

**ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PEOPLE'S
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled **ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN** submitted by **Mr. MAHMOOD SANI** in partial fulfilment for the award of the Degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other university. To the best of our knowledge this a bonafide work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiner for evaluation.


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TO MY ABBA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the medieval period Yemen was subjected to rivalries of various regional powers; Ottoman, Egyptians and Wahabis competed with one another. Lastly Yemen was occupied by the British in 1839 and then the British partitioned Yemen geographically and divided the ancient land of Yemeni people into two parts; Yemen (Aden) the southern part on the edge of the Arabian peninsula and Yemen (Sana) the south western corner of Arabian Peninsula.

In South Yemen (Aden), in the early 1960s the nationalist began a terror campaign against the British as well as the tribal leaders. Among these there were two major nationalist groups; the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Front for the Liberation of occupied Southern Yemen (Flosy). In late 1967 the Federation government which was being controlled by the British collapsed due to the terror campaign. Britain also announced that it would withdraw its troops and give power to any group that could set up a viable government.

The NLF emerged as the most powerful group or party in the Federation. On November 30, 1967 the last British troops were withdrawn and South Yemen gained independence from the Great Britain. The NLF formed the government and

South Yemen became the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). Meanwhile, in the North Yemen (Sana) in 1962 a group of military officers had overthrew the Immamiat, and set up a republic which subsequently became Yemen Arab Republic (YAR). Today both the republics are integrated since 22 May 1990 as the United Republic of Yemen.

In PDRY about 90% of the total population is Arab. The rest are Indians, Pakistanis, East Africans and nomadic who are not fully integrated with the Yemen society.

According to UN sources in March 1988, the population of PDRY was 23,45,266 in which males are 11,84,359 and females 11,60,907. Density of population (per square kilometre) in mid 1988 was 7.1.

Economic development

The PDRY is an under developed country because some important characteristic of under development are found which are as follows¹ :-

- 1) General Poverty: The PDRY is poverty-ridden, poverty is reflected in low per capita income (see table 1.1).
- 2) Agriculture the main occupation: In under developed country two-third or more of the people depend upon

¹ Merier and Baldwin, Economic Development, (New York : John Willey, 1971), pp.285-90.

agriculture and live in rural areas and their main occupation is agriculture. PDRY is also agrarian economy and the bulk of the population is engaged in agriculture. Agriculture is major segment of Yemeni economy either as considered in relation to the number of people who are engaged in agriculture or in regard to the national income.

- 3) Under Developed National Resources: The national resources of an underdeveloped country are underdeveloped in the sense that they are either utilized or under utilized or misutilized. In this regard also the PDRY is a poor state lacking the advantage that many other Third World countries have. It has very limited and inadequate natural resources such as minerals to export.
- 4) Demographic Features: Under developed countries differ greatly in demographic position and trends. Diversity exists in the size, density, age structure and the rate of growth of population.

PDRY also possesses high population growth, potential characterized by high crude birth rate. Advanced medical facilities and the introduction of better methods of public health and sanitation have reduced mortality rates and increased fertility rates, (see table 1.2).

- 5). Unemployment and Disguised unemployment: In PDRY, there is vast unemployment and disguised unemployment.
- 6). Economic Backwardness: In PDRY, the manifestation of economic backwardness can be seen in low labour efficiency , factor immobility, limited specialization in occupation and in trade, traditional values and social structure that minimize the incentives for economic change.

The oilboom in the Arabian Peninsula is one of the significant factors of PDRY's economic development in a number of ways. Emigration had profound influence economically, culturally and even politically.² The earnings of Yemeni migrants workers rose dramatically with a number of consequences. Positively their high level of remittances provided government in Aden with some of the foreign exchange desperately needed to finance development projects. Emigrants were also able to improve significantly the standard of living of their families who lived mainly in the remote rural areas and who therefore suffered less from the urban-rural gape than they would have otherwise.³

There is no doubt that living condition of ordinary people in PDRY rose since independence and also risen per

² Helen Lackaner, PDR Yemen : Outpost of Socialist Development in Arabia, (London : Ithaca Press, 1985), p.2.

³ Ibid., p.3.

capita GNP, despite the country's almost total lack of resources, largely thanks to emigrants.

The second chapter of this dissertation highlights Economic Development in which effort has been made to describe the economic structure in PDRY, the government's policy of economic development and all economic activities have been mixed as brief review of various sectors that have been also discussed.

Social Development

At Independence the PDRY faced grave social problems as well as imbalances. Only 18 percent of total population was literate. All production assets were owned by small minority elite of rulers, tribal chiefs and foreigners. The vast majority of the people outside Aden lived in poverty, particularly acute among the Bedu in the northern region. Medical services were few and limited and nutrition inadequate. In Aden there was much unemployment due to decline in shipping and commercial activity during the final year of the British presence. In 1973 the PDRY government has taken serious by all these problem and given close attention to these diversified issues at large level.

Special effort has been made effectively in the field of education at all levels. A Crash programme started to reduce adult literacy. 73,000 Yemenis had completed

literacy course by 1977 despite of inadequate teachers and highly dispersed population. At Independence, 6,500 Yemenis were in school, in 1979 there were more than a quarter of a million are of every residents. Education has been extended throughout the country side. PDRY's commitment to education is reflected in its expenditure in the mid 1970 of 7.4% GDP in this field, as compared with an average of 4.4. for less developed countries.

The PDRY government exerted in the field of science and technological education. Regime has been developed an integrated College of Technology. In 1979 it had 250 students in night- school crafts courses, 700 at the lower technician level, and 560 at the engineering level, 75 were permitted to go on for master degree. Qualified Yemenis are gradually replacing Russian and Indian faculty in PDRY

The PDRY special effort made to equal right and education for girls and policy for emancipating women and recruiting them into the national labour force. There is no any discrimination on the basis of sex and substantial progress of women in every sphere of social life. Special legislation introduced in 1974, Prohibits polygamy and child marriage. The status of women improved and government has achieved most of objectives of welfare programme in various fields.

Third and fourth chapters of this dissertation are covered major aspects of social development as well as the pattern of social changes which contributed the social transformation as a whole.

Economic and social development of PDRY is interrelated which can not be studied separately, because each one is depended another. I have discussed mainly the economic and social development after independence of PDRY.

Objective of the Study

1. To describe the economic structure in PDRY and economic development trends associated with different policy goals; and also to analyse the desirable objectives.
2. To examine the nature of society in the PDRY with special reference to the process of social changes and transformation of society and also pattern of social stratification.
3. To analyse the contradictions within the social and economic orders of the PDRY and their impact on its

Note : World Bank, World Development Report, 1984, p.218. evolution as a modern nation.

4. To describe, analyze and evaluate the forces that produce change, and social and economic order in PDRY.
5. To determine the natures of ^{PDRY} society PDRY and their impact on social and economic development.
6. To describe and examine the government's policy of economic and social development and its impact on social changes at large level.

Conceptual Framework

We will examine and analyse economic and social development in PDRY in terms of the conceptual framework of colonialism-post-colonialism as PDRY like many other Third World country was British Colony. 'The major characteristic of the Third World countries are explosion of population, rapid and continuous increase in unemployment, large disparity, mass illiteracy at large level, limited inadequate resources, huge external debt and instable political condition of the nations.'⁴

Apart from those, the citizen of the Third World countries live in miserable condition in a community with few government services; there are many few schools, often

⁴ Jack W. Nicksons, J.R., Economic and Social Choice, (New York : MacGrwa Hall, 1971), p.223.

located at prohibitive distances little fire and police protection, very few hospitals and doctors.⁵

PDRY is also one of the Third World countries which is facing most of the same problems. In the economic base of colonial period collapsed in 1967, port activities fell dramatically after just closure of Suez Canal, the service sector declined with the departure of the British. Just as in many other ex-colonies the regime which took over at independence found an unbalanced country with high level of infrastructure in the capital but practically nothing in the rural areas. But unlike most former colonies, the PDRY is a fundamentally poor state lacking the major advantages that many other Third World Countries have. It has no natural resources such as sufficient mineral to export its agricultural land forms only 0.3% of the total territory and cannot be used to develop export oriented cash crops.

Survey of Literature

Yemen's isolation from 1918 until 1948 negatively affected the availability of literature to the western as well as Arab writers. From 1918 the year of independence from Turkish rule to 1948 Yemen was almost inaccessible to

⁵ G.Myrdal, "Need for Reforms in Underdeveloped Countries", in S.Grossman and E.Lundberg(ed.), The World Economic Order : Past and Prospects, (London : Westview Press, 1981), pp.501-25.

foreign interest and foreign personnel. Only handful of Europeans were able to enter Yemen and wrote narrative about their experiences. Such narratives were essentially descriptive and than non political. Yemen became more accessible after 1948. The regime's fear and apprehensive of any thing foreign remained a barrier to outsiders.

Prior to 1948 practically all English writings on Yemen were either descriptive or historical in nature. Only after 1960s and especially 1967 revolution one able to locate literature that politically analysed Yemen's policy and international position. Thus, so many books have come on social, economic and political topics.

For dealing with economic development in Yemen; there are various books and articles. The main books are : Peterson, J.E., Yemen: The Search of Modern State, (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1962); Naumkin, V, South Yemen: The Road to progress, (Moscow : International Affairs, 1978), Macro, Eric, Yemen: The Western World Since 1571. (London: Hurts & co.,1968), Lackner, Halen, PDR Yemen : Outpost of Socialist Development 1962-86, (London: Ithaca Press, 1985), Pridhan, B.R., (ed.), (London : Croomhelm), 1985.

All these books contribute greatly to our understanding regarding the Yemeni economic structure as well as the process of economic development.

On the Yemeni Society there are a few books and articles such as; Zabrah, Ahmad Mohammed, Yemen: Traditionalism vs. Modernity, (USA: Praeger, 1982), Bujra, A.S. The Political of Stratification: A Study of Political Change in south Arabian Town, (Oxford: 1971), Pridhan B.R., (ed.), Contemporary Yemen: Politics and Historical Background, (London: CroomHelm, 1985), Sharif, A., "Yemeni Ethic & Racial History" Ethic & Racial Studies, vol.xix, April 1990, Fraike, Head Bey, "Society's tour to the Yemen", Asian Affairs, 21(2) Jan. 1990, Francis, Hillal Bey, " Yemen- Conflict & Co-existence", World Today, 12(6) August-September 1989, Ghulam, M Hauff, "Muslim Development at Risk: The Crisis of Human Resources", The American Journal of Islamic Social Science, 9(4), 1992.

All these works highlight the changing social order. Beside these, on historical themes there are a number of books in which there are some very important as- Bidwell, Robin, The Two Yemen, (London: Longman West view Press, 1983, Gavin, R.J., Aden Under British Rule 1839-1967, (London: Hurts & Co., 1975).

On the whole adequate books and articles are available regarding my study.

Methodology

The proposed study would primarily be based on the primary sources as well as secondary sources such as Books, Newspapers, Official Reports, World Development Reports, PDRY : STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK and relevant articles etc.

The main method employed accomplish the objectives of the study would be descriptive as well as analytical.

Table 1.1
The Level of GNP and Population of PDRY in 1980 and Growth
of Real GNP per Capita 1970-80

1980		1970-80		1980
GNP/CAP US\$	Population in million	Real Growth GNP/CAP	Rate % GNP	GNP million US\$
430	1.90	6.4	8.9	1,000

Source : OECD Development Co-operation 1982 Review, Paris:
1982, pp.254-6.

Table 1.2

Date of Demographic Fertility estimated by Year from 1965 to 2000.

Year	Crude Birth Rate (per thousand)	Crude Death Rate (per thousand)	Women of Child bearing age as present age of Population	Total Fertility Rate	Assumed Year of reaching net repro- duction rate of 1.
1965	50	26	45	7.0	
1988	26	15	46	6.6	2025
2000				5.4	

Source : World Development Report, 1986.

CHAPTER II

Economic Development

'Economic development has been defined as the reduction of mass poverty and the increase in levels of consumption for the masses of the population.'⁶ It is the ability of the state to produce goods and services per capita and to increase tangibly the standard of living of the masses.⁷ As poverty decreases and consumption and production increases, the social awareness of the masses is augmented and enlarged. The demands of the masses in the system become varied and broaden in scope to include political and social issues.

Economic development is not undertaken slowly for political reasons. Political objectives play a role in a state's decision to expand and develop economically itself. However, economic development does cause social change. Thus is not to imply that social changes lead to modernization. Rather, it means that changes evolutionary in essence, occur in a society when that society begins to grow economically. The process of economic development is composed of three kinds of social action; the institution of

⁶ Jacob Vierer, International Track and Economic Development, (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1955), p.125.

⁷ Harvey Leibenstein, Backwardness and Economic Growth, (New York : John Wiley, 1957), p.10.

changes and the acquisition of greater wealth and income, the implementation of institutional changes, and the organization of the social and cultural life of the community so that growth becomes a feature of social changes.⁸

In this chapter economic development of People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) will be discussed since its independence. We will particularly attempt to determine the factors which were responsible for its under development/development.

Firstly, It is difficult to define an "underdeveloped" country, since such a definition must of necessity be relative. That is one country is poor compared with other countries. However, certain measures do exist which give a good indication of the degree of economic development.

Most of the underdeveloped nations are concentrated in the eastern and southern continents, including Africa, Asia and South America. But it is important to remember that there are underdeveloped nations in all parts of the world.

Generally an underdeveloped nation will be short of the natural resources for growth. But more frequently it is not a lack of resources which hinders development; rather it is

⁸ John L. Finkle and Richard W. Gable, Political Development and Social Change, (New York : John Wiley, 1971), p.195.

failure to effectively utilize the existing resources. Each underdeveloped nation has its own characteristics and its own specific problems and they must therefore, be studied individually.

We also judge the levels of development according to the caloric intake of the country's citizens. In India for example the caloric intake is estimated to be between 1700 and 1900 per person per day. Yet an individual requires about 2500 calories per day just to replenish the energy continued by the human body's living cells. And the average American may consume well over 3000 calories per day.

The most commonly accepted measure of economic development is based on money. While such an approach to measure development is not entirely satisfactory, it is nevertheless the best technique available to us. And per capita gross national (GNP per person) is the most widely accepted monetary measure. Per capita GNP varies from nation to nation.

Now, we will also attempt to examine the beginning of PDRY's economic development and conditions for development. "Social structure" in its broadest sense to include the basic social institutions (the ways of doing things) of a nation as well as the public goods available, such as

transportation, communications, health facilities and education etc.

In most under development nations, there are basic parts of the infrastructure which must be changed. The more important aspects are social attitudes, the political structure, education one-crop economies and land reform.⁹

The major features of underdevelopment nations are explosion of population, rapid increase in unemployment, inequality illiteracy at large level, limited resources huge external debt and unstable political system. The PDRY is also one of the under developed nations which is facing most of those problems.

PDRY is the one of the poorest countries with in the world. The movement which gained control at independence has been trying to 'build socialism' the 1970s in a country with a population of only 2 million distributed over a large geographical area, with an average population density of less than 5.1 per square kilometre, and a rural density of 4 per square kilometre, making the per capita cost of all services infrastructure particularly high.

⁹ Jack W. Nickson, Jr, Economics and Social Choice, (New York : McGraw Hill, 1971), p.227.

Basically the PDRY economy is predominantly agricultural. About 80 to 85 percent of the population derive their livelihood from lands. The land in Yemen is however fertile and crops of all varieties can grow abundantly. The principal crops of PDRY are Millet, Wheat, Barely, sesame seeds, cotton seeds, cotton (lint) and coffee etc. .

The PDRY is in a fundamentally poor state lacking the advantages that many other third world. Countries have. It has no adequate natural resources such as minerals to export and its agricultural lands forms 0.3% of the total territory and cannot be used to develop export-oriented cash crops. Its small population hinders development in a number of ways: the internal market is small making industrial development expensive, the low population density and isolation of the rural population means that distribution of goods is expensive, and there is a shortage of labour of all kinds.¹⁰ A further constraints is the harsh climate. In this situation the problems of economic development are not those usually associated with the Third

¹⁰ Helen Lackner, PDRY - Yemen Outpost of Socialist Development in Arabia (Ithaca Press, London, 1985), p.149.

World, namely the exploitation the country's natural resources and labour by foreign transitional companies.¹¹

Aden's oil refinery and port provide the PDRY with most of its income. The oil refuelling can process about 50 million barrels oil a year ships of many countries use the port for refining, repairs and transferring cargoes. There had been speculation the PDRY possessed mineral resources that could be exploited.

At the time of British, rule PDRY was sustained by Aden's position as an entire port in the main shipping route to Europe from the far East India and East Africa via the Suez. The British petroleum refinery completed in 1954, was the focus of 1967 and withdrawal of British troops same year, put an end to Aden's commercial prosperity. And it was dramatic change making it impossible for the post independence government to cover the budget deficit.

Planning

The first development plan, for the three years 1971/72 to 73/74 had a very modest original investment target of Yemeni Dinar (YD) 40 million. Due to regime's inability to raise funding and the desertion of the Aden bourgeoisie with its capital only 77% of planned investment was achieved. Total expenditure was YD 25 million including 16.7% for

¹¹ Ibid.

industry, 30.7 for agricultural and fisheries, 37.9% for communication and 10% for the social sector mainly health of education. This was not really a plan, it was more an investment programme as it ignored major planning issues such as macroeconomic outlook, labour force policies or any long-term projection. This was due to the weakness of the planning sector.¹²

'The five year plan aims at raising the state's share in the economy and at increasing the role of the public sector so that in future it will take the lead in economic life. The plan also aims at expanding state participation in productive ventures in the mixed sector where it works with private capital. It also looks forward to continued expansion of co-operative ownership in the agricultural sector. State ownership will be extended in state farms and then develop qualitatively.'¹³

This planning period had an actual investment target of YD 75 million, including 11% for industry, 36% for agricultural and fisheries 29% for communications and 17% for the social sector. The expenditure represented about 71.2% of revised allocations, indicating a relatively good

¹² Ibid., p.159.

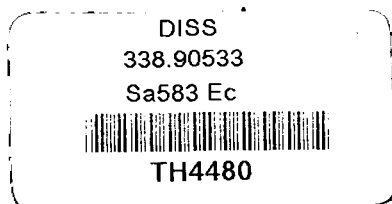
¹³ The Political Report presented by Abdul Fattah Ismail to the Unification Congress, October 1975 London 1977, p.47.

absorptive capacity in a economy. While the public sector accounted 25% of GNP in 1973 in 1978 it produced 52%, and during the same period the share that share of the private sector dropped by 2% to 6.3%, the cooperative sector also decreasing its share. The transfer from private to collective production continued between 1970 and 1975, so that in 1976 the state sector controlled 28% of industrial production. In agriculture in 1976 private crop production appeared to be practically non-existent at least in official statistics which recorded 71% output for the cooperative sector and 29% for the state sector similarly in fisheries, the private sector had practically vanished with production more widely distributed as there was a foreign sector and joint ventures, but cooperatives controlled 26% of production and the state sector 16%. Transportation and construction are two fields in which the private sector remained important, with 58% of transport in private hands 60% public.¹⁴

The mid-1970s also saw the emergence of unexpected problems, one of these shortage of labour, largely due to an absence of employment planning initiated labour intensive projects, the chinese-built textile factory in Mansura being the largest example. However the oil-income based boon in

¹⁴ Helen Lackner, (no7), p.152.

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the rest of the peninsula in the early 1970s encouraged many Yemenis to emigrate, while many others were young enough to be in education, and by the mid-1970s a labour shortage emerged. In agricultural and fisheries low income encouraged emigration and also discouraged productivity.

The Second Five Year Plan

Substantially larger than the preceding plans, the Second Five Year Plan envisaged to total development expenditure of YD-508 million over the years 1981-85 at constant 1980 price, where as between 1974 and 1980 only YD 316 million (current Prices) was spent on development.

Its aims are basically the same as those of earlier plans :

- i) To satisfy the basic needs of the population for food shelter, consumer goods, employment health care and other social services.
- ii) To develop the production capacity of the economy, in particular industry, agricultural and fisheries.
- iii) To strengthen the physical infrastructure.
- vi) To explore and utilize the mineral resources of the country.
- v) To raise the educational standard of the population and the technical skill of the labour force;

- vi) To improve the balance of payments situation by increasing export of domestic products, by import substitution and by mobilizing greater amounts of remittances.
- vii) To increase labour productivity and encourage women to participate in economic and social activities; and
- viii) To promote balanced regional and sectoral growth and an equitable distribution of income.¹⁵

The distribution of expenditure shows the changes in priority resulting from the main social, economic and political questions and reflect the result of earlier investment. Investment in agricultural drops from 23% to 12% in fisheries from 11.3% to 5.4%. To some extent this reflects the lack of success of earlier investment which, as we have seen, produced zero growth rate in the previous period. The share of manufacturing industry remains relatively stable decrease from 7.6% to 6% and that of oil and minerals research, also remains at 5.5% (earlier 5%). Electricity's share of investment raises dramatically from 4% to 13.5% in an improve supply and expand the network, Transport and communications retain a substantial share. Public Health facilities are to be improved by investment in water and sewerage whose share of Investment rise from

¹⁵ Ministry of Planning, Aden PDRY.

0.7% to 6.5%. Other health services get 2.1% compared to 2.1% between 1974 and 1980. (See Table 2.1)

With the low real growth rates achieved in the 1970s it is unlikely that the objectives of the second five year plan will be met in all sectors. This is particularly the case for the productive sectors. The disastrous floods of 1982 were and there set back to growth which was planned to be 9.1% in agriculture 8.7% in fisheries and 13.9% in industry.

Finance

Domestic exports have risen from US \$70 million in 1969 to US 34.7% million in 1982 while import also rose from US\$ 86.5 million to US \$796.8 million in the same period. The over all balance of payments has been rescued over the year by remittance: total remittances and other transfers have ensured that the current account balance was positive in 1969 (US\$ 1.3 million) and by 1982 the deficit was only US\$ 175 million.

The budget has been in deficit since independence, due to shortage of revenue and despite considerable efforts made to keep expenditure down. In the early year public sector wage and salaries were reduced, and since then have remained low, with small differentials.

The unsatisfactory financial situation reflects the economic difficulties of the PDRY, a country which was trying to develop with practically no resources except its small population. The balance of payment is only reduced to an acceptable level of deficit thanks to the remittance of Yemeni workers abroad, who can be said to be financing the living standards not only of their families but also of the nation since it is their foreign exchange which makes possible the imports of all goods, both luxury and productive. Low productivity in agriculture, fisheries and industry suggest there is little prospect of improvement in the country's overall finances in the future. The only hopeful features are in minerals research and the prospects of improvement in the country's overall finances in the future. The only hopeful features are in minerals research and the prospects of commercial oil exploitation.

Throughout the planning period since 1970 external financing has played a major role in development. Immediately after independence with the abrupt serving of British aid, the flow of aid dropped in 1969-70 to YD 2.6 million. By 1972 of US\$ 26.4 million total distributed aid, US \$ 1.4 million came from international and Arab sources, while the largest single amount (US \$ 8.41 million) came from China and rest came from other socialist

countries. This pattern continued until the mid-1970s, when the share contributed by international organization and various Arab funds increased substantially while among bilateral aid donors the USSR took the first place. By the end of 1978, outstanding disbursed aid was US\$ 310 million including US\$ 68.6 million from multilateral donors; among whom were a number of Arab funds. While in the earlier years the only Arab contributors was the Kuwait Fund for Economic and social development, the Abu Dhabi Fund, and even the Saudi Fund and the Islamic Bank. By late 1982, there had been no substantial change in sources with the amount of disbursed multilateral aid rising to US \$212 million and disbursed bilateral aid amounting to US \$573 million, with the USSR accounting for almost half of this (US \$270 million by end 1983 , total disbursed aid amounted over (one) billion dollars, in the form of concessionary rate loans, and only little in grants.

It is very clear from above said these figures the most of development projects and financed with foreign aid. During the first five year plan external sources accounted for 75% of development investment and with second plan it 70% of investment financed by foreign loans. With a forecast of static or even decreasing remittances, and of local productive sectors are essential if the rate of development

is to be maintained and an improvement in living standard sustained.

Trade

In 1973 exports covered 11.5% of imports (US\$ 13.9 million exports and US \$ 119.8 million and imports), by 1982 the situation had deteriorated yet further with exports covering only 4.35% of imports (US\$ 34.7% million exports and US \$ 796.3 million imports). The major exports are fish and cotton and the main industrial countries to which these exports Japan and Italy. In the Arab world the majority of exports go to Saudi Arabia (KSA) and the North Yemen Arab Republic (YAR).

In this situation trade policy decisions necessarily refer essentially to imports. The Political Report to the First Congress of the YSP states the policy in foreign trade; over aim is to secure the necessary resources for development in addition to the available local resources by concluding agreements with friendly and fraternal countries and with Pan-Arab and international organisations. We are trying to put an end to our economic dependence on the capitalist market.¹⁶

¹⁶ Ministry of Planning, Aden PDRY, Proceedings, p.50.

In spite of an official decision and policy to develop trade with socialist-nations and the Arab world, many of which cannot offer convenient trading terms. Capitalist countries have retained first place as suppliers to PDRY, the United Kingdom being displaced by Japan as first place as suppliers to PDRY, the United Kingdom being displaced by Japan as first suppliers in the mid 1970s. The two major socialist countries trading partners were the people's Republic of China which had in the most years had higher exports to the PDRY than the USSR. The main Arab suppliers were the neighbour countries Yemen Arab Republic and United Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The main items of imports through out the period have been food and petroleum; the country imports all its fuel needs and sugar, tea and rice, wheat is produced locally in inadequate quantities and remains a major import machinery and transport equipment are also very substantial items, and have increased in recent years; while upto 1975 the number of passenger vehicle imported was very low this increased substantially from 1976 onwards and particularly in 1980s.

'The increasing imbalance in the trade figures is due not only to the increased prices of goods on the world market but also to a shift in a import policy. While in the

early 1970s major efforts were made to reduce imports and everything smacking of luxury goods was banned and almost impossible to import, since the late 1970s this policy has been gradually eased. The import of private cars in particular multiplied in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This was partly due to a policy aimed at satisfying the desires of the population made possible by the increase of remittances grow; with the greater economic and financial difficulties, the problem of reducing luxury imports has once again come up. In 1984, a general ban on the import of cars was decreased for the year causing frustration among would be car buyers.¹⁷

So far as self sufficiency or self reliant is concerned in PDRY context is unrealistic, because import policy becomes a major political issue with which the regime must constantly grapple. Although imports of productive goods and foods have priority and the definition of luxury goods and policy concerning is now a subject of public long debate. The choice determines between a puritanism of striving to do with out or satisfying the population and particularly as that section which has the income to purchase electrical goods, car and other luxuries. In many countries such people could be defined as members of the

¹⁷ Helen Lackner, (no.7), p.162.

bourgeoisie, but in the PDRY they include the emigrant workers who are paying for the majority of the country's imports. To penalise them by preventing them from importing goods they want for their household and families is difficult to justify particularly as the officials who would be implementing such rules are likely to be those who drive private cars brought locally on hire purchase, cars imported thanks to the foreign exchange earned by the some migrants.

Infrastructure

- 1) Road - At the time of independence of PDRY the country had only 470 km of paved roads, mostly in and around the capital city Aden and 400 km unpaved. By 1983 there were 1650 Km of paved road forming an elementary network of network of communication in the country. The people's Republic of China has contributed a major role in road construction. Thus, the roads has made possible regular bus links between the major towns and this has supplemented the air links which existed before independence. The construction of roads and bridges have also eased the distribution of imported staples and other necessities to the hinterland, and simultaneously made it possible for agricultural produce to be distributed. Truck traffic

represents about 50% of all road traffic outside the towns and about 40% of this (in tons/km) is carried by public sector trucks, the rest being private, operating under the supervision of the public corporation of land Transport.

- ii) Internal Air Travel - Total domestic traffic suddenly increased from 50,000 passengers year in 1975 to over 100,000 in 1982, this has been made possible both by the acquisition of new aircraft and by improvements in the airports. Riyan (Mukalla) airport has been recently with modern facilities and a runway able to take jets, and the daily Aden-Mukalla link is now by Boeing 707. Most of international traffic from capital city Aden is for the immigrant workers travelling to the peninsula as well as inter-Yemeni traffic. International traffic involved 260,000 passenger in 1982, an increase from 220,000 since 1975. This shows that most of the increase in recent years has been domestic traffic. The national airline Alyemda flies to Kuwait, Damascus, Jeddah, Sava, Sharjah, Mogadishu, Djibouti, Addis Ababa and Nairobi. Some of these destination are served only once weekly.
- iii) International Telecommunication - have also in improved substantially since the completion of the satellite

ground station in 1982. Telephone links between Aden and the rest of the country in 1984 were still primitive and unreliable, preventing the telephone from becoming routine. Now it has been modernized and fulfilling the needs of the state as well as publics. Telegrams no doubt remained the most effective form of rapid communication between Aden the all local offices of the different government sectors as well as private sectors.

- iv) Energy - For energy country depends up on petroleum. In 1982, country imported oil almost 900,000 to supply local needs, but a third of which was used for the generation of electricity. Despite the started ambitions, comprehensive electrification is not expected in the foreseeable future. Through the plan foresees 44% of the population having access to electricity supply by the end of 1982 only about 29% had access to the state supply and 83% electricity supplied to urban population and 22% only of the 80% of the rural population. Electrification projects have not effectively altered the imbalance as they have supplies to areas which already have electricity, essentially the capital and other major towns. The only area which as recently been supplied with an

electricity new publicly owned network is the largely urbanised region of Wadi Hadramaut, which now has a major power station to which most of the Wadi is gradually being connected. The project to electricity five small towns on the Hadramaut Coast will also improve the situation. Another major rural plan concerns the electrification of Wadi Bayhan but this not fully expected to materialise till the end of decade.

The regime also has given serious attention to alternative forms of energy and National committee for Energy was founded in 1980 and its duties include devising more economical ways of obtaining energy and improving conservation measures.

The Labour Force

'Work is the right of every citizen and it is the duty of every able citizen accordance with his ability, qualification and the social interest.'¹⁸ To implement this commitment of the state has had to deal with dramatic shifts in the situation : at independence with the closure of the Suez Canal, the stagnation of the port and the departure of British. It was suddenly confronted with mass unemployment in Aden itself, while the hinterland, as in

¹⁸ PDRY Constitution 1978 art.37.

previous decades, survived off the remittance from emigrants and subsistence agriculture.

The regime also sets up labour - intensive projects : the main job-creating scheme was the building with Chinese assistance of the major textile plant in Mansura, designed to employ upto 1500 workers. However, by the time it opened in 1975 the earlier problem of unemployment was giving way to labour shortage. As early as 1973 the govt. banned new emigration to halt in the drain of labour, particularly of skilled and professional workers. After the mid 1970s labour policies's had to be redirected to deal with the new problems of labour shortage and low productivity which beset the economy upto the early 1980s. Measures to improve productivity included rise in salaries in 1975 by 5% and in 1979 when new grades were created, increasing official differential to 6:1 increase were also higher at the upper levels. The impetus was an attempt to improve relative salaries in the productive sector by offering various bonuses and extra payments. It was hoped that higher wages would help a redeployment of labour towards the sectors where there were shortages, ie industry, agriculture and construction. The move was only partially successful for a combination of reasons. First office work is both physically less demanding and command higher status and Secondly in

productive labour higher incomes could be earned in the private sector.

The total active labour force was 467000 in 1982, a rise of 57000 over 1978 and is expected to rise to 605,000 by 1990 and to over 900,000 in 2000. As emigration is not likely to increase, development planning must include major employment creation schemes to avoid a reassurance unemployment by the end of the century.

Those employed in wage labour represent almost a quarter of the total population, and there are still almost as many people of working age who are not in formal employment. Employment figures, and estimates probably ignore many peasant women who are active in agriculture and herding. Migrants are also excluded from the figures, as are other men of working age who are neither employed nor seeking employment but cross line off remittances either because they find public sector salaries too low or because they do not want to get work considered to be beneath their state. In 1981 453,000 people were employed the largest number or 43% were in agriculture; services including trends and public administration occupied 30%, only 10% were in industry and 2% in fisheries. In 1982, the total employment was estimated 467000, it was also estimated to rise to 47700 by 1983.

At present, when new enterprises are emerging a pace, more and more attention is given to the training of skilled workers, in particular through a network of vocational schools, courses and professional training centres. The projects built with the assistance of socialist countries envisage the training of local workers and technical personnel in different specialists. The continuing movement of labour to neighbouring Arab states, though limited in scope and financially profitable for the state, causes labour deficit in number of branches. It may sound paradoxical but the PDRY is compelled to use foreign labour on a small scale on projects built by foreign capital or with the assistance of capitalist countries.

Overall, a successful solution to the problems of employment is ensured by a well throughout strategy of development, economic planning, and a social policy pursued by the YSP in the interests of the broad working masses.

Agriculture

Among success achieved in agriculture are the development of new lands and the improvement of the irrigation system. Here the use of foreign aid and foreign experience is highly important for the PDRY. In particular, with Soviet assistance, the republic has built nine water-intake dams and about 100 km of irrigation canals and 70,000

hectares of land have been irrigated and brought into cultivation. Current construction projects include Central workshops for the repair of agricultural machines, a new dam and the building of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform. In the Hadramaut a large contingent of Soviet hydro geologists, drillers, Soil Specialists and agronomists are working. Soviet Specialists, jointly with their Yemeni counterparts, have established the size of the water resources of the Hadramaut valley, compiled soil map, carried out economic feasibility estimates for building state farms (today the province already has size state farm built with soviet assistance) and made recommendation for creating industrial enterprises and infrastructure facilities in the province. The new land development in the Hadramaut region may turn the province into the country granary. In the other regions too the buildings of water intake dams, the drilling of artesian wells, the building of canals and organisation are helping to solve the serious problems of raising agriculture.¹⁹

¹⁹ V.V.Nomkin, "Evaluation of Socio-Economic Development People's Democratic of Yemen" in B.R. Pridhan, (ed.), in Economy Society and Culture in Contemporary Yemen, (London, 1985), p.6.

Productivity of the individual farmer is an acute and unsolved problem. ON the state farms, where the peasants are paid the minimum wage, a study by the Food and Agriculture organisation showed that they were working less than for hours a day. The system of fixed prices and imposed crop patterns results in sharp fluctuations in the return on land farmed co-operatively. Under the production sharing system there is little close relationship between individual effort and income. Such a relationship is rather more evident in the service-sharing cooperatives, which a 1977 World Bank Survey found to be the most efficient of the new agriculture institutions. Nevertheless, the government indeed to place all cooperatives on the production-sharing basis by 1988, apparently to eliminate the remaining vestiges of private ownership of the means of production. These have been serious shortcomings in providing the agricultural inputs for which central authority has assumed responsibility and considerable the waste and loss in handling and storage. World Bank figures showed a decline since independence in the production of major crops (See Table 2.2). The fall in cotton production is attributable in part to a shift from cotton growing to producing grain, fruit and vegetables. Nevertheless, over all agricultural production clearly appears to have fallen since

pre-independence days, and serious problems must be solved if south yemen's dependence on foreign sources of food is to be reduced.

Industry

South Yemen's inadequate natural resource base and inefficient domestic market and the country's industrial potential are very limited. The regime throughout seriously to expand the state's role in industry. During the first two development plan periods (1971-1979), the major projects included a textile factory of 7.2 million years (6.5 million meters) annual capacity built by the People's Republic of China. A flour mill (56,000 metric tons or 62,000 short tons capacity) a tomato paste cannery, and a diary products factory, cement glass and additional canning factories are in proposed for the near future.

The government has not assumed ownership of the enterprises, mostly quite small, that were in operation or under construction when the 1971 investment law was placed in effect. The private sector is encouraged to join in mixed ventures with the state and this sector has shown substantial growth. Expatriate Yemeni skilled workers constitute a large potential source of investment funds for mixed sector, the exploitation of which will depend on appropriate guarantee by the government.

The Aden Refinery

The oil refinery built between 1952 and 1954 by British petroleum (BP) with annual capacity of 8.5 million metric tons. The Aden refinery was one of the largest and modern in the world. It played very important role in creating a working class in Aden. The refinery itself is the largest only employer in the country with 1,700 workers in the early 1980s and it has been a formal training centre for all levels of staff.

In the first years of independence British petroleum (BP) tried to wear out the refinery by operating it at its maximum throughout of 7.5 million tons a year, but as the govt. started to impose taxes, the throughout declined after 1972 and reached a low of 1.6 million tons/year in 1975-76, a level close to the minimum necessary to keep the equipment operating. After the takeover by the govt. throughout has increased to average of 3.5 to 4 millions tons/year, about half of its nominal capacity of 8.5 million tons.

Most of the refinery's work is done on contract for foreign buyers. It also refines about 800,000 tons of oil for the local market; the USSR and Kuwait both refine 0.5 million tons in the PDRY and have done so far a numbers of years; this has been done mainly to support the refinery and keep it operational. Since 1981 the refinery has also been

processing 2.5 million tons/year on contract for Iran whose Abdan refinery has been damaged by the Iran-Iraq war, ironically the refinery is again playing its original role to replace the activities of the Abdan refinery. In the 1980s in a period of turmoil in Iran, a Muslim fundamentalist regime these finds it convenient to process some of its oil the British-built refinery run by the only socialist regime in the Arab world.²⁰

Despite all factors the increase in its through put resulting from the Iranian crisis, the refinery still operates at a loss estimated at YD 5 million in 1982 and at that time plan were prepared for its rehabilitation. This, the largest project and most probably in the current development plan and most probably also in the Third Plan, involves a projected expenditure of US \$ 190 million in comprehensive modernisation.

The modernization programme fore cess a 10,000 b/d vacuum distillation unit and 10,000 tons/year Asphalt plant, both to be financed by the refinery to cover their costs as 90% of the asphalt is to be exported. The construction of new berthing facilities would enable the oil port to receive 100,000 tons tankers, while at present the limit is 50 to 60,000 tons tankers. Rehabilitation or replacement of the

²⁰ Helen Lackner, n.7, p.202.

power station is the second major element, and at the time of writing on decision had been announced concerning this.²¹

One of the major achievement that Batagaž has become the most useful and convenient way of working to replace the charcoal and since 1981 it has been bottled in a modern unit which produces quantities sufficient for current demand and substantial exports to the YAR. Linked to the rehabilitation of the refinery a further LPG recovery plant which would have a capacity of 100 to 150,000 tones/year is being considered, along with a bottle filling unit of Mukalla.

With world wide surplus capacity, it is unlikely that the Aden refinery and its facilities will ever develop more than local significance; through within these limits there are possibilities of a greater role the refinery in processing the country's recently discovered oil.

Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter we cannot review all the results, problems and factors of economic development of the PDRY. We simply analysed the some aspects of economic developments and noted that we have a new interesting experiments before us. It is not worthy for its mature concept of economic development as the complex conditions

²¹ Ibid, p.202.

formulated by the YSP which guides the entire life of country. This conception is characterised, on one hand by reliance on the state and co-operative sectors in the economy and on the other, by the preservation of the private capitalist sector and also by the development of small commodity production in a number of branches (trade, transport and so on).

The discovery of petroleum in commercial quantities in 1983 in Shobrah governorate improved the PDRY's economic prospects. Although development of production (by soviet companies) made only slow progress to an output level of 10,000 b/d by early 1990. While few reliable statistical were available on the PDRY's performance in the 1980s its GNP and GDP in 1987 were estimated at \$ 1,000 m and \$ 840 respectively. According to World Bank industry accounted for 23% of GDP in 1988, the country's urban population having risen to 42% of the total from 30% in 1965. In early 1989 the PDRY at YAR established a joint venture company for the exploration and development of the oil fields along their common border. Thus way, Economic development also raised the question of Yemeni unity.

Economic development in the PDRY during the post-independence period has improved the infra-structural base at the productive capacity of the economy, has helped to

establish a range of consumer-goods industries, and has made progress towards equalised incomes and meeting the basic needs of the population. The current Five Year Plan seeks to build further on these gains, thereby underlining the impression that the basic objectives of development planning in the PDRY have remained unchanged throughout, unless additional resources can be discovered in the future, the best way of achieving the development objectives is to maximise the utilisation of available resources. The best result might be gained through efficient planning, good co-ordination of economic policies and improvement of management capabilities. The Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) and the government of the PDRY were fully aware of these matters.

Note :- World Development Report 1984, pp.218-38.

Table 2.1
Distribution of Expenditure of
1st and 2nd Five Year Plan of PDRY

Sectors	Investment % in 1st 5 Year Plan (1974-78)	Investment % in 2nd 5 Year Plan (1981-85)
Agriculture	23.0	12.0
Fisheries	13.0	5.4
Industries	7.6	6.0
Oil and Minerals	5.0	5.5
Electricity	4.0	13.5
Public Health Facilities	0.7	6.5
Other Health Services	2.1	2.6

Source : PDRY, Ministry of Planning, Aden, 1981.

Table 2.2 : Agriculture Production of PDRY from 1969 to 1977.
(thousand of metric tonnes)

	1969/70	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77
Cotton	12.8	13.2	10.3	10.8	9.3	4.9
Sesame	3.4	3.4	1.2	2.0	1.7	2.9
Coffee	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8
Tobacco	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
Wheat	12.8	12.5	9.8	10.8	10.0	9.1

Sources : People's Democratic Republic of Yemen : A Review of Economic & Social Development
(Washington : The World Bank 1979), p.28.

CHAPTER III

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

The PDRY's failure to completely transform its society is due to its lack of knowledge, skill and capability in most areas of intellectual endeavour, especially in the scientific and technical fields.

More specifically, its inability to use the tools, techniques and procedures of modern science for developmental changes are the result of deficiencies in their human resources.

In this chapter I will examine the present state of human resources in the PDRY and assess their prospects for the future direction of its development. Its analysis is confined to the relationship between the quality of human resources and development changes.

Human resource development can be defined as the process of enlarging the range of people's choice, the increasing their opportunity for education, health care income, employment and covering the full range of human choice from a sound physical environment to economic and political freedom.

Concept of Human Resource Development

In its broadest possible conceptual framework of human resource development focuses in two factors: a) raising

people's consumption of levels through relevant economic growth process, and b) creating conditions conducive to the growth of people's self-esteem through the establishment of social, political and economic system and institution. These latter elements will in turn promote human dignity and people's freedom to choose.¹ While the outcome of development is seen as the betterment of human lives, it is also human ability that provides the input for development growth.

The centrality of the human element, largely ignored until recently by students of development- especially the economists, now has captured the imagination of analysis in the field. The ideas that people are the "productive agents" whose "quality need to improved" for greater put² and that human resources constitute "the ultimate basis of the wealth of nations"³ have shifted the focus of development scholars from their pre occupation with purely physical modes of capital to human activity. The idea that the human

¹ Michael P. Tkodaro, Economic Development in Third World, 2nd ed. (New York) long man, 1981.

² Gerald M Meier, Leading Issue in Economic Development 4th ed (New York Oxford University press, 1984), p..567.

³ Harbison, Human Resources, 3.

resources of a nation ultimately determine the character and pace of its social and economic development.⁴

The Case of PDRY

So far as human resource development in PDRY is concerned, the use of science and technology remained confined to activities of immediate benefit. The pursuit of modernity in its present form, the systematic large-scale transformation of society through economic development.

In the previous chapter , I have explained and analysed the sustaining economic activities at the stage necessitates the implementation of programme and technology, the enlargement of productive facilities, and the employment of increasing large numbers of skilled workers with higher level of training.

The major aspects of human resources is economic development in which included industrial development, income distribution and payment etc. I have dealt in the previous chapter of 'economic development'.

Now, I will examine and evaluate another vital aspect of human resource, that is 'education'. Mainly I will analysis and examine the educational development at large level PDRY. The analysis presented here includes data on several dimension of educational development or achievement

⁴ Todaro, Economic Development, 330.

that portray the present quality of human resources in the PDRY. Altogether, data on a number of education stages and social variables are collected.

In general, Human progress has been achieved largely through literacy and education in modern times, as seen specifically in the industrial Revolution in the West which gained momentum through the discovery, acquisition and application of knowledge. Both Marx and Weber, two eminent Sociologists noteworthy for their seminal analyses of social change, concluded the scientific learning constituted the foundation of industrialization.⁵

Education

Education bring up development of habits and attitudes which may successfully the future. Education means also to awaken the moral and intellectual qualities of the India's which will prepare him for this milieu. Education has also been defined as preparation for work while practical or financially rewarding work.

In South Yemen, modern public education was limited in both quality and quantity till the 1967. Some educational institution were founded during the British rule, including a teacher training College and a technical school.

⁵ H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essay in Sociology (New York Oxford University Press, 1958). P.324.

In quantitative terms expansion since independence is particularly impressive, starting with total school enrolment of 64,502 in the last pre-independence year 1966-77, rising to over 27000 in 1979-80, and in 1981-82 to 220000 in the Unity school alone. The increase in girls education is even spectacular, rising from 13,397 in 1966-67 to 86496 in 1979-80 in all schools and 64000 in 1981-82 at unity schools level. In addition to this record it is important to note that these figures exclude higher education, which was only introduced after independence, where enrolment was over 3,000 in 1979-80.⁶

Illiteracy was a major problem for the regime. So that a special department for the education of illiteracy was established in 1970, headed by a Deputy Minister of Education; excellent books have been specially designed with their content relevant of illiteracy. (see Table 3.1)

However, the law promulgated in 1973 was out to be too weak to achieve the aim of universal literacy throughout the country and a new one was issued in 1980 making it compulsory for employers to provide literacy in work premises and tightening the regulations concerning to re employment of illiterate people. But the main innovation of

⁶ Helen Lackner, P.D.R.Yemen. Out Post of Socialist Development in Arabia, (Ithaca Press London , 1983) p.137.

this law was that a comprehensive national campaign was to be organised.

To overcome the slow pace of eradication of illiteracy since the new law was issued in 1980, the department responsible prepared a national campaign which took place from July to December 1984. This has mobilized all the secondary school students all the teachers of unity and secondary school as well as higher education, and postponed the beginning of the 1984-85 academic year till January 1985. The objective was to achieve 100% literacy i.e. the target group of 12 to 40 year old men and 12 to 35 year old women. Organised in a pyramidal structure, the school students formed re base, each student being responsible for teaching 7 illiterates; a unity school teacher was then responsible for the five students or 35 illiterate and each secondary school teachers for 7 unity school teachers.⁷

The government's aim is to provide basic education for every citizen and to meet the demand for technically qualified man power for the public services and the modern economic sector. It has committed itself to providing universal primary education by 1985 which, if achieved, will accomplish first aim and ensure that all young people have

⁷ Ibid, p.178.

some literacy and numeracy as well as preparation for the admit world.

The new educational system, which is modelled on the structures existing in Eastern Europe, includes, a first stage of 8 years Known is PDRY as the Unity school and where in the socialist world as the 'Unitary' System) followed by 4 years of Secondary school.

Development in Primary Education

Education in general and primary education in particular, developed greatly after the independence. This development took several forms.

The rapid increase in the numbers of boys and girls enrolling the primary school is a remarkable phenomenon. While the number of pupils at general primary stage in the school year 1969 -70 was 113276 it rose to 2788256 in 1985-86 it is more the double increase (Table 3.2 gives the detail the student of confined stage by school year sere for scholastic years). We see power is good growth rate and also variations in the growth rate. Table 3.3 also shows that an education at the first level percentage distribution in PDRY. IN primary stage there was 16 percentage male and female 15% it rose to 19% male and 21 female in 1983. This figure also shows that high rate of drop out in indication in upper stages and it is gradually increasing. There are

two main reasons for this is that, poverty and inadequate of job opportunity.

Throughout the system, the drop rate is very high 50% at primary and 60% at secondary level in the late 1970s. The reasons for this should be examined; in some cases, and for girls in particular this is likely to be due to family pressure, a problem which cannot be ignored. Since independence, the government policy has been to make education available to all everywhere, including girls. A particularly impressive effort was made to encourage girls to be educated, despite a strongly traditional attitude from families particularly in countryside. Progress has however been substantial; while total primary involvement in the first decade after independence rose by 15.3% annually, girls enrolment increased by 21.5% annually in the same period.

Development in Higher and Technical Education

Before Independence higher and technical education was restricted mostly to reading writing, Islamic laws and Arabic literature. Little was done to advance science and arts. The quality of education could not be compared with the educational systems outside of Yemen.

Higher and technical education in PDRY was only accessible to urban dwellers only because mostly were

established in the cities. Only the children of well to do families were able get higher education.

The dramatic grow of education since independence over all and in particular in higher and technical education has taken place without any problems. The government has established agricultural, technical, teacher training centre, vocational training centre agricultural training institutes, aviation institute, health training institute, fine arts and music institutes, college of higher education, college of agriculture, college of technology, college of medicine, college of law and modern language institution.

The rapid increase in the numbers of students in higher education is remarkable phenomenon. In college of higher education in the year 1974-75 was 679 it rose to 1107 in 1985-86, similarly in college of agriculture in the year 1974-75 was 75 in 1985-86 was 187 it is more double increasement. In many colleges the growth rate is very good and satisfactory, (see Table 3.4).

To sustain the remarkable expansion of education, a massive effort has been made in teacher training both in institutes and later with the development of Aden University which produces teachers for Secondary Schools. Teacher training Colleges increased from 3 to 6 by 1980 with a student intake rising from 240 in 1966-67 to 1548 in 1985-

86; these institutes train teachers for the unity school, while those for higher levels study in the university (see Table 3.4).

The starting with very few teachers, mostly untrained, the situation has improved rapidly thanks to the development of these institution which take graduate from intermediate (and now the unity) lend who them train for a further four years University education for secondary school graduates provides either a four year B.A. course or a two year teacher's diploma course. The latter is available in Aden and in the University's branches in Lahej, Zinjibar and Mukalla. It has thus been possible to reduce to almost zero the number of foreign teachers in the school system. Staff is now almost exclusively Yemeni, in marked contrast with many Arab States.⁸

In Aden University , however, there is still a majority of foreign staff in most facilities, coming from a variety of countries including many Indians who have to teach in English.

The statistics show considerable progress and consistently development of higher education as well as technical in PDRY since independence.

⁸ Ibid

In one generation enormous progress has been made and the maps of education has changed totally. The range of choices people have in controlling their own destinies has extended dramatically. An infra structure for social and economical development has been built up to provide a body of well trained men and women with the capacity to exploit the resources of the country and make it into a viable, prosperous modern state. The government's major plan to expand teacher training to diversify further and higher education to develop adult literacy and basic skills to build up the University and to establish colleges in different field of studies.

Health

Health is one of the significant elements of human resource development. Population growth, health, nutrition and education as separate but all of these elements of Human Resource Development are interrelated. And while fertility, weather, nutrition and education affect one another.

At the time of PDRY independence the health service situation was more or less. Similar to that of education. Modern and advanced facilities were only confined in Aden areas, because most of qualified staff were foreigner who used to work in Aden.

The health of the population was bleak in the past and remains so in many respects. Infant mortality (for which statistics are not available for the late 1960s) was estimated by the world Bank to be 140 per thousand in 1980. The only existing field study carried out in 198-83 found a rural infant mortality rate of about 90 per thousand and child work ability at 20 per thousand. This indicates a remarkable improvement over the World Bank estimates and its attributed mainly to improved social and sanitary conditions.⁹ The major disease are diarrhoea, protein energy malnutrition, measles, whooping cough, pneumonia and in some areas malaria.

The higher level of endemic disease and general bad health can be attribute to poor nutrition and to lack of public health facilities, most importantly the lack of pure drinking water, sewerage system, and adequate garbage disposal. For those who are sick access to modern medicine is still difficult , although it has improved considerably¹⁰.

⁹ B. Kristzansson, G. Bagenholem A Nasher Growth and Health among pre school children in PDR Yemen. 1982-83, World Bank, Radda Barnen, WHO, 1985.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Government Health Policies

Medical care is the right of all citizens. The state shall guarantee this right through the spreading of free medical services throughout the republic and through its plans which shall aim forwards, the protection and improvement of the environment , the care for preventive medicine and vocational health and safety and development of all types of hospitals, health institutions and people's clinic.¹¹

A ministerial order of 1978 gives the guidelines for health planning: Top priority is to be given to preventive and social medicine especially in the fields of control or eradication of endemic and communicable disease and improvement of environmental health conditions with special emphasis on maternal and child services. Next comes maximum coverage of the population especially in the rural areas with basic health services, primary health care. Third is integration between preventive and curative services followed by consolidation of existing curative health care facilities to provide better services for the population and allow for some expansion of curative health care facilities at all levels of professional, technical and auxiliary health man power is seen to be important and out patient

¹¹ PDRY Constitution 1978, art. 41.

services are considered to be the best approach for the medical care of the people. The poly clinic system is to applied with due consideration to population density.¹²

All these guidelines show that the health priorities of the government emphasise preventive measures and public health. Government also established and developed modern medical facilities such as large hospital and nursing home etc. The current development plan projects the building of another modern hospital in the capital which already has a recently modernised major general hospital.

Medical policy appears to be two-pronged with on the one hand the expansion of medical services locally and centrally though training of many doctors. The medical school of Aden University is running with Cuba assistance. Its policy is to train doctors in large numbers, thus removing medicine from its tradition as a privileged and high-status occupation restricted to the capital. On the other hand the WHO policies of primary health care also play an important role in the country., This is based on a combination of public health implements (hygienic supply of clean water, sewerage, best control) and the widespread

¹² Radda Barmen, Annual Report for 1978 for work in the PDRY, (Stockholm 1978) p.1-2.

distribution of community-health guides with a minimal amount of formal medical training¹³.

Developments in Health Since Independence

After PDRY independence there are remarkable development in the health at every sphere of medical facilities. The Table 4.5 shows that there were only 19 hospitals in 1970, by 1986 there is 33 and 1380 beds in 1970, 3169 in 1986, it is more than double increase.

Total beds in medical establishment were 1380 in 1980 it rose to 3716 in 1986. There were 130 physicians only in 1970, it rose to more than four times in 1986. The rapid increase also in numbers of nurses as well as total number of medical assistants.

Throughout development in primary health care units as well as modern medical centres. The number of beds available in the hospitals, health centres and other medical units has risen.

Training takes place in two main institutions; doctors are trained at the faculty of medicine of the University of Aden, in six-year courses. The first group graduated in 1982 and the number of graduates is expected to rise slowly 100

¹³ The development of primary health care is described in H. Segall and G. W. Williams 'Primary Health Care in Democratic Yemen; on evaluation of policy and commitment in D Morte, J.G.Rade, G. Williams, Practise of Health for all, OUP, 1983.

annually while in the 1980s it is about 50. Other staff are trained at the Institute for Health Manpower Development (IHMD) which was founded in 1970 in Aden; since then it has opened branches in three other governates. Between 1970 and 1978, 1434 students graduated from 14 different courses; the annual intake is about 450 students. The length of courses vary from a few months to three years, and qualifications offered are as nurses, medical assistance, laboratory technicians, dentist, community midwives and auxiliary health staff. All students of the institute receive monthly grants as well as getting free education. Contributions to these grants and other expenses are borne mostly by the government but some outside assistance has been obtained from the UNICEF, UNFPA, and the Swedish Save the Children Fund (which is the only non-governmental aid organisation operating in the PDRY).¹⁴

Currently there are a number of preventive health programmes, including the Communicable Diseases Programme, and the Schistosomiasis Programme. The mother and child health centres are responsible for the vaccination of small children against TB, measles, whooping cough and polio. This project is under the auspices of the Expanded Programme for

¹⁴ Helen Lackner (N.7), p.142-3.

Immunization run with the assistance of the World Health Organization (WHO).

The supply of clean water for the domestic use and the disposal of the sewerage waters and other waste products are the problems of sanitation. The provision of clean water alone is insufficient to bring about a substantial improvement in health as it often leads to dramatically increased water usage and unless disposal of used water is given as much priority as supply, situations can easily arise ponds of stagnant used waters are created around villages where mosquitos and other dangerous insect can breed, increasing rather than reducing the incidence of disease. Many villages have used their own initiative to equip themselves with piped water from their shallow wells, but in 1980 only 5% of the rural population had access to piped water and little has yet been done to purify this water or to create drainage and sewerage systems. Simultaneously the increased consumption of canned and processed foods has created a substantial problem. These problem threaten the constructive efforts to improve health as new diseases will replace the traditional one.¹⁵

Aden has an old water and sewerage system, both of which are being replaced in the 1980s and Mukalla and the

¹⁵ Ibid.

surrounding areas are also being provided with a new system. In Wadi Hadramaut, systems are also being designed and planned which will fit in with the conservation scheme for the area. These programmes are being implemented by municipalities and the major problems which they face are due to increased use of water which threatens the structure of the mud-brick buildings in Wadi Hadramaut in particular, and also lowers to the water level.

The ministry of health emphasised the importance of health promotion programmes in 1980s. And health education developed under the Directorate of Health Education. The initial priorities are given, measles, infant diarrhoea, malaria, nutrition, personal hygiene, drug and alcohol, child care, breast feeding, mother and child care, T.B. and family planning, etc. All health programmes are careful to emphasise its importance and committed to its promotion at national wide level. Its aim is to also create a national wide community health education and through it the mass organisations and health guides.

Chapter Conclusion

This analysis leads to the inevitable conclusion that the poor quality of human resource is the major impediment in PDRY. Higher and technological education is very low only 2% and number of scientist and engineers is quite low and

the lack of substantial scientific power resources. Despite their population , PDRY have not produced proportional number of graduates in science and technology.

The major vehicle for achieving the human development is education. The resulting the analysis of data we find that after independence PDRY achieved substantial development especially in the field of women education and regime has provided equal opportunity and right to women. There is no discrimination on the basis of sex. There are good representation of women in educational field especially in primary level of education.

Regarding the development in health in PDRY since independence, briefly, I have mentioned the government health policy, medicine and their distribution. Medicine obtained from hospital or clinic dispensaries are free, while those obtained from pharmacies must be paid for; Sometimes patients find that the medicines they have been prescribed are not in all available from the clinic and have to be bought.

Since Independence there is rapid development in health and medical services have claimed an average 5.5% of the government's annual budget and this has enabled the expansion I have discussed. The PDRY's achievements are significant; a reasonably well-functioning free health

service available for all, with the corruption, medical staff which at all levels is increasingly trained in the country; and a programme of improving services throughout, including the remote country side area. The health service does extend atleast minimally to the remote rural areas with some attention given to public and preventive health.

Table 3.1
Percentage of Illiterates by Sex Under Specific Age and Population by Year 1973

Year 1973	Age Group	Illiterate Population	Sex		% of Illiterate		
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total		7736224	254117	482847	76.9	52.3	92.1
Urban	10+	282879	72423	138456	59.1	48.8	88.5
Rural	10+	435928	136935	298985	77.4	53.8	96.8
Nomadic	10+	9725	44819	52686	94.2	88.3	99.9

Source : UNESCO Year Book , 1989, pp.1-9.

Table 3.2
Student of the Unified Stage by School Year Sex for Scholastic Years 1969 to 86

Year	School Years									
	Sex	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	Total
1969/70	Male	26261	19886	13977	18048	8263	5715	3758	2896	90796
	Female	6385	4891	3281	3264	1682	1585	748	732	22480
	Total	32646	24777	17178	13312	9945	7300	4498	3628	113276
1974/75	Male	32368	28827	23217	28464	17749	14238	11871	7399	155325
	Female	18127	14837	9414	6775	5743	4715	3818	1677	64298
	Total	50495	43664	32631	27239	23492	18945	14681	9076	219623
1979/80	Male	25448	21194	21529	19052	24218	19841	17355	11752	159573
	Female	11996	11352	11698	9363	11187	8985	7183	4988	76672
	Total	37436	32546	33227	28415	35317	28826	24538	16748	236245
1984/85	Male	34777	38556	27785	23131	28988	18212	148339	12656	182876
	Female	28531	13557	18388	8454	7587	6728	6858	5322	78689
	Total	55388	44113	37785	31585	28487	24932	28997	17478	268685
1985/86	Male	35862	33586	28419	25666	22587	18369	15716	12658	191978
	Female	19831	19894	12413	9648	8137	6475	5947	5539	86276
	Total	54693	52680	40832	35386	30719	24844	21663	18197	278256

Source : PDRY Year Statistical Book, 1985-86, p.92.

Table 3.3

Education at the First Level : % Estimation of Enrolment by
Grade Year 1982-83

Year	Sex	Grade							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1980	Male	16	15	14	13	13	12	10	9
	Female	15	15	15	14	12	12	10	8
1981	Male	17	15	14	13	13	11	9	8
	Female	16	15	15	14	13	11	9	8
1982	Male	18	16	14	13	12	11	9	8
	Female	19	16	14	13	12	10	8	8
1983	Male	19	17	14	12	12	10	9	8
	Female	21	17	14	12	11	10	8	7

Source : UNESCO Year Book 1989, pp.3-118.

Table 3.4

Students Distributed by Stages of Study and Sex, for Scholastic Years 1969-86

Educational Stages	1969-70		1974-75		1979-80		1984-85		1985-86	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Kindergarten	-	-	836	699	2775	2581	5151	5335	5973	5685
Unified School (Primary & Intermediates)	98796	22478	1689932	66888	159573	76672	182876	78689	191978	86276
Secondary General	3876	1112	11931	3381	24477	9824	18753	9677	19886	18868
Commercial	-	-	123	67	198	128	153	118	181	142
Agricultural	-	-	51	1	144	-	74	4	59	4
Technical	117	68	257	55	539	152	484	88	587	64
Teacher's Training Centre	283	-	462	169	878	288	1233	249	1281	267
Industrial Training Centre	-	-	-	-	-	-	221	-	327	-
Vocational Training Centres	-	-	146	4	-	-	1376	8	1514	14
Institutes for the Blind	-	-	27	2	-	-	5	1	6	-
Fisheries Institutes	-	-	81	58	-	-	138	19	121	11
Agricultural Training Institutes	-	-	167	-	-	-	264	3	589	6

	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Aviation Institutes	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	4	48	-
Health Training Institute	-	-	-	-	-	-	772	4195	808	246
Fine Arts and Music Institutes	-	-	318	187	-	-	16	53	54	24
Social Trainings Institutes	-	-	22	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commercial Vocational Centres	-	-	-	-	-	-	154	7	36	18
Higher Education	-	-	545	134	-	-	-	-	-	-
College of Higher Education	-	-	66	9	635	761	1002	1196	1014	993
College of Agriculture	-	-	66	9	125	49	137	54	144	43
College of Technology	-	-	35	-	482	161	367	178	377	149
College of Economics	-	-	118	27	444	238	791	569	968	678
College of Medicine	-	-	-	-	186	144	204	210	286	219
College of Law	-	-	-	-	71	59	282	76	233	92
Modern Languages Institutes	-	-	-	-	11	23	-	-	-	-

Source : PDRY Statistical Year Book 1985-86, p.86-87.

Table 3.5

Number of Medical Establishments, Physicians, Medical Assistant and Nurses in PDRY, 1970-86

Details	1970	1975	1980	1985	1986
Hospital	19	22	27	32	33
Beds	1380	1871	2757	3177	3169
Medical Centres	-	13	16	19	19
Beds	-	265	333	441	441
Maternity Centres	-	-	1	1	2
Beds	-	-	30	30	106
Total Beds in Medical Establishments	1380	2136	3120	3648	3716
Number of Beds per thousand Population	9	13	16	17	168
Primary Health Care Units	91	242	239	344	346
Total Physicians	130	157	272	557	631
Of Which Local-Ones	39	74	114	423	476
Number of Physicians per 10 Thousand Population	1	1	1	3	2.8
Total No. of Medical Assistance	58	250	435	478	-
Total Number of Nurses	796	1110	1013	2395	-

Source : PDRY Statistical Year Book 1985-1986, Fourth Edition 1987, p.188.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

'All men are created equal' - This is the refrain in the declaration of all progressive ideologies, past and present. But the fact is that inequalities are inherent in the nature of human beings. Apart from the natural differences, human beings are also differentiated according to socially approved criteria based on either natural differences like sex and age or social differences like kinship, occupation, etc. Social differentiation on the above lines lead to social situation in which socially differentiated men are treated as socially unequal from the point of view of enjoyment of social rewards, such as wealth, income, status, power etc. These all may be as evidences of social inequality.

In addition to the aforesaid of social inequality, there is another type of social inequality which is sociologically more important. These are horizontal divisions of society in to various social strata, each stratum marked by socially recognised upper or lower status, more or less on permanent basis. The people who belong to each such stratum constitute a social class. Morris Ginsberg, a prominent sociologist defines social class as portion of community, or collections of individuals,

standing to each other in the relation of equality and marked off from other portion by accepted or sanctioned standards of inferiority and superiority. The society in which division into such social classes exists is known as stratified society. According to Mac Iver and Page social stratification implies three features;

(i) a hierarchy of status groups.

(ii) The recognition of the superior-inferior stratification.

(iii) Some degree of permanence of the structure.

For a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of social stratification, we may note that the social positions assigned to the various social strata are unequal with regard to property power, social evaluation and psychic gratification, 'property' refers to rights one enjoys over goods and services. Thus, one's income or income yielding wealth may be considered to be line property, 'power' refers to one's ability to fulfil one's needs or meet one's demands. Obviously, power is inextricably mixed up with property. Great amount of property means greater power and less amount of property means less power. 'Social evaluation' means the prestige or honour that a person enjoys in the estimation of the society by virtue of his belonging to a particular social stratum. 'Social

evaluation' thus means that people belonging to a particular stratum may enjoy greater prestige and honour in comparison with people belonging to another stratum. 'Psychic gratification' (applicable to people belonging to higher social classes) refers to the satisfaction or pleasure that a person has on account of his possession of power, prestige or property.

The System of Stratification

A person's position in a stratification system may have important effects on many areas of life. It may enhance or reduce his 'life chance', that is, his chances of obtaining those things defined as desirable and avoiding those things defined as undesirable in his society. Referring to western society Gerth & Mills State that life chances include, 'Every thing from the chance to stay alive during the first year after birth to the chance to view fine arts, the chance to remain healthy and grow tall, and if sick to get well again quickly, the chance to avoid be coming a juvenile delinquent and very crucially, the chance to complete an intermediary or higher educational grade's. A comparison of Blacks and Whites in the USA provides an illustration of the effect of one stratification system on life chances.

So many stratification systems are accompanied by beliefs which state that social inequalities are biologically based. Such beliefs are often found in systems of social stratification where for example, whites claim biological superiority over Blacks and see this as the basis for their dominance.

In PDRY the system of social stratification is a unique because yemeni society is stratified on the basis of religious sect as well as decent or clan etc. Although there is no such a concept in Islam but however, it is existing or prevailing in the Yemeni society. The decent basis of stratification is very much similar to caste hierarchy system of India.

I am going to give a descriptive analysis of the formal frame work of stratification as it operates there. In this chapter, I will analyse also the implication of stratification in other sphere of social activity specially such as occupation, marriage and the distribution of wealth and power.

On the basis of religion, the people of south yemen are divided between two Islamic group or sect.; the Zaydis and Shafais, the Zaydis are Shii Muslim and the Shafais are Sunni, the Zaydi-branch of Shii Muslim is more similar to

the rationalist school of Sunnism than to the mystical millenarian sects that are typical of Shiism.

The Zaydi Sect was founded by Zaidabn Ali-al-Abidin. Zeid was the grandson of Ali, the fourth caliph (successor) after the death of the Prophet Mohammed. Ali was the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet. The Zaydi Sect of Islam is also sect of Shii meaning party, which refers specifically to the party of Ali. The Shiis consider Ali the rightful successor of the Prophet Mohammed in temporal and Secular matters, denying this all others.

The Shii are considered the second longest religions sect in Islam. The other is the Sunni sect of Islam is also know as Shafais sect of Islam. South Yemen (PDRY) is dominated by Sunni Muslim. It is considered the orthodoxy in Islam since it believes that succession to the caliphate is non hereditary and since it is acknowledges Ali only as the fourth caliph to the prophet.

'Islam is the state religion'¹⁶ according tot he constitution of PDRY.

Islam is the religion of the Yemeni population but there are still a few believers in other religions, mainly descendants of immigrants during the British period, and their freedom of religion is also granted by the

¹⁶ 1978 Constitutional Article 47, p.23.

constitution.¹⁷ This is openly exercised and there is one functioning catholic church in Aden city, as well as a few temples for the other minority religions groups.

On the basis of descent, the Yemen society is stratified into three main strata which are divided as follows.

1. The Sadah (Singular) : Seyyid, meaning master or Lord) is the highest stratum, consisting of people who claim to be the descendants of the prophet Mohammed. Such people are regarded as having the highest descent and religious status in the society.¹⁸

2. The Mashaikh - Gabail is second stratum in the society. It is composed of groups known as Mashaikh and Gabail. The Mashaikh (Singular: Sheikh, meaning Scholar or holy man) are groups of people who claim descent from well-known and reputed Hadrami Scholars and holy men of the post. As such, they too have an ascribed religious status though inferior to that of the Sadah.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ibid, p.23.

¹⁸ Abdalla S. Bujra, The Politics of Stratification, A Study of Political Change in South Arabian Town, (Oxford Press Claderon 1971), p.14.

¹⁹ Ibid, p.15.

They claim that their ultimate ancestor is Qahtan, the ancestor of all Southern Arabia.²⁰

The Gabail (Singular): Gabilah tribe and Gabili Tribes man) are tribesmen who claim descent to the eponymous founding ancestors of their respective tribes. These tribes claim descent from now extinct tribal groupings, and ultimately to Qahtan. Thus, both the mashaikh and Gabail have an equal descent status. The tribesmen however, do not have a religious status like the scholars (The Mashaikh) who are therefore given a higher rank than tribesman.

3. The Masakin or Dufa (Singular : Maskin, meaning poor, and Duafa meaning weak) are a residual category in terms of descent. They belong neither to the line of the prophet nor to that of Qahtan; neither do they have ancestors who were religious leaders. They have lowest descent status and no ascribed religious status.²¹

²⁰ The Arabs are divided broadly into two groups, the Northern and Southern Arabs. The Northern Arabs trace their descent to Adnan, those of the South to Qahtan. The Sadah are group of Northern Arabs who emigrated southwards to the Hadramaut. The Mashaikh-Gabail, on the other hand, belongs to the Southern Arabs. This is the historical basis for the chistism between the two categories is Hadramaut today, see Nicholson, R.A., 1907, p.xviii.

²¹ Ibid

Stratification pervades almost every aspect of the social life in the town and its significance is given dramatic ritual recognition in two of the most important annual occasions. The rituals are held at the most important place in the town—the Friday mosque. The occasion for the rituals are the two Muslim festivals of 'Id, which the entire male population are expected to attend. The rituals are culmination of the whole ceremony and prayer in the mosque. They start with the formation of all the people in the mosque into their descent groups. The 'Attas,²² who occupy the most important part of the mosque, form into two rows facing each other. The other groups, in order to go and Kiss and Hands of the 'Attas', then take their position in a queue headed by the Basah.

Attas play the dominant role and control educational and religious posts and religious posts and also all religious activity in the society. The Imams (prayer leaders) of the mosque, and the Khatib (preacher) of the Friday mosque, are all 'Attas'. The preacher is also the man who officiates at marriage ceremonies in the villages as well as in town. Their political role included mediation in disputes and providing safe conducts through tribal

²² Attas, The head of religious ceremony and rituals belong to 'Sadah'.

territory for travellers. As an extension of their mediation and protective role they gradually gained control over town which became Hawtas, places where tribal conflicts are forbidden and in which warring groups could trade and operate without fear of their enemies as all feuds were suspended at the gates of the city. The Sadah's political role gave them power, particularly in wadi Hadramaut where their ascendancy augmented by wealth, while in the Wadi Sada would not indulge in trading, an activity considered below their rank.²³

The second level of the social structure is shared on a more or less equal footing by two groups. The Mashaikh's whose claim to status is also religious because their claim is based on decent. Both groups regarded Qahtan, the legendary ancestor of all South Arabian people; Mashaykh's second status is due to religious scholarship but status is lower than that of the Sadah. The religious authority is due to scholarship rather than birth. They also control some territory, usually town which are also areas of peace.

The Masakin and Dufa are also distributed among three strata, with social position corresponding to occupation.

²³ Helen Lackner, P.D.R. Yemen Out Post of Socialist Development in Arabia, (Ithaca Press London, 1985), p.107.

Clearly the highest rank were those of farmers, whether landowners themselves or share croppers of land owned by others, termed Raiya (subjects) or in the former Eastern protectorate, hirthan (Ploughman). Their status was relatively honourable one in that tilling the land was not considered demeaning to a tribesman or even to a Sayyid. Unarmed, however, they were obliged to secure the protection of the ruling houses, the largest land holders, or war like tribe under some symbiotic arrangements.²⁴

Below the peasants were the Akhdam (singular Khadim "Servant"), whose occupational sphere was unskilled manual labour, skilled work such as masonry and carpentry, the production and sale of craft products such as textiles and metal goods, public entertainment in the form of music and dancing and domestic services of some types. As the need for these services in a given area fluctuated with economic conditions, the Akhadams were more mobile latterly than most classes of the society.²⁵

At the bottom of the social scale were the Subyan (singular Sabi: "houseboy"), whose role was confined to

²⁴ Robert W. Stookey, 'South Yemen : A Marxist Republic in Arabia (West view Press London 1982), p.8.

²⁵ Ibid.

personal service to others. Generally retained on permanent basis by one or more well to do house holds. They performed the necessary but menial tasks related to birth ceremonies, circumcisions, weddings, funerals, and feast. Well cared for and protected by their patrons, they were nevertheless looked down upon because of the nature of their work. They had no distinguished ancestry to invoke and married among them selves or, infrequently with akhdam.²⁶

In this chapter by pointing out that there were three general strata in Yemeni society and it showed how differentiation and ranking are given roles and attributes of the different groups and categories of people and their place within the total system of stratification.

In the hinterland there were a multiplicity of social group, not all of which were present every where and their relationships were some what flexible. The nature of social stratification is also problematic in so far as the pre-capitalist structure was based on inherited status and mobility could only take place downwards, if at all. The stratification system was closed, allowing only

²⁶ Ibid.

hypergamous²⁷ marriage and social protocol was determined by the hierarchy.

The establishment of bureaucracies on alien, egalitarian models, and the expansion of commerce and industry, opened up many new political and social roles for which members of all south yemeni class competed on more or less equal terms.

Religious conservatism varies greatly from one area to another, Aden as the capital and largest city is by the most liberal part of the country where, the pressures of tradition are least as anonymity as almost possible. Rural areas and villages allow more freedom than the small towns where status is often associated with the observation of tradition. Here the former elite Sada and Mashaykh may encourage backward traditions and support the authority of the male head of the family, nor religions grounds directly on but in retaliation against the regime and its policies which have destroyed their inherited authority and replaced them with official, whose claim to authority is based on their acquired ability and merit rather than birth. The government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

²⁷ This means that a man is allowed to marry a woman of lower status, as status is inherited through the male line, while women never allowed to marry below their status.

taken measures to reduce the traditional inequalities between the sexes and to encourage the employment of women in occupation formerly reserved for men.

Social Transformation and Its Implications

The National Liberation Front's (NLF) main objectives were to achieve, the traditional social hierarchy has been overthrown. Since early days in 1965 the NLF's aims included also the radical transformation of the social reality which was created by British.

The new leaders the country emerged from the people of low-status origin, women have a claim to equal rights with men and religions notable have lost their charismatic authority, political power and social influences over the society.

Many of these developments still continue and struggle is going on by those who are benefited as Law cannot take major steps of collective conscience, but only support those who fighting for changes. The outstanding inequality has been abolished and the means of exploitation of the lower classes by the powerful have been abolished, equality has not been achieved and there are still many hurdles in its way the urban rural gap is still enormous, women do not play an equal role in various fields of life, including

politics and still so many old attitudes of arrogance male chauvinism are found among people of Sadah and Mashayakh.

Before Independence the people of South Yemen broadly were divided between Shiite Zeidi and Sunite Shafi, major sects of Islam. About 20% of total population belonged to syiid clan descendent of the prophet Mohammed from which Imams, Qadi and head of states were derived. They used to enjoy first and special status. Second level of Yemeni society was shared by Mashaykh and third level Masakin or Daufa and forth Akldam and Hajura, they were out side end far below the Masakin. Sometimes considered to be out-caste as they were not considered even part of the social system. Apart from the settled population, about 10% population was nomadic, who were not fully integrated with the Yemeni Society.

While this structure, with modification, prevailed in the hinterland, Aden society had been fundamentally transformed in the 19th and 20th century under the British's influence and through migration from India and Somalia. Yemenis in Aden formed the lower class of hinterland and inmate immigrant workers, but a few of them eventually joined the trading class. The workers were of low status in the British hierarchy though they were mainly from the tribal class at home and maintained their high status

there. This consideration in their position influenced there political and other choices. Aden Society was dominated by the European mainly British, administrators, traders and similarly who had the highest status and in their own eyes, followed by the other foreign immigrant merchant classes of Indians and Parsees, and lower down the Yemeni workers and Somali Coolies.²⁸

The social transformation and creation of new social order by NLF's continuous struggle given a progressive culture and laid foundation of new social vertical order of society on the basis of merit. NLF got freedom in 1967 it was major advantage, the old leadership rigid structure had been finished. And the new era started the former rulers left the, hinterland, the Adeni Capitalist left before and shortly after independence and vacant the field every where for the creation of new stable social relations, and modern, progressive state.

The declared aims of the rigid included the creation of a society where all citizens, including women, are equal without distinction of wealth or birth, a society distinction of wealth or birth, a society in which all can achieve an adequate standard of living both in town and in the country side, a society in which status is achieved

²⁸ Helen Lackner, (no.9), p.108.

through merit and ability rather than through descent. Even if there were no financial and economic constraints, these aims would be slow and difficult to achieve, given the universally slow pace of ideological and social change. The main constraints the regime continues to encounter in changing social attitude and social relations came first and foremost from the in-built inertia and fundamental stability of social structures which is found every where. This means that new approaches to social relations develop only slowly in a dialectical relationship with legislation and other government decreed measures. Progressive social measures can encounter opposition not only among those who by continuing to claim inherited status can crudely be described as 'class enemies but also from militant supporters of the revolution. Even progressive cadres and party members may object to a daughter appearing in public or studying outside the village, fearing "public operation" or they may insist on marrying her to a partner of their choice with the traditional rituals, partner chosen for this tribal relationship to the family or his inherited status rather than his personal qualities. Similarly payment of bride wealth may be far higher than those set by law, to maintain the family's public status. People of Sadah origin also been known to be described as 'ignorant bedu' the current

political leadership which includes people of low social origins, such remarks are not related to policies but are a challenge to the right of low status people to rule. Such prejudices are not but to disappear overnight and they create an ideological climate which contributes to the slow pace of social change.²⁹

Status and Role of women

Briefly, it will be examined the policies and legislation specifically related to women and social changes which are taking place in their social position and what are difficulties they face to achieve for equality and honour in the society, and also women's participation and their role in the society.

Alone among the states of Mashreq, the constitution of the PDRY asserts equality sexes: the state shall ensure equal rights for men and women in all fields of life, the political, economical and social, and shall provide the necessary. Conditions for the realization of the equality.³⁰ To make this theoretical equality a practical possibility: 'The state shall also work for the creation of the circumstances that will enable the woman to combine participation in the productive and social work and role

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ 1978 Constitution Article 36.

with in the family sphere. It shall render special care to the vocational qualifying of the working woman.³¹

Education is an important variable in assessing the role and status of women in the society. It is directly related to the improvement of women's condition. Development of modern education in this country is recent phenomenon. Rapid change came only when NLF came in to power and started rule the country. To understand the nature of educational development and its implications on women's status, an effort has been made to evaluate available data on education at some levels analyse nature of curricula, and government's policies and efforts.

Women are increasingly being educated at all levels and some of the branch of education had a majority of female students, a promising sign of future (see the table 1).

Such increasing rate of women's education at higher levels marks are remarkable which will open new avenues of employment and compel them to participate meaningfully in social life.

Female enrolment at different levels of education has increased with small expectation. Development of educational system and increase in facilities have a great deal in

³¹ Ibid.

promoting education in general and female education in particular.

The data reveal that girl students do not suffer discrimination at different levels of education vis-a-vis male students in the country.

PDRY is a Muslim, male-oriented society but the signs of social change are visible. In Aden women are found in large numbers in the various ministries, but mostly in low position, as clerk and secretaries. However higher administrative posts are almost entirely staffed by men, now situation has been changed, an increasing a number of qualified and experienced women. Male prejudice is visible in the case of the few women senior executives whose promotion is not welcomed by their male colleagues. It is only through professionalism on the part of women and determined officials efforts to promote equality of opportunity that such prejudice will be defeated in the long runs. Women have already made an impact in judiciary, where there are number of women lawyers and woman judges. This is particularly important as it means that women can bring their legal problems to them and expect a more sympathetic approach than they would get from male lawyers.

Women's participation in agriculture is traditional not new phenomenon. They have always certain assignments are known as women's assignment. Generally women perform either with men or replacing them in the agricultural fields. In the villages decision were traditionally taken by the male head of household, these decisions ranged from cropping patterns, at the time of planting, and expenditure to family matters.

Since independence little has changed for private agriculture in the mountainous areas, but elsewhere women have taken jobs in state farms, usually as casual labour at times when demand was high such as harvesting. In spite of their important role in agriculture a major problem, particularly in cooperatives is that they are not considered to be heads of house holds and they are therefore kept in a subordinate position when negotiating with officials. This is likely to become a great problem as reforms in the cooperative sector take hold.³²

Thus, women demanded the training in the proper use of modern agricultural machinery. The ministry of agriculture's mechanical departments have been training women for some time and it is hoped that there will soon be significant numbers of women engineers, in 1981-82 the

³² Helen Lackner, (no.9), p.115

college of agriculture of Aden university had 91 women students. Women representation in college of agriculture are also increased (See Table 4.1)

In other productive fields women's role varies, in fishing it is almost non-existent as women hardly ever go out to sea, but in processing and packing they form almost the entire production line staff of the two fish canning factories. Many are involved in building and other industries, mainly in unskilled in semi skilled work.³³

Higher status families do not allow their daughters to take up such jobs, although attitude towards work are changing and some jobs have become acceptable for girls. These are unsurprisingly, teaching at all levels and medicine, while nursing and other paramedical positions are gradually becoming more respectable. Women office workers are increasingly numerous, particularly clerks and secretaries mainly in Aden where they occupy the overwhelming majority of these posts. Aden society has long been more liberal and tradition as against women's work were weaker than in the smaller town; in this respect women

³³ A Sociological Survey of 120 women factory workers was carried out in 1977 and its result published in M. Molyneux, State Politics and Position of Women Workers in the PDRY, 1967-77, ILO 1982, she also discusses how the combination of Islam and Socialism affects the position of women(P.V)

in Aden have benefited from the town's heterogeneity and impersonality. However, I have mentioned above, the promotion of substantial numbers of women to positions of higher responsibility has yet to take place and it is only likely in future if women fight for themselves and are successful in reducing the prejudices which still prevail.

The most important legislation concerning women is the 1974 Family Law which provides legal support for equal relation within the household and relation with in the house hold and resistance to family pressures to subordinate women to men. The tone is clearly out set the law organizes family relations in a manner which provides creative opportunities and revolutionary relations of equality which will lead to increase the production, development and initiative.³⁴

Given the Yemeni historical background the role of marriage in Muslim countries, its definition of marriage is revolutionary. Marriage is a contract between a man and a women equal in rights and responsibilities, made on the basis of mutual understanding and respect with the aim of creating a cohesive family which is the cornerstone of the society.³⁵ The law sets she minimum age of marriage it 18

³⁴ PDRY Family Law, 1974, London 1978, p.29.

³⁵ Ibid, p.30.

for men and 16 for women, and forbids marriage between partners where the age difference is more than 20 years unless the women is over 35. It limits the bride prices to a maximum YD 100 and allocated equal economic responsibility with in the house hold; both husband and wife shall share in bearing the cost of their married life and where one party is unable to do so, the other party shall be responsible for maintenance and the cost of married life.³⁶

The law prohibits unilateral divorce, allowing both men and women to petition for divorce on the some ground and giving women added right to sue for divorce if the husband takes a second wife. The conditions under which a second wife may be taken at all are severely restricted to cases where the first wife has been proved to be sterile, or is suffering from an incurable disease, and only after written permission from a court.³⁷

In the rural areas or in the country side by contrast entirely different position of women to the urban and particularly women in Aden and its surrounding. The change in women's position has been far slower. The main instruments of progressive are the branches of the General Union of Yemeni Women which, is the intimately responsible

³⁶ Ibid, p.32.

³⁷ Ibid, art.11, p.31.

for promoting their interest as defined by the constitution.

It shall work for the widest participation of Yemeni women in the economic social and political life, the structuring of their educational, cultural, vocation and technical standard. It shall struggle vigorously for the purpose of affirmation and protecting the rights guaranteed to women by the constitution and the laws on the basis of party with men.³⁸

The General Union of Yemeni Women plays very significant role, not only educational field but also many sphere of women's problems. The union's over all effort is to expand women's perspectives beyond the domestic spare. The members of union are very active politically, particularly in small town and villages are engaged in debate to promote the equality of women and to fight male prejudice, and women can participate fully and equally in society.

So far is social and cultural condition is concerned some variations can be noticed in the context of class structure. In the lower classes, veiling was not rigid. They were not confined to home. Due to their partnership in life rural women including to 'bedu' women participated in

³⁸ PDRY Constitution, 1978 art.67.

life struggle as individuals. The institution of marriage had deeper roots and was marked by simplicity. There was flexibility in divorce as well. The practice of paying bride-price was prevalent which implied that men had the primary responsibility of fulfilling economic needs. Girls are given lesson in Islamic teachings as education was primarily religious in nature.

Though, women of the ruling classes and rich families enjoy a comfortable material life, in relation to men they are treated as inferiors. Their lives are always threaten with the fear that their rich husbands would marry other women, as they often did. Polygamy is found among the rich, but as the practice is limited in other class, but sobermen condemn it.

Chapter Conclusion

It is very difficult to examine or survey the country's social structure which is extremely diverse and which has changed considerably since independence. It is clear that deep transformation of has taken place and the foundation of new social formations have been laid. The tribal relation had been undermined during the colonial period, followed by the disintegration of the traditional leadership at independence and shortly afterwards. Social and cultural position of people reflects their class structure. Women's

role are varied from class to class. Increasingly number of women in PDRY are getting employed in various kind of jobs.

The new regime's social policies and social legislation have emphasised on the process of broadening of education in social life, because education is very important to transform the society at large level. The social legislation and the activities of the Yemen Socialist party as well as unions of women and mass organisations are contributing to the continuous development of a new social order.

Table - 4.1

**STUDENT DISTRIBUTED BY STAGES OF STUDY AND SEX, FOR HIGHER
STUDIES YEARS 1974 TO 86**

Educational stages	1975-75		1979-80		1984-85		1985-86	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
College of higher Education	545	134	635	761	1002	1196	1014	993
College of Agriculture	66	9	125	49	137	546	144	43
College of Tech.	35	--	482	161	367	170	377	149
College of Econ.	118	27	444	238	7912	569	960	678
College of Medicine	--	--	186	144	204	210	206	219
College of law	--	--	71	59	202	76	233	92
Modern languages	--	--	15	23				
Institutes								

Source: - PDRY, statistical, year book 1985-86, Forth Edition

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) achieved independence in 1967 after nearly 130 years of British colonial rule and since then it has achieved considerable progress on both economic and social fronts. Adopting the socialist orientation, the government introduced drastic programme in order to change the country's former colonial-traditional economic and social structure.

Before, independence, south Yemen's economy had drastic nature. The modern sector was based almost entirely on servicing British rule, with its substantial military base. The internal parts of the country were largely rural areas, where the population had been engaged in traditional activities such as agriculture, fishing and pasturing. These areas had witnessed meagre or no positive changes in economic and social life during the colonial era. The main reforms introduced to change the country's economy included the nationalisation of foreign and major economic and financial entities, foreign trade and agrarian reforms. As a result of these measures a strong public sector has emerged now dominates in all major sectors of the PDRY's economy

Prior to independence the industrial sector was limited to Aden refinery and small industrial units located in Aden. During the period of development planning significant progress was made in establishing a number of light and consumer goods industries. The public sector played the key role in industrial sector development. According the PDRY's Ministry of Planning Aden, 1981, the contribution of the public sector to industrial out put have been 60%, private sector 24.7% the joint sector 13.8% and co-operative sector 1.5%

Relying on a strong public sector with a dominant role in social and economic development of the management of the economy, the PDRY has vigorously pursued a strategy of developing the economy with in the frame work of a socialite orientation. The main objectives of development in PDRY had been:

- (a) To raise the living standard of the people, to satisfy their basic needs for food, essential consumer goods, drinking water, employment and health care;
- (b) to develop the productive capacity of the economy, especially in agriculture, fishers, industry, transport and power and;
- (c) To raise the educational standards of the people, emphasising technical and primary education. The

institutional reforms have paved the way for the strengthening of planning capabilities and influencing the government's policy and regulation. Consequently the PDRY's political frame work underpins the good's efforts towards comprehensive economic and social planning.

As a result of government's planning efforts, the demographic structure of PDRY has changed during the past decade. During the period 1980 to 1986 the population has increased from 1.6 million to approximately 2 million and density from 5 per sq.km to 7.1 per sq.km. Similarly, during the same period urban population also increased by approximately 6 %. The major urban population is settled in one big industrial city Aden. and there is vast disparity in the level of development between urban and the interior regions which was inherited from colonial times. Before independence Aden. was entirely dominated by Europeans mainly Britishers, foreign traders and Indian merchants. Now people in Aden. themselves have clearly seen major changes in their lives, majority of people are educated and engaged in jobs. Majority of young boys and girls are studying in college or university as well as working in factories or offices. Regarding the health conditions, PDRY are also almost similar to those of typical developing countries. According to World Development Report of 1983, the life expectancy

was forty-six years, a high infant mortality rate of 114 per 1000. The Second Five Year Plan, (1981-85) like the First Five Year Plan emphasised preventive as well as curative aspect of health care. Between 1973 to 1978, expenditure on medical services averaged around 5.5% of total government expenditure. During the same period the number of hospital beds increased from 1380 to 3120. In 1986 there were 33 hospitals, 441 medical centres and 91 clinics throughout the country. Now diseases such as dysentery and malaria have been fully controlled.

In the second Five year plan major emphasis was also on basic education. The numbers of student enrolled at all levels of formal education rose from about 110000 in 1970 to about 282,000 in 1978 at an average annual growth of 10.9%. In addition to formal schools there are now about 446 adult literacy centre and a limited number of vocational training institute, where total enrolment in 1981/82 was about 4,140.

It is very difficult to generalize and evaluate the extent to which PDRY's social structure since independence has changed. But it is obvious that transformation has taken place and foundation of a new social formation have been established. In PDRY's patriarchal society, the process of social change has begun to take place.

The PDRY's traditional society was stratified on the line of religious sects, clans and descents. People were divided between Shiite Zeidi and Sunnite Shafai major sects of Islam. Syieds claim descendants of the Prophet Mohammad Sahab, from which religious leaders such as Imams and Qadis were derived. They used to enjoy special status and esteem in the society. The second level of status were shared by Mashayakh, third level Akhdam and Hajura and forth Masakin and Daufa. Now, it has been in a process of change.

The domination of hierarchial order of social system and religious patterns of social division considerably transformed after establishment of socialistic independent state. The leftist regime and its policies have destroyed the inherited authorities and replaced them with official whose claim to authorities are based on their acquired abilities and merits rather than ascribed status.

In PDRY, there have been considerable changes also taken place in respect to women's social conditions since independence. For instances, women are enjoying many rights, such as equality of job opportunities and inheritance of ancestor properties. The regime also implemented 1974. Family law concerning women which provides equality of treatment between husband and wife; sets minimum age of marriage 16 for women and 18 for men

and forbids marriage where the age difference is more than 20 years. It also prohibits unilateral divorce. The practice of monogamy is very common in Yemen society, and polygamy is very limited, in only elite class and more over it is generally condemned and discouraged by sober people.

In education, girl students no longer suffer discrimination. From the first to third level an enormous increase in the numbers of girl students has taken place with low rate of drop out and better performance vis-a-vis the boy students. As a whole the economic and social condition of women are changing. better qualified women have joined in good jobs, such as administrator, manager etc. At the primary level of education women are outnumbering their male counterparts as teachers.

From the above analysis, it is clear that since independence PDRY has achieved considerable progress in economic as well as social fields. Thus remarkable social transformation has taken place and foundation of a new social order is being laid. The people have also acquired modern education, there traditional thinking, attitudes, values and norms are gradually changing. As a whole to a good extent social transformation is smooth. Both the people and regime have reconcile themselves to these realities.

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