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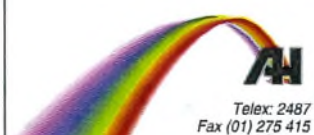
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"We are fighting against the Saudis."

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

Aden is facing a tragic situation. Innocent civilians, caught in the middle of the fighting, die by the dozen on a daily basis, as the forces of the Republic of Yemen gain inches everyday in their advance to bring the city to submission. The military situation in the battlefield has slowed down to a crawl, but the human misery is beyond description.

Meanwhile, political maneuvering continues as both Sanaa and Aden work feverishly to win international understanding and backing. Dignitaries from the two sides continue to roam world capitals to plead their case and seek assurances of support.

A Meeting Cairo:

Al-Akhthar Al-Ibrahimi, special envoy of the UN Secretary-General to Yemen, finally put together his report. He worked out a package that seems to win favor will all concerned parties - Yemenis and non-Yemenis alike. From information leaked to the Yemen Times, it was learned that the package includes a positive assessment of the possibility of holding negotiations between the warring parties as called for by UN Security Council.

Al-Ibrahimi is working on a proposal to set up an observation committee which is an expanded version of the old Military Committee that had been operational before the war. The main hurdle at this stage is whether this committee is formed under the umbrella of the UN.

Representatives of the coalition government parties (PGC, Islah and YSP) were supposed to meet in Cairo yesterday, Sunday, in Cairo. Last minute squabbles delayed the meeting, and Al-Ibrahimi left for New York.

The agenda of the meeting was to agree on the countries to be included in the committee to observe the ceasefire and its size.

Already included in the committee are military representatives from the two sides in Yemen, plus Jordan, Oman, France and the USA. Sanaa has agreed to add two to four countries, while the YSP insists to add a dozen or so more countries, including all five permanent members of the Security Council. Sanaa is also thinking of about a fifty-man committee, while Aden is talking of 150 persons in the committee. A solution will probably be worked out halfway between the two positions. The committee is to be supported by a large Yemeni staff.

A Second UN Resolution?

The failure of the Cairo meeting has become the pretext for working on another Security Council resolution on Yemen. Already, the draft for the resolution seems to be in the pipeline. Sanaa fears that Muscat, which chairs the Security Council this month, is already poised to set in motion a second resolution. A delegation from the self-proclaimed Yemeni Democratic Republic, headed by Haidar Abubakkar Al-Attas and Abdullah Al-Asnaj, is at the moment in New York to prod the Security Council to put pressure on Sanaa and make it "stop its attacks on Aden."

Sanaa has been trying to avoid a confrontation with the Security Council, and it has shown responsible flexibility. It is willing to do practically anything short of sacrificing the country's unity.

If a second resolution is passed,

and if it calls for the installation of international observers to uphold the cease-fire, it will push Sanaa against the wall. That is why Sanaa is opposed to this new development as it leads to more internationalization of the issue. Even if Sanaa were to acquiesce to this step, it is not sure this is the last it has seen.

Abdulghani's Efforts:

That is why the efforts of Abdulaziz Abdulghani, Member of the Presidential Council, is critical. He has been travelling to far-away capitals to win support for the position of Sanaa. He has been to China and Paris, and is now winding a visit to Damascus and Cairo. He is expected to return to Yemen tomorrow, June 21st.

Sanaa credits Mr. Abdulghani for the modifications that were applied to UN Security Council resolution #924. The first draft was so offensive to Sanaa, and Mr. Abdulghani is credited with the changes.

The soft-spoken Abdulghani is expected to continue to play this role, once back in Sanaa. It is reported he will meet with the ambassadors of the countries most active with the Yemeni file at the UN.

The Role of Parliament:

The House of Representatives has decided to mount a major campaign to explain the position of Yemen to the fraternal and friendly countries.

House Speaker Sheikh Abdullah Bin Hussain Al-Ahmar has himself headed a delegation to Riyadh while other delegations are now visiting numerous Arab capitals. Others have also visited Europe, the USA, and some Islamic and Asian countries.

The Saudi "Threat":

President Ali Abdullah Saleh has made obvious overtures to Saudi Arabia. Recent press statements by the president represent an attempt to reach out and see if a deal can be made. So far, the move has not been reciprocated. According to a diplomat in Sanaa, the main job ahead of President Saleh is to hold the Saudis at bay. "Pacifying the Saudis should be the first priority in Sanaa's agenda," he said.

The mood among the people of Yemen is increasingly becoming ugly regarding Saudi Arabia. Most Yemenis hold Saudi Arabia responsible for the prolongation of the war. They also accuse Saudi Arabia for openly working to divide the country.

So far, the government has played down this mood and discouraged any anti-Saudi popular action. Even then, clergies in the mosques have blasted the Saudi support for the secessionist YSP leadership.

Ironically, the Saudi moves have



helped Sanaa in two ways.

For one thing, the Saudi support for Aden has been used to reduce pressure on the government for not having yet finished the rebels. "Had it not been for the Saudis," the argument goes, "the job would have long been finished." Others put it more openly. "We are fighting against the Saudis."

Secondly, even those Yemenis who were supporters of President Ali Abdullah Saleh quickly rallied behind him in the face of the "foreign threat." The Saudis have helped the president greatly.

Lower Military Profile:

Military hostilities, although still unabated, have taken the back-seat in favor of political maneuvering.

At this moment, Aden continues to remain under siege and within artillery distance of the government forces which are poised at positions in the north, east and west of Aden. The other two battle fronts are in Hadhramaut - one in the hinterland in Wadi Hadhramaut targeting Seiyoun, and the other at the coastal stretch targeting Mukalla.

Meanwhile, the world community is feverishly working to secure a cease-fire and start negotiations. Sanaa has agreed to negotiate within the ruling coalition partnership. It proposes an equal number of the three coalition partners - PGC, Islah and YSP - to talk about the system of government or any arrangements. Although Sanaa has not dropped its veto against the 16 YSP persons for whom it had issued warrants of arrest, it is no doubt aware it cannot dictate who will represent the YSP in the negotiations. It is even possible that the veto will be dropped altogether provided whoever is negotiating on the YSP side is doing so within the framework of a united Yemen.

The Misery in Aden:

Although it is not engaged in a major offensive against Aden, the artillery of Sanaa keep on bombarding certain parts of the city. According to Aden sources reported by the international press, some 100 Aden citizens

have died over the last week. No one can understand the acceptance of politicians of the misery of Aden.

Meanwhile, an American State Department spokesperson warned against the catastrophic consequences of forcefully entering

Aden, and said Sanaa had given assurances against such action. A statement issued by the government in Sanaa explained that the postponement of marching against Aden was linked to finding alternative solutions to the separation decision.

Excerpts from the "Teachings" of Sheikh Abul-Majid Zindani

Sheikh Abdul-Majid Zindani, Member of the Presidential Council and spiritual leader of the Islamic fundamentalist movement in Yemen, gave a resounding noon-sermon last Friday. His hypnotic performance could easily be seen from the impression left on the public.

Following are excerpts from his sermon:

Quote:

1. We Yemenis are called upon by God to fight against the Communists.
2. The YSP people are Communists, infidels and non-believers.
3. The YSP people have authorized liberal sexual policies and adultery.
4. The YSP people intended to convert the Ka'abah (the Muslims' holiest shrine) into a nightclub.
5. I would like to share with you some of the sacred signals (read: miracles) we saw during our battles with the YSP infidels:

a- The YSP forces had planted mines in one region. Our men did not know that and they were about to march into the land-mines. All of a sudden, God sent a strong wind which cleared the land and exposed all the mines. Our soldiers then cleared all the mines and marched.

b- In another incident, our men were cornered by the Communists. The infidels allowed our men to withdraw, planning to bombard them as they retreated to a pass, using three planes and ten missile-mounted trucks. Our men did not know this.

But the planes and missiles refused to work and all the machines were suddenly inoperative, until our men were beyond danger. Later, our men were approached by men from the opposite camp and told them about this. As the encounter happened as our men were praying, the enemy force joined our men in the prayers, because they knew God is on our side.

6. The war we are fighting is a jihad (religious war). I demand our theologians to declare it so.

7. All of us have to volunteer in the fight. You do not need the permission of the rulers or your parents or spouse to volunteer. Just go ahead and do it.

Unquote.

Listening to Sheikh Zindani is quite an experience. The dramatic rhythmical change in tone and intonation, the strong appeal to the emotions rather than the mind, and the visible play with gestures and face features are all part of the art of holding a large public in a trance-like situation.

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OUR VIEWPOINT

Fund-Raising Efforts

The Committee to Raise Funds for the War Effort has succeeded in raising enormous amounts of money from donors in various ways. Let me first insist that the majority of the Yemeni people are quite willing to chip in and make donations in cash and in kind in order to help the war effort.

But there is an increasing grudge over the way some of the committee's zealous members are pushing for donations. One way has been intimidation and blackmail. Wealthy Yemenis, businessmen, banks, industries, etc. are often approached directly and told that they should make a meaningful contribution. Otherwise, they become targets of abuse in mosques, public gatherings and media.

Another way has been direct deduction of installments from the salaries of government employees. Often the committee "encourages" the company management or union executive board to "volunteer" on behalf of the employees and make the contributions. Let me use the way it happened at Sanaa University as an example.

On Thursday, June 16th, the Sanaa University union board summoned its members to discuss making financial contributions to the war effort. About forty persons showed up, itself far short of a quorum. The Secretary-General of the Union said that a five-share per person was agreed. "But because we are democratic, we have come to you to seek approval," he said.

In the limited discussion that was entertained, I suggested initiating a voluntary contribution list in which people who wanted to contribute will write their names and the amounts they wanted to give. Three well-placed persons among the audience shouted, "Foul." The tone of intimidation was clear. The union people did not come to talk, they have decided something and they simply wanted to pass it through irrespective of what it took.

At issue is not whether to help in the war effort or not, but at issue is the proper handling and functioning of an institution, especially one like the university. The union should work by the laws, not by the emotional and whimsical requirements of the moment. Basically, the question is: Can anyone, the union or whoever, meet to vote to take away someone's salary or any portion of it, without his/her consent. I don't think so. No one can take away another person's salary and say it was voted to be taken.

There is another aspect to the workings of the Fund-Raising Committee. It does not give a periodic tally of how much money they have collected. It should publish such records on a weekly basis, if not on a daily basis.

There is one final aspect. The Islah leadership has control over how the money is going to be spent. I do not want to cast doubt on their integrity, but I think the public ought to know where the money is going, who is authorized to make the payments, and how much has already been spent. Why are citizens intimidated against asking questions?

The Publisher
عبد العزيز السقاف

Pelletreau on Yemen

Mr. Robert H. Pelletreau, American Assistant Secretary of State for Near State Affairs, told the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East on a June 14 testimony that "Yemen's progress toward democracy and economic reform since the unity agreement broke down with the outbreak of fighting in early May."

He added that "despite the announcement of a ceasefire and the presence of a special UN envoy in the region, fighting appears to be continuing..." He said the continued fighting is now threatening with serious humanitarian consequences, and that the US shares the special concerns of Yemen's neighbors over the adverse consequences of continued fighting.

He summarized his country's position by stating: "We are opposed to the imposition of unity by force, just as we are opposed to an act of secession in the midst of war."

He said that he did not believe that overseeing the ceasefire was "an appropriate task for UN forces." He warned that "Those who choose now to continue the fighting risk losing the support of the international community and plunging Yemen into a prolonged crisis."

Yemen Times Helps Stranded Students

Yemen Times has set up a fund to help Sanaa University students who come from the southern and eastern governorates. These students have been cut off from their sources of financing because of the war. Already, Yemen Times has paid out YR. 41,000 in living allowances to 82 students. The list of recipients is given on page 5. These days are especially critical to these students because it is examination time. It is estimated that 500-600 students from the southern governorates are stranded in Sanaa without enough resources to live on.

Turkish Ambassador Presents Letters of Credentials

President Ali Abdullah Saleh received last week Mr. Volkan Cotur, the new Turkish ambassador to Yemen who presents his letters of credence. The Turkish ambassador used the occasion to re-confirm his country's firm support for unity and for the territorial integrity of Yemen. He also expressed hope for an early cessation of military hostilities. The ambassador told the Yemen Times he will invigorate the embassy to strengthen Yemeni-Turkish relations and economic cooperation.

UNDP Arranges a Visit for Journalists

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has arranged a two-day visit for international journalists to the war-destroyed regions of the country. The focus was on Lahej and Abyan. A UNDP spokesman told the Yemen Times that the purpose of the visit is to enlighten the world community to the level of destruction that the war has inflicted on Yemen. It will be noted that the the UN has prepared an emergency package fund for Yemen to reduce the damage and suffering resulting from the war.

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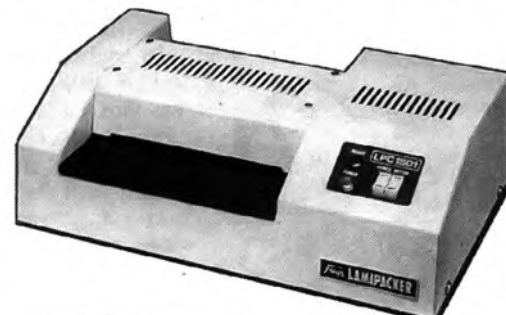
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Lebanese Ambassador Dr. Mamlouk:

"I hope the Yemenis will draw lessons from Lebanon's civil war."

Lebanon has always been one of the fascinating Arab countries. It has definitely been a leader in the outward thrust towards modernization and democratization. It has been called the Switzerland of the Arab World, because it was the largest banking center; it was called the "Cultural Center" of the Arab World because it housed the largest publishing houses and it produced a large portion of the Arab Worlds' books, magazines, newspapers, etc.

During the 16-year civil war, Lebanon has lost many of those titles, and much of its glamor.

The country is now trying to recapture whatever it can to re-establish its regional role and internal harmony and prosperity.

On the occasion of forthcoming departure of Lebanese Ambassador Dr. Abdullatif Mamlouk from Sanaa at the end of his term in Yemen, Yemen Times interviewed him.

Mr. Mamlouk holds a Ph.D. in Political Science and did higher studies in the international penal code. He is a highly cultured and multi-linguist person.

Yahia Yusuf Al-Hodeidi and Sarra Ginedabi filed the following interview:

Q: You arrived in Yemen shortly after Yemeni unification and you lived through the ups and downs since. What is your general assessment of the situation in Yemen?

A: I arrived in Yemen on 9th September and was accredited on the 6th of November, 1990. Thus, I have lived through the intensive negotiations that have taken place among the unity partners. I have followed closely the "Transitional Period," and the free parliamentary elections of April 27th, 1993.

What Yemen achieved was impressive to all countries, but now we have this war. We Lebanese know what it means to have a war in your country, and it means to have other countries involved in your internal affairs. We Lebanese found out, the hard way, that war does not resolve any political differences.

In the same way, I hope that Yemenis will be able to talk about their differences rather than fight over them. The schism and destruction left behind by wars are enormous.

Q: How would you describe Yemeni-Lebanese relations?

A: Yemeni-Lebanese relations do not require any characterization or description. Let me use an example from the recent past. One of the early schools established in Imamic Yemen was the one founded and managed by the late Adnan Al-Tarsisi. In gratification to his services, the Imam appointed him as ambassador of Yemen to the United Nations. This example indicates the feelings that the two peoples are one and the same. Let me also indicate that one of the earliest diplomatic missions in Beirut was from Yemen.

Yemenis have been visiting Lebanon for business as well as for vacation.

Regarding official relations, I am happy to state that they are excellent, and I hope we will see a continued growth in quality and volume of cooperation.

Q: What is your country's official position vis-a-vis the crisis in Yemen?

A: There are basic guidelines to Lebanon's foreign policy. These include the following:

1- Non-interference in the internal affairs of others is a basic principle of my government. We are sensitive to this issue because the southern part of my country is occupied, and Lebanon is bombarded continuously by Israel. Therefore, you can imagine that our policy is not to interfere in the internal

affairs of other countries.

2- Lebanon has also suffered from a long internecine war. That is why we warn against such strife and violence. Our Yemeni brothers know, first hand, the destruction that the civil war in Lebanon caused, and I hope that they will benefit from such experience. Therefore, it is important to stop the bloodshed and war.

3- We believe that the Yemeni wisdom will prevail at the end. Yemeni politicians have undertaken a series of talks and negotiations. My government encourages a continuation of the talks in order to reach a peaceful and negotiated settlement to the political differences.

I believe that there has been a consensus regarding the acceptance of the Document of Pledge and Accord, which reflects the maturity and depth of the political process in Yemen. This document represents a common ground on which to manage and build a new and unified Yemen. I also urge both sides to refrain from using slurs and language which leads to ill-feelings and continued agony. Media campaigns can only aggravate the situation and lead to more hate and distrust.

The government and people of Lebanon urge the Yemeni people and politicians to go back to their conscience and faith, and to seek a proper solution to this problem.

Let me add that the war is going to cost Yemen a lot; not only in terms of destruction, but also in terms of higher costs and many economic problems.

I invite Yemenis to study the Lebanese case and benefit from it before it is too late.

Q: You mentioned the destruction caused by the war in Lebanon. We know there has been a major reconstruction effort. How far has this effort come?

A: Lebanon today is a busy workshop. There is work at all fronts and covering all sectors. You will note that the infrastructure was destroyed, the buildings were run down, and no real and civilized life remained. Electric supply was disrupted and the network was finished. One of the key priorities is to engage in massive investments in electric generation. As a result, steady electric supply today covers 18 hours of the day. We have coordinated with Syria in this regard, and we hope an expanded network will include Jordan, Palestine and Egypt.

In the field of telephone service,



the old system was archaic. Now new investment of a fiber-optic ultra modern system of 500,000 new lines has been undertaken. This will be expanded to reach one million lines in the second phase. Within one year, the telephone lines network will cover the whole country.

In the agriculture sector, all livestock and agriculture projects were badly affected. As an example, please note that the Bekaa and Akkar regions alone were exporting more than three million eggs daily. Poultry and animal husbandry was very advanced. Most of these projects are now witnessing renewed interest as new money is pouring in reviving this sector.

But the real symbol of the reconstruction program is really the downtown commercial sector of Beirut city. For this project, the Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of Beirut City Center was established as a private shareholding company. It was astonishing that the capital of this company, originally put at \$450 million was immediately oversubscribed to reach \$650 million, and an additional \$200 million is available for expansion.

Let me summarize by saying that the reconstruction program of Lebanon is going ahead full-speed, and that the fruits should be visible rather soon.

I would like to conclude by saying that we see our reconstruction program advancing in a closely linked manner with Syria. The two countries enjoy especial ties and exceptional relations. At the individual and personal level, many Lebanese have family in Syria through extensive intermarriage. The same is true of Syrians. That is why Lebanese families often have a second home in Syria, and Syrians have a second home in Lebanon.

Q: How would you characterize Lebanese-Syrian relations?

A: We have a strong cooperation

At the economic level, there are many joint investments and shared projects.

At the social and cultural levels, we share many values, and join hands in many ways. The Syrians also support us in our just demands for the return of the southern part of Lebanon, as called for in UN Security Council resolution number 425.

What I am saying is that the future of the two countries is intertwined.

Q: What is your assessment of the Gaza-Jericho First peace deal between Israel and the PLO?

A: I don't think that Gaza and Jericho are a sufficient base for a Palestinian homeland, but it is the beginning. I think the solution will have to be full-fledged and must encompass all aspects of the conflict, and all countries. That includes the territories occupied in 1967, including the Syrian Golan Heights, as well as the southern strip of Lebanon. This means the implementation of UN Security Council resolutions numbers 242 and 425.

We know that the military balance at this stage is in favor of the enemy (Israel), but we have to continue to struggle as long as some of our land is under occupation. I think that it is important to work through all peaceful and international channels to secure Israel's withdrawal from the land of the Arabs, and we are entitled to maintain military struggle until

such withdrawal is achieved or at least a time-table for it is announced and accepted. The Lebanese side can also stop any anti-Israel struggle if such a withdrawal plan is announced.

Q: You are leaving us after almost four years. What is your word of advice to Yemen?

A: I advise and urge the Yemenis to adhere to peace and peaceful means in resolving their differences. It is only through peace and negotiations that problems are resolved.

I also advise Yemen to look forward, to the future. Do not look back and be stuck with the past. It is only by being future-oriented that Yemen can progress and advance.

Yemen has many factors working for it. A population of 14 million hard-working people endowed sufficiently with natural resources can make a difference.

Finally, Yemen should bet on science and knowledge. It is only people with knowledge that guide the nation forward.

I am sorry that one speaks of the greatness of Yemen some 3000 years ago whereas today the country today is at the end of human civilization.

Above all, Yemenis should stop fighting and start constructing. Look at us in Lebanon. We almost rose beyond the Third World countries, had it not been for the war. I hope that the Yemenis will draw important lessons from our civil war.

كلمة شكر

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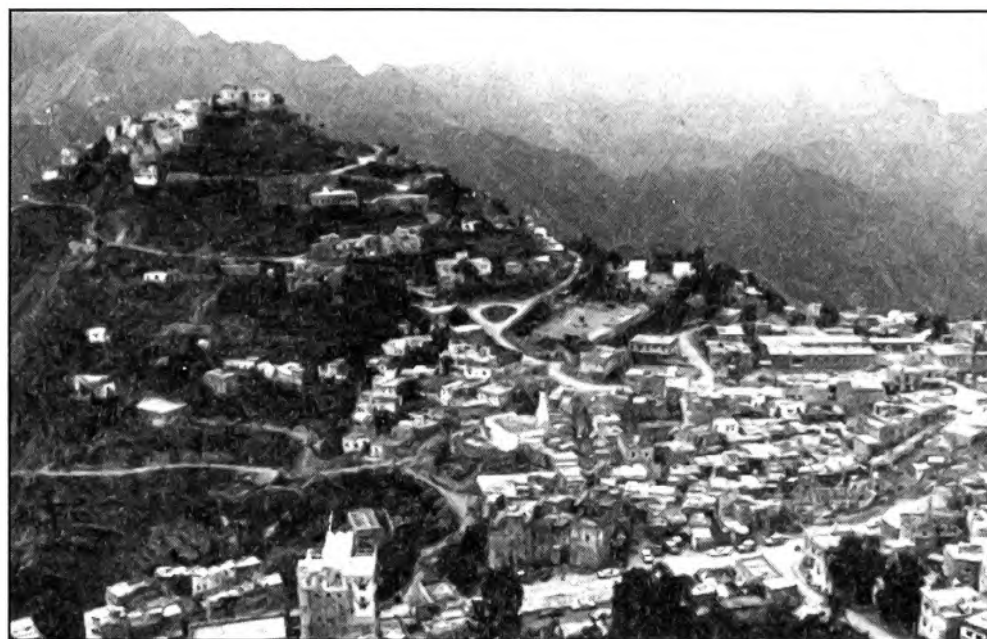
HAJJAH: A Recent Urban Center

By: Zohra Marabet

In view of its place as one of the largest and most developed among the secondary towns in Yemen, it is surprising to discover that Hajjah is not older than a hundred and fifty years.

Its remote western position in the highlands prevented it from becoming a state-organized centre under the Zaydi imams for a long time. The earliest historical mention of the site is found in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when Imam Idris visited the area of Hajjah. At that time there were a few villages where the town is presently located, and a *suq* which pointed to the prosperous commercial activities resulting from the cultivation of coffee in the area. The *suq* of Hajjah, adjacent to a Jewish village, had been fairly well-developed. The combination of the village and the *suq* fulfilled all the trading needs of the tribesmen. Al-Kual'a, a citadel which dominates the *suq*, must have been built later, probably after the first Ottoman occupation. Development began in the town with the second Ottoman occupation and the uprising of the Hamid al-Din dynasty. The traveller and geographer Glaser reported in 1884 that the Turks were putting a great deal of effort into the development of the town and that they had built a hospital as well as barracks. However, in his notes he described the town as consisting chiefly of the *suq* and a few satellite villages.

During the rule of Imam Yahya (d.1948), the town was given special recognition because of its support of the Hamid al-Deen family and its participation in the overthrow of the Ottoman occupation. It was made the administrative centre of a *qada*, and the future imam Ahmed, son Yahya



was named the amir of the *qada*. He became popular among the inhabitants because he implemented several measures for the improvement of the town.

In 1944 Hajjah was made the capital of the province. It proved to be the refuge and the stronghold of the Hamid al-Deen dynasty during the two attempted coups that occurred during Imam Ahmed's rule. At the same time somewhat paradoxically, the town also became a major centre of activity for dissenters. Revolutionary literature that stirred up the republican spirit among the people of Yemen was written by the opponents of the regime who were kept for years in the prisons of Hajjah, and it is from this town that such revolutionary literature was disseminated throughout the country. For several years after the revolution, the town had Mujahed Abu

Shawarab, later Deputy Prime Minister, as governor.

During his administration major development projects were begun. These involved street planning, waterworks, electricity supply, the buildings of schools and a hospital, the construction of the Amran-Hajjah highway. In contrast to other major population centers in the Yemeni Highlands, Hajjah is thus a very recently-developed urban settlement.

Even then, it is home today for more than 50,000 inhabitants. The infrastructure is more than adequate for a secondary city or a quickly growing town. The job structure of the inhabitants has also evolved towards the standard urban pattern. An increasing number of Hajjah residents already work in industrial and service-related professions. The percentage of rural inhabitants is about 20%.

Tid Bits Corner

By Susan Sangane

* Why do we seem to succeed in keeping our cities so dirty? Let me try to do the impossible - invite our readers to send their ideas about how to clean our cities can kept clean. I intend to present your ideas to Mr. Hussain Al-Maswari, Mayor of Sana'a City, who will certainly give your ideas a try. So please think about what could be done and write to me.

* It is difficult to find a quiet place in Sana'a these days. Where can one spend a quiet evening with family and friends? There is a place on Nuqum Hill, but it has been locked and abandoned. How about opening this place as a Restaurant or Cafeteria where families can enjoy a meal and a panoramic view of Sana'a city. That is especially a lovely sight at sunset.

* It is pleasing to note that some private language institutes have finally realized the benefits of employing qualified Yemenis to teach English Language. I hope these institutes will offer Yemeni teachers the same payscale they offered to expatriates.

* It is time for the Sana'a Chamber of Commerce in association with NGOs to establish a Consumer Protection body to ensure that consumers get their money's worth, and that they are not taken for a ride. For instance, packages of many locally-produced foodstuffs do not have the required volume or weight content. Maintenance of satellite aerial dishes is not lacking, spare parts of equipment are not available, etc.



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War's Impact on the Environment

By: Yahya Yusuf Al - Hodeidi,
Yemen Times

Over the last few weeks, our country suffered from a devastating war. For a few days, one could see, hear, and observe each day missile flash through the sky, tanks and motorized brigades war planes roar, and all other forms of destructive weapons. Most people are aware of the human casualties and loss in property. But few people are aware of the environmental hazards.

We have been struggling for the last few decades to liberate ourselves from the remnants of the despotic rule of the Imam, and British colonial domination. We have worked hard to cope with and adjust to the requirements of the new age we live.

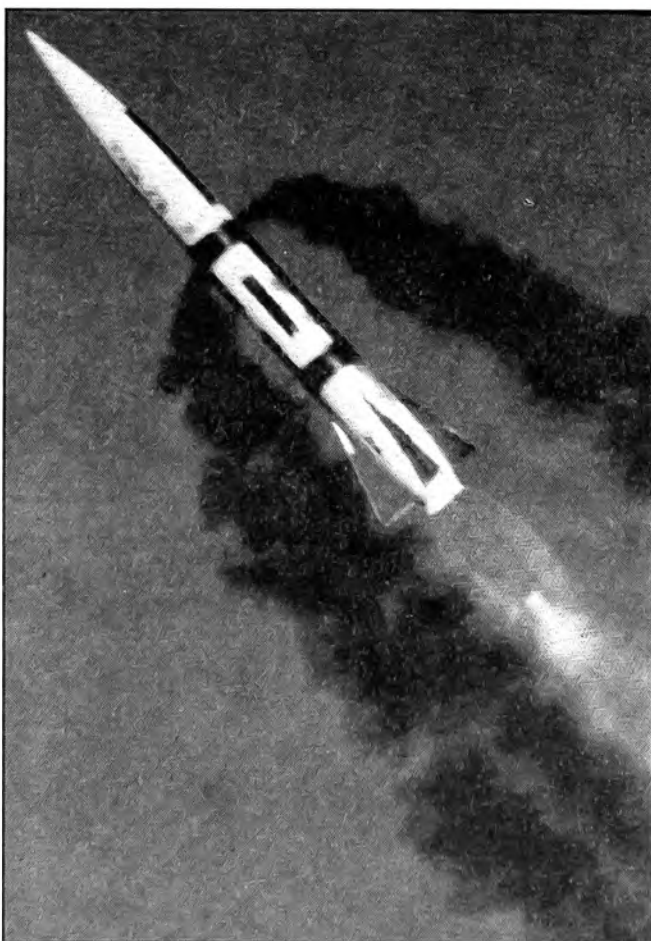
But there are some other factors which are important and which should be given higher priority in our future arrangements. One such factor is the environment. Yemeni cities are among the dirtiest in the world, and with little effort, we could do a lot to change the situation. Metal cans, plastic bottles, and household trash can be seen covering our streets.

The peace-time trash is now supplemented by the environmental damage done by the war. There are many sides to this development, as indicated below:

First, there is considerable destruction to our homes, offices and fields. Repairing this would take a lot of effort and money.

Second, the destruction of the facilities, especially the water and sewerage utilities have resulted in a lot of hazards, especially in Aden city.

Third, all the tanks, missiles, airplanes, and numerous other



machines have polluted the air. Although this is not serious, it is a problem.

Fourth, there have been exchange of accusations by the two sides that the armies have used biochemical weapons. If this is true, it is an ominous development.

Finally, the potential for contamination of air, water and soil is very high because of the war, if at least because less resources are available towards this end and to control any developments.

The war has destroyed much of the sanitation and water systems of Aden and other towns and villages. We have destroyed parts of several airports, sea-harbors, electric stations, and major other installations.

The wealth of society is dissipated by the war. The violence, fear and savagery of the war have a negative and lasting impact on the psychological development of our children. The damage on the environment is also great.

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«يمن تايمز» تنشيء صندوقاً لدعم الطلاب من المحافظات الجنوبية والشرقية

مساهمة منها في البحث عن حلول للظروف التي خلقتها الحرب الدائرة في بلادنا ، أنشأت صحيفة «يمن تايمز» من مواردها الذاتية صندوقاً لدعم طلاب وطالبات جامعة صنعاء القادمون من المحافظات الجنوبية والشرقية والمتحقون بالدراسة الجامعية في صنعاء . وتتخصص الفكرة في مساعدة أبنائنا وبناتنا ممن إنقطعت بهم السبل مالياً وتمكينهم من إنجاز ما تبقى من هذا الفصل الدراسي ودخول الإمتحانات بنجاح إن شاء الله . خلال الأسبوع الماضي ، ساعدت الصحيفة أكثر من مائة طالب وطالبة (بحسب الكشف أدناه) ودفعت اليهم ما يقرب من الخمسين ألف ريال . والله من وراء القصد .

د/عبدالعزیز السقاف

الإسم	محافظه المنشأ	الكلية التي يدرس فيها	الإسم	محافظه المنشأ	الكلية التي يدرس فيها
١. زكي عبد الكريم عثمان باحسين	المكلا - حضرموت	الطب	٤٢- عصام ناصر عبد الله ناصر	الشيخ عثمان - عدن	الشرعية
٢. محمد عبدالرزاق حسين الهندي	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية	٤٣- جهاد محمد عبد الرحمن كتيبي	كريتر - عدن	العلوم
٣- فؤاد سالم مبارك باربود	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية	٤٤- هيثم ناصر محسن أحمد اليافعي	يافع - لحج	الشرعية
٤- خالد سعيد أبو بكر جمعان	المكلا - حضرموت	الشرعية	٤٥- نعمة محمد مننوق عوض	الشيخ عثمان - عدن	الآداب
٥- محبوب محمود عبد العزيز محمد	المعلا - عدن	الآداب	٤٦- محمد سالم محفوظ باجباري	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية
٦- عمر أبو بكر محمد العمودي	المكلا - حضرموت	العلوم والتكنولوجيا	٤٧- أحمد عبد الشكور صديق	كريتر - عدن	الطب
٧- نهاد عبد الله محمد باوزير	المكلا - حضرموت	العلوم والتكنولوجيا	٤٨- حسن أحمد باشعيب	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية
٨- مبارك عوض محمد بن عويضان	المكلا - حضرموت	العلوم والتكنولوجيا	٤٩- فهد سالم عبيد بن عرون	المكلا - حضرموت	دبلوم التربية المتوسط
٩- سالم يعقوب سالم با يعقوب	المكلا - حضرموت	الشرعية	٥٠- منير عبد الله محمد باشعيب	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية
١٠- سعيد محمد سعيد باغوث	المكلا - حضرموت	العلوم والتكنولوجيا	٥١- محمد يسلم مبارك المنصوري	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية
١١- محمد عبد الله سالمين التيمي	المكلا - حضرموت	العلوم والتكنولوجيا	٥٢- عبد الله محمد سالم باعباد	المكلا - حضرموت	الآداب
١٢- قاسم سالم سعيد بوقاسم	المكلا - حضرموت	العلوم والتكنولوجيا	٥٣- عبد الباسط سعيد عبد الله باعمرو	المكلا - حضرموت	الدبلوم والتربية المتوسط
١٣- خميس عيود محمد بن سعد	المكلا - حضرموت	العلوم التربوي المتوسط	٥٤- أمين هاشم علي	المكلا - حضرموت	الشرعية
١٤- محمد سالم فرج ديان	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية	٥٥- صالح عبد الله صالح الجرو	خور مكسر - عدن	الشرعية
١٥- وليد صالح محمد باعثمان	المكلا - حضرموت	الشرعية	٥٦- ياسر رجب أحمد باكثير	المكلا - حضرموت	التجارة
١٦- زكي عبد الله سالم مزروع	المكلا - حضرموت	الشرعية	٥٧- أحمد محمد عمر باكثير	المكلا - حضرموت	الكلية الوطنية للعلوم والتكنولوجيا
١٧- سعيد كرامة عبد الله الجريري	المكلا - حضرموت	العلوم والتكنولوجيا	٥٨- أنور أحمد عبد القادر باعيسى	المكلا - حضرموت	الكلية الوطنية للعلوم والتكنولوجيا
١٨- خيري أحمد محمد هبري	المكلا - حضرموت	الشرعية	٥٩- عبد الله فرج عبد الله بن كوير	المكلا - حضرموت	الشرعية
١٩- فايز سالم فرج ديان	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية	٦٠- مهدي عبد الحميد بن سند الكثيري	المكلا - حضرموت	الزراعة
٢٠- عبده عويضان عبيد باربود	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية	٦١- حين جنيد أحمد الجنيد	المكلا - حضرموت	الشرعية
٢١- عبد القادر عبد الرحمن باعباد	المكلا - حضرموت	الطب	٦٢- علي عبد الله عمر الحقيري	لودر - أبين	الشرعية
٢٢- ياسر عبد القادر محسن	كريتر - عدن	العلوم	٦٣- سامي عبد الحافظ قائد فارغ	صيرا - عدن	الآداب
٢٣- فهمي محمد إسماعيل أكبر	صيرا - عدن	الآداب	٦٤- طارق منصر حسين منصر	كريتر - عدن	الشرعية
٢٤- رأفت نجيب محمد سالم	المكلا - حضرموت	العلوم	٦٥- أسامة عبد الله إسماعيل	قلوعة - عدن	التربية
٢٥- محمد أحمد عبيد باصلعه	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية	٦٦- إنصار إقبال يعقوب عبد الرحمن	كريتر - عدن	الدبلوم التربوي
٢٦- صلاح سليمان محمد الجهوري	المكلا - حضرموت	الشرعية	٦٧- جهاد إقبال يعقوب عبد الرحمن	كريتر - عدن	الطب
٢٧- عوض سالم عوض باوزير	المكلا - حضرموت	دبلوم التربية المتوسط	٦٨- فاطمة علي محمد مكي	خور مكسر - عدن	التربية
٢٨- عدنان عبده أنعم محمد	خور مكسر - عدن	الآداب	٦٩- إشراقة أحمد إسماعيل	خور مكسر - عدن	الهندسة
٢٩- ياسر عمر عبد الله بن سلم	كريتر - عدن	التربية	٧٠- نادية عبد الملك عبد الرحمن	صيرا - عدن	الطب
٣٠- أبو بكر عبد الرحمن العيدروس	المكلا - حضرموت	الطب	٧١- شروق أحمد إسماعيل	خور مكسر - عدن	الطب
٣١- هشام أحمد إبراهيم العيدروس	المكلا - حضرموت	الشرعية	٧٢- عبد الخالق عبد الرحمن عيود باعباد	المكلا - حضرموت	التربية
٣٢- جهاد أحمد صالح علي	كريتر - عدن	الهندسة	٧٣- محمد علي سالم البيتي	المنصورة - عدن	الآداب
٣٣- محمد عبد الله محمد مبارك	الشيخ عثمان - عدن	الآداب	٧٤- زكي وهيب عبد الله الزيدي	كريتر - عدن	الآداب
٣٤- ياسر محمد شمسان شبوطي	الشيخ عثمان - عدن	الآداب	٧٥- صبري أحمد محمد أحمد	خور مكسر - عدن	الشرعية
٣٥- زكي هائل أحمد حزام	الميناء - عدن	الشرعية	٧٦- سعيد سليمان صالح بن حويل	خور مكسر - عدن	الشرعية
٣٦- نبيل صالح مسعد حسن	الميناء - عدن	التجارة	٧٧- مدحت حمود قائد محمد	الشيخ عثمان - عدن	الزراعة
٣٧- وليد ياسين ردمان	صيرا - عدن	الشرعية	٧٨- أحمد علي عبده ناجي	خور مكسر - عدن	الشرعية
٣٨- هيفاء محمد يوسف عبد القادر	كريتر - عدن	الآداب	٧٩- غسان سالم صالح علي	كريتر - عدن	الشرعية
٣٩- نبيل يحيى علي وهابي	المعلا - عدن	التربية	٨٠- إيهاب جعفر علي أحمد	الشيخ عثمان - عدن	الشرعية
٤٠- فايز عمر عبد الله سعيد	المعلا - عدن	التجارة	٨١- ياسر محمد أحمد محمد	خور مكسر - عدن	الشرعية
٤١- محمد علي محمد العامري	خور مكسر - عدن	الزراعة	٨٢- مازن أحمد عبد الله قاسم	الشعب - عدن	الطب

A Summary Overview of the

PARALLELS

The issue of territorial integrity and secession is extremely relevant to Yemen today. What troubles our country today has been on the active political scene in many spots in the world. There are two points I would like to start with. First, the basic conclusion to any secessionist efforts is either to succeed in breaking away and thus lead to the creation of a new entity, or the effort is doomed and the territorial integrity of the nation is preserved. Eritrea and Bangladesh are two examples of a successful secession effort. Additional examples include the numerous countries in the Baltic and Caucasus regions which have peacefully seceded from the former the USSR. But there are also many examples of secessionist efforts which did not succeed. The Scottish effort to break away from its marriage with England in the 17th century, the attempt of the Southern states to break away from the USA in the 19th century, Biafra and Katanga in Nigeria and Zaire, respectively, in Africa, Tibet in China, and many others are examples of un-successful efforts.

Second, no two cases are alike. It is very hard to find identical situations. Therefore, it is extremely hard to build precedence, and it is even more difficult to pass a blanket judgement. In the final analysis, it is the feeling of the people - the majority of the people. In this article, I am interested in drawing parallels among four examples of failed secession efforts, one from each of the four major continents. The key questions are why they took place, how they happened, how they were suppressed and what conclusions can be drawn as relevant to the Yemeni case.

1. The Scottish Secession:

Relations between Scotland and England have seen their many ups and downs. It was in 1706 that the unity of the two nations was cemented with the passage of the Act of Union by the English and Scottish parliaments. The Scots dissolved their parliament and return, they received 45 seats in the English House of Commons and could elect 16 lords to the English House of Lords. But the Scots had second thoughts about their marriage with the English, even without knowing there would be a lot of oil in the North Sea. Economic, social and religious factors were responsible for the tension. By 1740, the Scots were in full rebellion. They wanted out.

Their cause saw visible manifestation in the Jacobite Rebellion and the ambitions of the Young Pretender, Charles Edward. Starting from East Scotland, Charles and his men moved west and occupied Edinburgh in 1745. He invaded England, and reached Derby, about halfway from the Scottish border to London, unopposed. It was on April 16th, 1746, that the forces of Charles were destroyed by the Duke of Cumberland. Cumberland, and his successor in Scotland, William Keppel, earl of Albemarle, enforced Scotland's loyalty, or at least submission, to London.

One of the things the English did following the Forty-five Rebellion (Rebellion of 1745) was to disarm the Scotsmen and enforce their laws and values, including the banning of wearing kilts and tartans. The main tool used to keep the Scots in the union was brute military force.

2. The American Civil War:

The American Civil War is probably one of the bloodiest wars ever fought and by far the most titanic ever in the New World, with such a high casualty given the duration of the war.

The decade before the war itself saw a paralysis of the state of affairs. The country experienced un-remitting political crisis due to the polarized socio-political conditions. One of the issues which crystallized the differences was the persistence of slavery in the South.

The presidential election to 1860 occurred in an atmosphere of great tension. Abraham Lincoln's election was taken in the South as the signal for secession, and on December 20th, North Carolina became the first state to withdraw from the Union. Several states of the lower South soon followed. On February 4th, 1861 - a month before the inauguration date of Lincoln as president - six Southern states (South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana) - later joined by Texan delegates - sent representatives to Montgomery, Alabama to set up a new independent government. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected as



president of the Confederate States of America.

On April 12, 1861, the Confederates (secessionists) fired the first shots in the civil war from their guns in Charleston against Fort Sumter. For the next four years, battles raged and men died in the hundreds of thousands. Total casualties were 634,703 persons (359,528 dead and 275,175 wounded) on the Federal side, while the casualties were about 483,000 (about 258,000 dead and 225,000 wounded) on the Confederate side.

One of the ironic aspects of the war is that the Confederacy, badly in need of fighting men, passed laws towards the emancipation of the blacks, and even authorized the formation of black regiments. Although many blacks were recruited for the Confederate armies, none actually served in battle because surrender was at hand. In contrast, 178,895 blacks fought in the Union armies.

The world was confused by the American civil war, and Washington remained actively engaged with Europe. The Davis government, in a belated diplomatic mission to seek assistance and recognition, sent a delegation to Europe. In spite of earlier British sympathies, nothing came of the effort.

3. The Biafran Case:

Nigeria never enjoyed internal harmony and peace. It was subjected to economic and political instability, coups, riots and ethnic friction and rivalry. The relatively prosperous Ibo tribe suffered enormously at the hands of the northern Hausa and other tribes.

In September 1966, tens of thousands of Ibo people were massacred and perhaps 1,000,000 fled as refugees to the eastern province - home of the Ibo. Non-Ibos were then expelled from the Eastern Region.

For nine months, attempts to resolve the problem were not successful. On May 30th, 1967, the head of the Eastern Region, Lt-Colonel (later General) Odumegwu Ojukwu, with the authorization of a consultative assembly, declared the region a sovereign and independent republic under the name of Biafra. General Yakubu Gowon, the president of the federal government of Nigeria, refused to recognize Biafra's secession.

Hostilities broke out the following July, and the civil war was to extend until January 15th, 1970. France was the only leading world nation that recognized Biafra, and supplied it with arms, while the then-USSR and Britain continued to arm the federal government in Lagos. A few countries recognized Biafra, but most of the world remained committed to a unified Nigeria. Some 1,000,000 Biafrans (or Ibos) died of starvation and disease. International support and sympathy for Biafra was limited to airlifts of food and medicine.

Nigeria firmly states today that Biafra is an integral part of Nigeria, and there is no effort on the part of the Ibos to secede.

The situation is not directly comparable to the Yemeni case, but a question does arise.

4. Tibet and China:

Although Tibet was independent in various stages of its history, Chinese influence has been visible. It was early in this century (1906) that the Chinese - by skillful diplomacy - achieved a treaty with Britain, without Tibetan participation, which recognized their suzerainty over Tibet. The Chinese, emboldened by diplomatic success, sought to gain direct control by using force against the spiritual leader and political symbol of Tibet, the Dalai Lama, who was forced to flee to India in 1910. The Tibetans, exploiting the confusion that ensued the Chinese Revolution of 1911, declared their independent republic and expelled the few Chinese that had come to Lhasa.

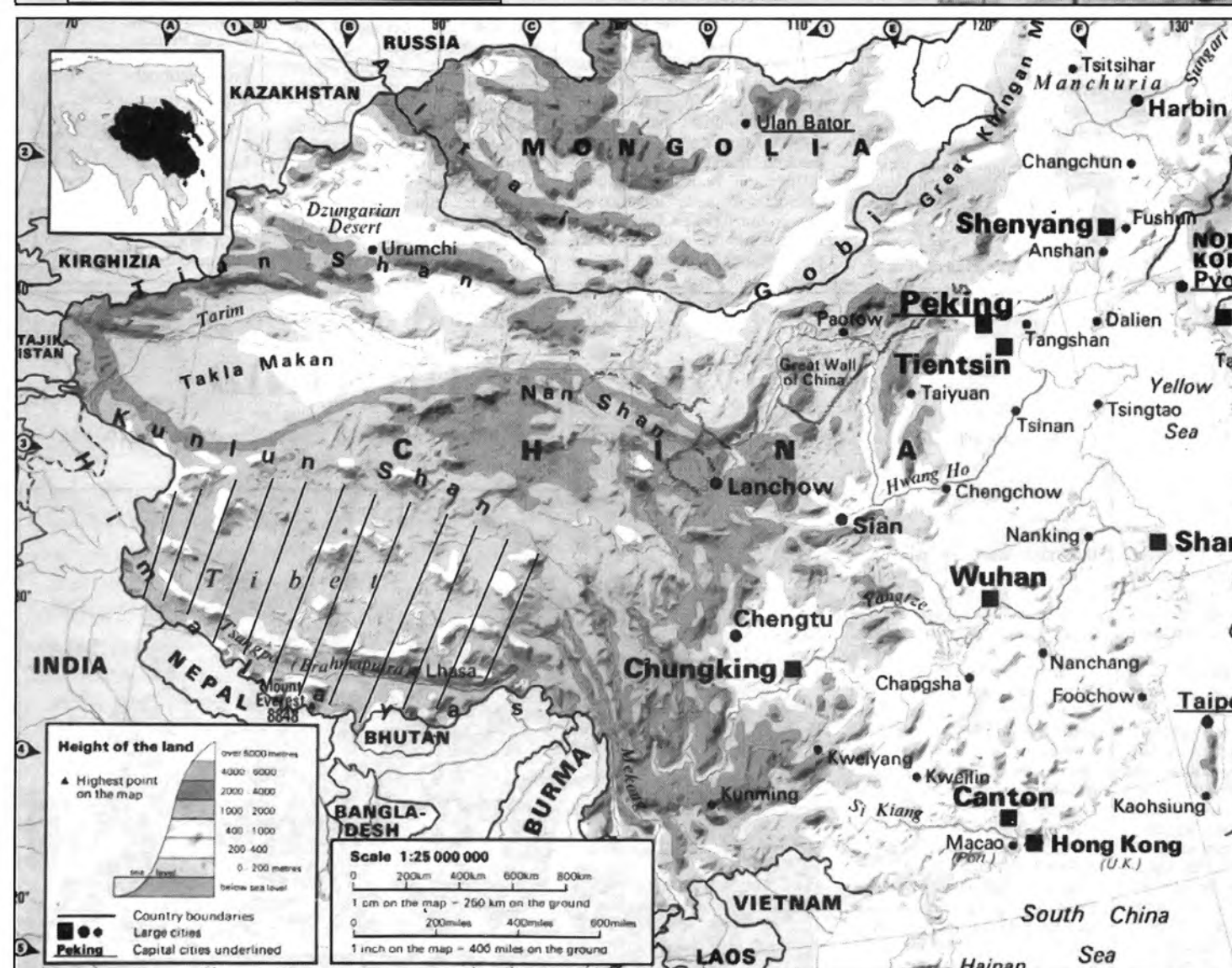
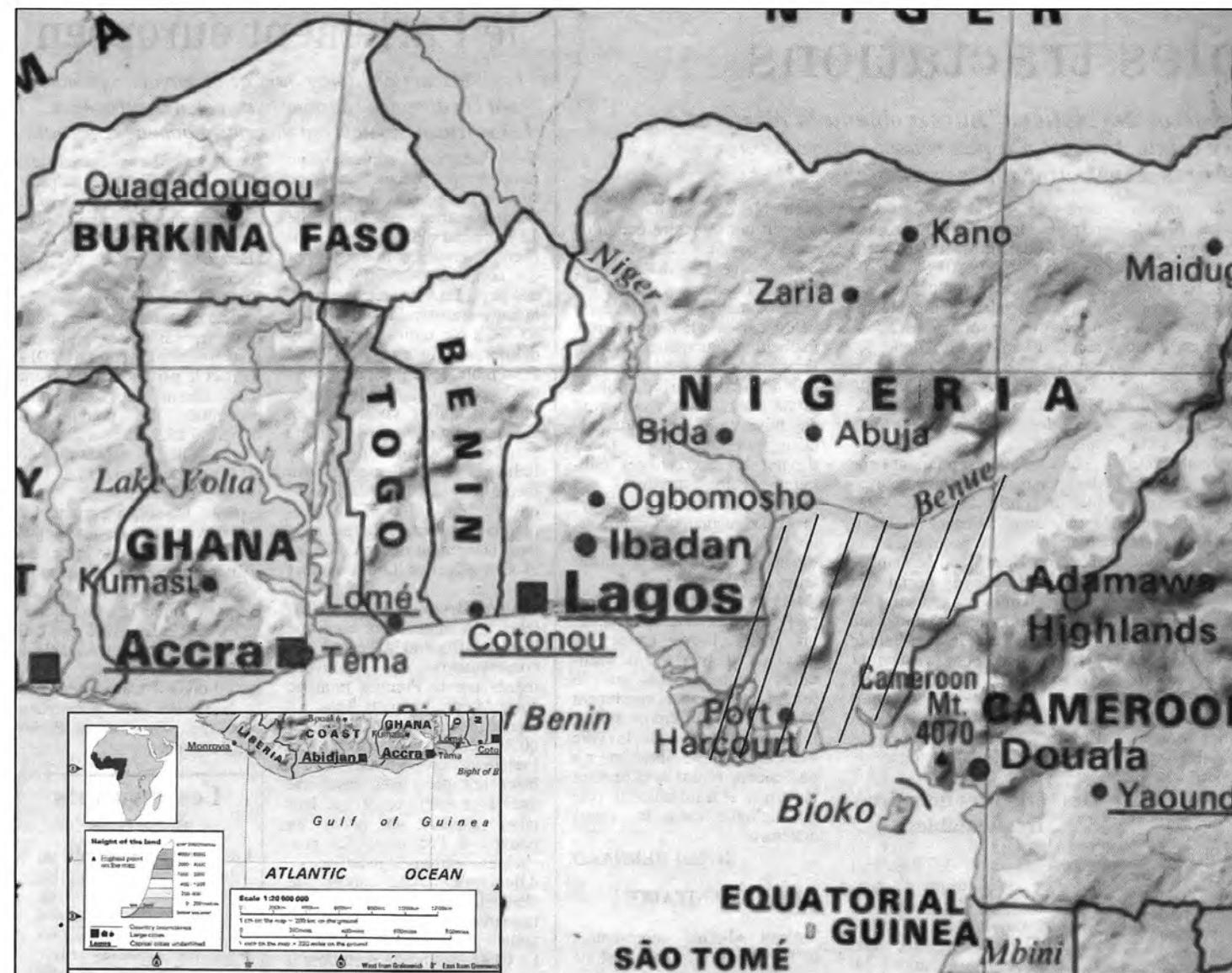
Until after WWII, sporadic fighting continued as the Chinese tried to exert control while the Tibetans were trying to keep them at an arm's length and preserve their independence. It was in 1949 and 1950 that the Chinese finally "liberated" Tibet, and in 1951 an agreement was signed in which Tibet was made into an autonomous region of China.

The last real effort at secession from China came in 1959. In March of that year, Lhasa saw a popular uprising which attempted to break off the Chinese connection. The uprising was brutally suppressed. The Dalai Lama and his ministers fled and continue to live in exile.

Although Tibetan agitation continues in a very ineffective way, China firmly states today that Tibet is an integral part of China, and that it has no right to secede.

Issue of Territorial Secession:

IN HISTORY



Key to the maps:

Areas shaded with oblique parallel lines (/ / /) are the regions of secession efforts.

The Case of Yemen:

The boundary line between North and South Yemen was drawn up early in the twentieth century as the Ottoman and British Empires were competing for influence in the region. It was the two colonial rulers who charted the border. Based on the corner point at Perim or generally Bab al-Mandab, a 45 degree line. To the north of this line was an Ottoman influence region, while to the south of it was the British influence region.

When the Ottoman Empire disintegrated after WWI, a part of Yemen was liberated. Imam Yahia inherited the Ottomans and established his Al-Mamlakatul Mutawakkiliyyah Al-Yamaniyyah (or the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of Yemen) in 1918. He continued to lay claim to the rest of Yemen, which at the time was under British rule. That was Imamic Yemen, or more often referred to as North Yemen. In 1962, after a successful revolution, the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) was declared.

The British continued to rule the southern part of Yemen. The consolidated their crown colony of Aden and extended their control of the hinterland into what they termed as the protectorates. In 1967, the crown colony and protectorates wrenched their independence and created the Yemeni Democratic Republic. Later the name was changed into the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDY), commonly known as South Yemen.

During the time the two countries existed side by side (1967-1990), they fought two wars and engaged in several sabotage efforts against each other. They eternally talked about re-unifying the country - each trying to impose its own system and vision on the other.

Finally, on May 22nd, 1990, the rulers of the two countries - Lt-General Ali Abdullah Saleh and Mr. Ali Salim Al-Beedh merged the two countries. The YAR's leading party - the People's General Congress (PGC) - and the PDY's ruling party - the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) - agreed to a 50-50 deal in managing the newly unified country - the Republic of Yemen.

The uneasy relationship between the new partners grew into a violent competition. But they agreed to hold parliamentary elections on April 27th, 1993. Both sides, and the third leading player in the political game - the Islah - did their best to win the elections, even by breaking a few rules.

The election results ended the 50-50 deal between the PGC and YSP. The PGC has groomed a new partner all along, at the expense of the YSP. Relations between the PGC and YSP steadily deteriorated, until today, the country is engulfed in full war.

On August 19th, 1993, Ali Salim Al-Beedh returned to Aden and refused to come to Sanaa. His excuse: he does not feel safe given the high number of senior YSP people killed by assassins. He sent a first set of conditions for his return to Sanaa. President Saleh hesitated, and then accepted. By the time he accepted, Al-Beedh had a new set of conditions. The President hesitated, and then accepted. Al-Beedh again had a new set of conditions.

At the end, the bilateral negotiations were transformed into a collective effort in which the opposition parties and others were involved. Finally, the Document of Accord and Pledge was worked out. All sides agreed to it tentatively in Aden on January 18th, and on February 20th, 1994, they all travelled to Amman and signed it there.

Instead of returning to Sanaa, Al-Beedh went on a visit to the Gulf states, and settled back in Aden, thus doubly irritating Sanaa. Meanwhile, sporadic military confrontation has cleansed the former YAR of the main PDY soldiers.

On May 4th, open warfare started between the two sides. On May 21st, Ali Salim Al-Beedh personally announced the secession and the establishment of the Yemen Democratic Republic (YDR).

Sanaa is trying hard to preserve the unity, and Aden is trying as hard to break away. The basically internal struggle has suddenly become fair play for regional and international politics. The UN has issued Security Council resolution 924 on June 1st demanding an immediate cessation of hostilities, return to negotiations, and asked the world to refrain from arming either side. The majority of the people of Yemen want their unity preserved, and the majority also want to build a modern state based on law and order.



The French Pages

GUERRE

Lakhdar Ibrahimi mène de difficiles tractations

L'envoyé spécial du secrétaire général des Nations Unies a obtenu la réactivation de la commission militaire mixte, mais il n'a pas réussi à convaincre les deux belligérants d'instaurer un cessez-le-feu.

Depuis son arrivée à Sanaa mercredi 8 juin, Lakhdar Ibrahimi, l'envoyé spécial du secrétaire général des Nations Unies, Boutros Boutros Ghali, a multiplié les rencontres pour tenter de trouver une solution au conflit armé qui ensanglante le Yémen. Ce diplomate qui vient de terminer une mission en Afrique du Sud pour les Nations Unies a d'abord rencontré le Président Saleh et des membres du gouvernement de Sanaa. A la suite de ses discussions, il avait bon espoir que le cessez-le-feu auquel appelait les nordistes jeudi 9 juin, soit respecté. "Le gouvernement est prêt à un dialogue avec l'autre côté", affirmait-il alors. Espoir déçu le lendemain. Les tirs d'artillerie lourde ont repris sur Aden, visant notamment l'aéroport.

Aden prise en tenaille par les nordistes

Les troupes d'Ali Abdallah Saleh ne sont plus qu'à une quinzaine de kilomètres de la ville du sud prise en tenaille. Pour montrer sa bonne volonté, le Président Saleh a affirmé qu'il était prêt à reconstruire tous les bâtiments détruits à Aden. Une manière de calmer les inquiétudes internationales. "La bataille d'Aden ne sera pas celle d'Al-Anad (base militaire sudiste à une cinquantaine de kilomètres d'Aden et prise par les troupes nordistes fin mai)", a déclaré quelques jours après le nouveau vice-Premier ministre Abdul-Qader Ba-Jammal. "Le gouvernement a reçu des instructions du Président de fournir cent camions d'aide alimentaire pour la

population de la région d'Aden", a-t-il ajouté. Abdul-Qader Ba-Jammal était jusqu'à le président de la Haute Autorité des Zones franches, dont la plus importante devait être Aden. Originaire de l'Hadramaout, ce partisan d'Ali Nasser Mohamed, l'ancien président de l'ex-République démocratique populaire du Yémen, s'est exilé à Sanaa après la guerre civile de 1986 au Sud. On comprend donc mieux ses références à cette guerre quand il critique les partisans d'Ali Salem Al-Bid, qui, selon lui, seraient prêts aujourd'hui à jouer la politique de la terre brûlée pour l'emporter. "La raffinerie d'Aden ne peut pas avoir été touchée par nos avions. Ce sont les sécessionnistes qui ont mis le feu à la citerne. Ils l'avaient déjà fait en 1986", a-t-il expliqué.

Sur le terrain, les troupes d'Ali Abdallah Saleh ont l'avantage. Elles contrôlent la majeure partie des gouvernorats du Sud. Elles sont solidement installées à Ataq, le chef-lieu du gouvernorat de Shabwa, et se sont approchées à 25 km environ de Mukalla où s'est retranché Ali Salem Al-Bid. Mais la situation diplomatique est plus délicate. Les pressions de l'Arabie saoudite, le puissant voisin, se font de plus en plus fortes. Samedi 11 juin, Abdul Karim Al-Iryani, ministre de la Planification et éminente grise d'Ali Abdallah Saleh, a accusé directement les Saoudiens de soutenir Ali Salem Al-Bid. Deux jours plus tard, les autorités de Sanaa diffusaient un communiqué, où elles affirmaient que des chars saoudiens étaient massés près de la frontière avec le Yémen, au

nord de l'Hadramaout. Des responsables du CPG, le parti d'Ali Abdallah Saleh, affirment de leur côté que Ali Salem Al-Bid a toujours voulu créer un Etat indépendant dans l'Hadramaout avec le soutien des Saoudiens. Ryad obsède donc les autorités de Sanaa, même si Abdul-Qader Ba-Jammal affirme: "nous ne voulons ni de territoires, ni d'argent d'Arabie saoudite".

Le roi Fahd est pourtant l'une des personnalités incontournables du conflit. D'ailleurs, après avoir quitté Sanaa, Lakhdar Ibrahimi l'a rencontré, avant d'être reçu par le sultan Qabous d'Oman. L'envoyé spécial des Nations Unies a poursuivi sa mission en gagnant dimanche 12 juin Mukalla, le chef-lieu de l'Hadramaout pour rencontrer Ali Salem Al-Bid. Son avion a obtenu l'autorisation des autorités de Sanaa d'entrer dans l'espace aérien yéménite, après deux heures de discussions.

Des socialistes unionistes fréquentables

Pour l'instant, le Président Saleh et ses partisans n'acceptent le dialogue "qu'avec ceux qui ont toujours cru à l'unité yéménite", écartant seize dirigeants socialistes, dont Ali Salem Al-Bid, responsables selon eux de la déclaration d'indépendance du Sud, devenu République démocratique du Yémen. Des dirigeants socialistes, tels que Salem Saleh, ancien membre du Conseil présidentiel, Yassine Noman, membre important du PSY et ancien président du Parlement du Yémen unifié, ou Jarallah Omar, ancien ministre de la Culture, seraient, selon les nordistes, plus fréquentables car

favorables au maintien d'un Yémen unifié. Autre condition posée par les autorités de Sanaa: que le dialogue se déroule à Sanaa.

La situation a semblé se débloquer mardi dernier entre les belligérants quand Lakhdar Ibrahimi a annoncé la réactivation de la commission militaire mixte. Cette commission avait été mise en place pendant la crise politique pour tenter d'éviter les accrochages militaires entre nordistes et sudistes. Elle comprenait également des médiateurs étrangers: des militaires jordaniens et omanais, et les attachés militaires américain et français.

Mais les nordistes ont refusé la proposition sudiste d'instaurer un cessez-le-feu avec la présence d'observateurs militaires internationaux sur le terrain. Les combats continuent donc sur les différents fronts, notamment autour de la ville d'Aden. Lakhdar Ibrahimi n'a pas encore réussi à faire taire les armes et à instaurer la voie du dialogue entre les frères ennemis.

Jérôme BERNARD

AIDE HUMANITAIRE

Awni Al-Ani, représentant du PNUD au Yémen, a estimé entre 2 et 3 millions de dollars le coût de l'aide dont le Yémen a pour l'instant besoin. Cette aide comprend la fourniture de médicaments et de matériel médical aux hôpitaux yéménites, un soutien matériel aux 500 000 déplacés, et la réparation du réseau d'égoûts et de distribution d'eau dans les gouvernorats du sud. Une mission des Nations Unies s'est rendue la semaine dernière à Lahej pour évaluer les besoins.

UNION EUROPEENNE

Elections pour le Parlement européen

Les électeurs des douze pays de l'Union européenne ont élu dimanche dernier leurs députés européens. Les enjeux nationaux ont largement dominé le scrutin.

Le Parlement européen ne remporte pas encore un franc succès auprès des électeurs de l'Union européenne. Dimanche 12 juin, jour des élections européennes, les abstentionnistes ont été nombreux dans la plupart des pays. En France, cependant, le taux d'abstention, autour de 45 %, a été moins élevé qu'au dernier scrutin en 1989. Dans l'ensemble, les enjeux nationaux ont largement dominé le scrutin: vote-sanction comme en Espagne et en Grande-Bretagne, vote de confirmation comme en Italie et en Allemagne. Au même moment, les Autrichiens ont dit "oui" à 65 % au référendum sur l'entrée de leur pays dans l'Union européenne. Celle-ci sera effective le 1er janvier prochain.

Grande-Bretagne: Les électeurs britanniques ont confirmé leur désaffection à l'égard des conservateurs au pouvoir, menés par le Premier ministre John Major. Le parti Tory n'a même pas la moitié des sièges qu'il détenait auparavant au Parlement européen. Les travaillistes ont par contre remporté une large victoire, ce qui leur laisse espérer un retour au pouvoir à l'occasion des prochaines élections législatives.

Allemagne: On disait le chancelier Helmut Kohl usé par le pouvoir et les promesses non tenues de l'après-réunification. La CDU (droite), le parti dont il est le chef de file, a créé la surprise en devançant les sociaux-démocrates (gauche). Ce résultat est de bon augure pour les prochaines élections législatives.

Italie: Le nouveau Premier ministre Silvio Berlusconi a confirmé son succès aux récentes élections législatives italiennes. Son parti, Forza Italia, a même renforcé son électoral lors du scrutin européen.

Espagne: Les socialistes, menés par le Premier ministre Felipe Gonzales, apparaissent de plus en plus usés par douze ans de pouvoir. Le PSOE a été clairement enfoncé par les libéraux.

France: Ce scrutin a marqué l'éclatement du paysage politique français. Les "partis de gouvernement", l'union UDF-RPR et le parti socialiste, n'ont pas obtenu les résultats escomptés. La première a remporté 25,5 % des suffrages, alors qu'elle en espérait plus de 30 %. Le deuxième, avec 14,5 %, n'a pas atteint les 18 % espérés. La surprise vient des listes contestataires et populistes, celle de Philippe de Villiers (droite catholique anti-Maastricht), 12 %, et de Bernard Tapie (gauche populiste), 12 %. Le Front national (extrême-droite) reste stable à 10,5 %, alors que les écologistes divisés n'atteignent pas la barre des 5 % permettant d'envoyer des élus au Parlement européen.

Les résultats à Sanaa

Les Français résidents au Yémen inscrits sur les listes électorales de l'ambassade de France ont pu voter dimanche 12 juin pour les élections européennes. Le bureau de vote avait été installé à l'ambassade de France.

Front National	1 voix
Liste de Villiers	1 voix
L'Union UDF-RPR	7 voix
Liste "L'Europe commence à Sarajevo"	1 voix
Parti socialiste	3 voix
Liste MRG (Bernard Tapie)	1 voix

NATIONS UNIES

Un Centre d'information de l'ONU à Sanaa

Après celui de Bahrein, ce serait le deuxième centre de ce type ouvert dans la péninsule arabique.

Un centre d'information des Nations Unies devrait ouvrir bientôt ses portes à Sanaa. "Notre travail consistera à diffuser des informations concernant les activités humanitaires, les actions de maintien de la paix de l'ONU auprès de la presse et des milieux universitaires", nous explique le futur responsable de ce centre, Najib Friji. "J'envisage également d'héberger des activités culturelles. Ce sera un forum de dialogue entre les journalistes, les intellectuels, les universitaires et les Nations Unies", ajoute-t-il.

Le centre en Irak a été fermé

Le centre d'information de l'ONU à Sanaa sera le deuxième du genre dans la péninsule arabique, après Bahrein. D'autres pays arabes

accueillent des centres d'information des Nations Unies: le Maroc, l'Algérie, la Tunisie, la Libye, l'Egypte et le Liban. Les activités du centre qui existait en Irak ont été suspendues avec la crise du Golfe. "Le gouvernement yéménite nous a donné l'autorisation d'ouvrir ce centre d'information et s'est engagé à fournir les locaux", précise Najib. Sa création a fait l'objet d'une résolution de l'assemblée générale des Nations Unies et d'une décision du secrétaire général. Le Yémen comptant 14 millions d'habitants, les autorités onusiennes n'ont pas été trop difficiles à convaincre. Najib a beaucoup d'idées, parfois ambitieuses: "J'aimerais lancer un débat à long terme sur l'information au Yémen, notamment autour du thème de la liberté de la presse".

FRANCOPHONES

Le voyage à Khawkha

L'Association de la Langue française a organisé début mai un voyage à Khawkha, dans la Tihama. C'était quelques jours avant le début de la guerre.

Après le succès du voyage à Wadi Dhar en avril dernier, les chefs de file de l'Association de la Langue française, Ahmad et Abdallah, ont décidé d'être plus ambitieux. Ils ont choisi Khawkha, sur la Tihama, comme lieu de villégiature. Le voyage s'est déroulé durant le week-end du 1er mai. Dix-huit étudiants de l'Université de Sanaa et du Centre culturel français sont partis à bord d'un bus affrété à l'occasion. A Khawkha, "la chaleur étouffante ne nous a pas empêchés de danser sur la plage et d'assister à une démonstration de "rap and breakdance" interprétée par le Mickael Jackson local", se rappelle Stéphane Davenet, enseignant à l'Ecole française de Sanaa. Quant à Gassar Nasser, il se souviendra de "cette terre de rêve, où nous avons passé deux belles journées en nageant et en s'amusant". Enfin, Adel Al-Matari n'oublie pas de remercier l'ALF, qui a organisé le voyage.



Un tour sur une barque de pêcheur à Khawkha.

QUDAD: The Traditional Yemeni Plaster

Qudad is an ancient water-proofing plaster that has been used for many millennia in the Arabian Peninsula, particularly in Yemen where it probably originated. The earliest example of qudad is found on the sluices of the famous Marib Dam which dates to the 8th century B.C. The dam went through many building phases, the latest of which was in the 5th century A.D. Most of the qudad on the Marib Dam should be dated to that century; probably only the lowest sections belong to the early First Millennium B.C.

Qudad is also preserved on a number of other pre-Islamic South Arabian dams and monuments. It continues to be used throughout the Islamic Period in Yemen as an impermeable plaster on cisterns, canals, and baths, as roofing material, and as a protective plaster on exterior facades of monumental buildings such as forts, mosques, madrassas and palaces. Qudad can only be used as a plaster on buildings constructed of stone and baked brick, it will not adhere to mudbrick, cement blocks or concrete.

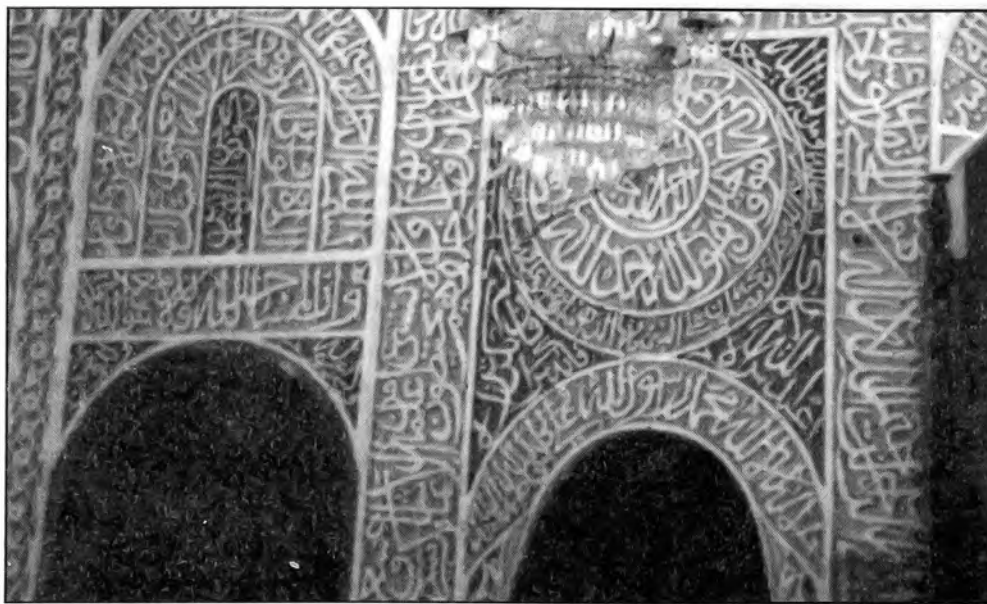
A similar plaster, more or less identical to qudad, is found in the Indian subcontinent-probably introduced from Yemen. It is also used as a protective coat on the exterior facades of buildings. The earliest examples I have been able to find in India date to the medieval Islamic Period, a time when there was massive trade between the two countries. By the 17th century qudad had spread from Yemen, Oman and India to the East African Coast, where Mombasa, Lamu, Zanzibar and other towns began to use it. Qudad makes a particularly efficacious protective coating in that wet, humid and hot climate, keeping the walls of houses, palaces and forts dry.

Qudad was, and still is, an expensive, labour-intensive and time consuming process that cannot be hurried. When cement was introduced to Yemen some 25 years ago, it came as a boon to constructors who wanted to build quickly and cheaply; thus, qudad was set aside. When restoration projects were first initiated in Yemen in the early 1980's only a few stonemasons remembered the exact mixtures and precise procedures for making qudad. Experimentation was necessary before it was possible to determine the correct ratio for the ingredients and the time required for doing each step of the process. It is now possible to say that qudad is alive and flourishing, and that many workers have been trained in the process of its application.

Qudad is made up of two basic ingredients, nura or lime, and an aggregate, such as fine sand or riverine pebbles, which are mixed together into a mortar, and applied in three-to-five layers to the surface that has to be protected. In the volcanic regions of Yemen volcanic cinders are used instead of sand or pebbles; this apparently makes the final product more durable. Since volcanic cinder-cones can be found in most regions of Yemen, volcanic cinders are the most common aggregate used for making qudad.

Qudad is made as follows:

1- Good quality lime which is freshly fired must be obtained. Stale lime should not be used as it is inactive. The lime is slaked in water for a period of at least two weeks for normal surfaces. During this period the lime must



be constantly turned and the water topped up; it must not be allowed to dry out. The slaking should be prolonged if the lime is required for finer finishes such as carved mouldings or panels, sometimes for as long as two to three months until it reaches the consistency of a sticky dough.

2- While the lime is being slaked the surface to be covered with qudad can be prepared. A roof surface takes time to prepare. The temporary mud plaster that protected the roofing material (the wooden beams, twigs, etc.) until it settled - up to six months - must be partially scraped off and small stones roughly embedded into it. Any surface to which qudad is applied has to be completely settled and stable or else it will develop cracks when it shifts, since qudad has no give. Just before the roof receives its first layer of qudad it has to be dowsed with water. The preparation for a wall facade is slightly different. The wall has to be washed free of any dust, and the bricks or stones have to be articulated so that the first layer of qudad can adhere in the cervices.

3- The aggregate to be used, the pebbles, sand or cinders, must be cleaned and washed down; dust or sand particles weaken the mixture. The two ingredients are mixed together in a ratio of two parts of aggregate to one part of lime. They are blended together with water and pounded with a long shovel or wooden paddle. The required consistency is achieved when the particulate matter in the mixture has reached a size pertinent to the layer in which it belongs. For the lowest layer, the mixture has to be crude and rough, with the particles as large as corn kernels, so that it can adhere better to the prepared surface. The middle layer requires a smoother texture, so more lime is added to the mixture and the ratio changed to half lime half aggregate. The most superficial levels require a further adjustment; for them the ratio is changed to one part aggregate to two parts lime, and pounded to a fine paste.

4- The first layer of qudad must be about two inches thick. It is applied and worked between the pebbles, into the cracks and interstices of the surface below it, until it adheres properly. This is done with the help of a sharp-edged stone, a riverine pebble that has to be slightly larger than a fist, which is repeatedly banged down on the mixture. This pounding process has to be done continuously for at least three or four days, then the next layer can be added. The task is boring and easy on a horizontal surface, but when the surface is vertical the

procedure is much more complicated. The qudad has to be literally hurled at the wall facade and quickly worked into the cervices between the bricks or stones; it falls down as fast as it is thrown and has to be reapplied. It is only by dint of continuous application and pounding that the qudad eventually starts to stick to the surface of the wall. The first layer is the most difficult one to do. It is also the most wasteful, although a careful, traditional craftsman will see to it that a good deal of the fallen qudad is gathered up at the end of the day and refused as a filler in building walls.

5- Each layer has to be worked and pounded for at least three or four days until it adheres and becomes one with the layer below it. The qudad has to be kept moist at all times; it must never be allowed to dry out. After working hours it has to be checked to see that it remains wet. A watery lime solution is the best agent for keeping qudad moist; a bucket full of this mixture should always be on hand.

6- Three or four layers of qudad have to be applied to a surface that is exposed to the elements; facades in an interior courtyard or bath will need less. Whereas two inches for qudad are adequate for an interior wall, a minimum thickness of four inches is needed to protect an external facade. A roof or merlons will require anywhere from five to six inches of protective qudad covering.

7- Once the right thickness has been achieved, and the qudad layers are firmly and securely damped down and smoothed the next stage can begin. This consists of polishing or burnishing the surface of the qudad with a smooth pebble unit it attains a hard marble-like quality. Using the full weight of the hand, and pressing down on the pebble or moving it either in a circular or in an up and down rhythmic motion, the surface is rubbed and burnished. Again the qudad has to be kept moist at all times with a watery lime wash; this can be sprinkled on the qudad with a small broom.

Burnishing is the most important phase of the qudad work. The work is painstakingly monotonous but perseverance is essential. Morning and evening shifts have to be organized lest hair-line cracks appear. Each evening when work stops care must be taken to wet the surface of the qudad so that it stays moist until the next morning's shift. This is specially vital for the first four or five days. After the qudad can be polished twice a day and it must

appear, if they do then burnishing has to be resumed. If no cracked appear then the last stage can be carried out.

9- The final process consists of applying a coat of animal fat, usually beef fat (preferably marrow), on the finished surface. The fat has to be melted down and smeared on the surface of the qudad (usually done with a bit of sheep-skin) - it is a smelly and unpleasant process. This fatty coating provides a temporary, water-proof seal that prevents the fresh qudad from flaking during the first monsoon rains; after that it can take care of itself.

10- Qudad takes up to a full year to set properly and finally. It becomes progressively harder with age, and with care and periodic maintenance it can remain in good condition for centuries, if not millennia.

Qudad is a very labour intensive process - to complete a section that measures roughly six by sixteen feet a minimum of nine unskilled labourers and two skilled craftsmen are required. Two workers prepare the mixture which has to be constantly turned and moistened, four to fetch and carry (water, qudad, stones, etc.), and three or four to continuously pound/smooth down, and later polish/burnish the qudad layers. A master craftsman and his assistant have to direct and work with the workers. It is, in fact, easier and less costly to do large tracts of qudad at one time. Although the correct ratio of the ingredients that go into qudad and its consistency are important factors, the more essential aspect of this craft is polishing the qudad to the right hardness. The longer one burnishes and polishes it is better it is; that is the secret of good qudad. This cannot be stated strongly enough; if one skimps on this phase of the

work then the qudad is weakened and it will begin to flake in a very short time. We conducted numerous experiments with the mixtures, ratios and time required for each phase, but the most important insight that we discovered for working qudad was the extra time required for polishing, that is what converts it into the hard, seamless, rock-like substance for which it is justly famous. Qudad is a material that successfully imitates a natural one - it is a man-made version of limestone - but, whereas limestone takes hundreds of thousands of years to form, qudad takes only years. It is one of man's most ingenious adaptations, and worth the time and cost.

Qudad is now being used in restoration work in several parts of Yemen. In Sana'a, where large monumental buildings are being restored as part of the preservation campaign for that city, qudad is being used on the roofs, courtyards and bathrooms of the large samsaras and a few of the large houses. The Italian project in Sana'a even found a way of cutting down the time required for mixing qudad; they imported a special cement-mixer that did the job faster. The roof of Dar al Hajar in Wadi Dhahr was also restored with qudad. In Zabid the Tihama version of qudad was resuscitated by the Canadian Archaeological Mission for roofing sections of the Citadel. The future of qudad in Yemen is assured. It is to be hoped that this knowledge can now be imparted to other countries whose monuments require qudad restoration, countries where the knowledge of the craft of qudad has died.

S. Al-Radi,
Yemen Update,
Winter/Spring 1994.



THE MOHAMED ABDO RABO GROUP A GIANT CORPORATION GROWS FURTHER

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صناعة ت: ٢٤٠٧٠٢ - ٢٤٠٩٥٢ تليفون: ٢٤٠٧٠٢ - ٢٤٠٩٥٢ فاكس: ٢٦٣٠٨٦ ص ب: ٢٥٢٨
الحديدة ت: ٣٢٢٤٦٠ / ٣ تليفون: ٥٦٦١ - ٣٢٢٤٦٠ فاكس: ٢١١٥٥١ ص ب: ٤٠١٥
الخرطوم ت: ٧٤٥٦١ - ٧٤٦١٠ - ٧٤٥٦٢ تليفون: ٢٢٣٦٩ - ٧٤٥٦١ فاكس: ٧٤٥٦١ ص ب: ١٩٣٦
بورسودان ت: ٢٦٣٠ - ٢٩٧٩ - ٤٤٦٥ تليفون: ٧٠٠٧١ - ٧٠٠٧٢ ص ب: ١٦٠

Housing in Regions Prone to Cyclone

Cyclone is a kind of natural disaster caused by winds. It is a system of winds rotating inwards to areas of low barometric pressure. It can be combined with heavy rain and tidal waves.

Cyclones extend from 150 km to 1200 km with a speed of 150-250 km/h maximum. A mature tropical cyclone consists of central region of light winds known as its eye. The eye has an average diameter of about 20 km to 30 km. The pressure is lowest in this region. This is surrounded by a ring of winds extending on an average up to 30 km to 50 km beyond the center. This is the most dangerous part. By moving further away from the center, the speed gradually or rapidly decreases. A cyclone covers roughly 300 to 500 km/day and the whole process does not exceed hours. Cyclones are classified into five categories in respect to their speed as follows:

- 1- Depression with a speed of 32-50 km/hr.
- 2- Severe Cyclone storm with a speed of 90-119 km/hr.
- 3- Deep Depression with a speed of 50-60 km/hr.
- 4- Cyclone storm with a speed of 61-89 km per hour.
- 5- Severe Cyclone storm exceeding 120 km per hour.

Tropical Cyclones turn over oceans, where the sea surface temperature is high. Tropical countries like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh experience cyclones quite often. India has one cyclone every year, but the greatest that generated maximum awareness was in Andorra Pradesh in 1977. It was the most severe cyclone accompanied by storm surge and followed by hoods during the last hundred years.

Structural damage during a cyclone are divided as follows:-

- 1- Fully engineered
- 2- Marginally engineered, and
- 3- Non engineered

It was reported that the damage to such structures can be summarized as follows:-

- 1- Inadequate connection between roof members, between roof and walls and inadequate strength of frame joints
- 2- Inadequate vertical bracing
- 3- walls in between columns
- 4- A crane overturned in leeward direction
- 5- Twist or wash of pipelines or railway lines
- 6- Railing and parapets in many building blew off
- 7- In elevated situation, foundations failed due to improper consolidation.
- 8- In capability of walls to resist
- 9- Crack openings in the walls, particularly at the corners.
- 10- Flat roofs
- 11- Orientation of buildings

Many technical institutions dictate engineering strength and structure for buildings to withstand cyclone power in affected areas. These studies have shown that disaster mitigation in these areas could have been much more effective, if proper care have been taken by taking topographical features into account at the planning and designing stage itself. Keeping in mind that relief and preparedness are identified with existing communities and planning for mitigation is identified with future communities, it is necessary to involve a strategy for securing both the

situation by adopting short, medium and long-term measures stated below:-

- 1- Short-term measures are: to include relief and preparedness
- 2- Medium-term measure are: to include methods for improved construction for existing building and implementation of improved sitting and construction with development planning and programs.
- 3- Long-term measures are: to include development and land- use planning.

A study of post disaster situations in coastal areas has helped to draw some conclusions which in turn should be the basis for the strategy formulation for disaster mitigation and prevention. These conclusions are:-

- The area to be protected from cyclone storms and tidal waves by constructing hood banks, effective drainage system and afforestation of



the area with a view to arresting the velocity of cyclone storm.

- Steps to be taken to ensure the economy for maintaining the essential services, and having equitable distribution of social facilities.

- Physical surveys of the settlement concerning various disaster damage, before and after the disaster.

- Shelters should be designed and constructed as permanent structures.

- Majority of the people demanded permanent houses and prefer to stay in the same areas.

- The key to understand real shelter need is to view housing as a process which is interrupted by a disaster.

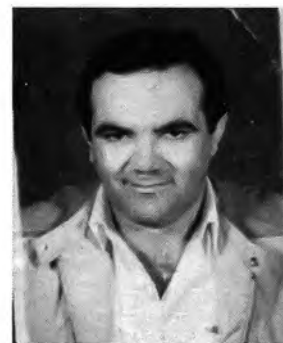
In cyclone prone area the following factors must be considered to reduce the loss in human life and properties:

- 1- General approach, lower density, lower the level of risk. A sound compromise should be made according to specific situation by taking into account the level and the character of the risk on one hand and local economic, social and technical conditions on the other hand.
- 2- Land use pattern for the settlement planning should retain some land tree to act as a site for emergency use after the disaster takes place. These sites should be used as temporary shelter and facilities.
- 3- Open spaces for various uses should be linked together to build a kind of green subdividing it into small units.
- 4- Major roads should be so planned as to avoid crossing areas of high risk.
- 5- In areas of cyclone winds and heavy rains the dwelling units cluster should be raised to a higher level so that the flood water may drain easily down the slope.
- 6- Locating new settlements in areas of lower risk.
- 7- Making available alternative routes and crossing when much access ways have to choose high risk area.
- 8- Establishing regional centers of settlement in the safest zones and location of emergency action.
- 9- Planting continuous belt of trees along the coast line and around the settlements, and the landscape should help to create the minimum abstraction to the tree flow of natural element and forces, and therefore to avoid and accumulate of destruction force within the build up area.
- 10- The lay out for the development of housing area should be easy and should avoid dead end streets.
- 11- Situations where collapse of one building may damage another should be avoided.
- 12- Trees and bushes should not be grown at the street intersection so as not to abstract the movement when disaster takes place.
- 13- To educate people, rise their knowledge and teach them how to behave when disaster takes place.

By: Badreldin H. M. Shahoti,
Architect & Housing Planner.

Arab Intellectuals, Yemeni Unity and the Chain of Defeats

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



Ironically, the Yemeni crisis has its own positive aspects, in the form of refreshing one's memory that is tending to forget and forgive and never learning history lessons. Many Yemeni intellectuals and writers are asking about the Arab intellectuals' position towards the Yemeni crisis and the Yemeni unity. In answer to them I would say, wait no more. To ask why and how, I would like firstly to state that what I'm writing is strictly personal point of view based on contemplation of the Arab intellectuals' reaction to the current fighting in Yemen, its unity and its connection to the overall series of events since the dawn of Arab national awareness earlier in this century, passing through the colonial age, the revolutionary age, the age of independence and the evolution of the pan-Arab movement, the Marxist wave, the oil age, the Islamism and the new world order age. This classification is not political, nor it is quite definable by certain time periods as many "ages" thereof are interchangeable and interacting. It is rather cultural approach to the deviations of Arab psyche and intellect, that aims to define the Arab intellectual's position towards the rapid changes in his/her own environment and in the whole world. Politics and its under-cover games and interests are not the subject here, it is rather the search of the Arab mind for a cultural base to lean on for the last fifty years or so, and the outcome of that search.

We almost understand the role of culture in leading the movement of history and its transformations, as we also know that intellectuals, regrettably, don't make history although they predict its leaps and movements, form its change bodies, formulate ideologies, dogmas, organizations, thought schools, parties that become states, they create pretexts and goals for those states to build armies, fight wars and to go to this direction or that. In brief, seeds of all great or small historical revolutions were in the beginning dreams, thoughts and words in the heads of intellectuals. "In the beginning, there was the word", the Almighty said.

As in the rest of the world, this Arab dreaming elite' has played vital roles in the movement of Arab society up from the first decades of this century when the first "learners" arriving from Europe and some enlightened clergy men started to feel the frustration caused by the Turkish Ottoman rule, comparing what they saw "outside" to what is there in the Arab arena. So the struggle begun, and many social and political reform programs were to see light, ideologies were born and the movement of change begun. The cultural movement, and the intellectuals, were in corresponding vibration with other social structures, rising and falling together. With such an interaction, a sort of national identity started to evolve and ideologize, and revolutions exploded. All lead to by the pioneers of the Arab cultural uprising, the Arab society started to witness major historical transformations for the first time probably since the days of prophet Mohammed. Egypt

revolted in 1919 with a parallel flourishing of arts and literature. Arab culture faced the begetting of a generation of pioneers who patronized the later-to-come changes as Tawfiq Al-Hakim, Taha Hussain, Sayid Darwish, Najib Mahfoudh and others. Those writers were to set the society for another historical transformations crowned by 1952 revolution. The rest of the Arab world such as Iraq, Syria, Algeria, Palestine, Yemen and elsewhere, where intellectuals played a major role in preparing their societies for changes. Those changes, being inspired by intellectuals, have produced another generation of intellectuals with dreams of more changes to come.

But then came the major setback of the Arab psyche, the defeat of June 5, 1967 with its devastating effects. Unlike that of the loss of Palestine in 1948, which was a sort of inspiration for more uprising, the defeat of 1967 marked the psychological defeat of a generation of Arab intellectuals. The society stood naked where all deficiencies shown clear in front of the people's eyes. The national-socialist project was starting to collapse politically, and in the same time, the Arab intellect was in havoc. Arab intellectuals fell in the pit of self blaming that reached in many cases the level of self-incrimination and disgust. The question of state and leadership was put to discussion, the role of intellectuals in that respect violently rose. Should they fight for the dream lost or should they stay and wait for the politicians and the military to act. The cultural movement started to re-judge even the historical heritage where literature placed even the historical symbols of the golden ages in the cages of trial. Democracy and justice strongly returned to the fronts of interests, where the age of Abdul-Nasser was re-evaluated. The attacks on the bitter reality with all its historical and even religious burdens became more fierce than ever.

The response was imminent, as the Palestinian liberation movement evolved carrying the dreams into new levels, a generation of post June-defeat of writers, poets and intellectuals evolved with new means and techniques of public address, a literature of resistance evolved, and the wide turn to Marxism was inevitable. The same problem of the pan-Arab movement faced the Marxist wave, what to do afterwards? With all questions unanswered, Arab intellect fell again into the pit of confusion and indecisiveness. The War of 1973 marked another turning point. Many intellectuals had to make an apology of dual nature, one to themselves and to the heritage they attacked and one to the new politicians who turned to be victorious, or at least beneficent. New slogans were raised, such as peaceful co-existence, Palestinian State, Economic

freedom, the friendly west, ..etc., and in the same time a new political power with leadership ambitions and the ability to pay its way into cultural justification evolved, it was the group of small, yet very rich oil producing countries of the Gulf, and a the age of oil has begun.

A new generation of writers and intellectuals was born, backed by an easy -to- buy veterans of the past chains of once revolutionists, nationalists, Marxists, Islamists, or whatever designation. New slogans were raised, and the old dreams were incriminated. Murdering intellectuals, writers and artists became common, as petrol has its own logic, names as Naji Al-Ali, Hussain Murwa, Mehdi Amel, Amal Danqal, Saqr Al-Reshud, Faraj Fuda and others disappeared in death one after the other, in the period of this non sacred marriage between the oil age and the evolution of the one power world after its victory in the second gulf war and the fall of the Soviet Union. This period, extends from the break up of Lebanese war in 1975, passing through the first gulf war in 1980, the siege of Beirut in 1982, ending in 1990 for a new phase by the break of the second gulf war.

During that period, the immigration of intellectuals reached its peak, where general and personal frustration lead to the creation of a sort of intellectual movement in exile. A force though highly intellectualized, it is still to weak to deal with the current age, the age where politicians create the intellectuals not vice-versa.

The new picture in the world is that; the dreamers of Gifara like liberation movements are dead to be replaced by the theorists of US Marines like liberation movements. Market ethics are the standards that justifies the aid from the rich to the poor who lost all his life fighting for a dream. One central government is leading the earth, it has the power to take Noriega away from his own capital, bomb Saddam Hussain and Qadhafi whenever it wishes, teach Gorbachev and Yeltsin how Russia must be run, and examples are to many to mention. Democracy is of one indisputable form, development away from the assigned route id prohibited, the tools to who disobeys are always there, economic measures, aircraft carriers, secession movements ready to move upon request, national and ethnic minorities, ..etc., and the most important of all, there are always those "Intellectuals" who have the ability to theorize, re-write, and change slogans as they change their underwear.

The problem of Arab intellectuals' position towards Yemeni unity is a complicated question, burdened by a heritage of lie, opportunism and deceit, colored by an age of defeats and frustrations.

A question such as Yemeni unity would be unquestionable thirty years ago, but in the age when heroes become criminals and vice-versa, when the intellectual can be an Arab national, a Marxist, a religious fundamentalist and new world orderist all in the same time, the rightful position is a mirage.

What I want to tell Yemeni intellectuals seeking positive Arab intellectuals' positions, is: "Save your time and effort, as dead bodies are unable to respond."

NOTE:

The numbers below are as up to-date as our records show. If your number has been changed, please call us at (268-661/2) for a correction. This is a courtesy service to our readers.



EMBASSIES & Consulates

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Accident (Traffic)	194
Fire Brigade	191
Water Problems	171
Electricity Problems	177
Telephone Enquiries	118
Aljumphury Hospital	202192/3
Athawra Hospital	246970/9
Kuwait Hospital	203282/4
Red Crescent	203131/3

Banks:	
Yemeni Banks:	
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.	01-214093

SANAA :	
1. Embassies:	
Afghanistan	217691
Algeria	209688/89
Bulgaria	208469
China	275337/340
Cuba	217304/5
Czech Republic	247946
Djibouti	245792/265469
Egypt	275948/9
Eritrea	209422
Ethiopia	208833
France	268832/3
Germany	216756/57 266873/4
Hungary	216250, 216679
India	241980/1/2
Indonesia	217388
Iran	243439/40
Iraq	216682/790
Italy	265616/73409/78846
Japan	207356/208753
Jordan	413275/6/7
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	414892
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	285865/925
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

AIR LINES

Air France	272895/6
Air India	272544
Alitalia	273655
Alyemda (HO, Aden)	231339
Alyemda (Sana'a)	203637
Austrian Airlines	272432
British Airways (Sanaa)	248151/2
British Airways (Aden)	243475
Cathay Pacific	271803
Egypt Air	275061
Ethiopian Airlines	272437
Gulf Air	265274/75, 265374
Iraqi Airlines	240091/240909
KLM	278747
Korean Airlines	272548
Kuwait Airlines	272503/4
Lufthansa	272583
Pakistan Int'l	240909/091
Royal Jordanian	275314/028
Russian Airlines	74930
Sabena	285865/925
Sudan Airways	272503-5
Swiss Air	272547
Syrian Airways	272543

Universal Travel	275028-30
Bazara Travel/Tourism	78093/270879
Ilias I. T. T.	273338/275554
Al-Nasim Travel	270750
Yemenia Branches:	
Abdul-Mughni	274803/4
Haddah	204538/550
Shauob	250833
Zubeiry	260834/5
Head Office	232381-9
Reservations	250800/1

COURIERS

Aramex / Sana'a	243.925
Aramex / Aden	255.683
Aramex / Taiz	213.489
Aramex / Hodeidah	218.168
DHL	248017-249878
Life Express	205696
Skypack	77310
American Express	272435/6

HOTELS

Sana'a (01)	
Sheraton	237500/1/2
Taj Sheba	272372/3
Aden (02)	
Movenpick	232911
Gold Mohur	221158
Hodeidah (03)	
Bristol	239197
Ambassador	231247/50
Al Burj	75852
Taiz (04)	
The Plaza Hotel	220224/26
Mareb	210350
Yazan	217997
Marib (063)	
Biquis Marib	2666-2371
Sadah (051)	
Al Mamoon	2203/2459
Mukalla (0952)	
Hadhrmaut	2060

Comment on the Feature "Democracy's Hour", Yemen Times, Volume IV, Issue No. 21 of 30/05/94

Yours is to date the only English language Newspaper in Yemen.

I understand its distribution is worldwide and thus representing a means of influencing public opinion in (your country as well as) non-Arabic speaking countries.

Therefore, you face a tremendous responsibility, and thus you are obliged to maintain utmost care that your features and reports correspond to facts. Otherwise you maybe risking losing your credibility.

The back-page feature of Yemen Times issue 21, volume IV, of May 30th through June 4th 1994 entitled "Democracy's Hour" mentions under the sub-title "The Growth of Democracies" some facts which do not correspond to reality:

Quote:
"In 1800, there was only one full democracy in the world - the USA. In 1850, it was joined by Belgium and Switzerland."

Unquote.

Switzerland (The Swiss Confederation of Cantons) was founded in the year 1291, in observance of authentic and fully democratic principles. The document of foundation written for the occasion is carefully preserved (It begins with the words "In the name of God the Almighty").

In 1991, the 700 years of existence of the Swiss Confederation was celebrated. It means that the Swiss Democracy was in full existence some 220 years before international

politics even discovered America. This democracy is maintained up to date and so God shall will for an unlimited future.

It is quite amusing to read in your article that the USA was joined as a democracy by Belgium and Switzerland in 1850.

No, Switzerland did not grow a democracy by copying the USA. It preceeded the USA by more than 500 years!

While the above facts are of limited importance for the world, for the Swiss they are of central importance.

As far as Belgium is concerned, in the 1960s the King of Belgium lost his last property in Africa, the Belgium Congo (today's Burkina Fasso).

Thanking you and Best Regards

A Swiss National
Gian Monsch.

Editor's Note:

We stand corrected in the mistakes in the above or any other of our articles. Thank you for pointing them out.

By the way, could we point to one mistake in your short letter. The former Belgian Congo is not today's Burkina Fasso. It is Zairo. Burkina Fasso is the new name of the former Upper Volta.

Thank you, once again.

The Qatalog



Yemen Update has started an extremely entertaining and informative section, entitled the Qatalog. It invites people to send information on qat which it will print as the material warrants.

It introduces the new section as follows:

"If anyone hears anything about Yemen, it is most likely to be on the subject of qat, kat, kaat, khat, and the like. This originally non-Yemeni plant, labeled by scientists as Catha edulis has left in its wake more than a modicum of interests and passionate devotion, whether you see yourself as Yemeni or not.

In this issue of Yemen Update, we begin the QATALOG, a collection of miscellaneous information related to the plant and its use. Readers are invited to send in their comments, favorite quotes on the subject, news of new references, diatribes, poetry and whatever the medium of print will bear.

"From time to time, when the material warrants, the QATALOG will appear. In the apparent absence of an on-line internet clique of qataholics, qatatonics, and qatahavesomes, this will have to do.

"Chew on, friends and foes of the elixir of paradise."

There you have it folks. Now, you can log in your qat quotes and even impressions. For those actively stimulated, the address of the editor of Yemen Update is:

Dr. Daniel Martin Varisco,
43 Mist Lane,
Westbury, NY 11590,
USA.

Phones: (516) 334-6386 (home)

(516) 463-5590 (work)

If you don't want to go the long distance way, the Sanaa director of AIYS is Dr. David War-

burton who can be reached at
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YEMENIA Resumes Flights

"Yemen Airlines has resumed regular flights - albeit on a skeleton schedule basis," said Abdullah Al-Kibsi, Commercial Manager of the airlines. Al-Kibsi indicated that Sanaa International Airport to them is safe. "There is a \$200 insurance surcharge per passenger. We hope that this will be removed soon," he said. The Commercial Manager said that the biggest hurdle facing a full resumption of services is the lack of adequate demand. "Passengers are not there to fill up an acceptable portion of the seats, and that forces us to run a skeleton schedule service. We have steady flights into Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Gulf. We also have a fortnightly flight into Europe," he added. Such services cost the company a lot because the airplanes are

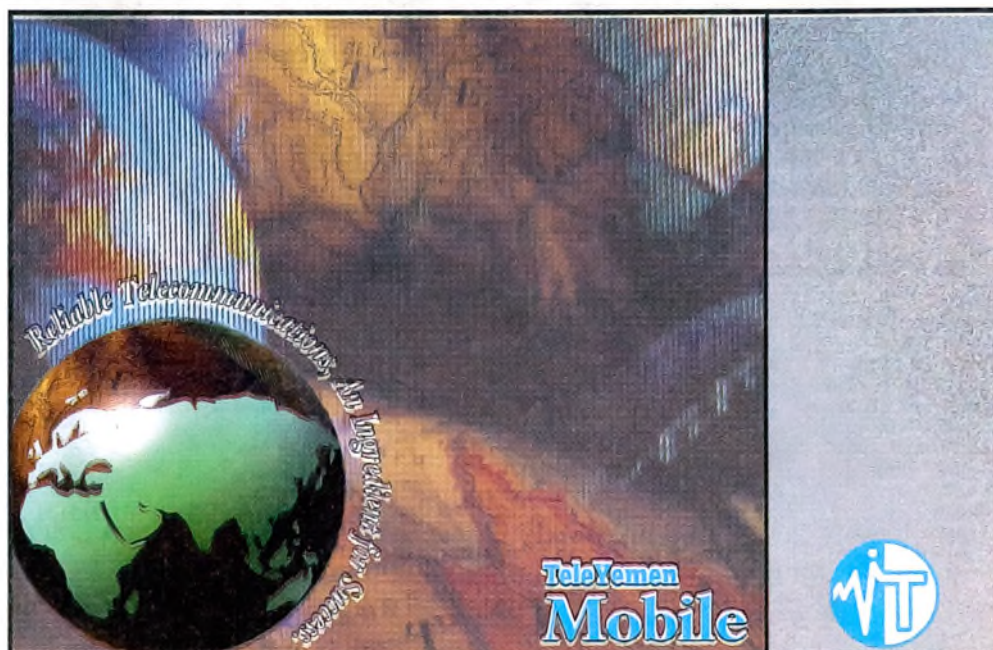


YEMENIA's Top Management from left to right:
Ameen Al-Haimi, Ahmed Kaid Barakat, Abdullah Al-Kibsi

kept at Asmara. "Whenever there is sufficient demand of Yemeni passengers stranded in any capital, we bring the airplane to Sanaa and then send it out to fetch them," he concluded. Mr. Ameen Al-Haimi, Passenger Services Manager, added that Royal Jordanian and EgyptAir have applied to resume flights to Sanaa. "They too face the sluggish market demand in going back to normal business."

Al-Haimi explained that the insurance companies - given information about violence and war - immediately raise their insurance charges. "Yemen is classified as a war zone. The insurance companies do not realize that Sanaa does not face any real risk. They work on the basis of circulars and information from the international aviation organization." "Let me point out that even during the Gulf War, we witnessed a surcharge in insurance payments because the whole region was classified as a war zone," he added.

Immediately after the war, all scheduled flights to and from Yemen were cancelled. Slowly, service was resumed on an irregular basis. The insurance surcharge which was set originally at \$400 per passenger, was now reduced by 50%. Hopefully, this surcharge will be removed altogether rather soon.



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Schedule of First Round of Football World Cup Matches

Match Date	Playing Teams (Nations)	Hosting City	Game Time (Greenwich)	Group Classification
17/6/1994	Germany-Bolivia	Chicago	19:00	C
17/6/1994	Spain - South Korea	Dallas	23:30	C
18/6/1994	USA - Switzerland	Detroit	15:30	A
18/6/1994	Columbia - Roumania	Los Angeles	23:30	A
18/6/1994	Italy - Ireland	New York	20:00	E
19/6/1994	Cameroon - Sweden	Los Angeles	23:30	B
19/6/1994	Norway - Mexico	Washington	20:00	E
19/6/1994	Belgium - Morocco	Orlando	16:30	F
20/6/1994	Brazil - Russia	San Francisco	20:00	B
20/6/1994	Netherlands - Saudi Arabia	Washington	23:30	F
21/6/1994	Germany - Spain	Chicago	20:00	C
21/6/1994	Argentina - Greece	Boston	16:30	D
21/6/1994	Nigeria - Bulgaria	Dallas	23:30	D
22/6/1994	USA - Columbia	Los Angeles	23:30	A
22/6/1994	Roumania - Switzerland	Los Angeles	20:00	A
23/6/1994	South Korea - Bolivia	Boston	23:30	C
23/6/1994	Italy - Norway	New York	23:30	E
24/6/1994	Brazil - Cameroon	San Francisco	20:00	B
24/6/1994	Sweden - Russia	Detroit	23:30	B
24/6/1994	Mexico - Ireland	Orlando	16:30	E
25/6/1994	Argentina - Nigeria	Boston	20:00	D
25/6/1994	Saudi Arabia - Morocco	New York	23:30	F
25/6/1994	Belgium - Netherlands	Orlando	16:30	F
26/6/1994	USA - Roumania	Los Angeles	20:00	A
26/6/1994	Columbia - Switzerland	San Francisco	20:00	A
26/6/1994	Bulgaria - Greece	Chicago	16:30	D
27/6/1994	Bolivia - Spain	Dallas	20:00	C
27/6/1994	Germany - South Korea	Dallas	20:00	C
28/6/1994	Russia - Cameroon	San Francisco	20:00	B
28/6/1994	Sweden - Brazil	San Francisco	20:00	B
28/6/1994	Ireland - Norway	New York	16:30	E
28/6/1994	Italy - Mexico	Washington	16:30	E
29/6/1994	Netherlands - Morocco	Orlando	16:30	F
29/6/1994	Belgium - Saudi Arabia	Washington	16:30	F
30/6/1994	Greece - Nigeria	Boston	23:30	D
30/6/1994	Argentina - Bulgaria	Dallas	23:30	D

Depending on the results of the above matches, second, third and final round elimination matches will be played until the climax of the final match to be played in Los Angeles at 19:30 (Greenwich time) on July 17th. Yemen Times will keep its readers posted on a regular basis. Be sure to cheer your favorite team.

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P. O. Box 19845

Hodeidah Branch:

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فرع صنعاء

تليفون: ٢١٣ ٦٦٢/٣/٤/٥/٦
فاكس: ٢٠٩ ٥٦٦ (٩٦٧-١)
ص ب رقم: ١٩٨٤٥

فرع الحديدة

تليفون: ٢١٧ - ٤٠٠/١/٢/٣
فاكس: ٢١١ ٨٨٣
ص ب رقم: ٤٨٩٤

فرع المكلا

تليفون: ٧٩٥ ١٢٤٩