



Republic of Yemen

Final Communiqué of NATIONAL DIALOGUE CONFERENCE



مؤتمر الحوار الوطني الشامل
— بالحوار نصنع المستقبل —

Sana'a
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First: An Overview

The comprehensive National Dialogue Conference (NDC) provided a unique forum of its kind, and an unmatched political process which has no precedence in the history of Yemen neither the entire Arab region. As such, and for nearly a year, it became an all- inclusive national workshop where we studied the roots of all our problems and worked to verify their contents, and dimensions and we reached consensus on how to address them to create a participatory future that draws new foundations for a modern civil Yemeni state.

For the first time in the history of Yemen, we didn't engage in dialogue as authority and opposition, but we were meeting as representatives of all constituencies. We all got together in Sanaa beginning the eighteenth of March 2013 and continued until the twenty first of January 2014. WE had always kept in mind the ultimate goal of supporting stability and the building of the new Federal Yemen on the basis of the principles of law, human rights and good governance, and to work on the established of sustainable development for all the Yemeni people.

Today, the Conference is a great testament to the capabilities of the Yemeni people in bringing about a peaceful political transition basing it on a proven legacy in the practice of democracy, as recorded by history in its most poignant pages. This would be the transition founded on a deep faith in comprehensive national partnership for building the new Yemen; a Yemen that is built upon the foundations of good governance, the peaceful transfer of power, consolidation of the role of the State and its institutions to foster the needs, interests and aspirations of the Yemeni people, while ensuring that these institutions are accountable to the people.

Second: Framework, structure and functioning of the Conference

The Gulf Cooperation Council's initiative and its Implementation Mechanism, signed on November 23, 2011 provided that the President of the Republic and the National Reconciliation Government are responsible for organizing a comprehensive national Dialogue Conference involving all political actors, including youth, the Southern Movement, the Houthies and other political parties in addition to civil society and women. Security Council resolutions 2014 (issued in 2011) and 2051 (issued in 2012) were issued emphasizing the need for an inclusive political process led by Yemenis themselves to respond to the legitimate demands and aspirations of the Yemeni people for peaceful change and political, economic and social reforms.



According to Presidential Decree No. 13, dated May 6, 2012, a liaison committee was established to build bridges with all political parties, the youth, civil society and women in order to mobilize support and ensure their participation in the conference. After that, Presidential Decree No. 30 dated July 14, 2012 was issued to establish a technical committee for the preparations and organization of the Conference. This Committee commenced its activities on the sixth of August and continued until December 2012. The Committee embarked on designing a comprehensive process with wide representation of all regions and social groups in order to enable members of the Conference to engage in full participation within a free roofless atmosphere. The mechanism adopted provided for a 30:20:50 ratio of participation to represent the South, youth and women respectively. The Committee formulated the twenty points (attached) as a confidence building measure to create a positive atmosphere for the conference and to support the political transition process as a whole. The report of the Conference emphasized the urgent need to complete full implementation of the twenty points in addition to the 11 points submitted by the Working Group on the Southern issue.

Later, Presidential Decree No. 5 was issued in January 18, 2013 establishing the General Secretariat for the NDC and designated the Secretary-General and two deputies. The General Secretariat would work as a technical organ to support the process run by the Presidium of the Conference. Presidential Decree No. 11 issued on March 16, 2013 adopted the Rules of Procedures, prepared by the Technical Committee to regulate the Dialogue Conference. The various political and social constituencies designated their representatives within the confines of the 565 membership of the Conference. Decree No. 11 was issued endorsing the names the members followed by members of the designation of the 9 members Premium of the Conference in decree No. 12.

The 565 members of the Conference came from all over the country, representing all segments and groups of society to participate actively in the discussions on the core issues that shape the future of the nation.

The conference opened on the eighteenth of March in a public plenary session during which members of the Conference performed the oath to follow the dictates of their conscience and to respect the bylaws of the conference. This was followed by a series of session in which Members of the Conference expressed their aims and hopes for the conference and the country, after which, members joined the nine thematic working groups defined by the Rules of procedures, namely:

- Working Group on the Southern Question
- Working Group on the Sa'adah Issue
- Working group on issues of National Dimension, National Reconciliation and Transitional Justice



- Working Group on State-Building
- Working Group on Good Governance
- Working Group on Building the Foundations and the Role of the Army and Security Agencies
- Working Group on Independent Bodies and Special Social and Environmental issues
- Working Group on Rights and Freedoms
- Working Group on Comprehensive, Integrated and Sustainable Development

After the distribution of members of the Conference to the working groups, each working group elected a chair, two deputies, and a rapporteur. It was decided that the chairs of the working groups should come from constituencies not represented in the presidium of the Conference. There was a condition that women and youth should be represented in the chairs of the working groups. The working groups started in earnest to develop their plans to include objectives of the group, mechanisms for implementation and to determine the roles of members of the group. Due to the large number of membership in the working groups, the groups tended to break into smaller sub-committees to facilitate and accelerate the work in the context based on issues being discussed by the group. From day one of their meetings, the General Secretariat provided the working groups highly qualified national facilitators who contributed to supporting the groups to accomplish their tasks.

On June 2, 2013 The Consensus Committee was set-up pursuant to Presidential Decree No. 41. The Committee was entrusted with the task of reconciling views of the working groups and within each group and coordination and harmonization of the Conference's outcomes, as well as interpretation of regulations of the Conference and monitoring the post-conference implementation of the outcomes.

The Conference attached great importance to the Principle of transparency making all documents and discussions in the conference accessible to the public. Intensive efforts to be reckoned with were made in the community outreach. 1578 visions, ideas and contributions were received from various groups and segments of society from all over the country. The working groups, represented by 219 members, made field visits to 18 governorates to get a firsthand look and to listen closely to the public.

Aware of the importance of community participation, the General Secretariat of the Conference encouraged organizations, community initiatives and government institutions to play a role which lead to the engagement of about two and a half million citizens in more than 3,500 event and discussion activity.



The media actively participated by broadcasting, through the various television networks, of more than 7,700 hours of coverage in addition to the publication of 2653 articles on the NDC in the printed press.

Working Groups were provided with more than 250 national and international experts who presented case studies, comparative experiences and best practices to support the deliberations of the working groups. 120 international observers flocked to the conference from Yemen and abroad in more than 300 visits to the NDC for closer observation of the proceedings of the Conference.

The open multi-dimensional and unique nature of the conference, as well as its seriousness, captured the hearts and minds of people. It became the most prominent political transition in terms of participation and transparency in the Arab region. The strong and sustained participation of the international community highlighted the keenness and concern for supporting a unified, peaceful and stable Yemen.

Course of Action

The working groups met for more than 180 days (with the exception of the work «8+8” mini committee on the Southern Question). The working group engaged in serious discussions which, often times were heated but were characterized by a desire shared by everyone to reaching a consensus. The working groups sought to diagnose the many challenges facing the country, including the recognition of injustice and grievances, particularly in the south, as well as to determine the guiding principles for the new constitution and for the formulation of policies. The outcomes of each working groups were presented and deliberated in three public plenary sessions.

The first public plenary meeting commenced on the eighteenth of March, 2013 and continued until the twenty-seventh of the same month. The second and midterm plenary convened on the eighth of June, 2013 and continued until the eighth of July, 2013. The third plenary (closing) started in earnest on the eighth of October and continued intermittently until the eleventh of January, 2014. The final session started on the sixteenth and continued until the twenty first of January, 2014.

The following are highlights of what has been agreed upon, making-up the most prominent features for building the new Yemen.



Third: A quick overview of the outcomes of the NDC

For nearly a year, we have accomplished a great national feat. All the major national issues were placed on the table for study and discussion in an objective and rational manner. The target was to lay the ground for an optimal future and the creation of an environment that translates our ambitions and aspirations. Together, we drew the path that we will all tread on in partnership both on interests and common fate.

A New Beginning

Today, Yemen is engaged in an unprecedented political transition in the region through a new structure for the state and consolidation of the pillars of a system of good governance and democracy, as well as establishment of the building blocks for sustainable development and partnership in wealth and power.

The Gulf initiative (GCC) signed on November 23, 2011, led to the transfer of power. It was widely welcomed and supported by the international community. This was in itself an achievement since it presented a glimmer of hope and a favorable opportunity for change and the making of the future at the hands of Yemenis. This was reflected through the outcomes of NDC and through the decisive work shouldered by Technical Preparatory Committee.

The vision for the modern civil federal Yemeni state emerged out of the seriousness and sincerity in dealing with the many challenges that beset the people and the nation. It also emerged from the accurate diagnosis of the past and recognition of the mistakes committed; particularly abuse of power and corruption, which is became endemic in all joints of the state leaving behind inclusive suffering by all the people. This situation was and would have remained a vital process to make room for reparation for all the grievances, to achieve transitional justice, and to begin the process of national reconciliation. This in itself constitutes a milestone in the emancipation process from the past and an end to dragging the effects of the past to the future. In the core of this transition process sits a social contract produced by popular will through a participatory collective action. The will of the masses yearning to have a responsible, accountable, transparent and effective government, where everyone is equal before the law and responds to the needs, interests and aspirations of the People.

In order to restore the confidence of the people on the State, radical reforms in State institutions and an end to corruption and abuse of power will take root. This includes the building of a professional non-partisan, non-politicized, national security sector. It is also necessary that the rule of law and



social justice should form the backbone of the new federal republic in Yemen; one that respects human rights, protects human dignity and achieves sustainable development.

The transfer of powers and responsibilities from the center to the new regional authorities will put an end to the monopoly of power, will ensure equitable distribution of wealth and brings the institutions of governance closer to local communities. In this context, the electoral legal frameworks will reflect representative democracy, popular choices and the inclusiveness of the transitional process, especially the active participation of representatives of women and youth sectors in the democratic system.

Taking into account the fact that Yemen is an ancient country with young people of diverse needs, interests and aspirations, a matter that simply require the creation of new structures and system of governance. We stand committed to building it as we are on the verge of embarking on the journey of construction and building.

Emancipation from the past

The process of political transition that we are experiencing today is, in its core, a process of changing. The NDC had taken the responsibility of formulating the goals which everyone aims to achieve and the map that will guide the nation. On this basis, issues and challenges were diagnosed through collective determination using practical and objective mechanisms which enabled lively and active deliberations on ways and means of overcoming them and find appropriate solutions. The results are a collective commitment to ensure due reparation, including fair compensation, healing of past wounds and the establishment of a climate of trust between citizens with each other, and with public institutions and to reconfirm our determination not to repeat mistakes and wounds of the past.

We have pledged to find frameworks and processes to achieve these goals that will accomplish our full commitment to justice so as to liberate society and remove the heavy burdens placed on the shoulders of citizens and to liberate ourselves with them so to move forward toward our ultimate goal for social development and prosperity. The organizations and measures put in place, which were designed to suit the requirement of transitional justice, will strive to meet the needs as best as they can. At the same time, we also initiate the process of judicial reforms and the building and strengthening of institutions to ensure non-recurrence of grievances.

We cannot ignore the fact that many Yemenis have been martyred and fallen victims to extra-judicial killings and that forced disappearances, torture and assassinations have occurred; and that victims were killed as they were demonstrating peacefully, and land have been taken and looted, and that



people who had been unlawfully dismissed from their jobs. We must remember that in order to correct the mistakes of the past, and to embark on a healthy relationship with the future.

It is our duty to be guided and enlightened by the principles and ideals of justice, including accountability and justice in rights and protection of such rights. We should avoid apathy towards abuses and serve the punishment whenever they occur. We also have to make sure we meet our international commitments and put them into practice; especially obligations that we have accepted willingly as a sovereign state and as a responsible member of the international community working for the benefit of its people first and foremost.

We didn't contend to put aside our difficult issues, rather than that we put them on top of the list of issues and we devoted the attention they deserved; especially the Southern Question, the flag of which was raised by the Peaceful Southern Movement. The Movement was founded in 2007 setting the finest examples of the kind of peaceful and civic activities that laid the ground for comprehensive change in the nation. We've reached an agreement to address the complex Southern Question. It provides a consensual and fair solution and paves the way for guarantees for fulfillment and implementation.

If those who have suffered more than others have distrust and doubts, then words should be followed with immediate actions and only then, would we regain the confidence and show the value and importance of the new path. On this respect, we must take steps; in fact we have done that already, to address the many legitimate grievances, especially those included in the 20-points and the 11-points. At the same time, we have to renew our determination and sense of purpose in maintaining the unity of Yemen through new federal structures based on the empowerment of the new states and regions to manage their own affairs in line with their needs and interests.

Many violent and bloody wars have occurred since 2004 until 2010 in the Governorate of Sa'ada and surroundings which lefty thousands of people wounded and killed. Hundreds of the thousands of civilians have been displaced. These wars have left behind vast destruction in the infrastructure and livelihoods of people; all that was the product of many factors including weakness of the State, failures of its institutions, weak development and foreign influences. For all of that, the new Yemen which we will build will be home to all of its citizens tolerant and based on rule of law. It will be based on addressing the grievances, restitution and reparations within the framework of transitional justice that would include compensation and national reconciliation.



Through the new institutions or those which would be reformed, all Yemenis would be able to safely return their homes without any restrictions. Real and effective solutions will be through building a strong state that embodies law and order, provides needed services, and ensures sustainable development for all citizens, guarantees rights and freedoms, builds a strong national army and where religious, political and intellectual rights are protected.

In 2011, Yemenis offered their finest youth as sacrifice on the path to achieve the desired change. This was the first spark that led to the peaceful transition of power. Now, we stand unanimous to work to accomplish the objectives they sought when they took to the streets and offered everything precious and dear to them.

The turning of pages of the past is a substantial and crucial pillar of the new social contract. It's an irreversible emancipation and there should be no fear from shortcomings of the past. It's a pillar that lays the ground for a rebirth of our people; for a stage where powers are not concentrated in the hands of the few in the center of the country; instead, power and responsibilities are to be entrusted to newly elected and democratic governments in the new region to bring them closer to the people who are the capital of Yemen. The principle of partnership will be reflected in its utmost beautiful forms and will return the natural resources to their natural place as a genuine inheritance for the Yemeni people to be divided among them on fair basis.

In the Federal Republic of Yemen, every citizen will enjoy equal rights irrespective of their place of birth, creed, place or gender based on the principle of equal citizenship, social justice and non-discrimination. We are charting a new path for ourselves based solidly on the principles of rule of law, a new federal constitution free from domination and monopoly and maintain the vital interests of the regions.

A Modern Civil State

We must ensure full emancipation from the past by ending the centralization and abuse of power. Therefore, the new constitution will establish the ground for a federal state. The new constitution It draw clear lines for the division of powers between the various levels of government starting with the region and the state in order to ensure broad popular, efficient and effective participation in the decision-making process to enable regional and local governments to perform their roles as specified in the Constitution. The Constitutional Court to be established will work to ensure the soundness of the interpretation of the Constitution and compliance in line with the principles of democracy and pluralism for the sake of building a broader base of support and confidence of the people of Yemen.



Yemen has been and will always remain an independent sovereign state. Its religion is Islam, Arabic its language and is an integral part of the Arab and Islamic nation; where all of its citizens are equal before the law without discrimination on the basis of gender, race, ethnic origin, color, religion, sect, belief, opinion or social status.

In order for the people to regain full confidence on the State, institutional guarantees will include independence of the judicial jurisdiction of the regions. The independence of the judiciary will undergo a process of re-building and accountability of all state employees to the highest levels; the neutrality of State institutions and professionalism of civil, judicial, military and security institutions.

We have agreed on clear and unambiguous standards for the elections and the election commissions to ensure that democracy reflects the will of the people; not just on paper, but on the ground in order to facilitate listening to the voice of the people and true representation and to ensure that the legitimate interests remain part of the public decision-making.

While we recognize and acknowledge the pivotal role played by women and youth in the revolution and in the Dialogue Conference, we emphasize the need for them to continuing to play this role in the new Federal Yemen. Therefore, we will ensure that we promote their roles in the legislatures and in other governance structures.

The will of the people should be the guiding principle in the formulation of the new Constitution which will respond their political, economic and social needs. Out of keenness to see this principle at play, we have development clear criteria for members of the Constitutional Drafting Committee who would be express and stressed the need for the participation of the South, women and youth and to continue the same approach in structures and effectiveness laid down by the NDC.

A Strong State

A strong, just and responsible State is the cornerstone in the transition process. The State will impose respect for the law and check their compliance with the law. This is the State that will work for its citizens... and will devote itself entirely to them.

Yemeni people are aspiring to see a transparent, accountable and participatory government which would be responsive to their needs and aspirations. This is the cornerstone of True democratic, effective and good governance. We are in need of a government that would operate at full capacity to steer the process of development to the right track in the country, facilitates economic growth and creates sustainable political and vital process at all levels, including at the local level.



The new Yemen will, through the new governance institutions of that will be built, will work to strengthen the capacity of local governments and establish the principle of accountability of officials.

We affirm that the concept of active civic participation will be promoted. All Yemenis will be called upon to do play their roles without fear or shame and free from any favors.

Out of keenness to confront the rampant corruption in the country, corruption that wastes money desperately needed by public services, harms the safety of the people and undermines the sense of solidarity and trust, will subject government officials, political parties, civil society organizations and the media to standards of institutional and individual responsibility. This would be done to pave the way for human-centered sustainable development. We have set a legal framework to ensure transparency and accountability of government funding, including control over the government's use of funds to ensure that outlets of corruption are closed in all areas of the public sector.

In order to ensure equitable distribution of resources, the Constitution will provide for the broadening of the base of participation of all levels of control, at the regional level and local units in the supervision and control over companies operating in the extraction of natural resources.

We are fully aware that the absence of effective institutions of government allowed the penetration of narrow interests of the few to control and manipulate and even seize power to serve their goals and ends. For this, and in order to ensure the effectiveness of the government, that all of us will rely upon, we have deliberately established clear criteria for the creation of truly independent institutions that would be able to promote and ensure efficiency and accountability of government and dry up sources of corruption, especially in the field of oil and gas exploration.

Because the state is at the service of the public, we must act without delay in order to raise the standard of living of all Yemenis, and to ensure that all citizens enjoy right of access to basic public services and without discrimination. Regional and local institutions and political and administrative actions shall work to achieve the best response to the rights and needs of the citizens served by these institutions.

The Federal Republic of Yemen will be based on broad national partnership, representation of the regions and enable citizens to exercise their political rights and participation in governance. To this end, we have identified the guarantees for equal opportunities in employment through the civil service by fostering a transparent and competitive process.



The injustices endured by Yemenis have made necessary for the State to abide by its international obligations with respect to human rights obligations which it committed to voluntarily. Therefore, there is urgency for the establishment of an independent human rights commission to prevent abuses at all levels, to provide citizens with means for compensation and reparation and promote a culture of respect for human rights. Other independent bodies will foster care for youth, women, children and the elderly. The new Yemen, meanwhile, will regulate the use of personal weapons, criminalize armed groups, and prohibit foreign entities from infringing on the sovereignty of Yemen or the exploitation of its resources. Tribal revenge issues will be addressed through the courts and through national mechanisms entrusted with the tackling these conflicts.

We have also reached important consensus to regulate the functioning of political parties, organizations and bodies in a manner that would ensure that they operate freely, in full transparency and responsibility.

A Just Society

No wonder that justice is the basis of government and the foundation of the State. In this regard, we have pledged to ensure and guarantee free and dignified life for all Yemenis. This will undoubtedly represent the project for change and its essence. This was the reason for demands for dignity and equality which were the hallmark of the Yemeni struggle and was a fundamental pillar in the political transition process side by side with transitional justice and national reconciliation.

Further to this, the State is committed to ensure legal protection and guarantees the fundamental rights and freedoms of each individual, regardless of gender, color, ethnic origin or social affiliation, opinions, ideas or beliefs. Every Yemeni citizen should enjoy full rights and responsibilities that would allow progress for our society in fairness, peace and confidence towards development and prosperity. This is the essence of the new social contract for Yemen and the only guarantee to achieve full citizenship. It is the basis of equal authority of the law; therefore, we should all work for the application of international standards in this regard.

Guaranteeing respect for human rights and prevention of any form of discrimination is our collective responsibility. We have to pay special attention to the vulnerable and marginalized groups, including women, youth, children, the elderly and people with disabilities, the poor and minorities. Out of full awareness and recognizing the need to keep the holistic form of the transition process and the active participation of women and youth, we've found a quota of 30 percent representation of women in all state institutions and 20 per cent for youth to contribute to the management of the political, economic, social and cultural affairs of the State.



Citizens are looking forward to the establishment of a participatory and effective democratic system of governance. This would mean guaranteeing the rights of political participation, particularly the freedoms of thought, expression, assembly and association and the right to demonstrate. To ensure liberation from fear and poverty, The State will ensure social and economic rights as well, such as the right to own property, development and the right of establishment, employment and participation in trade unions, the right to enjoy a decent life, to enjoy the highest standards of health and education possible, as well as housing and the rights of the family.

We will also work to maintain and facilitate the development of our rich culture which defines our identity. We will celebrate our diversity and preserve our national heritage and our cultural rights, including the right to artistic expression and intellectual diversity, including the Mahari and Socotri languages.

The protection of human rights and human dignity is the cornerstone of this transition process for the sake of a new Yemen. This must become a reflection of our society and this is why it is of utmost importance in addressing and resolving all other outstanding issues. Over all, these rights and freedoms in Yemen contribute to ensuring Yemen which is fair socially and aims to achieve equal opportunities for all his children, unleashes their enormous human energies, which we are desperately in need of to tread towards a better tomorrow; one which we all aspire to.

A Safe Society

There is no doubt that establishing the pillars of justice, fairness and equality, will lead to a coherent civil society. In this regard, honesty, integrity and social harmony is closely linked to the presence of an effective security sector which commands full confidence of Yemenis at all levels and in all areas and is governed by loyalty to God, legitimate State authority and no other, and a genuine commitment to the protection of Yemenis from all threats and risks.

The armed and security forces should be established to ensure the territorial integrity of the country and border protection from foreign interference or invasion. The police and judiciary and prison services shall work to contribute to the strengthening of internal stability.

The State shall apply basic principles for rebuilding the relationship of the military and security institution with the people so that these institutions will be the protective fence for interests, security and stability of the people. A new identity, culture and doctrine for the military will be formulated for all the military and security institutions, including the police, judiciary and prisons organizations. The State will work to tighten civilian control over the armed forces and security



services and will ensure the formation of a professional non-partisan and non-politicized security sector which is subject to the law, accountability and respect for human rights and civil liberties through an alerted conscience. It would prohibit the assignment of the security services, the armed forces and intelligence services in favor of any political party, group or individual. Furthermore, it will determine the scope of powers and the roles and responsibilities of the intelligence organization in a clear manner and would carefully regulate its work by law to ensure respect for human rights and non-interference in governance.

In an effort to address the threats to internal and external security of the Federal Republic of Yemen, and for protection of its sovereignty, a national council for defense and security should be established to analysis risks and develops suitable structures and appropriate responses. Security services must be reformed (including the police) accordingly. Suitable structure the right combination and a suitable capacity should be created to deal with different requirements. More specifically, the police should be placed under suitable public administration at the regional and local levels and shall be subject to accountability. Similarly, the armed and security forces, intelligence services and border guards should be able to meet our numerous needs. In short, we have to contribute to regional peace and stability as dictated by our strategic geographical location in this world.

Prosperous Society

When we enjoy our freedom fully in a fair environment and we reach social harmony and peace, we will then be able to pursue our economic and social development on a sustainable basis using our own resources and energies.

The Yemeni people have suffered from the scourge of the state's inability to provide even the most basic elements of infrastructure such as electricity and water, while the country is facing a raging crisis from food insecurity. We have entered into this transition process with great hope and aspiration that we will be able to provide our society and our future generations a decent and safe life and opportunities to realize their full potential and hopes. Therefore, we have developed a comprehensive agenda for the State to realize its promises of a new social contract, to promote economic, social, cultural, health and educational development. This includes programs to eradicate illiteracy and provide health care for all and enable the social security system which will facilitate equal opportunities and enrich the diversity of the individual's life in paths of their choice in full freedom and development. Thus, we would have achieved not only welfare for all citizens along national lines, but even contributed to the enrichment of the spiritual integrity of the Yemeni individual.



Yemen is facing many challenges that necessitate re-shaping of roles and responsibilities of the State, the private sector, civil society and every individual to confront these challenges and to maximize benefits from our resources while achieving sustainable development objectives. Here, however, we have to pay tribute to the pivotal role played by women in the transition process. The real measure of progress towards what we aspire to is to raise the level of interaction and participation of all sectors of society and; therefore, we must create conditions for the protection and empowerment of our vulnerable and marginalized groups as promising stakeholders in collective progress towards the broad horizons of the future.

A New Yemen

We started this Conference with open minds and broad hopes. We all stated publicly with a unanimous voice, that we will perform our duties sincerely towards each other despite our differences. We thank God that we have fulfilled this promise by observing ethical conduct which will be established by our subsequent effort to transform words into actions. We no longer have time to waste.

At each stage that we have accomplished, we shall not forget to pay tribute to the support of our brothers in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), its Secretary General, Dr. Abdul-latif Al-Zayanni, the Assistant United Nations Secretary-General and Special Adviser on Yemen, Dr. Jamal Benomar, his technical team and all our friends who have been great supporters as we walked the path of dialogue. We are thankful and appreciate their keenness and continued support. We also extend our thanks to diplomatic missions and embassies working in Yemen; those of brotherly countries led by the GCC and all other friendly missions.

Above all, we should not forget, to recognize that our work will only be judged by our fellow citizens and God before them. The judgment of God followed by our consciences will be our guide. They were the two best help in meeting our shared responsibilities, promising future and our common destiny - together and soon, God willing, we will complete our march toward a new Yemen.

The National Dialogue Conference has succeeded in bringing us together and reformulating an image for the future of the entire country based on a new vision for a modern, civil, democratic federal and effective State that will safeguard the foundations of a just, symbiotic and prosperous society for the benefit of all Yemenis. We have to free ourselves from our past and roll out our sleeves to build our new Yemen to be established on the basis of shared responsibility, common heritage, diverse resources - granted us to by the Almighty the most Merciful, lead by human beings who have creative energy and absolute faith as well as hard work in collective action towards our future and the future of generations to come. This is our social contract..This is the promise.

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