

The Abstract
The Southern Question

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The people of South Arabia has, and is still, struggling peacefully for liberation, independence and the establishment of its own national federal sovereign state on its territory with its internationally recognized boundaries before the 22nd May 1990; the people of South Arabia achieved its will on the 30th November 1967 from the British colonization, which ruled the country for 129 years, and established its state on its national territory.

According to the terms of the first and second articles of the Memorandum of Agreed Points Relating to Independence for South Arabia, (The People's Republic of Southern Yemen), state the following:

- 1. South Arabia shall become independent on 30th November 1967 (this day shall be referred to as the Independence Day).
- 2. On the Independence Day a sovereign to be known as the People's Republic of Southern Yemen (P.R.S.Y) would be established by a formal act on the part of the National Front for the Liberation of Southern Yemen as representatives of the peoples of the territory of the Republic and a government would be formed.

The new republic - People's Republic of Southern Yemen - joined the international community and was recognized by many countries, in the forefront the Arab and Industrial states. The republic established diplomatic, consular, commercial and other relations with the states. It joined many global and regional organizations, particularly the United Nations and its specialized agencies. By the United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. A/RES/2310(XXII) dated on the 14th December, 1967, the republic became a member of this universal international organization. On the 12th December, 1967, it also joined the League of Arab States, then the Organization of Islamic Conference (The Organization of Islamic Cooperation - OIC) and others. On the 1st December, 1970, the name of the republic was changed to the "People's Democratic Republic of Yemen" (PDRY).

The world has seen by the end of the 1980-s and the end of 1990-s of the twentieth century fundamental changes. Announced as a step toward a broad Arab unity the conditions were created to achieve unity between the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and The Arab Republic of Yemen that was supposed to serve the interests of the two peoples in both republics. The Aden Agreement was concluded on the 30th November, 1989, in regard to the completion of unity on 30th November, 1990. Then, in April, 1990, both parties agreed upon its completion on 22nd May, 1990. Unity took place without referring to the two peoples in both states to seek their opinion by referendum before establishing the unified state.

The basic and stated justification for the Aden Agreement 1989 regarding the completion of unity was that Yemen originally was unified and, therefore, it has to be reunited. This justification is not part of history, where the Southern Arabia territory, never witnessed, before and after Islam the birth of an entity called Yemen and this entity never existed there. However, the world knew and dealt with this name "Yemen" in modern history, since the reign of Imam Yahya bin Hameeduddin, following the end of the First World War and the withdrawal of Turkey. Then, the name of the Yemeni Mutawakilite Kingdom was attached only to that part which was later on known as the Arab Republic of Yemen. South Arabia was not part of that state, which carried the name of Yemen as a state for the first time in history.

Among the facts that became part of history the Agreement on the proclamation of the Republic of Yemen and arrangements for the transitional period that was concluded between the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Arab Republic of Yemen peacefully.

This fact was deemed harmonious to the idea to salvage both peoples in the two countries from the scourge of wars that were fought in 1972 and 1979. For that, was the expression of renouncing the war as a means to achieve unity between the peoples of these two states.

The most prominent trend of the proclamation of the one state on the ruins of the two states is the realization of interest of both peoples in the two republics, considering it the aim that was seeking to achieve.

The interest, within the scope of this relationship, is mutual. It was intended to achieve the benefit for both parties to the agreement. This was the understanding of the South - People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. However, the other party to the agreement, the tribal military Northern - Arab Republic of Yemen - had a different understanding altogether. It considered that this agreement represents the return of the "branch" to its "origin" as expressed by one of the leaders of that military-tribal regime Sheikh Abdulla Bin Hussein Alahmar, Sheikh of Hashid tribe, the speaker of the Parliament then, and the head of the Yemeni Islah Party, who said in a session on the 25th April, 1994, that unity, when it took place in May 1990 "has brought things to normalcy; the branch has rejoined the origin, the part has returned to the whole and the astray son has returned to his legitimate father . . . since the creation of unity, the lost branch is trying to be given the same status and rights of the origin, which we do not and cannot accept".

This points to the deeply rooted view among many of our brothers in Yemen, and shows that the concluded agreement on the proclamation of the Republic of Yemen and arrangements for the transitional period was no other than a means leading to the end.

In other words, the unity was merely meant to be an act of annexing/appending and imposing a style adopted away from law and order in the north whose system relied on loyalty to persons and tribes as well as on corrupts and the making of corruption and on intimidating and alluring the opponents and spending the public funds without accountability.

Therefore, this contradicts the essence of the unity agreement and it is, at the same time, a violation of contemporary international law.

Based on this, the peoples interest in light of the unity agreement necessitates the importance of explaining and reasoning the validity or non-validity of what was agreed on, i.e., the perception of the mutual interest.

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) had chosen to move in this direction only to achieve the security and stability as well as realize the aspired social and economic development.

The above mentioned agreement was, in this case, a logical result pursuant to what its equal parties have decided. This was in furtherance of the principle of renunciation of the war and the use of force or threat to use force in order to achieve unity; and this is the law of the present time.

The significant political disputes among the parties in Sana'a revealed that the real contradictions between the two countries and their peoples. Such disputes became escalated among those parties, while the southerners tried to proceed peacefully through dialogues, discussions, mediations... etc. However, the leadership in Sana'a considered the military force as the only way out of the crisis. Upon the signature on the "Document of Pledge and Accord" in February, 1994, in Amman, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Sana'a regime resorted to force in order to end the political dispute for its interest.

An all-out war broke out on 4th May, 1994, which was launched by Sana'a regime on the entire southern territory. Religious Fatwas from Sana'a were issued under the name of religion which justified the "killing of civilians including women, the elderly and children". These religious Fatwas were publicly broadcasted in the media.

Following the Yemen aggression on the South, the latter announced on the 21st May, 1994, the establishment of Democratic Republic of Yemen.

On July 7th, 1994, a full invasion of the southern territory took place accompanied by an unprecedented plundering and looting of which the civilized world had never seen in the twentieth century.

The war broke down the elements of unity, which proclaimed peacefully.

The war, in fact, eliminated this unity especially when the warfare were directed against the people of South Arabia - the other party in the agreement on the proclamation of the Republic of Yemen that dissolved their state - People's Democratic Republic of Yemen - to establish a single state, the Republic of Yemen. Thus, the war had ended the unity in effect, and turned the south into an occupied territory.

The aim of Sana'a regime behind the declaration of war against the people of South Arabia was to terminate the presence of the other party in the unity - the southern people, then to eliminate the project state of law and order, which was hoped to be established especially after signing the "Document of Pledge and Accord"; some of the national force on the dialogue committee had greatly exerted the best efforts to prevent the eruption of war and called for the continuation of dialogue. So, the militarist and tribal regime in Sana'a had planted the seeds of division instead of executing the process of unification; it also opened the doors to the use of intimidation.

Such a fact will remain as an obstacle to unifying the people, and this falls on the shoulders of the makers and perpetrators of such heinous crime; it was a crime of planning and waging an aggressive war against the South Arabian people - the other party to the agreement on the proclamation of the Republic of Yemen and arrangements for the transitional period, apart from the practices of occupation that came following the aggressive war and have continued up to the present time.

The United Nations Security Council intervened during the 1994 war against the South and issued two resolutions, No. 924 (1994) and No 931 (1994), under the title "The Situation in Yemen". The resolutions stressed a cease-fire and the political differences cannot be resolved through the use of force and demanded the resumption of dialogue among the conflicting parties. However, the Sana'a regime did not abide by the resolutions and its commitments to the international community which were stated on July 7th, 1994, in a letter by its Prime Minister to the United Nations Secretary General.

Despite the Sana'a regime commitments, it went in a different direction on the southern issue after it imposed its control by force and turned the situation into a full-structured colonization as the regime did, among other things, the following:

- Divide the South into military zones ruled by a military commander, and deployed 54 brigades consisting of land, naval and air forces, in addition to the Central Security (currently the Special Security) forces were positioned in all the governorates and cities of the South. All personnel of those military forces were from Yemen, which subjected the south to an actual military occupation.

- Tens of thousands of military personnel and civil service employees from the south were unfairly dismissed or forced to retire; it was a flagrant violation of the International Declaration of Human Rights specified in the constitution of the Republic of Yemen and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, to which the Republic of Yemen is a party.
- Discrimination and absence of equal citizenship.

Under Yemeni occupation of the South, the Sana'a authorities resorted to oppression and discrimination against the South Arabian people.

The southern people have, since the first moments of the invasion of their land, expressed their rejection of such mode, especially when they agreed of their own free will on the unity with the other party - the Arab Republic of Yemen.

Since then, the cities and other regions in the South have seen floods of peaceful protesting rallies which culminated on 7th July, 2007, with the declaration of the Southern Peaceful Movement based in its capital, Aden, which advocates for the liberation and independence of the occupied South Arabia, as well as the renunciation of violence and terrorism through unprecedented peaceful marches and civil disobedience. This movement also advocates for peaceful dialogue on equal terms between the representatives of the South Arabian people and representatives of Yemen in order to end the occupation and achieve independence, in addition to building a national democratic federal state on the entire territory of South Arabia; this is a right recognized by all conventions and the contemporary international law.

The Sana'a regime disregarded all legitimate demands of the Peaceful Southern Movement and confronted the movement with murder, repression and arrests on top of chasing and forced disappearances. And in spite of all this, the southern peaceful movement and its peaceful popular revolution remained distant from extremism and violence, and will remain so. Moreover, the peacefulness of our people's movement is a strategic non-changeable option; our people - through those peaceful events - have demonstrated legendary will and determination in order to achieve the goal of liberation and independence.

The Yemeni authorities and political parties had uniformly and vigorously made great efforts, trying to break up the forces of the southern revolution, and forging it - sometimes with suppression and with temptation at times. Our demand for the independence of South Arabia as well as the right to achieve self-determination and preserve the South Arabian identity was not a mere slogan of the southern political and activist forces; rather it was a popular will demonstrated by millions of peaceful marches along with the southern people's massive boycott of Yemen's absurd elections. Currently, it has been demonstrated, simply, by the southern legendary resistance against the occupation forces led by the Houthis and former President Ali Abdulla Saleh against our people in the South Arabia.

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The people in South Arabia have enjoyed, throughout history, a distinctive geographic location in this part of the world. South Arabia overlooks the Strait of Bab al-Mandab which connects the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean.

History books narrate, when tackling the old ages, the story of the South Arab Kingdoms.

The South Arabia's Kingdoms took advantage of this unique location; the South Arabians played an active role in trading between east and west particularly in the trade of frankincense

and myrrh that were key components of the frankincense trade. There was not a single temple or a house of rich people in Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Jerusalem and Rome that did not request this precious material to satisfy their lords. Demand for frankincense spiked constantly from Europe to Asia. The Kingdoms of South Arabia became an integral part of the global economy with a network of maritime transport to India, the Mediterranean Sea, the Silk route* and the coasts of east Africa.

* [Middle East Institute. The Story of Frankincense. www.mei.edu/sqcc/frankincense]

The Orientalists were the first to reveal the status of South Arabia and its kingdoms in the ancient times, starting from the second half of the eighteenth century through archaeological missions. The monuments, inscriptions and coins had revealed the roles of the main South Arabian kingdoms, such as Osan, Qataban and Hadhramaut in the ancient world.

Today, we affirm that the South Arabian people have the aptitude that makes the port of Aden, which had been in the recent past - the past century - one of the biggest busiest ports in the world. South Arabia can also be a hub for regional and global investments.

Aden will play a pivotal role not only in the fight against the phenomena of terrorism but also in eradicating it along with the piracy, human trafficking as well as arms and drugs smuggling, among other.

[3]

The people of South Arabia have set the finest example of their peaceful struggle to liberate their land, and have been able to set another example that embodies their determination to defend their land against the consolidation of occupation through this second invasion. They also continue to offer more sacrifices for the sake of liberation, independence and for building their own state. Therefore, the South Arabian people expect that the free world would endorse, support their struggle and stand by them to enforce their will for liberation, independence and an independent national state.

Today, we emphasize that the national demands of the people of South Arabia have moved to a new phase after the Republican Guards, the Central Security forces along with the Yemeni army and the Houthi militias - Ansarullah - waged a full-scale war on the south using various heavy and light weaponry since February 2015. Our people, along with the political forces, southern movement and other segments in the south, had no choice but to adopt armed resistance in an act of self-defense. The invasion led to the killing and wounding of very large numbers that could not be counted as yet. It also led to massive destruction of everything in the south, and the displacement of more than half of the southern population; in several cities, people suffered a crippling blockade, extreme and persisting deprivation of the very basic needs such as water, food, medicine, fuel and safety.

Needless to say that if it wasn't for the stance and support of the Arab coalition led by Saudi Arabia, the tragedy would have been even greater, rather most serious, and the genocide would have been more extensive. All of this unprecedented killing, arson, destruction and humanitarian tragedies are the fruit of this imposed unity on the people of South Arabia. Do not you see that all of this can only be done by barbaric and savage forces of occupation and have no connection whatsoever to the people they kill, burn their residences and destroy their land?!

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With all these terrible events, which befell on the people of South Arabia over a quarter of a century, it's time to put a definitive end to the human tragedy that continue to haunt the peaceful southern people, who love nothing but freedom, especially when the United Nations Charter provides for the rights of peoples to enforce their will.

The right of self-determination, today, is deemed to be an integral part of the contemporary international law, and this right is one of the binding rules of international law. It also comes as a guarantee for all peoples yearning for freedom and independence.

This principle is established in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in paragraph 1 of Article 1 of both covenants which states:

"1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development".

The United Nations documents of these two Covenants highlight that the Republic of Yemen a state party to both covenants since the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen joined them on the 9 February 1987, for it was a United Nations member. This confirms that the people of the South Arabia have the full right to self-determination, the right to restore their freedom and reinstate themselves in the international community to establish an independent national state with full sovereignty away from the hegemony, arrogance, chaos and randomness as well as the absence of law and order, underdevelopment and looting, which continue to take place until today.

It is time for the people of the South Arabia to exercise their right to self-determination through the following immediate steps:

We call for:

- 1. International and regional forces to end the Yemeni occupation of our country and protect our people from invaders.
- 2. Setting up an interim local administration under Arab and international supervision, known as the Transitional Administration for a period of time not exceeding 12 months.
- 3. Releasing all political prisoners and southern resistance men, along with those who were sentenced to prison for political activities or any activity related to civil society organizations.
- 4. Initiating the South Arabian people exercise their right to self-determination under the auspices of the international and regional community to determine their future and choose the system of its independent state according to their free will and by the peaceful, democratic means that is recognized internationally as well as stated in the internal legislations of various countries in the world free, direct referendum.

We believe that the negotiation/dialogue is the ultimate key to achieving the goals of our people for liberation and independence.

An imposed unity is certainly unacceptable, and its continuation deepens what had befallen the people.

We think that if both parties are still convinced - Yemen and the South Arabia - with recovering disposition as something more important and effective for all than to insist on an imposed and rejected unity, then the situation would be hanging in a vacuum or on a non-loving ground and is, therefore, more useful to resort to negotiation/dialogue as well as understanding and cooperation under regional and international auspices.

It is important to conduct a negotiation/dialogue for a final peaceful solution to the Southern Question in order to achieve the will of the people of South Arabian people and meet their legitimate aspirations, independence and nation-building, in accordance with the following:

Foundations, controls and references:

- * To be conducted between two parties:
 - Yemeni: to be selected by the Yemeni parliament and shall be authorized to take decisions.
 - Southerner: adopting the goals of the South Arabia people's movement for liberation, independence and building the state of South Arabia.
- * It shall take place under regional, international and global auspices and guarantees.
- * Negotiation/dialogue shall be in a neutral venue (such as Gulf Cooperation Council).
- * The governing references between the interlocutors/negotiators of the two parties shall be the United Nations Charter (Article 1, paragraph 2), the contemporary international law and the will of the people of South Arabia, expressed by millions of Southerners in its mass revolutionary events.
- * Forming of a joint working group to put a schedule program not later than six months to finalize the issues of the state building of South Arabia.

If our brothers chose not to respond to such a right and justice, and to restoring the bonds of affection, as well as the right of the southern people to build an independent state, the revolutionary struggle of our people and their escalation by all means, will continue determinedly until the South Arabian goals of liberation, independence and state-building have been realized. The obstructionist party shall bear full responsibility for its intransigence and insistence on imposing a rejected unity, which is rejected by the force of occupation that deepens the division and rejects the hand of our people, outreaching to build a special relationship based on friendship, mutual respect and common interests between our brothers in the two nations. The party, which obstructs that, does threaten the factors of building security, stability and sustainable development in the two countries and the region.

President Ali Salem Albidh

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