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# YEMEN TIMES

DISCOVER THE WORLD WITH US

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## OUR VIEWPOINT

**Sit Up, then Crawl; Stand Up, and then Walk**

The normal evolution of events and progress has to be gradual. This means that no transformation process should really jump the phases. In our own democratization process, we have come a long way, by anybody's yardstick. Good progress has been made, although we have to continue to make more advances. Some of us are impatient with the pace of transformation. Of course, given our ideals, we must press ahead; but we also have to remember that for some of us, the change is painful. We have to consider the merits and demerits of the pace of our change.

I evaluate the impatient pro-democracy individuals, and I think I am one of them, with the fore-runners in a massive race. It is important to lead the way for the rest of the population in this course of democracy. However, if the fore-runners run too fast, they may be unable to lead the bulk of the population, because the majority will not be able to catch or even see them as they have advanced too far. We have to balance it out. The elite of democracy and pluralism should always remember the danger of being alienated - too foreign in our own land. That is why we have to accept the slow pace and the gradual approach to change. We have to sit up, crawl, stand up and then walk, or someday even run.

Yet, we have to make sure of one thing that we are on the right track. It is imperative that we are on the correct path, and we continue on it. If this is the case, then the slow pace of change need not worry us. But if we are off-track, then there is a big problem to worry about.

In my opinion, the Republic of Yemen is on the right track, and therefore, we should simply adjust with it steady as the country steers through this difficult path called democracy.

The Publisher  
*عبدالله بن يحيى*

### MANSOOR RAJIH EXTREMELY SICK

Medical report No. 149 dated 15/2/1993 was issued by the Medical Committee of the Al-Thawrah Hospital in Taiz indicating that the health condition of Mr. Mansoor Rajih, a political prisoner in Taiz for over a decade, is very bad. The report urged immediate medical care at specialized hospitals abroad. A copy of the report was sent by the hospital to the Presidential Council in order to take the appropriate measures.

Mr. Rajih, a writer and a poet, was named by AMNESTY International as a "Prisoner of Conscience" and has demanded his immediate release, but the Yemeni government failed to do so.

*Having Raised Only One Million US Dollars:*

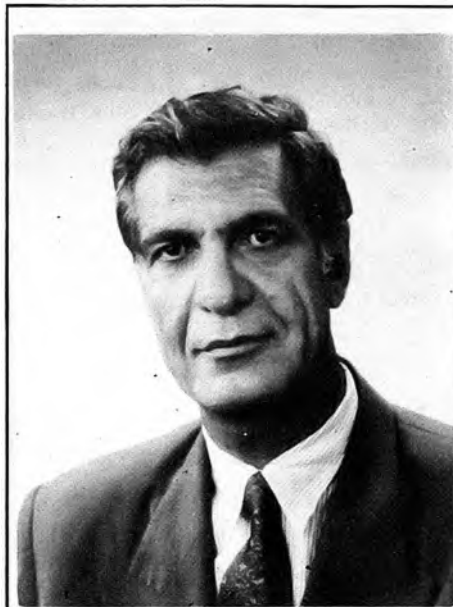
## The UNDP ResRep Estimates the Needs of the Aden Relief Operation at US\$ Sixty Million!

The catastrophe that befell several governorates in the southern part of the country, notably Aden, due to the heavy rains and the subsequent floods, has left behind a major tragedy. To cope with this challenge, the UNDP office has spearheaded an "Emergency Relief Operation" which has raised, so far, one million dollars, according to H.E. Awni Al-Ani, Resident Representative of the UNDP in Yemen.

"The tragedy is much more severe than we all thought. This is due to the extended negligence of attending to the needs of water-flow in the city," he said. He described a similar incident that took place in Aden in the year 900, some one thousand years ago.

Speaking about the response of the donor community, he said he was gratified with the response and the assistance, in cash and in kind, although much more needs to be done.

"We are worried about the possibility of an epidemic, especially in light of the shortages in medical care and supplies," Al-Ani said.



The UNDP Res-Rep said that the funds will be used in two broad categories :  
a) To construct the sewer system, to effectively stop the overflow of sewer water into the drinking water network..

"This could lead to the outbreak of several diseases," he pointed out.

b) The UNDP official then indicated that many individuals families are still homeless, and some of them have sought refuge and shelter in schools and other public buildings. We hope to use the the other half of the funds to finance equipping the hospitals, Mr. Al-Ani also indicated that his office is working closely with the Supreme Committee formed by the government to address the tragedy. The total needs of taking care of the problem and taking steps to forestall any future calamities would require some \$60 million, Mr. Al-Ani said.

Awni was optimistic about the possibilities of raising more funds to help in coping with this difficulty.

Donor	Amount in US\$	Form
WHO	50,000	Medicine
UNICEF	50,000	Medicine
UNDP	50,000	Cash
DHA	25,000	Cash
WFP	50,000	Food Aid
France	40,000	Cash
USA	100,000	Cash
UK	100,000	Cash
Japan	150,000	Cash
The Netherlands	100,000	Medicine
The Netherlands	250,000	Cash
OXFAM	50,000	In kind
UNFPA	50,000	Medicine
Canada	75,000	Cash

#### Notes:

Other countries & organizations are studying to make contributions, and are expected shortly.

Several countries and regional organizations made direct contributions to the government through the Ministries of Planning and Development, and Foreign Affairs.

The UNDP and the Yemeni Government have also received pledges which have not been disbursed.



Yemen's Birds:  
A Survey  
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Al-Mikhlafi Talks  
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# YEMEN TIMES

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## Mercedes Technical Training for Yemenis

A new batch of Yemenis has just returned from a technical training program sponsored and organized by Mercedes Benz. The three trainees, all members of United Engineering and Automobile Co., were trained in Jordan. "It was very cold and snowy, but it was worthwhile," said one of the trainees. Hugh Atkinson, UEACO General Manager, said that the Sales and Services Center presently under construction in Sanaa, will include a large fully-equipped training school, once it is opened in 1994.

## Sanaa TV and Radio Stations On Strike

The TV and Radio stations of Sanaa were on strike for about twenty minutes on Sunday afternoon, February 28th. While the radio station was put off the air, the TV station's broadcasting time was delayed for the duration of the strike. The reason - underpaid staff.

The action triggered an immediate response from the executive authority at all hierarchies, including the President of the Republic.

The strikers returned to work once allowances were paid out...on the spot.

## The NCFE Announces Training Program

The executive board of the National Committee for Free Elections announced that it has scheduled seven training programs according to the following timetable:

Sanaa 9-10/3/1993  
Aden 10/3/1993  
Taiz 11-12/3/1993  
Mukalla 11/3/1993  
Hodeidah 13/3/1993  
Dhamar 13/3/1993  
Hajjah 15/3/1993

The first phase of the training program includes material oriented towards neutral volunteers who will observe the legality of the elections process. The second phase will be oriented towards members of political parties who will represent their parties' interests in the observation process.

## Industrial Exhibition in Sanaa

The Yemen Exhibition Corporation (YEC) has announced that it has completed arrangements to organize the First Exhibition for Industrial Products in Yemen. This one-week event, which starts on March 8th, will bring together locally produced industrial goods. "Products from private and public companies in Sanaa, Aden, Taiz and Hodeidah governorates will be on sale at factor cost prices," said Jamal Maqtari, the YEC General Manager.

## Adopting More Martyrs

The Presidential Council, in its meeting on Sunday February 28th, decided to consider all persons - whether military or civilian, killed during the incidents that started on 13th January 1986, as martyrs of the Yemeni Revolution.

This step goes one step further towards healing the wounds of the past, although it will increase the financial burdens of a government already suffering from a chronic deficit.

## The Yemen Geology Association Sponsors Seminars

The Yemen Geology Association has sponsored a series of seminars on the mineral resources of Yemen and the structures of the sub-terrain.

In the first seminar which was held earlier this week, a number of geologists spoke about the mineral resources of Yemen.

Speaking on this occasion, Mr. Ali Jabr Alawi, Chairman of the Mineral Exploration Board, highlighted the possibilities and potential for exploitation in the Republic.

The second seminar, scheduled for next week, will focus on the water table - consumption and replenishment. The seminars and lectures will be published in book-form later in the year.

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فاكسميل: ٢٠٩-٥٦٦

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تلفون: ٢١٧-٠٤٠/١/٢/٣

فاكسميل: ٢١١-٨٨٣

ترقبوا فروعنا في المكلا، عدن، تعز، إب

**US SENATE OKAYS BAN ON ENTRY OF AIDS-INFECTED FOREIGNERS**

The US Senate voted last week to prevent people infected with the AIDS virus from immigrating to the United States. The 76-23 vote was President Clinton's first defeat. The ban on admitting foreigners with the human immunodeficiency virus is a government policy that Clinton wanted changed. The vote reached last week, if upheld by the House of Representatives and signed by Clinton, would turn that policy into a law, and any change would require an act of Congress.

White House Press Secretary, Dee Dee Myers, said Clinton was reviewing his options following the vote. "It obviously changes things somewhat, so we'll look at it," she said.

Asked if Clinton would still push for an executive order lifting the ban, Myers said, "He could, but the vote margin is fairly dramatic ... which suggests an executive order is not a fait accompli. It could still be over turned by a vote of the Senate."

Myers conceded the White House did little to head off the vote, saying that Clinton has been busy with his economic plan. The most immediate impact would be on 267 Haitian boat people waiting in a US camp at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

Some 230 have been tested HIV-positive and the rest are their relatives. Civil rights leader Jesse Jackson has begun a hunger strike in sympathy for the Haitians. The Senate vote is "a setback to America's credibility," Jackson said. "To put up a kind of Berlin Wall to people just because they are sick is beneath the promise of America."

The Senate bill says people with the HIV virus could come to the country to attend conferences, go on vacation or get medical treatment, but they cannot stay in the United States permanently.

Clinton said during his presidential campaign last year that he intended to allow HIV-positive people to visit and immigrate, and aides have said he continued to support that position after taking office. However, Sen. Don Nickles of Oklahoma, who proposed the senate-approved ban, said, "I'm afraid that President Clinton's proposed change is a very serious mistake - a mistake that will cost lives. It will also cost big dollars." The Senate previously defeated a move by Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts that would have nullified Nickles' amendment. Kennedy's proposal would have kept the current policy in place for 90 days, but it would have left Clinton free to change it after that. Kennedy's measure lost on a 56-42 vote.

Nickles' amendment is attached to a bill authorizing the government to finance AIDS research by national institutes.

**LAST DITCH EFFORT TO SAVE DYING CHIMPS IN LIBERIA**

In the midst of an ugly tribal war that has claimed 60,000 lives, an American veterinarian is trying to save 120 chimpanzees stranded on the battlefield. The chimpanzees were abandoned at the Liberian Institute of Biomedical Research outside Monrovia on January 31st, after looting Liberian troops killed its manager, Briton Brian Garnham.

Since then, twelve of the animals have disappeared, assumed eaten, and those that remain are in danger of dying from thirst and starvation.

Patricia A. Gullett, a veterinarian with the primate research group at the Lindsley F. Kimball Research Institute of the New York Blood Center, was trying to organize a cease-fire to evacuate the chimps before they, too, fall victim to the war. However, there appears to be little hope that the five-nation West African Army battling a Liberian rebel group would agree to a truce now because the multinational force has the rebels on the run.

"It is not feasible," spokesman Shinde Dagunduro said. "Our prime duty is to bring peace back to human beings."

In the past two weeks, Gullett risked her life three times driving to the battlefield under military escort to water and feed the chimpanzees. "Two have died; one was shot by looting Liberian soldiers, one apparently died of thirst," she said.

Looting troops have done an estimated \$500,000 worth of damage at the institute. Unfortunately, the chimpanzees, collected over nearly twenty years, are irreplaceable because the species is endangered. Tests on those chimpanzees played a major role in the discovery of the Hepatitis B Vaccine and the Hepatitis C Virus.

From the outset of the war, the chimpanzees and researchers have been in danger. According to Gullett, when rebels led by Charles Taylor first arrived in mid-1990, they trained a gun on Garnham. "His wife threw herself in front of him, and they handcuffed her," Gullett said. "Fortunately, Taylor arrived at that point, they explained to him the research they were doing and he guaranteed protection. Of course, we were harassed, but basically they let us continue our work."

When food was short, rebels demanded the chimps. "We told them we were hungry too and would love to eat them, but the chimps were infected with AIDS." The same tale saved Brotman's pet animal, Emma.

There was relative calm after a cease-fire in November 1990. But when the West Africans and their allies began pushing Taylor back, a Liberian faction fighting alongside the West African Force stormed the institute and killed Garnham.

**SOUTH AFRICA TO CEASE MILITARY LINK WITH ISRAEL**

"South Africa is planning to cease military cooperation with Israel to coincide with an opening up to the Arab world," a South African military official said recently.

The close military cooperation which had linked South Africa to the Jewish state was the result of its needs, and with the end of those needs, South Africa, "is moving to end that cooperation," said Telman de Baal, Executive General Manager of Scor, South Africa's arms manufacturing company.

De Vaal confessed that, "there are still a number of contracts being executed with Israel, but these contracts will not be renewed when they end."

DeVaal described "...this termination in relations with Israel to be in line with the counter-direction that South Africa wants to establish in the pattern of its relations with the Arab states."

De Vaal, was interviewed by Al-Hayat, a Saudi-financed and Lebanese-managed newspaper that comes out of London, Bahrain, and other cities.

With the collapse of Apartheid, the oil-rich Gulf region is moving to end its boycott of South Africa. As a manifestation of this new trend, South Africa advertised its military wares at a defense exhibition in Bahrain in May 1992 and then in Abu Dhabi in mid-February, 1993.

The Arab world has shunned South Africa because of its close military links with Israel (which remains boycotted by the Arabs, with the exception of Egypt) until a Middle East peace settlement is reached.

South Africa and Israel have had military links for years, mostly involving high-tech weapons such as fighter planes and missile systems. Primarily, the trade involved weapons systems, rather than arms sales.

The highly respected Jane's All-The-World's Aircraft based in London, said in 1989 that it was, "...only natural that Israel, Taiwan and South Africa (all subjected to embargos of one kind or another) pool their technologies to mutual advantage."

Israel and South Africa have reportedly been cooperating on the development of a long-range ballistic missile, although both deny sharing such technology.

At another level, South Africa also plans to make major inroads into the markets of the oil-rich Arab Gulf states. Already, South African planes are landing in many of the airports of the Gulf States.

The gradual, yet steady movement of South Africa away from Israel is seen as an additional pressure on the Jewish state to respond positively to the world call for a settlement to the Palestinian issue. South Africa itself has been re-structuring its internal political system.



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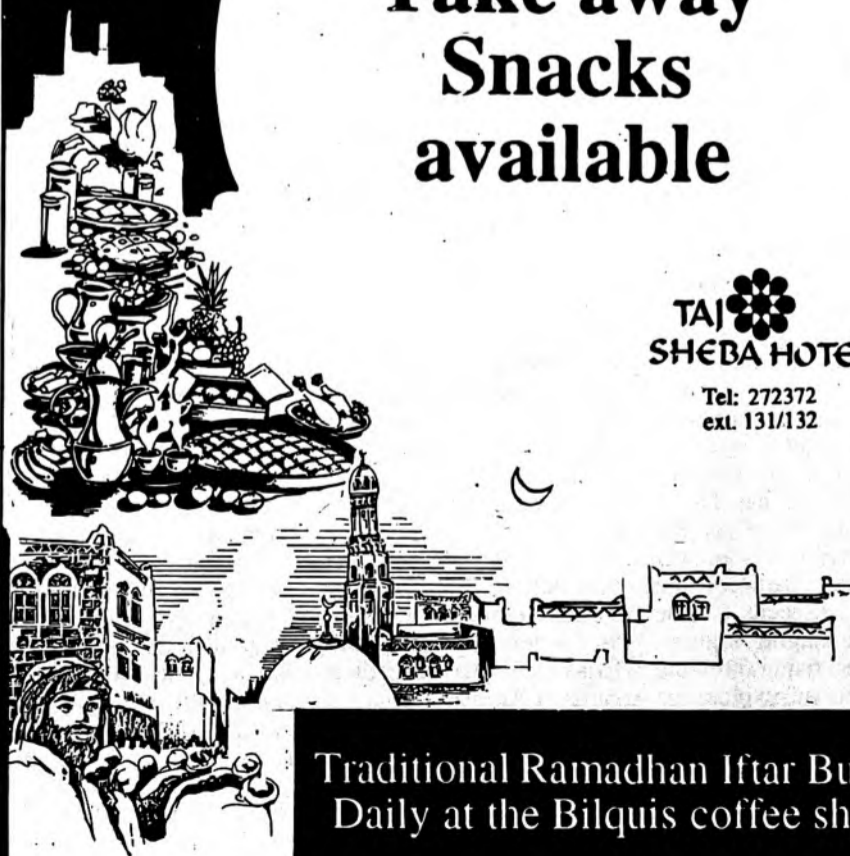
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As a Second OSME Expedition Arrives Here Shortly:

## Yemen Bird Survey Under Completion

By:  
Fatma Rawah,  
Social Editor,  
Yemen Times.

During 9/10-4/12/1985, an expedition organized and sponsored by the Ornithological Society of the Middle East, (OSME), headquartered in the UK, carried out an ornithological survey of the former YAR. Next week, OSME will send another expedition to carry out a survey of the former PDRY, thus completing its coverage of the Republic of Yemen.

The Republic of Yemen is strategically situated, between the continents of Africa, Europe and Asia, at the southwest corner of the Arabian Peninsula.

This position gives rise to a most interesting and unusual avifauna which, until recently, has suffered little from human disturbance.

The Tihama, a narrow low-lying coastal plain, supports a unique and fragile community of breeding birds. It is also believed to provide food and shelter for a large number of wintering and migratory birds from Eurasia. The highland zone harbors most of the Arabian endemic species, yet may be particularly vulnerable to uncontrolled development. The island of Socotra has its own endemics which are almost totally unknown.

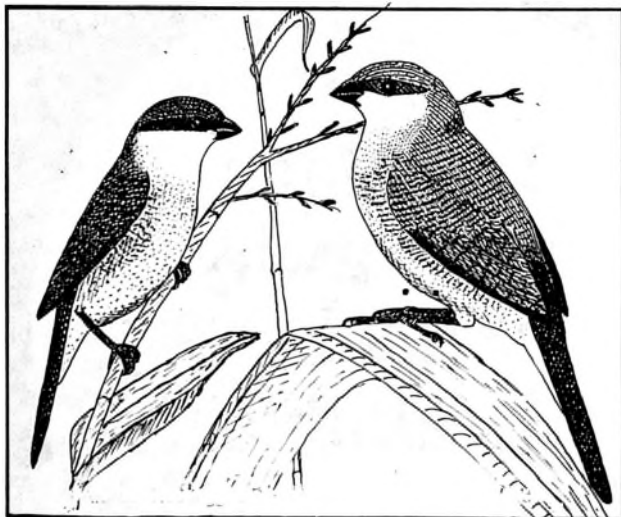
The environment of Yemen is already threatened. Over the last two decades, the rate of human settlement has dramatically increased, and this,

YAR. These are Philby's Rock Partridge (*Alectoris philbyi*), Arabian Red-legged Partridge (*A. melanoleuca*), Arabian Woodpecker (*Dendrocopos dora*), Arabian Accentor (*Prunella fagani*), South Arabian Wheatear (*Oenanthe lugentoides*), Yemen Thrush (*Turdus menachensis*), Yemen Warbler (*Parusoma buryi*), Arabian Golden Sparrow (*Passer euchlorus*), Arabian Waxbill (*Estrilda rufibarba*), Arabian Serin (*Serinus rothschildi*), Yemen Serin (*Serinus menachensis*), Golden-winged Grosbeak (*Rhynchostruthus socotranus*), and Yemen Linnet (*Carduelis yemenensis*).

The second expedition of the OSME to Yemen,



again headed by Richard Porter. The twelve member team includes experienced ornithologists, ecologists, and specialized biologists, all of whom have previously studied birds in the Middle East. The two-month expedition has six major objectives:



together with associated agricultural development (including irrigation), has led to the destruction of many former natural habitats. In addition, the ever-spreading use of more and more firearms by the people has had a devastating effect on the birds. Finally, it is already visible that parts of the country, especially the arid and fragile regions, are under rising pressure due to the oil exploration operations.

The 1985 study has documented 13 bird species whose global distribution is centered on and largely confined to the former

1- To carry out a detailed ornithological survey of the southern and eastern governorates.

2- To continue the study of the 13 endemic and near-endemic birds of southwest Arabia.

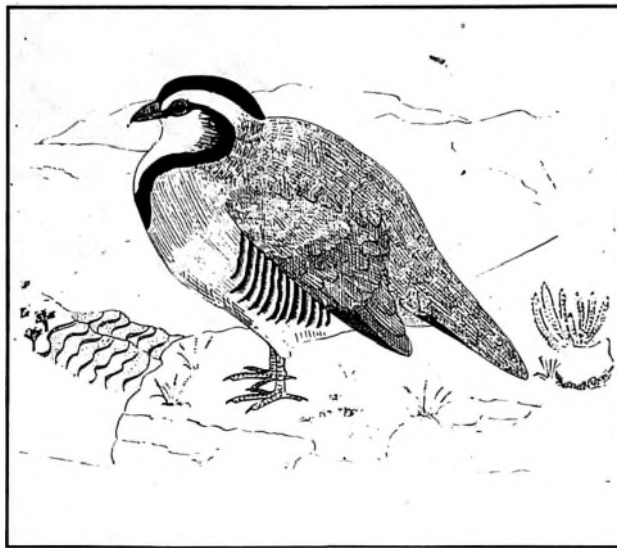
3- To study the birds of Socotra.

4- To establish the importance of Yemen as a spring migration route.

5- To collect data for the Atlas of the Breeding Birds of Arabia.

6- To assist with the education and training of Yemeni technicians in the field of ornithology.

Dr. Derek Harvey, the Chairman of the Yemen



Ornithological Society and the local coordinator for the group, said, "The expedition plans to visit

collection at Mohammed Ali Othman school in Taiz. This is already a good start.

"Ornithology isn't just about keeping pretty birds alive, it is also directly linked to land usage and the future prosperity of the country and its agriculture. Where there are birds, and where birds can fly, life is good and the land is being properly used. If the birds disappear, it means the people are not using the land properly," said Dr. Harvey.

As far as the ornithologists are concerned, "Yemen has started to heed the call of the environmentalists, ecologists and wildlife (birdlife) conservationists. It is a good beginning."

various parts of the country. These include Bab Al-Mandeb, Hadhramaut, the Arabian Sea coastal stretch, and, of course, Socotra."

The expedition will arrive on the 16th of March. It will be engaged, for two months, in bird sensor and survey efforts. The group will be in Sana'a for two days, then it will go to Taiz and be based there to carry out the Tihama and Bab Al-Mandeb surveys. Then it will go to Aden, Mukalla, Socotra, for the whole week. After that it will go to Hadhramaut and spend a longer time there, as very little is known about the region.

According to Dr. Harvey, the group is particularly interested in studying the spring migration of predatory birds (eagles, hawks, buzzards, etc.). "A lot has been done on this subject on the other side of the sea, especially in Djibouti. Every spring and autumn more than 250,000 birds cross the Bab-Al-Mandeb and no one knows what happens when they come across," said Derek.

Yemeni organizations participating in this effort include the Environmental Yemeni Society, American Institute for Yemeni Studies, the Ministry of Agriculture, etc.

"In Yemen, bird studying is a new concept, but people are beginning to realize its importance. For example, there are young people involved in bird

## Free Clinic For The Fine Arts

By:  
Fatmah S. Rawah,  
Social Editor,  
Yemen Times.

"A free clinic for Yemen's creative people" is the motto of one of the new NGOs started by Dr. Nizar Ghanem, who mans the clinics and also is an instructor at Sana'a University's Faculty of Medicine.

The clinic was started on August 1st, 1992 and was officially opened on November 23rd by Dr. Mohammed Garhoom, Minister of Information, Mr. Yahia Al-Arashi, Chairman of the Yemeni Red Crescent, and Dr. Makallah, the Head of Sana'a University.

Creative people, according to Dr. Ghanem, include different syndicates of musicians, journalists, painters, people of the theater, etc.

When he started the clinic, Dr. Ghanem had a few intentions: an approach to the creative people who are usually in control of the mass media will help to correct the view of Yemen people of their own physicians in different specialties; also, doctors need a message to be given to the public that they're concerned with the health of the people; another major aim of the clinic as Dr. Ghanem explained, "in developed countries poetry has become a secondary interest after all the new technology and discoveries, but in Yemen people are still giving value to these things and we ought to be proud of it. That is why we have to give this matter

great consideration. I feel that creative people are in need of attention and care. In my position, this is the best kind of help that I can offer."

The place, and all the facilities are provided by Dr. Qilbi. Medicines were provided by different drug stores, pharmacies, drug companies, and the Yemen drug factory. "I don't have a complete variety of medicines, but I have useful ones. I even managed to send about three cartons of different medicines to a physician in Aden to help not only creative people, but all who will need treatment, especially following the floods," said Dr. Ghanem.

Dr. Ghanem is not working alone; there is a group of doctors who agree with the idea and they're working as a team. First a patient sees Dr. Ghanem at the clinic, who will then refer the patient to another doctor (a specialist), if needed. All of the examinations are done at the lab of Dr. Qilbi free of charge and the prescribed medicines are distributed free at the clinic. The treatment is for creative people and also for their wives and children. For financial aid, up to now, the clinic depends on the money that Hayel Saeed donated and Zakka which was given by the Ghanem family. "I think Ramadhan will help me to raise some fund which will help in the coming months," said Dr. Ghanem.

The clinic still needs more volunteers and additional financial aid to be utilized more effectively.

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## Muslim Religious Culture - Ramadhan: The Meaning and Significance

In Arabic, 'siyaam' means fasting or abstinence from doing something. According to religious scholars, during Ramadhan, Muslims should abstain from food, drink and sexual intercourse from dawn till sunset. It is a symbol of atonement for the purpose of gaining God's blessing. The principle of fasting, as set in *The Quran*, follows:

"O you who believe! Fasting is prescribed upon you just as it was upon the (people) before you, so that you may (learn) self-restraint. Fast for a fixed number of days; but if any of you is ill, or on a journey you may break the fast, provided the lost number of days are compensated for at a later date. For those who can only do it with hardship, it may be ransomed by the feeding of one that is indigent. But he that will feed more, of his own free will - it is better for him. And it is better for you that you fast, if you only knew."

"Ramadhan is the month in which the Quran was sent down to guide mankind by offering clear signs to judge between right and wrong. So every one of you who is present (on the confirmed sighting of the new moon), should spend the month in fasting; and if anyone is ill, or on a journey, the prescribed period (should be made up) in the future. God intendeth every facility for you; He doth not want to put you to difficulties. He wanteth you to complete the prescribed period, and to glorify Him in that He hath guided you; and perchance you shall be grateful." (II: 183-185).

In the above text, we note that fasting is not new among the Holy Laws; it was ordained through previous religions, as well. This, doubtless, soothes the heart, facilitates the acceptance of fasting, and sweeps away the feeling of vexation, because Muslims are not the only people requested to fast.

### 1. Spirit of Fasting in Islam:

The main purpose of fasting in Islam is so that "...people may learn may learn self-restraint." Forcing people to feel the pinch of hunger also enables the well-to-do of society to become more compassionate to the poorer members of society who live at subsistence level, thus effectively fasting all the time. Finally, fasting is a means to protect oneself against wicked and evil motives and desires, because the flesh becomes weaker. In addition, the resolve of atonement allows for higher spiritual interaction. Fasting safeguards the person as an individual, and the society as a whole. It allows the individual to break away from the daily hassles of life which overwhelm us. It also protects society by strengthening the feelings and bonds between the rich and poor, thus improving the general welfare.

That is why the Prophet Mohammad says, "Fasting is

a shelter. When one of you is fasting, let him/her not behave in an obscene or foolish manner. If someone crosses him/her, let him/her simply reply by saying, 'I am fasting! I am fasting!'"

Fasting is a shelter in the sense that the person fasting knows he/she is doing something noble to elevate his/her spiritual well-being and in order to avoid evil. Thus, when he/she proclaims, 'I am fasting!' he/she is fully aware that he/she is making a sacrifice in order to bring out the best and highest virtues in ourselves as human beings.

Another aspect to fasting in Islam: It gives the sense of preparation and readiness for the hereafter. That is why Muslims are far more devout, more courteous, and more generous to the poor in Ramadhan, than at most other times of the year. Those are some of the ways in which fasting prepares the spirits of the Muslims.

In Islam, many good deeds and rituals are done for one's own sake, but fasting is said to be done for God. A direct relationship between God and man is manifested in the fasting process. Man agrees to abandon those very vital aspects of his survival (nourishment) and continuation of the race (sex) as a sacrifice to God.

Fasting is also a personal affair between God and man. It is based on the conviction of the individual. No one assumes the role of guardian over him/her. When the fasting person obeys God's commandments by resisting the desires for food, water, sex, and other bodily needs for a full month, it reflects fear of the Lord.

Beyond denying oneself the physical urges and needs, fasting is also supposed to refine conduct and behavior. The fasting person must avoid any wrong-doing and undertake good deeds. He/She should not cheat, mistreat, do injustice to others, or spread corruption among people, because, the abstinence from eating food or drinking is not the real meaning of fasting that God enjoined on the righteous.

The Prophet declares, "God does not accept the fasting of those who do not restrain themselves from telling falsehoods or from doing evil deeds." However, the reward is indeed enormous, as the Prophet explains, "God will forgive all the sins of those who fast during Ramadan out of true belief and in anticipation of God's reward in the hereafter."

### 2. Virtues and Benefits of Fasting:

At both the individual and society levels, fasting has many virtues and benefits. Of these, we have already mentioned the feeling of sympathy for the poor. When a faster remembers the people who are less fortunate than he/she is, it becomes logical for him/her to help them. After all, the sense of compassion springs from the feeling of pain, and fasting is a practical means to develop

compassion in our spirits. In this regard, it is reported that Prophet Mohammed urged Muslims to be most generous in Ramadhan. That is why the zakat and sadaqat (alms-giving) are paid out to the poor during Ramadhan. That is why inter-family visits, with an eye to the rich ones helping the poor, are carried out to a large extent. Moreover, fasting creates a semblance of equality among the rich and the poor. In a way, it is a compulsory experience of poverty by the rich.

Among the other virtues of fasting is that it moderates the power of habits. With some people, the dictates of habit have reached the extreme level of slavery. If a meal is served late, many would lose their tempers. Stimulants like coffee, tea and cigarettes are strong addictions which are part of the daily routine, and which many cannot break. Such people are slaves to their habits. Ramadhan serves to break those habits, and allows such people to reconsider.

In fasting there is a sharpening of one's willpower. A German professor once wrote a book on the strengthening of will-power, which he considers the basis of fasting. He maintains that fasting is an effective means to establish control of the spirit over the body, so he/she lives with full control over himself/herself, without being a slave to his physical inclinations or needs.

### 3. The Cultural Aspects:

The month of Ramadhan brings its own culture and lifestyle. This is evident in many of the following:

#### A: Reversing Days and Nights:

In Ramadhan, days and nights are flipped. People stay awake almost throughout the night, and sleep during most of the day. The nights become busy with visitors, business, and even government meetings. This flip is partly due to the fact that people are able to eat and drink only at night, and thus they are more able to carry out their normal duties and business.

#### B: Ramadhan's Cuisine:

The cuisine of Ramadhan is special. First, there is "shoorba" which is something close to porridge. This is half-ground wheat served in thick syrup. Second, there is "shafut", which is thin bread (like pancakes) covered with buttermilk. Third, there are the variety of side dishes such as "sambosa" and "bagiya". Finally, there are the sweets and delicious desserts like "rawwani" and the varieties that originate from the Levant.

C: Piety: Unlike other times of the year, in Ramadhan, most Muslims are more pious, which readily reflects itself on their lifestyle. They go to the mosque more, spending an average of two hours in the mosque per day. They read the Quran, and they exhibit more tolerance.

## MOROCCO CELEBRATES 32nd CORONATION ANNIVERSARY

The Kingdom of Morocco celebrates today, March 3rd, the 32nd anniversary of the Coronation Day of HM King Hassan II. It was on this day in 1961 that he ascended the throne.

Morocco, with its 27 million inhabitants, has crossed many thresholds during the reign of King Hassan II. The high points of the achievements include a pluralist political system (though under the supreme authority of the King), major advances in agriculture (with the construction of at least one large dam every year all the way through until the year 2000), the dramatic expansion in fish catch and livestock, the large-scale industrialization process as well as handicrafts and cottage industry, a balanced and stable foreign policy, a successful tourism sector, strong regional ties and cooperation, etc. But above all, the most outstanding



achievement is the success in unifying the southern region of the country. H.E. Mr. Ahmed Al-Idrisi, the ambassador of Morocco in Yemen, expressed his strong hope of ever stronger relations between Morocco and Yemen. "Our two fraternal countries have good potential for developing the

already strong ties," he said. On this occasion, the Moroccan Embassy in Sanaa has sponsored a festive evening for the diplomatic community, senior officials and officers, and key public figures. Yemen Times wishes our brothers and sisters from Morocco residing in Yemen a happy national day.

### TO LET

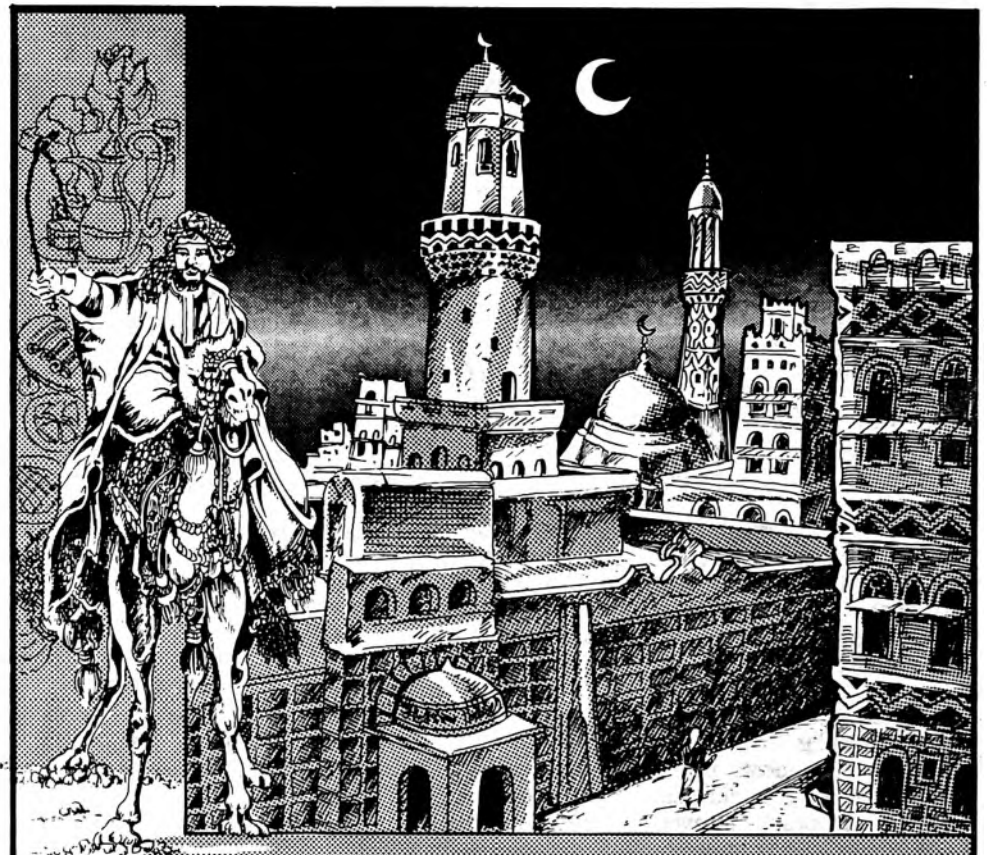
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### EQUALITY IN OPPRESSION IS JUSTICE

This topic is a complicated one, because I don't know where to begin or end: from sympathy, logic, personal relationship, or is it a mixture of these. Sultan Al-Sameyi (a parliamentarian) is a friend who I respect for his national standpoints and his refusal of corruption. He is also a daring personality who tells the truth. Above all, he is one of the leading members of the Yemeni Organization for Defense of Rights/Freedoms, a member of the National Conference, one of the leaders of Taiz first public conference, and in addition to his parliamentary membership, he is the chief editor of Al-Hadath Weekly paper. It is astonishing that such a man was denounced as a criminal and the Ministry of the Interior has issued a warrant for his arrest.

I am not going to discuss the Ministry's comunique nor the information that it contained. I haven't got the information which could qualify me to support/negate it, but what is important is the approach of the issue from human rights considerations. The procedure suggests that there is a political motive behind it. If we review what happened to Al-Sameyi after the Taiz demonstrations, his political views, his personal caution, we reach a point where there is a political trend behind it. Al-Sameyi, as a member of parliament, has immunity against arrest, but what happened exceeded even this. Meanwhile, we present our condolences to the two martyrs of the armed forces, may God have mercy on their souls, but we appeal to the armed forces not to interfere in political enmities. We are all concerned to keep this national organization away from any political rivalry. Another point, I insist on respect for the laws and refuse any violation to them, whoever the people might be, and because of the whole accident, I can not blame any of the parties who dealt with it.

However, departing from the political motives, I ask to approach this accident from the principle that we are all equal in rights and this principle imposes on us the responsibility not to tackle such an issue with double standards. There are incidents which are much more tragic than the present case; however, the authorities were tolerant of them. Some of them were even accused of violence or sabotage directed against the authorities.

By: **Mohammad Abdul-Malik Al-Mutawakkil, RAAY, Sanaa, 23/2/1993.**

### THE CRISIS OF CREDIBILITY

The crisis of credibility is one of the outstanding features in Yemeni society and it reflects this aspect between the rulers and the ruled.

It is apparent that the people have no trust in any formal, political speech or resolution. They react negatively to the point of absurdity. Ultimately, such conduct results in a lack of response.

The people, throughout their experiences with authority have reached a point of saturation, beyond which they do not believe or trust in any resolution spoken, written, or slated for discussion. This long experience has taught our people that what is practiced is actually different from what is said or published through the official media.

For example, they talk about combatting corruption, the corrupt, and reform but reality proves the opposite. They talk about cohesion, national unity, and constructing the system of law, but they expend their energy arousing tribalism and fomenting grudges and confusion. In reality, they strive against those who work seriously to build a modern state, because such a process means the extinction of their authority and interests. They talk about reducing expenditures, but they spend the wealth of the state on their interests.

They talk about democracy and freedom of the press and expression, but in practice, they use the language of threat and accusation. The examples are too numerous and the people know them all. The crisis of credibility emerged because the rulers couldn't trust each other, so no one is going to believe what they say. All in all, there should be a change in the political conduct, starting right from the beginning, to regain the trust of the people.

By: **Abdullah Mohammad Qassim, AL-GADEED, Sanaa, 15/2/1993**

### THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE THE YEMENI VOTER BETWEEN THE DIALECTIC AND REALITY?

The impending Yemeni elections are regarded as the first democratic practices which will substantially have an impact on the political situation in the whole Arab world. The Yemeni unification/democratic experiment brought, with its approach, a new political view of regional, Arab, and world levels. Thus the psychology of the Yemeni voters is one of the outstanding points for the analysis of future stages.

The psychology depends on proceeding with the elections as they are according to the perspectives and potential available in the field. All previous practices formed ideal revolutionary laws and gave the national movement a strategic dimension by learning from the shortcomings of the past. Though the direction of the march is not always easy to follow, Yemenis today are determined to march on. The public thinks

that it is necessary to cast their ballots on the election day.

Democracy has become a reality in our society and it is not just a practice for this stage only. It exceeded all previous doctrines to become a moral obligation for our generation.

Despite all the fabrications perpetrated here and there, this unique practice will remain one of the humane practices on all levels. It is worth mentioning that the Yemeni voter has become well aware of his future and realizes that such a future can not be achieved without the practice of democracy.

By: **The Arab Affairs Editor, AL-NABA, 25/2/1993.**

### WE ARE NOT IN NEED OF NEW FACES, WE ARE IN NEED OF NEW ADMINISTRATION

Some parties try to nominate those who are weak, uneducated, and dishonest for the parliament; the idea is just to get names and portfolios without giving any thought to the price that the citizens will have to pay for allowing these weak personalities, who have no national history, to govern us once again. The point here lies in the programs of these parties to ascend to authority. What are they capable of doing or changing? Are they able to change the constitution? No, because all of the parties together are unable to change the constitution.

The parliament is silent presently vis-a-vis a number of basic issues. To be specific, the people do not believe in the weak ones. The demands of the people are carried out only by the daring and the strong. The people do not need new faces, but a new administration to uproot corruption, bribery, and theft. We demand a new administration not dominated by the tribes, the villages, the families, or the parties. We want open doors and rulers existent in our land. We want a modern state governed by laws.

By: **Radhia Ihsan Allah, ADEN, Aden, 23/2/1993.**

### THE MARGINAL PERIOD!

I sat down contemplating the city of Aden. I found out that marginalism has begun since the signature on the unification resolution was made suddenly. Without careful consideration, this started the trend of marginalism. The unification was decided upon without any initial plans for it.

Unification means unifying the leadership, the armed forces, the currency, and everything else. However, it does not necessarily unify all of this with the stroke of a pen. To be specific, everything remained status quo, except for diplomatic representation which was unified. After unification, there followed a series of quick, marginal resolutions;

which wiped out everything existing in Aden. So everything that followed was performed marginally.

Thus, appeared the marginal period in building, planning, and thinking. All of the laws and resolutions being discussed now at the House of Representatives are figured out marginally. To have more than thirty ministers in a cabinet is something large compared to the population. What does it mean? Figure it out! The reaction to the floods represented marginalism and spiralled Aden into doomsday. Consider a city without ambulances, First Aid, sewage treatment, drugs...etc.

It is a fact that there has been negligence in the city's upkeep, which brought it to such a catastrophe. Even the political procedure seems to be marginal. First, we hear about 'merging'; then 'coordination'. Even the opposition parties began to pursue marginalism. It is really a marginal period and not a transitional period. Everything is in chaos.

By: **Thuria Mankoosh, SAWT ALUMMAL, Aden 25/2/1993.**

### GENTLEMEN: ADEN TURNED INTO A VILLAGE!

The natural catastrophes which struck the commercial capital of Aden recently, confirmed the essential fact that there was

nonexistence of the state for 48 hours. Even the official media did not mention anything or refer to what had happened until the third day. It seems to me that the spiteful are still there and were quite pleased that the catastrophe happened only in Aden.

The lack of reaction to the situation in Aden and turning it into just a village is the aim of some of narrow minded men with separatist trends.

Yes, the catastrophe is something natural and can't be controlled. Any city in the world is liable to experience it, but the procedures for facing it are different. Various apparati are responsible for the continuation of this negligence. For example, the unplanned distribution of land following the unification also contributed to the disaster. The lack of planning in such a commercially strategic city turned larger parts of it into ruins. Even the short visit by the leadership to the city did not solve the problem, because even the monetary bodies lack the currency, equipment, tractors, and other emergency facilities to move quickly towards implementation of their instructions.

Let us all give a helping hand to rebuild the city and compensate those poor citizens.

By: **Marouf Haddad, AL-AYYAM, Aden, 24/2/1993**

### THE CITIZEN IS ACCUSED AND THE RULER IS NOT

It is a right of the citizens of a democratic system to judge the president if he has evidence, and the judicial authority has the power either to decide his innocence or guilt.

It is beyond any doubt that any senior official is simply a citizen and has no priority except for his decisions and actions to serve his country. Watergate is a good example of this democratic principle in the western world and America.

As for the third world, things are different. We notice that the citizen is accused and deserves punishment.

On the contrary, the ruler is always "honest", "pure" and beyond any accusation. The point here lies where the simple, ordinary citizen remains accused, sentenced to many years in jail for a crime which he committed, whereas the senior official remains free without an investigation and without bringing him to trial for corruption, unlawful expenditure of the state's resources, and plunder of government funds and their use in for his own private enterprises.

By: **Chief Editor AL-HAQ, Sanaa, 21-28/2/1993.**

## حليب الهناء بالهناء والشفاء



## AL-HANA MILK

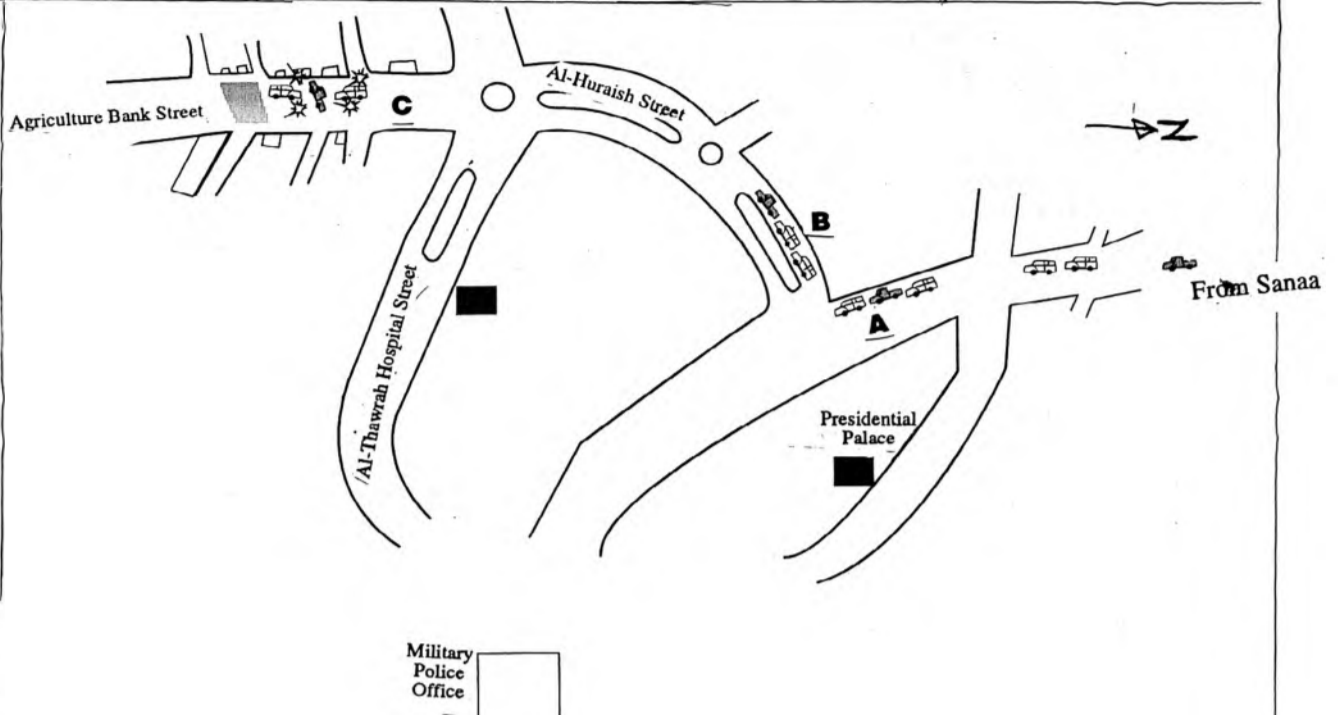
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# WHAT WE THINK HAPPENED IN TAIZ !!

What led to the shootout between Parliamentarian Sultan Ahmed As-Sameyi and his armed companions on the one hand and the military police force on the other hand in Taiz on Tuesday, February 16th, is still close to a mystery. The security apparatus has given its version of the story through TV, radio and newspaper announcements. Press reports, in some of the opposition newspapers, present stories that are very different from the official version. Yemen Times engaged itself in an effort in search of the truth. We talked to many people on both sides, including people close to Sameyi as well as the Commander of the Taiz Military Police Branch, Colonel Saleh Mohammed Al-Matari, and his Chief of Staff. We also talked to the Prosecution Office in Taiz, six eyewitnesses, the Speaker of Parliament, the Taiz governor's office, and the leaders of the Taiz First Popular Conference. Then we visited the site of the incident and interviewed many of the neighbors, including people at the Agricultural Cooperative Bank, Taiz Branch, in front of which the incident took place. In addition, there are the grocer, the poultry vendor, and the man who makes halawa (sweets) who were all there when the shootout occurred. Finally, we spoke to the military police unit at the checkpoint where it all began. We have pieced together the story as we think it happened.

Around 10:00 o'clock on Tuesday morning (16/2/93), Mr. Sultan Ahmed As-Sameyi, who was personally driving a four-wheel drive car, arrived at the Howban checkpoint with another four-wheel drive car accompanying him. All in all, there were sixteen men in the two cars. Effectively, the check-point had been removed, although Colonel Al-Matari insists it had been reinstated a few days earlier "within the framework of the new security measures to 'protect' the city." Mr. Sameyi was asked for permits for the kalashnikovs his companions were carrying. He produced a handwritten permit which stated that it was permitted for up to ten armed companions of Sameyi to pass. The permit was signed by the Vice Minister of Interior, a person authorized to give such permits, although the permit itself is not obtained from the institution of the Ministry. Yemen Times saw the permit which is now with the Taiz Prosecution Office. The checkpoint people were not happy with the permit, because it was not an "official" document. They told Sameyi that even if they accepted his pass for ten men, he still had an extra number for whom he needed permits. His response was that his car was not subject to search because he enjoyed parliamentary immunity, and that the permit was more than enough for the eight men in the other car. The soldiers did not accept that logic.



After a short argument, it was agreed by both sides that Sameyi should speak with the military police commander, Mr. Al-Matari. It was further agreed that two policemen were to ride with Sameyi in his car, to make sure he did go to the commander. One of the men rode in the front seat, and the second in the rear compartment of the car. It was around 10:20 am when the two cars headed south, with the declared intention of going to the commander. A few minutes on the road, Mr. Sameyi realized that a military police patrol car from the checkpoint, carrying the checkpoint commander and four other men, was tailing him.

He got suspicious of this development and the whole affair. So, instead of driving towards the military police headquarters, he drove towards his residence. The pursuing police car, which by now had caught up with him, and overtly followed him, bypassed his car at point A on the map, and demanded an explanation regarding Sameyi's destination. "Oh, I am going to your commander, but I am used to going there via Hawdh Al-Ashraf," it is reported he told them. As the trail continued, he drove beyond the logical point towards the commander's office via Hawdh Al-Ashraf. The military police car caught up with Mr. Sameyi at point B on the map and blocked his way demanding an explanation. He told them he was going to the commander's office, but via the Al-Thawrah Hospital road. As an extra measure, the patrol commander ordered one of the men in his car to ride on Sameyi's car, by hanging on the door side, thus making three men riding with Sameyi's car. By the time Sameyi crossed the circle which leads to Al-Thawrah hospital, and headed for home, the police car intercepted him and fully blocked his way at point C on the map. This occurred around 11:00 a.m. At this juncture, the car accompanying Mr. Sameyi, which carried his men, drove beyond the two cars and effectively sandwiched the police car. They emerged from their car and took positions to take on the soldiers. Also at this point, the men in Sameyi's car, including the soldiers, were out of the car. As tension developed, the soldiers who were in the Sameyi-driven car ran to take shooting positions. One of them ran towards a pile of sand dumped in the middle of the road, a few meters from the Agriculture Bank, and the other ran to take cover behind a one-story building which faced the sand pile. Neither man arrived at the protective site he was

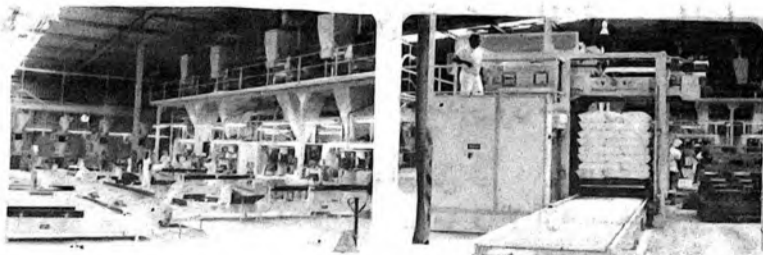
headed for. Sameyi's men gunned them down. The policeman who was hanging from Sameyi's car tried to reach for his kalashnikov, but Sameyi's men shot him in the hand, thus effectively putting him out of commission. During the ensuing shootout, Sameyi drove off in his car, while his men engaged the soldiers. As the soldiers scrambled for better cover, Sameyi's men disappeared. According to Colonel Al-Matari, he was alerted of what happened by the commander of the checkpoint. He, in turn, immediately alerted the zone commander and the emergency patrol system. Additional military cars arrived at the site, around 11:25 a.m., but by then it was all over. Colonel Al-Matari said that he went to report to the governor, who was chairing a meeting of the executive committee of the governorate. Al-Matari complains that the governor, in spite of his insistence and repeated whispering in the ears, refused to immediately come to a meeting with him and the zone commander. They finally sat down with him fifteen minutes after their arrival. "This was precious time lost, which enabled Mr. Sameyi to flee in any direction he wanted," he told the Yemen Times. Sami' and Misrakh mountains were searched by large patrol units; Sameyi's house was ransacked; new checkpoints around Taiz were established for three days. However, there was no sighting of the man. Meanwhile, the Taiz First Popular Conference's executive office held an emergency meeting and declared its full support for Sameyi. In a communique: they lamented the military police's actions which "violated the laws"; they expressed sorrow for the deaths of the soldiers; and they placed the blame on the police. "This is a political problem, and not a criminal offense," the communique reads. Another meeting in Turba city, capital of Hugarriah, led to similar conclusions.

The people of the governorate of Taiz are itching with anti-regime feelings, and popular sympathy and support for Sameyi, who has become a folk hero, are readily visible. In Sanaa, several meetings among the Taiz people, under the umbrella of the Taiz First Popular Conference, resulted in the establishment of a committee which approached many officials, including the Speaker of the House and members of the Presidential Council, as well as members of the tribal and political opposition. A letter handed to Dr. Yasseen Saeed Noman, Speaker of the House, demanded that the House should protect one of its own against the onslaught of the regime. The House, in coordination with the security and judicial authorities, created a committee that will "supervise the investigation process." At another level, several meetings were held in Aanis tribe, to which the two dead soldiers belong. The tribesmen could not agree on what to do. Basically they see this as a problem with the state, and not with Mr. Sameyi. Yet, within the next few days, the position of the Aanis tribe could complicate the situation even further. The regime, and President Ali Abdullah Saleh personally, are deeply disturbed by this problem. No one can deny the political background of the incident; even though the most pressing side of it, today, is the criminal offense. Mr. Sameyi, as is well-known, is the Chief Editor of Al-Hadath, the most anti-Ali Abdullah Saleh newspaper in the country. He is also one of the architects of the Taiz First Popular Conference, seen as anti-President, or at least anti-PGC. Finally, he is an outspoken critic of corruption in parliament. No one is negligent of the political animosity that has evolved over the years. Yet, the task ahead will have to begin by tackling the issue of the deaths of the two soldiers and other casualties.



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## Letters to the Editor

### OUR HOPE: OUR OIL RESERVES

Recently, the leadership had to give an explanation accounting for a lack of any tangible evidence of oil revenues after several years of continuous exploitation. Our conspicuous consumption was given as the main reason. Poor as we are, we tend to live like the First World nations. In the process, we consume locally most of the oil intended for export. This is one explanation. May I offer another? First be reminded of the "FROGS AND THE POND OF WATER." Their cry (the frog's) could be heard a mile or so from the pond declaring that this water is "MINE! MINE! MINE! MINE!" But soon as another being touched the water, the frogs in unison, as if at a military command, dove into the pond and dead silence prevailed while this foreign being helped himself to the water. After the interloper's departure, the frogs emerged and continued their cry of "MINE! MINE!" It went on like that, day in and day out.

We have the oil, but we do not have the capability to exploit it. So we invited foreign companies and their responses have been very encouraging. However, is it clear to us that these are REAL business companies with vast experience who are competent? Their competitive standards of developed societies not withstanding!

Let us not be fooled by the "Love" cliches they offer us. They are here to make money. Profit is their state of mind and maximizing profit is their faith.

Are we, being new in the arena, competent enough to match their ingenuity on the opposite side of the contract table? Going by companies, one becomes very doubtful. Why for example, after ten years of operation, are there no Yemenis occupying the top posts? The new companies are following a similar trend. You hear of foreigners taking up all the highly paid posts, confining Yemenis to low paying jobs with minimum fringe benefits. Most of the fat income the foreigners receive is piped out of Yemen.

Again, why after this long, is most decision-making still centralized outside the country? The new companies may follow suit. This is another drain of foreign currency!

Of course one may argue that it is the foreign share of the company which meets such and such costs. But I, as a Muslim, have always failed to understand who ever equated Caesar to God. Jesus said, "Render to God what is God's and render to Caesar what is Caesar's." It should be; render everything to God for even that of Caesar also comes from God. Likewise, even that share of the company is also serviced by Yemen's oil resources. We cannot afford to be indifferent.

I am only trying to ring the warning bells. If we are not careful enough in our new dealings, we may end up like the frogs of the pond; singing aloud that it is OURS! OURS! while other foreign beings freely help themselves to the FINISH.

By:  
Khalifa Nasser Khamis, Sana'a.

### WINDOW ON ISLAM PRAYER AS A BALM FOR THE HEART

Prayers have a form and a spirit. Its form is worship with the body. Its spirit is worship with the heart. It is a material and spiritual exercise. The heart and countenance of one who performs it will shine with divine light, and his soul will be uplifted. It is the link between the servant and his Master. The performance of prayer is one of the greatest tokens of faith, the most significant of religious ceremonies, and the surest way of thanking God for His boundless favors. To neglect it is to be separated from God. It is to be deprived of His mercy, the abundance of his favors, and the beneficence of his generosity. It is to refuse His kindness and blessings.

Prayer is the remedy for the ills which beset the heart and corrupt the soul. It is the light which dispels the darkness of evil and sin.

Abu Huraira said, "I heard the messenger of God say, 'look, if any one of you had a river at his door and bathed in it five times a day, would any of his dirt be left?'"

They answered, 'None of his dirt would be left.'

He said, "This is like the five prayers, by which God washes away our sins."

By:  
Salim Al-Rahawee, Sana'a.

### HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SUDAN

On the 16th of December 1992, the Human Rights Committee in the UN issued a resolution condemning what it called human rights violations in the Sudan.

During the last three years' rule of the salvation revolution, Sudan was accused of a number of charges. These charges can be summarized in the following:

1. The implementation of Islamic Law on Muslims and non-Muslims:

The Islamic legislation was demanded by the Sudanese masses since the independence. It was implemented by the May regime in 1983 and during the democratic process 1985, the Islamic Law were the top priority in the elections program of all the Sudanese dominating political parties. Thus, when the Salvation Revolution implemented Islamic Sharia, it didn't

come as a new course, but it responded to the Sudanese people's demands.

2. Camps for training the fundamentalists and terrorists: For a long time, the western media have been launching a fierce campaign against the Sudanese, claiming that Sudan is constructing camps for the training of fundamentalists and terrorists, but no one has proved the existence of any of such camps.

3. The ill-treatment of the political detainees, by the security forces:

In discussing the charge that there is ill-treatment of the political detainees, there are laws that solve the problems which everyone in Sudan should know.

4. The oppressive persecution of non-Muslims and Bishops: Some media have been claiming that there is oppressive persecution exercised against non-Muslims and Bishops. In spite of the religious, ethnic, and cultural diversity in Sudan, it is historically known that Sudanese Muslims, or non-Muslims, and Christians from North and South Sudan are living together in tolerance, peace, and love.

5. The compulsory movement of the displaced people (southern people) from the cities to remote desert areas:

There was a claim that some southern people were compelled to move from Khartoum to remote desert areas. The truth is, that around Khartoum there were shanty towns formed illegally and without previous permission from the state authority. These zones are not planned and don't have necessary services, such as electricity, water, medical care, etc. The authority transferred these people to other planned zones or towns, and provided them with the necessary services.

6. The murder of Sudanese citizens in Summary courts: A number of western circles condemned Sudan, claiming that a Sudanese citizen was sentenced to death in Summary court and executed. It is true that the Sudanese citizen (Tombi) was sentenced to death. But have they looked at what this man has done? He played a significant role in different massacres carried out in Juba by the rebels, which resulted in the death of hundreds of innocent citizens.

Sudan is following the path of comprehensive independence. It believes in self-dependence, refusal of domination by an external power, adapting laws derived from its beliefs and religion, and it is calling for a comprehensive Arab-Islamic unity and the solution of disputes in that framework. The Sudan began militarizing the nation to prepare it for the defense of religion and homeland. Moreover, the Sudan cultivates wheat, creating self-sufficiency and surplus goods. Commenting on the UN condemnation, President Al-Basheer commented, "We did not insult human beings who are glorified and dignified by God."

By:  
Tarig Abdul-Gader Shukri, Taiz.

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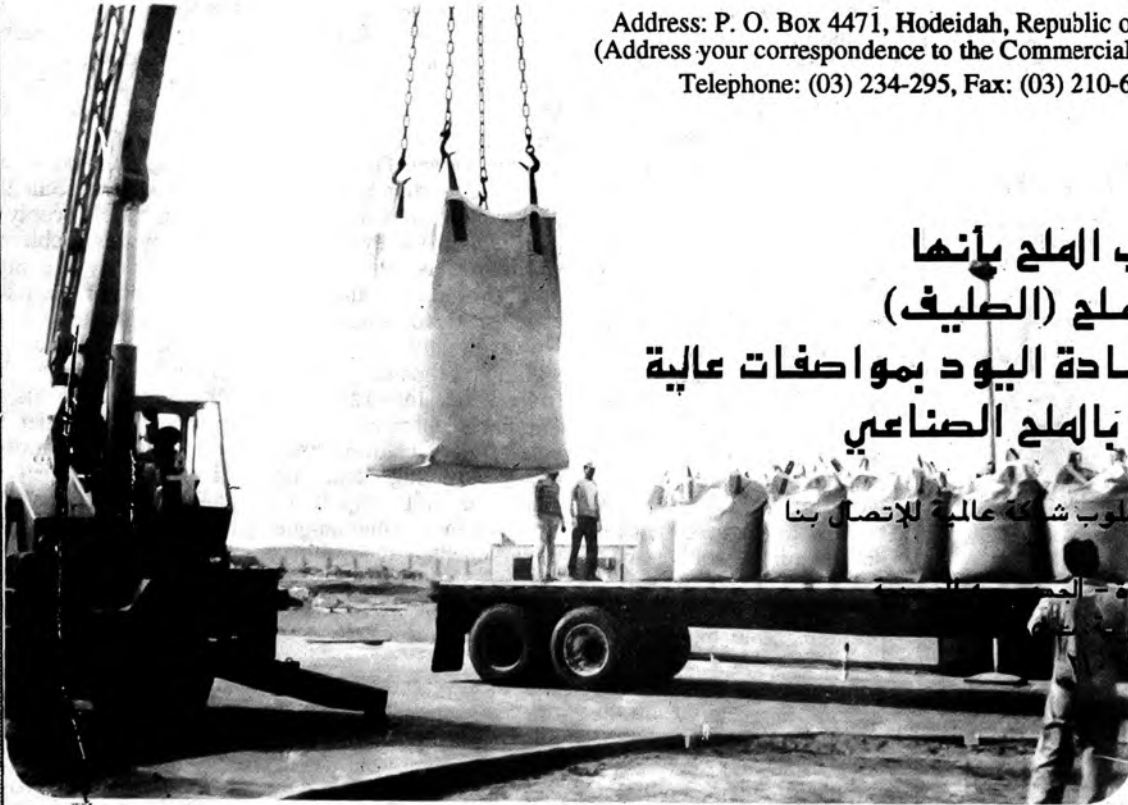
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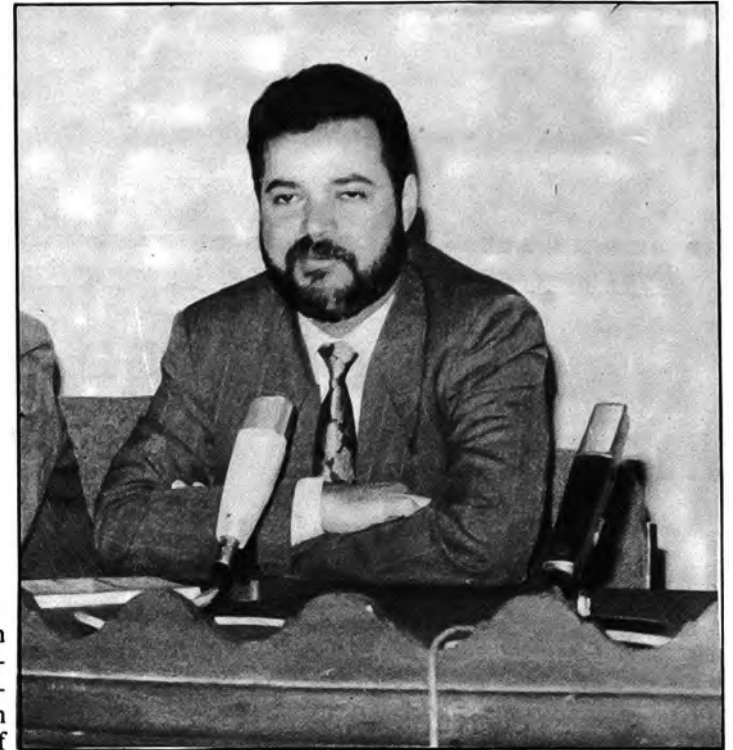
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**Abdul-Malik Al-Mikhlaifi:**

**“As far as we are concerned, no minister in the current cabinet can run in the elections due to failure to meet the conditions stipulated by election law.”**



The Supreme Electoral Committee (SEC) has logically become the focal point for the preparations for Yemen's first real elections in modern times. Within the SEC, Mr. Abdul-Malik Al-Mikhlaifi, Member of the SEC and Chairman of its Media/Information Committee, has evolved as the point man pushing for the most liberal decisions as to how to handle the elections. No wonder, he represents the Tanzeem Al-Wahdawi Ash-Shaabi An-Nasseri at the SEC. Yemen Times talked to him about a number of issues regarding the SEC relations with the executive branch of authority, and the elections in general. Here are excerpts of the interview:

**Q: You have reached a dead-end with the executive branch of authority regarding your condition that any senior official who plans to run in the elections, should resign at least two months ahead of the elections date to avoid misuse of authority. How do things stand now?**

**A:** First let me explain that this condition is not something we coined; it is stipulated by Article (55) of the elections law. It states that any minister, vice minister, governor, etc., who wishes to run for elections should resign three months before the election date. For this particular election, the period, as for many other purposes, was reduced, to two months. Yet, the executive branch of authority, meaning the Presidential Council and the government, refuse the stipulation.

We have issued instructions to apply the law, and if anybody objects, they can take us to court. I learned that the executive branch of government plans to do exactly that.

**Q: You say the executive branch of government refuses the stipulation of Article (55). What do you mean?**

**A:** I mean that they interpret it in a whimsical way that serves their purpose. For example, they say that if a minister plans to run for elections, he should only resign if he were to run in the constituency in which his ministry is physically located. Say the Minister of Local Administration wants to run (He can't, of course, as he is an SEC member. This is just an example.); he has to resign only if he runs in Hasabah. But if he runs in the Haddah area, it is okay for him to continue as minister. This is ridiculous and unacceptable. It is as if the influence of the minister is limited to the Hasabah area, or wherever his ministry is physically located. We all know that the jurisdiction of the minister in his particular domain, or any other senior official, covers the whole republic. We stand by the rules. The government or whoever has to go to the Supreme Court and file a suit.

**Q: To date, have you received any resignations from ministers or governors, etc.?**

**A:** We received copies of letters of resignations by the Minister of Communications and the Minister of Civil Service and Administrative Reform. We understand other ministers have expressed desire to resign, as well, but the acceptance of those resignations has not been given.

Since the 27th of February has passed without the SEC receiving confirmation on the acceptance of any minister/vice-minister/governor (and all those to whom article 55 applies, including the prime minister), none of them have the right to run in the coming elections, as far as we are concerned.

The only way any of them could run in the coming elections is if the Supreme Court says the SEC has misunderstood the law and that the executive branch's interpretation is right.

I think this scenario is highly unlikely, but we will have to wait and see. In the meanwhile, it is up

to the Presidential Council and the government to find an acceptable solution to their predicament.

**Q: Is the SEC united in its position vis-a-vis the executive branch in this matter?**

**A:** I am afraid it is not. The representatives of the ruling parties are bitterly opposed to it. We have been squabbling about this for almost two months now in the SEC. As the time for decision rapidly approached, we had to make the decision in our meeting on Wednesday, February 24th, and communicate the same to all parties through repeated announcements via the radio, TV and newspapers. In that meeting, only one of the six members representing the two ruling parties was present. That was the SEC Chairman, HE Qadhi Abdul-Kareem Al-Arashi. The votes in the SEC meeting determined the course of action.

**Q: The Petitioning Stage is almost complete. What are the main developments in this phase?**

**A:** Yes, the petitioning phase is over, but we are still processing the petitions. We have received many hundreds of claims which can be grouped into three categories:

a- Petitions demanding the discarding of the registration of military personnel, which in some constituencies represent over one third of the total registrants.

b- Petitions against the registration of underage persons; this is backed by the efforts of certain political parties.

c- Petitions against the administrative personnel of the registration polls for having hindered the registration process.

We are sifting through all of these and we should have the answers out by the end of this week. If the SEC responses are not satisfactory to those who petitioned, they can file a suit with the primary court of their constituency. Within two days, the court should issue its verdict.

If the court decision is still not satisfactory to the petitioner, then they can go to the Court of Appeals, whose decision is final. Our responses will be out before the weekend.

**Q: What other work is at hand, at the moment?**

**A:** We are now working on the committees that will man the polling stations which will be charged with two things:

a- To receive the application of the potential candidates to run in the coming elections.

b- To supervise the campaigning process.

In each constituency, there will be one team for just this purpose.

At the same time, we are finalizing the guidelines for the campaign process, and we also are working on the teams that will administer over the polling stations on election day.

Starting on the 27th of March, potential candidates have ten days to apply. Then for ten more days, the candidacy will be processed and confirmed by the teams manning the stations. In the final ten days, candidates will execute their campaigns.

**Q: How prepared are you for election day?**

**A:** We are working full-time to name the teams and start on plans to train them. There will be at least one ballot box for every 500 names on the registration list in each constituency to avoid any congestion and overcrowding. We are studying the possibility of assigning a box per 400 names. There will, of course, be separate ballot boxes for women.

We are also studying how to handle the observers and journalists. We have already received news from Europe that some 500 parliamentarians and human rights observers and promoters of democracy have applied to attend the April 27th elections. 500 European journalists are also planning on coming. A similar

number is coming from the US. By late April, we may have as many as 4000 foreign observers in Yemen.

**Q: What kind of arrangements have been made for this volume of visitors?**

**A:** At the administrative level, we have plans to distribute our visitors by categories depending on their interests. The journalists will be one category, the parliamentarians will be another, etc.


We plan to assign a central information center that will release information as it flows in; maybe even hourly. This center will be located in the Military Officers' Club.

At the lodging and transportation level, we have already started coordinating with various hotels and tour operators.

At the security level, we have taken special measures to ensure the smooth execution of the elections, and, at the same time, guarantee entry to those who are entitled to have access to the polling stations in various parts of the country.

**Q: Are there special arrangements for local observers?**

**A:** The SEC has already approved two applications for local observers. The first was from the NCFE, which is coordinating with the US NDI, and the other is from the Yemen Organization for Human Rights. We initially hesitated to approve local observers, given our fear of the infiltration by political parties. We finally gave them the benefit of the doubt, and went ahead with the approval.



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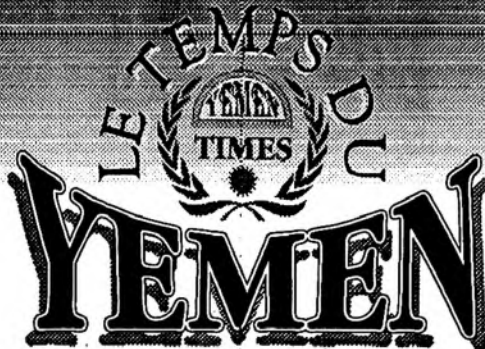
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The French Pages

Dans une conversation secrète publiée par un journal libanais

## Une étrange et dangereuse "confession" du chef de l'Etat

Depuis quelques temps, on disait le président Saleh aux abois, agissant au jour le jour et de façon désordonnée à l'approche d'élections dont certains experts politiques prévoient qu'elles seront défavorables à ses proches du CPG. Sa volonté de rester chef de l'Etat après les élections en perpétuant un gouvernement GPG-PSY appuyé par l'Israh et les Baasistes est un secret de Polichinelle depuis longtemps.

Cela a été confirmé la semaine dernière de manière éclatante par la citation d'un article d'un hebdomadaire libanais interdit au Yémen par le journal yéménite de tendance nassériate *Al-Tas'hik*, qui fait état intégralement d'une intervention du président lors d'une réunion du Conseil Présidentiel dans laquelle le général Saleh affirme que sa seule volonté aujourd'hui est de rester chef de l'Etat quelles que soient

les concessions qu'il devra faire. Il avoue qu'aucun parti ne l'intéresse, ni aucune ligne directrice de politique étrangère pourvu qu'il reste président. A demi-mot, il a fait comprendre à ses "partenaires" du PSY que si tel n'est pas le cas, la guerre civile menacera le pays. En quelques mots, c'est "Moi ou le chaos"... Et il propose une nouvelle fois la fusion des deux partis comme l'unique chance d'éviter le pire.

Nous reproduisons ci-dessous, la plus grande partie des propos du président cités par les hebdomadaires libanais *Al-Shirah* et yéménite *Al-Tas'hik*. S'ils paraissent quelque peu exagérés par souci de propagande de la part des Nasseristes, le contenu général de cette intervention présidentielle nous a été confirmé de source sûre par la suite.

Le 20 février dernier, un tract d'une teneur étrange a circulé sous la cape au Yémen: il s'agissait de la photocopie d'un article d'un hebdomadaire libanais de tendance nassériate, *Al-Shirah*, que l'on trouve très difficilement au Yémen mais qui avait été strictement interdit pour la circonstance. L'article faisait état d'une "confession" du président Saleh au cours d'une réunion extraordinaire des cinq membres de l'exécutif collégial de l'Etat, le Conseil Présidentiel - une réunion secrète prévue pour étaler tous les problèmes entre les deux partis et jouer franchement cartes sur tables -, véritable plaidoyer pour justifier la nécessité pour lui de rester à la tête de l'Etat quels que soient les résultats des élections d'avril prochain.

### La fusion des deux partis, nécessaire pour éviter le chaos

Pour cela, et pour éviter le chaos, le général Saleh prétend que la fusion des deux partis gouvernementaux est l'unique solution. Et *Al-Shirah* affirme que le président a fait cette proposition à ses partenaires socialistes "pour la dernière fois". Quelques jours après, notamment après des pressions de l'aile gauche et des intellectuels du parti, le PSY refusait publiquement cette fusion avec le CPG... Les révélations de ce journal, qui nous ont été confirmées dans leur teneur générale - mais pas dans leur détail - par une source informée, ont créé un véritable choc dans l'esprit de quelques intellectuels qui ont eu accès à ce tract. Il ne fait aucun doute que la fuite vient d'un membre socialiste du Conseil Présidentiel, et le nom d'Al-Bid est souvent cité... Aussi, deux jours après, l'hebdomadaire yéménite *Al-Tas'hik*, organe d'un petit parti nassériste d'opposition de gauche, reprenait in-extenso cet article pour le grand public. Aucune censure n'est intervenue puisque l'on trouve encore aujourd'hui ce journal dans les kiosques. Voici une traduction des principaux passages de l'intervention du général Saleh

*Al-Shirah* cite le président: "Je suis conscient que les dirigeants des autres états de la région ne veulent pas que je reste président de ce pays. Tous sont mes ennemis et ils font tout leur possible pour

parvenir à leurs fins. (...) Les Etats-Unis les soutiennent dans cette entreprise (...) Et il y a dans notre pays des forces qui souhaitent également mon départ. Je ne représente aucun courant politique. Je ne suis pas socialiste, pas capitaliste, je n'obéis à aucune idéologie ni à aucune pensée dogmatique en matière de religion. (...) Mais je veux rester au pouvoir. Si cela dépend des socialistes, alors je suis avec eux. Si seules les tribus m'offrent la possibilité d'y parvenir en m'assurant la sécurité, alors je suis tribaliste. Je deviendrai régionaliste si cela me permet de rester président. Nous avons commis une erreur en prenant parti pour l'Irak pendant la crise du Golfe. Je suis prêt à m'excuser officiellement auprès de l'Arabie Saoudite si, en retour, ils normalisent les relations avec le Yémen. On ne peut pas rester en mauvais termes avec notre grand voisin. Notre pays doit faire face à une grave crise économique. (...) Je crois fortement que le pays sortira de la crise économique et sociale en 1995 car la production de pétrole atteindra 1,5 millions de barils/jour (pure utopie selon les experts internationaux, NDLR), et apportera au pays des milliards de dollars. Mais en attendant, nous allons faire face à de très graves problèmes de sécurité intérieure, à de nombreux problèmes économiques et sociaux, et ceci peut entraîner la perte du Yémen.

### "Je veux rester au pouvoir"

Selon *Al-Shirah*, le président Saleh a ensuite affirmé que la seule solution pour sortir de cette crise était la fusion du CPG et du PSY en un seul parti, afin qu'il ne puisse être concurrencé par aucun autre. Et le général Saleh aurait ajouté, en s'adressant au vice-président Al-Bid: "Tu as cherché à te débarrasser de moi comme j'ai cherché à me débarrasser de toi. Tu as essayé de me faire la guerre en utilisant les gens de la rue et les intellectuels (l'entourage du président est persuadé que les socialistes étaient derrière les émeutes sociales de décembre dernier, NDLR; lire notre reportage sur les manifestations sanglantes dans *Le Temps du Yémen* du 16 décembre 1992). Et moi, je t'ai fait la guerre en laissant opérer tes ennemis et les laissant agir comme ils l'entendaient (allusion claire

aux nombreux attentats qui ont touché des personnalités socialistes depuis l'unification, NDLR). Tu m'as empêché d'avoir du pouvoir dans le sud, tu as débouché de nombreuses personnalités dans le nord pour me contraindre... Nous avons essayé toutes les armes pour nous débarrasser l'un de l'autre. En vain. Maintenant, l'unique solution c'est de faire un seul parti, de créer une entité unique. Mais à la condition que je sois président. Tu sais très bien que j'ai provoqué les Islamistes contre toi et que ce que fait le Cheikh Abdallah Bin Hussein Al-Ahmar est fait avec mon accord. Tu l'as proclamé partout, à l'intérieur

(Suite page 11)

Lors de la visite du conseiller politique du chef de l'Etat irakien au Yémen

## Le président Saleh reçoit un message de soutien de Saddam Hussein

Au moment où le Yémen tente de faire oublier, sur le plan international, sa position jugée, à l'étranger, pro-irakienne pendant la crise du Golfe, notamment en renouant progressivement des relations avec les monarchies de la péninsule y compris l'Arabie saoudite, un émissaire de Saddam Hussein a remis un message au Président Saleh dans lequel le président irakien affirme soutenir la démarche de Sanaa dans sa tentative de "renforcer la solidarité arabe". Dans un article du *Temps du Yémen* de la semaine dernière, nous avons montré que la position soit-disant pro-irakienne du Yémen avait, ces derniers temps, subi quelques entorses (lire *Le Temps du Yémen* du 24 février).

Le président Ali Abdallah Saleh a reçu samedi 27 février un message du chef de l'Etat irakien, M. Saddam Hussein, dans lequel il affirme "le souci et la disposition de l'Irak à soutenir les efforts déployés par le Yémen en vue de renforcer la solidarité des Arabes", selon Radio-Sanaa. Le message, qui souligne "les souffrances endurées par le peuple irakien en raison de la poursuite de l'embargo économique" imposé en août 1990 par la communauté internatio-

nale, a été remis au général Saleh par M. Barzan Ibrahim al-Takriti, conseiller politique du président Saddam Hussein.

Le président yéménite a exprimé en retour à M. Al-Takriti "la solidarité de son pays avec le peuple irakien", estimant que "la poursuite de l'embargo ne se justifie plus après le respect par l'Irak de la légitimité internationale". Rappelons qu'au moment de la crise du Golfe, la presse internationale qui avait présenté le Yémen comme adoptant une position pro-irakienne, avait souvent omis le fait que, en tant que membre temporaire du Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU à ce moment, Sanaa avait voté sans restrictions toutes les résolutions contre l'Irak et que le Yémen avait été l'un des premiers pays arabes à condamner l'invasion du Koweït.

Le président Saleh a par ailleurs appelé les pays arabes à "tourner la page" et à "jeter les bases pour des relations susceptibles de renforcer la solidarité arabe afin de faire face aux défis".

La visite de M. Al-Takriti intervient quelques jours après celle de M. Yasser Arafat, président de l'Organisation de Libération de la Palestine, destinée, selon lui, à examiner "les

moyens susceptibles de restaurer la solidarité arabe" mise à mal par la guerre du Golfe.

Mais elle intervient aussi dix jours après l'organisation d'une manifestation de soutien à la population irakienne à Sanaa qui n'avait recueilli qu'un succès mitigé (lire *Le Temps du Yémen* du 24 février). Cette relative "désaffection" des yéménites vis-à-vis de la cause irakienne est visible aussi au niveau des gouvernants, sans doute poussés par le souci de mettre fin aux retombées économiques catastrophiques de leur position il y a deux ans. Ainsi, lors de la visite à Sanaa de M. Tarek Azziz (vice-premier ministre et bras droit de Saddam Hussein) en août dernier, tout s'est déroulé à huis-clos, presque en cachette et la presse nationale n'en a fait pour ainsi dire aucun écho ! Etonnant au regard de l'importance du visiteur. De même, lors de la "mini-crise" du Golfe de janvier dernier, lorsque les avions alliés ont bombardé des sites militaires irakiens, Sanaa s'est bornée à un simple "nous déplorons", alors que d'autres pays arabes jugés moins proches de Bagdad ont été plus fermes.

E.G.

## Sanaa fait officiellement état de ses efforts pour renouer avec les monarchies de la péninsule...

Après de nombreux gestes et efforts diplomatiques non commentés dans la presse officielle en direction des monarchies de la péninsule arabe, en rupture diplomatique avec Sanaa depuis la crise du Golfe, les autorités yéménites affirment clairement par l'intermédiaire de l'agence de presse officielle SABA que les relations avec les six pays membres du Conseil de Coopération du Golfe (CCG) sont en très nette amélioration. Des diplomates en place à Sanaa ainsi que des experts économiques sont formels: la situation économique et sociale catastrophique du pays ne trouvera pas d'issue sans une aide financière massive de l'extérieur. Les monarchies du Golfe, notamment l'Arabie Saoudite et le Koweït étaient, de loin, les principaux bailleurs de fonds du Yémen avant la crise du Golfe...

"Les relations entre le Yémen et les pays du Golfe devraient s'améliorer dans les dix mois à venir. Des efforts sont en cours pour rétablir des relations normales entre le Yémen et les pays du Conseil de Coopération du Golfe (Arabie Saoudite, Koweït, Qatar, Oman, Emirats Arabes Unis, Bahreïn, NDLR)". Cette fois, on affiche clairement ses intentions, à l'issue de deux mois d'intenses efforts en direction de Qatar, où une ambassade a été réouverte, des Emirats, où un premier contact

officiel a été renoué la semaine dernière avec la visite du ministre yéménite de la Défense et surtout de l'Arabie Saoudite, avec laquelle des messages ont été récemment échangés au plus haut niveau, entre le chef de l'Etat yéménite et le roi Fahd, en vue d'une résolution pacifique du conflit frontalier qui oppose les deux pays. Rappe-

lons également que le Yémen et Oman ont été récemment félicités par les Nations Unies pour la résolution pacifique de leur conflit frontalier et que le Sultanat est le pays qui soutient l'idée d'une candidature du Yémen à l'adhésion au CCG.

Les relations s'améliorent même avec Koweït, qui commence à accepter l'idée, deux

ans avant sa libération, d'une normalisation avec les pays qui avaient, selon lui, soutenu l'Irak lors de la guerre du Golfe (à savoir, selon la définition koweïtienne, les quatre pays arabes n'ayant pas appartenu à la coalition internationale anti-irakienne: Jordanie, Yémen, Soudan et OLP, NDLR).

E.G.

## ... mais critique la "course aux armements" dans le Golfe

En visite aux Emirats Arabes Unis à l'occasion de l'inauguration d'un salon international d'armement, le ministre yéménite de la Défense, M. Haytham Taher Qassem a déclaré, dans le quotidien émirati *Al-Itihad*, "la course aux armements" dans le Golfe, estimant qu'elle pourrait conduire à une nouvelle guerre dans la région.

"Le Yémen rejette la course aux armements dans le Golfe parce qu'il est conscient des dangers d'un surarmement qui se fait aux dépens du développement des peuples et qui peut devenir un moyen

d'agression et de menace contre la sécurité et la stabilité dans la région", a déclaré M. Qassem. Mais l'une des raisons de ce rejet par le Yémen, non évoquée par le ministre, est évidemment le manque de ressources financières de ce pays pour suivre cette course aux armements. Or, le ministre a, dans le même temps, annoncé que le Yémen allait continuer à renforcer ses capacités militaires "pour défendre sa stabilité et sa souveraineté nationale".

Le ministre yéménite n'a toutefois cité aucun pays de la ré-

gion, impliqué dans cette "course aux armements". Depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe, l'Iran et les pays du Conseil de Coopération du Golfe (lire ci-dessus) déploient des efforts financiers pour renforcer leurs capacités défensives. Selon des experts, les six pays du CCG ont dépensé au total quelques 48 milliards de dollars dans ce secteur au cours de la seule année 1992 !

Le Yémen avait émis le souhait, après la guerre du Golfe, d'être associé à tout arrangement de sécurité dans la région. (D'après AFP)

# Une étrange et dangereuse "confession"

(Suite de la page 10) comme à l'extérieur du pays. Et moi, je peux aussi le proclamer publiquement. Mais si l'on unifie les deux partis, il n'y aura plus de problèmes avec l'Islah et les Frères Musulmans (menace déguisée ?). Si nos partis fusionnent, les autres forces politiques seront avec nous." Le président a notamment affirmé qu'il était prêt à faire le nécessaire pour que le parti Baas s'allie à eux.

**"Je suis venu te proposer une dernière fois la fusion"**

Et le général Saleh aurait conclu la réunion par des mots exprimant sa volonté absolue de rester au pouvoir par n'importe quel moyen, au prix de n'importe quel sacrifice. "Le prix à payer pour cela, c'est la fusion, a-t-il ajouté, parce qu'il y aura un seul président, un seul gouvernement, une seule armée et pas deux comme aujourd'hui, une seule capitale, des députés représentant un gouvernement et pas deux partis et deux pouvoirs. Il n'y a pas d'autre alternative que la fusion. Pendant les élections, elle permettra qu'aucun candidat de l'actuel CPG n'aille concurrencer un candidat de l'actuel PSY. C'est le seul moyen de continuer sur la bonne voie dans ce pays. C'est pourquoi je suis venu te proposer, une dernière

fois, la fusion de nos deux partis".

Quelques jours après cette réunion qui devait rester secrète, la direction du PSY, poussée par les représentants de son aile gauche et les intellectuels du parti, selon de bonnes sources, refusait officiellement la fusion.

Selon des observateurs politiques yéménites et étrangers, les socialistes restent conscients qu'ils ne pourront diriger le pays après les élections sans les partisans du président Saleh et qu'il est inévitable que ce dernier reste chef de l'Etat. Mais l'idée des dirigeants du PSY, conscients que leur popularité remonte à mesure que celle du président, empêtré dans des affaires de versement d'argent aux chefs de tribu et de népotisme, baisse, pensent qu'ils peuvent inverser les rapports de force au sein de la future coalition gouvernementale en leur faveur et priver le président d'une partie des pouvoirs qu'il concentre encore aujourd'hui. A Sanaa même, de nombreuses personnes qui se déclarent non sympathisants du PSY se résignent cependant à voter pour un candidat socialiste, écoeurés par les manœuvres désordonnées et "injustes pour les plus pauvres" du président et surtout de son entourage "corrompu". En désespoir de cause, ils se sentent plus attirés vers un parti "qui a abandonné la référence au marxisme mais qui reste le plus structuré et qui fait preuve

de plus de maturité, notamment en ne répondant pas à la violence dont il est victime par la violence", comme le fait remarquer un ingénieur à Sanaa qui, en quelques années n'a pas vu sa situation professionnelle évoluer "alors que dans son ministère, des jeunes fils de Cheikh, sans aucune formation, passent directeurs du jour au lendemain". Ce jeune homme affirme qu'ils sont de plus en plus nombreux à réagir de la sorte dans l'ex-nord et qu'il n'est plus question, dans la mesure où ils ont la possibilité de s'exprimer par les urnes, de laisser cette situation perdurer.

**Le CPG de plus en plus discrédité**

Ce qui reste du CPG, parti éclaté après l'unification parce que composé de tendances très diverses, représente aujourd'hui pour de nombreux intellectuels du nord, mais aussi pour le commun des Yéménites depuis les émeutes sociales de décembre, un parti de personnalités corrompues, intéressées par aucune idéologie mais par le pouvoir et l'argent, avec lesquelles le président est aujourd'hui obligé de composer. C'est du moins un discours que l'on entend de plus en plus souvent dans les mafrajs et même dans la rue...

**Emmanuel GIROUD**

## La démocratie, l'indécision et... les photographies

Comment expliquer le fait étrange que, deux ou trois jours avant la clôture, le 19 février, des inscriptions des personnes en âge de voter sur les listes électorales, moins de deux millions d'électeurs s'étaient fait connaître seulement sur un total potentiel de 6,5 à 7 millions (soit moins d'un tiers de la population en âge de voter), et que le jour de la clôture, ce chiffre soit monté à 2,7 millions ? Comment expliquer qu'en deux jours seulement, le tiers des inscrits se soient précipités dans les bureaux d'enregistrements, contribuant ainsi à donner un tout petit peu plus de légitimité aux prochaines élections (les 2,7 millions d'inscrits, à supposer qu'ils votent tous, ne représenteront au mieux que 40 % du corps électoral potentiel). Une des explications avancées par l'opposition relève de la fraude électorale: on aurait inscrit des mineurs, des "fantômes" et même inscrit des gens sans qu'ils ne le sachent.

Mais l'explication la plus plausible réside dans l'indécision des gens jusqu'au dernier moment. L'exemple est frappant chez les jeunes de Sanaa. Le système d'inscriptions deux mois avant un scrutin et avant les déclarations de candidatures est pervers: étant donné qu'il est possible de voter dans la circonscription de son lieu d'habitation ou de travail, au choix, de nombreuses personnes ont hésité jusqu'au dernier moment, ne sachant

pas qui se présentera dans l'une ou dans l'autre, s'il y aura un candidat du parti pour lequel elles veulent voter, etc... Ce qui a donné lieu, le dernier jour, à des réunions, dans la rue même, pour essayer de savoir ou deviner qui se présenterait à tel ou tel endroit quand cela n'est pas encore connu, pour se précipiter et s'inscrire au dernier moment dans telle circonscription ou telle autre. Selon plusieurs témoignages, l'opération d'inscription ne demandait qu'une dizaine de minutes. Ainsi, on a pu enregistrer une très forte proportion d'inscriptions le dernier jour. A cette indécision est venu s'ajouter le fait que l'on pensait (on avait fait courir la rumeur) que la période d'inscriptions serait prolongée au moins d'une semaine: on avait donc encore le temps de voir...

En ce qui concerne l'inscription des femmes, très faible dans le nord (15 % maximum des femmes en âge de voter, contre des taux de 20 à 40% dans le sud et dans le triangle Taëz-Ibb-Jibbla), deux explications complémentaires sont avancées: la plupart en ont, bien évidemment, été empêchées par leurs époux. Et quand bien même ceux-ci montraient quelques velléités de modernisme démocratique, la simple pensée de donner les deux photographies que le gouvernement avait eu la bonne idée de réclamer pour l'inscription de leur épouse les en dissuadait définitivement !

## L'ouverture du champ de Massila en septembre pourrait porter la production de pétrole à 350.000 barils par jour

Les autorités s'attendent à ce que la production de pétrole du Yémen, qui tourne actuellement autour de 200.000 barils/jours, passe à près de 350.000 barils/jours en septembre prochain, après l'entrée en fonction d'un important champs pétrolier, celui de Massila.

"Notre production pétrolière passera à 300.000 à 350.000 barils/jours en septembre, après la mise en fonction du champs de Massila, dont les réserves étaient estimées à 500 millions de barils/jours mais qui, selon de nouvelles études, seraient de 1,06 milliards de barils", a affirmé le ministre yéménite du pétrole, M. Saleh Abou Bakr Ben Husseinou, dans une déclaration publiée jeudi dernier par l'hebdomadaire *Al-Chourouq* des Emirats Arabes Unis.

M. Ben Husseinou a ajouté qu'une trentaine de compagnies étrangères opèrent actuellement dans le domaine de l'exploration pétrolière (quand elles n'ont pas suspendu leurs activités parce que l'Etat n'assure pas leur sécurité dans des régions soumises aux "lois" tribales ou réclamées par l'Arabie Saoudite, NDLR), ajoutant que le gouvernement étudiait des demandes d'autres sociétés...

Il a souligné que son pays, qui opte pour la diversification dans ce domaine, est en train de renforcer sa coopération avec des pays asiatiques, notamment la Malaisie et l'Indonésie, pour profiter de leur expérience.

(D'après AFP)

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**THE BEST  
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**Book Review:**

**A NEW BOOK ON THE  
CONTEMPORARY  
'HISTORY OF YEMEN**

**By:**  
Saad Salah Khalis,  
Cultural Editor,  
Yemen Times.

A research study presented as a thesis towards a PhD from Georgetown University, Washington, in 1987, was finally published by Al-Sanhani Library, Sana'a, at the end of 1992. The 391-page elegant paper back entitled "Features of Contemporary History of Yemen: Social Forces in Yemen's Opposition Movement: 1905 - 1948." The PHD thesis was updated and amended by the author, Dr. Abdulaziz Qa'id al Mas'udi to become more coherent with new material uncovered by the author. In addition, there were significant rearrangements of chapters and sub-titles.

A well documented book, it is based on over 45 foreign and 90 Yemeni and Arab references, in addition to numerous essays, scripts, documents and verbal accounts, through which the author brings to light and life an important of Yemen's socio-political evolution.

In six main chapters, and an introduction and a conclusion, plus supplementary tables and annexes, the book provides insight into a little-known part of contemporary Yemen, thus making it a necessary reading for all those who are interested in the modern history of Yemen.

The book is introduced by Abdullah Al-Baraddoni, the distinguished poet and historian, who states that the author has done well in delaying the publishing of his thesis in order to avoid common pitfalls that faced

other researchers. Baraddoni thinks that the author's usage of the term "casts" instead of "classes" has made him exclude farmers, as a distinct social force, out of the social structure, and thus his analysis. He also uses the book to call for re-writing our history in an objective way away from over-politicization and taking into consideration the fact that every regime, as well as opposition, are the product of the same circumstances. Even tyrants are begotten of a certain popular need.

The author starts his account of political trends of Yemeni opposition movement and its social positions and functions, through the interaction of three historic periods intense with action. The first starts with the evolution of the Yemeni national state following the independence of Yemen from Ottoman rule in 1918. The second is the 1920s which witnessed the rise of tribal opposition movements in the countryside. While the third phase is that which showed the evolution of urban opposition movements from tiny scattered secret groups into organized political forces, such as the "Yemeni Free Party" and the "Coalition of Yemen Society" with the declared goal of overthrowing Imamic rule. The Feb 18, 1948 Revolution was the first apex of this movement.

The author specifies three historical stages through which the national opposition movement had grown during the first half of the 20th century.

The first (1918-1934) had witnessed the initiation of

armed opposition under the leadership of tribal sheikhs, in revolt against the Imamic centralization of power which threatened tribal authority and independence. This period was characterized by spontaneous armed rebellions mainly directed towards symbols of the regime. The tribes refused payment of "Zakat", corve'e, close family members of the tribal rulers being taken as hostages by the Imam (in order to ensure loyalty of the sheikhs) and the compulsory military recruitment system.

The second stage (1935 - 1943), witnessed the evolution of urban opposition movement formed by intellectuals, judges, ulema, etc.) who were gathered in cities, towns and urban areas, which was a watershed in the history of Yemeni opposition. This is because a new method of political resistance was adopted through creation of secret circles of psychological and military opposition through various literary and cultural activities.

The third stage (1944 - 1948) was the period when the opposition took an organized shape and attempt to dislodge the Imam. Starting with the appearance of Yemeni Free Party and the Coalition of Yemen Society, where the first signs of some forms of ideology appeared through the reformation known as the "Sacred National Convention" calling for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy and a house of representatives to replace the tyrannic Imami regime.

In the first chapter of the book, the author tries to

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analyze the social structure in Yemen, concentrating on the opposition movement and its social base, criticizing the classical social classifications that have neglected the peculiarity of Yemeni society by applying international norms. The second chapter is dedicated to the study of rural and tribal rebellions (1918 - 1934), their causes and

Imam Yahya's attempts to enforce centralization against the will of the tribal institution. Imam Yahya wanted to apply rules which gave him paramount power over religious, tribal and civil affairs..

The third chapter is a continuation of the second, but with detailed accounts of the political, economic and social issues related to rural and tribal societies, and the tribe as a social institution, and the impact of all of those factors on the opposition movement.

The fourth and fifth chapters are dedicated to the urban opposition movement and its development in the period between the two World Wars. Finally, the sixth chapter is concerned with the rapid development of national consciousness and the appeal of the opposition movement and its transformation into an organized resistance.

The Author's conclusions regarding the February 18th Revolution of 1948, is that it was an expression of the coming together of all forces - various Yemeni casts and tribes - against the Imam and his rule. Its thrust was to embark on major reforms, which the Imam was unable to undertake. Thus the 1948 Revolution called for a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system. Yet the Revolution (bogged down to Sana'a) eventually failed, as it lacked mobility and political maturity, for the following reasons:

1. Its lack of unified political leadership capable of carrying radical changes.
2. Disarray of aims and goals of the diverse forces that came together to overthrow the Imamic regime.
3. The limited presence, restricted to urban society and notably Sanaa, thus neglecting rural and tribal Yemen.
4. Its mere replacement of the person of the Imam and keeping other tools of the Imamic rule.
5. It was an elite - shaped movement lacking popular depth.

A major conclusion of the author on the Yemeni opposition movement is that it lacked the coordination among the various opposition forces and the necessary popular support among the people (Sounds like today!).

It is important to note that the coalition of opposition forces had no plans to alter the political and social structure of the Yemeni state, thus losing its appeal among the rural forces which eventually sided with Imam Ahmad (to regain his father's throne) against the constitutional government of Al Wazir.

The book is worth reading, by politicians, diplomats and researchers interested in studying social (opposition) forces acting in Yemen and their development. I can't but stress Al-Baraddoni's call for the need to re-writing history from a totally objective and neutral position..

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# UNV-Yemen Agreement

**By:**  
**Md. Mukarram Hossain,**  
**UNV Program Officer,**  
**UNDP Sana'a.**

Mrs. Brenda McSweeney, Executive Coordinator of the United Nations Volunteer Program (UNV), visited the Republic of Yemen recently. The Yemeni effort is the biggest program supported by the Geneva-based organization. The Program started its activities in 1971, and since then, about 500 UN volunteers have served in the country in, both, the northern and southern parts. The volunteers have supported a wide range of activities in technical, economic and social fields, including agriculture, communication, transportation, health and education providing a practical response to development needs in the country.

Ms. McSweeney's visit

UNVs and he underlined the importance of fielding Arabic-speaking UNVs for work which requires close contact with the people, in areas such as agriculture. Mr. Abdul-Malek Sharruffuddin, Director at the Ministry of Planning, also expressed his views on the importance of fielding experienced UNVs, with at least five years working knowledge. Finally, at the meeting, Mr. Abdul-Wali Al-Aqel reiterated the Government's commitment to their continued support of the UNV program. His Excellency Mr. Abadan of the Ministry of Planning, Aden, also praised the UNV's contribution to the development effort in Yemen and he expressed his hope that the number of UNVs will increase with the implementation of UNDP's Fifth Cycle Country Program.

His Excellency Mr. Al-



was intended to foster cooperation between the Government of Yemen and the UNV Headquarters in Geneva, and also to provide the organization's Coordinator with first hand information on the work of volunteers in fields of Yemen. Ms. McSweeney visited a number of projects where UNVs are working, in Aden and Sana'a. She met with His Excellencies Mr. Mutahhar Al-Saeedi, Vice-Minister, and Mr. Abdul-Wali Al-Aqel, Deputy Minister of Planning, in Sana'a. She also met with Mr. Abadan, the Deputy Minister of Planning in Aden. In addition, McSweeney signed, together with His Excellency, Mr. Abdul-Wali Al-Aqel, Deputy Minister of planning, and Mr. Awni Al-Ani, UNDP Resident Representative, the project document for a new UNV-executed Multi-sectored program. The Program, funded through the UNDP, will inaugurate its activities immediately by fielding ten new volunteers to support the Republic in various technical assistance programs. At the meeting with Ms. McSweeney, Mr. Abdul-Wali Al-Aqel expressed his deep appreciation for the field-oriented and cost-effective work of the

Saidy of the Ministry of Planning, Sana'a, highly acknowledged the contribution of the U.N. Volunteers in Yemen. At one point in the meeting, he warned against a potentially growing dependency on UNVs in the development field. To avoid this, it was recommended that UNVs should only serve for a limited period of time, working on a daily basis with their counterparts to transfer their expertise and knowledge, which they can retain in the long-term. At her meetings with the Government, Ms. McSweeney highlighted the cost-effectiveness of employing UNVs to support development efforts. She indicated that six UNVs can be employed at the cost of one consultant/expert, without compromising the quality of the output. The volunteers employed by the UNV Program have an average of fifteen years of experience and they generally are approximately forty years of age. Finally, Ms. McSweeney voiced her hope that Yemenis would start volunteering to join citizens of other countries in serving the needs of the developing world through the UNV Program.

# CAN DISEASES BE ELIMINATED?

**By:**  
**Amjed Abdulhamid,**  
**Science Editor,**  
**Yemen Times.**

The prospects of finding cures for most of our ills have never looked better. Until the 1800s, physicians were still starving, purging, and bleeding their patients to cure diseases. Patients were still operated on without anesthesia. Many, if they survived, died of sepsis because surgeons, ignorant of germs, plunged into their patients with unsterilized instruments and filthy hands. Looked at from this perspective, the high-tech medicine, which our civilization is developing and utilizing daily, seems astounding.

We owe this giant leap forward to science. Microscopes of increasing power led to the identification of the agents of diseases - bacteria, parasites and viruses. Learning how these germs are transmitted and how our bodies defend themselves provided the basis for vaccines, drugs and health measures. The discovery of DNA (the material-genes are made of) began an even more exciting chapter in molecular medicine.

In fact, medical research has progressed so quickly that researchers predict that in the next couple of decades we may eliminate cancer, AIDS, and malaria. AIDS is one of the newest diseases of humankind and malaria one of the oldest. The first has killed about 2 million people since it was first observed about 10 year ago, the second is still responsible for 1-2 million deaths a year. Why haven't researchers developed vaccines against them?

The question introduces the evolutionary factor of the task of the control of diseases. The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) which causes AIDS evolves at about a million times the rate of other viruses, and much faster than the lymphocytes (the body's defenders) can build defenses against it. The moment the lymphocytes develop a defense against a type of HIV, the virus has already evolved into other types and render these defenses useless. As for malaria it seemed to succumb to drugs targeted to prevent and cure the disease. Then in the 1950s, drug-resistant malaria evolved, and whatever drug combinations have been employed since, some varieties of malaria have found a way to sidestep their effects.

In 1989 Michael Bishop and Harold Varmus received a Nobel prize for their discovery of cancer causing oncogenes in

humans. Oncogenes are normal genes that turn abnormal because of mutations or dislocations of the DNA. If one can find the mistakes in their molecular structure then one should be able to correct them and eventually cure inherited diseases that are transmitted to the children by abnormal genes, like sickle cell anemia (a genetic disease that makes the bone marrow produce spiky red blood cells instead of the normal, round blood cells).

However, an evolutionary paradox is encountered, because sickle cells are actually a rather successful defense against malaria and both sickle cell anemia and malaria proliferate in Africa. On the other hand, inheriting the sickle-cell gene from both parents would bring anemia, impaired growth, and pain when these spiky cells form clumps in the blood vessels.

Since 1949, when a tiny defect in the molecular structure of hemoglobin was traced to be the cause of the sickle-cells, researchers know now of more than 300 other abnormal types of hemoglobin. Many don't transport oxygen as efficiently as normal hemoglobin; they shorten the life of red cells and confer no known advantage or resistance to malaria or

other diseases. But researchers believe that if a certain strain of hemoglobin proves resistant to a lethal disease, not yet inflicted on our species, then future populations would doubtless show a huge increase in that particular hemoglobin gene. Once more, this would show how active evolution can be at the molecular level.

So, when humans think about eliminating diseases, they must consider that the evolutionary process practically guarantees an endless conflict between the defenders and invaders of the human body, with the tide of battle surging first one way, and then the other. The more scientists learn about life the cycles, genetics, and biochemistry of diseases, the more likely our science will triumph over their evolutionary evasiveness and keep us one step ahead in the evolutionary race.

New adaptations are encouraged by the adaptation of life, from the water to life on land or back from land to the water, caused by changes in the environment, climate, overcrowding, and, sad to say, disease.

Genetic abnormalities, unable to adapt to the old environment but adaptable to the new, made these movements possible. The process is occurring all the time, though mostly at the molecular level.

It was the scientific approach, the usage of our uniquely evolved human brains, that sparked our progress against disease in the last 150 years. The question now is no longer whether scientists have the skill to subdue most infections and diseases; clearly they do, but whether our scientists and doctors can completely eliminate disease is still a matter of conjecture.

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تقدم لجمهورها الكريم أحدث ما توصل إليه العلم في عالم المطبوعات، خبرة تجاوزت عشرة أعوام تحت إشراف خبراء في أعلى مجالات التخصص، في فرز الألوان والطباعة البارزة والطباعة بالحجارة. ننقل لكم تكنولوجيا العالم لكافة طلباتكم  
صحف مجلات كتب إعلانات  
ونقطة إعلامية للدعوات الانتخابية بألوان التميز

العنوان: صنعاء - شارع تعز - عمارة رقم ١٥٠، أمام الأحياء الدولية - ص.ب. ٤٤٥٠٩٤  
ص.ب. (١٧٣٩) - ت.ك.س. ٢٢٢٧ - إمارات - المجمعة - ص.ب. ٢٢٢٧

## IMPORTANT Numbers

Emergency Police	199
Accident (Traffic)	194
Fire Brigade	191
Water Problems	171
Electricity Problems	177
Telephone Enquiries	118
Aljumbury Hospital	202192/3
Athawra Hospital	246970/9
Kuwait Hospital	203282/4
Red Crescent	203131/3
Central Bank	274371/3
YBRD	271623/4
National Bank	275373
Bank Indosuez	272801/3
Arab Bank Ltd.	240921-29
Int'l Bank of Yemen	272920/3
United Bank Ltd	272424

<b>Government Ministries:</b>	
Foreign Affairs	202544/7
Interior Affairs	252701/7
Immigration	250761/3
Tourism	271970/2
Inter-City Bus Co	262111/3
TV Station	250001/03
Radio Station	200060/61
<b>Insurance Companies:</b>	
Y.I. & ReInsurance/Aden	273311
Marib Insurance	206112/14
Yemen General Insurance Co.	265191

## EMBASSIES & Consulates

Afghanistan	217691	Syria	247750
Algeria	209688/89	Tunisia	240458/9
Bulgaria	217244	Turkey	241395
China	275337	U.A.E	248777/78
Cuba	217304	U.K.	215630/33
Czechoslovakia	247946	U.S.A.	238842/52
Djibouti	265469	Vietnam	216998
Egypt	275948	Austrian Hon Consulate	
Ethiopia	208833	Canadian Hon Consulate	208814
France	275995	Danish Trade Office	243433
Germany	216756/757	Greek Hon Consulate	272218
Hungary	216679	Swedish Consulate	207595
India	241980	ADEN	
Indonesia	217388	Czechoslovakia	232101
Iran	206945/948	China	232604/30
Iraq	216681/790	Ethiopia (Commercial)	231335
Italy	73409/78849	France	223129/090
Japan	217388	Germany	232162/011
Jordan	216701	India	233131
Korea (Dem)	232340	Iran	231893/361
Korea (Rep)	245959/60	Italy	232586/88
Kuwait	216317/319	Japan	232081/233282
Lebanon	203959	Palestine	232717/340
Libya	208815/6	Russian (FR)	232729/32625
Mauritania	206770	Saudi Arabia	232760/32526
Morocco	207964	Somalia	241421/101
Netherlands	215626/78	U.K.	232711/12/13.
Oman	208933/4		
Pakistan	248813/14		
Palistine	217306/348		
Poland	248362		
Qatar	217488		
Romania	215579		
Russia (FR)	78272/203142		
Saudi Arabia	240429/30		
Somalia	208864		
Sudan	265231/2		

The SUS II Project at Sanaa University has a VACANCY for a: PROJECT ASSISTANT (Male/Female) Professional Qualifications: Good Command of English, Familiarity with Computer word processing Reply by sending CV before 15/3 to: Mr. J.C. Bonner, P.O.Box 463, Sanaa.

## الأخ رئيس تحرير صحيفة «يمن تايمز» المحترم

قرانا التصريح الذي ادلى به الأخ عباس المهدي، ونود الإشارة بأنه لا صحة لما نشر في عدد (٩٣/٥) بتاريخ ١٩٩٣/٢/٩ من أعيان ومشائخ وأهالي بني شعبة كل رعاية وتكريم وتعاون أثناء تادبتنا لعملا في تسجيل الناخبين في مركز بني شعبة. يرجى نشر هذا التصحيح، ولكم الشكر. حمزه هاشم السقاف: رئيس اللجنة خالد عبدالولي الأديمي: عضو اللجنة

## HOTELS

Sana'a (01)	
Sherotan	237500/1/2
Taj Sheba	272372/3
Aden (02)	
Movenpick	221251
Gold Mohur	221158
Hodeidah (03)	
Bristol	239197
Ambassador	231247/50
Al Burj	75852
Taiz (04)	
Mareb	210350
Yazan	217997
Marib (063)	
Biquis Marib	2666-2371
Sadah (051)	
Al Mamoon	2203/2459
Mukalla (09152)	
Hadhramaut	2060

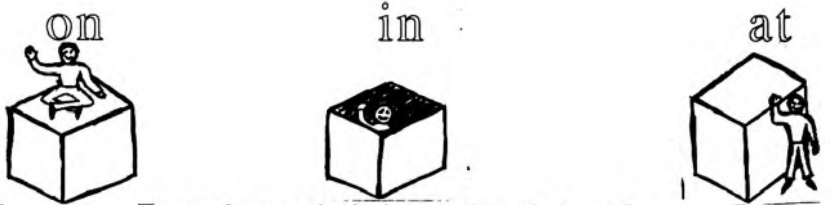
## AIR LINES

Air France	272895/6
Air India	272544
Alitalia	273655
Alyemda (HO, Aden)	231339
Alyemda (Sana'a)	203637
Austrian Airlines	272432
British Airways	272247
Cathay Pacific	271803
Egypt Air	275061
Ethiopian Airlines	272437
Gulf Air	272551/49/677
Iraqi Airlines	240091/240909
KLM	78093/76968/270879
Korean Airlines	272548
Kuwait Airlines	272503/4
Lufthansa	272583
Pakistan Int'l	240909/091
Royal Jordanian	275314/028
Russian Airlines	74930
Sabena	205865
Sudan Airways	272503-5
Swiss Air	272547
Syrian Airways	272543
Universal Travel	275028-30

## LESSON #34 Problem Prepositions

- PRETEST Fill in the blanks with on, in or at.
- My family lives \_\_\_\_\_ street number 14 \_\_\_\_\_ Taiz.
  - Write your name \_\_\_\_\_ the first page of the book.
  - Anwar put the books \_\_\_\_\_ the desk drawer.
  - Cairo is \_\_\_\_\_ Egypt.
  - Munir works \_\_\_\_\_ the Ministry of Health.

We've already discussed these three prepositions and their use in expressing time. However, that usage represents only a fraction of the uses of these words. It seems crazy that such tiny words can have so many uses, but they do. This week's lesson will try to clarify their use as prepositions of place and position. For the most part, these are easy and show concretely placement of objects. Perhaps the best way to explain them is pictorially:



Practice A Choose the most logical prepositional phrase for each sentence.

- The boy put his money \_\_\_\_\_ a. in his pocket. b. on his pocket. c. at his pocket.
- I saw a woman carrying vegetables \_\_\_\_\_ a. in her head. b. on her head. c. at her head.
- Mother put the baby \_\_\_\_\_ a. in the car. b. on the car. c. at the car.
- Father is standing \_\_\_\_\_ a. in the door. b. on the door. c. at the door.
- Ahmed is waiting \_\_\_\_\_ a. in the telephone. b. on the telephone. c. at the telephone.



With objects there is not much confusion in using these prepositions. Confusion arises when dealing with places. Choice of preposition depends largely on perception. Do you stay *at* the hospital or *in* the hospital? Either is correct, but you wouldn't stay *on* the hospital (unless you are repairing the roof or fixing an antenna). Do you spend the day *at* the beach or *on* the beach? Certainly not *in* the beach, or you would have a mouthful of sand! *At* is the more generic choice and is frequently used in these cases.

For geographic locations, which are even more abstract, there are some rules to guide you in choosing prepositions. They range from less specific to more specific:

- For countries, cities, governates, districts, zones, etc. use **in**.  
in Yemen in Hodeidah in Hajjah Governate in Hasabah
- For streets, in American English use **on**; in British English, **in**.  
on (in) Zubeiry Street on (in) Taiz Road
- For specific addresses, use **at**.  
at 43 Kuwait Street at 67 Jamal Street

\* To Americans, if you are *in* the street, you risk being run over by a car. But think about it; *on* isn't much better. In this case, *at* makes the most sense, but it is the one that is not used. Prepositions make me crazy.

Practice B Fill in the blanks with *on*, *in* or *at*. In many case, more than one answer may be correct.

- Mahmoud spent three days \_\_\_\_\_ Aden last month.
- John Major lives \_\_\_\_\_ 10 Downing \_\_\_\_\_ London.
- Selwa is a student \_\_\_\_\_ Sana'a University \_\_\_\_\_ Yemen.
- Your name is written \_\_\_\_\_ this piece of paper.
- Ali left his notebook \_\_\_\_\_ the seat \_\_\_\_\_ the dubab.
- I will be \_\_\_\_\_ my office until 6:00 this evening.
- Please put the coffee \_\_\_\_\_ my cup, not \_\_\_\_\_ the table.
- Ismail works \_\_\_\_\_ the radio station.
- Hussein lives \_\_\_\_\_ number 14 \_\_\_\_\_ Sana'a Street \_\_\_\_\_ Hodeidah.
- Meet me \_\_\_\_\_ the corner of Zubeiry and Ring Road.
- The English lessons \_\_\_\_\_ the Yemen Times are \_\_\_\_\_ page 15.
- Someone is \_\_\_\_\_ the door. I can hear them knocking \_\_\_\_\_ it.

## WEEKLY IDIOM

**on time**--not late; according to schedule. Students who are on time make the teachers happy.

**just in time**--at the last moment; not late, but almost. The meeting began exactly at 10:00. I arrived just in time (say, 9:59 or so).

**at the time**--then. When I was sixteen, I wanted a car. At the time I didn't know how expensive one could be.

Last year Khalid had to catch a plane. At the time, he thought planes always ran late, so he did not hurry to the airport. However, his plane was leaving on time. Khalid ran from the terminal to the plane, and arrived just in time. Next time he will get to the airport earlier.

Featuring Next Week



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• Analysis •

*Mohamed Saif Thabet on the Economic Conditions of Yemen:*

# “Yemen needs more producers of goods and services and not killers and ‘fighters’.”

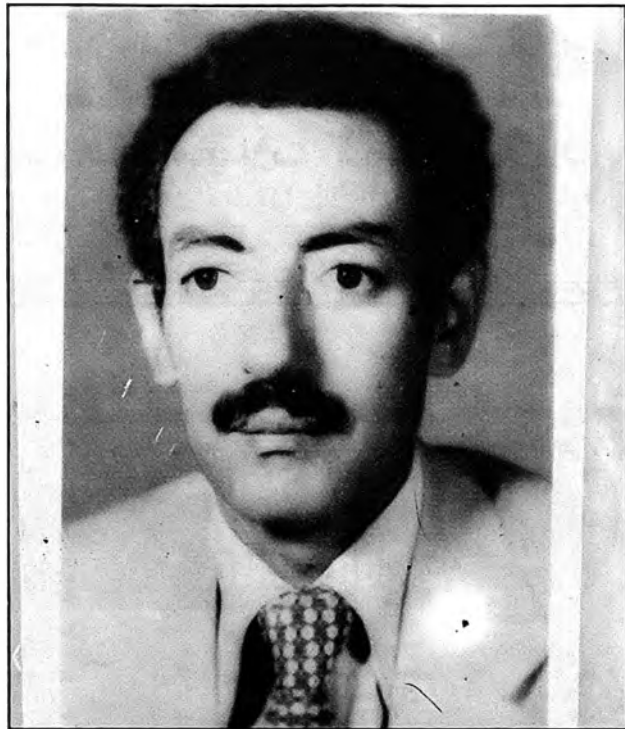
By: **Mohamed Saif Thabet\***

Criticism of the many shortcomings in our socio-economic conditions point to the reason as being the poor performance by our institutions and the backward social relations which are characteristic of underdeveloped countries. If one analyzes the criticism, it becomes at once evident that it is all based on the direct and personal encounter of the critics. But let me say that beyond the criticism, we need to address what could be done to remedy the situation by in-depth and objective analysis.

The first problem to face up to is the rate of growth

in our consumption level, which outstrips the rate of growth in our output. Another problem is the absence of a clear vision and strategy regarding the future. Our approach is past-oriented, and at best it deals with the present. No future plans are at hand. Third, much could be done to improve the current conditions with minimal new funds or technology. Improved management of currently available resources and technical know-how, and a stronger will to face the challenges would go a long way to remedy the problems. A fourth element in our effort to address the situation has to do with truth and more mutual confidence. In the face of our

difficulties, we have learnt to bend the truth a bit (quite a bit, actually), and to try to blame any other party but ourselves for the problems. We need to face the truth and apply it with more self confidence and mutual trust. Fifth, priorities have to be sorted out. One easy one is the trade-off between private, partisan or class interests and the collective interest of the nation. The general interest must take precedence over the narrow-based interests. A sixth and crucial point is the excessive politicization of our economy. Our thrust towards political growth has eclipsed our economic functions. For example, since unification, the country has witnessed the birth of some fifty political parties, hundreds of associations and un-



ions, and dozens of political newspapers. Yet, we failed to improve the productivity of one single corporation, or to create five investment companies, or to issue one specialized economic/business newspaper. We have held many many political conferences and meetings at the party, national, tribal or governorate levels, but we could not hold one economic conference to study our deteriorating and falling standard of living. Even the Yemeni Economists Society which had planned to carry out a national conference, failed to do so due to do so for reasons unknown to us. The governor of the Central Bank of

Yemen had also once declared the intention to organize a national conference, but he too has not come through. A barrage of criticism has become the daily diet of all of us. I have no problem with constructive criticism by specialists or even by laymen, provided they are not part of political in-fighting. From my side, I feel the most pressing issue to address is to find employment for the hundreds of thousands of jobless Yemenis. Towards the general improvement of our conditions, I see no option but to take the two following decisions:

- 1- To improve the administrative performance of the government machinery, and to create the secure and peaceful environment necessary for business and investment.
- 2- To stop the political and partisan mobilization of the people in different formations which are being prepared for a show-down and thus commit general suicide.

All those who care about the welfare and prosperity of this nation must work to mobilize the people and prepare them to achieve more production and economic growth. Yemen need producers of goods and services, not killers and murderers.

\* Prominent Businessman and Social Personality.

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