



YEMEN TIMES



July 18th through 24th, 1994

Volume IV, Issue No. 28



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Yemen Moves to Mend Fences with the Neighbors:

Sanaa's Olive Branch to Riyadh

Sanaa is making one more try. It is offering the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia an olive branch and is asking it to "let by-gones be by-gones" and to "start a new chapter in the bilateral relations." That was the main content of a letter sent by President Ali Abdullah Saleh to Saudi Arabia's monarch, King Fahd, last week. The Saudis were caught by surprise. A victorious Sanaa is pleading with Riyadh to start a new phase in the bilateral understanding, and is offering to finalize any outstanding problems between the two sides (read = the border issue). Unlike Riyadh's position when it insisted to get its revenge on everybody it thought stood in the opposite during the Gulf War, Sanaa is willing to forgive and forget, as it seeks to establish good relations with its giant neighbors. This forgiving Sanaa position comes with the full knowledge of Saudi Arabia's strenuous efforts to dismantle Yemeni unity. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has yet to respond to the new overtures from Yemen. But most observers feel Riyadh's answer will be positive.

One of the most important signals for Saudi Arabia's intentions will come later this month. The Yemeni Socialist Party along with its partners in the self-proclaimed Yemen Democratic Republic are scheduled to meet in Jeddah on July 28th. Sanaa will watch closely this event and will take feedback regarding Saudi intentions. King Fahd must realize by now that the Yemeni file has not been properly handled. It would be advisable for the King to personally take over the Yemeni file and attend to it himself. The people who are handling the Yemeni file are still unable to absorb the changes that have taken place in Yemen, and are therefore unable to interact with the new Yemen. They still think they can have their sheikhs run their errands in Yemen. Yemen badly needs a friendly and helpful Saudi Arabia. Yemeni officials have expressed their interest in a good relationship with the kingdom. But they always hasten to warn, "Not at any price." A senior politician recently summarized Yemen's position in a neat way. "We extend our hand in friendship to

our Saudi brothers. If they don't respond, then we will simply forget it. But if they try to twist our arm, then we will fight back as ferociously as we can." Rationally, a stable and prospering Yemen is an asset to the Kingdom. If the kingdom needs to pump its oil through Yemeni territory, thus avoiding the bottlenecks at Bab Al-Mandeb or the Strait of Hormuz, Yemen has expressed willingness to talk about it. An arrangement based of a fee contract is not only acceptable, but also welcome. If the Kingdom wants to conclude a border agreement, then again, Sanaa is willing and able to entertain Saudi Arabia. The two sides can sit down and discuss the issues involved. If the Kingdom is worried about Yemeni democratization and reforms in human rights, press freedom, etc., then Yemen can offer various assurances that such efforts are to be within Yemen. Yemen is willing to discuss any points Saudi Arabia proposes. But any deal should be based on mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of the other side.

Relations with Oman Back to Special

One of the most perplexing aspects of the war in Yemen has been the position taken by the Sultanate of Oman on the Yemeni war. The Sultanate of Oman, which had enjoyed the trust and friendship of Sanaa, was seen supporting the separatist forces. It was seen just as any other country that rallied behind Saudi Arabia, thus downgrading any special ties or relations with Sanaa. Reacting to this apparent position of Oman, many people in Yemen felt frustrated. In fact, some Yemenis felt let-down. That was how it looked from Sanaa's perspective. The picture is different in Muscat. First of all, Oman like Yemen a few years ago, was a member of the Security Council, a fact which forced it to take clear-cut positions. The country had two options - to openly side with Sanaa, and thus be at loggerheads with Saudi Arabia and its other GCC partners, or to side with Riyadh and tolerate the wrath of Sanaa for the moment. It chose the second option for many far-sighted reasons, as follows:

1. By siding with Saudi Arabia and the other GCC countries, Oman had actually sided with Yemen. By having camped with Saudi Arabia, Oman played a critical role in curbing and containing Saudi Arabia's efforts at doing more damage. It was a key factor in constantly tempering and pacifying the other GCC members. For example, the Sultanate of Oman played a critical role in postponing the Gulf States' recognition of the self-proclaimed Yemen Democratic Republic, although in return, it went along with the issuance of a communique.
2. Omani officials have carried Sanaa's messages - literally as well as in the general sense - to the other Gulf states, notably Saudi Arabia. When Riyadh refused to receive Yemeni officials and did not want to listen to them, it was Muscat that carried the word.
3. Oman finally played a vital role in bringing an end to the political career of Ali Salim Al-Beedh, whose political asylum was granted only on condition that he abandon politics forever. He is stationed in Salalah. Why did the Omanis play this role? There are two main reasons:
 1. Oman has a stake in the stability of Yemen. A stable and strong Yemen is an asset to it. The two countries share a long border, which was only finalized last year by the Republic of Yemen. It does not want any complications on this count, because a new country may demand to re-negotiate the border agreement. Besides, Oman firmly believes a stable and strong Yemen is a key factor in off-setting Saudi Arabia's influence in the region.
 2. Oman had been troubled by the same YSP which sought its support against Sanaa. It is this same party which had organized and trained two guerrilla movements - one against the Sultan in Dhofar, and other against the whole Gulf region in the 1970s. Today, Oman is re-affirming its friendship and cooperation with Yemen. It has offered to return all the military hardware that was taken into Oman by the fleeing secessionist forces. It has shipped to Yemen some 100 tons of medical supplies. The partnership between the Republic of Yemen and the Sultanate of Oman is an asset to both of them. They can help each other in many ways. Both sides value highly this special relationship, and they are alert not to let anything ruin this special relationship.

Djibouti: Here Comes Al-Uzaib

Neighboring Djibouti has played a critical role in the war in Yemen. It was a key connection and trans-shipment point for the two sides, although Aden used it more often. Officially, Djibouti has remained neutral in the war. Effectively, it played a subservient role to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and hence more sympathetic to the secessionist forces. The Republic of Yemen knows the pressure that was brought to bear on little Djibouti. That is why Sanaa is offering today more strengthened relations. Towards this end, Mr. Daifallah Al-Uzaib, Deputy Minister of Foreign Minister, is on an official visit at the head of a delegation to negotiate many loose ends..

The able Al-Uzaib has already sent a thumbs up signal - mission successfully being carried out. The officials in neighboring Djibouti, given the way the war has ended, have reacted in a realistic way and have offered to do all they can to shore up relations with Yemen and to build more trust and good will. Part of this will mean to return the few gunships and patrol boats that the secessionists have taken with them to Djibouti. It is worth mentioning that some 7-8% of the population of Djibouti is of Yemeni extract. These are people who emigrated at the turn of the century. They are a bridge for cooperation and understanding between the two neighbors.

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OUR VIEWPOINT

A Keen Interest in the Future

More than at any time before, Yemenis are wondering about the future, and looking hard to determine what the coming days will bring. There is a subdued feeling of optimism as the nation feels its way and tries hard not to make grave mistakes. The mood is one of caution that has more or less killed any triumphalist behavior.

That is all very good. It is more important, however, that the system is able to work out the differences among the various actors. The welfare of the nation and its interests require that the system pursue certain visible steps. I would like to mention the following:

1. The Presidential Council has issued a comprehensive amnesty that covers everybody. The system has to make good on that, and it must stop any overzealous person or group that tries to inflict any harm on the YSP fighters and/or politicians.

2. The eyes of the world are focused on Yemen to see whether the infant democratization process, political pluralism, freedom of speech and the press, and human rights will continue to flourish. The government will do the country a service if it were to end the emergency state. It should also show more tolerance towards those who disagree with it. It is already gratifying that the government has invited an Amnesty International team to investigate the human rights situation.

3. The government must proceed with the political dialogue with the YSP in earnest, and it should seek political solutions to the differences among the various power blocs. The legitimacy bestowed on the regime by the April 27th, 1993, elections must be safeguarded, regardless of the results of the war. The war should not be a major determining factor in the relations among the power blocs.

4. The government must push for normalization of relations with Yemen's neighbors, especially the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

5. The government must penalize those who have sanctioned the looting and plundering of Aden and other cities. The city of Aden has been under the control of the government forces since Thursday, July 7th. The lawlessness that continues to haunt the city is the responsibility of the government.

6. A new mood in the relations with the opposition must prevail. In my opinion, the rulers should remember that the opposition politicians are no less patriotic than they are, and should therefore, accord them the necessary respect and role in guiding the country towards a better future.

7. The president's men, and those made in charge of ministries and public corporations, have been in the past, selected on the basis of loyalty as well as regional representation. While neither of those two elements can be discarded, it is crucial that the president's men should also be chosen on the basis of efficiency and qualifications.

I hope these are useful points to ponder for our officials in their search for a proper path for Yemen.

The Publisher
Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf

Successful Yemen Times Seminar

The Yemen Times financed and organized a successful seminar on Thursday July 14th, geared towards the future of the Republic of Yemen. Nine presentations were given, and Eighteen commentaries were made from the floor. The general discussions were reminiscent of the pre-war days when intellectuals, political scientists, politicians, diplomats, and other groups interacted freely.

The participants came from all leading parties including the PGC, Islah, YSP, Baath, the Nasserites, and other smaller opposition parties. Many independent public personalities also participated.

According to observers, this seminar will unleash other similar efforts, and it marks the beginning of a return to freedom of association and freedom of expression.

Fourteen embassies were represented, many at ambassador level. Several senior politicians, academicians, intellectuals, and local and international journalists were also present. A total of some 100 persons attended.

A summary of the seminar is given on pages 4 and 5.

As usual, the service at the Taj Sheba Hotel was outstanding.

Diplomatic Fact-Finding Mission in Aden

Six embassies in Sanaa - France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia and the United Kingdom - have sent a joint mission to investigate the situation in Aden city. According to Yemen Times sources, the governments of these embassies are uneasy about the continued looting that is going on in Aden.

The consulates of some of these embassies have also been victimized. One ambassador who is very supportive of Sanaa said, "I don't understand why they let this kind of thing go on!"

Up to-date, there is still no food and water supply, electricity, or normal life in Aden.

Interim Head of Mission at US Embassy

US ambassador to Sanaa Arthur Hughes left the country on Thursday July 14th on an extended private holiday. The Americans have sent in ambassador William A. Kirby from Washington as a temporary head of mission. He will serve in Sanaa for a little over two weeks, until Arthur Hughes returns.

According to Yemen Times sources, the Americans were anxious not to leave the embassy without an ambassador-level head of mission lest that should be construed to represent American displeasure with Sanaa.

Ambassador Rabah in Gaza

Palestinian Ambassador in Sanaa, Yahia Rabah, and his family leave this week on a vacation that will take them to their native Gaza. Yahia had left Gaza in 1966 while on a trip, but could not return because it had been occupied by Israel during the 1967 war. Now given the new peace deal, Palestinians can return home.

Visibly excited, the ambassador's expectations and feelings are profoundly deep, although somewhat mixed. When asked about his feelings, he tried hard to control his emotions, as he repeated several times, "Home, sweet home."

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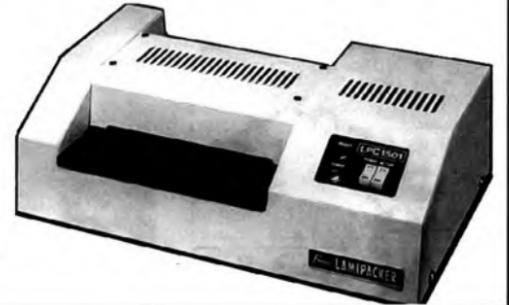
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Aden Office, Phone/Fax: + 967 (2) 345.653

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



Graphic Design & Technical Support by:
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Dutch Ambassador Bos: "Yemen will successfully work out its problems."

In about two weeks, Mr. Gijsbert J.A.M. Bos will leave Sanaa at the end of his term as ambassador of the Royal Netherlands in Yemen. He was accredited on 19/10/1991. Gijsbert, a development man, is headed as his country's next ambassador to Columbia with accreditation as non-resident ambassador to Ecuador and Panama. He had served in Latin America before. He is being replaced in Sanaa by Mr. Antonie Pijpers. On the occasion of his upcoming departure, the Yemen Times interviewed Mr. Bos.

Excerpts of the interview:

Q: Let us start with a personal question. What feelings about Yemen do you go away with?

A: I have to say that my three years in Yemen have been functionally and personally very satisfying. I hope that the Yemeni Government will have found those same years fruitful for the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries. I think of myself as a friend of Yemen.

Q: What is your assessment of the situation of Yemen today?

A: In two words, difficult, but hopeful. I think that Yemen today faces a lot of tough decisions. My government is very satisfied that the concept of unity has been preserved, but as H.E. President Saleh himself already remarked, building a unified, as well as democratic nation will be more difficult than winning the war. The political, economic, and psychological effects of the conflict will last for a while.

We all have great admiration for the Yemeni people's aspirations and courage. I also hold highly the practical and pragmatic approach they have shown regularly as a way to overcome difficulties. Therefore, I am convinced that applicable measures will be worked out to demonstrate in speedy and practical ways that the victory of unity will be beneficial to Yemeni society as a whole.

Q: What you are saying is that the country needs a leadership of vision?

A: Yes, vision that the leadership of the country has already shown over the years. For example, the way unity was achieved in 1990, the constitution approved in 1991, and the elections held in 1993, testify to such great vision. And I congratulate the political leadership also for its insight in what is additionally important now: the flushing out of the concepts like unity and democracy into every day realities. By this I mean that it is not only important to have formally available the instruments to better the political and social environment of daily life, but that it is even more satisfying to use these instruments in a very recognizable way in all the structures and at all levels of government and society.

Taking the government's declaration of July 7th as a starting point of a new era, I happily observe the Yemeni political leadership is willing to walk that difficult but responsible road.

Q: What are the chances that Yemen's democratization process will work, in your opinion?

A: I note that Yemeni citizens as far as I have met them are not as light-hearted as one would have



expected in view of the military victory of unity. I think this is due to the wisdom of those who are seriously thinking about Yemen's future and how to help shape it. Let us be candid, there are formidable questions to tackle in all possible fields of administration, internal and external relations.

All the same, I am not pessimistic on the chances of Yemen's democratization process. The political will and the quality of the leadership have both been demonstrated. Of course, it will be a long and difficult internal process, with many pitfalls yet to overcome. I am sure that the international friends will follow that process constructively, feeling free to criticize if necessary. Your Dutch friends will do the same, never forgetting however, that it took our society hundreds of years to develop our democratic society of today. I am sorry that Yemen will not have that time. It has put itself courageously and very much in the spotlight of international attention as a forerunner of democratization of the Peninsula.

Q: Bilateral relations between our two countries have been good. Can you elaborate on this?

A: Yes, I am happy to note that the relations between our countries have traditionally been excellent and constructive. The recent drawn-out hostage taking of my three compatriots has even strengthened our mutual respect and friendship, thanks to the great care and responsibility with which HE President Saleh and the authorities handled and solved the case. It is true that for the Dutch people, Yemen has lost its romantic image of "unspoiled innocence". The coincidence of the civil war and the hostage taking has had its impact on Dutch public opinion. I think that is good. That more realistic image of your country invites even greater admiration for the courageous decision of the Yemeni leadership and people towards a unified and democratic future, while at the same time sharpening our awareness of the difficulties that confront Yemen on that road. If Yemen continues to develop in that way, my government will continuously support its endeavours, in a concrete way, through our development cooperation activities.

Q: What is the annual aid package allocated by the Netherlands to Yemen?

A: The Netherlands has roughly available 26 million USD in donations every year. We have

a target-oriented program which tries to help the least-privileged communities in your society. That is why our orientation is towards women, agriculture, water, basic education, primary health care, etc. I hope that our activities are and will stay effective in their intended support of the programs of the Yemeni government in those fields. I have been extremely satisfied with our cooperation with the Ministry of Planning and Development.

When I arrived here in 1991, on average some USD 5 million could not be spent each year because of all kinds of bottlenecks. The Ministry of Planning and Development has been able to very constructively overcome those problems and since last year, we are easily spending the total budget available. My great compliments.

Q: Do you have any special program associated with the UNDP call for emergency aid because of the war?

A: The Netherlands government has studied or is studying the possible contributions through UNDP, WHO, ICRC, UNICEF, and CARE International. I expect some USD 3 million will be made available within the emergency package.

Q: What is your view of the Yemen Times?

A: I admire the paper. It is a respectable paper and an important source of information and analysis for the international community. Even then, you know I do not spare you some criticism on a very few flare-up articles.

It is a great pity that there is no Arabic version of the paper, for Yemeni readership as a whole. I think that the paper is patriotic, independent, and therefore, does a lot of service to shape public information inside and outside Yemen. I hope that you and the other editors will be able to keep up the good work.

Q: Any last comments?

A: Yemen is a country that is not endowed with many natural facilities. Its people are its major assets, and, just as in the Netherlands, its main source of strength and development. I hope that Yemeni society in peace will specially bank on its people to make its ambitious aspirations a reality. I reserve my very best wishes for success in that direction.

Last, I feel very privileged to have served in your country and I thank all the many Yemeni friends who have been responsible for this feeling at home in your society.

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"Yemen Needs

Ahmed Al-Wadei on "The Reconciliation Process."

Let me start by pointing out that the war was fought under the catching of slogan of "Preserving the Unity." In addition, the campaign that accompanied the war made it more of a popular choice than a political decision taken by the rulers. Now, it is over, but what next?

It is crucial that the war victorious forces - the PGC and Islah - do not treat the YSP from that perspective. Nor shall the YSP be made to bear the burden of the consequences of the war. Let me suggest the following specific steps:

- To stop any efforts that seek to put the blame on this or that party for having started or caused the war. Because at this stage, no objective assessment will not be possible in this biased environment.
- To change the media tone and political orientation from a war-orientation to one oriented towards the development effort.
- To mobilize popular participation in the development process, especially in reducing the military overtones and returning Yemen to the civilian pace.
- To work quickly towards the issue of the local government law, and to define the authorities and responsibilities of each organ.
- To start the implementation of the Pledge and Accord Document.

- To allow the YSP to resume its normal political role within the legal framework.

- To rebuild the armed forces within a national perspective and to fight against the hegemony and dominance of certain tribes or regions.

- To initiate efforts to work out a development plan according to which investments from the government and other sources are channelled.

- To form a national unity government that is broad-based and that will be responsible for healing the wounds and other differences through a national reconciliation effort.

It is evident that there is enormous need for change at a very deep level. In addition, there is need for a different yardstick and vision through which people and ideas are to be measured.

Today, there is a unified leadership, although there are two parties at the helm of power. That is why it would not be possible to throw responsibility on the other side for any shortcomings. If the Islah and PGC decide to retain power among themselves and exclude the YSP, we urge them not to engage in partitioning of the government posts among their followers only. It would be a grave mistake to repeat the mistake that was committed by the PGC and YSP upon unification.

At the external level, it is not in the interest of the country to be involved in regional and international power blocs and cartelization. The country should stay clear from any groupings, and it should try to maintain cordial, or at least correct, relations with all countries, especially our neighbors. There must be a certain degree of balanced and far-sighted policies in interacting with the countries of the Arabia Peninsula.

Yemen is at crossroads. We are lucky to have the chance to start all over again.

* Lawyer and Public Personality.

Abdullah Al-Thaifani on "The Pledge & Accord Document"

I would like to limit my presentation to four aspects:

1. The Reconciliation Process:

Yemen has witnessed in its recent history many reconciliation efforts. In the past, reconciliation was limited to make-up efforts among belligerents. But that did not lead to national-building. So what we need today is a reconciliation of a different kind. One that would lead to rational choices and nation-building.

2. Intermediaries:

The traditional intermediaries are unable to play the role of bridging the gap. Often these have failed because they did not take the interests of the country in mind, and thus were not based on values, principles and objectives that serve the nation. They were based on bridging the demands of the various parties.

3. What is the Answer?

The real answer is to reconcile oneself to the truth and the interests of the nation. That requires an objective assessment of the previous period in order to ascertain the merit and demerits of the country since its unity. In other words, we have to evaluate the Unity State.

4. The Pledge and Accord Document:

That is why I think the Pledge and Accord Document is the most appropriate vehicle for building the new Yemen. I have many reasons to believe that the document is still viable, and they are:

- a) All political parties and forces have agreed to it.
- b) It is not a sentence between two or more parties, but it is a national perspective. Neither is the document self-limiting in that it does not say that if the war starts, then the document is nullified.
- c) The document embodies two sets of components:

i- the national parameters which have been repeated and re-enforced by the statements of the Presidential Council.

ii- the foundations for building a new and modern state. These are the very foundations needed to build a new Yemen, which is a long-term effort.

President Ali Abdullah Saleh has often mentioned the need for local government, freedom of the press and speech, pluralist political system, human rights, etc., which are all important ingredients in the Pledge and Accord Document. That is why I do not think we need a new vehicle or base, but we need to return to the document.

We conclude to a picture of the war. One party has been force to leave the country, but lives a comfortable life. The other victorious party is in Yemen, but Also lives a comfortable life. But the agony and suffering is the destiny of the people many of whom are today maimed and crippled. We also have a nation that is burdened in more than one way.

What the country needs today is for the politicians to reconcile with this citizen and this nation, and to fulfill the many promises already made.

* Chairman, Researchers' Syndicate, and Assistant Secretary-General of the National Forces Union

Abdullah Sallam Al-Hakimi* on "The Democratic Angle to Yemen's Transformation Process":

In the beginning, let me express optimism with the Yemen Times regarding the future. I read that optimism from the very title of this seminar.

The war is over. Let me describe the war as a violent dialogue, while we are now back to the low-level dialogue. The politicians have now returned to the negotiation table.

The basic ingredient for democracy is tolerance, and the most important vehicle for interaction is to logically (or otherwise) try to convince the other side. We have had more than our share of underground political activities, and we have had more than our share of violent politics. Is it now time to put down our arms and talk about we have in mind. I know leading Yemeni politicians who still believe the multi-party political and plural systems are a Western invention which should be fought.

I know many politicians who still talk with their hands, even on the simplest topics. There are others who are ready to accuse their adversaries of being agents of other countries.

These models are of individuals and groups who get lost in a democracy. The only chance they have is by getting rid of their rival or competitors, or at best by discrediting them. If they have the money, the military power, and the influence, they do obliterate their competitors who may not have those facilities.

The only thing that could save the country from a re-run of the recent events is a true democracy which is governed by laws and regulations. We do not need to re-invent the wheel, we can learn from the experiences of other countries: The basic condition, however, is that we are willing and able to learn and force our politicians to learn.

For democracy to flourish, three factors are necessary:

- 1- A public that interacts in politics and that is willing to be involved.
- 2- Law and order which leads to safety and security for all.
- 3- A continuously growing economy which offers the minimum of job opportunities and other amenities.

I think Yemen can make a democracy. We are not yet a democracy, we are a democratizing country. The point is that we have to work hard to enlarge the class of people who have a built-in interest in a democratic set-up, and who are willing to fight for it.

The intellectual and urban middle class can play a leading role in this.

* Member of Ittihad Al-Qiwa Al-Sha'abiyah, and diplomat at the Foreign Ministry.

Policies to heal its Wounds."

Ahmed Al-Wadei on "What Next?"

I am happy on behalf of Yemen Times to welcome you to this seminar. At the outset, let me state that one of the purposes for us to sponsor such a gathering of minds is to initiate popular dialogue and to re-activate public interest in politics. We are also interested in bringing all political colors to a round-table and exchange viewpoints in a civil way. As a leading opinion-forming organ, the Yemen Times launches this effort with seven presentations on different scenarios and visions of the future. Before giving the floor to the speakers, however, I would like to jot down a few points of my own.

It is interesting that some a quarter of a century ago, Yemen witnessed the "Seventy Day Siege" of Sanaa. That was the culmination point of an attempt to root out the Republic and Revolution. Recently, we had the "Seventy-Day War" which was the culmination point of an attempt to disengage the unity of the country. The military victory of Sanaa has guaranteed the unity of the nation. So, here we are today, discussing how to go about the arrangements that will best serve this nation. Let me warn against three faults in the current trend of reasoning and thinking:

1. National Reconciliation:

There is a definite need for national reconciliation. To me, however, national reconciliation does not mean to reconcile the parties that have fought against each other. To me, national reconciliation means that each politician, military commander, political party, group or tribe must reconcile itself with the nation and its interests. If national reconciliation simply means to patch up differences among former antagonists, then we have a conceptual problem.

2. The Quota System:

This country is steadily moving towards a quota system in the distribution of top state positions. We should fight against this kind of quota system. Why should the president be from a certain tribal or regional background? Why should the prime minister be a southerner? Why should the defence minister, etc.?

3. Unilateral Hegemony:

If you look around in Sanaa today, you will see that there is only one current. Any one who deviates is crushed. This is a dangerous situation, and we should not succumb to this hegemony and one-sided domination. The nation needs all the views to be aired - within the national parameters. People should feel comfortable speaking their dialects, wearing their regional clothes, and acting according to their parochial behavior, without being belittled or singled out. All of us should feel equal.

Political, military, social, economic, cultural or other forms of hegemony and domination are time-bombs. The suppressed people are only waiting to revolt against such circumstances.

What Next?

Over the last few days, I have been reviewing the recent history of our country. I found that in 1982, President Ali Abdullah Saleh had pushed the idea of a "Marshal Plan" entitled the "Grand Crusade" in order to promote socio-economic development. I was pleasantly surprised that in one year, over 320 schools were built. Then there was the "Year of Agriculture" in which major strides were made. Then there was the "Year of the Dam", and so on. I think Yemen today needs a similar impetus.

In our new arrangements, certain parameters and guidelines have become important. These include democracy, multi-party politics, freedom of the press and expression, safe-guarding human rights and general liberties, local government, market-based economic policies, etc.

Finally, let me stress the role of the intellectual and educated class. Yemen has over 1000 persons with PhDs, several thousand with MAs, and tens of thousands of people with BAs. Where are these? I am sure they can help enlighten the general population, and even lead the transformation process. But that is totally up to them. They can sit and watch others change the nation, or they can contribute to this change.

Mohammed Abdo Saeed on "The Coming Role of Businessmen":

In modern societies, the role of the business class in public life has increased tremendously. The input of the businessmen and women in social and political transformation is just an extension of their role in transforming agricultural societies into industrial ones.

Here in Yemen, this role is not yet fully evolved, partly because we are at a very early stage of our transformation process. Let me add another reason. The authoritarian rule in both Sanaa and Aden in the recent past has been an obstacle in the way of a larger role for the entrepreneur and business class. Not only that, but the rulers have often used the media to create a lot of mistrust around the intentions and patriotism of this class, thus further reducing its role. Even as our country moves on its democratization path, I have no doubt that the authoritarian mentality and approach will continue to prevail, and they will definitely affect the potential role of business class.

Even then, let me point to three sectors in which we as businessmen are likely to play a larger role in shaping the future of this country and in guiding its policies:

1. Economic Policies:

In theory, our system is based on market mechanisms, but we know there are many political snags and bureaucratic hurdles. Businessmen must push hard to reduce the level of political and bureaucratic influence in the workings of the economy. By liberating the economic decision from the political and bureaucratic vagaries, we can have an economy that is more efficient and that reacts faster to opportunities. This will make the rate of job-creation higher, thus helping society at large.

2. Social Policies:

Businessmen and women could influence social values enormously by interacting with the new players in this sectors. For example, through philanthropic contributions, we could influence the efforts of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other voluntary and welfare organization. We can help sports clubs, literary forums and research institutes, by bank-rolling some of their activities.

3. Political Policies:

Political conditions have a direct bearing on economic possibilities. Therefore, businessmen cannot be totally outside the political arena because it affects their very livelihood and well-being. It is in this light that I urge business people to form their own lobby or power bloc so as to interact effectively with politicians.

The future of Yemen must be shaped by all Yemenis. Businessmen and women have an important role to play.

Dr. Bilquis Al-Hadhrani on "The Coming Role of Women in Public Life":

There are still many Yemenis who do not see a role for women outside the home, but they are, by now, a minority. Most Yemenis accept that women can and must play an effective role in public life. The recent events have shown the enormous contribution of women to the war effort. But let me start from the traditional role of women - inside the home.

At home, women can play an important role in better management of the family resources and in reducing total demand. This is critical because the country is unable to pay for its astronomical import bill. Women can also play an important role in checking compliance to prices, given their frequent interaction with the market.

But now let me go beyond that traditional family role. When women are educated, they no longer should accept to take the back seat and let the men decide everything. In today's Yemen, a third of the total three-million student population are females, and these will demand a place for themselves in public life. In a democratizing Yemen, every person counts and women are technically the majority. The role of Yemeni women in the 21st century is indeed an enormous one, and we will do well to prepare ourselves for it.

Dr. Abdulaziz Al-Tareb on "Needed Administrative Reforms & Re-Structuring":

The key words in forming the new Yemen are re-structuring and re-organization. That is also going to be the secret of our success or failure in creating the new nation we all aspire for.

Most observers will agree that the most critical problem facing our society today is one of management. Unless we are better able to manage our resources and administrative organs, the development process risks running aground. But what kind of reforms do we need? Let me point to three broad categories.

1. Decentralization:

Under whatever guise, this country has developed a highly centralized form of administration. For any purpose, one needs the signature of the big boss, often several times. This aspect is deadly if the formality has to come from a far-away region. For example, the employment of an office cleaner at Al-Mahara will require doing paperwork in Sanaa. That may take weeks and even months, and may at the end be refused. The country badly needs delegation of authority and decentralization. This can be achieved through the local government or administration being investigated for implementation at the moment.

2. Right Person, Right Job:

Assigning the right person for the right job is a vital element in our reform package. In the past, senior officials were looking for (politically and economically) loyal people. Often these are unable to do the job assigned to them, and hence the problems. Politicization of the government bureaucracy has been a major mistake. Through the slogan of "Right Person for the Right Job" we must work to minimize the bureaucratic nightmare of this country.

3. Accountability:

An important factor in doing one's work properly is the issue of accountability. If people are held accountable for what they do (or for what they should do), then responsibility could be pinned down more accurately. Officials should be held responsible for their decisions in an attempt to weed out corruption and inefficiency. The loss and waste due to lack of accountability is large.

In my opinion, those three elements are crucial in the arrangements we are entertaining in the near future.

Yahia Abdul-Raqeeb on the "Relations between the Media and the State.":

No one would disagree that the media played a very negative role over the last four years since unification. In fact, it can be said that the media is partly responsible for the political crisis.

Let me start by pointing to the functions of the media. The media is supposed to inform, educate and carry over socio-cultural values from one generation to another, and entertain. There are five factors that affect the media in carrying out those functions. The financial and economic situation of the medium (newspaper, radio, TV, etc.), political stability and freedom, the degree of security that the reporter and citizen feel, the level of education, and the clustering of the media in certain urban centers.

In our country, there are two major faults in the way that the media has been carrying out its duties.

The first is that the reporters are oriented towards the politicians. In other words if the rulers are pleased with what they do, then their work is done. They do not feel an obligation to the audience. This has to change if the media is to gain any decency and credibility.

The second is that all kinds of media are forever in deficit and need to be subsidized by the politicians. Thus they all lose their independence and objective handling of the issues. With the singular exception of the Yemen Times, which has from the beginning decided to raise its financial needs through the market by working on its circulation and advertisement base, no newspaper, radio station or TV in Yemen can make ends meet without the subsidy. Hence the bias in reporting. Again this has to change. Economic viability has to be a basic factor in media activities.

Comments from the Floor

Ali Mohammed Mohsen:*

I heard about this seminar in Aden, and I hurried to Sanaa to participate in it as it is the first public effort (after the war started) at coming to grips with political differences through dialogue.

The war has destroyed a lot, and it has added to the already unbearable burden of Yemen. The damage in Aden is especially shocking - several factories have been set on fire, homes and offices have been plundered, infrastructure has been destroyed, and above all, the war has created a new emotional and psychological trauma.

In the past, an over-centralized form of government has blocked any meaningful work. In the future, this has to change. In the past, old faces continued to occupy all the important government positions. In the future, this has to change. Many things have to change to build a better future.

Let me conclude by pointing to the agony of the people of Aden. People with vengeance dating back to decades are unleashed today. Why?

* Intellectual from Aden, and Director at the Central Bank of Yemen.

Dr. Mohammed Saeedi:*

As Dr. Abdulaziz Saqqaf rightly indicated, our success in economic development will go a long way to help achieve the political transformation we aspire for. In the past, the balancing act of the politicians has greatly weakened the state. Tribal considerations, party affiliations, and many other factors were involved in the decision-making process, often at the expense of efficiency and productivity.

In my opinion, Yemen is truly unified only after the war. This fact also allows the government to take in the most efficient among Yemenis so that a government of technocrats least beholden to politics can manage the public affairs. Government posts should not be a bounty or booty for politicians to divide among themselves. They should be based on qualifications.

In short, the problem of development in Yemen is the preponderant dominance of politics on the economic and business decisions.

* Vice Chairman of Free Zones Public Authority, and Member of PGC.

Dr. Sadiq Shayif:*

In the beginning, it is important to define those parties responsible for the mess we are in today. In my opinion, all political forces - in varying degrees - are responsible.

If I were I were to pin down the root-cause of our difficulties, I would say it was the April 27th, 1993, elections. Each of the three leading parties was given a sphere of influence in which it could do "whatever" it wanted to make its candidate win. Thus there were many violations and irregularities, which were conveniently overlooked.

That is why when the YSP leadership did not want to be held to the election results because they are a forgery, I knew what they were talking about, although they did not openly state their case.

I am aware of the problems we have inherited from our past, and that they catch up with us, in spite of our best intentions. But, we should face these problems and address them courageously if we do not want any more wars and crises.

* Associate Professor at Sanaa University (Faculty of Law), and Public Personality.

Ms. Lubnah Al-Musaibly:*

The war has left us with a class of crippled and maimed people. This a dangerous and heavy burden. But at least people, especially those in power, see this problem.

Let me invite you to the misery of a less vocal and less visible group - the children of Yemen. The fate of our children is increasingly precarious, especially those in Aden. Unfortunately, the needs of our children are the first to be by-passed during the maneuvering over the budget. I am worried this will mean less resources available for our children.

When the tally of this war is taken, we may discover that children will have probably suffered more than any other group. That is why I think a special effort must be made to help them. This will not come from magic wand, but it will require a concerted plan of action.

The future of Yemen is in making sure that our children are well taken care of.

* Teaching Assistant at Sanaa University, and Member of the PGC.

Malaria's Heavy Toll on Patients

By: Dr. Abdul-Latif Molan,
 Chairman,
 Department of Parasitology,
 Faculty of Medicine,
 Sanaa University.



Malaria is a disease which has been reported several millennia in the history of humanity. Egyptian papyri of around 1500 BC mentioned its symptoms. Hippocrates in about 400 BC gave an accurate description of the disease.

However, it was not until 1880 that the causative organisms were first seen and described by the French military doctor Alphonse Laveran (working in Algeria). Although Laveran suggested that mosquitoes might transmit the infection, another seventeen years were to elapse before this was first demonstrated by Ronald Ross using malaria of birds.

In 1898, an Italian group led by Battista Grassi transmitted human malaria to a volunteer, and the life cycle in the vector insect and in human erythrocytes was elucidated. The causative agents are single-celled protozoan parasites of the genus plasmodium. Four species infect man - *P. falciparum* throughout tropical Africa, Asia and Latin America; *P. vivax* in tropical zones worldwide and in some temperate areas; *P. ovale* mainly in tropical West Africa; and *P. malariae* worldwide but very focal in distribution.

The estimated number of infected people worldwide is 270 million, and the estimated number of clinical cases is 110 million, yielding an estimated mortality of 1-2 million persons per year,

while the number of people at risk is 2100 million.

Malignant tertian malaria, produced by *P. falciparum* is so called because the fever occurs every third day and the infection is more serious. The deadliness of the disease caused by this species is closely related to the fact that parasites may occur in the circulation in very large numbers because they readily invade red blood cells of all ages, and also to the peculiar distribution of the infected cells in the blood system. Moreover, in *falciparum* infection, there is a tendency for more than one parasite, frequently several, to develop in a single red blood cell. This is two or three asexual cycles, the number of infected red cells quickly reaches a dangerous threshold, often without the production of the typical chill followed by a fever.

In addition, erythrocytes containing *P. falciparum* parasites tend to band together or adhere to one another and to the lining of the blood vessels. This phenomenon, called cyto-adherence and which is not found in other types of malaria, causes blockage of blood capillaries in vital areas such as the brain, lungs and kidneys, and toxic products interfere with oxygen utilization by the host cells.

There is one more complication. The incubation period is shortest in *falciparum* malaria. The last few days of the incubation period may be marked by prodromal symptoms of non-specific type: headache, photophobia, muscle aches and pains, anorexia, nausea, and sometimes vomiting. The malarial paroxysm is typically ushered in with sudden shaking chill, or rigor. This may continue for up to 10-15 minutes. During this stage, the patient complains of extreme cold, although in fact the temperature is elevated at the onset and rises during the period of the chill.

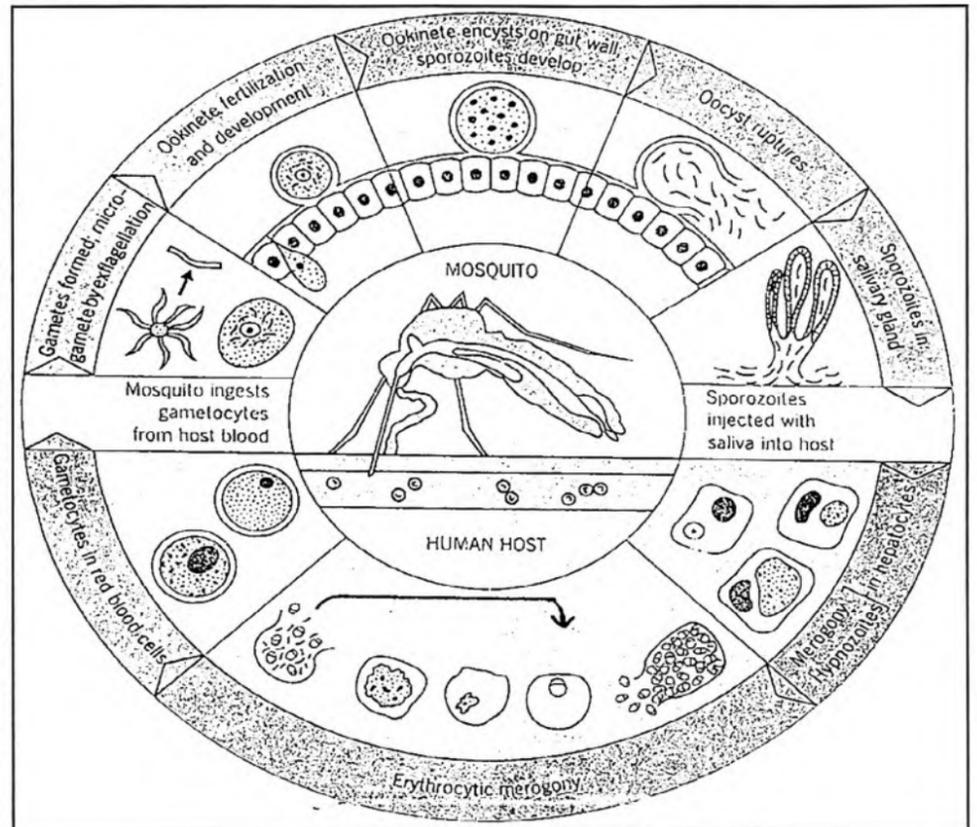
The hot stage follows the cold without respite, and the patient who a few moments before was huddled under a pile of blankets now throws them off. The skin, pale and cyanotic in the cold stage, becomes flushed.

Following the hot stage, the patient starts to sweat profusely and usually begins to feel better. The sweating stage may last several hours; at its end, the patient is usually weak, exhausted and tends to fall asleep. Upon awakening, the temperature is normal or only slightly subnormal, and the patient usually feels quite well, until the onset of the next paroxysm which, in case of *falciparum* malaria, may only be a matter of a very few hours.

The patient is frequently agitated and may be restless, disoriented, or even delirious or comatose and may die within a few hours.

The last few hours of the patient may be the most painful. Because of the cytoadherence mentioned earlier, the flow of normal blood cells is impaired (sludge blood), hemostasis occurs, and thrombi develop.

Developing pressure within the vascular bed may lead to rupture of weak spots in the walls with petechial hemorrhages. Tissue



anoxia and electrolyte imbalance take place in many organs of the body, and death is caused by interference with the normal functioning of the vascular system, not by toxic products produced by the parasites.

The most dramatic changes may be seen in the brain. Grossly the brain shows punctiform hemorrhages in the subcortical areas, while the gray matter, as a whole, is grayish and there are hemorrhagic spots speckled

throughout the white matter. Glial cells, clustered around a central focus of degeneration, present granuloma-like appearances called malaria granulomas. The most important complication of *falciparum* infection are cerebral malaria, anemia, renal disease, blackwater fever, dysentery, pulmonary edema, and tropical splenomegaly syndrome.

Yemen is one of the developing countries which is plagued by

malaria. This is true, especially along the coastal stretches of the Tihama, and the marshlands of the lower slopes. Of the reported infection cases, 95% is accounted for by *P. falciparum*. The government, supported by the World Health Organization efforts as well as by bilateral and multi-lateral aid programs, has done a lot to help control malaria in Yemen. Even then, however, a lot more work needs to be done.

إعتذار

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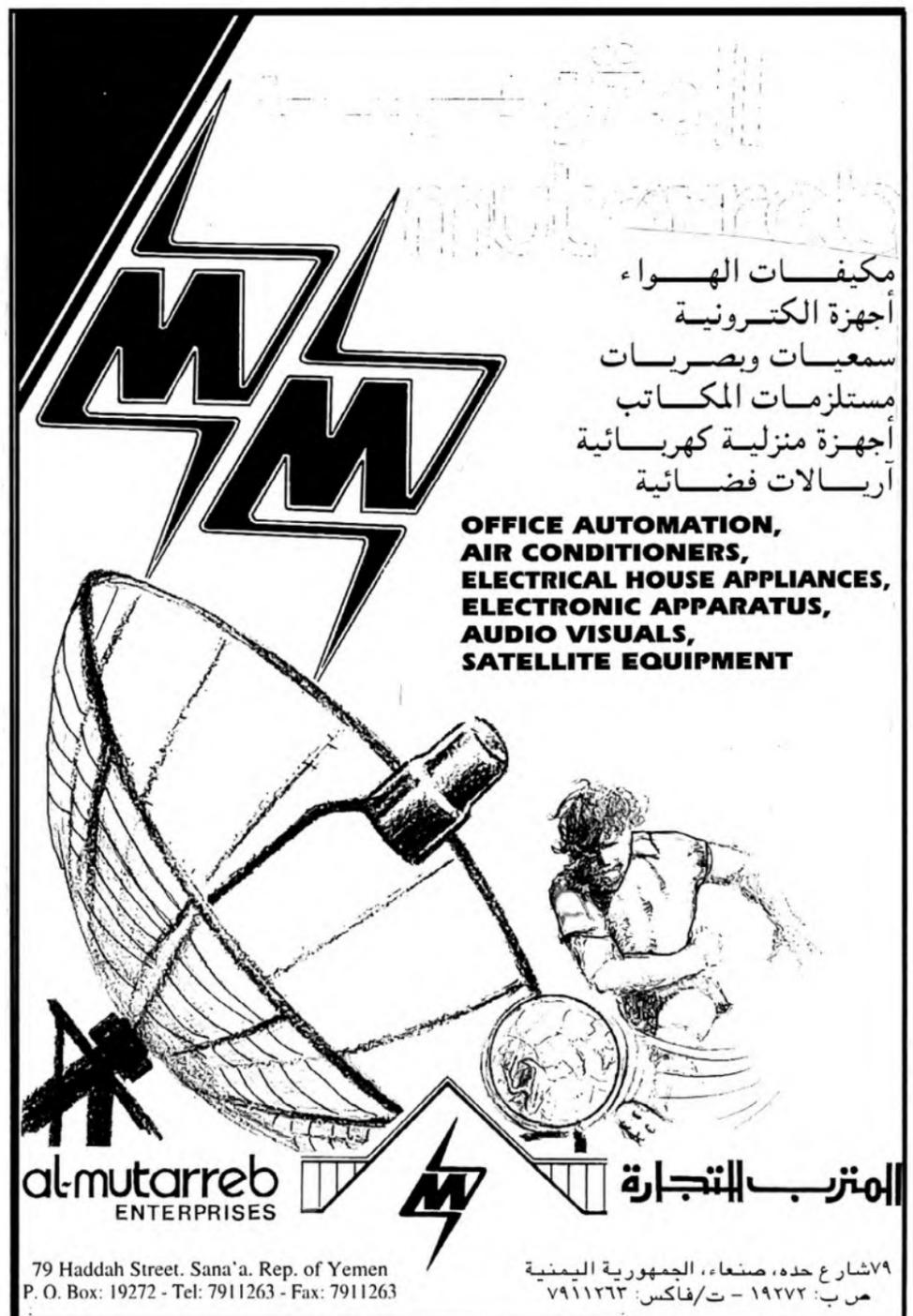


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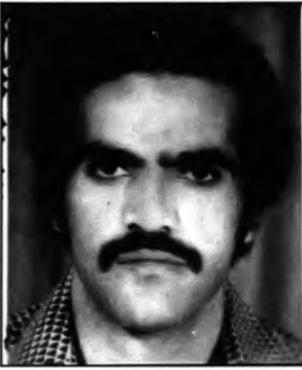
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The Terrorist in Washington

Bob Woodward is an American journalist and writer who is very famous. His first jump to fame came when, along with a colleague, he revealed the Watergate scandal, which toppled the late President Richard Nixon from office. Mr. Woodward also later revealed the Contra scandal in Nicaragua. Testimony by McFerral, Cassey, Coliver North and others confirmed the allegations of this investigative reporter.



Now, Bob Woodward has issued a new book about the Gulf War. The book gives many details and secret before and after the war. It highlights the roles of George Bush, Mohammed Hosni Mubarak, Saddam Hussain, King Fahd, and other key individuals involved in the crisis and war.

As part of the style of the writer, he goes into great length to describe the personalities and characters of the individuals. He even goes into their hobbies, side interests, and many other facets of their lives which offer interesting aspects of the way they do things.

One key character detailed in the book is Prince Bandar Bin Sultan, the Saudi Ambassador in Washington. The book describes the many meetings of the prince with American officials and officers, and highlights their impressions of the Saudi prince. That makes for really interesting reading.

The thing that attracted me most is the relations of the ambassador with the under-

ground world. He is reported to have strong links with crime syndicates, mafias, and many other shady organizations.

The writer gives an example of the Saudi prince's involvement in international terrorism. One instance reports that the Saudi prince financed the attempted murder of a Middle Eastern personality in Beirut. A bomb was planted somewhere along the street and was remotely detonated while the target was passing. The book reports fifteen innocent by-standers were killed, while the target himself escaped injury.

I was shocked to learn that the nation (USA) which proclaims to hunt down terrorists all over the world, itself harbors in its capital a well-known terrorist. Moreover, it is unnerving that the nation which presumably is the guardian of the two holiest shrines of Islam should have a terrorist as ambassador.

Oh God, what hypocrisy and what blasphemy!

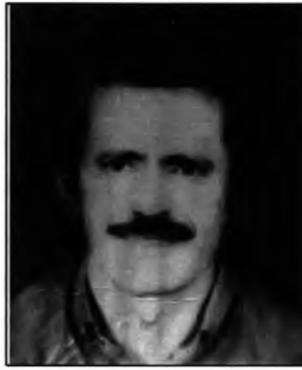
By: Abdullah A. Hassen, Dhamar

ALYEMDA: Task of Regrouping

Mr. Saeed Naji Salim, Acting Chairman and General Manager of Yemen Airlines (ALYEMDA), is busy these days trying to regroup the fleet of the company from numerous countries and start operations.

"You see, in the recent past, the airplanes were used by the secessionist officials to fly from one capital to another in their political maneuvering. The Mukalla airport was used as the base for their operations and flights. No services were available for the citizens," he said.

As a result, the airplanes are scattered in numerous airports. A Boeing 707 is in Cairo, and the company is expecting to retrieve it any time soon. Another Boeing 707 is in Aden, where it was under check-up and maintenance. An Airbus 310 and a Boeing 737 are at Sharjah Airport, and another



Boeing 737 is at Abu Dhabi Airport. The two Dash planes are in Al-Ghaidhah and Aden airports.

"Through our ministry of foreign affairs, we have been in touch with the embassies of the countries where these planes are stranded, and we are working to retrieve them. Already, the Egyptian author-

ities have authorized the return of our Boeing 707 plane," explained the Alyemda official. "As soon as the 707 plane returns, we will start services, most probably in cargo shipments."

Mr. Saeed confirmed that most of the employees and technical personnel of the company are at work and that they were exerting exceptional efforts to bring the company back on its feet.

In a change of policy, the Alyemda official stressed that the company will work closely with the other national carrier - YEMENIA - "with the purpose of maximum exploitation of the joint capabilities for the service of the customers." One example of the new spirit of coordination and cooperation between the two national carriers is to operate on a joint schedule,

exchange of technical expertise, and the full use of the resources available at the disposal of the two companies.

The Alyemda official, who has a BA in aviation/mechanical engineering, is an old hand in the airlines business. He first joined the aviation industry in 1965, and he is one of the founders of Alyemda on March 13th, 1971.

"I feel, in cooperation with YEMENIA, we will represent the new Yemen properly and fully. We shall work together to develop the tourism and air cargo industries. We have a lot of high hopes and ambitions, and it is up to us to make them happen," he said.

"In conclusion, I would like to use this opportunity to thank Yemeni ambassadors Luqman (Cairo) and Al-Khawi (Abu Dhabi) for their assistance."



Real Entrepreneurs

Many people go through life wishing to be someone else, or that they were doing something else. Most people have a continuing desire to change various things in their lives, but few take action in this regard. Those few are entrepreneurial because they take advantage of opportunities to improve their lives. Having positive attitudes and a healthy self-image are essential for all entrepreneurs.



The term entrepreneur is commonly associated with a commercial context, but the wider definition is not so limited. Enterprising attributes may be applied to private, public and voluntary sectors. I would not seek to make a distinction between the entrepreneur in a large company or a bureaucratic institution.

Governments around the world have become less interventionistic and are adopting a more "hands-off" approach to economic policies. This approach can be seen as having been promoted by Reaganomics and Thatcherism. Indeed, the policies pursued under Reagan and Thatcher fostered an entrepreneurial society in their respective countries, and which later, spilled over to the rest of the world.

A typical example of British entrepreneurs is the ruler of the Virgin Airline, Record and Entertainment Businesses, Mr. Richard Branson. The origin of the company goes back to 1970 when Mr. Branson established a business specializing in the sale of popular records by mail order. The first Virgin shop was

opened in London in 1971. By the end of 1973, a record company, a music publishing company, a recording studio operation, and an export company had been added. By the end of 1979, the Virgin Record Company had a growing share in the UK and world markets.

Branson then moved to challenge the monopolies of the major airlines on the world's most profitable routes. He initiated a cut-price transatlantic flight service which has caught the giant companies. In that, he holds to his basic beliefs in youth, controlling costs, and entrepreneurship. His style of managing people is quite unique. Although he is not highly educated, Branson adopts a modern style of management based on intuition and risk-taking.

Although Branson is the strategic leader and the entrepreneurial force of the Virgin, the company is today headed by a team of young and capable men and women who head the various divisions and departments.

By the late 1980s, Richard Branson had not only taken Virgin into share-holding public ownership, but then had the audacity to buy it back.

Another example of true entrepreneurs and business leaders is Anita Roddick. Ms. Anita is the founder and managing-director of The Body Shop.

In 1976, Anita opened her first shop in Britain, offering natural skin and hair products. By the early 1990s, Ms. Roddick was in control of a company with over \$30 million in annual profits, has over 600 shops, and employs over 2000 persons worldwide.



Speaking about her success, she says it is all due to energy and curiosity.

Real entrepreneurs are people with an unsatiable ambition, and people who are willing to sweat it out to achieve those ambitions. The one over-riding factor in the success of entrepreneurs is hard work - lot of hard work.

By: Abdul Hakim Kaid, Hodeidah.

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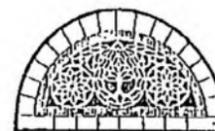
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A Politico-Military Analysis of the Transformation of a Political Party:

The Future of the YSP

Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf,
Chief Editor,
Yemen Times.

The most troubling aspect of the evolution of post-war Yemen is the fate of the Yemeni-Socialist Party (YSP). The Islah wants it dead. If there are some unitarians among its members, then, once that is proven and only then, they can come together and form any new party using a new name. What the Islah party wants is a Versailles treaty to be shoved down the throat of the YSP. The People's General Congress wants to give the YSP a better deal. The rehabilitation of the YSP, however, will depend on many local, regional, and international factors.

Yemen Needs the YSP:

In my opinion, the country needs a full and proper rehabilitation of the YSP, albeit without the military flank. I think it is important for the rulers of Yemen to engage in full dialogue with the YSP regarding the future of this country for four reasons:

1. Such dialogue fulfills Yemen's obligations to friendly countries which supported it during the war, and it satisfies the stipulations of UN Security Council resolutions 924 and 931. The commitments made by Sanaa to the world cannot be

wiped out simply because it won the war.

As the UN Secretary-General's report on the situation in Yemen (S/1994/917 dated 12/7/1994) clearly indicates that the end of the fighting by itself does not guarantee a lasting solution. "That solution will be achieved only through political dialogue between the two sides, as resolutions 924 and 931 urgently requested."

2. The dialogue with the YSP and its rehabilitation will bring back a degree of equilibrium and balance to the internal power structure of Yemen after the war. Suddenly, the PGC has discovered that it has traded one rival for another. And this new rival has also developed its own military machine. In addition, the Islah has ominous implications for Yemen's relations with the outside world.

Thus, the rehabilitation of the YSP offers the chance to temper off the rising and persistent urge of the Islah to dominate the political scene. The Islah feels that by supporting the PGC in its war against the secessionist YSP, it deserves a good share of the spoils - including a free hand at winning a sphere of influence in the southern and eastern governorates.

3. The YSP, one way or another, is seen internally and internationally, as representing the former PDRY or South, or the

southern and eastern governorates. It did "win" most of the southern seats in the parliamentary elections of April, 1993. Therefore, if it is excluded from any arrangements that are to shape the future of the country, it could undertake violent or non-violent campaigns under the banner of "liberating the South from the occupation of the North." It will be able to make a good case on those grounds and that is bad news for the country. Thus, it would serve the national interest to bring back the YSP into the fold of Yemen.

4. Negotiating with the YSP and accepting a role for it in shaping the future of Yemen is in line with acknowledging constitutional legitimacy as dictated by the results of the parliamentary elections. Excluding the YSP from the coming arrangements would mean using the outcome of the war to define the role of the various belligerents, which in itself is a dangerous precedent for Yemen.

What Kind of YSP?

Last Saturday, the leaders of the of the YSP met in Sanaa to determine their course of action. Contact with Aden, Cairo, Salalah, and Jeddah continue. The kind of party that evolves depends on many things, but primarily on what Sanaa offers it. I think there are four possibilities for the evolution of the YSP.

1. A docile and tame YSP could be the result of pressure from Sanaa. That would mean that the Islah would have its way.

2. A YSP which is in exile and which haunts Sanaa in various ways. This would mean the Saudi flank in the party would have its way.

3. A splintered YSP in which off-shoots emerge here and there, with each held hostage by local or regional forces.

4. A rehabilitated and reasonably strong YSP firmly rooted in Yemen and reconciled to its reduced role in society.

In my opinion, the last of these options would best serve the nation and the party itself. To arrive at this last option, however, the party must come to terms with itself, and must shed off some of its old leadership. The hope is that such wise men as Dr. Yassin Saeed Noman, Jarallah Omer, and others will take charge of the party. New blood will also have to be introduced at the top echelons of the party.

Sanaa must not insist to extract maximum concessions from these men. It should refrain from asking them to repudiate this or that action, or force them to accuse their former leaders. It is enough that the former leaders, notably, Ali Salim Al-Beedh have abandoned politics. Vindictive action from Sanaa will only make things worse.

What Can Sanaa Do?

Sanaa can do many things to help the YSP people make the right choices. Let me list some of them:

1. Sanaa must immediately pay the salaries and dues of all YSP personnel serving the state abroad. For example, there are quite a few ambassadors and other diplomats who are not paid their salaries over the last few months. These people badly need money, and Sanaa should not wait until someone else offers them money and then blame them for taking it. That is also true of students and other groups of Yemenis who are stranded abroad.

2. Sanaa must immediately release YSP funds and branches in Yemen and give the emerging leadership of the party the air they need to breathe properly. They have to be given the right to engage in politics according to the laws of the land. Unless this is done soon, the country may again face underground activities which will cost the nation a great deal.

3. Sanaa must quickly get rid of the make-shift "prisons" set up to harbor YSP soldiers, officers and cadres. It is imperative that so-called "interrogation and indoctrination" centers be closed down, and all the people inside them released. The sooner Sanaa overcomes the war complications, the better.

4. Sanaa must engage the upcoming Paris talks in earnest, and must present the YSP with a decent and acceptable offer. This may bring some criticism from the Islah, but so be it.

What Next?

During the last few months, the PGC has gathered proof of the Islah efforts to replace it. This is evident from the 28 Islah district general managers who have replaced PGC people. They have proof of the Islah-based distribution channels of all food supplies ordered by the Ministry of Supply and Trade. They have proof of the military hardware they have purchased to beef their "armed mujahideen". So there is some alarm on that count.

The YSP people are gearing for an important meeting on July 28th. Many would like to hold such meeting in Jeddah, but still another bloc wants to hold it in Cairo. Sanaa can help tip the balance in favor of Cairo. This week, some thirty senior YSP cadres are going to return to Yemen. A proper interaction with these will help do the job. Most important of all, a clean job in Aden could show the moderates in the YSP that they can work with Sanaa.

Truly, the ball is with Sanaa. It can determine, to a great extent, the future of the YSP, and with it, the future of the Republic of Yemen.

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