

When the Chief Editor Sticks Out His Neck for His Readers and for ... a friend:\*

## ONE WEEK IN CAPTIVITY: THE MAHONEY ORDEAL

By: Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf,  
Yemen Times.

Exactly one week was the period Haynes Mahoney spent as hostage with the Zayidi tribe. On the night of Thursday, December 6th, he was released.

Yemen Times, was the only newspaper to have crossed into the "forbidden" territory, and interviewed Mr. Mahoney during his days of captivity.

Here is the full story pieced together from many interviews.

### The Background:

On the 25th of November, four persons on a vehicle without numbers pulled up in front and blocked the way of Haynes Mahoney's car. He reversed gears, and started backing up. Guns were pointed at him from the other gun. "Oh, oh, that was not a good move," I told myself Haynes recalls in a special meeting arranged with the Chief Editor of the Yemen Times.

Four men walked out of their car and came towards Mr. Mahoney. "God this is the second car we are going to lose in less than two weeks," thought Haynes. He thought wrong. The men did not go for the car keys which Mr. Mahoney was offering. "No. We want you!"

For a short while, the kidnappers and their hostage were driving around "aimlessly" in Sanaa. Later, it was learnt they were looking for a fifth collaborator, whom they did not find. Then they headed towards home on the Marib road. Some 100 kilometers on the road, they turned south on a bumpy road. The whole trip took four hours.

At the end of the day, Haynes Mahoney was forced to become the "guest" of the Zayidi clan, Jahm tribe in Khowlan.

### The Conditions:

"We want this government to be just to us. We don't like they way it only takes care of the Sanhan tribesmen," started Mr. Mubarak Al-Zayidi, a Lt-colonel in the armed forces of the Yemeni government.

Look. Yemen Hunt Oil Company has built (Pressure Pump) Station No. 2 on our land, and it refuses to pay rent, while it is paying to Station No. 3, next-door. We want the company to be fair.

Lt-Colonel Al-Zayidi also wants the government to make good on many of its promises to the local tribe. One of them includes employing 200 men to guard the installation (station). They also want more projects in their region, which is desolate, even by Yemeni standards.

It is very clear, the tribes of the region hold a serious grudge against the president's tribe.

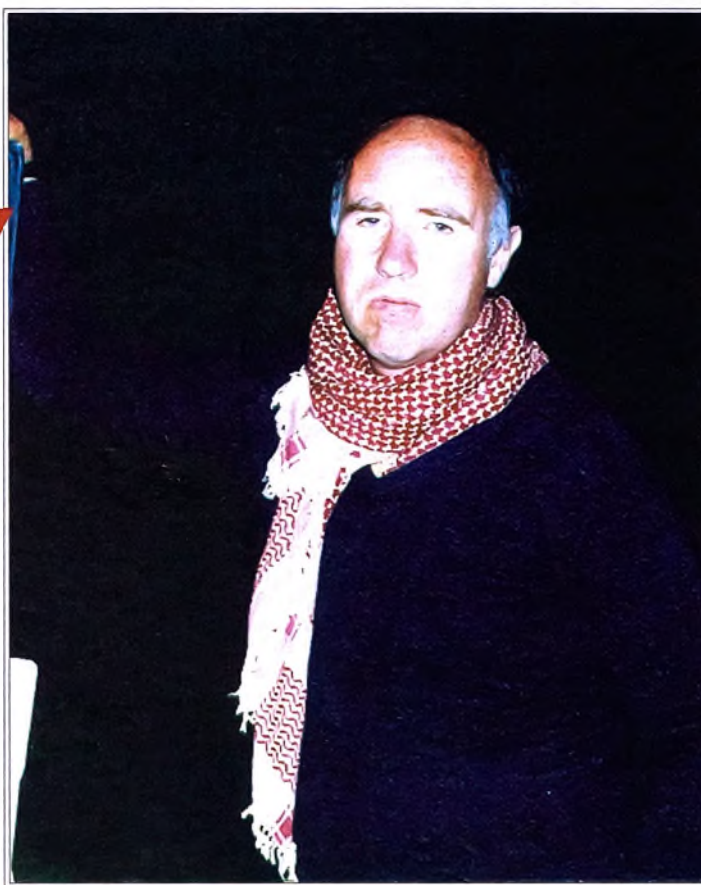
### The Yemen Times Expedition:

Two days earlier, contact was established with the Jahm tribesmen through a major Bakeel sheikh. "Will you welcome a Yemen Times expedition headed by Dr. Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf?" A positive answer came back.

At 10:00 on Tuesday, November 30th, two cars took off for Jahm. On board were two Yemen Times staff, the head of Sawt Al-Ommal's Sanaa Office, a stringer for Le Monde and AFP, and four armed men. In addition, there was Sheikh Abdul-Jaleel Sinan, a Bakeel Sheikh from Arhab who helped arrange the visit, and a local guide.

Given the fact that we had two Europeans and a bunch of armed tribesmen, we expected trouble at the government check-points, lest they should we had kidnapped them. But nothing of the sort happened. None of the soldiers at the checkpoints even bothered to ask. We passed through six checkpoints, and at no point has anybody bothered to ask who or where the foreigners were being taken.

I asked some of the soldiers at two checkpoints why they did not inquire about where we were taking the "Nasranis" (read



Haynes Mahoney during the YT interview in Wadi Habab

white men). The answer tells a lot about their morals and the system. "Why should we get in trouble with a bunch of qabilis? Who will stand by us if we enter into a conflict with tribesmen?" What that really means is that foreigners in Yemen should have their own security system.

### Chain of "Guides":

We found out we needed every seat on the two cars because of the system of chain guides which the tribes use. It is not that the first or second, or third, ... guide does not know the way. But it is critical in every village to pick somebody from that very village who will clear the way, and also report back on who we are and what we are looking for.

Our guide from Sanaa was Ali Hamood Al-Sheikh. In Marib, we picked up Mohammed, then in Dhiwar we picked up Abdullah Al-Zayidi, and in Al-Jizrah, we picked up Saleh.

### The Wasitah:

Bakeel tribal leaders, called the wasitah (intermediary) are thickly involved in the problem. Sheikh Mohammed Ahmed Al-Zayidi, and Sheikh Saleh Bin Sowdah of the Zayidi clan, Sheikh Rabeesh Bin Ku'lan, sheikh of Al-Jida'an tribe, Sheikh Abdul-Wali Al-Qiyari, sheikh of Al-Yamaniyah Al-Sufilah tribe, Sheikh Mohsin

Bin Ali Al-Ma'aeli, sheikh of Abeedah, and Sheikh Mohammed Ali Abu Luhum of the Nihm tribe are all involved. The hostage was almost released to these sheikhs on Monday 29th November. But the sheikhs, who were running an errand on behalf of the government, couldn't agree on who is to take charge of Mr. Mahoney. That scene gave the captors second thoughts about giving their hostage to those wasitah.

### The Baath Connection:

In the house where negotiations were taking place, Saddam's pictures were raised high. Slogans and extracts from his speeches also decorated the walls. The captor is definitely a Baathist and admirer of the Saddam regime.

We also found top-level Baathists at the negotiation table (or rather on the negotiation floor). Colonel Ahmed Handhal, the Director of the Bureau of Majhid Abu Shawarib, Abdullah Al-Kibsi, a member of the Country's Baath leadership, were among those we met. This does not mean that the hostage-taking was politically driven. It was a purely financial matter.

The Baath people told us they were there to secure the release of Mr. Mahoney. They were using their influence with the captor to let him go. Yet, it did not happen.

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## OUR VIEWPOINT

### The American Is Out: The German Is In!

Haynes Mahoney is out because of a deal that was struck. Sheikh Mohammed Bin Naji Al-Ghadir, paramount sheikh of Khowlan, was instrumental in the release of the American diplomat. But now, certain tribes in the Dhamar/Redaa area have picked up a German national as hostage.

The way this case was resolved is a bad omen for the nearly 4,000 foreigners living among us. It is a license for any qabili to take home the nearest white man. What a dilemma for the government? It could not sit still while Haynes Mahoney was in captivity, and it could not use force. The only open venue was to strike a deal through an intermediary. There are major ramifications to the way the ordeal was resolved. **No. 1:** Kidnapping a diplomat is a federal offence in the USA. The State Department may demand from the Yemeni government to extradite Lt-Colonel Mubarak Al-Zayidi. If it doesn't, sanctions may be used.

**No. 2:** Foreigners, especially the diplomats and the oil people, will clamor on the government for special security measures. The government will be unable to oblige. Ergo, the mushrooming of small militia and private security forces - something contrary to the Yemeni constitution.

Private security services will also be the most lucrative business in Yemen, in the near future.

**No.3:** Many of the qabilis, especially those with a grudge, will find they can twist the arm of the state by taking hostages. This may lead to more kidnapping. The German was kidnapped on 3/12/93.

**No. 4:** Foreign governments may increasingly restrict the travel of their citizens to Yemen. This means, Yemen is seen as a high risk country. Dr. Al-Attar need not spend his scarce resources on the dream of enticing foreigners to invest in Yemen, given these new developments.

In light of the above, what can the Yemeni government do? I suggest the following:

**First,** it has to distance itself from any deals that were struck in releasing Mahoney. It should simply say, "No deal was struck!"

**Second,** the government should give the needs of the interior ministry top priority.

**Third,** the government must put the kidnapper on trial. But first, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces must immediately strip down the ranks of the kidnapper, until the courts decide what to do with him.

**Fourth,** the government must allocate development projects to the region immediately.

*The Publisher*  


#### Sabaa Conference Issues a Communique

The General Secretariat of the Sabaa Conference issued a communique on December 1st stressing four points:

1. The quick establishment of the Al-Shura Council (Senate) to be made up of all govern- orates of the republic.
2. To enforce a truce among the tribes, especially concerning inter-tribal vengeance and other strife.
3. To warn the ruling political parties and their armies of deciding to push the country into violence. The conference pledges to oppose any such move.
4. To initiate dialogue among all the political forces.

#### New Japanese Assistance to Yemen

The governments of Yemen and Japan exchanged notes on December 1st, according to which the Japanese government provided a debt relief grant of 161.85 million yens. By the end of the year 1993, Japan would have provided Yemen with 325 million yens in debt relief grants.

#### Jibla Hospital Appeal

The Court of Appeal in Jibla is hearing at the moment the case brought against the Jibla Baptist Hospital. The case, which is highly politicized, is another indication of the hold the fundamentalists in this country over the system.

If the leadership of this country knows what is good for it, it will work to have the case dismissed. Not because of politics, but because there is no case at all.

It is known, of course, that the hospital has been serving the Yemeni people for over a quarter of a century during which some one million Yemenis have received medical treatment.

#### Plan for Cooking Gas

In response to a Yemen Times article, the Yemen Gas Corporation - in coordination with the UNDP and the Ministry of Planning and Development - has initiated a master plan for increasing the use of LPG.

In a fax message, Mr. Mohamed Ali Almadani, Managing Director of YGC, indicated the master plan includes assessment of the safety performance, defining safety procedures in storage, distribution and handling, and preparing a series of laws and regulations for bottling, using and handling of LPG.

#### Integrating Handicapped into Society

On Thursday, December 2nd, a conference entitled towards "Integrating the Handicapped into Mainstream Society" was kicked off in Sanaa. Mr. Mahmood Shaher Abdul-Rahman, Assistant Deputy Minister at the Ministry of Pensions and Social Affairs, indicated that the society we want to create is one that takes care of all its members.

The conference comes to commemorate the National Day for Handicapped - the 9th of December - of every year. A number of specialists delivered papers on the occasion.

#### Workshop on Population Dynamics in Taiz

On Saturday, December 3rd, a workshop was started in Taiz. "The purpose is to make rural people aware of the population dynamics and how family planning interacts with economic and social well-being," explained Engineer Ahmed Ghamdhan, General Manager of Rural Training and Information Center at the Southern Highlands Project, which organized the workshop.

#### Yemen to Become Regional Head Office for Communications

Abdullah Ahmed Al-Kaboos, Dean of the General Institute for Communications, disclosed that the Yemeni institute has been named as regional head office for Yemen, Djibouti, the Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Mauritania. That means nationals of those countries will come to Sanaa for technical training, financed by the UN. The International Communications Union decision was taken last week.

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### Indian Troops Quit Kashmir Militants' Stronghold:

The Indian army has withdrawn from Sopore after swooping on the Kashmir valley town in a major operation against separatist militants, reports said last week.

While there was no official explanation for the pullout, Indian army sources said the operation had achieved its limited purpose.

Sopore, northwest of Srinagar, summer capital of the only Muslim-majority state in predominantly Hindu India, has been a militant stronghold and the center of many attacks on security forces. Residents said thousands of troops swept into the town of 100,000 people on last week in trucks and armored personnel carriers, meeting resistance from militants armed with automatic rifles and rocket-propelled grenades (RPG).

The army gathered thousands of people in open spaces while informers, captured militants disguised with hoods and nicknamed "Cats", picked out their former comrades.

An official spokesman said at least 15 people, mostly militants, had been killed and five soldiers and a paramilitary trooper had

been wounded in the operations. Militants said the toll was much higher. A spokesman for the Hezb-ul-Mujahideen, the strongest militant group in Sopore, alleged that more than 200 people had been killed and that most of the casualties were civilians.

Another militant group, Al-Burq, said 50 people had died.

Official sources said up to 200 shops and houses were gutted in four places in Sopore. Reporters were not allowed into the town center of the valley's important apple industry.

Such "cordon and search" operations are widely used by the Indian army in Kashmir, where police and hospitals have reported more than 13,000 deaths in a four-year-old revolt against Indian rule.

Paramilitary police are usually brought in to maintain security after such sweeps.

The army operation in Sopore followed the peaceful end this month of a four-week army siege of Srinagar's Hazratbal mosque, Kashmir's most sacred Islamic shrine.

India and Pakistan are at odds over Kashmir, each laying a claim to it.

### Mostar Medicare Collapses amidst Croat Artillery Fire:

Artillery fire and the onset of winter have brought medical care to the verge of collapse for more than 50,000 Serbian Bosnians trapped between Serb and Croat forces in the divided town of Mostar.

"We are working in mediaeval conditions as you can see," said doctor Dragan Milavic, hunched before a flickering candle in the cellar of the besieged makeshift hospital on the east bank of the Neretva River.

"Most of the building is unusable because of shelling. There is no heat. When there is fuel we have electric power for a few hours in the morning and in the evening."

Milavic said the only positive development at the hospital in recent months has been a decrease in casualties from a high of 60 a day in the summer to about 10 now.

Croats have been trying to drive Bosnians from Mostar since May. When their alliance against rebel Serbs in Bosnia's three-way civil war collapsed. The Bosnian-quarter hospital, housed in a red, two-storey laboratory building built a century ago, has been hit repeatedly by Croat artillery fire in recent months.

About 50 patients lie behind the converted laboratory's shrapnel-pocked masonry and sand-bagged windows. Many are seriously wounded, but without any prospect of the intensive medical care needed to recover.

Recently doctors at the hospital indemnified 23-year-old Enisa Trnovac as the patient most in need of outside help.

Hit by shrapnel from a Croat shell three days earlier, Enisa had had her right arm amputated near the shoulder. Severe chest and stomach wounds were inducing kidney failure. "She needs immediate kidney dialysis," Milavic explained.

"We have asked the Croats for permission to evacuate her for dialysis, but of course they have said, 'No'."

In the next room a young boy with head wounds lies in the dark, crying out to his mother. "Am I OK now? Am I OK now?"

Doctors say shrapnel is lodged so deep in the boy's brain that surgery is impossible without a brain scan - a medical procedure, like dialysis, unavailable on the east bank.

"The boy will get meningitis soon if he is not evacuated, but we have given Enisa priority since she will die first," said Milavic.

Before the day was out Enisa was dead and the boy had moved up to first on the list for evacuation.

Bosnians and Croats bicker endlessly over medical evacuations and prisoner and body exchange, each side negotiating for advantage over the other.

"They are bargaining with patients' lives," complained Dr. Angeles Martinez, a Spanish member of the International Relief Group Doctors of the World.

### Nigeria's March to the Unknown:

Nigeria's military appear to have succeeded in weakening opposition forces by appointing yet more radicals to key positions in government and in the provincial capitals, following the appointment of radicals to the country's new ruling council.

General Sani Abacha, who is chairman of the council and retains his post of defence minister, looks determined to complete his grip over the country which has been turmoil since the annulled June 12th elections. The present instability is Nigeria's worst since the 1967-70 Biafra civil war.

Two months ago, Ibrahim Babangida had stepped down and handed over power to industrialist Ernest Shonekan, who was replaced by Sani Abacha two weeks ago. The ruling council, made up of military, police and security generals, continues to exert total influence on the situation. The only three civilians in the 11-man council are Baba Gana Kingibe, the running mate of thwarted presidential candidate Masood

Abiola, and Alex Ibru, publisher of the Lagos Guardian newspaper, and radical lawyer Olu Onagoruwa.

The military continues to insist they do not plan to stay in power. The number two in the ruling council, Lt-General Oladipo Diya, Chief of General Staff, said in an unusually frank speech to officers, "Our countrymen are tired of military rule. Their last experience of seven years had been of frustration and disgust... The sight of the military had become a symbol of corruption, indiscipline and distrust." That was the first open denunciation of Babangida's regime by a former lieutenant and appeared in line with reports of deep splits in the military in the final days of Babangida's rule.

Yet, Diya stressed the army had a duty to save the country from civil strife. "Do we stand and fold our arms and allow our beloved country drift to a state of anarchy, become dismembered or become another Somalia?"

That is why the army remains in power!

## تذير

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# WHY CONSERVATION?

With this article, Yemen Times is pleased to start a series of articles on the natural habitat of Yemen and stressing mainly the environment and wildlife. This corner is coordinated by Dr. Derek Harvey, and at the moment, he authors the articles. I am happy to invite others to write on issues relevant to the theme of this corner.

The Chief Editor

The world we live in is full of living things. If it were not so, it could not exist. Plants and animals, tiny organisms in the sea, trees, birds, mammals, flowers, and even man, are bound together and depend on each other in a wonderful and complicated way. For millions of years, a balance has been maintained in the natural world which has enabled individual species of plants and animals to survive and adapt to change. The natural adaptation process is slow and gradual. As their environment changed through the centuries, plants and animals have slowly learned new ways to live, and the most successful ones have survived and prospered. This process of adapting is what Darwin called as "evolution" - the fittest species evolved and survived.

That is how nature works when left alone, and since the beginning of time, it has been effective. But over the last few centuries, man has increasingly interfered in this process. Because of man's lust for power and resources, and in view of the sheer size of humanity which has increased so rapidly, more and more land is used for building homes and factories to satisfy man's needs. More and more land is drained to grow more food for the ever hungry millions of people in the world, and more forests are cut down to provide more timber.



But in his greedy desire for more land and material, man has not stopped to ask the right questions about the consequences of his actions: What happens when you

drain the land? What happens when you remove whole forests? What is the function of forests in preserving moisture in the atmosphere? What happens if you overuse land and do not replace the nutrients? What happens when cattle overgraze pasture? What happens when the waste from factories drains into streams, rivers and seas? What happens when fishermen use bigger nets of ever smaller mesh? What happens when man sprays aerosol cans everywhere to kill insects, to "freshen" the air, and to paint walls and metal? The world is now so over-

populated that by the year 2020, there will be nearly 8 billion people on this planet - to be fed and housed. That population is now doubling itself every 50 years, and its

needs cannot be met now, let alone in 50 years time. As trees are felled, and land drained and overgrazed, deserts are forming which will provide neither food nor timber for anyone. The ozone layer in the atmosphere is getting thinner, and the average temperature is steadily rising, so that many species will not be able to survive. All this is not only sad and depressing, but means that man himself and his future are threatened by the disappearance of the very things he is destroying. It is increasingly likely that, in the next hundred years, man could be a dying

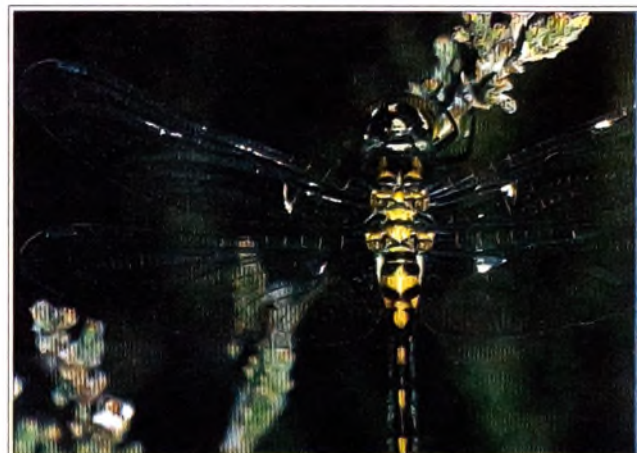
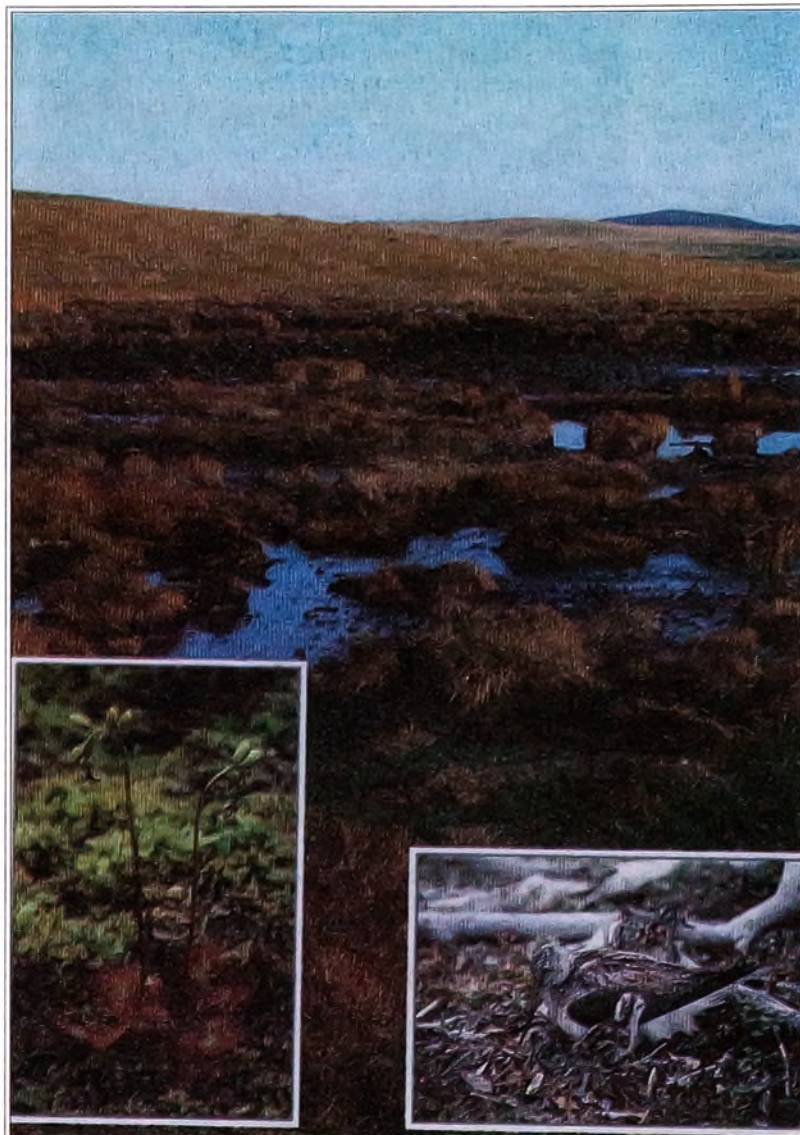
species in a world that can no longer sustain life as we know it today. Hence the need for conservation. Action is now urgently needed to stop this mad rush to self-destruction. A great deal of research has been done to find ways and means for man to live in harmony with the natural world.

A great deal of practical advice is available to help governments to plan ways to grow timber, food, vegetables, etc., that do not destroy the environment, and to preserve the wildlife. Wildlife, which is not just a rich heritage to hand on to our children and grandchildren, but is also an essential part of the food-chain, without which we cannot survive.

Man can live successfully in harmony with the world around him, and in this column over the next few months, we will look at particular aspects of this worldwide crisis as it affects Yemen, and the very rich natural heritage that is ours to protect.

There is still time to get it right in Yemen, by recognizing the need to protect the countryside, to plan afforestation to replace trees as they are cut, to use safe and productive agricultural practices which conserve the land and its future, and to protect areas of special wildlife significance so that evolution may proceed at its own slow pace, and where people may go and see the beauty of Yemen's wild places, undisturbed by man's interference.

By: Derek Harvey,  
Yemen Ornithological Soc.



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BA 136	TUE/SAT	ADEN	LONDON (GATWICK)	2255	0625*

BA 137	TUE/SAT	LONDON (GATWICK)	SANA'A	1130	2359
BA 136	WED/SUN	SANA'A	LONDON (GATWICK)	0125	0625

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*When the Law Is Rendered Forceless:*

## The Gypsies: Victims of Prejudice

Persecuted, hated and unable to find work - life for the five million Gypsies living in Eastern Europe has worsened since the fall of the Soviet Union.

Gypsies have been targeted by right-wing extremists in increasingly brutal attacks. Tens of thousands have fled to the west to escape poverty and repression only to find themselves equally unwelcome there.

A survey compiled by the German Press Agency (DPA) shows that the situation in Romania, where there are more than three million Gypsies, is particularly serious.

Gypsies or Czigani as they are known there, first appeared in Romania more than 600 years ago. Today most of them live in dirty suburbs or on the edge of villages. Some have to live without electricity.

Educational standards among Gypsies are low in most countries. Many children, especially those belonging to nomadic Gypsies, are expected to work or are sent into the cities to beg and steal and never receive schooling.

This stirs up resentment among Romanians. Recently, three Gypsies were killed and twelve houses burnt to the ground after a stabbing incident near Mures.

The treatment of Gypsies in Slovakia is similar. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, in an effort to politicize and

capitalize on public sentiment, was recently reported to have called for a clamp down on Gypsy births, saying they were "incapable of fitting-in socially and were a mentally backward people."

Meciar later protested that the official Tasr news agency, which is under his control, had quoted him out of context.

Slovakian Gypsies recently lodged a complaint with the Council of Europe after the chief of Police in Spisske Podhradie introduced a curfew on Gypsies.

Around 250,000 Gypsies live in Slovakia according to official estimates. Unemployment is a major problem. Some complain that jobs which they were given over the telephone were later given to ethnic Slovaks after their origins had been discovered.

Hungary is the most notable country which has made progress towards the political rights of the Gypsies. The 800,000 Gypsies in that country are part of the political process and have been represented in parliament since the 1991 elections. Almost all the big parties have Gypsy candidates and there is talk of allowing them to form their own party without having to pass the unusual 4% mark to enter parliament.

However, the Ciganyok as they are known, remain the most hated minority in the

country, according to opinion polls. Violent attacks by the growing number of right-wing skin-heads are common.

Police themselves are sometimes involved in attacks and are slow to follow up complaints, Gypsy organizations say. With Gypsy unemployment of between 70% to 100%, they have little chance of earning a living.

The Czech Republic's 300,000 Gypsies also suffer discrimination. A girl in Plzen recently suffered head injuries after she was forced to jump from a moving tram. In Pesek an 18 year-old man drowned after a mob of skin-heads attacked a group of Gypsies. "Gas the Gypsies" can be seen scrawled on walls in big cities such as Prague.

The Czech government is trying to integrate Gypsies through special pre-school classes to teach children Czech, as most of their parents can hardly speak the language.

The law in Poland takes no account of minorities. Most of the country's 80,000 Gypsies came from Romania in the hope of travelling on to Germany, but they were turned back at the German border or thrown out. So they are stuck in Poland.

All in all, the plight of the Gypsies has yet to be recognized by the world community and their "native" countries, let alone to be rectified.

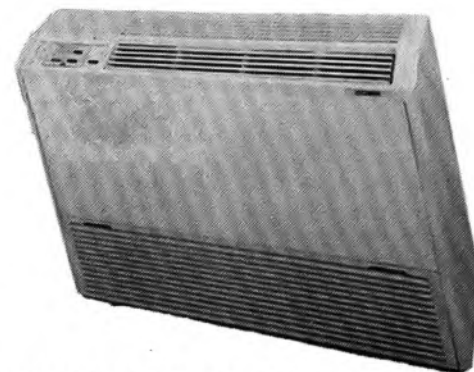
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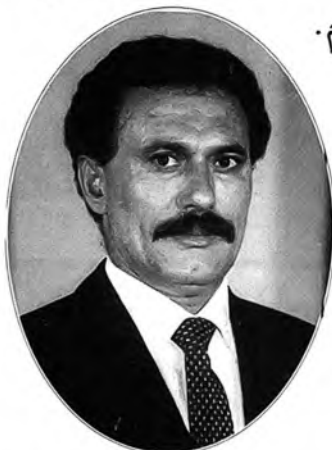
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## تقدم مؤسسة الغاز اليمنية

بأطيب وأزكى تهانيه إلى كافة أبناء الشعب اليمني وحكومته ورئيس وأعضاء مجلس النواب والفريق علي عبد الله صالح ونائبه علي سالم البيض وبقية أعضاء مجلس الرئاسة وكل عام إلى مزيد من التطور والتقدم.



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### ARE THE COALITION PARTNERS SERIOUS IN THEIR REFORMS !?

The current political crisis is the result of a competition of the political groups as manifested by the issuance of a number of points which they call demands aiming at correcting the situation. Each side regards its points or demands as final is not ready to make any concessions. Undoubtedly, the points are positive initiatives, but they are only the basis for discussion by the coalition partners. They are also relevant to the people's concerns; particularly, those law and order.

It is noticed that the demands turned into ultimatums of the political groups, and they became the reason for more escalation and provocation. Thus, leaving no room for serious dialogue.

It is easy to talk about issues which concern the citizens, but it is hard to lay down specific plans and it is even harder to implement them. If we look deeply into the points raised by the YSP, PGC and Islah, we see that each set of points requires a lot of sustained efforts to implement them.

The implementation requires the creation of new procedures mechanisms and a high levels of competence. It is necessary for the government to change most of the security cadres. It is necessary to work out a new hierarchy and philosophy for the security apparatus, its tasks and activities. As the administrative and financial corruption pervades all layers of the bureaucracy, there is an inability or even a paralysis in the government's performance, and it loses its role in steering all the whole nation.

This issue of corruption was raised repeatedly by all sides as if they have nothing to do with it. The situation requires that we review the hierarchy of the administrative apparatus of the state. The state needs a modern and well qualified staff to be chosen objectively on the basis of competence. We ought to apply the principle of punishment and reward as a means to interact with the behavior of employees. Any person who is incapable of performing his/her work, has no place in the administration. Thus, we should stop the philosophy of appointment in governmental posts because of tribal or political affiliation. How are we going to progress and develop if the political parties don't accept the principles of change in government hierarchy? Let us take the judicial apparatus as an example. This requires enormous change to remove the corrupt judges and assistants so as to stabilize the justice system and enhance respect for the law.

All political leaders of the country must focus on reform and on combatting corruption. The political parties must start reforming themselves first. We hope to achieve a comprehensive reform as soon as possible. Then investments will come to assist in the construction of a modern Yemen on sound foundations.

Editorial,  
*Al-Tanmiah*, Sanaa,

### DEMOCRACY IS NOT A MEANS FOR DESPOTISM

Unity and democracy are two great achievements which we have to protect whatever happens. Democracy means justice, equality, law and order, and a system that works, and shura in decision-making. Democracy is not a slogan raised by a despotic ruler who oppresses his people and spends public funds as if they were his personal money.

Democracy means equal rights and duties for all citizens. It also means equal opportunity for all to participate in the reconstruction of the homeland. Democracy is not a camouflage for the ruler's desire to continue in power.

When a ruler governs by his whims and mood, then their can be no justice or equality. The ruler ought to know that Yemen belongs to all people of Yemen.

To prove that they are democratic, our rulers must submit to accountability. Democracy does not mean to enrich oneself illegally while the people die of starvation. Democracy means returning to people whenever there is a problem or a crisis.

By: Ibrahim Bin Mohamed  
*Al-Wazeer*,  
*Al-Balaagh*, Sanaa,  
22/11/1993

### A CHATTERBOX ?

It goes without saying that we cannot deny the past with all its morals and values. Why not take what is best from the past and the present and leave out what is trifle. What happened in Yemen is that we have taken what is bad from both the past and present, thus allowing the people to starve, suffer, scream, die of disease, etc. Our people are worried and afraid since they find no one to help them. We have reached a point where we don't know why people scream? Is it because of the rising prices? The people look stiff, angry and agonized.

The reality is that our people live under severe circumstances and they are not in need of statements and empty words. What they require is a decent standard of living - appropriate accommodation, proper health care, good schooling, respect for law and order, etc. We need a system based on justice, equality, human rights.

The only solution for all the agonies is a refusal of the imposition of a state of fear on us. What is bothering the citizen is that he/she finds himself facing new set of restrictions and complications. Therefore, we suffer from fear, pain, monotonous life. The grievances of life made almost all the people lose their values and morals. Social relations - cooperation, trust, and other values - have degenerated. All Yemenis wonder today, whatever happened to us? Where are the dreams, let alone the projects? How much of the oil revenue has been spent on the projects of development?

What is important is that we fear the wave of anger to turn into violence, and that turn of events is likely to

Indicators show that the economic crisis ended up into a political crisis and no one knows what will happen next? And when it will be?

By: Abdu Hussain Ahmad,  
*Al-Ayyam*, Aden,  
24/11/1993

### WE NEED DIALOGUE!

With the hot discussions of the political crisis that press on us, there comes into sight a glimmer of hope amid gloom. That is because of the on-going dialogue, which is the only means of understanding each other. Sure, dialogue takes time, and the issues are most complicated. But all sides are determined to get the current dialogue beyond the useless arguments of the past.

The YSP confirms that it is impossible to return to the old ways of the past. If we want the current dialogue to be fruitful and lead to tangible results, it is necessary to assess the situation from different angles giving it a new impetus. What we want is credibility to be the foundation of our new approach, away from military mobilization, reinforcements, field preparations for battle, etc. How can we proceed with a fruitful dialogue amid media campaigns which poison and inflame the emotions. What we aim at is to achieve a degree of objectivity, acceptance of the reality and respect for the opinion of others.

We don't need to exchange squabbles, insults and fabrications. We all want to forget the past and focus on the future. We need more frank and direct tackling of the crisis with open and clear minds in search of solutions for the problems.

By: Editorial,  
*Al-Thawri*, Sanaa,  
25/11/1993

### CONTINUATION OF THE CRISIS AFFECTS THE WHOLE SITUATION

The PGC's leadership sees that the continuation of the current crisis will cause grave harm to the homeland and the citizens at all levels. The government hasn't made any effort to stop the deteriorating situation. Nothing has been done to stop the hike of prices, the fall of the local currency and many other problems. It is strange that the government and some of the coalition parties have no solution to halt the escalation of the crisis.

Instead of dealing with the crisis seriously by shouldering its responsibility, the government further emotionalizes the issues. Some of the parties and newspapers do not stop at the level of criticism, but they create fear and worry among the citizens by spreading rumors about military preparations and other stories. Whatever the nature of the crisis, the role of political forces should be to stress the need for reconciliation.

Regardless of the grievances and differences any side may have, the interests of Yemen dictate that all sides shoulder their responsibilities boldly and with an eye to the possible complications which may expose Yemen to fragmentation, conflicts and civil war. The leadership of the PGC is interested in

causes on the basis of dialogue with the YSP, the third coalition partner, and any other forces on condition that all agree to respect the legitimacy and constitutional institutions.

The PGC stands on common national grounds of unity and democracy, and pledges not to resort to violence. We ought to neutralize the role of the armed forces in these differences. It is important to put Yemen above all considerations and to focus on development and raising the standard of living, and on assuring stability and security. Let us all get together at a round table and discuss how to overcome the crisis and to strengthen the factors which enhance trust and stability.

By: The political Editor,  
*Al-Mithaq*, Sanaa,  
29/11/1993.

### EARNEST DIALOGUE = A SOLUTION ?

Two persons might not differ about the deteriorating situation at the present time. It is visible that the ruling clique have failed to confront the requirements of this phase of our evolution. Even worse, their conduct, outlook, and attitude are pushing the homeland to more backwardness, fragmentation and other ills.

Within parliament, which is divided into believers and disclaimers of the existence of a crisis, we find that a number of committees have been to tackle some of the complications. The formation of a successive number of committees has begun to affect their credibility and added to the citizens' frustrations.

The homeland is in need of a serious dialogue and not committees. It is clear that proper dialogue requires a certain environment and terms taking into consideration the actors and goals. Any dialogue which has no specific goals will have no credibility or overall perspective. Otherwise, it quickly degenerates into useless arguing, which we are now well accustomed.

Any dialogue with hot-heads will lead to more tension. The previous dialogues are good examples of what happens. The public asks, "What are the results of the formation of so many committees since 22 May 1990? It seems that one of the great complications that faced those committees lies in the

and the way they went about the job. The goals were either mistaken or not precise enough. This means that they did not rely on objectivity, frankness and clarity to help the negotiators understand each others' languages.

Thus, complications and differences appeared and mushroomed without possessing the capability to overcome any of the trivial, personal, marginal ills. Therefore, the causes of the crisis remained as they were. Even worse, instead of defusing the crisis, the result was exchange accusations, squabbles and military preparations and maneuvers. All of these point complications add to the worries of the citizen from an economic recession, hike of prices, etc. As a result, some people began to curse the Yemeni unification for all those problems.

By: Fatima Jubran,  
*Al-Mustaqbal*, Sanaa,  
28/11/1993.

### A FEDERATION OF FIVE REGIONS!

During the next few days, Yemen is going to witness positive changes of great importance which will put the country at the threshold of a new era. There are indications of steps which began to evolve around a practical solution to our current crisis. The expected solution for the crisis is not a fragmentation of the unification, for repartitioning the country will be impossible, but a practical solution to our problems.

There are secret talks and consultations among the main actors in the crisis inching towards local administration. This means the implementation of a decentralized system.

This also means that each side recognizes the other, but they are not close enough to possess similar positions on critical matters. Our sources confirm that there are differences in outlooks, but the two sides are getting closer under pressure.

On the one hand, we see that the PGC refuses the confederation idea regarding it a starting point towards repartitioning. On the other hand, we see that YSP proposes a distribution of local authorities according to the outcome of the parliamentary elections.

Informed sources told *Al-Shoura* that the PGC proposed an amalgamation of the two systems whereas

of five regions. Federation is aimed at the preservation of unity and it is the only solution for the crisis (since amalgamation has not worked), and it can't be refused by the PGC. The proposals of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other organizations to our economic difficulties also support this solution. They confirm they are ready to grant new aid and loans to fight corruption and to achieve stability, peace and security. Those considerations will force the PGC to accept a federal system. Federation or local rule will allow rapid regional developments. For example, the current arrangements in Aden toward development will proceed whereas this process faces impediment in the northern governorates due to tribal dominance. There is also a possibility to form a national reconciliation government. Its tasks will be to prepare for federal system or local rule.

By: Editorial,  
*Al-Shoura*, Sanaa,  
28/11/1993

### THE CONFRONTATION

Every passing day presents new political lies and deceit, and out people put up with them. Our politicians only pursue their selfish interests and they always tell us this is the only solution - whether federalism, fragmentation, civil war, or whatever.

Let us be more frank. Don't you see what the world will ask. What are the Yemenis fighting about? Why have intermediaries succeeded in the past, and they have failed now. Is it that one side has decided to close the door.

I have to say the good natured people may turn out to be savage animals if we let our inner souls and desires come out. Don't let that animal within each one of us come out.

Real heroism is not to display points of strength or weaknesses of others. Real heroism is to sit down around the dialogue table and see light. It is in this light that I think the meeting of the Ali Abdullah Saleh and Ali Salim Al-Beedh is much better than the meeting of the intermediaries. Direct talks are the answer, and those who refuse will receive the wrath of the people.

By: Mohammed Abdul-Iah Al-Assar,  
*Al-Wahdah*, Sanaa,

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Continued from page 1

## Haynes Mahoney's Ordeal:

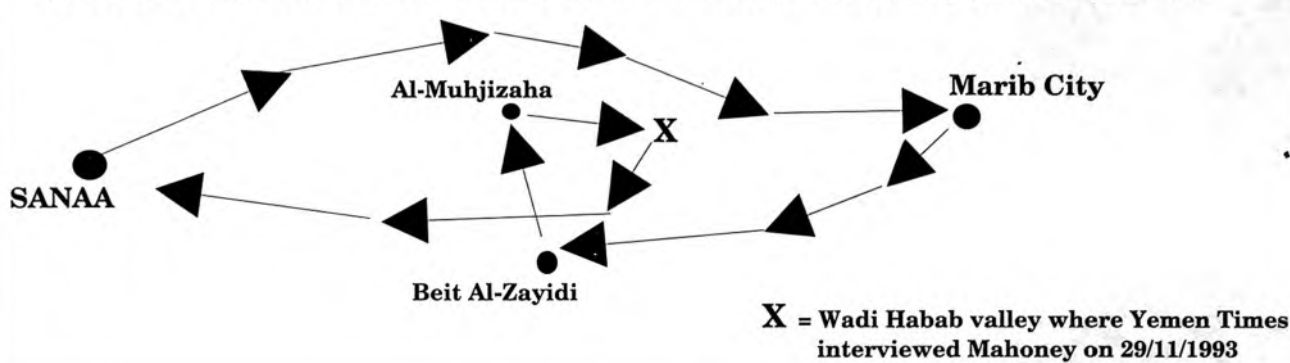
### The Interview:

The interview was carried out on a tete-a-tete basis, mainly in the Yemen Times car. The reason, the captors would agree to the meeting only if it were to take place in the open space in the bottom of a valley - Wadi Habab. It was already 7:30.

As we met, Haynes and I embraced. He is, by the way, my classmate. We took some courses together at the Fletcher School.

The main purpose of the trip was to give whatever comfort and assurances as possible. We talked for about an hour, I took some pictures for him and brought back to Sanaa a recorded message.

### ROUTE OF 500 kms. YEMEN TIMES TRIP TO SEE MR. MAHONEY IN CAPTIVITY



X = Wadi Habab valley where Yemen Times interviewed Mahoney on 29/11/1993

"They treat me well," he stressed. "We talk about the problem of kidnapping and hi-jacking and how bad it is for Yemen's stability. Every

one agreed, and we talked about finding solutions to this problem," he added. Of course, they have not yet found a solution.

### The Release:

The conditions for releasing the American hostage were finally met by Sheikh Mohammed Bin Naji Al-Ghader, paramount sheikh of the Khowlan tribes, to which Jahm belongs. He is said to have had authority from high sources in the state to commit to the demands.

The two key demands are the rent on Station No. 2 and the employing of some 200 natives of the tribe to "guard" the station, although the army is already doing this job.

In addition, there are some development projects, which, in the medium to long term, the government is asked to finance. "We are here in this desolate place, and the petroleum is pumped underneath our feet. We have not seen any of the proceeds of this petroleum. We want some of the money," stated Lt-Colonel Mubarak Al-

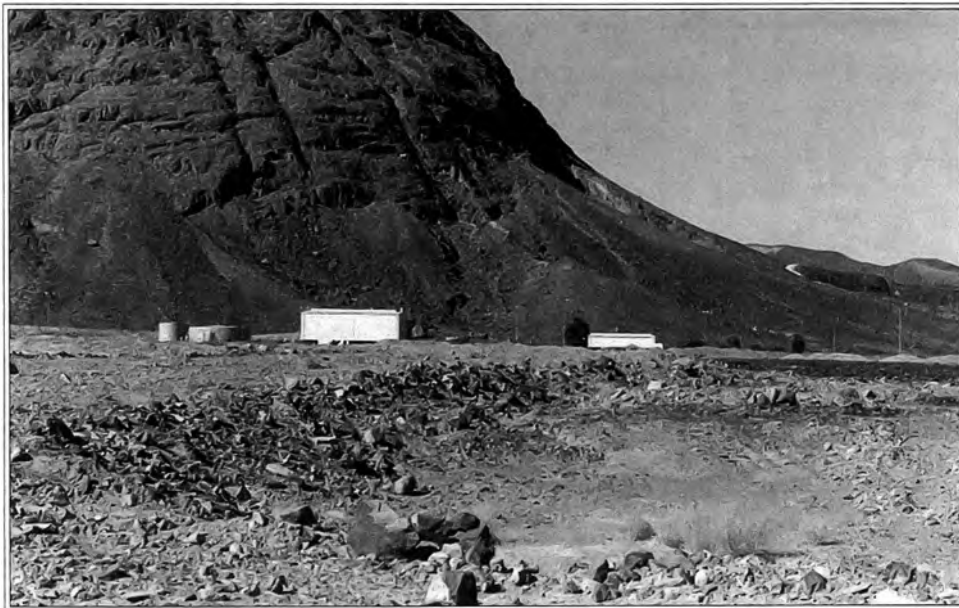
Zayidi, nicknamed Al-Mashan, the architect and executor of the hostage-taking. It is clear he felt cheated out of his share.

### Home At Last:

Haynes Mahoney was released around 10:00 p.m. on Wednesday, December 1st. At 9:10 a.m. on Thursday (2/12/93), he arrived at Sanaa Airport on board of a military aircraft.

His wife, the US ambassador and the Deputy Minister of Interior were at hand to greet him. The group went to see the Minister of Interior, and then the President of the Republic. Then they arrived at the embassy compound where a large crowd of friends and colleagues greeted their arrival.

"I am glad to be happy. Thank you all," he said. Thus ended a one-week ordeal.



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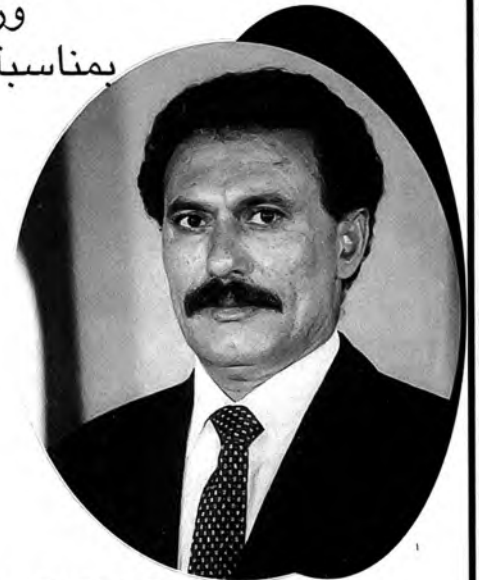
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## HALIBURTON WORLDWIDE LIMITED

is happy to share in the joys of the Yemeni people  
on the fourth anniversary of the Unification Agreement,  
and we wish all many happy returns.



**\* Nargas Obad:**

Famous actor in Aden Theater Ms. Nargas Obad, is leading these days a perfected performance of the play "A Strike at Home." It is a vivid and comical representation of difficulties at home.

The play is written by Mukhtar Ahmed Saleh, and directed by Qassim Omar.

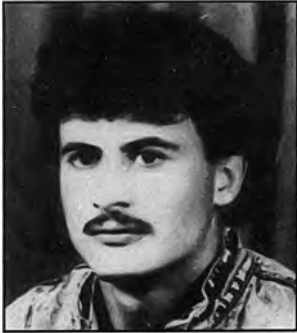
Support roles are played by numerous well-known actors including Salim Al-Ubab, Aklan Murshid, Dhirar Rawah, among others.



**\* Abdullah Al-Musawaa:**

World traveller Abdullah Al-Musawaa has just left Romania on his way north-west. Al-Musawaa is travelling on his horse on a trip he calls "The Journey for Love and Peace" which has already taken him through fourteen countries in the Middle East, so far.

His return trip will start once he reaches the western-most part of Europe in France, and then head south through the Iberian Peninsula, and back east through Africa. He started his trip thirteen months ago.

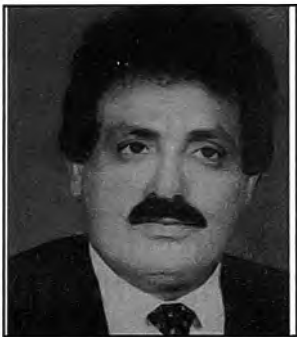


**\* Mohammed Abdul-Qawi Ahmed:**

Mr. Mohammed Abdul-Qawi Ahmed, Chairman of the Yemeni Community's Association in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, is in Sanaa these days.

"I am here on a private visit, although I am using this opportunity to finish many things that concern the Yemenis in the Kingdom," he explained.

He indicated that there were many bureaucratic bottlenecks facing the formalities that many Yemenis who wish to return with their belongings.



**\* Abdul-Malik Al-Mikhlaifi:**

Mr. Abdul-Malik Al-Mikhlaifi has taken over last week as Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Tanzeem Al-Wahdawi Al-Sha'abi Al-Nasseri (TWSN), following the 8th Congress.

The TWSN is the only Yemeni party that has achieved a peaceful transfer of power among the top cadres of the party. In spite of the fact that some parties have held open and free elections, no other party has made the smooth transfer.



**\* Qadhi Ahmed Mohammed Al-Shami:**

Qadhi Ahmed Mohammed Al-Shami, Secretary-General of Hizbul-Haq and Vice Chairman of the Federation of Popular Forces, said, "We don't find much difference between what the 2 ALI's are saying. Both condemn corruption and waste and disregard for the law."

He added that the real test is to see who would agree to the steps to correct the current malaise of the country.



**\* Jarallah Omar:**

Mr. Jarallah Omar, Minister of Tourism and Culture and Member of the YSP Political Bureau, has concluded an official visit to Paris.

The Minister has participated in the four-day Seminar on Yemen and the Red Sea held in Paris last week. The seminar, which is organized by the French Cultural Council and the Arab Bloc of the French Senate, focussed on Yemen's role in making the Red Sea a safe international waterway, as well as in combatting pollution and other problems.

Jarallah used the opportunity to link up with French officials.



**\* Mahmood Al-Hag:**

Mr. Mahmood Al-Hag, a famous television personality, and a literary person, has taken over as Chief Editor of *Sawt Al-Yaman* newspaper. The paper is the mouthpiece of Hizbul Ahrar Al-Dastouri and is well-known for its pro-YSP stands.

At another level, Mohammed Abdul-Ilah Al-Assar, has been appointed as managing editor of the official *Al-Wahdah* newspaper. *Al-Wahdah* Chief Editor Ahmed Al-Hubaishi says he had nothing to do with the decision and that he was not even consulted by the Information Minister's decision.



**\* Saleh Bin Hussainoon:**

Mr. Saleh Abubakar Bin Hussainoon, Minister of Oil and Mineral Resources, stressed the need to expedite exploration efforts towards the rapid exploitation of the country's oil resources.

The minister's statement came following a meeting in Aden with visiting senior Total officials who briefed him on the preliminary results of the exploration efforts in East Shabwah and Jannah Blocks.



Both blocks gave positive results of oil discovery.

**\* Yahia Al-Mutawakkil:**

Brigadier Yahia Al-Mutawakkil, Minister of Interior, disclosed that there were lapses in the security system over the last few months because of considerations associated with the political crisis.

"From now on, there will be no considerations and I shall seek to apply the law in full, no matter who is involved. We will apply a new set of guidelines on arms carrying (in cities) and there will be no exceptions. I shall not accept any leniency in applying the law, or I quit," he stated.



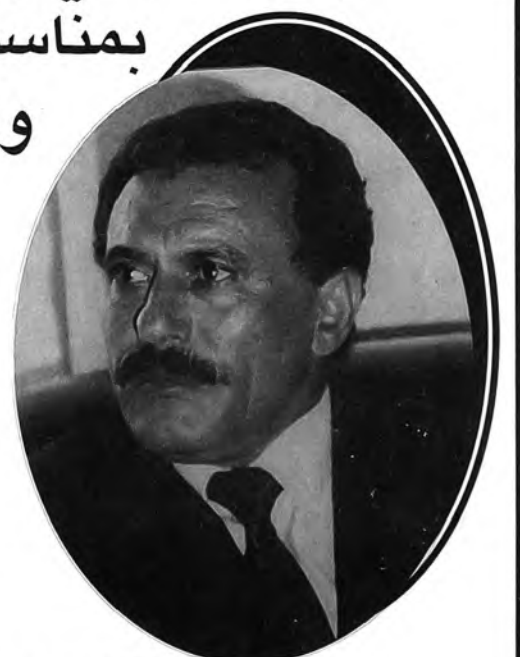
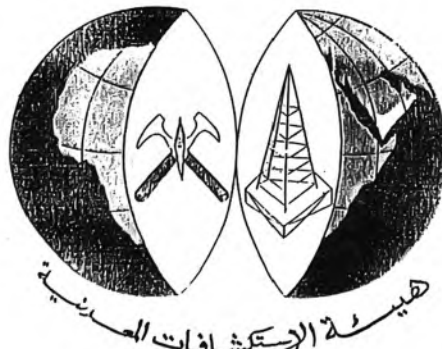
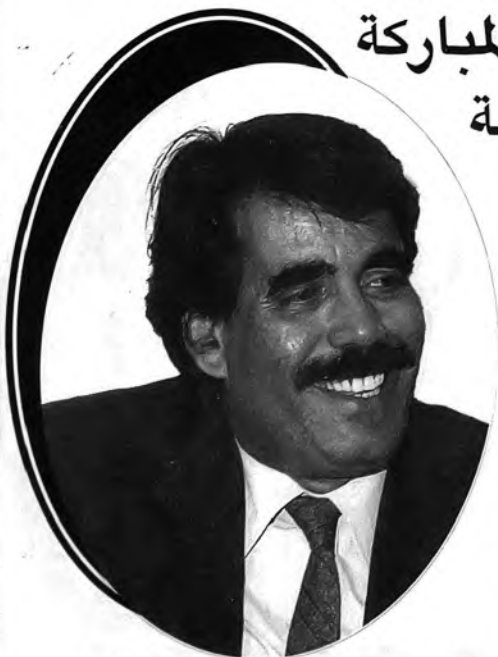
## تقدم هيئة الاستكشافات المعدنية

بأرق التهاني والتبريكات للشعب اليمني وقيادته السياسية وحكومته

بمناسبة ذكرى التوقيع على إتفاقية الوحدة المباركة

والجلاء من جزء غال من أرضنا الحبيبة

وكل عام والجميع بخير



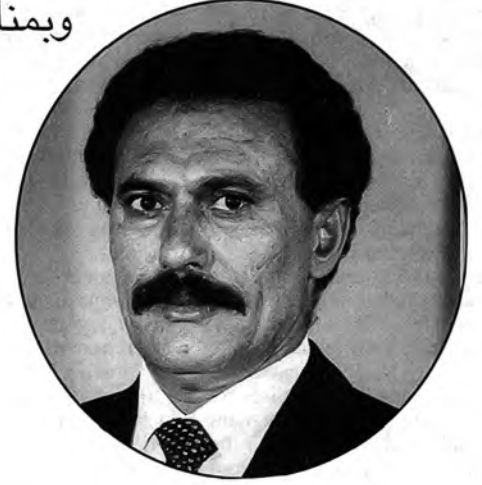
## MINERAL EXPLORATION BOARD

wishes the Yemeni people all the best  
on the anniversary of the signing  
of the Unification Agreement.



# تتقدم العالمية للسفرات والسياحة

بأطيب وأزكى تهانيتها إلى كافة أبناء الشعب اليمني وحكومته ورئيس وأعضاء مجلس النواب والفريق علي عبد الله صالح ونائبه علي سالم البيض وبقية أعضاء مجلس الرئاسة بمناسبة ذكرى التوقيع على إتفاقية الوحدة المباركة ،  
وبمناسبة ذكرى رحيل آخر جندي أجنبي من تربة بلادنا الطاهرة  
وكل عام إلى مزيد من التطور والتقدم.



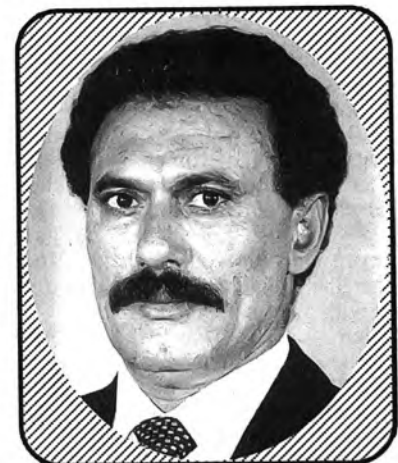
## UNIVERSAL Travel & Tourism

extends its hearty congratulations to the Yemeni people and leadership on  
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and on the departure of the colonial forces from Yemen.  
Happy Eid and Many Enjoyable Returns.

بمناسبة ذكرى التوقيع على إتفاقية الوحدة المباركة، وعيد الجلاء

# يتقدم البنك العربي (ش م ع)

بأطيب وأزكى تهانيه إلى كافة أبناء الشعب اليمني وحكومته ورئيس وأعضاء مجلس النواب والفريق علي عبد الله صالح ونائبه علي سالم البيض وبقية أعضاء مجلس الرئاسة  
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## The Arab Bank (plc)

presents its best wishes to Yemen  
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## Letters to the Editor

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### The Somalia Lesson

Somalia, the land and people, are presently at the mercy of the international community, following the total collapse of the national administration, law and order and the tragic political miscalculation and malpractice of the land's body politic. This could be a lesson to caring people, especially our neighbors as to the legacy of gross mismanagement.

Somalis are driven to humiliation and once a respectable population and nation with full sovereignty is now wailing as it watches a steady loss of grace and identity. What remains today is a long list of orphans, widows and starving creatures, while the able bodied continue to kill each other. The upshot is an emergence of rump of people, beggars and vagabonds. Many Somalis languish in world prisons, and pregnant Somali women deliver on the streets. Refugee camps from Kenya to Ethiopia to Yemen to Europe are flooded with Somalis. It is almost impossible to travel on a Somali passport and the Somali educational certificates are despised.

This population, however, deserves some reckoning with in spite of the fact that Somalis have cut their throats by their own hands.

In this context, I would like to state that we are not the first population to undergo such a catastrophe. I am sure that the surviving Somali people will narrate grim accounts of bitter experiences and rankling.

At this moment, the Somali population survives on handouts and humanitarian assistance. I suppose such rescue efforts are not based on race, faith or color. It is a duty that every human being has towards other humans.

By:  
Ahmed Sh. Ali Hassan.,  
Sanaa.

### Life in Yemen

I am that anybody who has spent some times in Yemen must have formed a good idea regarding life in Yemen. It is no surprise that most people have reached the same conclusions.

Living in Yemen is repetitive and monotonous. The regularity is so certain it is just like the sun rises from the east every morning and sets in the west every evening. If you need any proof, just observe your own life. Look at what you do, what you say, what you hear, what you see and what is going on. You will find out you are repeating the cycle day in and day out.

No wonder, most of us are repeating or doing so many things together. Most important is reporting to our duties by praying, working and either chewing qat, listening to the rumors, promises, watching unentertaining entertainments, eating beans if not twice everyday at least once. Yes, eggs wee a repeat item until they have become a bit expensive.

We listen to politicians lie to us. We know they lie, they know they are liars, but the acting continues.

Days, weeks, months and years pass by. In short, we exist, we don't live!

We need something to happen in our lives. Something really different, and hopefully, pleasant and meaningful. Maybe we should start doing something about the corruption. This sin or plague that has pervaded every aspect of our lives.

There are too many promises around, and none of them is bound to come true. Yet, we cling to them, because we have nothing else.

I am sure we need an overhaul, not a small change.

By:  
Abdulkadir Salah,  
Sanaa.

### Justice Delayed Is Justice Denied

Reacting to the "Presidential Robbery" account printed in the Yemen Times on the 22nd August 1993, I would like to take this opportunity to support Mr. Al-Beity on his statement, "We are in a land governed by the law of the jungle."

Indeed we are in a land of ignorance. With bitter words dictated deep from his heart I can understand his use of the media as his final outcry. We as citizens of this republic really feel sorry for what happened to him, but the bad thing is that the government feels nothing.

Those who carry guns in order to get even - a sense of justice - in our country are termed as terrorists by our government, but is that true? Have we ever asked ourselves, why do young men kidnap and kill, fight and die? If they are criminals, why don't we see them brought to justice? Why don't we see their pictures and know their names?

For the truth is, they are not criminals at all, they are fighting back, that is all. These men who have committed crimes have been denied their rights for a long time and this is the result.

I would like you to present your problem to the world court, human rights groups and to also announce it at every international forum. In our country the weak dies easily, fight for your right, even if many would not agree with the methods!!

I also like to warn investors to be more careful with their money in this land of Mafia. I advise Mr. Al-Beity to get himself "Vitamin Waaw," (Influence vitamin).

By: Abdo said Dhamari  
Sana'a.

## My Beloved PALESTINE

Because it is you I love,  
A "terrorist" I am called.  
How can I remain a dove,  
when you are betrayed and sold?

Although my home has been battered  
By the cruel Zionist hand.  
And my family worldwide scattered  
Ever aloof I shall stand.

Palestine, how I long to turn the clock  
Dearest Palestine, I do miss you so:  
To pray in the Mosque of the Rock  
To visit Haifa, Jaffa and Jericho.

To many a country have I been,  
Some near, and many afar.  
But your barren rocks are evergreen  
And none is whiter than your tar.

My blood for you will always flow,  
For your, dear, my blood runs cheap;  
If every drop I have to sow,  
That I, your holy land, may reap.

For our bond is ever strong.  
By this bond - sacred and true,  
I shall rise to right the wrong,  
That has befallen you!

Balfour's 'give-away' was but a farce;  
What he gave he had not owned.  
May he forever burn in molten brass,  
And his grave be forever be stoned.

Oh Palestine, tell the nations,  
those which double standards apply.  
That I shall after patience,  
with mighty force, to force, reply.

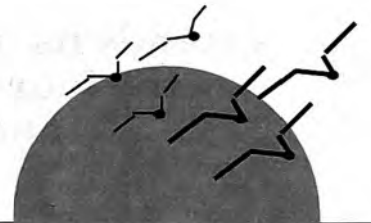
Israel's atrocious crimes you cover well  
To mention here, but only two:  
the Mayor of Bethlehem, the David Hotel  
That is one of us and many of you.

Many more crimes that can't be hushed  
My innocent people they interned.  
Our Children's bones, Oh they crushed  
And our private parts the burned.

You very rightly denounced,  
When Saddam transgressed Kuwait.  
But when Israel's pounced,  
You meekly asked us to negotiate.

Tell those that proclaimed justice,  
But in fact behave otherwise.  
History records their practice,  
And then, them it shall despise.

But I, one day, will my freedom earn.  
No longer this agony and sorrow  
To my sweetheart, I shall return,  
If not today, for sure tomorrow.



## A Comment on Articles on Women

It is really interesting and informative to read the Yemen Times, the country's leading newspaper.

I have noted recently, that you have increasingly focused on some of our traditions and customs, especially those related to the status and rights of women. It is clear that you are criticizing why women wear the sharshaf, for example.

I would like in turn to criticize your writings and illustrate my view point as follows:

For a long time not, Yemeni women have been wearing the sharshaf or veil, as it is an Islamic rule. That is why the women veil themselves by their own choice, and it has become a central part of our tradition concerning women.

But remember, even with the veil, Yemeni women have been able to interact positively in public life and with great competence. So, what is your problem?

Yemeni women have set their goal as building strong families and becoming good mothers. They are also responsible for the household chores and work on the farms. Not only that, but women also contributed to politics and administration. Remember Arwa Bint Ahmad Al-Sulaihi.

It was wrong of you to make women believe that they won't be able to do anything unless they throw away their veils. We should make them (women) feel responsible and allowing them to participate, I am sure they will succeed.

Also, it is not only by throwing away the veil that they could get married. Believe the girl from Taiz who wrote about her interest in getting married will get married. It will happen.

But he will attract attention only if she is veiled. If she were with no sharshaf (veil), the people in her society would not be attracted to her. It is our customs, and she and all of us are satisfied and happy with it. There is a saying which states that "It is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness." So if Yemen Times wants to help, it is better to suggest solutions than to tell women to throw off their veils.

Another and final point. Europe and the USA have a major problem. Thousands of their little girls get pregnant while they are still under 14 years. Partly this is because they have no veils.

The solution to this is to tell the Western girls openly that they can marry at the age of 16 years. This would resolve their problems. Could you comment on this please?

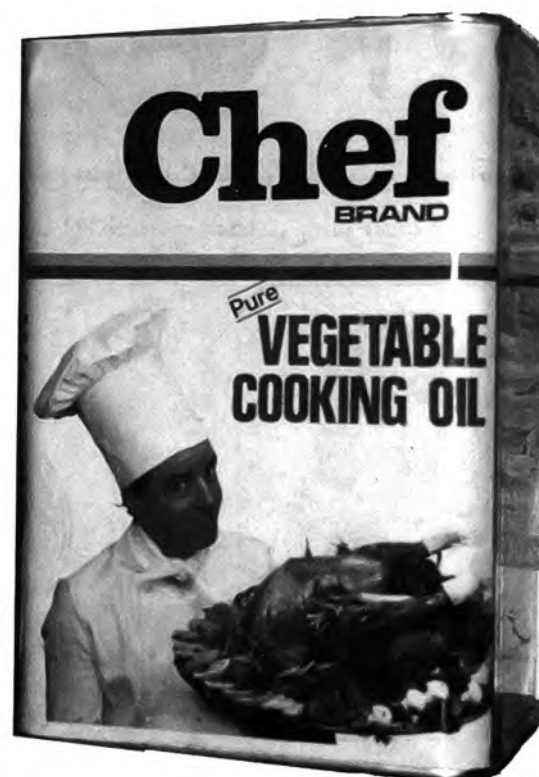
Amin Al-Husseini,  
University Student,  
Faculty of Commerce and Economics,  
Sanaa University.

### Editor's Comments:

1. We have not called on women to throw off their veils. But we do believe it is a personal choice. Those who choose to do so may do it, those who don't choose to be veiled, should not be pressured to do it.
2. The veil is not an old tradition in Yemen. Even today, in spite of its increasing use, it is an urban phenomenon.
3. The suggestion that women will be married or even better off if they only veiled, is, of course, ridiculous.
4. Both men and women should marry only when they are mature. That is not at 16.

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## Mark Elliott to the Yemen Times:

# "Britain supports Yemeni unity and democratisation."

Last month, Mr. Mark Elliott, British Deputy Undersecretary at the State, Commonwealth and Foreign Office, visited Yemen. He was here to participate in the British Week in Yemen, as well as to see "how things are" in Yemen, as he told the Yemen Times.

Yemen Times Chief Editor carried out the following exclusive interview with him.

Excerpts:

**Q: Can you tell us the purpose of your visit?**

**A:** Of course, as you well know, there have been a number of events that brought together Yemen and the United Kingdom over the last few days. My visit comes within that framework.

In addition, I have been reading about the political crisis in Yemen. So I decided to come for myself and assess the situation.

**Q: Could you share with our readers what you found?**

**A:** Yes, I could give an overall view. My first impression is that people here are unhappy about the way in which the new united Yemen is developing because they saw inefficiencies, particularly in the centralization in Sana'a. I

have met with many Yemeni officials, especially the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party, including Vice President Ali Salim Al-Beedh and Prime Minister Haidar Abubakar Al-Attas. Their comments are basically that they want the unification but they are unhappy about how it is working.

My second impression is that there is a serious communication break-down among the various components of the government and that there is a need for better communication between the two sides.

**Q: Did you sense any drive towards the re-partitioning of the country?**

**A:** No. All that I could make of my talks is that people want improvement in the system. Neither openly nor implicitly have I seen any drive towards re-partitioning of Yemen.

**Q: What is the British position on the crisis?**

**A:** Of course, we are not interested in interfering in the internal affairs of Yemen. But we have repeated many times that we support Yemeni unity and its democratization process. We also urge all sides to resolve any differences through dialogue. I have carried a letter from my Foreign Minister the Honorable Douglas Hurd



addressed to President Ali Abdullah Saleh in which we have made our position clear. (The letter was hand-delivered to the Prime Minister).

In my opinion, Yemeni unity is in the best interests of the people of Yemen, as well as the peoples of the region, including the Gulf States.

**Q: There are two British journalists who are locked up in Sana'a at the moment. What has your government done for them?**

**A:** That is a very unfortunate

incident. I had raised this matter while in London with the Yemeni ambassador. I have also raised it during my current visit with many Yemeni officials, including the foreign minister, Mr. Mohammed Salim Ba-Sindiwah, who was both well informed on the case and very sympathetic. I hope that they will both be released soon and they will be on their way home.

**Q: You mentioned you visit was planned to coincide with the events of the British Week in Yemen. Would you like to comment on the resumption of British Airways flights into Yemen?**

**A:** I am sure that the British Airways people have calculated well in deciding to fly into Yemen. I am also sure that this event is another milestone in the bilateral relations. It is bound to open new opportunities for cooperation leading to mutual benefit.

**Q: You say your country supports Yemeni unity and democratisation. In what ways?**

**A:** We have given whatever support was asked of us in the past, and we will continue to do so. We have encouraged investments and business between the two countries. (British investments in the oil sector alone amount to almost US \$ 1 billion).

We also continue to contribute to the development of the country. I am not well versed on this because it is another office, the ODA, that takes care of it.

Finally, we have given moral and other support as needed and asked for.

In general we like to see our assistance being used in the most effective way in helping the development process. This often means small placements rather than large sums of money which go to giant projects. In this light comes the small contributions made towards the

research efforts of the Economic Departments at Sana'a and Aden Universities. We hope to continue in this way.

**Q: How did your visit go?**

**A:** This was my first visit to Yemen. I am very impressed by the progress it has made as well as by the ambitions and aspirations for change. I think the United Kingdom will continue to be a partner in Yemen's development, and my visit, in part, comes to reconfirm this.

Then, my wife and I enjoyed the beauty of your country. We have seen the major regions of Yemen. The coastal stretch and shoreline, the interior semi-desert areas, and the highlands.

**Q: What is the most outstanding impression left on your mind from the visit?**

**A:** There are many things, but let me point to my visit of the CanadianOxy oil rig platform. It was the first in my life to see such thing, and I will continue to remember how the most sophisticated technology in the world co-exists with the desert in order to get the oil out.

That probably is thing that will remain on my mind for some time from this visit.

**Q: Any last comments?**

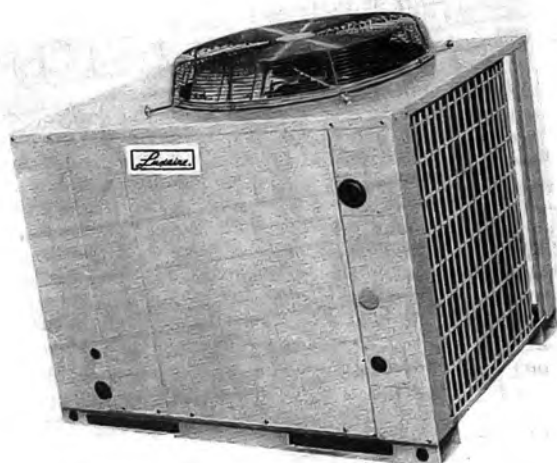
**A:** I think the key message I would like to leave behind is that Yemenis should only use dialogue in resolving their differences. There are many potential for Yemen - commercially, economically, and politically.

The large population, the key geographic location and surrounded by the countries of importance to us all, and other factors play an important role. In order for Yemen to realize these potentials, dialogue must rule between the two sides.

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## INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTEER DAY

On 5th December every year, the world celebrates the International Volunteers Day. This special day, instated by the General Assembly of the United Nations is observed annually by thousands of volunteers worldwide.

The United Nations Volunteer (UNV) specialists represent a major technical cooperation component of the UNDP and other UN agency projects. This is what the Government of Yemen requested back in 1971, as a result of which 25 UNVs arrived that same year. This first group came from Austria, Sweden, Norway, Iran, the Philippines and Great Britain. In the 22 years since then, nearly 500 UNVs have served in Yemen in a great range of social, economic, agriculture, health and water related projects with tremendous success.

At present there are 19 UNVs working in Yemen, mostly in Sana'a's, but also in Dhamar, Aden, Meifa and Abyan. Kirsty Burnett, UNV Program Office in Sana'a, expects this number to increase to about 40 by the end of 1994.

The American Peace Corps, the British Agency for International Development Cooperation, the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV), the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV) and the German Development Workers have also provided volunteers to Yemen over the past 20 years. There is no doubt that the concept of vol-

unteerism has spread rapidly throughout the developing world. However, over the years there has been change in focus of what volunteerism is all about. It used to be enough just to have the commitment to go to another country, to experience different cultures and ways of life, and offer whatever skills you had in the most effective way. Now

there is a greater focus to more professional volunteering. Volunteers are often paid bigger salaries or allowances and have contracts which set out various other employment related conditions. There is also a greater emphasis on the setting of goals and objectives and then monitoring the delivery of the outputs. Consequently the average age of volunteers and their professional qualifications and years of relevant work experience has steadily

increased. This has been reflected by some organizations choosing to move away from the term 'volunteer' to terms like 'development worker', 'development assistant' and so on. There is no doubt that such developments lead to greater benefit is being received by the recipients of the volunteer's services and are thus a trend that is here to stay. However, this does not mean that there is no place for the younger and less qualified volunteers, nor does it mean that people will not want to volunteer with the motive of wanting to benefit from living and working in other places.







## ENLEVEMENT

# Le diplomate américain libéré après six jours de captivité

Haynes Mahoney, chef du service d'information à l'ambassade des Etats-Unis à Sanaa, a été libéré par ses ravisseurs mercredi dernier, grâce à l'intervention d'une délégation de cheikhs. Les mesures de rétorsion prévues par le gouvernement ont été ajournées.

Après six jours de détention, le diplomate américain enlevé par une tribu de la région de Mareb a été libéré mercredi dernier par ses ravisseurs. Il était 22h, quand Haynes Mahoney, chef du service d'information à l'ambassade des Etats-Unis a été remis aux mains d'une délégation de cheikhs, dont Cheikh Mohsen Al-Mohaili, grand cheikh des tribus de Mareb, deux envoyés du Cheikh Mohamed Al-Ghadi, chef de file du Conseil des tribus yéménites auquel appartient la tribu des ravisseurs, et Ahmed Amdhal, envoyé par le leader du Baas Abou Chawareb.

## Enlevé le 25 novembre

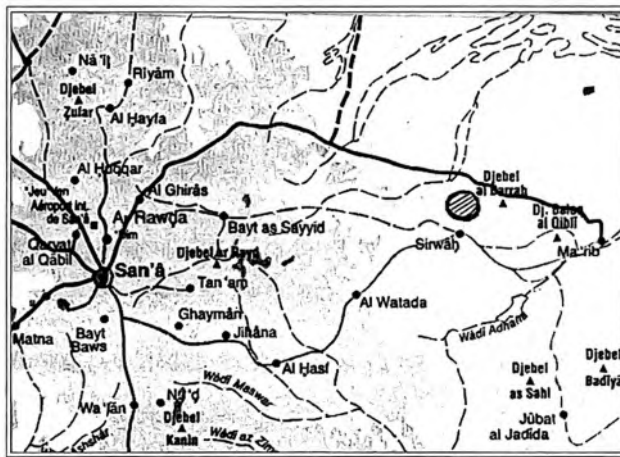
Haynes Mahoney avait pu enregistrer la veille de sa libération une déclaration recueillie par le rédacteur en chef du Yemen Times, Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf: "Je vais bien. Je suis bien traité. J'ai tout ce que je demande, sauf de retourner à la maison", disait-il. Son souhait est désormais réalisé.

Le diplomate américain avait été enlevé jeudi 25 novembre en plein Sanaa. L'enlèvement avait eu lieu vers

19h15, Haynes Mahoney était au volant de sa voiture quand cinq hommes de tribu armés l'ont forcé à monter dans la leur. Cela s'est passé dans un quartier résidentiel de la capitale.

Emmené dans la région de Mareb (voir la carte ci-contre), on apprenait peu après le nom du chef des ravisseurs, Mubarak Saleh Machan Al-Zayedi, cheikh de la tribu des Jahm. Il réclamait en particulier le versement par la compagnie pétrolière américaine Hunt, qui opère dans la région, de redevances directes, et l'emploi par le gouvernement de 200 hommes de tribu pour la protection des installations de la firme. Appartenant à la grande confédération tribale des Bakils, elle voulait également donner un écho aux revendications plus générales des Bakils, qui se sentent à l'écart du pouvoir, "accaparé" par la puissante tribu rivale des Hacheds.

C'est la première fois qu'un diplomate occidental était enlevé depuis l'unification du Yémen en mai 1990. Toutefois, la région de Mareb, livrée aux tribus fortement armées dont le pouvoir empêche sur celui de l'Etat, a été le théâtre



C'est dans cette région entourée d'un cercle que l'otage américain était détenu.

de nombreux enlèvements d'Occidentaux, touristes ou employés de compagnies pétrolières.

Un communiqué du ministre de l'Intérieur Yahya Al-Moutawakil a souligné que "la libération de M. Mahoney a été pacifique et que toute mesure de rétorsion contre les ravisseurs a été ajournée afin de sauvegarder la sécurité du diplomate". Selon le communiqué, les autorités sont cependant "décidées à faire

appliquer la loi dans cette affaire et à prendre, à l'avenir, toutes les dispositions susceptibles de protéger les étrangers au Yémen et à préserver leur liberté de mouvement".

En fait, le gouvernement a eu du mal à masquer son impuissance dans cette affaire. La libération de l'otage américain avait été annoncée une première fois dans la nuit de lundi à mardi. Mais, les négociations avaient échoué au dernier moment quand les auto-

rités avaient fait savoir aux ravisseurs qu'ils ne s'en sortiraient pas indemnes. Finalement, le gouvernement aurait accepté les exigences de ces derniers.

## L'armée invisible

En se rendant sur le lieu de détention, à Jizama, à une heure et demie de piste à partir de la route Sanaa-Mareb, on pouvait constater que l'armée n'encerclait pas le territoire de la tribu des Jahms, contrairement à ce que le ministère de l'Intérieur déclarait. A l'inverse, les hommes de la tribu des Jahms étaient fortement armés, postés sur des promontoires rocheux et certains armés de lance-roquettes. Pour éviter la localisation du lieu de détention, les ravisseurs changeaient constamment la maison ou le village où était détenu Haynes Mahoney.

Dans son communiqué, le ministre de l'Intérieur a appelé les citoyens à "coopérer avec le pouvoir pour empêcher la répétition de tels actes, qui nuisent à la réputation internationale du Yémen, et dont les auteurs s'exposent à la fermeté de la loi". Reste à savoir si les tribus l'entendront de cette oreille.

J.B.

## En Bref

**Djibouti, le responsable d'une revue d'opposition condamné:** Le directeur de publication de l'hebdomadaire de l'opposition djiboutienne "Le Combat", Dahaleh Ahmed Kassim, a été condamné lundi dernier à deux mois de prison avec sursis et 300 000 F djibouti d'amende (environ 10 000 F) pour "offense contre le chef de l'Etat et publication de fausses nouvelles". Dahaleh Ahmed Kassim est un ancien parlementaire qui a siégé pendant quinze ans à l'Assemblée nationale, dont il a longtemps présidé la commission des finances. Son journal avait écrit dans un article publié le 16 septembre dernier, que le président Hassan Gouled Aptidon avait donné le feu vert à ses troupes pour "perpétrer un génocide à huis clos pour l'élimination physique" du peuple afar.

**Djibouti, le gouvernement et le FRUD vont échanger des prisonniers:** Le gouvernement djiboutien et le Front pour la restauration de l'unité et la démocratie (FRUD) s'apprentent à échanger à Addis Abeba leurs prisonniers de guerre, sous les auspices du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge (CICR). Vingt-sept soldats gouvernementaux détenus par le FRUD depuis le déclenchement de la rébellion armée, il y a deux ans, seront échangés contre 29 maquisards afars du FRUD. Les autorités djiboutiennes ont par ailleurs refoulé vers leur pays d'origine une quarantaine d'Ethiopiens soupçonnés d'avoir pris part aux actions de guérilla.

## POLITIQUE

# Saleh joue le pourrissement de la crise politique

Loin de souhaiter le dialogue, Ali Abdallah Saleh a trouvé un prétexte pour l'éviter. Sachant que l'enjeu est le pouvoir détenu par lui et les siens, il préfère laisser pourrir la situation et pousser les socialistes à la faute.

"Le PSY propose de procéder à une restructuration administrative du pays pour créer trois ou quatre provinces, dont chacune aura compétence notamment en matière de développement et de sécurité intérieure". C'est par ces mots que Salem Saleh, membre du Conseil présidentiel et secrétaire général adjoint du Parti socialiste, a lancé samedi 27 novembre l'idée du fédéralisme "dans un Yémen unifié". Salem Saleh a jugé que le Yémen pourrait s'inspirer des expériences fédérales "aux Etats-Unis, au Canada, en Allemagne, en Suisse, au Pakistan ou dans les Emirats arabes unis".

## Répartir les richesses nationales

Salem Saleh estime que cette proposition est destinée à "élargir la participation populaire à la gestion des affaires publiques". Un système fédéral peut "garantir une juste répartition des richesses nationales", a-t-il précisé. Les socialistes estiment en effet que l'ex-Yémen du Sud n'a pas

bénéficié sur le plan économique des retombées escomptées de l'unité et reprochent notamment au gouvernement de tarder à lancer le projet de zone franche à Aden.

La réponse du CPG, le parti du Président Saleh, ne s'est pas faite attendre. "Il est inacceptable d'envisager toute alternative à l'unité", a déclaré Abdul Aziz Abdul Ghani, membre du Conseil présidentiel et secrétaire général adjoint du CPG. "Si cette déclaration exprime la position du PSY, cela revient à dire que cette formation dispose d'un projet sécessionniste, qui commencerait par un système fédéral", a-t-il ajouté.

Le Président du parlement, Cheikh Al-Ahmar a lui aussi vivement dénoncé l'appel au fédéralisme lancé par le parti socialiste. Cet appel "témoigne d'une tentative sécessionniste destructrice", a-t-il déclaré. C'est "un prélude à l'ébranlement de l'unité yéménite, une violation de la légalité et une atteinte à la volonté du peuple", a-t-il ajouté.

Le dialogue "élargi" prévu initialement samedi 27 novembre, retardé au lende-

main en raison de la réunion constitutive de l'Union des Forces Nationales, a été reporté sine die. Un prétexte, selon certains, qui permet au CPG d'esquiver une remise en cause du pouvoir que détient le Président Saleh et ses proches. C'est en effet là le noeud du problème. Le Président de la République préfère désormais laisser pourrir la situation.

## Les socialistes contre-attaquent

Les socialistes sont décidés à jouer serré dans cette affaire et veulent éviter d'être poussés à la faute. Ils ont contre-attaqué dans un communiqué mardi dernier, où ils accusent le CPG de tendance sécessionniste. Dans le communiqué, ils déclarent que le Yémen était "encore loin d'une fusion totale". Le CPG "est revenu sur l'accord d'unification en refusant de remédier à la crise actuelle" et son attitude "témoigne d'une volonté manifeste de sécession".

J.B.

## Revue de presse

par Mohsen Al-Jaradi

Dans le *Raay* (n°80, Ligue des Fils du Yémen), Abdulrahman Al-Jifri, un des chefs de file de l'opposition se demande pourquoi les dirigeants maintiennent les camps militaires le long de l'ancienne frontière. C'est une source de menaces pour l'unité du Yémen, dit-il. *Al-Shura* (n°121, indépendant) de son côté a publié de nombreux articles pour montrer que la seule solution pour la crise politique est la création de conseils locaux.

Une journaliste d'*Al-Balaagh* (n°91, tendance islamiste) tente d'expliquer le port du voile au Yémen. Cela permet aux femmes d'éviter les "turpitudes" les regards lubriques, écrit-elle. C'est le voile qui permet aux femmes de travailler avec les hommes et de ne pas apparaître comme des séductrices. La journaliste estime même que le sida se propage en Occident car les femmes ne portent pas le voile.

*Al-Hadath* (n°16, indépendant) raconte une anecdote édifiante. Hashim, un des fils du Cheikh Al-Ahmar a voulu

entrer dans l'aérogare de l'aéroport de Sanaa avec des gardes du corps armés. Il venait chercher son frère Hamir venu d'Aden. Arrêté par un officier de sécurité de l'aéroport, il a giflé celui-ci et ses gardes du corps l'ont mis en joue.

Dans *Al-Raya* (n°769, journal de l'armée), on apprend qu'Aden souffre d'une pénurie de gaz en bouteille.

*Manbar Al-Aalam* (journal des étudiants) publie une page entière sur la conférence sur le sida qui s'est déroulée à Sanaa le mois dernier. "Le sida est fatal et sans remède", tel est le titre en une. *Manbar Al-Aalam* dénonce le manque d'informations au Yémen concernant cette maladie. Cependant le ministère de la Santé qui avait organisé cette conférence a demandé aux journalistes d'informer la population sur les moyens de prévention. *Al-Sahwa* (n°395, Islah) raconte que le ministre des Communications, Ahmed Al-Anissi a créé un comité pour punir la "mafia" qui sévit à la Poste.

De son côté, *Al-Ayyam* (n°157, proche de l'ancien prés-

ident de l'ex-Yémen du sud, Ali Nasser) affirme que lors de leur rencontre avec l'ambassadeur des Etats-Unis, Ali Saleh et Ali Al-Bid lui ont assuré chacun de leur côté qu'ils n'utiliseraient jamais l'armée pour résoudre la crise. D'autre part, *Al-Ayyam* affirme que le retour d'Ali Nasser à Aden est possible maintenant.

*Sawt Al-Ommal* (n° 1137, syndicats) déclare qu'un responsable du parti socialiste a dit qu'Al-Bid ne renoncera jamais Ali Saleh tant que ses exigences ne seront pas réalisées.

*Sawt Al-Yemen* (n°106, indépendant) titre en première page: "Monsieur le Président ne pousse pas le peuple dans l'abîme". Abdulrahman Nooman, secrétaire général du parti Al-Ahmar s'étonne que le Président Saleh refuse d'appliquer les 18 points proposés par le parti socialiste et il pense que ce programme reflète pourtant les aspirations du peuple yéménite tout entier.



TRIBUNE LIBRE

# Islam et démocratie

Nabil Banabila explique ci-dessous comment démocratie et Islam peuvent cohabiter.

Comme le fait remarquer si justement Dominique Wolton dans son livre "La Dernière Utopie" (Flammarion Paris, 1993) "la différence essentielle entre l'économie et la politique est que la première repose sur la catégorie de l'intérêt, alors que la seconde repose sur celle des valeurs".

Or, dans l'Islam, la notion de valeur ne prend son plein sens qu'à l'intérieur d'un cadre de référence religieux.

Les valeurs font partie intégrante du monde où l'individu se trouve, celui-ci n'aurait pas à les choisir mais seulement à les reconnaître. Naturellement elles peuvent contrecarrer ses désirs et préférences personnelles de sorte qu'il en vienne à les ignorer ou à les refuser et qu'il agisse sans tenir aucun compte pratique ni de ce qui est bon ni de ce qu'il devrait faire, mais alors un tel choix ne changerait rien ni à la nature du bien ni à celle du devoir.

## Se perfectionner moralement

Quoi donc de plus légitime que de se référer à un code moral, en l'occurrence, le Livre Saint ! Celui-ci assigne des "rôles" aussi bien à l'individu qu'au souverain. Tout d'abord, le musulman doit s'assigner comme but celui de se perfectionner moralement. Contrairement au philosophe allemand Nietzsche, qui voit dans l'homme "quelque chose qui doit se surmonter", voire dominateur, l'homme musulman doit chercher la maîtrise. "Les belles actions et les mauvaises ne sont pas égales; repousse (les mauvaises) à



L'évolution démocratique du Yémen: une femme vote aux élections du 27 avril dernier.

l'aide de ce qui est meilleur et celui qu'une hostilité sépare de toi deviendra un ami chaleureux" (Coran XLI, 34). Ainsi il faut repousser la colère par la patience, l'offense par le pardon, la dispute par la conciliation. Les Soufis musulmans ont longuement épilogué sur l'"Insan Al Kamil" (L'homme parfait).

Ensuite, le musulman n'est pas moralement neutre. "Qu'il y ait parmi vous une communauté qui appelle au bien, qui ordonne les bonnes actions, défende les blâmables, ceux-là obtiendront le succès", (Coran III, 104). Il faut entendre par là la lutte contre les abus et erreurs qui mettent en cause les "droits de Dieu et des hommes". Plus d'une fois au cours de l'histoire, cette responsabilité, à la fois collective et personnelle, fut l'occasion - ou le prétexte - de révolte contre l'autorité établie.

Afin de faciliter ces objectifs, les institutions sociales doivent

réaliser non seulement le bien être matériel mais aussi l'épanouissement spirituel.

La souveraineté absolue appartient bien entendu à Dieu. A l'origine, le chef de la communauté ou calife est selon l'expression de Louis Masignon "un tuteur que Dieu se subroge dans et par la communauté". En Islam sunnite, le calife ne saurait détenir de pouvoir spirituel, aucun homme ne pouvant avoir de pouvoir spirituel sur aucun homme et Rachid Reda dénonce l'hérésie européenne qui voudrait faire du calife le "pape de l'Islam". Bien plus il ne possède aucun pouvoir législatif au sens strict (Le Coran seul est la Loi) et le pouvoir judiciaire est remis à chaque croyant qui en est capable, éminemment à ceux qui pratiquent l'Ijtihad, puis aux muftis et qadis.

L'Imam ou Calife est le chef de l'exécutif, il est un souve-

rain temporel chargé de faire appliquer une loi dont les prescriptions recouvrent à la fois des domaines religieux, civique ou politique.

Dans la tradition sunnite, le calife est bien lieutenant du Prophète (Khalifat Al Nabi) mais au titre en quelque sorte de premier fonctionnaire de la cité. D'après la majorité des docteurs c'est par élection qu'il doit être désigné, comme le furent les tout premiers califes à la mort du Prophète Mohammed.

## Tout croyant égal de tout croyant

Deux principes d'organisation politique sont enseignés par le Coran: Un, déclare au peuple: "Obezissez à ceux qui parmi vous détiennent le commandement" (Coran, 59), l'autre, s'adresse au Prophète: "Consulte les - les croyants - dans la décision" (Coran III, 159).

Autorité et consultation - Amr et Shura: une fois saufs ces deux principes, le champ reste largement ouvert aux solutions concrètes les plus diverses.

Tels sont les cadres généraux d'une cité musulmane type, bien analysés par Louis Gardet. Les cités musulmanes du passé conquirent certes bien des inégalités et des injustices sociales. Mais devant Dieu et devant les hommes tout croyant demeure égal de tout croyant, "les hommes, dit un Hadith, sont égaux entre eux comme les dents du peigne du tisserand. Pas de différence entre l'Arabe et le Non Arabe, entre le Blanc et le Noir, si ce n'est leur degré de crainte de Dieu".

A notre avis les vicissitudes du passé et les mutations en

cours ne sauraient altérer fondamentalement ce schéma de la philosophie politique classique. Rappelons pour mémoire que le califat fut aboli le 3 mars 1924 dans une indifférence généralisée. Que l'autorité nouvelle soit celle d'un Roi, Président, Cheikh, Sultan ou Imam peu importe ! L'essentiel est de faire preuve de vitalité en incorporant, autant que possible, une valeur jugée "universelle", à savoir la démocratie aux valeurs islamiques communes afin de promouvoir plus de libertés publiques, plus de participation populaire à la décision collective et plus de contre-pouvoir.

Référons nous au philosophe grec Aristote pour conclure; celui-ci s'est attaché à traiter du citoyen et de la cité dans son livre "La Politique" dans lequel il définit dans le chapitre V la fin de l'Etat: "la fin de la société civile est donc de vivre bien; toutes ses institutions n'en sont que les moyens et la cité même, qui une grande communauté de familles et de bourgades, où la vie trouve ses moyens de perfection et suffisance. C'est là ce que nous appelons une vie heureuse et honnête. La société civile est donc moins une société de vie commune qu'une société d'honneur et de vertu". Parions que dans cette perspective le processus de démocratisation au Yémen trouverait là son cachet de noblesse!

Nabil Banabila est haut fonctionnaire des Nations Unies d'origine yéménite. Il tient à préciser que ses opinions ne reflètent pas nécessairement celles du secrétariat de l'ONU.

PROCHE-ORIENT

## Emeutes à Gaza

Une semaine avant le début prévu du retrait de l'armée israélienne de Gaza et Jéricho en Cisjordanie, l'agitation de la population de la bande de Gaza n'est pas fait pour rassurer les partisans de l'accord de paix israélo-palestinien signé le 13 septembre dernier. Les émeutes qui ont éclaté la semaine dernière, à la suite de l'intensification des recherches menées par l'armée israélienne contre les combattants de l'OLP, ont fait plusieurs dizaines de blessés parmi les Palestiniens. "L'armée a eu tort de provoquer les troubles et d'intensifier sa chasse à l'homme", a affirmé Soufian Abou Zaydah, membre du Haut comité du Fatah de Gaza. "La population est déçue que rien de positif ne soit intervenu sur le terrain depuis l'accord. Lorsque les choses changeront, que les restrictions seront levées et qu'il n'y aura plus de tuerie, la violence cessera", a-t-il ajouté. L'un des accrochages les plus violents a eu lieu à Khan Younès. C'est dans ce camp de réfugiés que l'armée a tué dimanche dernier Ahmad Abou Rich, un membre des Faucons (les activistes du Fatah) qui venait d'être amnistié une semaine plus tôt. Le calme est revenu dans la bande de Gaza après un accord conclu mardi dernier entre l'OLP et l'armée israélienne. "Les Israéliens se sont engagés à réduire leur déploiement de forces", a affirmé un responsable de l'OLP. Dirigeants palestiniens et israéliens sont décidés à ne pas faire capoter leur accord historique.

POLITIQUE

## Premier congrès pour l'Union des Forces Nationales

L'UFN, dont le chef de file est Cheikh Sinan Abou Louhoum, a tenu samedi 27 novembre son congrès constitutif à Sanaa. L'objectif de ce nouveau parti est de trouver un remède à la crise que traverse le pays.

La salle était comble. Pour son congrès constitutif l'UFN, Union des Forces nationales (dans un article précédent, nous l'avions appelé Fédération des Forces Patriotiques, mais cette nouvelle traduction est préférable) avait rameuté ses troupes au Centre culturel yéménite samedi 27 novembre. Créée il y a un peu plus d'un mois, au plus fort de la crise, l'UFN se voulait jusque-là un "groupe de pression". Ce rassemblement de personnalités venues de tous les horizons est mené par Cheikh Sinan Abou Louhoum, chef des tribus Bakil. On compte aussi bien Mohamed Al-Chami, chef de file du Haq, parti islamiste, qu'Ahmed Jaber Afif, ancien ministre de l'Education, ou le Dr. Mohamed Al-Moutawakil.

## Résoudre la crise politique

Quelques hommes politiques de premier plan étaient venus en observateurs pour assister à la constitution de ce nouveau parti: Abdul Aziz Abdul Ghani, membre du Conseil présidentiel (CPG), Cheikh Al-Ahmar, président du Parlement et chef de file de l'Islah, Mohamed Saïd Al-Attar, vice-Premier ministre et ministre de l'Industrie (CPG) et Fadl Mohsen Abdallah, ministre de la Pêche (PSY).

"Nous avons estimé qu'il était nécessaire de créer un



Cheikh Sinan Abou Louhoum, chef de file de l'Union des Forces nationales.

parti, en raison de la crise que traverse le pays actuellement", a déclaré à la tribune Cheikh Sinan Abou Louhoum. "Les gens qui sont au pouvoir doivent le quitter, plutôt que de poursuivre cette crise", a-t-il ajouté.

Les leaders de l'UFN l'affirment haut et fort, ils ne sont pas un parti d'opposition. "Notre parti regroupe tous les gens qui veulent sauver le pays

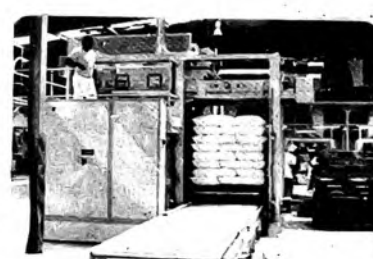
de la crise", a précisé Mohamed Al-Moutawakil. Pourtant, Mohamed Al-Chami du Haq fait partie également du comité des cinq partis d'opposition et Cheikh Sinan Abou Louhoum s'est rallié à Ali Salem Al-Bid. L'UFN apparaît donc réellement comme un parti d'opposition mais ses dirigeants ne veulent pas le dire.

J.B.



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الحديدة ت: ٢٢٢٤٦٠/٣ - ٥٦٦١ تليكس: ٥٦٦١ ابو جبة يمن فاكسميل: ٢١١٥٥١ ص ب: ٤٠١٥  
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## Seminar on Fiscal and Monetary Policies in Yemen

"The problem is not just how to correct the distortions in the fiscal and monetary policies, however big these are. The question is basically how to revitalize the economy by pushing for more investments - at the government and private levels. If we accept this fact, I have to question the validity of working on a reform package with the IMF alone. I think the World Bank needs to play a larger role in the reconstruction of Yemen," stated Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf, Professor of Finance at Sanaa University, and first speaker at the two-day seminar on Fiscal and Monetary Policies in Yemen. "I think Yemen has much to win by de-emphasizing the role of the IMF and by stressing the role of the World Bank. Even if we look at it from a technical angle, this is true. Our deficits (balance of payments deficit, budgetary deficit, savings deficit, etc.) are of a structural nature, and not of a temporary nature. Remember, IMF loans and facilities are basically short term, while the World Bank goes for long-term assistance," he added. "Of course the Fund and Bank do exchange notes and work together, but it is a matter of emphasis and choosing the number one partner," he concluded. There are several pressing problems facing Yemen.

### A: The Debt Burden:

"Although by international standards, the amount is small, it is still very big in terms of our economy's ability to service it," said Dr. Mohammed Al-Maitami, Chair of the Research Department at the Center for Yemeni Studies and Research, and coordinator of the seminar. "The money owed to the Russians is especially urgent because they are trying to sell it off at a discount. If the Saudis or Kuwaitis buy it, then it may be used as a political tool," he indicated.

### B: The Fiscal Crisis:

One of the key issues facing the economy is the rising level of government consumption. "The payroll alone claims almost 70% of the total government spending," indicated Deputy Finance Minister, Mr. Ali Nasser Mohammed. The key part of any reform is to bring the budgetary deficit within control. "This means higher revenues and lower expenditures," he added.

### C: The Monetary Problem:

"The subservient status of the Central Bank of Yemen and its limited say in how the economy is managed is an additional complication. In all earnest, the CBY has no control over the monetary factors, and it is not interested in them," Dr. Saleem Al-Tamimi, the Director-

General of Economic External Relations at the Prime Minister's Office, indicated.

### D: The Issue of Growth:

"I would like to come back to the issue of growth," insisted Professor Al-Saqqaf. "If we correct the price of capital (interest rate), foreign currency (exchange rate), labor (wages), and products (retail prices), and if we remove subsidies, we will have done nothing until there are steps to push the economy into a growth cycle," he added. "Therefore, I think the whole approach - whether in the September 16th document of proposals from the Fund or our government's new 'working paper' are neither workable nor even useful.

Mr. Afif Ahmed Ibrahim, Director-General at the Ministry of Planning and Development, insisted "the IMF cannot impose on us any projects of reform or adjustments. We choose our course of action."

At the end of the two-day session, a team of experts was put together to draw up an independent plan of reform for the country. "We intend to create a workable plan of action that is related to the realities of the situation," declared Dr. Al-Maitami. "We should not allow any effort that would further destabilize the internal situation of Yemen."

## INVEST IN PEOPLE FOR DEVELOPMENT

Democracy demands that governance be people-centered; that is, it puts the hopes, aspirations, and desires of the people first. In short, it is the empowerment of the people.

But how does one put the people first? Perhaps this is the reason why the European Council resolution of June 29, 1991 expanded the meaning of democracy to include respect for human rights, the rule of law and the existence of institutions which are effective, accountable and enjoy legitimacy.

Is that all? Hardly.

The details of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) come in handy. Its fourth annual report entitled *Human Development Report*, provides invaluable information for policy-makers and planners, especially in those countries which are democratizing.

The report is fittingly anchored on people and their participation in development, precisely because it is the people who are the motor-force of development. However, if they are to participate in development, they have to be equipped for that role. That is why the UNDP report typifies human development as development of the people, for the people and by the people. Development of the people means investing in human capabilities such as education, health, or skills in order that they may work more creatively and more productively.

Development for the people means ensuring that the economic growth they generate is distributed widely and fairly. And development by the people means giving everyone a chance to participate in the development process of their local communities as well as the national and international levels.

That is what makes the human development process a mechanism for widening the range of people's choices.

Many countries in the developing world are cash-strapped (like ours) and would, of course, raise the question, where will the money come from to enable us to, for example, invest in education, health and skills, much as we are craving for them? One observation from the report would answer that question.

It says that if developing countries froze their military spending at the 1990 level during the next decade, this would release nearly \$ 100 billion for their essential human development priorities, including universal literacy, primary health care and safe drinking water by the year 2000!

Another observation is in order.

UNDP says that in a number of Third World countries, 75% of the resources in technical co-operation are spent mainly on personnel - mostly expatriate - as opposed to equipment and operating expenses and that relatively little use is made of national experts.

The report adds that in one third world country, donors employed 80 foreign doctors and medical personnel in 1990 at a time when 100 of the countries qualified doctors were unemployed. One feels constrained to ask, why were these doctors trained in the first place?

Is that an index of development? The *Human Development Report* of 1990 introduced a new yardstick for measuring human progress; the Human Development Index (HDI) which combines indicators of real purchasing power, education and health and offers a more comprehensive idea of development than those which consider Gross National Product (GNP) alone.

The message to the developing world is this: invest massively in People, their education, health and skills and increase their creativity and productivity.

Ahmad Salim Bamihriz, Sana'a.

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*Growing Up in Yemen Is to Miss Out on many Things:*

# The Concept of Childhood & Education

By: Samira Ali Bin Daair,  
UNFPA, Sanaa.

I am glad to see that children are getting a lot of attention these days, in part thanks to the Yemen Times which is spearheading many such efforts, including a field survey. This statement may sound like minimizing the important role of children's organizations like Unicef, Radda Barnen, and others which are doing good work here in Yemen, but only in certain specific aspects of child welfare.

I wish here to discuss the concept of childhood par excellence, with all its social, economic, cultural, traditional and educational ramifications.

## Yemen and the Legal Background:

First of all, I would like to tackle the issue of street children in Yemen. These children can be considered to be the by-product of poverty on the one hand; and the failure of humanity on the other. It is estimated that since the Second World War, there have been at least 200 armed conflicts in the world; and out of the approximate figure of 20 million people killed, the majority were women and children. An estimated 30 million children in the world are street children, who are often the target of abuse in the most unimaginable forms. In the Yemeni context, there appears to be no institutionalized welfare system to rehabilitate these children who are without any visible future prospects of learning any skills to earn a living. Thus they are condemned to live on the fringe of society and die as old beggars.

UNESCO statistics estimate that in 1990, at least 130 million children had no access to primary education, making universal primary education for all by the year 2000 a sad joke! In 1990, The World Summit on Children - attended by 71 heads of state - had adopted 27 goals for children and development in the nineties in its Plan of Action for Survival, Protection, and Development of Children. Yemen is one of the countries that signed the Convention of the Rights of the Child ratified by Republican Decree No. 53 in 1991, and which established the Yemeni Council for Mother and Child Welfare.

It is notable that when US President Bill Clinton met with Russian President Boris Yeltsin on April, 3rd and 4th, 1993, in Vancouver, what featured largely on the agenda was a US \$ 1.62 billion aid package, a substantial portion of which was earmarked for children which made Yeltsin declare, "Everything is people oriented; this is the Bill Clinton policy." The battle for the universal ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child by 1995 is going on, but where are we in Yemen concerning the legal rights of children?

## Rural Children

When we come to rural children in Yemen, they are in fact "little adults" by standards of childhood elsewhere. Child labor is a common phenomenon and is one of the major causes of a high dropout rate from schools, especially in the case of females. The socio-economic factor is a major reason - such as early marriages - next to poor educational provision. One sees little girls turned into women before their time; carrying heavy loads and looking after their younger brothers and sisters in a never-ending arduous routine of chores. (I am gratified by the Yemen Times article, last week)

One little girl in a village told me she never wanted to see the inside of a classroom again, because the teacher had ashamed her for not doing well in the exams and that she was too tired anyway. Some little boys also said that whenever they did not understand the lesson the teacher only told them to sit down, and that they wondered if they were dumb! A classic case of the self-fulfilling prophecy, I thought to myself. But who was I to plead the cause of education considering the many documented failures of rural education in developing countries, and the tragedy of half-educated adolescents with no prospects of socio-economic mobility.

## Investment in Education:

In most Arab countries, not excepting Yemen, the lion's share of the budget goes to defence and not to education or health which are the two most important sectors. It is, however understandable that in a poor country, a sector like education which incurs high overheads and running costs, and within the context of rapid educational expansion and high enrollment rates, demand would always outstrip supply. "Education for Development" philosophy exists to a large extent in developing countries, and planners have viewed it as an instrument of political polarization, or a countervailing social agent for creating socio-cultural cohesion, or perhaps a tool for economic development, and a "returns" on the inputs. The stark realities and complexities revealed by such as "An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations" have been an eye-opener. Governments have invested their scarce resources into education which has failed to yield the expected returns. For the problem is not only of resources, but of the way in which these resources are invested; as to whether it is done within the framework of a comprehensive plan for achieving a variety of national goals. In most cases, it has not been so, and thus "questions of quantity have predominated and educational theory about quality is ignored."

## Education and Miseducation

The educational system as a whole is geared towards producing crammers who regurgitate in exams and stereo-typed thinking in children. Take any book, at any level, of any subject, and analyze the contents, the presentation, and the questions at the end of each unit of instruction. They are likely to produce one

open-ended education and inculcation of thinking skills doesn't feature largely in our classroom settings. So-called ongoing assessment has unfortunately turned out to be a whipping rod four times a year instead of the once cognitive skills it was meant to be. Questions being asked are usually only a conservative way of eliciting the right response and "what do you think and why" is only an exceptionally ironic twist to the norms.

Child-centered education even in the West is only a few decades old thanks to the battles waged by people like Froebel, Pestalozz, Rousseau and Dewey. Though S. Neil in his "Summerhill" went to extremities of childhood freedom, he recorded important observations on freedom in education and the pleasure of learning. Glenn Doman in his book, "Teach Your Baby to Read" has recorded instances of incredible achievement by very small children because of the unique teaching methods, even if his book is highly controversial. The question I wish to pose here is: "Have we ever asked ourselves why no Arab child geniuses ever reach the Guinness Book of Records?" Is it because Arab children are any less intelligent? Even if there are several instances of major pedagogical failures in the West, which produce recantations from educationists, there is an in-built, self-regulating mechanism for analysis and experimentation that quickly becomes a matter of national concern. During periods of major upheavals in the West, education has always ranked high in the process of reconstruction and national-building. It was the case during the depression of the thirties after the world war. After the launching of Sputnik, the U.S.A. in the fifties had followed a definite policy of scientific and mathematical literacy which was seen to be the tool for technological supremacy over the Soviet Union. Recently, the science curriculum in the USA, (with Japan and other countries making strides in this area) is being re-evaluated by a National Commission because it is claimed that existing curricula try to cover too much and do not teach enough practical application of science and fail to integrate science with math and technology.

Many curricular models have been tried in the hope of countering the problems of the knowledge explosion; in order to economize on learning. Cognitive and process models have succeeded to some extent by focusing on concept-building and concept-attainment in children in a way that tackles both breadth and depth whose balance had always bedevilled curriculum developers. Only the essentials of a subject were presented, focusing on thinking skills in order for the students to apply them to new knowledge areas. But the curriculum in our countries, bombard the children with fact after fact to be learned as fact per se, as if the principles will automatically emerge. No differentiation seems to exist between concepts, basic ideas, principles and specific facts which should form the subject-matter in a well-synthesized manner, with teaching methods following this pattern. And even if certain sporadic changes are made to the curriculum, either the teaching strategies or evaluation do not follow the same pattern. The curriculum consists of four components which should form an integrated whole. The orientation and philosophy aspect should be based on a national decision on what sort of output is visualized, judged by all the criteria defining the various functions of education. However, educational policy is usually a formal document, full of platitudes about national goals and ensuring this and that, without specifying the methodology for achieving specified objectives.

## Education and Disadvantaged Children:

The Head Start Program in the USA which originated in 1964 was an educational intervention program for disadvantaged preschoolers initiated due to the belief that the government should play a major role in eradicating the negative effects of poverty on children's development and education. The US Council of Economic Advisers has noted then that the nation's 30 million poor people were children who lived in physically and culturally isolated areas.

It was a program intended to meet the need of poor preschoolers for educational enrichment as a preparing ground for school entry and integration into the cultural mainstream. Bernstein wrote a powerful book, "Class, Codes and Control", which exposed the limitations of IQ testing, which is culturally biased, as a tool for testing intelligence, thus leaving out a large segment of disadvantaged working class children in England, who had not been environmentally exposed to the middle class concepts, in these tests. This being so, the linguistic structure and coding system was a form of social control and should be subjected to a process of decoding, in order to achieve democracy in education; which is taken to mean equal opportunities for education rather than equal education. In the Yemeni context, the mis-match between the socio-economic needs of rural areas and educational provision can be considered to be a parallel example, even if in this case, it is not so sophisticatedly deliberate but the by product of limited resources. Nonetheless, it begs the same problem of the relevance of education, for disadvantaged children.

## Childhood and the Media:

Let us look at the depiction of childhood in the media. Whenever children appear, they do so as a pampered bundle of frivolity - singing and dancing, and who takes these brainless bundles of joy seriously? Occasionally, when they talk about serious topics, they are in the form of sermons prepared by adults! I do not remember a single interview carried out on adolescents and children on their view of the national elections! We always tend to undermine the opinions of children, to our great adult cost. Note the word, "Jahil" (ignoramus) loosely and lovingly applied to "child". Yet it is ironic that Ibn Sina and

Ibn Tufail took children and education more seriously than is the case in our so called modern educational systems. Jahil then was applied to adults who had not been enlightened by the message of Islam. It is like the word "Falaah" in Yemen which was used pejoratively to mean a vagabond, straying so far from the noble concept of those who till the land.

There isn't a single children's magazine in the Republic of Yemen, and yet there are perhaps a hundred and fifty newspapers for adults. There is a lack of recreational and cultural facilities for children. And the extra-curricular activities at schools that come through the media are the same stereo-typed stuff, whereas the media could become an educative medium, through encouraging the arts, highlighting scientific achievements of children.

## Childhood and Education at Home:

It is common in most middle-class homes for an overemphasis on performance (parents too are the victims of the system of extreme competition, but sometimes it is wrongly placed). Thus, with all good intentions, (most parents do their best for their children, within the limitations of their own understanding) on both sides, the poor child is enmeshed between the heavy demands of the school and the same reinforcement at home. Small children are spontaneously curious in the early years, exhibiting ingenuity in absorbing the world around them. However, the taming of these children as they go through the conveyor belt of education, is obvious in the later years, as the effects of a demanding curriculum begins to make their natural common-sense and critical thinking skills dwindle.

A lot of children from well-to-do homes in Yemen, as in other Arab countries, have more access to educational aids like books, computers, and other electronic gadgets. Computers, needless to say, have great potential in education, because unlike the type of impact television has, the user has more control over the tool in a more intimate two-way interaction process, at his/her own pace and in a more personalized manner. Unfortunately, I have seen children sent to computer classes held by technicians who have no inkling as to what makes a child's mind tick; bombarding the children with technical language from day one. Samuel Papert in his book, "Mindstorms", talks about children, computers and powerful ideas and exhibits how the computer can be an exciting learning device for even very small children. Parents need to be educated on how to educate, and mothers should become involved in the educative process of their children, in a holistic sense. It is notable that the success of the Head Start Program for preschoolers in the USA was due to the initial orientation of the mothers to the program objectives. In Yemen, the whole educational system needs to be rethought; and solid bridges of cooperation need to be built between the home and the school.

## Respect for Childhood:

Handling children is not a very prestigious occupation, compared to other professions. When I was living in the Gulf; I left a so-called "prestigious job in a research center in order to organize cultural/educational programs for children and adolescents. The impression of the people around me was that I had lowered my professional status, and that attitude is indeed pathetic. I look on those two years as being amongst the most fulfilling of my professional life!

I am inclined to think that it is our underpaid, overworked teachers in our over-crowded classrooms, struggling to cut across the monumental barriers to education, who are undertaking real development at the grass root level... They are the unknown soldiers without glory! Childhood has no status, and thus the teaching profession.

## Handicapped Children:

Special Education for a variety of disabilities is an important facility in education; but in Yemen the very concept is in its embryonic stage. But this matter should be seriously considered to be a right of children as much as universal primary education is; in order for these children to be integrated into society. On the other hand, society should be re-educated on this matter, in order to eliminate the unfortunate social stigma attached to disabilities.

## Conclusion:

I would like to pose the following question: What is the objective behind all these childhood surveys? Apart from the documentation and needs assessment aspect which is important no doubt; what is the final outcome? Is a rehabilitation program visualized for street children...poor children? Other countries have developed measures and remedies to tackle these issues through apprenticeship programs in a variety of technical and vocational/crafts training. In Latin America, even street educators are being trained to cater to this special group of children, as a measure against child exploitation by drug dealers and such like. In Yemen's context, NGOs could be supported and a substantial part of the funds of program assistance should go to the remedies rather than the surveys.

As far as the educational system is concerned, more serious thought needs to be given to the quality of education, the school curricula, teacher training, perhaps more access to education for disadvantaged groups, socio-economic factors need to be tackled by the government and the issue of a relevant education (i.e., for whom, for what and how).

Education is the basis of society, and miseducation is a serious oversight on the part of planners. In the midst of serious economic and political problems, one should not lose sight of the fact that children are the true wealth of the nation.





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بأرق التهاني والتبريكات للشعب اليمني وقيادته السياسية وحكومته  
بمناسبة ذكرى التوقيع على إتفاقية الوحدة المباركة  
وبجلاء القوات الأجنبية من جزء غال من أرضنا الحبيبة  
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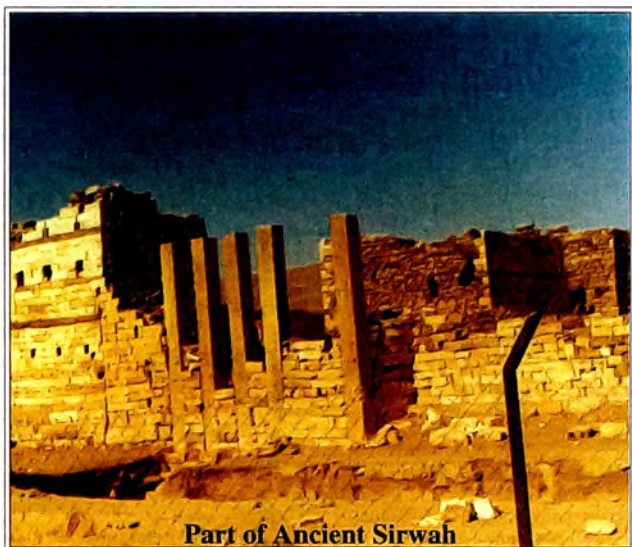
# 2000-Year Old Wooden Manuscripts Documented

Fatmah Rawah,  
Yemen Times.

In two weeks, a new book on Yemen's wooden archaeological discoveries will arrive in Sanaa. The book embodies the newly-discovered manuscripts written on palm stalks. "They are stories about financial dealings and documents on the activities of the state," explained Prof. Yusuf Mohammed Abdullah. Prof. Yusuf is joined by two other scholars - Prof. Jack Ryckmans and Prof. Walter Mueller - in authoring the book.

The book, written in Arabic and French is published in Louvaine, Belgium, and is financed through a number of international organizations, including generous contributions by Banque Indosuez and Total Yemen.

"The discovery was made in Nashan, in Wadi Al-Kharid in Al-Jawf. "The interesting thing about these documents, is that they are written in Zabur (cursive or miniscule) script, which is different from the formal Musnad script of Marib," said Yusuf Mohammed Abdullah, Professor at Sanaa University and Vice Chairman of the General Organization of Antiquities, Manuscripts and Museums (GUAMM). Nashan is today the Al-Sowdah Archaeological Site.



Part of Ancient Sirwah

The scriptures date back to 2000. "You will realize, of course, that Nashan and Nishq (Al-Baidha Archaeological Site) are contemporaries of the cities of Marib and Sirwah. All those cities flourished during the ancient civilizations of Maean and Saba.

The discovery sheds yet some more light on the versatility and richness of the ancient Yemeni civilizations. The documents reproduced in the book show the highly developed commercial and administrative relations and systems that prevailed in the city, itself the seat of a small kingdom.

This region was the site of many advanced Yemeni civilizations which played a major role in the route of trade between China, India and South Arabia, and Mecca, the Levant, Egypt and the east Mediterranean region.

"This discovery is yet another indication that there is a lot more to be discovered regarding in the past heritage of the country. It also shows the major preservation task that must become the main strategic aim of the government's policies and approach in the archaeological realm. GUAMM alone can't do it," Professor Yusuf concluded.

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## The 6th Congress of the Yemeni Writers and Literary Persons Association

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

Yemeni writers were quite busy last week in their Sixth Congress, which was convened under the theme of "Yemeni Culture: Problems and Prospects". Held at a time of political crisis, the Congress acquired a unique importance given the role of Yemeni intellectuals, foremost among whom are the writers and literary persons.

In the Arab world, we have become used to conferences and congresses which are full of formalities, unfulfilled promises and a lot of other nonsense. Writers are famous for spending time in drinking tea and flattering each other, and in glorifying the rulers so that they may receive certain privileges.

But here in Yemen, the situation looks different. You can tell by the names of the people chosen to run the influential association. The elected Chairman is Yusuf Al-Shihari, and the elected Secretary-General and chief executive of the association is Mr. Zain Al-Saqqaf - both humble persons with simple lives, and both ardent believers in a modern state and strong fighters against corruption.

Another indicator is the resolutions passed by Congress. The first resolution stressed the need for total and unhindered freedom of expression. Freedom of speech is one whole concept that cannot be parcelled up, and thus there is no role for censorship under whatever pretext.

There is a price to be paid for such freedom, as there are always irresponsible persons who abuse and misuse the freedom. Some may argue that there has to be rules to govern freedom of speech - hence censorship. But the question then becomes who shall censor who, to what limits, and under what pretexts? Whatever happens, the state shall not be allowed to play judge, and to let the courts do that.

The association formed a special committee to protect the rights of writers and to define the meaning of abuse or misuse of freedom of expression. This committee shall moral pressure on those who violate the rights and lives of others.

The congress agreed that a certain degree of anarchy is inevitable in a society that enjoys freedom for the first time in a long time. Eventually, when the practice is well-established, the rules to govern such freedom shall be created out of the process itself.

Another resolution has to do with the political crisis. The writers' association openly condemned the political leaders' neglect of the opinion and viewpoint of the intellectuals regarding what's going on in the country. Unity must be preserved at all cost, the congress stated. Yet, the resolution demanded a conceptual clarification whether the unification is an aim in itself or a means to a better future for Yemen.

The writers urged all parties to evolve the economic, social, political, military and other advantages to unity. Unification should not remain a vague sentimental value in the heads of Yemenis. It should evolve into concrete and tangible form.

A third resolution called for the enhancement and promotion of the publishing business as a necessary corollary of freedom of the press.

A fourth resolution asked to work towards encouraging young writers and rising literary persons. Limited publishing opportunities, lack of financial support, and a small domestic market are among the hindrances to a rapid rise and growth of young writers.

The Congress called on efforts to document and relate Yemeni literature to other literature in the region and beyond. Literature is the tool that gives any country's culture its worthy position among world's culture.

Some writers have gone out of their way to boast about the status of Yemeni literary works at the world level. One poet recently said on television that Yemenis poems and novels were translated into many languages and distributed worldwide. I'm not sure if the man was joking or trying to satisfy the ego of the so-called "prominent writers." I hope this kind of nonsense will be totally avoided in the future. How can any culture be globalized with only this level of cultural output and this quality.

Such patterns of thought clearly show that some of our writers are still living in their ivory towers, without even knowing the minimum of what's going on in the world around them.

Another resolution addressed the need to give a special push to female writers as well as literature on females. That, in addition to children's and teenagers' literature, has been determined as priority material with a special orientation towards educating.

And as the list of resolutions goes on, the eternal question of the role of intellectuals in participating in the construction of the country remains unanswered. Did the Sixth Congress help in answering the equation? Not nearly as much as one would have wanted. But it still made a dent.

There is one deficiency that stood out in the conference. What role the writers intend to play, and whether they can fight as a unified body were both answered early in the proceedings. Like all other bodies and class, the writers were badly fragmented. Many were simple loud-speakers for politicians, and they were talking with eyes fixed on what would most please their political masters. At the end of the day, all went back to their qat gatherings as if nothing has happened.

One more group of our society has just fallen below our expectations!

## PUNCTUALITY: The Socio-Cultural Dimension

By: Ismail Al Ghabri,  
Yemen Times.

There are some people who are obsessed with punctuality. They get very nervous and edgy if people miss out on appointments with them. To them, keeping an appointment is something very important - like life and death. If things are not done on time or if someone else is late, they fume and get mad. They drive themselves and everyone else crazy.

Now, of course, punctuality is important to a certain degree. Actuality punctuality is important, say in business or in the modern sector. But is it as important in social engagements. Say, I tell you I will arrive at your place at 3:00 p.m. to chew qat and pass time, and I arrive at 4:00 instead. What and where is the problem?

Nonsense! We know fairly well that life is not like that. Why do some people get worked out when things will be fine at the end, any way. This uptight and nervous attitude is a Western problem. The Westerners should learn to relax and take it easy.

Let me tell you a story about uptight Westerners. They say there is a peace corps volunteers who thinks of himself as a change-agent. He wants to help improve the conditions of the locals.

One day he found a farmer relaxing under a tree, that is overlooking his farm.

"Assalam Alaikum," started the peace corps volunteer.

"Wa alaikum al-salam." Soon they were talking about a number of things.

"So, what are you doing?"

"Oh, nothing. Just relaxing."

"Your farm looks like can do with some work."

"What for?"

"If you put more work on the farm, then it will yield more. I mean, you could earn more money."

"So, what?"

"If you have a higher income, then you don't have to work hard. You can hire people to do the chores, while you are relaxing."

"But I am relaxing right now. Why go through the cycle?"

Again, whether you can relax or remain uptight all the time is a cultural and social thing. In so-called developing countries, people are more able to relax.

In the end, all human effort hopefully leads to more happiness. If you produce more and thus earn more, the idea is you become more happy. If you work harder and you are still unhappy, then there is something, or that you are working hard just for the sake of it.

It is important not to miss the desired end-result of all that we are doing.

Going back to punctuality. I will bet the most punctual people in this world suffer from ulcers, heart problems and a number of medical complications.

I can understand punctuality in order to increase productivity. In our assembly line system, if you can rely on the person ahead of you finishing his/her part on time, you can plug in your bit. Hence, higher output.

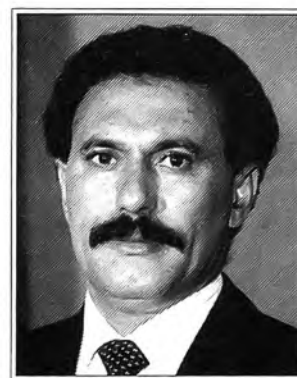
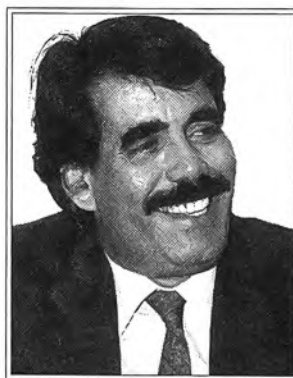
I know some wise guy would be saying that this is too philosophical that only comes from a person who is forever late. Yes, I concede I am often late. So what?

But then again, prayers are performed punctually five times a day. Now, how did we manage that? Of course, I haven't, and my fight with being on time, let alone in time, has been an uphill battle.

Fasting is another thing that we have been doing rather well and punctually. Here again, we have done rather well. So, if something is extremely important, then it will be promptly and punctually be done. Otherwise, why bother? Therefore, our culture and social values do it is, however, impossible to maintain this sort of discipline throughout the day covering all activities! Take your time when you do things. Who needs the stress? Of course, within limits!

## The Cooperative Agricultural Credit Bank

presents its heart-felt congratulations to the Yemeni people and political leadership on the fourth anniversary of the signing of the Unity Agreement and on the departure of colonial forces from our country.



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بأحر التهاني والتبريكات للشعب اليمني وقيادته السياسية وحكومته بمناسبة ذكرى التوقيع على اتفاقية الوحدة والجلاء

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وصاحبة الأعمال الخيرية المعروفة)  
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وإنّا لله وإنّا إليه راجعون

الأسيفون

د/عبدالعزیز السقاف وأسرة «يمن تايمز»

الأستاذ عبدالله عوض وحرمة

الأستاذ عمر محمد عمر وحرمة

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والأخوة توفيق وعيدروس وبدر وعلي وصلاح حمود

وكافة الأحبة



## 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

### Banks:

<b>Yemeni Banks:</b>	
Central Bank	274371/3
Commercial Bank: Sanaa	213662-6
Hodeidah	217040-3
Int'l Bank of Yemen	272920/3
National Bank	275373
YBRD	271623/4

### Branches of Foreign Banks:

Arab Bank Ltd.	240921-29
Bank Indosuez	272801/3
United Bank Ltd	272424

### Government Offices:

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

### Insurance Companies:

Y.I. & Reinsurance/Aden	273311
Marib Insurance: Sanaa	206112/14
Aden:	255668
Taiz:	222162/3/4
Hodeidah:	217370/1
Yemen General: Sanaa:	265191
Aden:	243909
Taiz:	221561
Hodeidah:	239184
United Insurance Co.	01-272890-2
Aman Insurance Co.	01-209452



## EMBASSIES & Consulates

### SANAA :

#### 1. Embassies:

Afghanistan	217691
Algeria	209688/89
Bulgaria	217244
China	275337/340
Cuba	217304/5
Czech Republic	247946
Djibouti	245792/265469
Egypt	275948/9
Eritrea	209422
Ethiopia	208833
France	275995/7
Germany	216756/757, 266873/4
Hungary	216250, 216679
India	241980/1/2
Indonesia	217388
Iran	206945/948
Iraq	216682/790
Italy	265616/73409/78846
Japan	207356/208753
Jordan	216701/736
Korea (Dem)	232340
Korea (Rep)	245959/60
Kuwait	216317/319
Lebanon	203959/733
Libya	208815/6
Mauritania	216770
Morocco	247964
Netherlands	215626/7/8
Oman	208933/4
Pakistan	248813/14
Palestine	215404/5
Poland	248362
Qatar	217488/296
Romania	215579
Russia (FR)	78272/78275
Saudi Arabia	240429/30
Somalia	208864
Sudan	265231/2
Syria	247750/52
Tunisia	240458/9
Turkey	241395

U.A.E	248777/78
U.K.	215630/33
U.S.A.	238842/52
Vietnam	215985

#### 2. Honorary Consulates:

Austria	266725
Belgium	205925/865
Canada	208814
Danish Trade Office	243433
Denmark (Taiz)	04-215171/2
Finland	207018/20/21
Greece	272218
Spain	209360
Sweden	207595/470
Switzerland	203534

#### 3. International Organizations:

FAO	207331/607
UNDP	215505
UNHCR	204963
UNICEF	231256/7/8
WHO	252213/204

#### ADEN Consulates :

China	233115
Ethiopia (Commercial)	231335
France	223129/090
Germany	232162/233607
India	233131
Iran	231893/361
Italy	232586/88
Japan	232219/233282
Libya	233611
Oman	233433/460
Palestine	232340/232717
Russian (FR)	232792/232625
Saudi Arabia	232760/32526
Slovak	233630/232101
Somalia	241421/101
U.K.	232711/12/13
FAO Branch	233722/232146

## HOTELS

<b>Sana'a (01)</b>	
Sheraton	237500/1/2
Taj Sheba	272372/3
<b>Aden (02)</b>	
Movenpick	232911
Gold Mohur	221158
<b>Hodeidah (03)</b>	
Bristol	239197
Ambassador	231247/50
Al Burj	75852
<b>Taiz (04)</b>	
The Plaza Hotel	220224/26
Mareb	210350
Yazan	217997
<b>Marib (063)</b>	
Biquis Marib	2666-2371
<b>Sadah (051)</b>	
Al Mamoon	2203/2459
<b>Mukalla (0952)</b>	
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Aramex / Hodeidah	218.168
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## AIDS: A World Problem and Yemeni Measures

### A: The Global Effort:

The World Health Organization has launched a new research strategy which it believes could revolutionize AIDS prevention efforts.

At a meeting in Geneva last month, over 70 people from research institutes, pharmaceutical companies, and drug regulatory bodies backed the urgent development of a safe antimicrobial agent (microbicide) capable of inactivating HIV in women's vagina.

The aim of the research will be to develop a safe and effective substance which a woman can put into her vagina, for instance in a foam or gel, to inactivate HIV or prevent the virus from attaching itself to the lining of the vagina.

Existing efforts to control the spread of HIV infection consist primarily of widespread condom promotion, the promotion of other safer sex practices, and the control of other sexually transmitted diseases. Condoms are a highly effective means of preventing HIV transmission and condom use in increasing in many parts of the world. However, many women remain without protection against HIV, as they are often not able to control or negotiate safer sex, including the use of a condom.

According to Dr. Michael Merson, Executive Director of the WHO Global Program on AIDS, 'the development of a microbicide is extremely important because it can be used by a woman to protect herself against HIV infection.'

'Of course, the condom remains the primary means of preventing HIV transmission. However, faced with the prospect if at least an additional one million women infected worldwide with HIV each year - two every minute - it is clear that we need a new method to enable women to protect themselves from HIV infection. The development of a safe microbicide which destroys HIV in the vagina would make a real difference to the future course of this epidemic.'

Contraceptive spermicides, which have been available for decades, can also act as vaginal microbicides. A number of them have been shown to be capable of destroying HIV in a test tube and can provide protection against certain bacterial sexually transmitted diseases such as gonorrhea and chlamydia. There is, however, no evidence as yet that such products provide protection against the transmission of HIV. In fact, some studies suggest that their use might cause damage to a woman's vagina which may increase the risk of HIV transmission especially if such products are used frequently and in high doses. Ideally, any new antimicrobial product developed against HIV would also prevent the transmission of other sexually transmitted diseases. Great preference was expressed for products that would not impair fertility. But, given the urgency and gravity of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in many countries, the meeting concluded that this additional aim should not hamper the development of potential compounds with more selective anti-HIV activity.

'If any of the existing compounds prove safe and effective we could have a microbicide which works against HIV in 2 to 3 years,' says Dr. Merson. 'A new product may take longer to develop but this meeting has demonstrated a commitment from all sectors to a concentrated research effort. When a safe and effective vaginal microbicide is available for women to use against HIV there is no doubt it will join the condom in the frontline of our efforts to control the spread of HIV and AIDS.'

Safety will be a major consideration in the development of a microbicide. For example, researchers must determine the degree of irritation caused by the substance to ensure it does not cause lesions which might increase the risk of HIV transmission.

The WHO, in conjunction with other agencies, will

now develop a protocol for the clinical evaluation of vaginal microbicides. The organization will also establish a mechanism to foster collaboration between all parties involved, including the pharmaceutical industry and women's health advocates to coordinate research and other activities.

### B: The Yemeni Effort:

The National Committee for AIDS Control (NCAC) held a rally at the College of Medicine at Sanaa University on December 1st, the International Day for AIDS.

Dr. Najeeb Ghanim, Minister of Health, who kicked off the events, stated that his ministry has prepared a comprehensive plan to minimize the transmission of AIDS. He also called on the media as well as the mosque preachers and educators to help by raising awareness among the public regarding this deadly disease.

Dr. Yassin Qinnawi, representative of the World Health Organization indicated that by mid-1992, there were already more than 12 million AIDS victims in the world. 'Although the majority of these are adults, a rising number of the victims are small children and infants,' he added.

He then pointed out that 1.5 new victims are added to the list every year, and that by the end of the century, the total number of victims will rise to ten million, in addition to forty million carriers.

Dr. Ahmed Al-Haddad, executive of the AIDS Committee, disclosed that the number of victims in Yemen, although small, is fast rising. 'There are 64 quarantined cases, at the moment,' he said. He also stated that the committee has been sending flyers, providing stickers, and using the media to raise the level of awareness among Yemenis.

Dr. Hussain Al-Iryani, Dean of the College of Medicine, indicated that there is a role to be played by the medical doctors. 'We are at the crossroads and we have seen large population movements into Yemen. Therefore, we must prepare for any problems of this nature,' he said.

Most of the Yemenis do not understand, let alone appreciate, the risks posed by AIDS on the individual victim as well as on the society, in general. The victims themselves tend to hide their problems, even once they know about it, because of the social stigma associated with the disease. The social attitude which perceives victims as morally deviant makes it difficult to bring the disease in the open, even when most victims got the disease through blood transfusions.

### The Yemen-British Friendship Association

Invites members to a cultural evening on "British Medicine" and Yemen/Britain joint scientific research.

Place: Taj Sheba Hotel, Sanaa,  
Date: Saturday 11/12/1993  
Time: 7:30 p.m.

#### Speakers:

Dr. I. Murray-lyn, London University  
Dr. Abdullah A.Wali Nasher, Sanaa University

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• Analysis •

## Evolution of Worldwide Political Events

# Return of the Nomenclatura!

As political events unfold worldwide, the tug of war between the PGC and YSP in Yemen falls nicely in the general world trend. The two leaderships of Yemen are at odds not only because of the personal power struggle, but also because they represent different ideological and conceptual frames of mind. Thus, each side has entrenched itself in its past. This kind of struggle is a universal phenomenon in societies that undergo major social, political, economic and other transformation. The leadership carried over into Unified Yemen from the former YAR is unable to shed off its inefficiencies and

corruption and it continuously failed to adopt a meaningful approach to nation-building and to the concept of law and order - beyond its tribal and family affiliations. But the more ominous draft is blowing from the leadership carried over from the former PDRY. Like in many other former socialist nations, the old guard is trying to make a come-back, under various pretexts. It is using the mistakes of unified Yemen to achieve its own goals - survival or rather return of the nomenclatura. That possibility is sending waves of fear all over eastern Europe and the former USSR. The situation in

Yemen is not very different. As the waves of reform and change wash back from the shores, they leave behind lots of unfinished business. The present crisis is the result of this retreat of the waves. In Poland, the socialists - in an unholy alliance with the Catholic Church - have in fact returned to power. Thus many people have doubts as to the commitment of the former socialists to the new order of the day. Are they using pretext to return the clock backwards? This is a legitimate question which has started haunting many reform-minded people all over the world. If the old rulers - in both the

former YAR and PDRY - are unable to accept change, the country definitely runs the risk of violence. Democratic institutions as well political and popular participation are still in their early beginnings. In East European countries, the level of political awareness and public sophistication are much higher, hence the stronger resistance to any efforts to 'return to the past' which provides a higher level of guarantee. In Yemen, the resistance is still too low, although growing. That is why the situation here is more precarious. In addition, the rulers have learned to manipulate their people, who they can lie to and even "buy", at will. So, the worry is about the external factor - the foreigners - whom they can neither lie to nor manipulate. Will the foreigner "help" and will help come in time?

By: John Sherwood,  
Philosopher and Author,

Visited Yemen last week.



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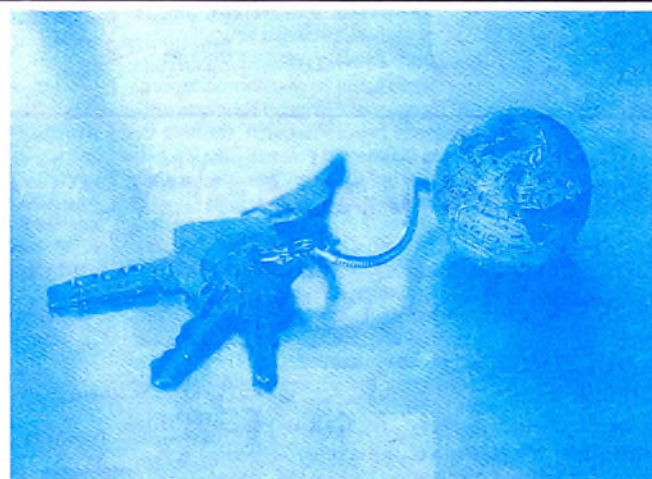
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