkness it has fallen into.

The communique finally vowed to work to remedy the situation. "We have been, throughout history, in the forefront of the lines which stood against oppression and which opposed ruthless leaders. We shall continue to offer sacrifices to achieve justice, truth and equality among Yemenis."

The Saba Conference for Yemeni Tribes was held from 22nd September until 1st October, 1992 at Bani Dhabian. Khowlan Attiyal, one of the fiercest Bakeel tribes. Khowlan, adjacent to Sanhan, the president's tribe, has long-standing disputes and scores to settle with its neighbor.

The Saba Conference was attended by representatives the majority of the Yemeni tribes, and it is considered a follow-up to the National Cohesion and Solidarity Conference held earlier in Arhab and Mirhiba, both leading Bakeel tribes.

It will be noted that anti-government conferences are being held all over the country, mainly to address the imbalances in the privileges enjoyed in the current regime by the Hashed tribes, specially Sanhan.

China Expects more Japanese Investments

Chinese trade officials say they expect Japanese investments to surge as a result of Emperor Akihito's historic visit.

Official press reports say prominently what was already obvious to observers of Akihito's six-day visit: That Beijing hopes a flood of Japanese investors will follow the emperor's path.

Akihito's visit "served as an advertisement for China's refurbished image in the eyes of the world's capitalist nations and would spur Japanese interest in economic cooperation.

The papers broke the pattern of relatively low-key coverage by the Chinese media of the visit which ended last Wednesday.

Wei Xiarong, Deputy Director General of Asian Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and trade, said investment this year could reach \$1.6 billion, or double that of last year. He said he expects even more Japanese investment in China in the future.

"There's good reason for optimism," he said citing the planned investment by six major Japanese firms in a \$4 billion petrochemical plant in north China. "We've hoped Japanese investors would gear up their involvement in energy projects in China, in particular," he said.

Akihito was the first Japanese emperor to come to China in more than 2,000 years of contacts between the two Asian giants.

Business Weekly, a Chinese English language official magazine, said Japan's direct investment in China has been small compared with that of Hongkong and Taiwan because Japanese businessmen are worried about China's long-term commitment to reform.

Takao Onitake, the chief representative for Nippon Steel Corporation in Beijing expressed concern about abrupt policy changes resulting from personnel reshuffles as have happened in the past. That skepticism among Japanese companies has meant little investment even as trade surged. However, the emperor's visit is hoped will change that.

Irish Support Abortion Laws

An opinion poll indicates public support ranging from 49 to 65% for the government proposals in the December 3rd referendum on abortion.

The Irish constitution bars abortion in this Roman Catholic country, while recognising the mother's equal right to life. The referendum will be a vote on three proposed amendments addressing the rights to leave Ireland for an abortion, obtain information about abortion in other countries and have an abortion when the mother's life is in danger.

The poll published in the Sunday press (November 1st) said 49% of those asked would vote for a clause permitting abortion within narrow medical limits when the life of the mother is at risk. It said 26% were against the clause and 24% did not decide yet how they would vote.

There were substantial majorities in favor of the two other referendum questions - 65% for the right to travel and 63% for the right to information.

The poll was conducted for the newspapers by Landsdowne market research among 1,283 adults nationwide between October 16th and 28th. A margin of error of plus or minus 3% was given.

The national referendum was prompted by a case in which the supreme court ruled that a pregnant 14-year old girl, who said she had been raped and was threatening to kill herself, was entitled to an abortion.

A lower court upheld an order barring her from travelling to Britain for an abortion, as 4,000 Irish women do every year.

The supreme court was divided on the right to travel, but said the girl's suicide threats fell within the constitution's "due regard to the equal right to life of the mother."

Ireland falls way behind the rest of the Western world in its strict anti-abortion laws. By correcting this piece of legislature, the Irish will move closer to the far more liberal Europeans. Even the Vatican has come a long way regarding the right to abortion for women. Thus, the Irish are expected to vote in the favor of the changes.

CUBAN ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES WORST EVER

Cuban President Fidel Castro declared that the economic crisis now facing his communist nation is more difficult than the tense 1962 superpower showdown over Soviet missiles in Cuba.

Castro, in a speech reported on Saturday by Cuba's official news agency, blamed the US for many of his economic problems and urged Cubans to resist new US pressures, such as the recent law tightening the American trade embargo on Havana.

Castro's discourse came before a two-day session of the 464-member national assembly, last week. During the session, the legislature unanimously voted to condemn Washington's new Cuban Democracy Act, which expands the 30 year-old US trade embargo that prohibits US companies from doing business with Cuba to also include those firm's foreign subsidiaries.

The Cuban legislature also approved a law allowing secret popular voting for the parliament and for provincial assemblies.

Castro, 66, has lost his main trading partners with the collapse of the Soviet Union and its onetime eastern European satellites, which traditionally supplied most of Cuba's imports. Faced with a lack of hard currency, Cuba has been forced to cut rations for food and fuel to deal with the shortages.

Castro compared Cuba today to that of October 1962, when the United States and the Soviet Union risked nuclear war in a showdown over a Soviet military buildup in the Caribbean nation.

He said the causes of that showdown remain. The United States maintains its naval base in Guantanamo and has intensified its economic warfare with the embargo tightening law President Bush signed on October 23 in Miami. Cuban exiles still organise "pirate attacks" on Cuban territory, the official Prensa Latina news agency quoted Castro as saying.

"With the redoubled United States pressure and the collapse of European socialism, the dramatic moments of 30 years ago have returned, but the problems (now) are more difficult," said the report on Castro's speech, monitored in San Juan.

Castro conceded that Cuba "has not rounded the corner" on its economic problems, which include daily power blackouts, fewer broadcast hours for government television and a reduced harvest of sugar, Cuba's main crop. He again warned Cubans that they should prepare themselves for a long period of resistance, Prensa Latina reported.

The news agency said Castro characterized recent US pressure as an expression of "desperation and impotence by the enemies" of the Cuban revolution. Castro has ruled since the popular 1959 uprising that ousted dictator Fulgencio Batista.

The well-entrenched Castro cannot be dislodged by foreign invasion, even if accompanied by Cuban exiles, according to foreign observers. Hence, the new US policy of mounting internal pressure.

The Clinton Knock-out

President-elect Bill Clinton won the US presidential race by a knock-out. He has done better than any other Republican president since WW2. He has carried out 32 states and the District of Columbia, and 370 (100 votes higher than the needed 270) of the electoral votes. Breaking a 12-year Republican lock on the White House, the Democrats have also renewed their majorities in both houses of Congress.

Change is what the American people wanted, and change they got. "New blood, new direction" is what a smiling Clinton promised in his acceptance remarks, terming his success "a clarion call... to face the challenges of the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the next century."

In his concession speech, President George Bush said that he and his team will enable the president-elect a smooth transition during the period upto January 20th, 1993, when Clinton will take over. On this occasion, US Ambassador in Sanaa, Arthur Hughes told the Yemen Times that the sovereignty and majesty of the American people has been respected. "Now that Americans have chosen their next president, all of us will rally behind the 42nd president of the USA irrespective of the way voted," he stated.

He also stressed that president-elect Bill Clinton is well versed in international politics, and that he expects no dramatic changes, as Clinton himself had declared. The ambassador, however, highlighted the increased emphasis the Clinton administration will put on human rights and democratic systems.

With respect to Yemen, the ambassador hoped Yemen success in its endeavors towards democracy, and expressed his feelings that such political direction will strengthen ties and cooperation between the USA and Yemen.

In the American gubernatorial races, the Democrats won eight of the 12 at stake this year, a net gain of two. The statehouses were an exception to the women's successes, as all three women candidates running lost. The Democrats now control 30 of the 50 states.

In the 103rd House of Representatives, which has almost the same make-up as the departing 102nd, Clinton hopes to obtain a large measure of legislative cooperation. The Democratic Party continues its domination of the House, which started in 1956.

Unlike in the Senate, where each state has two members, representation in the 435-member House is strictly proportional, with district lines being shifted accordingly by state legislatures after each decennial census of population. Democrats will hold next year 259 House seats, while the Republican about 175. Finally, minorities, specially Arab-Americans have gained political ground in 1992. Notable among these successes are the first black American woman elected to the Senate, the first Korean-born American chosen to serve in the House, the first female Puerto Rican elected to Congress, and the first native (Indian) American to go to the Senate. Out of 27 national, state, and local races, 19 Arab American candidates won their elections.

James Zogby, Director of Arab American Institute said, "The Arab American community crossed a threshold in 1992."

YEMEN: Shaky Steps on the Road to Civil Society

A. Human Rights

Since unification, the government has eased the patterns of state-sponsored repression that had been common in both the former YAR and PDRY. Most Yemenis formerly living in exile have now returned to the country. General amnesties have freed many, but not all, of the political prisoners languishing from pre-unification times.

One indicator of the new openness is that the government has allowed international human rights organizations to conduct fact-finding missions in Yemen, and local rights advocates to raise human rights concerns for public discussion. In 1991, Amnesty International met with top government officials, including the President. In February and March 1992, Amnesty inspected Yemeni prisons, visiting with over thirty individuals it identified as political prisoners. In July 1992, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights sent a delegation to Yemen which met with government officials. While the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has monitored the former YAR's detention centers for many years, the group only gained access to the prisons of the former PDRY in 1989, after being denied admission for over a decade. The ICRC now conducts visits to prisons throughout the country.

The Republic of Yemen has made reference to human rights in its legal codes. For example, the 1991 law governing political parties requires organizations to respect "basic freedoms and duties, and the international declarations on human rights."

Despite Yemen's stated support for human rights, there have been lapses. The government suppressed the publication of a 1990 report on prison conditions prepared by the Yemeni Parliament's human rights committee, and confiscated copies of the report. The US State Department reported in January 1992 that the now-unified security apparatus of the former Yemens continues to selectively monitor citizens, search homes,

open mail, and listen in on telephone conversations, although there are constitutional guarantees to protect the citizenry from such practices.

B. Democracy

According to one prominent Western expert, even though the Yemeni government has loosened restrictions on expression and association, President Saleh still controls the political process. "There is pluralism, but there hasn't been democracy, and there won't be," he predicted, adding that for President Saleh, "democracy means mobilizing people behind his regime."

Mohammed Abu Lehum believes that the ruling parties are intent on maintaining their power, regardless of the election's outcome. Abdul-Rahman Al-Jafri, leader of the Sons of Yemen Party, commented: "They speak about democracy nicely, and that is all. When it comes to real action, they don't know how to deal with democracy."

One frequently cited complaint is the transitional government's failure to implement its own laws. A YSP representative complained that "all the laws passed by parliament either have been contained or frozen." One political party operative expressed a common view in September interview with Middle East Watch, saying that "Most of the problems (in the government) come from differences between the parties in power."

A prominent politician noted that there are political struggles between the two ruling parties because "there is a large gap in their (respective) visions. They have different points of view about the implementation of the laws, the role of the Presidential Council, the judiciary and parliament.... Everyone is working to find a basis for common ground and cooperation."

Senior members of the judiciary have complained about government interference in judicial independence, despite constitutional guarantees. One Supreme Court judge said that the judicial branch

does not have enough independence to enforce the law. "We have suffered a lot in our work... Citizens come back to court and say that decisions have not been implemented," he said. He placed the blame on "official interference to stop the implementation of decisions made by the court."

Another member of the judicial branch decried the level of governmental interference in the legal process, citing as a problem the fact that the executive controls the judiciary budget. At the same time, the Supreme Court jurist noted the challenge to Yemen's judicial system: "The judiciary's role should be neutral. We are still forming ourselves and growing. The roots need to become well-entrenched."

C. The Status of Women

The Republic of Yemen brought together two states that differed greatly in terms of their official attitudes toward women. Women in the former PDRY had enjoyed extensive legal rights based on a progressive family code and greater access to work and education. Although women in the former YAR held full electoral rights, they had fewer educational and vocational chances. A basic tension thus exists between the legacies of the two states, as progressive and Islamist groups differ in philosophy regarding the role of women in Yemeni society in such matters as divorce, child custody, and polygamy.

The unification Constitution guaranteed equal rights on the basis of gender, but the government has sent mixed signals in the post-unification period. President Saleh appointed twelve women as deputy and assistant deputy ministers, but also approved a personal status law that could have a dramatic impact on Yemeni women.

Extracts from:

George Lerner: "YEMEN: Steps Toward Civil Society", Middle East Watch, New York, Vol. 4, Issue 10, November 1992.

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YEMEN Comes forth with a Strong Aid Package to Bosnia and Herzegovina

His Eminence Mr. Salih Colakovic, President of the Fraternity of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina told the Yemen Times that he is very satisfied with the official as well as public response his pleas triggered in Yemen. In a statement to the Yemen Times, he lamented the slack response



of the world community to the sufferings and pains of the Muslims, who are killed routinely every day. "I am sorry to say that the death of our people does not trigger the same level of anguish as does the death of Christians and Jews," he sadly said. His meetings with President Ali Abdullah Saleh and other senior Yemeni officials, with the business community, and with the media have been very constructive. "I am going home with an overflow of emotions as well as tangible assistance from Yemen," he indicated.

Colakovic stated that Serbia thought it will walk through Bosnia and subjugate it in a week. It failed to understand that we will fight back.

"The UN Security Council has put a total ban on arms shipment to all parties. But this is not just, because the Serbians have a huge arsenal of weapons and we have none. Thus the UN would neither allow us obtain arms nor would it protect us against the Serbian onslaught," he concluded.