Yemen between Democratization and Prolonged Power

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present my own views on Yemen's moves to democratize. In order to do so, I will analyze a variety of issues related to the electoral system in Yemen and Yemeni political parties.

In 1988, two years before the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) were formally unified as the Republic of Yemen, North Yemen held a general election. The event garnered praise because, with the suspension of Kuwait's parliament, no other elections were being held in the Arabian Peninsula at the time. In 1993, the first general election after unification was held. This event also drew attention from the international community as it marked the first-ever general election on the peninsula contested by multiple parties.

Despite this progress, the administration of President Ali Abdullah Saleh has been severely criticized for not making sufficient efforts to bring about democracy and for limiting political freedom. Critics say democratization in the country has fallen far short of expectations, while Saleh has been at the helm for an overlong 25 years, including his term as president of North Yemen that began in 1978 (1).

Moves toward democratization and other political developments in Yemen are significant when compared with years past and compared with other countries on the Arabian Peninsula and other Arab countries generally. Nevertheless, Yemen easily becomes a target of criticism when evaluated against the standards of the international community. Eye-catching phrases such as, "the only country on the peninsula," or, "the first on the peninsula" are a type of journalistic shorthand for the sake of convenience of news media. I do not think it is particularly meaningful to evaluate the level of democratization in Yemen, a republic, by comparing it with the kingdoms of the GCC.

Generally, regions with labels such as the "Arab world," the "Middle East," and the "Muslim world" are rated lower in their levels of democracy, freedom, and human rights than any other part of the world. It is thus inevitable that Yemen, as part of the Muslim world, would also rank poorly.

In order to assess a country's democratization, some comparisons are necessary and there are several ways of doing so: examining political changes in a given country over time, comparing its political situation with other countries in the region, and evaluating the country based on industrialized country standards. The conclusions one draws depend on the method one chooses. And the method, in turn, depends on how much account is given to a country's unique circumstances when evaluating its level of democracy.

The first method, looking at political change in a country over time, basically acknowledges a country's unique circumstances, not blindly but to a significant degree. The second method, comparing a country's level of democracy with that of its neighbors, takes into account the common characteristics of a region. This method often highlights the region's particular situation, which is basically the same as with the first method. Under the third method, which evaluates a country's democratic progress against global standards, completely excludes the political, social, and cultural factors that make it unique. These factors may be addressed in the evaluation report, but only as a footnote. And when addressing the particulars of the country, the report may instead emphasize the country's serious political deterioration, or give a brief, region-by-region summary of trends. But that is the only reference to the country's

uniqueness under the third method.

The method of analysis chosen likely reflects differences in perception or philosophy toward democracy. One end of the philosophical spectrum tolerates different forms of democracy for different regions or countries, while the other emphasizes the universal value of democracy and seeks a political system based on this value. Thus the great gaps in assessments of a country's democratization arise from the differing methods of assessment.

The issues I have so far raised in this paper are both old and new because the debate is ongoing. This paper is not meant to provide definitive answers to these questions. Rather, I will emphasize the "subjective" aspects of Yemen, which means I will evaluate the country based on its special characteristics and unique situation.

I suspect the reality of Yemen regarding democracy and democratic movements lies somewhere between the two positions I have just mentioned, both tolerating uniqueness and seeking universal values. It is true that different countries have different forms of democracy, but such differences should not go to an extreme. For example, any democracy should include a representative system through elections or a parliament. On the other hand, democracy backed by universal values does not always work. Even if a country adopts a political system modeled after those of industrialized countries, or affirms their political goals, special factors inherent in the country inevitably emerge in actual political processes. It would thus be rare for a political system adopted from another country to work in the manner initially intended.

We should also remember it is impossible to completely separate the universal aspects of democracy from its individual aspects. Even if a country seeks purely universal values, its results often reflect something unique. At the same time, individual characteristics are useless unless they are incorporated into universal values. I think political mechanisms such as elections, parliaments, and political parties are where universal and individual values overlap the most. This differs from the theories on democratization to attach importance to the institution and the procedure, but it raises the same kind of questions: How have both values overlapped in Yemen in the development of institutionalized democracy? This is the perspective from which I will evaluate Yemen's democratic movements in this paper.

2. Yemen's Process of Democratization and the Political Situation

The Republic of Yemen was formed on May 22, 1990 through the amalgamation of the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR), or North Yemen, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), or South Yemen. Before unification, South Yemen was the only country in the Middle East that had adopted a communist system based on a Marxist-Leninist ideology. South Yemen had a single-party, Soviet-style political system and the country was controlled under the dictatorship of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP). In North Yemen, the formation of political parties was prohibited, with the General People's Congress (GPC) serving as the only officially certified political organization. The GPC had the status of a ruling party and effectively controlled North Yemen. North Yemen took a leading role in the unification process following the collapse of the Cold War structure. In that process, calls for a merger of equals were emphasized as an absolute condition for realizing unification, and the political system adopted by the newly created Republic of Yemen was in fact based on the idea (2).

After unification, *Majlis al-Nuww►b*, the parliament, held its first meeting in Aden, where 301

legislators—159 from the former North Yemen, 111 from the former South Yemen's Supreme People's Assembly and 31 presidential appointees—approved the draft constitution without revisions as the constitution of the unified state. The draft constitution was outlined in 1981 by the Joint YAR/PDRY Committee, the commission in charge of monitoring progress toward unification and drafting the constitution for a united Yemen. The commission was set up on the basis of the ceasefire agreement signed in Kuwait following the 1977 border dispute.

The government and the parliament decided to introduce a multiparty political system, interpreting the freedom to organize parties stipulated under Article 39 of the constitution as allowing the existence of multiple parties. The five-member Presidential Council, comprising three from North Yemen and two from South Yemen, was formed, with President Saleh chairing the country's supreme decision-making body.

Saleh, president of North Yemen, was named the first president of the unified Yemen, while Ali Salim al-Baid, secretary general of the Yemen Socialist Party of South Yemen, was appointed vice president. Al-Attas, president of South Yemen and chairman of the Supreme People's Assembly Presidium, became prime minister, leading the GPC-YSP coalition. Under the coalition, cabinet and vice ministerial posts were equally shared between representatives of the former North and South Yemen; every government ministry adopted an equally balanced appointment system in which if the minister was from North Yemen, the vice minister was from South Yemen. In the Military, the Defense Minister was from South Yemen and the Chief of General Staff from North Yemen.

In May 1991, the people of Yemen approved the proposed constitution in a referendum and the document was formally promulgated. Later that year, the government introduced a multiparty system, following the enactment of Law No. 66, 1991 governing political parties and organizations. The GPC, which was the only legal party in North Yemen, became a formal political party in the unified Yemen. But in the process, conservative Nasserite forces and leftist Ba►thists left the GPC and formed new parties. As a result, the GPC lost its role to represent all political organization and influences in North Yemen.

In former South Yemen, many political parties were formed. The total number of parties was rising to 40 at one time. Based on the election law (Law No. 41, 1992), Yemen's first general election was held in April 1993 with candidates vying for 301 seats in the parliament. Members were to serve four-year terms. The ruling GPC, led by President Saleh, secured the largest number of seats with 123. The YSP won only 56 seats and fell from the country's second-largest party to the number-three position. The Yemeni Reform Group (Islah or YRG) replaced the YSP as the second-largest party, securing 62 seats. The Islah was created by conservative lawmakers who left the GPC. Led by Sheikh Abdullah bin Hussain al-Ahmar, who headed a tribal group called the Hashid confederation in former North Yemen, the Islah has been described as a party affiliated with forces calling for the revival of Islamic principles.

Because no party won an outright majority, President Saleh's GPC joined with the YSP and the Islah, to form a coalition government. The formation of the coalition was apparently designed to strengthen national unity at a time when Yemen was still politically unstable following unification. But contrary to expectations, the political decision backfired, sparking disarray among the three parties and plunging the country into so called "Political Crisis of Yemen." The crisis was caused by a confrontation between the YSP and the Islah. The YSP decided to renounce socialist principles at its central committee meeting, but the decision met with criticism from many left-leaning party members. The intra-party

squabble prevented the YSP from holding a party convention. Relations between the leftist YSP and the conservative Islah were like water and oil even before unification. Once the rival parties began taking part in the policymaking process as members of the coalition, the confrontation intensified and significant policy gaps arose.

In North Yemen, the administration of President Saleh had long given preferential treatment to tribal forces such as the Hashid confederation as part of an effort to appease them. Because tribal forces, backed by militia, had a major influence on the Saleh government, he needed to secure their support in policymaking. But the YSP opposed the government's appeasement policy and sought radical political reform. Meanwhile, the Islah opposed the YSP's reform efforts. The dispute between the rival parties over government policy on the tribal issue was a primary reason for their confrontation. This confrontation eventually led to a series of shootings of senior YSP officials by supporters of the Islah. The political crisis culminated in August 1994 when Vice President al-Baid refused to carry out his duties and retreated to Aden.

Many mediation initiatives were undertaken during the crisis, while skirmishes persisted between former North Yemen and South Yemen army units, but these efforts failed and a civil war began in May 1994. Prime Minister al-Attas and other YSP leaders joined forces with Vice President al-Baid who was in Aden. The vice president declared the independence of a new Democratic Republic of Yemen in South Yemen. Most YSP members, however, refused to join al-Baid and chose to stay in San►a'. In South Yemen, leaders in Abyan, Hadramawt, and other provinces refused to join the al-Baid group. In the end President Saleh's troops overwhelmed those of al-Baid on the battlefield. In July 1994, al-Baid left the country seeking political asylum. His departure marked the end of the two-month civil war with the camp in favor of maintaining the coalition claiming victory. After the end of the war, the YSP was forced to leave the coalition government and had its assets frozen, including its party headquarters building. Among YSP members, 53 were allowed to continue political activity and remain in parliament because they chose to remain in San►a' during the political crisis.

In September 1994, the parliament revised the constitution and Saleh was appointed president of postwar Yemen in the following month. Under the revised constitution, the Presidential Council was abolished and a presidential system formally established. The revised constitution called for the president to be elected by universal suffrage for a five-year term. The power of the president was strengthened by allowing him to name the vice president while the president was prohibited from holding office for more than two terms. In addition, the article to establish *Maj►lis al-Ma►alliyya*, the local councils, was introduced. No national referendum was held to approve the revised constitution or the appointment of Saleh as president of postwar Yemen. This was an exceptional step taken to deal with an emergency situation at a time when political unrest persisted in the war-ravaged country. President Saleh's term was regarded the first term under the new constitution.

President Saleh appointed Abdurrabbu Mansur Hadi, who was from former South Yemen, as vice president. Mansur Hadi joined the GPC after exiling himself to North Yemen in the wake of the 1986 civil war in Aden. President Saleh then inaugurated the GPC-Islah coalition government.

The second general election was held in April 1997 as lawmakers' terms expired. The GPC gained 65 more seats, securing a total of 188, which was sufficient for a majority in the 301-member of the parliament. This enabled the GPC to form a government without coalition parties. The Islah lost 9 seats,

with its strength in the chamber dropping to 52. The YSP boycotted the election and the independents from YSP won only four seats.

In September 1999, the first direct presidential election was held in Yemen. The revised constitution bans confidence votes on presidential appointments. It stipulates the parliament must nominate presidential candidates with the support of at least 10 percent of all lawmakers. It also says the parliament must name at least two candidates. The biggest opposition party Islah did not field any candidates for the election while the YSP and other opposition parties boycotted the election, saying the government and the GPC put pressure on the YSP not to put its candidate forward. As a result, the election was contested by Saleh and Najib Qahtan ash-Sha►bi, son of Qahtan ash-Sha►bi, the first president of the People's Republic of South Yemen at independence in 1967, who was forced out of office in 1969. Saleh easily won a second term as president with 96.3 percent of the valid votes cast.

It took many years for the government to establish a rural administrative system, which would later lead to the local council. This process was completed only in 1998 and 1999 when two rural administrative laws (Law No. 23, 1998 and Law No. 23, 1999) were enacted, completing the demarcation of administrative districts across the country. The size of these administrative districts had varied greatly from one region to another until then, but discrepancies were corrected somewhat by creating new provinces along the former north-south border and by increasing the number of *mud►riyya*, sub-provincial administrative districts, in the former South Yemen. After the administrative demarcation was completed, Yemen's first local authority law, Q►n►n ►ul►a al-Ma►alliyya (Law No. 4, 2000) was promulgated in January 2000. In August, President Saleh presented a proposal to amend the constitution to parliament. The proposal called for the presidential term of office to be extended from five years to seven years and the term of members of parliament to be extended from four years to six years. The parliament, after debating the proposal, passed the revision by a majority vote in November 2000. The revised constitution also strengthened the president's power to dissolve the parliament, expanded the function of a consultative council called the *Majlis al-Sh►r►*, and called for the introduction of a free market economic system.

Yemen's first local elections since unification and a referendum on the proposed constitutional revision were held in February 2001. The proposal on the constitution was approved with 72.91 percent of valid votes cast, while local elections on two levels, provincial and *mud►riyya*, gave the ruling GPC a landslide victory. The third general election has been held in April 2003. GPC won again getting 226 seats. The second presidential election is scheduled September 2006.

3. Political System and Election Results

After unification, Yemen adopted a one-chamber legislative system under the parliament called the *Majlis al-Nuww►b*. The parliament comprises 301 lawmakers selected by direct secret ballot cast on the basis of the free and equal principles. The Republic of Yemen is divided into electoral districts of equal population, plus or minus five percent. Each district elects one legislator, according to Article 63 of the 2001 constitution (3). The election law (Law No. 41, 1991), enacted in 1991, remains basically unchanged, although it was amended in 1996 and 1999.

Those aged 18 or older who reside in Yemen and have Yemeni nationality have the right to vote. Citizens must register to be eligible to vote. Candidates must be 25 years or older, literate, and hold

voting rights in order to stand for election. Elections are overseen by the governmental election committee, which is run by seven members appointed by the president out of 15 candidates nominated by the parliament with the support of more than two-thirds of lawmakers. The committee is in charge of demarcating 301 electoral districts across the nation. No district may cover more than one province, and the population of the largest district must not exceed that of the smallest district by more than five percent. The committee is also charged with setting up regional election committees, as well as appointing those who work for them, and conducting voter registration.

The election law also stipulates each candidate be given equal opportunity to conduct election campaigns in government-affiliated news media; all candidates are entitled to file an appeal with the Supreme Court to dispute election results; and prosecutors are charged with punishing election violations (4).

Based on Article 58 of the constitution, which guarantees the right to form political parties and organizations, Yemen introduced a multiparty system. Rules related to the system are stipulated in the Law No. 66, 1993, the political party and organization law, which guarantees freedom to form political parties and organizations. Proponents of such rights say the idea is consistent with Islam, the unification of two Yemens, the ideology of revolutions in the former North and South Yemens and the constitution, political freedom, respect for human rights, and the spirit of the Arab people. The law says no political party may discriminate on tribal, religious or vocational background, or on regional or social status grounds. It also stipulates a political party is defined as an organization headquartered in San►a' that has certain assets and nationwide political operations. Active military personnel and police officers are prohibited from engaging in political activities or belonging to a political party. Of the total government subsidy to political parties, 25 percent is distributed to all parties equally while the remaining 75 percent is distributed in proportion to votes earned in general elections. A party that fails to win more than five percent of all votes cast is not eligible for subsidies. For any organization to be certified as a political party, the organization must present the names of members, party rules and codes, political programs, party organization systems, and accounting records to the government committee on political parties and organizations. The committee is headed by the state minister in charge of parliamentary affairs and is composed of the interior minister, the justice minister, and four retired lawyers not belonging to any political party. The committee is empowered to order the dissolution of a political party (5).

There are two exceptional rules regarding the legislature under the constitution. One, stipulated in Article 119, states that the president is empowered to issue presidential decrees with legal validity, when the parliament is in recess, has been suspended, or has been closed after dissolution. Such decrees, however, must be approved by parliament when it opens its session. If the parliament rejects such decrees, they lose legal force.

The other exception, under Article 125, refers to the consultative council, *the Majlis al-Sh►r►*, which is technically not a legislative body, but acts as a part of the parliament. The council, whose establishment is stipulated under the 1994 revised Constitution, is supposed to provide policy advice to the president and the parliament as necessary. The president named 59 members to the council after the 1994 revision. Under the revised 2001 constitution, the scope of the council's authority was expanded to include nomination of presidential candidates in cooperation with the parliament, approval of development projects, and ratification of treaties. In April 2001, President Saleh appointed 111

representatives to the council.

As noted above, presidential candidates must be nominated by at least 10 percent of the total (31 members) to run in a presidential election in the parliament, while the parliament must nominate at least two candidates for a valid election to take place. Article 107 of the revised 2001 constitution dropped this rule and stipulated that the joint meeting of the parliament and the consultative council must nominate at least three presidential candidates, and each candidate needs the support of at least five percent of the total (21 members). But the 2001 constitution left intact the rule that if no candidate wins a majority in the first round of a presidential election, a runoff between the top two candidates is held.

Article 114 of the revised 1994 constitution called for the setting up of local council called the *Maj►lis al-Ma►alliyya*. Article 146 of the revised 2001 constitution left this provision intact. The local authority law (Law No. 4, 2001), which is based on this article, states the central government shall appoint provincial governors (*wak►l*) and *mud►r*, or heads of the *mud►riyya*, a sub-provincial administrative unit. Both *wak►l* and *mud►r* are required to chair the local councils. At the provincial level, these bodies consist of one member selected from each *mud►riyya* in the province. The *Maj►lis al-Ma►alliyya* at the *mud►riyya* level has 17 elected members if the district's population is less than 30,000, 21 members if the population is from 30,000 to 69,999, and 27 members if the population is 70,000 or more. The terms of office for both provincial and *mud►riyya* councils are four years. Both types of local council select an *am►n ►►mma*, general secretary. The local councils are in charge of formulating development projects in each administrative district, approving budgetary allocations, and supervising their execution. The *am►n ►►mma* oversees the preparation and coordination of these programs.

Before enactment of the local authority law, there was no municipal tax in Yemen. The new law enabled municipal and other regional governments to collect taxes on products and services such as fuel and administrative services to finance public programs and operations run by provinces and *mud►riyya*s. Half the income tax collected by the central government also goes to the regional governments (6).

Yemen's local councils have no legislative authority. The main purpose of the councils is to reflect opinions and desire of local people in regional administrative operations, and to supervise such operations as an administrative body.

Table 1 below is a breakdown of seats won by Yemen's political parties in the general elections of 1993, 1997 and 2003. Table 2 and 3 are a province-by-province breakdown of seats won by the GPC, Islah, and YSP in these elections. Table 3 is a party-by-party breakdown of local electoral representation in 2001.

The 1993 election was conducted on the basis of a total population of 14,297,500 surveyed in the 1992 census. According to the survey, the population of each district averaged 47,500 with a statistical error of plus or minus five percent. There were a total of 6,290,900 eligible voters, of which 2,691,064, or 42.8 percent were registered, including 501,591 women. Among registered voters, turnout was 84.5 percent (36 percent of all eligible voters). There were a total of 3,181 certified candidates from 21 political parties, including 1,956 independents.

Table 1: The party-by-party breakdown of seats won in the general elections during 1993-2003
(total number of seats: 301)

	1993	1997	2003
GPC	123	188	226
Islah	62	53	46
YSP	57	0	7
Ba►th Party	7	2	2
Haqq Party	2	0	0
Nasserite Unionist Popular Organization	1	3	3
Democratic Nasserites Party	1	0	0
Nasserite Popular Corrective Party	1	0	0
Independents	46	53	14

1993: One electoral district results were invalid.

1997: Two electoral districts results were invalid.

2003: Three electoral districts results were invalid.

Table 2: The province-by-province breakdown of seats won by three major parties in the first and second general elections (( ): The total of the parliament seats in the region)

	GPC 93 → 97	Islah 93 → 97	YSP 93 → 97
North Yemen (245)	119 → 161	62 → 38	15 → 0
Capital ►an►►’(18)	11 → 15	6 → 1	0→ 0
►an►►’ (32)	21 → 24	5 → 4	1 → 0
Al-Ma►w►t (8)	5 → 8	0 → 0	0 → 0
►ajjah (23)	15 → 17	3 → 5	0 → 0
►a►►a (9)	5 → 6	1 → 0	0 → 0
Al-Jawf (2)	1 → 0	1 → 2	0 → 0
Ma’rib (3)	1 → 1	1 → 2	1 → 0
Ta►izz (43)	8 → 19	18 → 16	6 → 0
Ibb (38)	17 → 28	13 → 2	2 → 0
Al-►udaida (34)	22 → 25	5 → 2	1 → 0
Dham►r (21)	11 → 14	7 → 1	1 → 0
Al-Bay►►’ (10)	2 → 4	2 → 3	3 → 0
South Yemen (56)	3 → 27	0 → 14	41 → 0
►Adan (11)	0 → 6	0 → 2	8 → 0
La►j (12)	0 → 6	0 → 2	8 → 0
Abyan (8)	1 → 6	0 → 1	7 → 0
Shabwa (6)	1 → 2	0 → 1	5 → 0
►a►ramawt (17)	1 → 6	0 → 8	11 → 0

Al-Mahra (2) $0 \rightarrow 1$ $0 \rightarrow 0$ $2 \rightarrow 0$

Table 3: Results of 2001 local elections (the number of council seats to win and the percentage of the
seats in the whole)

The local councils at the province level (Total seats at 426, 401 seats earned)

GPC	277 (69.08%)
Islah	78 (19.45%)
YSP	16 (3.99%)
Independents	30 (7.48%)

The local councils at the *mudiriyya* level (Total seats at 6,734, 6,213 seats earned)

GPC	3,771 (60.70%)
Islah	1,433 (23.06%)
YSP	218 (3.51%)
Others (six parties)	42 (0.68%)
Independents	749 (12.06%)

Table 4: The province-by-province breakdown of seats won by three major parties in the third general
elections in 2003. (( ): The total of the parliament seats in the region)

	GPC	Islah	YSP
North Yemen (239)	182	37	1
Capital ▶an▶▶'(19)	9	10	0
▶an▶▶' (20)	16	3	0
▶Amr▶n (15)	12	3	0
al-Ma▶w▶t (8)	8	0	0
▶ajjah (20)	20	0	0
▶a▶▶a (9)	6	0	0
al-Jawf (5)	3	0	0
Ma'rib (3)	1	1	0
Ta▶izz (39)	26	7	1
Ibb (36)	24	9	0
al-▶udaida (34)	32	1	0
Dham▶r (21)	17	3	0
al-Bay▶▶' (10)	8	0	0
South Yemen (62)	44	9	6
▶Adan (10)	7	2	1
La▶j (12)	6	1	2
Abyan (7)	5	1	1
al-▶▶ri▶ (7)	5	0	2
Shabwa (6)	6	0	0
▶a▶ramawt (18)	13	5	0
al-Mahra (2)	2	0	0

Province ► Amr► n and Province al-► ► ri► were established in 1998.

4. Yemen's Unique Situation

There are several unique aspects to democratization in Yemen. The first point is that Yemen's moves toward democracy were treated as inseparable from the process of unification (7). The unification of the two Yemens into a democratic political entity was an indisputable condition in that process. Even now, the significance of government-sponsored elections and a multiparty system is repeatedly emphasized. But unification was driven by domestic political factors such as the stabilization of North Yemen, the economic plight of South Yemen in the wake of the 1986 civil war in Aden, and changes in the international situation, including the end of the Cold War structure and the collapse of East European nations. Thus, democratization was not an absolute condition for unification.

Democratic moves in the Arab world such as the 1988 revision of the constitution in Tunisia after political unrest in 1987, the 1989 introduction of a multiparty system in Algeria following a riot the previous year, the general election in Jordan after a 1989 riot, and the 1988 general election in North Yemen are all factors that better explain why unification and democratization have come simultaneously in Yemen. Just prior to unification, democratic moves had already started to emerge in North Yemen along the background of a greater domestic stability. The democratization seen in North Yemen later possibly became part of the basic policy of the unified Republic of Yemen. Democratization was no doubt inseparable from moves to the post-ideological situation as well. Political ideologies such as those based on the Arab Nationalism in North Yemen and communism in South Yemen had already lost their power to dominate politics. Naturally, the democracy itself could not help but become the political legitimacy. Therefore, the universal suffrage and the multiparty system were introduced in Yemen as steps to promote democratization. These steps were diametrically opposed to the banning of political parties and dictatorship under a single party before the unity.

The second point is that Yemen's political orientation in the early stages of its democratization was more inclined toward leftist ideas despite moves to depart from ideology. As I mentioned earlier, the constitution of the unified Yemen was drafted by North Yemen and South Yemen at a time when the latter was under communist control and the former was run by a government fighting for the Arab Nationalism. The Presidential Council was not the embodiment of a new political system but rather a unified nation's version of collective leadership. The GPC was to represent all kinds of political forces in North Yemen, but its basic concepts derived from the revolutionary political order adopted in 1962. Its leftist orientation had commonalities with the ideas cherished by the YSP. Against this background the equal merger of the two Yemens turned out to be smoother than expected, dispelling the fears of failure expressed by outside parties, and many believed that the honeymoon between the GPC and the YSP would last for a long time.

In the early days of unification, the GPC and the YSP began negotiations for a merger. In May 1993, just one month after the first general election was held, both parties signed a basic agreement to merge. The leadership of the two parties expected that they would maintain their power in a unified state through cooperation.

The third point is that the blueprint of the GPC and the YSP on the future of the unified Yemen collapsed mainly due to the democratization introduced by them. It was the increased influence of the Islah. The GPC and the YSP had initially thought their parliamentary strength would hold even after the introduction of a multiparty system. But the reality did not bear out their optimism. In the first general

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election, the Islah, which is on the opposite end of the ideological spectrum from the two main parties and has conservative ideas, made significant advances. It succeeded in replacing the YSP as the second largest party.

The Islah is composed of forces that derive their authority from tribal leaders in the northern part of former North Yemen and the Ulama, the Muslim Brotherhood based in the southern part of former North Yemen. As shown in Table 2, all Islah seats in the first general election came from districts located in former North Yemen. Many of the seats won by the Islah were concentrated in electoral districts in the southern provinces of North Yemen like Ta►izz and Ibb. A few seats were taken by candidates hailing from provinces where northern tribes reside, such as San►a', al-Mahwit, Hajjah, Sa►da, and al-Jawf. The results should be taken as reflecting the critical stance by people in the southern part of former North Yemen toward President Saleh and his GPC, rather than the evidence of growing Ulama influence. Thus, public support for the GPC was not as deep as was thought.

It is a common phenomenon in the Middle East that political parties and organizations with Islamist ideas garnered significant public support in the election, and this came hand-in-hand with democratization in the region. The GPC and the YSP did not predict this result because of their mistakes in assessing such a political situation.

The results of the first general election were beyond the comprehension of the GPC and YSP and eventually led to the above-mentioned civil war in 1994. This conflict has been often interpreted as a confrontation between former North Yemen and former South Yemen or as a confrontation between the GPC and YSP, parallel to the dispute between President Saleh and Vice President al-Baid. But that is not actually what happened. The real confrontation was between the YSP leadership and the Islah. As the political crisis deepened toward war, the GPC, caught between the two sides, tried to break the deadlock and mediate between them.

As I mentioned earlier, any government in former North Yemen had to secure tacit support from northern tribal leaders if was to control the country; the Saleh administration was no exception. But forces affiliated with the tribes were not used to participate in the management of the country as core members of the government. Thus there was always the potential for tension and confrontation with the central government. The GPC tried to avoid aligning itself too closely with tribal forces, while working not to alienate them. The party was looking for ways to deal with these forces on a long-term basis, a relationship seen by the YSP as a disguised friendship between two political forces from North Yemen.

The GPC sought a realistic approach in its policy toward tribal forces and also sought cooperation from the YSP. But the YSP, in upholding its political principles, was not able to respond to this demand. What started as a series of minor skirmishes led to the attacks in San►a'. This prompted the Saleh administration to send troops to attack and remove forces sympathetic to those seeking independence. This political process is a typical example of a case where new political forces created by democratization alter the existing power balance and cause serious political turbulence.

The fourth point is that democratic moves spread throughout the country despite the fact that it was hit by a serious civil war. Yemen drew strong criticism from the world community for having used force as a means to resolve conflicts despite its claim to be a democracy. This resort to force cost Yemen economic aid, and Yemen's economy, which was already struggling after the Persian Gulf War, was battered further, forcing the country to accept demands from the IMF and the World Bank for structural

reform.

As the civil war intensified, Yemen revised the constitution in 1994, which included a clause requiring the president to fulfill the obligations of Islam. Under the revised constitution, the Saleh government abolished the Presidential Council and introduced universal suffrage for presidential elections and local councils.

The new constitution had three major features: adoption of codes encouraging the revival of Islamic principles, elimination of leftist tendencies, and new steps toward democratization. The presidential election and local elections that followed reflected these changes.

The fifth point is that until now the GPC has been solidifying its power base as democratization in Yemen advances. In the first general election, the GPC was not able to secure a majority in the parliament but it had the largest number of seats of any party. In the second general election in 1997, the GPG secured a solid majority. Its election victory was attributed to the government's success in the 1994 civil war, public disillusionment with the Islah as an opposition force, and increased support for the party from voters in former South Yemen.

The Islah left the ruling coalition and fell to the status of an opposition party but was able to limit its losses to only 10 seats in the 1997 election. On the strength of its having become the only Islam-affiliated party in the Arab world to take part in a ruling coalition, the Islah is said to maintain political influence in Yemen. But one should remember that the Islah has been playing up its 14 newly won seats in Hadramawt and other provinces in former South Yemen to deflect attention from its loss of 24 seats mainly in southern parts of former North Yemen.

Given the Islah's organizational structure and its weak public support base, the Islah's significant loss of seats in former North Yemen dealt it a more devastating blow than the figures indicate. Meanwhile, the GPC grabbed landslide victories both in the 1999 presidential election and the 2001 local elections, steadily reinforcing its power base in each successive election.

The sixth point refers to the unique relations between politics and Islam in Yemen. As I observed earlier, Yemen's law governing the activities of political parties and organizations stipulates that establishment of such organs be allowed as long as the spirit of Islam is not infringed. This idea is also reflected in Law No. 25, 1990 on news media and publishing, which says the freedom of the press is basically guaranteed, but that news-gathering activities are prohibited if they are deemed contrary to Islamic principles or revolutionary concepts, or if the president is criticized outside his official capacity on the political scene (8).

Some Arab countries with republican political systems adopt the principle of separation of politics and religion, and ban the establishment of political parties based on a particular religion. Yemen, on the other hand, is prepared to suppress political parties or news organizations if they make statements critical of Islam. So far, however, there have been no incidents involving alleged violations of Islam in Yemen, which suggests that although conduct contrary to Islam is ambiguously defined, religion plays a significant role in the politics of the country.

5. Evaluation

In this section I evaluate democratization moves in Yemen based on the six points given above.

First, I examine the positive and negative aspects of democratization. There is nothing particularly

worthy of mention regarding Yemen's electoral system or political parties. Prospective candidates for general elections and local elections are not subject to screening or restrictions. Also, there have been no incidents in which political parties were ordered to disband or where they failed to obtain approval to operate. In the wake of the civil war in 1994, the YSP had its assets frozen, but a new YSP, including a splinter faction that declared itself as the new party leadership, continued political activity even after the civil war. Put simply, Yemen is a country where anyone can run for election, any organization can register as a political party, and balloting is free. The interaction between elections and political parties acts as a tie that binds all people in Yemen together, regardless of differences in religious affiliation and social status.

Historically, Yemen has lacked "organic" communication between urban and rural areas as major tribes dominated each region. And this tribal control has left local areas in conflict with one another. This has been regarded as a major barrier to the national integration. In that sense, nationwide elections and political parties must have played some role in bringing various elements in Yemeni society together, and may have had a favorable impact in promoting national integration.

But in reality, electoral and political party systems are not completely free of irregularities. Each time elections were held, confusion was reported at local polling stations, including efforts to block voting and winners not being determined. The government of Yemen refuses to disclose details of these reported irregularities but I suspect supporters of particular candidates may have prevented people from voting for their opponents. In the first general election, one seat was declared invalid and in the second election two seats were invalidated.

At the local level, election committees were unable to determine winners in 25 out of 426 seats allotted for provincial local councils and in 521 out of 6,734 seats for *mud►riyya* councils. In the disputed electoral districts, balloting was rescheduled. (The government officially stated suspensions were due to the procedural problems.)

There are also problems inherent in any single-seat constituency system. It is widely known that in such electoral districts, many votes cast are meaningless. A single-seat constituency usually works to the advantage of big political parties and against small ones. This was highlighted in Yemen's second general election, where winning candidates took an average of only 55 percent of votes cast; 116 candidates won seats with less than 50 percent of the vote, and some won with as little as 23 percent. In the end, the GPC took 62.1 percent of seats in the parliament and 43.2 percent of the votes, while the Islah, held only 17.6 percent of seats despite receiving 23.4 percent of the popular vote (9).

With regard to the constitution and the presidential government, Yemen should be commended for introducing democracy under the unified constitution and further promoting it under the revised 1994 constitution. Its decision to abandon a leftist-oriented collective leadership system and introduce direct presidential elections that give the president greater power can be easily understood by the people of Yemen. But one may question the merits of the government's decision to revise the constitution in 2001 to extend the president's term of office and those of members of the parliament. Many countries in the Middle East have revised their constitutions relatively easily and frequently. But one may wonder whether Yemen really needed to amend the constitution again in 2001. Some suspect that President Saleh and core members of the GPC, struggling to pick a successor, decided to extend his second term by revising the constitution. This was likely the primary purpose of the amendment. And it appears moves to change the

constitution were less popular than the president himself: in the 1999 presidential election Saleh won 3,584,399 votes, or 96.3 percent, of all votes cast, while only 2,018,527 people, or 72.91 percent, supported revision of the constitution in the referendum to approve the amendment (10).

Under the revised 2001 constitution, the government expanded the authority of the consultative council and increased its membership to 111. From the standpoint of democratization, it is debatable whether such expansion was needed. The consultative council usually serves as an advisory body to the president, the government, and the parliament. But it has the same authority as parliamentarians in its authority to ratify treaties and nominate presidential candidates. With respect to selection of presidential nominees, the 111 members of the council and the 301 members of the parliament can effectively restrict the selection of candidates through their authority to name candidates. Given that 111 out of 412 members with the power to make such recommendations are appointed by the president, he has a great deal of influence at the stage of selecting presidential nominees.

The local councils are the first administrative bodies set up on the local level in the unified Yemen. These bodies are a commendable effort, instrumental in expanding Yemen's democratization from the central government level to its local government counterparts. But the role and function of the local councils has been ambiguously defined. A bill on regional administration that set rules for these bodies was first submitted to parliament by the government in 1996. The government later withdrew the bill and submitted two revised versions in 1997 and 1999, before the parliament revised them again and enacted the final version in 2001. The fact that the government's original version went through various parliamentary discussions and was revised before enactment suggests Yemen's parliamentary system was functioning soundly. But there was also some confusion in the process. One reason for this confusion was the disputes that emerged over who should select the heads of local governments. The original bill stated the chairman of the local council, who is elected by local assemblymen, should concurrently serve as governor. This rule was criticized, even by officials of the central government, and led to parliamentary confusion. A bill was finally enacted by the parliament and stipulates that the governor shall be appointed by the central government and that the governor concurrently serves as chairman of the local council. This rule had been adopted previously and was the traditional method of selecting the governor. This episode indicates that relations between the head of local councils and governors are still ambiguous in many respects.

The institutional changes in Yemen, as I have observed thus far, reflect both universal and particularistic aspects in the process of the country's democratization. It is very difficult to accurately evaluate such changes. There are institutional defects, although these have not proven fatal. Despite such nonfatal defects, the government of Yemen was able to strengthen its power base in line with democratization. This is why it is difficult to evaluate the changes categorically. I have already pointed out problems involved with Yemen's single-seat constituency system. A.A. Saif has been more critical of the electoral system, arguing, "With the high rate of illiteracy, voters can recognize and choose their candidates on a personal basis. This also provides transparent, easy and straightforward elections. Moreover, this gives room for independents to be represented in the parliament" (9).

Such voting behavior also explains a high representation of tribal leaders as well as independents among lawmakers. In the 1988 general election in former North Yemen, about 30 percent of parliamentary seats were taken by tribal leaders. After unification about 20 percent of lawmakers have

been tribal leaders (11).

If tribal leaders who are otherwise employed win an election, they are unlikely to report their position as tribal chief. And elected candidates whose relatives are tribal leaders are also unlikely to report their tribal position. If such lawmakers are taken into account, the share of legislators with tribal connections will be even larger. Generally speaking, the tribal community is conservative. Their leaders are also conservative and likely have ideas close to those of the establishment. A single-seat constituency system is thus likely to favor the establishment because candidates without tribal links find it difficult to win.

The various problems related to elections cannot, however, be totally blamed on the single-seat constituency system. Indeed, such a system has both positive and negative aspects, which are debated even in advanced countries. As far as Yemen's elections are concerned, the principle problems lie with the mentality of voters and the conservative norms of tribal society. But it is also true that tribal conservatism has played a great role in shaping Yemeni society. S. Carapico argues the observance of traditional Yemeni tribal law and the spirit of mutual support and participation in social activity has led to the development of cooperative associations and political parties (12).

If such tribal conservatism was to lead to popular participation in elections and parliament, the democratization of Yemen could be described not only as a change in the status quo, but also as having traditional norms behind it. Different value judgments are possible with respect to tribal society's role in democratization, but it is difficult to attribute all problems related to democratization to Yemen's single-seat constituency system.

Problems in the process of selecting candidates for presidential elections lie with the fact that members of the consultative council, who are appointed by the president, have the same authority as lawmakers. Since prospective candidates need to secure recommendations from at least 21 legislators or council members to run for the presidency, however, this offers opposition or independent candidates a good opportunity to field candidates for presidential elections. Thus, in Yemen, changes in power are possible from an institutional standpoint, both in parliament and in the presidency. Moreover, there are no political moves to restrict the opportunities for change. Nevertheless the current government has maintained and strengthened its power base, which raises the question of why this has happened and how the positive and negative aspects of democratization are linked.

When the democratization of developing countries and their civil society are subjectively evaluated, one often encounters expressions such as, "Democracy and civil society have yet to be achieved, but society is in the process of achieving these goals." This analysis can also be applied to Yemen (13). I myself think Yemen, despite its varied problems, is definitely shifting from an authoritarian political system to a more liberal form.

But the phrase, "in the process of achieving goals," is meaningless unless those making such judgments set specific goals. If the country or society being evaluated has different hypothetical assumptions or no assumptions at all, it is pointless to say that a country is "in the process of" achieving something. Unless those doing the evaluating and those being evaluated have set the same goals, we cannot define anything as "being in the process" of something. I think any evaluation of the Yemeni case should be based on the status quo. Why has Yemen managed simultaneously to democratize, even as the current government maintains power? And what accounts for the coexistence of both positive and

negative trends in the country? There are two possible answers to these questions: the government's orientation toward political balance and reluctant acknowledgement by constituents of governmental expertise.

Democratic moves started to emerge in Yemen soon after unification. Unification was a long cherished wish of the Yemenites and the biggest goal of both the North and South Yemen governments. But unification came as a sudden windfall following the collapse of the Cold War structure. A single constitution, regular elections, and a multiparty system in a unified state—all these hopes had long come to nothing, but unification suddenly brought them about. Democratization in Yemen, on the other hand, did not come about as a result of strong demands from the people or serious unrest or riots, followed by a drive toward radical change in the political system, rather it was brought forth under the strong leadership of the government. Democracy was offered and implemented from the top down. Nevertheless, it would be untrue to say that democracy was introduced in Yemen as a set system. The government of Yemen had no choice but to emphasize democracy itself as a cause to justify its domination of the country at a time when moves to depart from earlier ideological models were spreading. Democratization was only promoted in line with this idea.

The revised 1994 constitution thus strengthened presidential authority and introduced universal suffrage for presidential elections. The 2001 constitution extended the term of office of the president and relaxed conditions for lawmakers to nominate presidential candidates by reducing the minimum number of recommendations candidates have to secure from 31 to 21. Local councils were set up in order to reflect the people's will in local politics, and local elections were conducted to achieve this aim. But a proposal for local people to elect local governors was withdrawn. Democratic measures taken after the introduction of general elections and the introduction of a multiparty system always include two conflicting ideas: steps to reinforce the government's power base and institutional changes that may expose the government to greater criticism or loss of power. These democratic measures based on the government's orientation toward political balance are carefully calibrated to strike a middle ground in which ordinary citizens would not neither be strongly dissatisfied with continued authoritarianism or overly unsettled as a result of sudden liberalization.

One can thus say democratization is still being improved in Yemen and that this process needs to continue. But the goal of democratization is not to achieve something that may be significant in the future, but to keep to the middle ground or maintain balance, which is most desirable for any given administration at any given time. It is more realistic to say the greatest attention is always paid to the current situation. The definition of "balance" always changes not to achieve certain goals, but to respond to individual cases. In any case, "balance" is something that will be always sought after. This is the reason why democracy as defined by modern civil society is not fully established in Yemen.

The GPC and constituencies who continue to support the current president are also strongly influenced by moves to depart from ideology. After unification, the GPC lost the characteristics that represented all political forces. This happened because leftist and Islamist parties were split from the GPC, not because the party's core supporters clarified their political ideology or policy stance. The GPC's political ideology is very vague. The party has not taken a clear ideological stance, other than to say it has inherited the sprit of the 1962 revolution. My view is that the GPC is not an ideology-oriented party struggling to realize an ideal society. It is rather a pragmatic party trying to solve pressing problems one

by one. This is why the party draws wide support from the public. What is important both for the GPC and for people of Yemen is to settle problems facing them now, not to pursue a particular ideology. Among political parties in Yemen, only the GPC has the range of political and administrative expertise and experience to solve these problems. Put another way, voters support the GPC not because they support its ideas but because they have little choice. There are no other political forces presenting better ways of resolving problems than the administration of President Saleh. Thus, public support for the GPC is reluctant, but genuine.

If the hypotheses I have presented in this paper are valid, one could say that democracy in Yemen has been described more in terms of its means than its ends. Of course, this description may be a bit too rhetorical. Democracy is about both ultimate ends, as well as a means of solving problems. Yemen's democratization was regarded as an indispensable element in achieving and maintaining unification, and public support for the GPC is a reflection of the party's ability to solve problems, not of its ideology. Given this assessment, one gets the impression that democracy in Yemen is rather a means of resolving problems.

Of course, when one tries to resolve problems, a certain political stance is necessary to justify one's actions. In that sense, ideology is always involved in resolving issues. In the history of Yemen, however, political ideology has been a barrier to solutions in many cases. In the current political environment, there is a stronger tendency to avoid such cases. Even if many ideological options are presented for the attainment of certain goals, such options, if found to be ineffective in solving pressing issues, lose their appeal with the public.

When one administration retains power for many years, the possibility of corruption increases. In order to prevent such corruption, some critics say all countries should have institutional mechanisms to allow for a change of power when necessary. I think this proposal is a realistic and rational option. Shifts in power are not an absolute condition for democratization, but such institutional mechanisms should be put in place and expanded to enable such power shifts, where necessary.

Democratization has advanced in Yemen as the government resolved pressing issues. This indicates Yemen has attempted to solve problems through democratic means, rather than aiming to establish democracy as an end in itself. Solving problems because of the need to establish democracy and building a democratic political system as a means to solve problems—the two approaches are in fact coexistent. But my view is that the latter has more weight in Yemen's politics. If the idea of introducing democracy in Yemen is universal, finding ways to solve a country's current problems through democratization is particularistic. This may be a rational explanation, but simply defining the idea of democracy as a means to solve problems may result in an overemphasis on pragmatic, results-oriented views and judgments, which ultimately risks devaluing democracy itself.

Major Political Parties

1. GPC, al-Mu►tamar al-Sha► b► al-►►mma, General People's Congress

The government of North Yemen established this political organization in 1980 by calling for unity of political forces and reconciliation among the people. It was the only legal political organization in

North Yemen. It held its first general meeting in 1982, at a convention of 1,000 members: 700 chosen from various associations and organizations and 300 named by the government. The meeting named President Saleh as secretary-general of the GPC, and adopted its national platform, called Mith►q al-Wa►an►. The GPC served as a vehicle to achieve Saleh's commitment to hold general elections. In the first general election held in 1988, all 128 seats at stake in the new parliament were taken by candidates certified by the GPC. The remaining 31 seats of the 159-member council were filled by presidential decree. After unification, the GPC became a formal party of the unified state. The party recruited new members and grew to 7,000 members by its fifth general meeting in 1995. At the 1995 meeting, the party changed the leader's title from secretary-general to chairman. The meeting appointed President Saleh as chairman and Vice President Hadi as vice chairman. The leadership remains unchanged at present.

2. Islah or YRG, al-Tajammu► al-Yaman► lil-I►l►►, Yemeni Reform Group

In line with the introduction of a multiparty system after unification, tribal forces in northern part of former North Yemen and the Ulama, close to the Muslim Brotherhood, in the southern part of former North Yemen were integrated to form this party. Sheikh Abdullah bin Hussain al-Ahmar, leader of the Hashid tribal confederation, who has served as speaker of the parliament since 1993, heads this party. Other leaders of the party come from the Ulama. The Hashid confederation, a tribal grouping, is the largest lobby in Yemen while the Ulama provides an ideological framework for the party.

Members from the northern tribes belong to the Zaydi sect of Shia Islam, while other members, including Ulama, belong to the Shafi►i sect of Sunni Islam. No problems stemming from regional differences have occurred so far. The party's policy, aimed at spreading Islamist ideas, includes implementing Sharia, the legal and moral code of Islam, and expanding religious education. It acts as an opposition party to counter the ruling GPC but supports the basic policy of President Saleh. The party is thus not regarded as an anti-government force. It is said to have strong ties with the government of Saudi Arabia due to al-Ahmar's personal and Ulama's religious connections with Saudi Arabia.

3. YSP, al-►izb al-Ishtir►k► al-Yaman►, the Yemeni Socialist Party

This party's predecessor was the National Liberation Front (NLF), which controlled South Yemen at the time of independence from Britain in 1968. The NLF fought Britain for control of the country for four years beginning in 1964, when South Yemen was under British rule. The NLF changed its name to the Yemeni Socialist Party in 1978. This Marxist-Leninist vanguard party imposed a single-party dictatorship system on the country. The party's central committee, upon unification, decided to abandon socialism and change the party's name. But before a party convention to formalize these decisions was held, a civil war erupted in Yemen in 1994, leading to a freeze of party assets. In August 1994 following the end of the civil war, the YSP held a meeting of its politburo in Damascus, and adopted a resolution calling the declaration of secession and independence during the civil war a mistake. In September 1994, the Central Committee elected Ali Saleh Obaid as its new secretary-general at its meeting in San►a', and removed the names of al-Baid and other senior members who supported independence and secession from the party membership list. In March 1997, the YSP Central Committee decided to boycott the second general election by a vote of 75-32, and lost all its seats in the parliament.

4. Others

The Arab Socialist Ba►th Party, a leftist party affiliated with the Ba►th Party (won seven seats in the 2001 local elections)

Nasserite Unionist Popular Organization, subscribes to Nasserite ideology (won 28 seats in the 2001 local elections)

Democratic Nasserites Party

Nasserite Popular Corrective Party

al-►aqq Party (Justice Party), a party affiliated with the Zaydi faction (won one seat in the 2001 local elections)

Union of Yemen Popular Forces, a party affiliated with the Zaydi faction (won two seats in the 2001 local elections)

NOTES:

(1) For example, Freedom House, which conducts country-by-country assessments of political rights and civil liberties, says there were no changes in democratization in Yemen from 1972 to 1998. It says Yemen was "not free" as of 1998.

28 2000 3 p. 92.

(2) For information on the unification of North Yemen and South Yemen and the political situation in pre-unification Yemen, refer to   27 1999 9 pp. 27-41.

(3) For information on the revised 1994 constitution, refer to   12

2000 pp. 3-49.

For information on the revised 2001 constitution, refer to "Dust►r al-Jumh►riyya al-Yamaniyya," *al-Jar►da al-Rasmiyya*, Vol. 2, No. 6, al-Jumh►riyya al-Yamaniyya, April 15, 2001.

(4) *Q►n►n al-Intikh►b►t al-►►mma, al-Jumh►riyya al-Yamaniyya*, 1999, ► an► ► '. Saif, A.A., *A Legislature in Transition: The Yemeni Parliament*, Aldershot, 2001, pp. 95-98.

(5) "Q► n► n al-A► z► b wa al-Tan► ► m► t al-Siy► siyya," *Q►n►n al-Intikh►b►t wa Q►n►n al-A►z►b*, al-Jumh► riyya al-Yamaniyya, n.d., ► an► ► '. Saif, *op.cit.*, pp. 91-99.

(6) *al-Q►n►n Raqm 4 li-Sana 2000 bi-Sha'ni al-►ul►a al-Ma►alliyya al-Jumh►riyya al-Yamaniyya*, 2000, ► an► ► '.

(7) e.g. Whitaker, K., "National Unity and Democracy in Yemen: A Marriage of Inconvenience," Joffé, E.G.H. et al (eds.), *Yemen Today: Crisis and Solutions*, London, 1997, pp. 21-27.

(8) Saif, *op.cit.*, p. 93-93.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 154.

(10) *Al-Thawra*, March 4, 2001.

(11) ►► hir► , M.M.al-, *al-Dawr al-Siy►s► lil-Qab►la fil-Yaman 1962-1990*, ► an► ► ', 1996, p. 188. Saif, *op.cit.*, p. 191.

(12) Carapico, S., *Civil Society in Yemen: the Political Economy of Activism in Modern Arabia*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 11-12.

(13) Saif mentioned, "In this sense there is toleration of the democratic experiment of Yemen, but it has not experienced political pluralism yet." Carapico mentioned, "Indeed, the fact is that for all its troubles Yemen is today relatively open by Arabs, especially Arabian Peninsula, standard." Saif, *op.cit.*, p. 112. Carapico, *op.cit.*, p. 210.

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