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The Society

Yemen (Aden)

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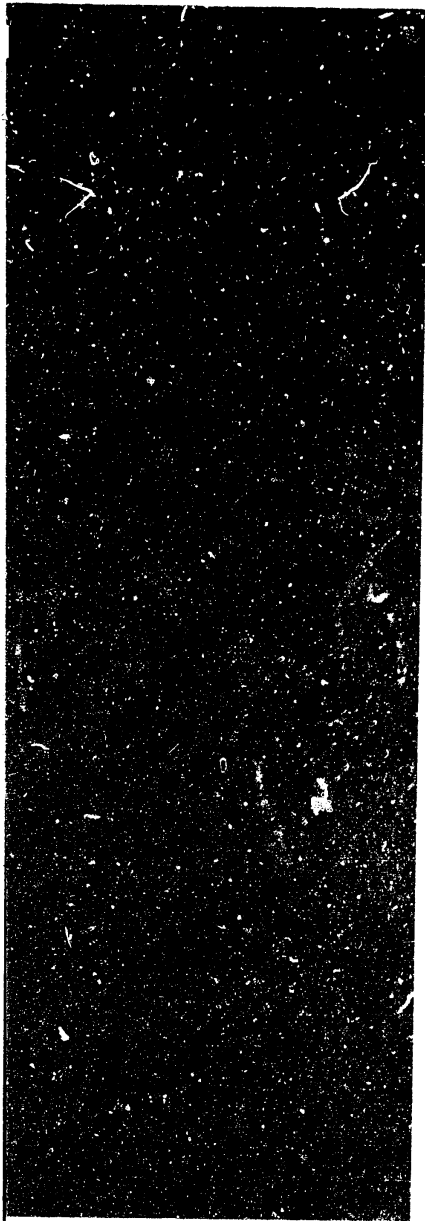
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YEMEN (ADEN)

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The Society

A. Introduction (U/OU)

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (P.D.R.Y.)¹ is a land of few resources other than its people, most of whom are Arab, Muslim, and tribal. Until the arrival of the British in the 19th century and the development of Aden as a port and military base, the country was isolated from the mainstream of world affairs. Even the British had little impact on society beyond the confines of Aden. Nomadism remained substantial, poverty was endemic, regionalism was pronounced, and intertribal feuding continued unabated. As a former British High Commissioner in Aden has noted, "the national sport was shooting each other and a modern rifle was the most prized possession and the only acceptable bribe."

The history of Yemen (Aden) has been closely associated with that of the Yemen Arab Republic. Both countries form a single geographic unit, and their peoples are related by a common language, religion, and tradition. Yemen (Aden) formed part of the ancient commercial civilization that flourished in southern Arabia from approximately 1200 B.C. to its final demise in the sixth century A.D. During this period, Yemeni trading outposts extended throughout the Arabian Peninsula, and frankincense and myrrh were transported along the "incense trail" from the Hadhramaut to as far north as Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. Trade with the Indian subcontinent was also established. Yemeni emigrants helped to people

¹Until 1970 the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (P.D.R.Y.) was known as the People's Democratic Republic of Southern Yemen. To distinguish the country from its northern neighbor, the Yemen Arab Republic, the P.D.R.Y. will be referred to as Yemen (Aden), the government as the P.D.R.Y., and the people as Yemenis.

northern Arabia as well as Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and other parts of east Africa.

Isolated geographically, Yemen (Aden) was rarely invaded by foreign powers. The Romans attempted to conquer the area in the first century B.C. but failed. Abyssinians penetrated it in the fourth and again in the sixth century A.D., followed by Persians who occupied much of the territory for several decades in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. These incursions infused the physical characteristics of the invaders among the indigenous population, traces of which remain. The Negroes imported later from Africa by Muslim slave traders had a greater ethnic impact, however.

The Yemenis were converted to Islam in the mid-seventh century, and the religion has had a profound effect on society. Although failing to unite the region's fractious tribes, it provided the Yemenis with a basic social structure, mode of thought, and legal system, which continue to exert a strong influence. The Islamic heritage may not prevent the Yemenis from accepting the leftist ideology of their contemporary rulers, but, along with the tribal legacy, it serves as an important barrier to rapid social change.

For much of their Islamic history, the Yemenis were governed by the Imams of northern Yemen, who ruled from San'a' for 800 years. Largely Sunni Muslims of the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence, the southerners did not render religious allegiance to the Imams, who were Zaydis of the heterodox Shia branch of Islam. Imamic control over the south was thus never very firm, and many petty tribal states and sultanates began to break away from the Imamate in the 18th century. Beginning in 1517, Ottoman Turkish hegemony had even less effect in Yemen (Aden) than in the north.

The British entered Aden in 1839 seeking a bunkering station and port to fulfill their imperial needs. Initially a small village, Aden developed gradually into a fairly large and cosmopolitan city, whose population was augmented by Indians, Somalis, and northern Yemenis seeking work and commercial gain. Although Great Britain established treaty relationships with some 27 tribal states, southern Yemen, except for the area around Aden, was left virtually untouched until the 1930's, and some remote areas were opened to outsiders only in the early 1960's. As a means of protecting their position in Aden, the British sent political agents into the hinterland and expanded the authority of the sultanates. In the 1950's, in an effort to ensure that a stable constitutional regime would follow their departure, the British encouraged the Yemeni states to join together in a federal system. Aden ceased to be a crown colony in January 1963 and became a member of the new Federation of South Arabia, although ultimate authority for defense and foreign policy was retained by the British.

This rather artificial union, beset by suspicions between "feudal" tribesmen and sultans on the one hand and "sophisticated" Adenis on the other, was destroyed by growing Arab nationalism and the violent independence struggle of the 1960's. In November 1967, the federation achieved independence and became a revolutionary republic under the aegis of the National Front (NF). The sultans fled the country, as did many of their retainers, along with tribal sheikhs and anti-NF politicians. Since 1967, the NF has become progressively more radical. Dedicated to the goal of a sweeping social revolution, it has encouraged rural peasant revolts, nationalized the property of various "exploitative" groups, undertaken limited land reform, and used the rhetoric of "scientific socialism" in drawing up programs for national development. These and other measures have produced an armed revolt on the part of conservative tribal dissidents and disaffected politicians. In fact, despite the government's revolutionary pretenses, the society remains deeply conservative, internally divided, and, with the exception of Aden and parts of the Hadhramaut, basically undeveloped.

In November 1972, following several years of increasing hostility between the governments of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Arab Republic, culminating in a short border war in October-November 1972, the two countries agreed in principle to the establishment of a single, unified Yemeni state. Differing political perspectives and constitutional arrangements, as well as mutual

enmities harbored on both sides of the border, however, suggest a tortuous path toward union. Whatever the outcome of the merger negotiations, the socioeconomic prospects of Yemen (Aden) are not bright.

B. Structure and characteristics of the society (U/OU)

Most Yemenis are Arab, tribal, or of tribal origin, and Muslim, but society is neither homogeneous nor politically unified. In addition to foreign communities, pronounced regional differences and antagonisms exist, and many tribes have not been amenable to government control. Although the impact of British penetration was substantial in the Aden region, most of the population were not directly affected by the British presence. In fact, according to the last British High Commissioner in Aden, the British occupation "did the country little permanent good."

1. Ethnic composition

Yemenis are predominantly Arabs, a Semitic people belonging to the Mediterranean branch of the Caucasian race (Figure 1). Mixed with Negroid, Malayan, and Indian elements, Yemenis are generally smaller and ethnically more complex than Arabs of northern Arabia. The distinctly dark—almost black—pigmentation and frizzy hair that characterize many south-central Arabians manifest the infusion of Negro stock from neighboring parts of Africa. Indeed, many unassimilated Negroes, formerly slaves, are found throughout the country. Mahra tribesmen, usually classified as non-Arabs, tend to view Arabs as interlopers. Reputedly descendants of the aboriginal Himyarite peoples of South Arabia, they live in the easternmost part of Yemen (Aden) and on the island of Socotra.

Several distinct foreign communities reside in the coastal towns, particularly in Aden, whose population in 1965 was approximately 25% non-Arab. In 1969, there were some 15,000 Adenis of Indian extraction, as well as much smaller communities of Pakistanis and Somalis. All three groups are predominantly Muslim, but only the latter two have intermarried extensively with the Yemeni population. The northern Yemeni Arab population of Aden, numbering over 48,000 according to the 1955 census, increased markedly after 1955, but, like other foreigners, many of them left after independence.



FIGURE 1. Typical Southern Yemeni from Nisab near Aden. Said to be a "poet," he is evidently a man of some substance, judged by his rifle and the jeweled dagger worn in his ammunition belt. (U/OU)

2. Language

The official and most commonly spoken language is Arabic, a Semitic language related to Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician, and several Ethiopian dialects. As the language of the Koran, it has a religious significance throughout the Muslim world and is the medium of communication between the Arab countries. The forms of Arabic used vary substantially, the basic difference being between classical Arabic—the Koraic language—spoken by a small learned minority and the various colloquial dialects spoken by the general population. These dialects differ considerably in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. Nomadic Bedouin speech, for example, cannot be easily understood by townsmen. Literary Arabic, the modern form of classical, is used in scholarly discourse as well as by the schools and the information media.

Mahri, the language of the Mahra tribes, is the main indigenous non-Arabic language. According to the late Bertram Thomas, a distinguished British scholar and explorer, Mahri belongs to the Semitic

language group but has closer structural affinities with Ethiopic than with Arabic. Apparently, it is also related to Sabaeen, or Himyarite, the language of the ancient South Arabians. The Socatra islanders speak several local dialects, including Arabic and a variant of Mahri written in the Arabic script.

The foreign communities tend to retain their own languages, including Swahili, Somali, Malay, and various Indian dialects. Most also use Arabic as a second tongue, except for the Hindus, who generally remain unassimilated. Knowledge of English is fairly widespread, particularly in Aden, where it is spoken by many civil servants, teachers, oil refinery employees, and others who have been in contact with English-speaking Westerners. At least until independence, English was taught in the upper primary grades and in secondary schools.

3. Social organization

The major social units are the tribe—nomadic, seminomadic, or sedentary—and the extended family. Most Yemenis are tribesmen or villagers who only recently have been detribalized. Nomadic groups migrate seasonally with their camels, sheep, or goats, usually remaining within areas considered their respective tribal territories or grazing ranges. Nomadism appears to be more pronounced in the south than in the Yemen Arab Republic. In 1970, according to an Aden newspaper, Bedouins constituted about 30% of the population of the Fifth Governorate but probably no more than 10% to 15% of the country's total population. Seminomadic tribes, typically engaged in some type of cultivation in addition to camel-raising or herding, tend to remain close to a particular source of water during most of the year. As the term implies, sedentary tribesmen live in permanent villages where they are cultivators or herders, work at some sort of trade or, in the coastal regions, engage in fishing.

The tribe is segmented into groups of varying size, including subtribes of related clans, clans or lineage groups, and extended families, the smallest unit. In theory, members of a tribe are related to one another through a common ancestor, from whom the tribe may derive its name. In actuality, however, the tribal unit often includes former members of other tribes as well as nontribal groups receiving protection. The common ancestor, moreover, may be fictitious or otherwise difficult to trace genealogically.

In general, tribes and subtribes are each headed by a sheikh, whose position is often hereditary within a particular family, although not necessarily passing from father to son. Each subchief supposedly owes

allegiance to the paramount sheikh, but occasionally a subtribe claims to be independent, and sometimes a tribe has no paramount chief. The sheikh does not ordinarily possess great authority, usually depending on force of personality to enforce his decisions. Often assisted by a council of tribal elders, he may in some instances rely upon a tribal judge (*qadi*) to decide intratribal disputes.

Tribal organization is subject to constant modification. If a tribe grows too large, it may break up into separate units occupying different domains and often in conflict with one another. Tribes also lose members who migrate to the cities and are incorporated into urban social patterns. As nomadic Bedouins become seminomadic, seminomads become settled farmers, and settled tribesmen leave the village to seek urban employment, the degree of tribal affiliation progressively decreases. This is a gradual process, however, which may assume many forms. Tribal unrest during the final decades of British rule, the rebellions since independence, and increasing government centralization have probably altered tribal loyalties and organizational practices.

At the base of the tribe or the nontribal aggregation in village or town is the extended family, the common denominator for most kinship groupings. The nuclear family is rare. Traditionally, the Arab household consists of three generations, typically including a man, his wife or wives, his unmarried children, and his married sons and their families. The clan, to which each extended family normally belongs, usually resides in a cluster of neighboring tents in a nomadic

camp or in adjacent houses around a common courtyard in a village or town. Among the wealthy, an entire clan may live in a single palatial house (Figure 2).

As master of the extended household, the eldest male, or patriarch, exercises control over a wide range of social activities. Moreover, he is usually regarded as the owner of the family possessions, although Islam grants women the right to inherit. When the patriarch dies, each of his married sons may become the leader of a new extended family. Since midcentury, however, class ties have begun to loosen, and married sons have some times moved away and established homes of their own, especially in urban areas, where new employment may enable them to break away from their dependence on family property and occupation. Such migration has played a significant role in introducing social change. Among tribal youth whose horizons have been broadened by emigration to other countries, control by elders after their return is no always acceptable. Particularly in the Hadhramaut the well-established tradition of emigration to distant parts of Asia and Africa has contributed to flexibility in family relationships, which may differ significantly from typical Arab family patterns.

As in many Muslim countries, women occupy an inferior position, and in general are still discriminated against in many spheres of life. The degree of female seclusion varies among different Arab groups but tends to increase at higher status levels. Women are customarily veiled except among the poor and the Bedouin. Nonetheless, female emancipation has been

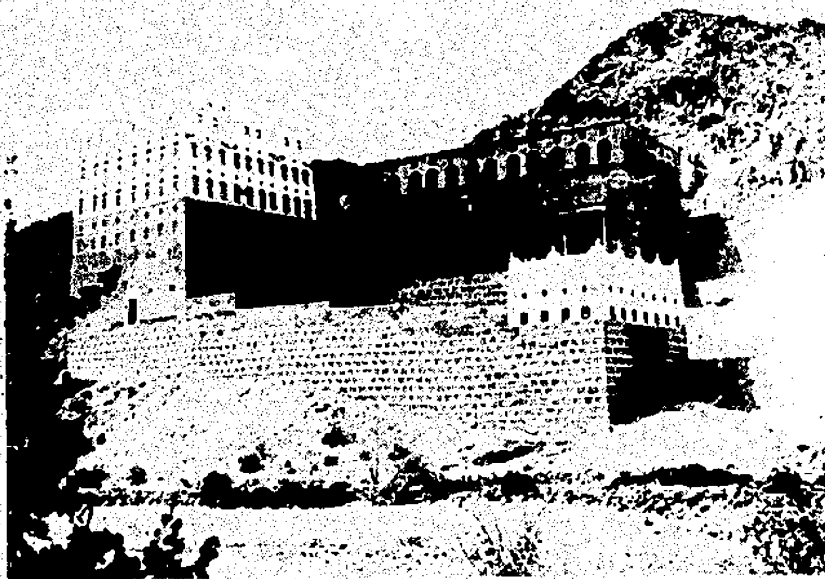


FIGURE 2. Palace of a wealthy sheikh. Many such dwellings have been deserted by their owners and expropriated by the government. (UJOU)

proceeding slowly, and by the early 1960's, a number of Adeni women were employed in schools and offices. The republican government has pledged to grant women equal rights with men, as stipulated in the constitution. Antigovernment groups, however, broadcasting over the clandestine radio, *Voice of the Free South*, have spoken against female equality, alleging that it will lead to "sin and whoredom," "debauchery," and the appearance in public of "partly naked" women.

Prominent features of family life are the segregation of males and females after childhood and the institution of early marriage. Girls are typically married at age 15 or 16 and sometimes earlier, often without ever having met their husbands. Parents traditionally arrange the marriage and choose the partners following a rather complex procedure, and sons and daughters are expected to comply. Marriages are generally endogamous, whether among relatives (first cousins being preferred), tribes, or social classes. Because children assume the status of their fathers, a man may marry a woman of lower social position, but it is rare for a woman to marry a man below her rank.

Most unions are monogamous, but under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives; polygynous families are not unusual among the wealthy. The incidence of divorce reportedly is high, as in many Muslim countries. However, in some regions divorce is considered sinful and is not common. In general, there is considerable opposition to divorce proceedings initiated by the wife, as contrasted with almost unbounded sanction granted to the husband.

The cost of marriage, principally the bride price paid to the father of the bride by the groom's family and the dowry given to the bride by her family, has been a cause of some popular concern. Apparently, these burdensome costs have sometimes delayed the age of marriage. In 1959, in the Hadhramaut, sumptuary laws were decreed in an attempt to limit expenditures on the bride price, the dowry, and the wedding ceremonies. An Aden newspaper complained in 1972 that high marriage expenses were still common.

In early 1970 the so-called Al-Hawtah People's Conference dealt with, among other things, the problems of marriage. Its recommendations, reflecting in part the perspective of central government officials, include the following: 1) establishment of a minimum marriage age of 15 for females; 2) abolition of polygyny, unless permitted by a judge; 3) limitation of the dowry to a specified maximum amount; 4) protection of women from "playboys"; 5) elimination

of abusive repudiation by the husband in divorce proceedings, which must be sanctioned by a legally qualified judge; and 6) legal sanction to interracial (Arab-Negro) marriages. In the absence of a nationwide personal status law, the Third Governorate has enacted a temporary marriage law embodying many of the above principles.

4. Social patterns

The bulk of the population live in compact villages or towns ranging in size from a few households to several thousand inhabitants. These settlements are found along the coast and in the interior wherever there are dependable sources of water. Villages fall into two broad categories, tribal and nontribal. Typical of the first is the village populated by a single sedentary tribe, whose leadership is usually provided by the paramount sheikh. Where villagers are not tribally organized, the village head holds office, not as a hereditary chief leading a group of kinsmen but as a local administrator managing the community's affairs in conjunction with a group of elders on the principle of consultation and consent. In the larger towns, a council dominated by the wealthy or by those with ascribed high status may be the local governing body. Traditionally, land ownership in both tribal and nontribal villages has been associated with the extended family, whose members jointly own the land or herds from which they derive their livelihood.

Towns and villages are ordinarily laid out according to one of two general patterns. One is a tightly packed cluster of buildings bordered by orchards and fields (Figure 3). The other is a more dispersed arrangement of family houses, each adjoined by its own orchard, with the whole compound perhaps being enclosed by a mud wall. In either case, the lands for growing cereal crops, which require less water than trees and garden vegetables, are located outside the village clusters, while the pastures are still farther out at the edge of the settlement. Because of their vulnerability to Bedouin raids, isolated farmsteads are rare.

The larger and older villages share certain common features. Each customarily has a market place, where people gather on special occasions. In oases, generally surrounded by a number of small hamlets, one market place is usual, located in the largest village. Adjacent to the market may be a mosque, often a simple rectangular building of one or two stories. Depending on its size, a village will normally have one or more coffeehouses. The domicile of the average family is a one- or two-story mud-brick structure, consisting of two rooms, one of which may be shared with the family livestock.

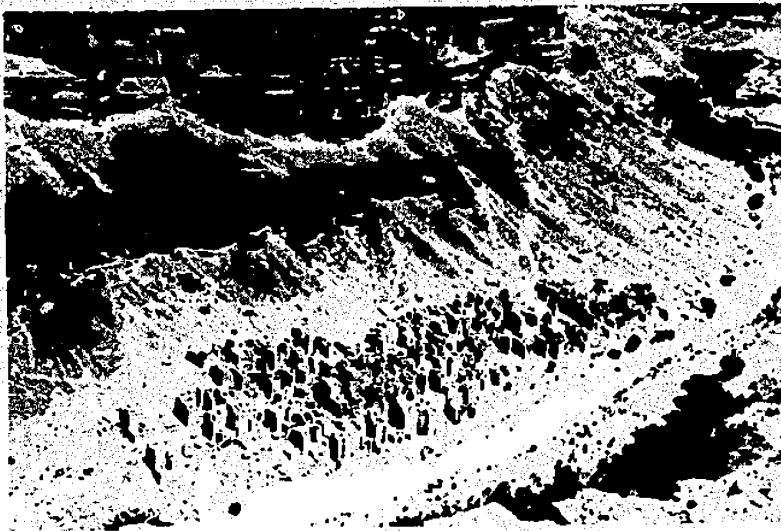


FIGURE 3: Densely clustered town between the mountains and the banks of a wadi. Cultivated plots of land are laid out on the opposite side of the river. (C)

Society generally is sharply stratified, with little vertical mobility between groups. Social stratification, however, is much more apparent in the towns than in the egalitarian tribal villages; it is least common among the nomadic tribes, whose sheikhs are advised by all the adult males. Class feeling is especially strong in Aden, where the gap between rich and poor is more pronounced than in rural areas. In many regions, the principle of rank is expressed in dress, in formalized behavior and ritual, and in residential segregation by class.

In the traditional society of the Hadhramaut and presumably of other areas as well, the upper class, or aristocracy, was composed of sultans, amirs, and other rulers, and the *sadah*—the religious notables who claim descent from the Prophet Muhammad. Many of the latter are wealthy merchants and landowners. Even before independence, however, their influence had been waning as state officials assumed greater political control and as non-*sadah* groups disputed their authority. The sheikhs, the descendants of local Hadhrami saints and scholars, and the lower ranking *qabilah* (tribesmen) constitute a middle stratum. The *qabilah* possess no religious prestige but, like the sheikhs, are theoretically able to trace their ancestry to Qahtan, the progenitor of the Yemeni Arabs.

At the bottom of the social scale are the *masakin*, a poor and politically weak group without genealogical or religious prestige, who are internally stratified into farmers of relatively high status, workers, artisans, and servants, either *akhdam* or *subyan*. The *akhdam* are a fragmented group, without common ancestors, who perform menial labor or work as sharecroppers.

Although granted legal equality with other groups prior to independence, many continue to depend for protection and security on those of higher status. In many respects their position is similar to that of the *subyan* who, however, tend to specialize in providing ceremonial services, such as those connected with marriage, birth and death, and circumcision.

Many menial laborers are former slaves of black African origin. In the early 1960's a British source estimated that about 60% of the population of the Kathiri Sultanate belonged to this dark-skinned proletariat. Although slavery was formally abolished during the British era, it reportedly continued on the island of Socotra even after independence. The Arabs, however, did not treat slaves as a separate caste. As trusted servants, they often shared the life and fortunes of the family they served and not infrequently were brought into the family circle through adoption or marriage.

In Aden prior to independence a complex system of ethnic stratification existed, characterized by intense competition between Asians and Arabs. It was generally agreed that the British occupied the highest stratum, and the Somalis the lowest. The Adeni community was also stratified by wealth into upper, middle, and lower classes, reinforced in part by the ethnic designation of their members.

Since independence the class system has been substantially modified by the government, which opposes "feudalism," "archaic" social relationships, and other relics of "imperialism." In the view of the ruling NF organization, the leading societal role should be performed by the "working class and its

allies, the peasants." An agrarian reform law, passed in 1970, expropriated without compensation all lands and properties of the former sultans, amirs, sheikhs, and other rulers regarded as important "feudalists." At least some lands have been distributed to the impoverished and landless peasants. These measures, the flight of the sultans and their retainers, as well as the government's hostility to traditional Islam, have curtailed the power and prestige of the traditional upper classes and have probably reduced the influence of holy men and others with venerated genealogies and inherited status. The lack of economic opportunities, however, has made upward mobility among newly emerging groups extremely difficult, if not impossible. The modern "middle class," moreover, composed of businessmen, government employees, army officers, technicians, and skilled workers, remains small.

5. Social values

Underlying many social practices and institutions is a well-integrated system of values derived from traditional Arab culture and the Islamic religion. In fact, life in general has been so regulated by Muslim religious precepts that many social values are largely indistinguishable from those of Islam. Arab values emphasize conformity and, above all, family solidarity. Traditionally, an Arab has been known by his family. However great his individual talents, a man without a family to support him is unlikely to count for much. It is not surprising, then, that loyalty and duty to family are normally considered more important than any other social obligation, and that such loyalty usually far outweighs allegiance to any abstract ideal of democracy, socialism, patriotism, or civic responsibility.

The tribal nature of society constitutes a basic domestic problem for the government. Traditions of tribal independence and contempt for central authority are not easily broken. Today, as during the period of British rule, the rural tribes remain largely outside the framework of government control. Intertribal feuds and suspicions persist, and tribal rebellions continue to occur. As a former British High Commissioner has remarked, "it would be hard to imagine any people less amenable to authoritarian government or one upon whom any dictatorship could be less easily imposed."

The country has never before been united under a single regime, and in addition to tribalism, the government must contend with a pronounced regionalism. For most of the British occupation, Aden Colony was administered separately from the rest of

the country. In fact, there has never been a close connection between Aden and the hinterland, whether as a result of geography, historical accident, or ethnic differences. The urban population of the Hadhramaut, perhaps the most sophisticated community of any region outside Aden, apparently has little sympathy for Adeni officialdom, and regional feelings have reportedly grown since independence. In the past, when Hadhramis sought work outside the region, they usually went, not to Aden, but to East Asia, Africa, or Saudi Arabia, often maintaining their regional and family ties.

The government has attempted to promote loyalty to the nation and to erode tribal ties by improving living levels, providing better health and educational services, and building a more effective communications network. In early 1970 the Al-Hawtah People's Conference addressed itself to tribal problems by recommending that murder be punished under the secular criminal code rather than by the institution of tribal revenge, which the conferees considered an outmoded remnant of imperialism and economic backwardness. Among the specific measures taken to curb "tribalism" is Law No. 11 of 1972, which revokes the titles and confiscates the property of all societies and clubs having a "tribal" character. Some 70 of these organizations were active in the First Governorate alone.

Social discontent in Yemen (Aden) is evidently substantial. Unpopular among some rural groups, the government is confronted with armed revolt by "anti-Communist" tribesmen and others opposed to the NF's radical policies. Moreover, the expectations of various urban groups, particularly in Aden, have been raised but, because of the economic depression, cannot be fulfilled. Peasant and worker uprisings apparently sanctioned by the P.D.R.Y., in which farms and factories have been forcibly taken over from "feudal masters," have become fairly common. Despite the social turmoil, it is doubtful whether the core values of most Yemenis have changed substantially since independence.

C. Population (U/OU)

No Census has ever been taken throughout Yemen (Aden); the first enumeration, originally scheduled for 15 September 1971, having been postponed. As a result, demographic information on the country is fragmentary, imprecise, and frequently contradictory. According to government accounts, the population has been growing at the rate of 2.7% per year and will reach 1,555,000 in mid-1973. The official estimate of

the size of the population, however, is based on the rate of natural increase alone and ignores the impact of international migration on population growth. Other sources have commented on the sizable number of persons who have left the country since 1967 as the result of deteriorating economic conditions and political instability. Although exact information on the excess of emigrants over immigrants is not available, the number appears to have been sufficiently large to offset part of the growth resulting from natural increase. It is thus probable that at the beginning of 1973 the population did not exceed 1.4 million. Irrespective of whether the population was 1.4 million or 1.5 million, Yemen (Aden) ranks 13th in population among the 18 independent Arab states. It has about twice as many inhabitants as neighboring Oman but only one-fourth as many as the Yemen Arab Republic.

In the absence of any effective system for registering births and deaths, vital rates must be estimated. For the period 1965-70, according to U.N. figures, the birth rate was approximately 50.0 per 1,000 population and the death rate 22.7, indicating a rate of natural increase of about 2.7% per year. This high rate, particularly for a country with few natural resources, creates a formidable barrier to any attempts to raise levels of living and to alleviate the widespread poverty. A large proportion of children must be supported by those of working age, and this dependency burden serves as a major hindrance to improving living conditions and general welfare. Popular attitudes favoring large families eliminate the possibility of significant reduction of the birth rate. Moreover, with ever larger numbers of women annually entering the principal childbearing years, the population will continue to grow rapidly during the remainder of the 1970's and during the 1980's, whether or not the birth rate declines. To date, the government has adopted no official policy with respect to population control.

While significant changes in fertility seem unlikely in the near future, it is probable that the death rate, very high for the age structure of the population, will decline gradually in response to improved health conditions, thus accelerating population growth. The infant mortality rate already may have dropped somewhat, although supporting data are almost nonexistent. In the 1930's and 1940's, according to the estimate of one observer, about three-fourths of all children died before age 2. In Aden in 1966, the reported mortality rate for children under age 4 was about 80 per 1,000 live births. The actual rate for Aden undoubtedly was higher, and that for the rest of

the country substantially greater. Life expectancy at birth was placed at 42.3 years in the 1965-70 period.

The extent to which international migration has affected population growth is not wholly clear. Official data indicate that during the 1968-70 period 20,134 persons immigrated to the country, while 19,286 emigrated. Other evidence, however, suggests that the volume of emigration is much greater than that of immigration. Emigration from the Hadhramaut, especially of men, long has been common. In 1952, for example, some 85,000 Hadhrami emigrants were said to be residing in Indonesia alone. In 1968, according to official U.S. estimates, as many as "several hundred thousand" Yemenis, primarily from the Hadhramaut, were living in Saudi Arabia, most with the status of aliens and maintaining some ties with their homeland. In the same year, some 15,000 Yemenis were reported to be in the Persian Gulf states; substantial numbers are also found in East Africa. It is not known, however, whether the Yemenis abroad are mainly emigrants of the last two decades or are descendants of emigrants of an earlier era.

After independence, the government encouraged emigrees to return to participate in the country's development, but the response apparently has been minimal. In fact, unfavorable economic and political conditions have induced many foreign laborers, as well as Adeni bankers, shipowners, rice merchants, and other businessmen, to leave Aden for the Yemen Arab Republic and other countries. In late 1972, as many as 150,000 "refugees" from Yemen (Aden) were said to be living in the north. Estimates of the decline in the population of Aden since independence range from 50,000 to 80,000 persons, most of whom have left the country entirely. The apparent purpose of a new immigration law, effective in August 1969, moreover, was to force some non-Arab residents, particularly Indians and Somalis, to leave the country, but its effects have not yet been reflected in available data.

1. Density and distribution

With a total area of slightly over 111,000 square miles, Yemen (Aden) had a population density of almost 14 persons per square mile at the beginning of 1973. Much of the country is uninhabited desert, however, and densities in the settled areas far exceed the national average. Density varies markedly from one governorate to another (Figure 4); it ranges from fewer than 3 persons per square mile in the Sixth Governorate to over 100 persons per square mile in the

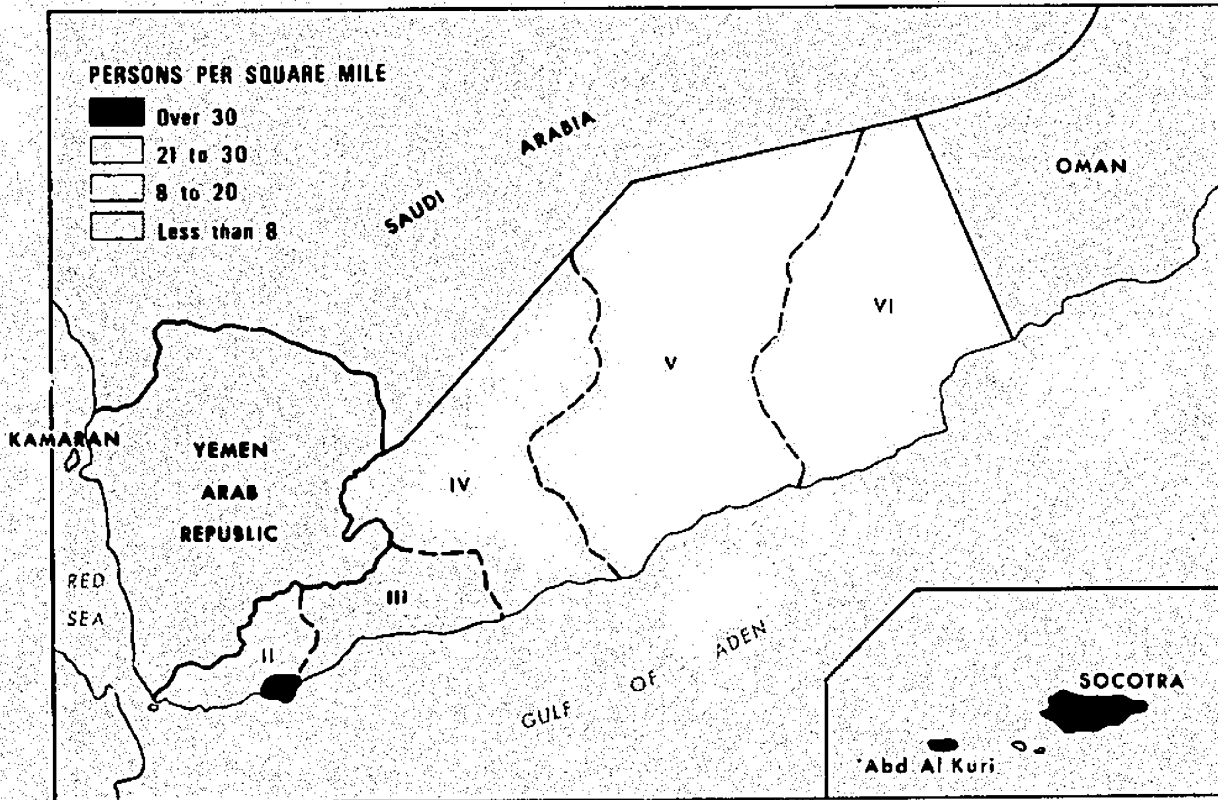


FIGURE 4. Population density, by governorate, 1968 (U/OU)

First Governorate, which encompasses Aden and its hinterland, as well as the island of Socotra.²

According to an estimate in the latter half of 1968, based on the official population figure, the population of the then six existing governorates was as follows:

First Governorate	549,000
Second Governorate	188,000
Third Governorate	265,000
Fourth Governorate	149,000
Fifth Governorate	354,000
Sixth Governorate	65,000

As these data indicate, well over half of the country's inhabitants lived in the three westernmost governorates. The First Governorate alone accounted for about one-fourth of the population, although comprising only 2.2% of the total area. Another major concentration of population is found in the Hadhramaut, including parts of the Fourth and Fifth governorates: in 1968, these two governorates contained over one-third of the population. The Sixth

²Before late 1972, Yemen (Aden) was divided into six governorates. At that time, the Seventh Governorate was created from parts of the Fifth and Sixth.

Governorate, the easternmost administrative division bordering on Oman, accounted for less than 5% of the total population, although constituting almost one-fourth of the national territory. Socotra is the only Yemeni island with a substantial population, estimates ranging from 15,000 to 70,000. Between 3,000 and 4,000 persons live on Kamaran and about 250 on Perim.

The country is predominantly rural, at least 70% of the population (and probably more) living in the countryside. Only Aden, some of its suburbs, and Al Mukalla³ have populations in excess of 20,000. With its suburbs, Aden has between 150,000 and 200,000 residents (fewer than at the time of independence); Al Mukalla had about 50,000 inhabitants in 1966. Other major communities include Ash Shihr, Labij, Say'un, and Tarim.

2. Age-sex structure

The population is very young. According to estimates, the median age at midyear 1970 was 17.9

³For diacritics on place names see the list of names on the apron of the Summary Map in the Country Profile chapter and the map itself.

FIGURE 5. Estimated population, by age group and sex, midyear 1970 (U/OU)
(Population in thousands)

AGE GROUP	POPULATION			PERCENT DISTRIBUTION			MALES PER 100 FEMALES
	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	
0-4.....	134	129	263	18.5	18.2	18.3	103.3
5-9.....	103	99	202	14.2	14.0	14.1	101.0
10-14.....	86	81	170	11.8	11.8	11.9	102.1
15-19.....	75	72	147	10.3	10.2	10.2	101.2
20-24.....	64	62	126	8.8	8.7	8.7	103.2
25-29.....	51	52	106	7.4	7.3	7.3	103.8
30-34.....	46	44	90	6.3	6.2	6.2	101.5
35-39.....	38	37	75	5.2	5.2	5.2	102.7
40-44.....	32	31	63	4.4	4.4	4.4	103.2
45-49.....	27	26	53	3.7	3.7	3.7	103.8
50-54.....	21	21	42	2.9	3.0	3.0	100.0
55-59.....	17	18	35	2.4	2.5	2.4	91.4
60-64.....	12	13	25	1.7	1.8	1.8	92.3
65-69.....	9	10	19	1.2	1.4	1.3	90.0
70 and over.....	9	11	20	1.2	1.6	1.4	81.8
All ages.....	727	709	1,436	100.0	100.0	100.0	102.5

years, more than 10 years below the figure in the United States. An estimated 44% of the population were under age 15, and 55% were under age 20 (Figure 5). At the other extreme, only 2.7% were age 65 or older, and only 9.9% were age 50 or older. Altogether, the population in the dependent ages (usually defined as 0-14 and 65 or older) accounted for 47% of the total population, whereas those in the working ages (15-64) constituted 53%. The resulting ratio of 885 persons in the dependent ages per 1,000 in the working ages was some 44% higher than the ratio in the United States. In such countries as Yemen, however, the formal dependency ratio overstates the actual degree of dependency, as many children under age 15 are engaged in some form of work and many persons age 65 and over continue to work because of economic necessity.

The population profile, compared with that of the United States (Figure 6), shows that the proportion of the Yemeni population under age 5 is more than double that of the United States, attesting to the much higher level of fertility in Yemen (Aden). In fact, the nation has a larger proportion of persons in all age groups under 35 than does the United States. Conversely, the proportion of the U.S. population in the middle and older ages is markedly higher than that of Yemen (Aden).

Presumably, Yemen (Aden), like other predominantly Muslim Arab countries, has more males than females, in contrast to the United States and the

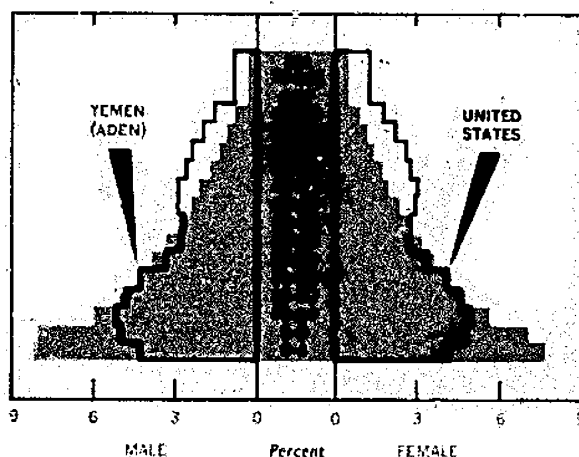


FIGURE 6. Age-sex structure, Yemen (Aden) and the United States, midyear 1970 (U/OU)

European countries, where females predominate. In 1970, there were an estimated 102.5 males for every 100 females. The number of males exceeded the number of females in all age groups under 59, while females outnumbered males only in the age groups 55 and over.

D. Work opportunities and conditions

1. Attitudes and patterns (U/OU)

In the traditional economy, most persons work in order to subsist, not to fulfill special occupational roles

related to their interests or training. Nonfarm employment opportunities are scarce and job mobility extremely limited. Even within the agricultural sector, population pressure on the land has led to fragmentation of landholdings and underemployment. The means to personal and economic advancement, at least for many, has been emigration; those who remain at home are often committed to the same occupation for life. Although limited economic development in and around Aden, initiated by the British, has tended to erode traditional employment patterns, the dearth of resources has severely impeded growth, while the harsh depression beginning in 1967 has made the creation of new jobs difficult. Skilled labor is in short supply, but given present conditions, the need is not great.

Employment opportunities have been restricted, not only by the low level of development but also by the practice of reserving certain jobs to particular classes or ethnic groups. Prior to independence, for example, the Indian community of Aden predominated on the clerical level in government, commerce, and industry, and many were important merchants and businessmen. The old established Adeni Arabs concentrated more on commerce and trade. Menial labor was generally relegated to emigrants from the Yemen Arab Republic and migrants from the Aden Protectorates, many of whom rotated their jobs among family members. The Somalis served as laborers, coffeehouse proprietors, and taxi drivers. Since independence, Arabs have replaced the British in civil service jobs, many immigrants from the Yemen Arab Republic have returned to their homeland for lack of work, and pressures to emigrate have been placed on the Indian and Somali communities. In general, however, traditional patterns of work have not been affected.

Women constitute only a small proportion of the labor force. Even if male attitudes were more favorable toward increased female participation, economic conditions would not be conducive to any sizable increase. Women's primary work role is generally limited to agricultural labor, housework, and petty commerce.

Like other workers in the Arabian Peninsula conditioned by subsistence living patterns, it is probable that many Yemenis are not especially interested in advancing themselves through sustained work or in achieving better jobs by acquiring the necessary skills. Material incentives may not be so attractive over the long term as the ease with which ready cash may be earned for a few days' work. The government's concern with lagging labor productivity may be related to an absence of discipline; one

newspaper has complained that many workers receive wages but do no work. On the other hand, many laborers reportedly are required to work 14 to 16 hours per day. Although urban labor conditions are generally poor, they are probably no harsher than those in the agricultural sector.

2. Labor legislation (C)

In the past, working conditions were regulated only in Aden, and so far as is known, no comprehensive labor legislation has yet been enacted for the rest of the country. Since 1967, Adeni labor laws have continued in force, as amended, but most have not been extended to the whole nation. In 1970, a government-sponsored emigrants conference recommended passage of a comprehensive labor code which would define the relationship between workers and employers, and a year later a government committee was established to deal with labor disputes. In early 1972, a labor studies institute was opened in Aden, affiliated with the General Federation of Workers of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (GFWDPRY). Designed to train qualified trade union cadres, it was to be staffed in part by Soviet and East German experts.

Prior to 1967, the Adeni laws covered various aspects of employers' and employees' rights, including minimum wages, hours of work, health and safety conditions, employment of women and children, workmen's compensation, and retirement benefits. Certain laws applied only to workers in specific industries or occupations, or to workers employed by family-owned and -operated enterprises. A standard 48-hour workweek was introduced in 1956, as well as provisions for overtime and paid leave. Outside Aden, however, the customary work hours in rural occupations varied with the seasons as they presumably still do. The Department of Labor and Welfare, established in 1953 by the British, was staffed with competent administrators and operated effectively, but it collapsed in 1966 when dissidence and terrorism became commonplace and staffing was difficult.

Following independence, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs was created. Through this agency the government seeks to protect the worker and to curb the decline in employment by regulating dismissal procedures. Many employers are said to take advantage of the unemployment situation by discharging old workers unjustifiably and by illegally employing new workers, presumably at lower wages. Arbitrary dismissals are supposedly prohibited by law.

and the direct hiring of workers is not permitted without the consent of the Employment Office of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. A 1968 law fixes severance pay if employment is terminated for any reason, and a 1969 law outlines long, complex, and expensive procedures that management and labor must undergo before any dismissal of surplus labor occurs. All major companies, however, have large numbers of redundant workers and are reducing employment. These concerns have attempted to avoid outright firing by offering inducements to resign, such as greatly increased severance bonuses (up to 6 months' wages), retirement bonuses (up to 9 months' wages), across-the-board wage reductions, or employment on a month-on, month-off basis. Individual labor unions have also been negotiating with employers for increased fringe benefits. Agreements reached with various companies in 1970 and 1971 include provisions for monthly housing allowances, accident compensation, yearend bonuses, medical payments, overtime pay, and retirement and death benefits.

In Aden, wage regulation in the public and private sectors has been in effect since the 1940's and has been repeatedly amended to reflect worker demands and changing conditions. An ordinance issued in 1960 established wage councils which stipulate how wages are to be computed and prescribe criminal liability for employer violations. In February 1968 the government announced that a national maximum wage would be established, regardless of position and, as a first step, a decree was issued reducing civil service pay, depending on salary level. At the same time, income taxes covering 3 months of work were deducted from wages based on the higher scales.

The British declined to ratify any international labor convention, stating that the Adeni labor force had not reached an appropriate stage of development. In April 1969, however, the P.D.R.Y. joined the International Labour Organisation.

3. Labor and management (C)

The growth of trade unionism in Aden coincided with the growth of the nationalist movement. The first trade union was formed in 1952; four years later there were 25 registered unions, most of them affiliated with the Aden Trade Union Congress (ATUC). Union membership totaled an estimated 18,000 persons in 1960 and, after a decline to 16,000 in 1966, reached perhaps 45,000 in 1972.

From its inception the ATUC was used as a political instrument. By means of strikes and violent demonstrations, it was able on occasion to bring

economic activity in Aden to a standstill. In 1962, the leadership of the ATUC formed a political organization called the People's Socialist Party, whose membership was identical with that of the ATUC. From then until independence, labor-management relations were characterized by unrest and mutual hostility, although some genuine, worker grievances were eventually satisfied. The unions generally refused to negotiate the settlement of even minor industrial disputes, rushing into a strike over the most insignificant issues for the purpose of embarrassing the British administration. For its part, management consistently met intransigence with intransigence. Consequently, Aden unions have had little experience in genuine collective bargaining.

Following independence, the NF seized control of ATUC and its affiliated unions, ousting the rival Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY), whose leaders went into exile. In January 1968, the NF formed the General Union of Workers (GUW), which ultimately became GFWDPRY, replacing ATUC. Subsequently, the union movement was thoroughly reorganized by the government in an effort to control its activities. Union organization was required to be based on the principle of "democratic centralism"; participation of "the masses," including women, in union affairs was increased. A so-called "workers' militia" was formed to defend the union movement against deviationist tendencies.

As of late 1971, the number of unions had been reduced to seven, covering workers in construction, services, and light industries; transportation and communications; port activities; banking, commerce, and insurance; the civil service; the oil industry; and the teaching profession.

Despite restrictive measures, the labor movement has apparently continued to pose difficulties for the government, which until several years after independence seemed to have little control over union activities. The disruptive tactics developed during the period of British rule were also employed after independence, and on numerous occasions government leaders have warned workers that strikes violated the need for "revolutionary discipline." A compulsory arbitration law, promulgated in February 1969, permits the government to intervene in labor disputes and to impose a decision on both management and union. Failure to abide by the government's decision brings heavy penalties in the form of fines and imprisonment. This legislation was designed to control labor unrest resulting from the reduction of wages and from dismissals necessitated by economic conditions. Nonetheless, in 1972, the chairman of the Presidential

Council criticized several labor leaders for the decline in productivity and presumably for fomenting strikes. Embezzlement of union funds by union leaders has also caused official concern.

Prior to independence, ATUC belonged to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and to the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU). GFWPDY, however, is not affiliated with ICFTU but is a member of ICATU as well as the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

E. Health (C)

Yemen (Aden) does not produce enough food to feed its inhabitants and must depend on imports. A primitive transportation system hampers the movement of imports into the rural areas as well as the flow of agricultural commodities from the countryside to the towns. Food storage facilities are grossly inadequate, and refrigeration facilities are available only in Aden and Al Mukalla, except for some small units along the coast used for storing fish. Sanitary conditions in dairies, markets, restaurants, and slaughterhouses are poor. Except in Aden, sanitation controls are practically nonexistent.

The population suffers from poor nutrition; a bare subsistence level is maintained by nomads, villagers, and the poorer segments of the urban population. The average daily per capita caloric consumption ranges between 1,500 to 2,000 calories, well below the 2,500 calories generally accepted as the minimum necessary to maintain good health. Vitamin deficiencies are prevalent among all social and economic classes, while the most serious dietary deficiencies are in fats, minerals, and proteins. Although the number of persons suffering from malnutrition is not available, the figure is undoubtedly high. In 1969 the Ministry of Health reported 2,425 cases of scurvy; the incidence of rickets is widespread; and beriberi and pellagra are occasionally reported.

Water is scarce except in Aden, which is supplied by three groups of deep boreholes. Aden's water system includes storage and treatment plants and a comprehensive distribution network. In the rest of the country, only a few streams carry a limited surface flow throughout the year. Although there are a number of boreholes, mainly in the western regions, the principal source of water is the deep well. In coastal areas and in the northeastern deserts, wells are widely separated and yield only meager, often brackish supplies. A few developed piped water systems serve the larger settlements, such as Al



FIGURE 7. A desert well frequented by nomads. The government is making an effort to increase the number of wells in rural areas, but scarcity of water is still a serious problem. (C)

Mukalla, Ash Shihr, Ad Dali', Habban, Ji'ah, Lahij, and Mayfa'ah, but all water sources except the supply system serving Aden are likely to be polluted (Figure 7).

Sewerage and waste disposal systems throughout the country are limited. Night soil is used as fertilizer in rural areas, and garbage is dumped indiscriminately, providing breeding places for insects and rodents. Aden, however, has a waterborne sewerage system serving some parts of the city. In other areas, no sewerage or modern garbage disposal systems exist.

Throughout the country, crowded housing contributes to the high rate of respiratory diseases, and the common use of eating and drinking utensils contributes to the spread of other diseases. Livestock live in close proximity to humans, which promotes the spread of animal diseases transmissible to man. Outside the main towns, folk medicine is still practiced, and amulets are often hung from trees as a cure for disease. Cautery is the most common traditional form of treatment for all illnesses.

Of those communicable diseases reported by the Ministry of Health in 1969, the most prevalent were eye disorders, accounting for 19.5% of all reported diseases; dysentery, 13.5%; bronchitis, 10.1%; malaria, 4.2%; ear diseases, 2.1%; and pneumonia, 2.4%. Other major communicable diseases include influenza, whooping cough, gastroenteritis, tuberculosis, schistosomiasis, typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, cholera, malaria (predominantly *P. falciparum* and widespread outside of Aden itself), rickettsial diseases, helminthic and skin diseases. Additional diseases occurring frequently were infectious hepatitis, bejel (caused by a spirochete and marked by bone and skin lesions), diphtheria, measles, mumps, smallpox,

chickenpox, and venereal diseases. The major animal diseases transmissible to man are anthrax, brucellosis, Q-fever, tuberculosis, and rabies; other endemic animal diseases include foot-and-mouth, nutritional disorders, pleuropneumonia, and rinderpest.

Most medical and paramedical personnel are recruited from outside the country, but the number is not adequate for existing needs. After independence the majority of physicians left the country, leaving only 26 to serve the requirements of the entire population. By late 1970 this number had increased to 125, including 23 from the People's Republic of China, 15 from the U.S.S.R., 11 from Egypt, and 6 from India; only 37 were natives. Professional competence ranges from poor to good. Since the doctors are concentrated in the towns, they are beyond the reach of the rural population. According to the Ministry of Health, additional medical personnel as of 1969 comprised the following:

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
Dentists	4	1
Pharmacists	5	10
Assistant pharmacists	26	41
Nurses	56	0
Assistant nurses	450	0
Assistant health workers	219	0
Midwives	56	0
Others	121	12
Total	927	64

In order to increase the number of nurses and medical technicians, a health training institute was opened in December 1970, which is expected to graduate 60 persons per year, or 30 per term. Physicians have been trained in East Germany and other Communist countries, and in the United Kingdom.

In short supply, medical facilities are often overcrowded, understaffed, and unhygienic; they are concentrated in urban areas. Medical supplies are said to be particularly scarce in government facilities but more abundant in private clinics. In 1970, according to reports, there were 18 hospitals with a total of 1,300 beds and 120 health units. Located in Aden, the most important facilities included Al-Jumhuriyah Hospital (formerly Queen Elizabeth Hospital) with 495 beds; the British Petroleum Hospital with 144 beds; the Chinese-staffed Al-Sha'b Hospital with about 125 beds; and the Al-Salam Sanitarium for mental patients, which treated a yearly total of some 900 persons. On the island of Socatra only two health aides staffed two health units.

It is the policy of the government to provide free medical care. In 1968, the Ministry of Health prohibited public-service doctors from simultaneously

engaging in private practice, and physicians' fees were substantially reduced. In 1970, a 5-year health plan was being studied, which envisaged doubling the number of physicians, establishing 85 new health units, providing maternal and child care clinics in rural areas, teaching health care in the schools, and operating 4 mobile health units in remote regions. In February 1971, the government concluded an agreement with trade union representatives to establish a medical care program for public sector workers, and in the same year, national health and social insurance schemes were reportedly under intensive study.

F. Living conditions and social problems (U/OU)

Yemen (Aden) is a poor country. In rural areas particularly, a subsistence level of living is the rule. Unemployment is high; as a result of the British withdrawal from Aden, some 25,000 persons were put out of work. In 1970, a severe drought caused famine conditions in some regions. According to newspaper reports, food prices increased to such an extent that workers could not afford some commodities and blackmarket trading became a serious problem.

In general, housing is grossly inadequate, even by Middle East standards. In the larger urban areas, a housing shortage has resulted in severe overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and the proliferation of wretched slums (Figure 5). The government has been concerned with the housing problem, especially with the growth of wood and tin shanties in the Aden area. Only a few modern buildings have sanitary facilities. Living conditions of urban dwellers, however, are usually better than those of villagers and nomads, who live in mud-brick houses, tents, or caves and enjoy few amenities of any kind, especially the nomadic population. On the island of Socotra, which is primitive even by comparison with the rest of the country, many residents are said to live in caves, few apparently having permanent housing. In the First Governorate, beginning in early 1972, such shacks were to be replaced by some 10,000 public housing units. In August of the same year, the government nationalized all houses in the First and Fifth Governorates owned by landlords charging rent and, in order to prevent exploitation by "a group of merchants," reduced rents by 10%.

Although those directly employed in Aden by the British and by local merchants gained substantially from rising prosperity under British rule, social discontent resulting from a traditional maldistribution



FIGURE 8. Typical housing in one of Aden's shanty districts. These dwellings constitute severe fire and health hazards. Densities of 5 to 6 persons per room are not uncommon. (U/OU)

of wealth was not a serious problem, as differences between rich and poor were not great. While the disparities were more apparent in Aden than in the rest of the country, amenities were limited to a small segment of the population, who enjoyed such modern conveniences as automobiles, radio and television sets, and air-conditioning. Since independence, moreover, many wealthier Adenis, including both indigenous Arabs and non-Arab residents, as well as virtually all British subjects, have left the country. Among the remaining "privileged" groups, salaried personnel have had their incomes sharply reduced as a result of austerity measures imposed by the new regime. In August 1972, for example, the government ordered the salaries of all public sector employees cut by 15% to 50%. According to reports, the government has helped win support for these measures by appealing to

popular resentment against rich merchants and other "exploitative" groups.

Although no government-sponsored social security system exists, the nominally socialist regime has drawn up detailed development plans, but it lacks the funds or the qualified personnel to carry out a comprehensive welfare program. Nonetheless, a few tentative steps have been taken. Article 26 of the 1970 constitution states that the government will act to protect the working class. In addition, Article 36 declares that "the State shall provide special protection for women," including provision for maternity leave with pay and the establishment of nurseries and kindergartens.

The prevailing social security system remains the traditional one built into patriarchal, tribal social patterns whereby the extended family or tribe provides

for its own less fortunate members. Those few individuals who have no family are expected to resort to religious foundations supported by almsgiving, a basic Islamic obligation. In addition to religious foundations, private philanthropic organizations, formerly British-sponsored, have been active.

There are no statistics on crime. Alcoholism is not a problem since the use of alcohol by Muslims is forbidden. However, habitual use of *qat*, a mild narcotic, is widespread among men, women, and children, although the government prohibits its importation as well as all types of narcotics. In contrast to the practice in the Yemen Arab Republic, Southern Yemenis are said to mix *qat* with a variety of other stimulants, including alcohol, morphine, and opium. Since independence, Aden newspapers have reported an increase in the incidence of juvenile vagrancy, as well as in the number of "lunatics" and beggars. Many vagrants reportedly become criminals and prostitutes. In 1971, the government announced a campaign against "hippies," whose conduct was said to be "devious, provocative, indecent, and prejudicial to public morality."

G. Religion (U/OU)

Most Yemenis are followers of the orthodox Sunni branch of Islam and belong to the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence, one of the four accepted schools of law within the Sunni branch. The large number of European Christians and the small group of native Jews (830 according to the Aden Colony census of 1955) have almost all departed since 1967. A few Indian Hindus probably remain. Many vestiges of animism persist in the area, and litholatry, the worship of rocks, is said to be widespread among the rural tribes. In many regions, reverence for local shrines and native saints is common. The descendants of these saints wield considerable influence over the local population.

Every Muslim is supposed to subscribe to certain basic articles of faith and religious practice. The most important dogma is the belief in one God, or Allah, and in his apostle, the Prophet Muhammad. Muslims do not consider Muhammad divine but rather a fallible human being through whom Allah revealed His message. Muhammad's revelations were recorded in the Koran, regarded as the eternal word of God transmitted to the Prophet through the angel Gabriel. Supplementing the Koran as a source of moral guidance for Muslims are accounts of the Prophet's words and deeds, known as the Traditions (*Hadiths*), which were compiled into the *Sunnah*, or "way" of

the Prophet. The Shafi'i have adopted an intermediate position between the conservative Maliki and Hanbali schools of jurisprudence, which adhere fairly literally to Koranic teachings, and the more liberal Hanafi school, which permits the use of analogy to meet situations not described in the Koran or the Traditions.

Orthodox Muslim practices have changed little since the early period of Islam, when detailed regulations for religious observance were established. Foremost are the five "pillars" enjoined by the Koran: The *shahadah*—bearing witness by public declaration of the belief that "there is no God but God and Muhammad is his Prophet"; the *salah*—praying five times a day; the *zakah*—giving alms to the poor; the *sawm*—fasting, chiefly from sunrise to sundown, during the month of Ramadan; and the *hajj*—undertaking a pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca and Medina. (In 1972, 9,320 Yemenis performed the *hajj*.) Many Hadhrans continue to make annual pilgrimages to the tomb of Hud, a local saint. Tarim has a reputation as a city of holy men, boasting some 360 mosques as well as an important Islamic library (Figure 9).

Religion is a pervasive influence throughout the area and a continuing mainstay of social conservatism, despite the implicit challenge to its dominance in the gradual trend toward secularization. Change is most



FIGURE 9. The High Mosque of Tarim (U/OU)

apparent in Aden, where the British impact was greatest. The British secularized many social functions, including education, which had previously been the province of local religious leaders.

Islam has apparently been eroded even more since independence and the assumption of power by a Marxist-oriented government. Conservative religious leaders in Aden preaching anti-Communist sermons, for example, have been warned against the "abuse" of religion, and in early 1970 the Minister of Justice advised mosque officials that attacks on the government would not be tolerated. Nevertheless, armed dissidents hoping to overthrow the Aden government denounce its leaders as atheists and Communists. On the other hand, references to Islam in the 1970 constitution are moderate and unexceptional. In accord with accepted Muslim practice, Article 19 provides that the state will administer religious lands and properties belonging to the *awqaf* (Muslim pious foundations); Article 30 declares that the state will safeguard the Islamic legacy; and Article 46 asserts that "Islam is the religion of the state." In general, the functions of religious leaders will continue to be restricted largely to religious matters, and their influence in political affairs will probably remain limited. The emphasis on government-financed schools, for example, has lessened dependency on traditional Koranic schools. The judicial system, moreover, has been divided between civil courts and the religious Sharia courts.

II. Education (U/OU)

Education in the modern sense did not begin in Yemen (Aden) until 1937, when Aden became a British crown colony. The British built new schools in the colony and later in the protectorate states, but educational opportunity in the interior was always markedly inferior to that in the colony. Although traditional Koranic schools still exist in considerable numbers, they are gradually being replaced by government-sponsored primary schools offering secular as well as religious instruction.

The policy of the P.D.R.Y. is to provide free, compulsory education for all children. According to Article 52 of the constitution, general education is "the basis of social progress," and "all sections of the people have a right to be educated." Because of a shortage of classrooms, however, many eligible children do not attend school. The government plans to achieve 100% primary enrollment by 1981 and, in terms of curriculum, intends to emphasize "national, ideological education."

In 1960, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization estimated that of those age 15 and over, about 16% of males and 5% of females

were literate, while other authorities place the literacy rate for both sexes of these ages at 10% to 15%. In Aden, where the greatest number of schools are located, literacy approaches 35%, but the rate in the provinces is much lower. In 1970, for example, newspaper accounts estimated that only 1% of the population of the Second Governorate were literate. Reportedly, on the island of Socatra only 1% of adult males and no females were literate. In order to cope with the problem, the government has established an "illiteracy combat section" within the Ministry of Education. As of early 1971, it was operating 33 illiteracy centers for men with 1,371 enrolled, and 7 for women with 521 in attendance.

The preindependence educational system comprised a 4-year primary cycle, a 3-year intermediate cycle, and a 4-year secondary cycle. A few qualified male students might continue for another 2 years of advanced secondary education in institutions sometimes known as colleges. This system has apparently changed little since 1967. Because there is no university, students pursuing postsecondary education must study abroad.

Public school enrollment has increased rapidly since independence from 69,308 in the 1967/68 school year to a reported 132,000 in 1970/71. Of total enrollment in 1969/70, the latest year for which detailed information is available, 90% were enrolled in the primary cycle, 8.5% in the intermediate cycle, and 1.5% in the secondary cycle. As indicated by the following tabulation of students enrolled in the primary cycle in 1969/70, about one-fifth were female, of which one-twentieth attended private schools:

	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH SEXES
Public	81,115	19,960	101,075
Private	3,899	1,033	4,932
Total	85,014	20,993	106,007

At the postprimary level in 1969/70, females constituted over one-fifth of all students; private school enrollment accounted for approximately one-seventh of the total and slightly more than one-fourth of secondary enrollment, as shown in the tabulation below:

	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH SEXES
Public			
Intermediate	6,978	1,738	8,706
Secondary	1,000	557	1,366
Total	7,987	2,085	10,072
Private			
Intermediate	952	312	1,264
Secondary	357	106	463
Total	1,309	418	1,727

In 1969/70, 117 men and 68 women were training to be teachers. In the same year some 500 students were studying in other countries, 271 at the university level, 16 in postgraduate programs, 188 in technical programs, and 25 in various specialized fields.

In 1969/70, there were 659 primary schools (compared with about 200 in 1966), of which 25 were private. By 1973/74, the government plans to complete 37 additional primary schools, as well as 18 new intermediate and 4 new secondary facilities. The most important academic secondary schools are Al Bayyumi College for men and an equivalent Girl's College, both located in Aden. Al Bayyumi offers a 2-year advanced secondary course in addition to the regular general secondary program. Vocational and technical training is provided in the Technical Institute, a secondary-level school. Although the institute is designed primarily for boys, it is said to offer a few vocational courses for girls. In 1972, the first students graduated from the National Economic Cadre and Public Sector Institute, which provides Marxist-oriented courses in political economy.

Teacher training is offered in four institutions: a center for men associated with Al Ittihad College, which provides a 4-year secondary course; a secondary school in Lahij; and two teacher-training colleges in Aden—one for men and one for women—which offer a 2-year advanced secondary course. Graduates of the center at Al Ittihad College are qualified to teach in primary schools, and graduates of the advanced secondary schools may teach in primary or postprimary schools.

The language of instruction in the public primary and intermediate schools is Arabic. Prior to independence, English was taught in the fourth primary year and throughout the intermediate cycle and was the medium of instruction in secondary and advanced secondary institutions. By 1970, if plans were implemented, all instruction at the secondary level was to have been in Arabic. Private schools may use Arabic, English, or another language, depending upon the school's sponsorship.

Specific information is not available on curriculums for the primary, intermediate, and general secondary schools, but in urban areas they reportedly include such subjects as religion, geography, history, science, mathematics, and physical education. The Egyptian Government has aided in the development of official curriculums and has supplied Arabic-language textbooks. The 4-year secondary course at the Technical Institute offers instruction in such fields as woodworking, building construction, workshop technology, and engineering, along with a 2-year course in commercial subjects. Government dissatis-

faction with the traditional curriculums still followed in rural schools is apparently considerable.

Evening courses for adults are offered in some secondary schools. Most of these follow the regular secondary school curriculum, while others are designed to improve the qualifications of employed teachers. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is in the process of establishing a trade training center where adults may receive instruction in such fields as carpentry, masonry, auto mechanics, and mechanical engineering.

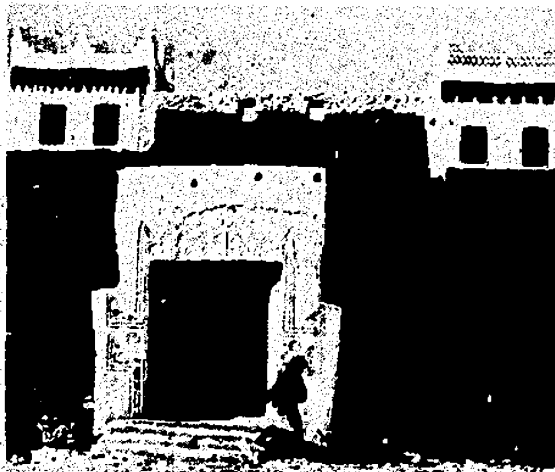
The scarcity of trained native teachers has made it necessary to recruit abroad. Prior to independence, particularly in Aden, many teachers were British or Indian, but they have since been replaced by recruits from Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and other Arab countries. Even with several hundred foreign teachers, the supply is still inadequate. In government primary schools the overall pupil-teacher ratio is approximately 30:1. The quality of instruction varies. Foreign teachers are generally well trained and carefully selected, but native teachers are less competent.

Before the proclamation of independence in late 1967, student political activity had become a serious problem. Violence mounted between rival political groups as the deadline for British withdrawal approached, and various student groups were lined up with the major political factions. Some students participated in the terrorist activities of the two opposing anti-British nationalist groups, FLOSY and the National Liberation Front (predecessor to the NF), and many students were arrested. Politically motivated student strikes were also a problem. In the 1964/65 school year, for instance, schools in Aden were closed more than half the time because of student boycotts. In the early years of independence, however, the students appear to support the republican government, but the extent to which political activity will continue among them remains uncertain. Although a National General Federation of Yemeni Students has been established, it appears to be ineffectual.

I. Artistic and cultural expression (U/OU)

All forms of artistic expression are underdeveloped except architecture and literature. Painting has never flourished, and sculpture is also totally absent as a result of the ancient Islamic ban inspired by a desire to remove all evidence of pre-Islamic religions, including carved idols and other objects of animist worship. There is no theatrical tradition.

The architecture of Yemen (Aden) has been strongly influenced by contact with India and Indonesia. One of Aden's main mosques, for example, is built in the



Gateway to a Hadhrami dwelling decorated with geometric motifs. The ornamented towers reflect Indian and Indonesian influence. (U O U)



Women at a well with "skyscrapers" of Shibam in the background. The architectural style of these houses was developed in pre-Islamic times. Made of mud-brick, they tend to weather with the elements, but many hold up better than modern structures. (C)

FIGURE 10. Representative architectural styles.

Indian style, featuring arched and fluted porticos and a balconied minaret. Mosques in the indigenous style typically consist of a walled courtyard enclosing a low square building, covered by an irregular, half-sphere dome; minarets are low and simple. The tall, mud-brick houses of the Hadhramaut are extremely graceful and often ornately decorated (Figure 10). Shibam, in particular, is noted for its "skyscrapers," some reaching eight stories.

As elsewhere in the Arab world, poetry and formal prose writings and speech have long been esteemed

among literate Yemenis as the highest of the arts. Poetry appeals to all levels of society, with little distinction as to sex and education. The classical age of Arabian (as opposed to Islamic) poetry lies roughly in the sixth century A.D., before the coming of the Prophet Muhammad. Models and forms established by the poets of this period have remained important in formal poetry to the present day. The *qasidah*, the typical poetic form, is similar to the ode in structure and use and is written in elaborate style governed by standardized rules. Employing a single rhyme and meter, it usually opens with a fixed set of minor themes, proceeding subsequently to major themes of love, war, and manliness. Each verse, rather than the whole poem, forms an organic whole; thus it is easy and appropriate to extract and quote single verses and passages. Writers of Arabic prose traditionally have employed a pattern of rhymed prose, which has enjoyed a sacred reputation by virtue of its use in the Koran. Except for newspaper journalism, prose literature in modern Western forms is virtually nonexistent.

The folk poetry of the nomadic and rural population has not been ignored by educated Arabs, and representative selections have been preserved in writing and occasionally published. Recited in either semiclassical or colloquial Arabic and rhymed in loose meter, this poetry, much of it humorous, covers a wide variety of topics related to the daily life and values of the Bedouin and villagers. The illiterate nomad or peasant, without access to the literary output of the towns, possesses his own store of folk literature consisting of proverbs and stories in prose or verse. Professional storytellers, popular everywhere, preserve and transmit a wealth of oral literature that has been passed down for many generations. Their repertoire may be pious, bawdy, or heroic, depending upon the time, place, and audience.

Music has always been very much a part of everyday life. It is commonly improvised by the performer, who works within an informal tradition rather than from any clearcut theory of composition. Usually unable to write down what he is singing or playing, the musician learns his art by ear and transmits his knowledge to others in the same way. The ability to improvise and to embellish a melody constitutes one of the standards by which a performer is judged. Oral transmission has affected the structure of the Arab folksong, which generally consists of short, easy-to-remember, rhythmic phrases rather than longer and more complex constructions. The folksong is a common form of musical expression. Work poems are sung or chanted by grain winnowers, date pitters, camel riders, and stevedores; and family celebrations

generally are marked by the singing of folk poetry. At wedding feasts, for example, poems are sung in praise of the bride and groom. Instrumental music is rich in stylized meters or rhythmic beats, which vary according to the mood and form of the music. Favorite instruments are the tambourine, the one-stringed fiddle, the lute (Figure 11), the zither, the flute, and the drum (Figure 12).

Dancing incurs general religious disapproval. Professional dancers, however, are found among Negroes, often former slaves, and among prostitutes. Group dancing sometimes occurs on festive occasions but, with few exceptions, men and women do not dance in the same group; women frequently dance among themselves.

Intellectual expression has been confined almost exclusively to the elaboration of Islamic doctrine. The Hadhramaut boasts a rich literary tradition carried on by local scholars, many of them reputable historians and biographers who have published in Singapore, Java, Cairo, and the Hadhramaut. Only the few well-educated people have more than a limited understanding of foreign intellectual currents influencing other parts of the Middle East. The



FIGURE 11. Musicians with an ancient form of the lute. Musicians are usually drawn from the lower classes. (C)



FIGURE 12. Yemeni musicians (U/OU)

illiterate nomads and villagers have no knowledge of the outside world except that broadcast over the radio or given them by occasional contact with outsiders.

J. Public information (C)

Public information media are concentrated almost entirely in Aden, which boasts a number of newspapers, radio and television broadcasting facilities, motion picture theaters, and libraries. Communications in the hinterland are primarily by word of mouth.

Prior to independence, many newspapers were published in Aden, most of them well edited and printed on presses owned by the publisher. At that time, editorials and the treatment of news varied in accordance with the political orientation of the publisher. All papers depended for survival or financial backing from sponsoring political organizations or from advertising revenues. The daily newspapers were published in Arabic, while some of the weeklies were in English or in one of the Indian languages. Monthly publications, often aimed at a special audience, were devoted to such matters as religion, items of interest to women, international affairs, and culture in general. Following the onset of

political turmoil in the mid-1960's, the British suspended a number of newspapers for varying periods of time for publishing material deemed prejudicial to internal security. On the other hand, at least one plant was burned by terrorist action.

After independence, all newspapers were suspended; those established thereafter have been subject to the authority of the ruling NF. Article 47 of the 1970 constitution declares that the press and other media will be regulated in order "to strengthen national democratic order and protect public morals and national security."

The largest press establishment in the country is the Aden-based, state-owned *Al Uktubir* organization, which publishes a daily newspaper of the same name. At least one other daily, two weeklies, one fortnightly, and two monthlies are published in Aden, all in Arabic and all responsive to the NF propaganda line (Figure 13). The circulations of all publications are believed to be low, the highest figure probably not exceeding 6,000. The Aden News Agency, the country's first news agency, was established in 1970; it reportedly opened an office in Beirut in 1971. The New China News Agency of the People's Republic of China distributes occasional bulletins, and Novosti, the Soviet organ, is said to issue a bimonthly bulletin.

Library facilities are limited. As of 1964, the latest year for which information is available, there were three public libraries with a total collection of 41,000

volumes, and some 40 school libraries, each averaging about 1,000 volumes. In 1969, there were reportedly only two "government" libraries.

Motion pictures are popular; feature films are imported mainly from Egypt, India, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Under the preindependence government, the Ministry of National Guidance and Information occasionally produced educational films and documentaries, but the independent P.D.R.Y. Government is not known to have done so. A film censorship board was established in January 1969; films are viewed by the government as an effective indoctrinational tool. The number of motion picture theaters, most of them located in Aden, increased from 6 in 1952 to 18 in 1963, while theater attendance rose from approximately 690,000 in 1952 to 1.1 million in 1960. In early 1972 all theaters were nationalized and placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Established in 1954, the preindependence South Arabian Broadcasting Service, renamed the South Yemeni Broadcasting Service after 1967, operates both radio and television broadcasting facilities. An instrument of the Ministry of Information, it is supported by government subsidy and advertising revenue.

All radio programs are broadcast in Arabic. As of 1971, *Radio Aden* transmitted 13 hours per day, its

FIGURE 13. Selected newspapers and periodicals, 1972 (U/OU)

NAME	FREQUENCY	COMMENT
14 UKTUBIR (14 October).....	Daily.....	The official organ of the National Front with an estimated circulation in 1969 of 4,000.
AL-SHARAAH (The Spark).....	do.....	Formerly published in Al Mukalla. Had a 1969 circulation of about 2,000.
SAWT AL'UMMAL (Voice of the Workers)....	Weekly.....	Established in 1969 by the Federation of Workers of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. It is managed by the federation's bureau of information and education.
AL-TIHWARI (The Revolutionary).....	do.....	A National Front publication.
AL-HARRIS (The Guard).....	Fortnightly.....	Established in August 1968, its primary appeal directed to public security forces.
AL-JUNDI (The Soldier).....	Monthly.....	Army publication circulating about 6,000 copies in 1969.
AL-MAGALLAH (The Magazine).....	do.....	Established in December 1968 by the Ministry of Guidance and Culture as a cultural affairs magazine.
27 NUFAMBIR (27 November).....	Probably a monthly....	
AL-QITA' AL-AM.....	do.....	
AL-JAHDAH AL-RASMIYAH (The Official Gazette).	na.....	Publishes official laws and decrees. Occasionally prints English-language items.
9 YUNYU (9 June).....	na.....	Published by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf.
AL-SHILAH (The Torch).....	na.....	
AL-TANBIM.....	na.....	Said to be a "Socotra-based" magazine but probably published in Aden.

na Data not available.

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range including the entire South Arabian area, parts of Saudi Arabia, and southern Egypt. News broadcasts have featured political attacks on the Yemen Arab Republic, Saudi Arabia, and Oman. In late 1970, the clandestine radio *Voice of the Free South* (*Sawt al-Janub al-Hurr*) began broadcasting. Claiming to be the mouthpiece of the anti-Communist National Salvation Army, it reportedly operates from the northern Hadhramaut, and in late 1971 it was on the air about 7 hours per day. The number of radio receiving sets in the country rose from approximately 5,000 in 1953 to more than 250,000 in late 1972 while the audience per set ranges from one to 10 persons, many listening 4 to 5 hours per day.

As of August 1970, there were three television stations in the Aden area, and in late 1972 there were approximately 25,500 television receivers. Programming ran 4½ hours in the evening and consisted mostly of newsreels provided by a British commercial agency and of commercially acquired foreign films. Some films supplied by foreign governments were also shown.

K. Suggestions for further reading (U/OU)

Allfree, P. S. *Hawks of the Hadhramaut*. London: Robert Hale, 1967. An impressionistic but informative account of the author's 2 years as political officer in the Hadhramaut in the early 1960's. Contains a useful description of tribal attitudes.

Bell, J. Bowyer. "Southern Yemen: Two Years of Independence." *The World Today*, vol. 26, pp. 76-82, February 1970. A good survey of the politicoeconomic situation.

Bujra, Abdalla S. *The Politics of Stratification: A Study of Political Change in a South Arabian Town*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971. An excellent, detailed discussion of the sociopolitical environment in Huraydah, a small town in the Hadhramaut, based on field work in 1962-63.

———. "Political Conflict and Stratification in Hadhramaut." Parts I and II, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vols. 3 and 4, pp. 355-75 and 2-28, July 1967 and October 1967. Both articles are elaborations of parts of the author's book, cited above. The first part

emphasizes the conflict between aristocrats and commoners living abroad and its effect on the Hadhramaut. The second part focuses on the contemporary political situation and the factors contributing to change.

———. "Urban Elites and Colonialism: The Nationalist Elites of Aden and South Arabia." *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 6, pp. 189-211, May 1970. An informative article emphasizing social conditions in Aden and their influence in shaping the political leadership.

Foster, Donald. *Landscape with Arabs: Travels in Aden and South Arabia*. London: Clifton Books, 1969. Although written as a travelogue by a former civil servant in Aden, the book contains useful commentary on tribal customs and attitudes.

Little, Tom. *South Arabia: Arena of Conflict*. New York: Praeger, 1968. A survey of the preindependence economic, political, and social situation.

Rouleau, Eric. "Red Star Over South Yemen." *Le Monde*, issues for 27, 28-29, 30, and 31 May 1972. A sympathetic treatment of society and politics in independent Southern Yemen.

Sergeant, R. B. "Recent Marriage Legislation from al-Mukalla with Notes on Marriage Customs." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 25, pp. 472-98, 1962. A detailed discussion of wedding ceremonies, bride price and dowry, and changing customs, by an eminent British authority.

———. "Historians and Historiography of Hadramawt." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 25, pp. 239-61, 1962. A detailed discussion of Hadhrami historians and their works, pointing out the richness of Southern Yemeni literary traditions.

———. "Some Irrigation Systems in Hadramawt." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 27, pp. 33-76, 1964. Although focusing on irrigation, the study indicates the complexity of southern Yemeni society with reference to water disputes, folklore, and language.

Thesiger, Wilfred. *Arabian Sands*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959. A fascinating account of the author's travels in South Arabia, including Southern Yemen, Oman, and the Empty Quarter, during the 1945-50 period.