



YEMEN TIMES



July 11th through 17th, 1994

Volume IV, Issue No. 27



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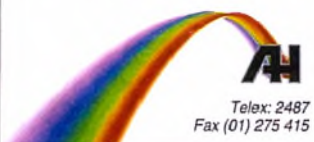
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Even as She War Is Over, Sanaa Comes to Grips with the Post-War Agenda:

We Earned Our Unity

Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf,
Chief Editor,
The Yemen Times.

Aden has completely fallen in the hands of the government forces on Thursday, July 7th. So did Mukalla earlier. Life has quickly returned to normal in these two and other cities. In other words, the war is over. In a communique issued by the Presidential Council, the state of war was declared over, and that all military operations have come to an end. The communique also carried the seeds of what is coming up in the next few weeks. It repeated the general amnesty to all those involved in the fighting, except the sixteen persons wanted by the general prosecutor, it reiterated commitment to democracy, multi-party politics, freedom of the press, and respect for human rights. The Yemenis and the world has expressed a sigh of relief because the war has come to an end, and because of the promises and commitments of the presidential council communique. Even then, all sides are closely watching and observing any infringements on general liberties and on the promises. But the more important task lies ahead. It is the task of achieving national reconciliation and launching the efforts at reforms and reconstruction. As the president succinctly said, "This is the tougher of the two tasks (comparing it to the war.)"

What Lies Ahead:
The war, no doubt, is over. But, what unfolds in the next few weeks, or even months will shape the future of Yemen. It will all depend on how seriously Sanaa handles the issues of reform and reconstruction. If it continues with its past policies, then this could be a pyrrhic victory as frustration and demoralization will creep in quickly. If, on the other hand, Sanaa moves quickly to correct the local power-sharing structure, the workings of the financial and administrative bodies, and many other aspects of public life, then we may have a chance at building a new Yemen. In essence, the politicians could exploit the current enthusiasm and high spirits to introduce substantive change in the approach and procedures of government mentality. Yemen needs a national effort which guarantees an equilibrium in regional power-play in order to create internal harmony, and a new format on which a sound socio-economic development process

could take place, lasting peace in the country. This may involve some of the following factors.

1. One of the main steps that need to be taken is to weed out the corruption that has permeated all corners of government. The ease with which government money is pocketed by officials and officers is disturbing. The proliferation of wrong-doing is a key obstacle to the proper functioning of government offices.
2. Another key issue is the way the rulers, look at the people of Yemen. If all citizens are treated in an equal manner, then there will be no grievances and a reduced stratification of society. This is going to be specially relevant to the people of the south, notably, the YSP people. They need to be assured of equal rights and duties, not only on paper, on actual day-to-day dealings and interaction.
3. A further requirement in Yemen's evolution is the structure of entourage (advisors) around the decision-making core - read president. If the president takes-in feedback from the professionals and specialists, irrespective of whether they enjoy full confidence of the system, then Yemen stands to gain well in terms of efficiency and productivity.
4. The infrastructural investments required to re-build the country, especially Aden, are estimated at over \$8 billion. The issues becomes one of raising money - locally and externally, and one of proper use of such money.

The Political Structure:
The political structure of the post-war Yemen raises four important questions. I highlight them in some detail:
1. The YSP Role:
Leading YSP members that had remained in Sanaa during the war had already taken steps to shore up their party. They formed a new leadership called the Coordination Committee which serves as the party's executive body. This body has met with the president and other senior members of government to try to find out how much space for movement they had as a party. Yemen Times sources said they had asked that the YSP branches, bank accounts, and budgetary allocations be released. They also inquired about the fate of the YSP people held in prison. The president is quoted as having said, "The YSP unitarians are welcome to participate in the political life of Yemen." The president needs to go out of his way to rehabilitate the YSP. This will only make him rise in

stature and will allow the wounds to heal faster.

2. What Happens to the Opposition?
There is a lot of worry about the future of political pluralism in Yemen, in spite of declared assurances. More specifically, an already ineffective opposition is expected to play an even less effective role in Yemeni politics. The president of the republic can help in a significant way in the growth of a real opposition, if he leaves it alone. In the past, the three ruling parties have worked hard to plant their people in opposition parties, they established "front" opposition parties, and they financed newspapers, unions, societies and associations, and many other platforms to mimic their positions. The opposition in Yemen will grow properly, if left alone by the rulers. Can the president guarantee this in the next phase of our political evolution?

3. The Religion Connection:
The constitution forbids the use of religion in the squabbles of Yemen's political life. Even then, there are a few parties, notably the Islah which are using religious feelings and foment religious fervor for their own political gain. Unless, this issue is openly and candidly addressed immediately, political confusion and misunderstanding could lead to violence. It is therefore, imperative that Yemeni leaders and politicians come to grips with this matter, and the sooner the better.

Relations with the Neighbors
One of the most critical factors in Yemen's future is relations with the neighbors, notably Saudi Arabia. It is absolutely vital that Yemen strikes a good working cooperation with our neighbors. If that is not possible in the immediate future, correct relations are the minimum requirements. We should not give any neighbor the pretexts to come against us, not that some of them need it. Yemen must, once again, extend the olive branch. It should not gloat over the military victory and the miscalculations and wrong betting of our neighbors.

The military victory is definitely a watershed in Yemeni politics. But it is also the beginning of a long and arduous task of nation-building. The agenda is a long one, but we can do it with the necessary resolve. President Saleh is expected to go to parliament shortly to highlight the policies of the coming stage.

What Happens to the Dollars Stashed Away in Foreign Secret Accounts?

Well, Abubakar Bin Hussainoon was killed and buried in Hadhramaut last week. Over the last few years, Bin Hussainoon skillfully collected money from the oil deals. It is rumored he has become one of the richest socialists at the end of this century. He has stashed millions of dollars in secret foreign accounts. The man is dead. Pity his efforts to collect all that money. But now that he is dead and no body knows about these bank accounts, their numbers or what is the balance in them, what happens to this money? Is Yemen's way of subsidizing these Western banks? By the way, Bin Hussainoon is not the only Yemeni official - whether YSP or otherwise - with secret bank accounts abroad. Neither is he the only thief who has been stealing public money and transferring it abroad. Will Yemen learn from this experience and make the crooks accountable? Will we use this occasion to build a new system that abhors corruption? Only time will tell!

What Happened to the "Great" in "Great Britain"

The United Kingdom or "Great" Britain has shown over the last few years many symptoms of weaknesses and a fading power. But the most glaring manifestation of this weakness is that it has repeatedly succumbed to Saudi abuse. Last year, there were over a dozen cases of British nationals tortured unjustly in Saudi prisons. The Foreign Office, beyond the few visits by British embassy officials to the prisoners, did not want to get involved, even when there was definite proof of human rights violations. The reason - large and lucrative Saudi contracts. Over the last few weeks, the Saudis have again twisted the British arm, and had the Foreign Office where they wanted - squarely against Yemen. Of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, Britain was most willing to play Saudi Arabia's dirty game. Britain not only followed the Saudi lead in the Security Council, but British officials have also mumbled a few things about penalizing Yemen "for ignoring the human rights of the people of Aden." To add insult to injury, British embassy personnel in Sanaa have been calling embassies of other aid donor countries to see if they have received the British ultimatum, and whether they will follow the genius of London. They were baffled that there were no takers. That is truly a sign of the change of the times!

Formation of New Government

Preparations are fully underway to form a new national unity government. Tipped to head this government is Dr. Abdul-Karim Al-Iryani, although the matter is not yet final. Two of Ali Nasser Mohammed's people are expected to pick up ministerial portfolios - most likely the Fisheries and Urban Planning posts. At the same time, the Presidential Council is going to be re-structured. There will not be a vice chairman post, which actually is not stipulated in the constitution to start with. Ali Nasser Mohammed is rumored to have been invited to join in, while an independent or opposition member could become the fifth member. One scenario calls for the total exclusion of the YSP. This is seen as a short-sighted policy. The more likely scenario is for a few YSP faces to join in, if they will agree to play a junior partner's role. This way, the PGC will have three junior partners - the Islah, Ali Nasser Camp, and the YSP. An additional partner is the collection of opposition parties which together are tipped to take two ministerial posts. The objective of the new government is to create internal harmony/cohesion and to minimize external estrangement.

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OUR VIEWPOINT

The Need to Restore Respect for the Law

One of the most important indicators of a new spirit and new system in Yemen is the degree of respect for the law. In this country, law enforcement is something unimportant. Not only that, but the law is more than not violated by the very people who should enforce it or at least who serve as role models for the public. Thus, the law has lost much of its prestige. There are a number of small things that could be done to restore the prestige and respect for the law. Let me enumerate some of them:

1. Small Kids Driving Big Cars:

One can see on daily basis small kids driving big cars. These are underage drivers who are neither fully aware of traffic rules nor able to control the vehicles they are driving.

Often this crime is doubled by the fact that these children are driving government/police/military cars. Thus they are also wasting public resources (the vehicle, gas, etc.).

There must strict penalties against underage drivers, and abuse of public vehicles must be addressed with severe punishment.

2. Lack of Respect for Office Hours:

Most of the times, government employees arrive at work late, do not stay at their desks, and leave early. Many a time, they do not show up at all. This is more true of the senior officials than it is of the junior bureaucrats.

When they do arrive, many are tired, exhausted and with bulging eyes because of staying late at night. The majority are thus ill-tempered and their interaction with the public or even their colleagues is fraught with tongue-biting and flares of temper.

The government must take strict measures in making its large army of bureaucrats come to work, stay at work, and do work.

3. Stopping Open Corruption:

The new Yemen must address the issue of open corruption among government officials and army/security officers, specially the senior ones. The regime must send signals to the crooks who occupy high positions in government that times have changed. Although society is willing to let by-gones be by-gones, it would be frustrating and disappointing if the old ways continue.

We need to bring some of the most famous crooks to the law and make them accountable.

Those are some of the simple things that need to be done in order to create a new aura, a new spirit. Of course, they are simple, but they are truly serve as indicators of the new times. The people of Yemen need to be assured that things have changed and that the country is coming to a new age.

The first step in this direction is restoring the prestige of the law. Unless a state based on law and order is established, there is no chance this country can attain anything meaningful. President Ali Abdullah Saleh has promised to change things around. Let us hope he will succeed.

The Publisher
عبد العزيز السقاف

Looting in Aden

Six independent and separate sources have confirmed that looting and plundering was widespread in certain parts of Aden last week. According to government sources, the plundering was done by militias left behind by the secessionist forces before they fled the country. Other sources indicate that there was a one-to-two day gap in authority between the departure of the secessionists and the arrival of the government forces. That is when the robbers took charge and plundered the storage facilities, government offices, and even private homes and shops.

Still others say that the government forces themselves were involved in the looting either directly or indirectly. Directly by looting themselves, and indirectly for having freed all the prisoners and law-breakers who had been in jail, alongside the political prisoners.

Whatever the case, the people of Aden have undergone through yet one more trauma. It is true, law and order is gradually coming back to force, but the worry and anxiety of ordinary citizens continue.

The plundering of private homes and stores is taxing as it adds to the pains of individuals.

Amnesty International Mission in Yemen

Dr. Siyamend Othman and Dr. Abdul-Hussain Aziz arrived in Sanaa on Saturday, July 9th. The two-man team is on a two-week fact-finding mission that will take them to several cities in the Republic, notably Aden. The Amnesty delegation will also meet with senior government officials including the ministers of interior, foreign affairs, and justice. Dr. Othman told the Yemen Times that the team is investigating human rights violations that have been reported in the media. "Priority is conditions in Aden and other south/eastern governorate cities," he said.

Undermining the Army of the Secessionists

The residents of the cities of Aden and Mukalla have played a vital role in undermining the fighting power of the secessionist forces. According to new information, the residents hid their young men to avoid having them drafted to a war they did not believe in. Many families have even harbored people who are not related to them in order to save them from the forceful recruitment. It will be remembered that the secessionists were desperately short of men (and women) to man the new military hardware they had been receiving.

Yemen Times Seminar

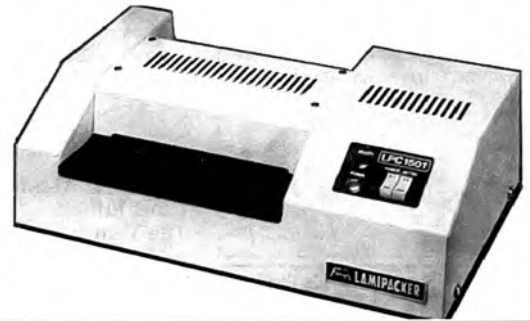
The Yemen Times is sponsoring a seminar entitled "Yemen After the War: The Phase of Reform and Reconstruction." The seminar will focus on the requirements for building a new Yemen, and the likelihood of that happening. Specialists from the government, academia, political parties and foreign aid donor are giving papers on various sectors such as political structures, economic policies, administrative procedures, business relations, and many other aspects. The seminar is scheduled for July 14th at the Taj Sheba Hotel. Attendance is by invitation only.

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Chief Editor & Publisher: Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf
Horizons Printing & Publishing. Tel: 612844/5, P.O.Box: 12503, Sanaa.

Graphic Design & Technical Support by:

DIWAN ADA • Abdulla Faris & Associates, Sanaa, (01) 267675, Facsimile +967-1-267676

Abdul-Salam Al-Anssi:

"Our neighbors must believe Yemen has no ideology, philosophy or system that it seeks to export to them."

Mr. Abdul-Salam Al-Anssi, is member of the General Committee of the People General Congress and Head of its most important department - the General Department. As such, he is expected to play a leading role in forming the future Yemen. He can play this role because he enjoys the confidence and support of the president, and because he has successfully put together a working set-up and an efficient team in his department.

Al-Izzy As-Selwi of Yemen Times went to speak to him and filed the following interview:

Q: Now that military confrontation is over, what is the next step?

A: I think the obvious step is to talk about our differences and visions for building Yemen.

We have been calling for serious and candid talks among all parties in order to agree on the broad guidelines for a new Yemen. Let me state something that could strike you as ironic. I think that the dismantling of the military apparatus of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) has freed the politicians from the blackmail of the military men and from many complications. Thus it has created more common denominators with the other parties, and will allow agreement on many of the steps to build a proper multi-party political system.

Having said all that, let me be explicit that the victorious always write the terms of the new era. We plan to do that, within the limits of the nation's interests and the considerations of the system we envisage for Yemen.

Q: How will you deal with the military officers, media personnel, and bureaucrats who worked for the other side?

A: You will note that a general amnesty has been issued by the presidential council. That means, within limits, we cannot hold people who have been forced or ordered to carry out instructions. I think the orientation is towards national reconciliation. President Saleh is pushing for the wounds to heal and for the people to feel one and united.

Q: What happens to the military prisoners and political detainees?

A: There are no military prisoners or political detainees. Of course, some people have been arrested due to certain violations and they are under interrogation within the framework of the law. I want to state that there is no whole-sale imprisonment. Please note that our system is open to the ICRC (International

Council of the Red Cross), Amnesty International, and other organizations which are concerned with human rights and general liberties.

Q: There are those who accuse President Saleh of trying to exploit the military victory to create a docile YSP which he will use to counter-balance the rising influence of the Islah party. In other words, the YSP could be transformed to toe the president's line?

A: Let me first say that the YSP has been agitating for change for a long time. In fact, some of its own members have even called changing the very name of the party.

Second, let me point out that the president of any other members of the People's General Congress (PGC) want the YSP to simply be like all other parties - a political organ without military or militia flanks. When people disagreed with the YSP in the past, especially among its intellectual members, they were intimidated. Now, without the military wing, it can behave more like a normal party like the PGC, Islah, or any others. That is why many YSP people feel obliged to President Saleh for having ridden them of the military wing of the party.

Q: Saudi Arabia continues to express anti-Sanaa sentiments. How do you see Yemeni-Saudi relations?

A: Let me insist that we have no ideology or system to export. We are not interested in interfering in their affairs. We also expect them not to try to interfere in our internal affairs. We are neighbors and good relations are important.

The Republic of Yemen is trying to build a modern society based on local and international values. We do not threaten anybody, and neither Saudi Arabia nor the other Gulf States have anything to fear from Yemen.

Over the last few weeks, we have seen an explainable interference in our internal affairs by the Gulf



States. Even then, we are willing to work towards a proper relationship that is mutually beneficial.

Q: The second UN Security Council resolution (# 931) calls on the Secretary-General to report to it within fifteen days of its issuance (June 29th). Now that the military confrontation is over, what do you think is going to happen?

A: In my opinion, this issue should not have been discussed in the Arab League or Security Council. Therefore, whatever is based on meetings of such forums is not totally relevant.

Even then, so that people do not accuse us of being arrogant or aloof, we have opened to them our souls and minds to listen to them and see how they can help us overcome our problems.

You will note that we received very recently the Military Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League, who had visited us before. We welcome all visitors, provided they do not come to dictate terms and orders to us. We will interact positively with all

persons and bodies provided they are not here to apply pressure to please this or that party.

As the whole world can see, we are close to resolving this internal problem by ourselves. We are willing to listen to anyone who has impartial advice to us.

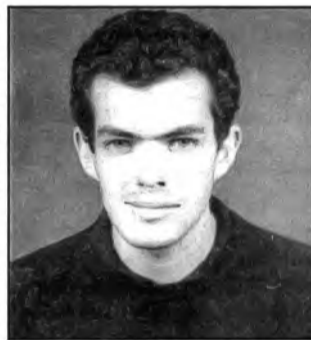
Q: How do you assess the role and positions of the UN Security Council permanent member countries vis-a-vis the Yemeni problem?

A: I think that the permanent members of the UN Security Council have interacted rationally and objectively with the Yemeni problem. I would like to especially point to the French position which was gratifying and absolutely honorable. The military attache as well as the ambassador of France in Sanaa were always informed and in constant contact with the situation and how it evolved. That is why their position is based on accurate information. I would like to think the French role serves as a good model for the other European and Western countries.

Aden: A Troubled City

The war was over by Thursday the 7th of July. Aden was taken over by the government forces easily. The separatist troops had fled the city a few hours before. Official buildings and storage facilities have been looted by the inhabitants and the soldiers, thus increasing the destruction of the city.

"You can go. Take everything." From their trucks, the soldiers, who entered Aden, gave permission to the Adenis to loot. We are in Crater, standing in front of the Chamber of Commerce of Aden and the French cultural center. In a few seconds, men, women and children rushed into the building to be the first ones to loot. Everything is taken away: the furniture, the carpets, even the telephone cables and the window panes. On the street, women were waiting with the things looted which was carried to their houses.



some tea to the patients," said a hospital staff member. *There is only one doctor today to take care of the patients. The others couldn't come this morning because of the shellings.* The situation is not clear. In Crater, abandoned by the separatist soldiers, the inhabitants did not know that the government of Sanaa has already won. A hundred people are in front of the National Bank of Yemen. As soon as they heard the government soldiers were coming, they went to loot the bank before the soldiers will do it. They hurried back

when people inside the building fired shots at them.

Life Normal again in Sheikh Othman

The time is Thursday morning, the 7th. Government troops are still shelling the city from the Caltex crossroad in Mansourah. They don't exactly know where they are sending their bombs and Katyusha rockets. Not far from there, the streets of Sheikh Othman, Dar Saad and Mansourah are full of people. Life is normal again.

Some cars cross the front line with a white flag. Some families who decided to leave Aden where there has been no water for ten days are also seen crossing the line. Women and children sit on top of their personnel effects. Even under such circumstances, they are happy and say hello to the soldiers.

On the salt road, government soldiers are more interested in getting a share of the bounty and booty than in taking the city. They are looting the store-houses of the separatist army. They leave in their cars full of goodies such as household appliances, mattresses, etc.. There already is a traffic jam on the road as the soldiers who are going north with what they have looted get stuck with these who are coming to have their share.

Noon, 12am, we are at Aden Hotel. The separatists have left the place in the morning. Some Katyusha rockets have hit the hotel. One of them had seriously wounded a member of the team of the French organization Doctors Without Borders. The government soldiers have already occupied the hotel. Inside, the restaurants have been looted. The ceiling of the hall has come down. Water is flooding everywhere. The anti-fire system is out of order after it was hit by a Katyusha rocket. The hotel is quiet now. Only a few young soldiers are looking in the rooms looking for something interesting to take.

In Khormaksar, Al Joumhourriya hospital has no water and the weather is very hot and humid. "We only give

Traffic Jam because of Looting

Five minutes later, a government tank enters into Crater. After a few shootings, they go into the bank. The inhabitants boldly come out on the streets or they look on from behind their windows or balconies. They are watching the end of the war. Fifty meters further, a separatist pick-up mounted with a machine-gun, is making a turn. It has understood that the war is finished.

Further, in Tawahi, there is traffic jam in front of the Victory Square. People are looting bottles of vodka and whisky. One hour later, the same ones break some bottles of alcohol on the ground with the government soldiers, looking on, and then shouting "Allah Akbar".

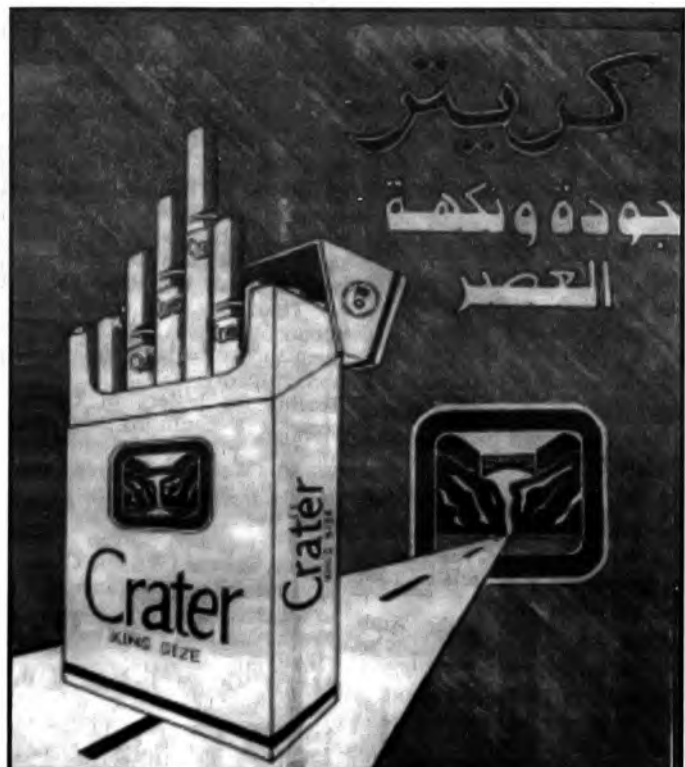
On Gold Mohur beach, the last separatist soldiers are leaving on a small boat. Earlier, the leaders of the self proclaimed Democratic Republic of Yemen have left by sea. The last shellings from the government soldiers were targeting this beach and some civilians who live there preferred to take refuge in the tunnel not far from them.

It is now 16pm The government troops have already put checkpoints at the crossroads. They accept "gifts" from the looters who need to pass by. Very quickly it became the norm - you give gifts of what you had looted, you pass, otherwise, it is going to be difficult. This a sort of fraternisation or even better - sharing in the spoils.

The tanks are driving in the streets with Ali Abdallah Saleh's pictures. The children and a few Adenis applaud them but most of them are more interested to loot.

At night the looting continued. The soldiers shoot in the air. From Taiz, a convoy of trucks plenty of foodstuffs has arrived in Aden. Yemen is reunified.

Jerome BERNARD



The Return of Yemeni Horsemanship

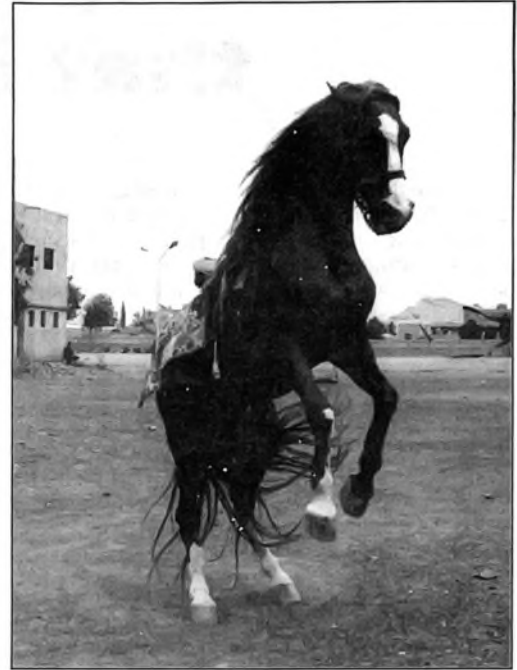
By Yahia Yusuf Al-Hodeidi,
Yemen Times.

Horses were an integral part of Yemeni life, even not so long ago. As other Arabs, Yemenis take pride in horses, and when someone wants to praise another person, they often describe him as "faris", meaning horseman.

But this aspect of Yemeni life faded away over the last half a century. Now, thanks to the efforts of the military academy, horses are making a comeback. One of the key men who has contributed to this comeback is Colonel Abdo Al-Huthaifi, the former commander of Horsemanship at the Military College. But today, a younger generation of horsemen and enthusiasts have taken over. Most outstanding among these is Lieutenant Abdulghani Ali Al-Wajeeh, who is in charge of the horse-breeding and training at the college.

"We have today over 120 thoroughbred Arabian horses. We are very picky about breeding and we take care to preserve the original Arabian horses, and not mix up our horses," he said.

Every other sentence in my long conversation with him, he would remind me what a beautiful and dig-



nified animal the horse is. I consistently nodded in agreement.

At the military college, every year, some fifteen top students are given the chosen to become exceptional horsemen. "This involves long hours of training and learning. The most important part is to learn to be friends with your horse - to the extent that trust and love is exchanged between the horseman and the horse," he said.

"I would like to inform you that - with the support and encouragement of such men as Sheikh Abdullah Bin Hussain Al-Ahmar, Speaker of Parliament, and under the umbrella of the Ministry of Youth and Sports, we established a club for horse-riding. We also established an association for horse-riders and horse-lovers," Al-Wajeeh said.

The association has already started contact with similar organizations in other countries, especially in Jordan, where the sport is much more advanced and horse-breeding more prevalent.

The association is lucky to have, Dr. Ali Al-Shatibi, a veterinarian as its secretary-general. The association was also encouraged and supported by businessmen, public figures and sheikhs. "I would especially like to mention the support of Sheikhs Mohammed Bin Naji Al-Shayif and Al-Ruwaishan, both members of Parliament," Al-Wajeeh added. "We need the support of everybody. Caring for one horse costs up to YR 10,000 per month," he pointed out.

Many individuals and sheikh already own horses which are kept in private stables. The most famous is Sheikh Al-Ahmar. In the eastern regions and the Tihamah, horses are frequently used. Although there are no reliable statistics, the number of horses in Yemen runs in the thousands.

"I hope one day soon, Yemen will witness games and races involving horses. Foreigners in embassies, oil companies, etc., are already involved with us in enjoying horse-riding," he concluded.



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تقدّم

مجموعة شركات السنيدار

التهاني والتبريكات للشعب اليمني الأبّي والقيادة السياسية المباركة
بمناسبة النصر العظيم للوحدة اليمنية والنظام الديمقراطي ومسيرة التنمية .
نحن شركاء في بناء يمن مستقر وقوي ومزدهر

SUNIDAR GROUP OF COMPANIES

present their heart-felt felicitations

to the people, political leadership and armed forces of Yemen
on the victory of Yemeni unity, democracy & development.
We are partners in building a stable, strong & prosperous Yemen

مجموعة شركات إخوان ثابت

تشارك الشعب اليمني وقيادتنا السياسية وقواتنا المسلحة أفرحنا
بمناسبة إنتصار الوحدة اليمنية والشرعية الدستورية
مجموعة شركات اخوان ثابت : قاعدة قوية لنمو وتطور اليمن

Thabet Brothers Group of Companies

join the Yemeni people in the celebrations
on the victory and consolidation of a unified Yemen.
Thabet Brothers: A strong base for the development of Yemen.

شركة الغاز اليمنية

تتقدم بأحر التهاني والتبريكات للشعب اليمني وقيادتنا السياسية
بزعامه ابن اليمن البار الرئيس الفريق علي عبدالله صالح
بمناسبة إنتصار الشرعية الدستورية وتثبيت الوحدة اليمنية

The Yemen Gas Company

Offers its felicitations to the Yemeni people and to the
political leaders on the victory of Constitutional Legitimacy
and on the consolidation of Yemeni Unity.

شركة النفط اليمنية

تتقدم بأجمل التهاني وأعطر التبريكات للشعب اليمني وقائد المسيرة
الفريق علي عبدالله صالح بمناسبة إنتصار وتثبيت الوحدة اليمنية
ونتعاهد جميعاً لبناء « يمن الرخاء والقوة والإستقرار »

YEMEN PETROLEUM COMPANY

presents its heart-felt congratulations
to the Yemeni people and the political leadership
on the victory and consolidation of a unified Yemen.
We join hands to build a stable, strong and prosperous Yemen.

تقدم

مجموعة شركات الشيخ عبد السلام شمسان وأولاده

التهاني والتبريكات للشعب اليمني الأبي والقيادة السياسية المباركة
بمناسبة النصر العظيم للوحدة اليمنية والنظام الديمقراطي ومسيرة التنمية

ABDUL-SALAM SHAMSAN & SONS
GROUP OF COMPANIES

present their heart-felt congratulations
to the Yemeni people and the political leadership on the
victory of Yemeni unity, democracy & development process

المالكون ، والإدارة العليا ، والموظفون في:

فندق تاج سبأ - صنعاء

يشاركون الشعب اليمني أفراحه بمناسبة إنتصار الوحدة اليمنية
أنها بداية جديدة لبناء الإستقرار والرخاء في الجمهورية اليمنية

The Owners, Management, and Staff of
Taj Sheba Hotel - Sanaa

join the Yemeni people in rejoicing
on the victory and consolidation of a unified Yemen.
This is the beginning of stability and prosperity of the country.

مجموعة شركات شاهر عبد الحق واخوانه

تتقدم

بأصدق التهاني وأعطر التبريكات

للشعب اليمني العظيم والقيادة السياسية الحكيمة بقيادة ابن اليمن البار

المناضل الفريق علي عبدالله صالح

بمناسبة إنتصار الحق وإندحار الباطل وتثبيت الوحدة اليمنية .

ونحن سنستمر في للمشاركة الجادة لبناء «يمن الرخاء والقوة والإستقرار»



Shahir Abdul Al-Haq & Bros. Group of Companies

present their sincere congratulations & felicitations
to the Yemeni people and the political leadership
on the victory and consolidation of Yemeni Unity.

We shall continue to make an effective contribution
to build a stable, strong and prosperous Yemen.

مجموعة شركات هائل سعيد أنعم

تشارك الشعب اليمني الخالد وقيادتنا السياسية المظفرة وقاتنا المسلحة المنيرة
في الإحتفال بانتصارات الوحدة اليمنية العظيمة
وبمناسبة الإنتقال إلى مرحلة البناء الجادة ،
فإننا - كما عهدنا شعبنا - سنكون سباقون إلى الميدان
من أجل رفعة ورخاء وعزة اليمن وإستقراره



The Hayel Saeed Group of Companies

joins in the celebrations of the Yemeni people,
political leadership and armed forces
on the victory of consolidation of Yemeni unity.

On the occasion of the re-focus on the development of the country
We shall continue to lead the way towards
the prosperity, growth, stability and strength of Yemen.

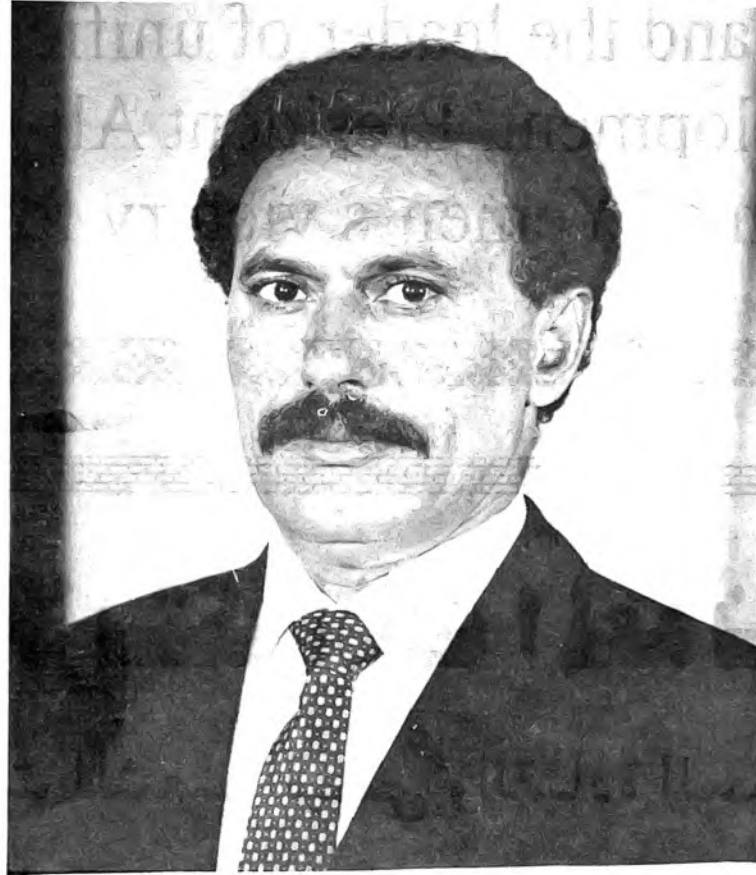
بمناسبة الإنتصار العظيم في تثبيت الوحدة اليمنية المباركة

تتقدم

شركة هنت اليمنية للنفط

بأحر التهاني وأعطر التبريكات للشعب اليمني والقيادة السياسية
شركة هنت اليمنية :

رائدة في قطاع النفط والغاز وعنصر أساسي في نهضة اليمن



Yemen Hunt Oil Company

joins the Yemeni people and political leadership in rejoicing on the victory and consolidation of Yemeni unity

Yemen Hunt Oil Company:

A Pioneer in Yemen's oil and gas sector,
and an important factor in the country's development

تتقدم

شركة إتحاد المقاولين العالمية

سي سي سي

بالتفاني العطرة والتبريكات المخلصة

للشعب اليمني المناضل والقيادة السياسية الحكيمة والقوات المسلحة الباسله

بمناسبة الإنتصار الوحدة اليمنية المباركة - مصدر فخر لكل العرب

سي سي سي : رمز المشاركة الصادقة في بناء اليمن منذ نصف قرن



Consolidated Contractors (International) Co.

CCC

presents its heart-felt congratulations

to the Yemeni people, political leadership and armed forces
on the victory of Yemeni unity - the pride of all Arabs.

CCC: Symbol of a true partner in building Yemen
for almost half a century.

تقدم العالمية للسفرات والسياحة

التهاني القلبية والتبريكات الخالصة للشعب اليمني الأبى
وقائد مسيرة الوحدة والديمقراطية الزعيم الفريق علي عبدالله صالح
وذلك بمناسبة إنتصار اليمن لوحدته وكبريائه

Universal Travel and Tourism

offers its heart-felt congratulations to the
Yemeni people and the leader of unification, democratization
and development, President Ali Abdullah Saleh
on the occasion of Yemen's victory for its unity and honor.

هيئة الإستكشافات المعدنية

تنقل أحر التهاني والتبريكات للشعب اليمني والقيادة السياسية وقواتنا المسلحة
بمناسبة نصر الوحدة اليمنية وإستئناف مسيرة الديمقراطية والتنمية
معاً سنمضي لبناء « يمن الرخاء والمنعة والإستقرار »

The Mineral Exploration Board

extends its heart-felt congratulations to the
Yemeni people, political leadership and armed forces
on the victory of Yemeni unity and the resumption of the
democratization and development processes.
Together, we shall build a stable, strong and prosperous Yemen.

Yemen Bids Farewell to 3 Diplomats It Is "Good-bye" Time Again

1. Robert Tyabji of UNICEF, or Bob, as friends call him, had served in Yemen since December 1988. He left on Friday, July 8th.

Mr. Tyabji has been with UNICEF for over 21 years, and had served in Delhi (India), Thimphu (Bhutan), and Mogadishu (Somalia) before coming to Yemen. He is now headed for Dar Es-Salam (Tanzania). Bob was in charge of informa-



tion and communication. In this capacity, he had built for UNICEF important in-roads into the information and media systems of Yemen.

At another level, UNICEF's emergency program is being launched this week within the UN relief package.

As he left the airport, Bob told Yemen Times, "I hope to be remembered as a friend of Yemen."

Different people call her different things. Yemeni officials refer to her as Umm An-Nour (Mother of Nour as that is her daughter's name). But Nour is Light, and the Yemeni officials make no secret that this woman has brightened Yemeni relations with la France.

The French ambassador often calls her the "eyes and ears of the embassy" in direct reference to her extensive relations and contacts with the Yemenis.

European diplomats enviously call her the "pearl of the French embassy."

We are, of course, talking of Selma Fourcassie, the beautiful female from the mountains of Lebanon, carried off by a French gallant, some years back.

Selma leaves Yemen this week after over four years of service. Her next post is Vietnam.

A smooth and charming woman, Selma is also a hard-working person. In September 1991, she founded the Department of Information at the embassy. That was going to serve as her springboard for extensive exchange with the local media. End result = a fantastic standing for France in Yemeni eyes. It is true, France is riding high in Sanaa, these days. In part, this is the achievement of Madame Fourcassie as she is formally addressed. Even the European community benefited from her efforts, although indirectly.

Earlier in her career, Selma had been instrumental in creating a literary series called "Lettre arabes." These are French trans-



lations of 12 contemporary Arab novels, executed in collaboration with the Arab World Institute. That was back in 1981.

Most Yemeni intellectual will miss her qat mafraj. The weekly gathering of chewers was a forum to discuss politics and many other things, some not fit to print on this paper.

But we in Yemen Times, will always remember her as the founder of the French Page. Her assistance to the paper and moral support have been a source of inspiration and perseverance.

And finally, there is Sylvain Fourcassie who concludes his service as the Cultural, Scientific and Cooperation Attache. Over a four-year period, he made significant in-roads for the French language into the Yemeni educational system and media.

He was behind the inauguration of two cultural centers - one in Sanaa and the other in Aden, he established the French Departments in Sanaa and Aden Universities, he initiated the transmission of French lessons over TV Channel 2, and he was a strong element in the introduction of the French pages over the Yemen Times.

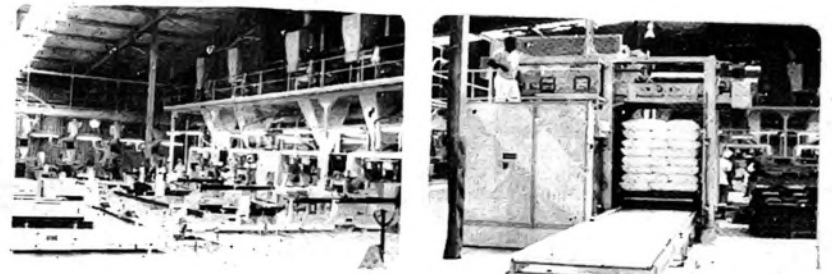
Sylvain also arranged scholarships and short-term visit programs to Yemenis to France. He has successfully built a small community of francophones in the Republic of Yemen.

Then there is the technical cooperation program which covers such different fields as coffee growing, manuscript archiving, airport maintenance, computerization, university research, seismologic studies, etc.



THE MOHAMED ABDO RABO GROUP A GIANT CORPORATION GROWS FURTHER

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Hodeidah: Phone: 3-232460; Tlx: 5661; Facsimile: 211551; Address: P.O.Box 4015.
Khartoum: Phone: 74569/74610/74562; Tlx: 22369; Fax: 74561; Address: P.O.B. 1926
Port Sudan: Phone: 2630, 2979, 4465; Telex: 70071; Address: P.O.Box 160.



صناعات: ت: ٢٤٠٧٠٢ - ٢٤٠٩٥٢ تليكس: ٢٧٨٠ ناجيل يمن فاكسميل: ٢٦٣٠٨٦ ص ب: ٢٥٢٨
الحديدة: ت: ٣/٢٣٢٤٦٠ تليكس: ٥٦٦١ ابو جبة يمن فاكسميل: ٢١١٥٥١ ص ب: ٤٠١٥
الخرطوم: ت: ٧٤٥٦٩ - ٧٤٦١٠ - ٧٤٥٦٢ تليكس: ٢٢٣٦٩ سبحان فاكسميل: ٧٤٥٦١ ص ب: ١٩٣٦
بورسودان: ت: ٢٦٣٠ - ٢٩٧٩ - ٤٤٦٥ تليكس: ٧٠٠٧١ يارن ص ب: ١٦٠

إعلان عنه وظيفة شاغرة

تعلن الآفاق للطباعة والنشر عن حاجتها لشغل الوظيفة التالي:
محاسب مالي (تكاليف)

فعلى من يجد في نفسه الكفاءة والرغبة الإتصال على هاتف رقم ٦١٢٨٤٤/٥
على أن تتوفر في المتقدم الشروط التالية:

- ١- أن يحمل مؤهل جامعي تخصص محاسبة تكاليف.
- ٢- أن تكون لديه خبرة لا تقل عن خمس سنوات في المجال المذكور.
- ٣- الأولوية لمن عمل في مجال المطابع.

الخطوط الجوية اليمنية

تقدم التهاني والتبريكات للشعب اليمني الأبى والقيادة السياسية المباركة بمناسبة النصر العظيم للوحدة اليمنية والنظام الديمقراطي ومسيرة التنمية اليمنية: عامل أساسي في إزدهار اليمن ونموه

YEMENIA - Yemen Airways

presents its heart-felt felicitations to the people, political leadership and armed forces of Yemen on the victory of Yemeni unity, democracy & development.
YEMENIA: A Factor in Yemen's Prosperity and Growth

يقدم

بنك اليمن الدولي

التهاني والتبريكات للشعب اليمني الأبي والقيادة السياسية المباركة
بمناسبة النصر العظيم للوحدة اليمنية والنظام الديمقراطي ومسيرة التنمية .
نحن عنصر هام في إزدهار اليمن ونموه

International Bank of Yemen

presents its heart-felt felicitations to the
people, political leadership and armed forces of Yemen
on the victory of Yemeni unity, democracy & development.
IBY: An important factor in Yemen's prosperity and growth.

البنك التجاري اليمني

يشترك الشعب اليمني وقيادته السياسية وقواته المسلحة أفراحه
بمناسبة إنتصار الوحدة اليمنية والشرعية الدستورية
نحن شركاء اليمن في إنطلاقه نحو المستقبل الواعد وإزدهاره الإقتصادي

Yemen Commercial Bank

joins the Yemeni people in the celebrations
on the victory and consolidation of Yemeni unity.
YCB: A partner in the development of Yemen's economy.

Report on Planet Earth: A Retrospective for A.D. 2050

Environmental Editor, Yemen Times.

In the past, they said it could only get worse. The professional futurists, peering into their cloudy crystal balls back in the 1990s, could see many ways for the world to go downhill. Worse yet, the decline they perceived would continue as far into the future as they dared to look.

The bogeyman of our grandparents came in two main categories. First, there were impending shortages. The world, they said, would run out of many basic materials in the next half century; cheap oil would disappear by about 2030, natural gas by 2050, low-sulfur coal would be gone by 2090. On the minerals side, although there was enough iron for centuries, lead would show a severe shortage by 2040, and copper by 2050.

Even more alarming, perhaps because less obviously a resource until recent times, the world's demand for fresh water would far exceed its supply by 2020 or earlier. The world's tropical forest would be gone by that date, and the great boreal forests of the Northern Hemisphere would be in decline because of acid rain and the "forest dying" that by the mid-1980s was already affecting half the woods of Europe. Along with forest clearing and overexploitation of agricultural lands would come the loss of topsoil, increased desertification and the consequent decline in the area of arable lands. Food production potential would diminish.

Removal of forest cover, especially tropical forests, would lead to another and irretrievable loss of species. In 1990, about three-quarters of the roughly five million species of plants and animals on Earth could be found only in the tropics. In the decade from 1990 to 2000, about a million species became extinct because of deforestation. Another two million would go by 2020.

The projected shortages were alarming. But perhaps more frightening was the second class of problem: the projected surpluses. Air pollution by oxides of nitrogen and sulphur would be on the increase. The water supplies would be increasingly contaminated by harmful toxins. The loss of the world's forests would mean increase in the amount of atmospheric carbon dioxide. This amount would be further augmented by the burning of fossil fuels. The globe would retain more solar heat and induce an overall "global warming" of anything from 1-5 degrees C. The polar ice caps would melt. Sea levels would rise and inundate the world's coastal plains. Arable lands and cities would vanish. The hard-core pessimists even thought it possible that Earth might move away from its eons-old heat balance and be transformed into a hot and lifeless hell like Venus.

All of these ominous shortages and surpluses were driven by one overriding "surplus": the human population. From a mere million in 1800, it had increased to two billion by 1930, to four billion by 1975, and to six and a half billion by the year 2000. Projections for 2050 were frightening they ranged from a low of eight and a half to a high of 15 billion or more.

Our grandparents examined the trends, an made their gloomy projections. A world of desperate shortages, diminishing options, and degraded life-style seemed inevitable for all but a fortunate few. By 2042, or much earlier starvation and deprivation would be the norm.

What they could not see, although with the benefit of hindsight we can discern clearly, were the seeds, vigorously sprouting that would transform the world before the middle of the next century.

The Time of Change

Since the beginning of civilization, it is likely that people in every era have considered the 50 years immediately preceding their own time as being of unique importance to the world's history. This tendency toward "temporal chauvinism" should perhaps be deplored; and yet we cannot help asserting that the period between the year 2000 and today has truly been the most critical ever for humanity.

For it is now true that for perhaps the first time in the whole of human history, the future looks bright.

The most important event of the past 50 years has arguably been not change, but constancy. And for the first constancy we humans can take no scrap of credit. The stability of the vast self-regulating entity that forms Earth's biosphere has proved to be truly extraordinary. Any increase in carbon dioxide levels is followed, almost at once, by an even stronger increase in plant activity. Plants globbed up carbon dioxide as fast as it could be produced by the burning of fossil fuels. They increased their own growth rates even faster. During the last decade of the twentieth century and the first one of the present, plant growth everywhere showed increased vigor. There was an increase in the biomes available for food, fiber, and fuel. Just as important, stimulation of plant root activity accelerated the availability of humus and the renewal of topsoil.

The stability of the biosphere was due to Gaia, not homo sapiens. Earth's vast and interconnected total genetic pool made the loss of even two and half million species apparently of minimal practical significance. We can however, take credit for the second great constancy: Basic materials did not, and have not, come into short supply. And it is humanity's own creations that must be thanked for this.

The Unpaid and Unsleeping Workforce

The first attempts to make robots, in the latter half of the previous century, were discouraging. Perhaps this was because, following popular fiction, these computer-controlled devices were perceived as servants, and expected to perform such tasks as house cleaning and maintenance. It took a long time to realize that compared to the uniformity of a mine, a water filtration plant, or an ocean floor, a human household is a vastly complex operating environment, intolerant of less than optimum performance. Beginning with the remotely operated deep-sea submersibles of the 1980s, robots in the 1990s and early 2000s began to be employed in every structured

environment that was difficult and dangerous for a human, and in every situation where tasks could be clearly defined: mining for low-yield metals, for low-sulphur coals, and for iron ore on land, and for manganese, in the deep sea. Smart robots also made viable the mining of ores far poorer than those traditionally of economic value.

Real materials shortages are still a problem for the future, but that future will be in the twenty-second century.

Increased use of specialized robots has also decreased failure levels. Robots coal miners, for example, can sense ambient levels of methane directly and continuously, so that underground explosions have become a part of mining's primitive past. Miniaturized miners, a few micrometers across, monitor the sulphur levels in coal directly, and separate it out, while smart sensors in the support beams of the mines report continuously on stress and movement levels. Even smaller (molecular sized) specialized robots remove toxins from our air and water at efficiency levels undreamed of in twentieth-century scrubbers and filtration units. Since production plants and transportation systems are now obliged to use at least 90% of their air and water effluents, recycling has become close to perfect.

As our unpaid and unsleeping robots have decreased the cost of raw materials, so also have they decreased the costs of refining and manufacturing. This, together with the development of increasingly robust and versatile plastics and ceramics, has lowered the final cost for the consumer; products are far cheaper than they were half a century ago. Since the early 2000s, robots have replaced humans in most manufacturing, and in the agriculture of staple products, where high levels of judgment are not required. The danger and tedium of twentieth-century factory or agricultural duties would be deemed totally intolerable by today's workers.

Robots, and robots control of operations, today are almost everywhere. The general-purpose household robot, flexible in tasking and safe in all circumstances, has proven vastly difficult to develop. Robots smart enough to stimulate and interact with human activities over a broad range have been developed only in the past 10 years.

Humans can also take credit for the third great change of the first half of this century: widespread starvation, for so long the specter looking over our shoulder, has left the scene.

Starvation was banished as a result of three other changes. First, using recombinant DNA techniques, scientists built superplants that can thrive with high productivity in areas too saline, too cold, and too arid for earlier natural plants. Where only 15 of the 150 million square kilometers of the world's land were cultivated 50 years ago, and three-quarters of the whole judged unusable, today over 40 million square kilometers are cultivated, and the water demand for irrigation has been more than halved.

Second, the production of wholly artificial food, dreamed of for centuries, became a reality in the 2020s. It has never been wholly accepted or gener-

ally popular, and individuals claim to know the difference between real and synthetic foods (although double-blind taste tests show that they are deceiving themselves).

But natural foodstuffs are preferred and some individuals even grow some of their own food and make their own wine, although these cost vastly more than purchased products. However, artificially produced food stands as a bulwark against true shortages, and is available everywhere in time of need.

These two developments, artificial food and superplants, however, would have been meaningless had human population continued its blind and insatiable increase. That it did not is due to one simple biological advance, already on the horizon half a century ago. This was flexible and foolproof contraception, and associated fertility control.

Although religious debate did not end in the 1990s (and has not even today), contraceptive pills, direct descendants of the antiprogesterin pill of the 1990s, had by 2010 become cheap, safe, and ubiquitous. This put the choice of family size, firmly and finally, into the hands of the people who bore the children: the women. In a single generation, families of more than four children became the exception. By 2020, two children per family was, as it is now, the norm.

Today, the world's population of nine billion is even showing signs of a downturn. For the first time in two and a half centuries, ever since Malthus made his ominous prediction, the diapason of population growth is not sounding through the whole of human affairs. The Right to Bear Children, like the Right to Bear Arms, is an ongoing argument, one that has become less bitter since the average family size has decreased. The future no longer holds out to us a prospect of universal malnutrition.

The Quality of Life

Life at its most primitive is very simple: a sufficiency of food, clothing, and shelter.

Once these are satisfied, however, our demands become more complex. We begin to ask for more.

High on that list of increased demands comes our health. A large number of life's joys and miseries depend on how we feel. And when we do not feel good, we have come to expect that to change.

As the first half of the twenty-first century nears its close, we have become accustomed to non-invasive medical diagnosis, and to minimally invasive medical treatment. We expect external imaging sensors and internal "insensible" sensors to tell us what is wrong with us. We

increasingly expect drugs to cure us. If we now consider it an inconvenience to swallow a pill sized object, one containing its own sensors and capable of being guided internally to any point in the body without being felt by the patient, we should faint at the idea of the old discomforts and dreads: the drawing of blood, the catheters, the proctoscopies, the biopsies. Death, or even cure, used to be accompanied by a thousand indignities. That is no longer considered tolerable.

And drugs are able, more and more, to cure us. All immunological functions are now understood, one by-product of the genome mapping that was well under way half a century ago. Cancer, the "big problem" of former times, is an immunological deficiency disease that is now completely curable; just as important, so are a hundred other ailments, as "insignificant" (except to the victim) as asthma, hay-fever, and hyper-allergic reaction to everything from foods to dust.

The growth process for nerve, organ, and muscle cells is also understood. This has ended paraplegia, and made possible the replacement of eyes, limbs, and internal organs besides breaking the cures of being freakishly taller, shorter, fatter, or thinner.

Another important factor that contributes to the enjoyment of life is leisure: The shrinking need for human labor as a result of widespread automation was predicted in the 1950s, but its social implications were misread. People foresaw massive unemployment. Instead we have moved to today's ten-hour work week, with positions shared by ten or more individuals who are at work consecutively through the week. Although there is thus seven days a week service for everything, it is a rare individual who works for more than two of those days, and then it is by choice. The move to the two-day work week, plus vastly improved and widespread electronic communications and the freedom to work from one's home, has also made the words "rush hour" as much an anachronism as "computer error." The Robotics Revolution has proved to be rather like the Industrial Revolution, which though it forced lives of appalling toil on the less fortunate of the industrial nations at the outset, ultimately provided their descendants with vastly increased leisure and personal freedom.

The story of the improved quality of life of the past 50 years would be incomplete without reference to the phrases "civilian murder" and "global war." The former dwindled to its present negligible level when a basic distinction was drawn between the right to bear arms, and the right to manufacture

arms. The first still exists, but strict curtailment of the second has led to a far safer world.

The Future

Certainly, we do not live in paradise. There is still aggression, there are some hold-out diseases.

And finally, there is still death. Human maximal life expectancy has not increased, even though we have come to expect a healthy old age, with a thousand times as many vigorous centenarians as half a century ago.

Some of our still-sought changes are elusive, and may never happen. The world remains a Tower of Babel, with all attempts to create a universal language unsuccessful. Only the fact that 85% of the world's people have a working knowledge of English makes that less of a worry.

Half a century ago, space, like the oceans, was also seen as a sometime utopia for human habitation. Today it still holds that future prospect; but for everyday life, earth orbit is the place where we put the dirtiest and most dangerous of human activities. For above all else, space is an insulator, a barrier against toxins of all kinds. We have at last learned the lessons of the Middle Ages; the privy and the well should not drain into each other.

Not everything, however, looks like progress. The right to individual choices is more important today than ever before, and this century has seen the development of a new "Bill of Rights" which provides increased right to individual views, and more right to individual life-style. Like it or not, that right includes the freedom to abuse one's own body.

Finally, we have not reached or even the beginning of the end. The understanding of the uses of silicon, which promises to dominate the inorganic world as carbon dominates the organic world, now seems to be in its infancy. Nanotechnology, with molecule-sized machines employed everywhere from the inside of our own bodies to the deep interior of the Earth and the farthest reaches of space, has yet to achieve its perceived potential. The "simple" process of cellular differentiation remains a puzzle. The sub-nuclear world continues to produce as many surprises as it did half a century ago. And the structure of the cosmos, and its ultimate origin, is still a deep mystery.

We have much to learn. And we expect that much will change in the next 50 years. The words of George Santayana, written nearly a century and half ago, seem as true today as in 1905: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

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A Politico-Military Analysis of Why Sanaa Won the War

How the War Was Won!

By: Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf,
Chief Editor,
Yemen Times.

Many people are still wondering about many aspects of the war between the government and separatist forces. There are many things that cannot be rationally explained. I have tried to dig deep into some aspects of the war to determine how it was won. I realize beforehand that this subject has not been discussed in the media, and that it may generate some fierce criticism. My consolation is that our rulers still believe in freedom of the press, and that there is no malice involved. I believe there are some vital factors involved in the way the war was directed and fought. Let me detail some of them below.

1. An Objective with Moral Strength:

The government or legitimacy forces were fighting to keep the country together. They had a cause. The existence of this cause and objective, has given the army of the Republic of Yemen moral strength. On the other hand, the forces fighting for the separatists did not have a clear objective. Moreover, the commanders knew their politicians were implicated in subservient relations to some of the neighboring countries. The commanders and soldiers saw their politicians receiving orders from not-so-neighborly neighbors.

As a result, the enthusiasm and energy of the government army were much superior to those of the separatists. This made a difference.

2. Popular Support:

The government forces felt the backing and support of the people, even when they moved into the southern and eastern governorates.

The support of the people was visible in many ways:

- The caravan of food supplies, finally reaching about a hundred, came out from all governorates of the former North Yemen and poured into the war zones.
- There was a tremendous drive to make financial contributions to the war effort.
- Volunteers from southern and northern Yemenis joined the fighting early in the war.
- Residents of the southern and eastern governorates refused to enlist in the army of the separatists thus depriving them of a badly needed manpower.
- Residents of the southern and eastern governorates guided the government forces to the hidings and camps of the separatists and showed them where mines were planted.

3. Buying the YSP Troops:

The commanders of the separatists (YSP) forces and camps knew their politicians were receiving generous contributions in cash and arms from some of the country's neighbors. Not much of this filtered through to

the commanders and their soldiers. Moreover, these people saw no reason to die just because the separatist politicians wanted to become rulers or they wanted to continue to receive generous "contributions."

So, when Sanaa offered a few million here and a few million there, the commanders were ready to deal. One after another, the YSP camps "surrendered" and changed allegiance. The 14th October Camp, the Madram Camp, the 56th Infantry, the 122nd Mechanic Camp, the 22nd Infantry Camp, the 4th Artillery Camp, the Rocket Base in Shabwah, etc. One after another surrendered.

It is estimated that in total, YR 282 million has been paid out to buy the commanders and their assistants in those camps, according to AFP sources. Another YR 200 million was paid out to the tribal sheikhs and community elders to smoothe the advance of the government forces. That is a very low price compared to the loss in lives and hardware had the southern brigades not shifted their allegiance.

Contact with the key officers and commanders in the YSP army had long been established and the deals were consummated in some cases even before the war.

According to one business in Sanaa, "If less than \$5 million helped reign in so many camps, we would have been willing to pay ten times that amount to the YSP secessionists to spare us the war altogether."

4. Stalling Tactics:

The Sanaa politicians, headed by president Ali Abdullah Saleh, realized from early on in the war that the secessionists will be defeated. It was just a matter of time. So they played a stalling game superbly. They exchanged roles among themselves, and reacted calmly to all regional and international efforts "to resolve the war through negotiations."

Arab League efforts were entertained for about two weeks and then snubbed. UN efforts were given a longer stretch - but always with the intention of determining events in Yemen on the battleground.

The role of Dr. Abdul-Karim Al-Iryani in this effort cannot be over-emphasized. Dr. Iryani was able to handle effectively the media, diplomats in Sanaa and abroad, and the adversaries in a smooth but decisive way. "At the end, things will be determined on the (battle) ground," he often repeated. He was right. Sanaa needed time to finish the job. But it also wanted to take off the heat applied by the neighbors. The only way to achieve both is to stall, and it was given to it, courtesy of Prince Bandar and his UN Security Council maneuvers.

The delaying tactics frustrated and demoralized the separatists who watched the government forces gain inches every day.

5. Friends in Need:

Yemen had some good friends who came to its rescue. Within the region, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Sudan, Qatar, Eritrea, Iran and Libya sided with Sanaa. Sanaa did not overplay its supporters not to scare the West. Many countries, however, vacillated. Among the Western countries, Germany and France deserve a special mention. Those two countries backed Sanaa from the very beginning and kept their line. That is why today, they have secured a special place in the hearts of Yemenis, and in the politics of Sanaa.

6. A United Internal Front:

Whatever differences there were among Yemenis, they were put aside as the people of Yemen rallied around the president. Help came from two sources. When Ali Salim Al-Beedh announced his separate state, he lost whatever following he had had among the people of Yemen. That made many people, especially in Taiz and among the Bakeel tribes rethink their positions and roles.

Then came the Saudi role. Saudi bullying made the Yemenis stubborn in their fight against the secessionists who were now seen as Saudi agents and traitors. The two steps have created a

secure and strong internal front among the people of Yemen. This could now be used to launch reforms and reconstruction efforts to build a new Yemen.

7. Unified Command:

Finally there is the element of a unified command, personified by President Ali Abdullah Saleh. The government forces had one leader, they obeyed him, and together they came through.

The separatists had a divided leadership. First there is Ali Salim Al-Beedh and his team. Soon, he left Aden, and Abdul-Rahm Al-Jifri took charge. He was often complaining of insubordination by the YSP officers who could not comprehend how they could receive instructions from a person the party has, for so long, described as a traitor and agent. Then there is the old leadership of the 1960s, represented by Makkawi, Al-Asnaj and others, who formed their own power base. Finally, there are the tribal leader like Bin Suraimah and others who worked independently of every one else. A splintered separatist leadership costed them a lot.

In my opinion, those seven factors played a key role in bringing victory to the Republic of Yemen against the separatists and in consolidating the unity of the nation.

Sudanese Speaker in Sanaa

Sudanese Speaker of Parliament, Mr. Mohammed Al-Ameen Khalifah, arrived in Sanaa on Saturday, July 9th, at the head of a large and senior delegation on a two-day official visit to the Republic of Yemen.

Upon his arrival, the Sudanese Speaker expressed unwavering support for Yemeni unity, and stated that his country saw in Yemeni unity a factor of stability in the region.

Mr. Khalifah also extended an invitation from Sudanese President Lt-General Omar Al-Bashir to Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh. The President graciously accepted the invitation, and reiterated Yemen's appreciation and gratitude for Sudan's position on the war. "The people of Yemen will never forget the stand of our Sudanese brothers, and we'll continue to work for mutual and regional prosperity," he said.

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