

# Federalism, the shape of things to come?

By: Mohammed bin Sallam

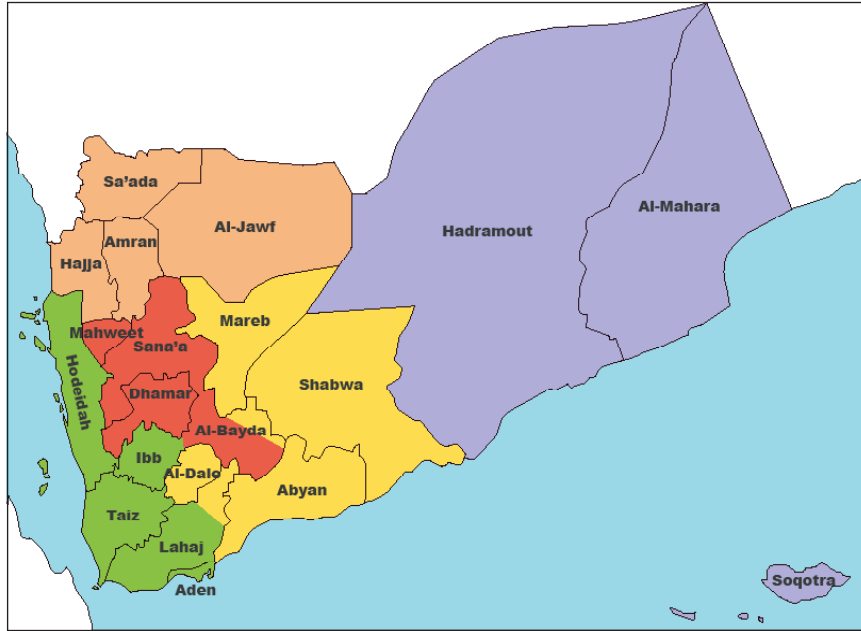
SANA'A, June 19 – With Yemen on the verge of a political transition many political analysts debate the political and administrative structure of the country to be.

One of the main grievances upon which the revolution was based was the lack of equal citizenship and use of local resources for the central government while depriving local governorates.

Although none of the scenarios for how the country's new image will look like is even remotely official, there has been some significant events to analyze this issue the latest being last month in Cairo lead by former president of South Yemen Ali Nasser.

Along with several recognized names of the southern governorates such as Haidar Al-Attas the participants recommended a united federal system based on two states: North and South. The logic behind this proposal was based on the initial reality of Yemen being two.

"However, this new scenario will not be a repetition of the unity in 1990, it will be rather a federal system whereby each state has its own parliament of equal representation each to elect a president of its region and both are deputies of the president of the united Yemen," read the statement from the conference in May. The conference also discussed the need for independent



On of the proposed federal division of Yemen based on cultural and geographic characteristics.

state institutions including executive and judiciary which also means both states will have their own intelligence system.

"This proposal is not acceptable or even realistic. It will drag the country into another civil war because it emphasizes the division between north and south," criticized Sultan Al-Atwani, Secretary General of the Nasser-

ite Party.

Another scenario that has found more appeal among Yemenis across the country is a multi-state federal system that could be anything between 4 and 7 states. The states will bind similar governorates which share strong demographic and geographical characteristics.

The logic behind this is to remove the south-north division with all its history while in the same time provide autonomy and decentralization for the various regions.

This line of thinking was in fact what was agreed upon years ago in the agreement signed on 18 January 1994 between representatives of the south and north former governments in Jordan as a way to absorb the tensions, which lead to a civil war in the summer of that very year.

"The way Yemen was managed since its unity in 1990 did not allow for individual regions to thrive within a context of a national state. Discrimination and corruption were the main barriers and this is what we need to avoid in the stage to come," said Muhammad Al-Sabri, media spokesman of the national dialogue committee.

This same reasoning was highlighted more than once during the discussions between the visible opposition parties today which include very different political parties such as the Islamists [Islah], Socialist, Nasserite, and somewhat Shiite [Al-Haq] parties.

Even within the current regime there

has been an endorsement of a decentralized system through the Ministry of Local Authority which was established in 2001. Through this system local councils were created in each governorate and even districts. The councils were elected by the people and the secretary general of the local council was the deputy governor in each province.

In 2008 the governorate system also changed and instead of being appointed by the central state, governors were elected and the first election was held in April 2008 although it was boycotted by the opposition parties.

Ironically, the 1994 agreement stipulated a presidential council of five members elected by the parliament and Shoura council combined, which seems to be the approaching reality of Yemen

in the next phase one way or the other. The council then elects a president and a deputy from amongst its members. The agreement signed more than 17 years ago limits the president's rule to two terms and prevents any of the council's members from exercising any political activities relating to their independent parties.

Although the country as a whole is said to have one political capital "Sana'a" and Aden as the commercial capital, the federal state proposes that each of the federal regions has its own capital and its own democratic governance system. The regions or states will have financial and administrative independence yet share revenues from essential resources such as oil with the central state.

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# Sana'a- Hodeida Road still vulnerable to sporadic blocks

By: Ali Saeed

SANA'A, June 19- Anti-regime tribesmen in Al-Haima have blocked the Sana'a-Hodeida road on Saturday again after weeks of sporadic and repeated blocks which hindered citizens' travel and the shipment of goods to and from Sana'a, travelers said on Sunday.

This is taking place amidst acute nationwide fuel shortages and mounting price hikes while president's Saleh's, still in Saudi Arabia, remains unknown while five-months of ongoing protests demand an end to his 33-year rule.

The 226km-long road is a vital commercial and service thoroughfare for the capital Sana'a. All goods shipped to the port, including basic goods such as wheat, sugar and rice must be taken to the city by way of the Sana'a - Hodeida road. With this major highway blocked, the capital is cut off from vital imports offloaded in Hodeida's ports and citizens can't enter the capital easily.

They have to travel along the Dhamar-Sana'a road to get into the city which takes over six hours while the Sana'a-Hodeida takes only three.

Mansour Mohamed, 20, who was traveling from Hodeida to Sana'a with his mother for treatment in Sana'a,

said "When we reached Al-Qadam, 115 km out Hodeida, the driver turned back Hodeida after people on the way told us that the road is blocked by an influential opposition tribal leader, Rabish Al-Ali in Al-Haima."

"Then we took the Hodeida-Dhamar road to reach Sana'a in which we spent six hours and paid extra money," he said.

A local source in Al-Haima told the Yemen Times on the telephone that the state arrested the tribal leader's son that provoked his backers to block the road to pressurize his release.

He explained that other tribesmen who are on disputes with the state block the road from time to time either to get their rights back or to free their prisoners from the state.

Last May armed clashes erupted between the same opposition tribal leader and Saleh's forces in Al-Haima area. The clashes left three dead, two from pro-Saleh tribal group and one from anti-government tribesmen. Many others were injured in the fighting. No soldiers were harmed in the fighting, according to the local source.

The area has also witnessed fierce clashes between armed tribesmen loyal to Saleh and pro-revolution tribesmen over military bases which belong to the first armored division which defected last March from Saleh's army



The Sana'a-Hodeida road which is a main thoroughfare for goods and service supply coming from the port of Hodeida to the capital has become vulnerable to blocks by pro and anti-regime tribesmen.

and "announced its peaceful support for the youth revolution" to topple Saleh's regime.

The pro-government tribesmen fought with forces of the republican guards, led by Saleh's son to take control of the defected military bases, but the opposition armed men have fought

back with the defected army.

Saleh's son troops succeeded two months ago in seizing control of the Al-Manar military site which is 1.5 km far from Al-Qarn military base run by the defected first armored division, according to a local journalist Kamal Al-Sallami.

# State Television fires anti-regime journalists

By: Amira Al-Arasi

SANA'A, June 19- Rafeeq Omer, a news editor at the Yemen's national television station is just one of 30 announcers who were fired recently by the administrators of the television station for siding with Yemen's youth revolution, demanding an end to Saleh's 33-year rule.

Omer who is currently the head of the pro-revolution-media committee said, "This group of broadcasters was arbitrarily fired from their jobs for their political support of the revolution and there is also discrimination being practiced against us beginning some time ago."

He explained that according to the law the administration is not entitled to fire any employee and in case the latter stopped working, the administration should first issue an attention letter to the employee, then a warning letter and after that the final termination.

"But what happened to us was different, our names were listed on the gate of the TV station and we were prevented from entering our offices," he said.

"We have already submitted a lawsuit of this against the deputy-director of the TV sector, Abdullah Al-Harazi and programs director, Mohamed Al-Radami," he added.

Ali Al-Dhahab, news announcer said "We have been threatened of salaries suspension since the beginning of the revolution especially after we refused to appear on the screen, but we remained receiving the salaries..... the termination was done because of the recent developments."

Jameel Ezaldin, news announcer said "We have been prevented from entering the building of the TV since March 23 until now due to our condemnation against the violence used against the youth of the change square and I was banned from presenting my program."

Aml Al-Amri, a broadcaster who has been working at the national TV since six years ago said "Despite being a member of the General People's Congress (GPC) and I do not go to any protesting square, I was fired."

"And also I used to do any work they instruct me to do, but they terminated my contract for no reason and I was fired previously for personal position which means they do not deal with us professionally or according to the law," she said.

Al-Harazi, the deputy director of the national TV in a telephone call with the Yemen Times said "the Public Radio and Television Corporation asked us to present names of suspended employees who have stopped working for five months and we did that, but we never terminated any one."

"I also did not prevent any employee to enter the building of the TV, but the supreme media committee did that to prevent the fuss among workers because when the pro-revolution employees enter the building, they incite their colleagues to join them," he said.

He added that the administration did not prevent anyone to appear on the screen, but "what happened was only suspension of work." "I myself tried to contact one of the employees and he promised to attend and then he switched off his mobile.... Anyone can practice his political affiliation, but he or she must do his or her duties and me as the deputy-director of the TV can't decline any request coming to me from the Public Radio and Television Corporation."

Below are the names of terminated employees

1. Tawfeeq Al-Shara'bee (administrative)
2. Khaled Alyan (announcer)
3. Ali Al-Dhahab (announcer)
4. Khaleel Al-Kahiri (announcer)
5. Jameel Ezaldin (broadcaster)
6. Layla Rabea (broadcaster)
7. Abdullah Al-Raimi (broadcaster)
8. Aml Al-Amri (broadcaster)
9. Abdulrahman Al-Abed (broadcaster)
10. Abd Al-Samee Mohamed (editor)
11. Ali Al-Shihair (editor)
12. Saber Al-Jabri (editor)
13. Awsan Al-Qa'tabi (editor)
14. Hussien Sulh (editor)
15. Radwan Al-Silwi (editor)
16. Rafeeq Madi (editor)
17. Taher Shamsan (editor)
18. Nabeel Al-Ba'dani (editor)
19. Khaleel Al-Umari (director)
20. Anees Al-Jahlani (director)
21. Ali Muthana Rازه (administrative)
22. Ahmed Wahas (administrative)
23. Ali Al-Hamzi (director)
24. Hussein Al-Wadee (director)
25. Abha Noor Al-Din (broadcaster)
26. Tawfeeq Salam (editor)
27. Mukhtar Al-Sharafi (broadcaster)
28. Abdu Al-Kareem Mithana (editor)

# MP's urge Saleh to stay away

By: Sadeq Al-Wesabi

SANA'A, June 19— the political crisis in Yemen remains still unresolved two weeks after the departure of President Ali Abdullah Saleh to Saudi Arabia.

Yemeni youth, MPs, politicians and academics called for vice president to take control of the country and demanded establishing a transitional council.

Acting president Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi met last week some revolution youth and told them that he is with change and with their demands.

However, Hadi, who has been under

pressure, said that president Saleh in a good condition, indicating that he will come back to Yemen shortly.

For his part, MP Abdulkareem Al-Aslami called for the MPs to hold parliamentary meeting and take a historical position against the 'illegal' regime and dissolving Saleh.

MP Abdulaziz Jubari told the Yemen Times that the Yemeni constitution is clear regarding dissolving the president Saleh.

Jubari, who resigned from the ruling party in the beginning of the uprising in Yemen, said: "If there is a medical report explains that president Saleh

is in a bad condition and cannot rule anymore the vice president must act as president.

"Unfortunately, the parliament is absent already and the head of the parliament is injured, moreover, the majority of MPs don't want to vote for dissolving the president Saleh," said Jubari. "The parliament has no any role these days."

Jubari indicated that the some military officers are dominating the country.

"The proper solution for our political crisis is to hand over the power to the vice president Abd Rabbu Mansour

Hadi for sixty days then it must be an agreement on the transitional council as soon as possible for Yemen's stability.

"The central authority cannot exercise its control in several governorates," he said. "The vice president has no authorities."

"Crisis in Yemen must be dissolved. The situation in the country is critical. There is no services and no basic requirements.

"If the president comes back the problems in Yemen will exacerbate," he said. "We have raging revolution in different governorates and this revolution will not stop."

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# Social Entrepreneurship in the Middle East Toward sustainable development for the next generation

Extracts from a research by the Middle East Youth Initiative, Wolfensohn Center for Development at Brookings, Dubai School of Government and Silatech.

Despite the promise of an increasingly educated population of young people, the Middle East's "youth bulge" generates pressure on education systems, labor markets, health care, natural resources and infrastructure.

In this context, and with constrained public and private resources, traditional development frameworks in the Middle East are proving inadequate and are in need of transformation. Within the complex ecosystem of domestic governments, international donors, private businesses and individual philanthropists, the emerging model of social entrepreneurship offers potential as being one model to address the multi-sectoral challenges young people face in the Middle East.

Social entrepreneurship often requires more than one individual to achieve impact and, often, a dedicated organization through which to carry out its work. The social enterprise is an organization with a clear social mission and a strategy that combines resourcefulness and innovation, which allow it to be financially sustainable.

Several trends in the region point to the important role that social entrepreneurship

environment can social entrepreneurship grow into a transformative tool in the field of youth economic development.

## The Landscape of Social Entrepreneurship in the Middle East

The Middle East is an underrepresented region in the growing literature on social entrepreneurship.

More time and research is needed to identify and map the region's social entrepreneurs and social enterprises. To date, an estimated 78 globally recognized and awarded social entrepreneurs are operating in the Middle East. This report draws analysis from this focused group with the intent to examine trends and patterns.

A look at their personal backgrounds and professional accomplishments shows seven common characteristics:

They are a highly educated group, with the majority of them having attained university degrees and post-graduate degrees.

As children and youth, most of these individuals were engaged in extracurricular activities, including sports, the arts and youth organizations.

A third of this group has studied, lived or worked abroad and cite their experience

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Iraq	29	36
Jordan	59	59
Kuwait	66	61
Lebanon	24	26
Morocco	46	57
Palestinian Territories	46	37
Qatar	n/a	71
Saudi Arabia	78	69
Syria	32	61
Tunisia	75	75
United Arab Emirates	88	78
Yemen	52	46

Source: Silatech and Gallup. "The Silatech Index: Voices of Young Arabs" January 2010. [http://www.silatech.com/medias/2010/03/24\\_silatech-business-report-p00329-01-2010.pdf](http://www.silatech.com/medias/2010/03/24_silatech-business-report-p00329-01-2010.pdf)

Due to issues of organizational and funding priorities, 73 out of the 78 internationally recognized social entrepreneurs are drawn from only five countries in the region: Egypt, the West Bank and Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon, and Morocco.

Social entrepreneurs in the Middle East face a number of challenges, some of which are common with their counterparts globally, and others that are more unique to the environment in the region. Their challenges can be broadly clustered in three broad categories: policymaking and governance related challenges, the need for greater institutional, operational and financial support, and the lack of social and cultural awareness and recognition of their work.

## The Role of Key Institutional Actors

Globally, social entrepreneurship has flourished where key institutions and economic actors are actively engaged in creating a conducive environment that supports and cultivates new, indigenous ideas and innovative practices.

Governments have a critical role to play in fostering the growth of this nascent field by

i) Creating and enforcing the appropriate regulatory framework for the functioning of social enterprise, ii) engaging with social enterprises and rewarding success through recognition, procurement and partnership, and iii) developing and supporting the broader ecosystem for social entrepreneurship.

Businesses in the Middle East, including multinational corporations, are finding it increasingly worthwhile to invest in producing a better trained workforce and creating fertile ground for entrepreneurship and innovation. To this end, social engagement by the corporate sector can take three forms: i) providing traditional corporate philanthropy, ii) engaging in strategic social partnerships, and iii) developing business models. Within each of these categories, there is room for greater coordination and collaboration with social entrepreneurs working on the ground.

In addition to an increasing interest from social investors, there is a growing array of global organizations providing more than just financial capital to social enterprises.

Intermediary organizations provide a variety of services that connect social entrepreneurs and enterprises to the capital and services they need to build their organization.

They are also useful to investors, providing valuable information on investment risks and mitigation. International support

for social entrepreneurs is active in the Middle East but is limited in their coverage, reaching only a few countries in the region. There are only a small number of investment networks, market facilitators and incubators specifically for social enterprises in the region.

International official development assistance plays a central role in economic development in many parts of the region, such as Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, the Palestinian Territories and Yemen.

Given this presence, international donors and other global actors have the potential to play a more catalytic role in cultivating youth innovation and development by partnering with social enterprises in the ground.

Across the Middle East, higher educational institutions are beginning to support the study and practice of traditional entrepreneurship through competitions, academic programs and incubators.

Such initiatives are crucial for the promotion of entrepreneurship and should be adapted and replicated throughout all universities in the region. However, it is equally important that they include a clear social entrepreneurship component which is currently lacking. Educational institutions can play a major role in i) raising awareness and building a knowledge base on social

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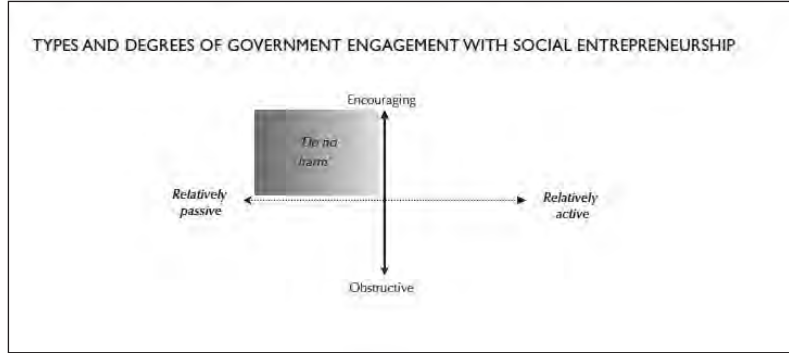
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can play in capitalizing on the youth bulge, including an increased sense of social commitment expressed by a growing youth population, the incremental yet increasing ease of doing business in many of the countries, and the growing strategic orientation that is being adopted by the region's philanthropic donors. Together, these represent promising trends for social entrepreneurs seeking talent and capital to start their own enterprises.

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grow into a transformative tool in the field of youth economic development.

Most of them have an intimate understanding of, or personal experience with, the problems they are trying to solve.

A majority of them are pursuing systemic change, with many reaching out to governments to achieve wide-reaching impact.

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## ANNOUNCEMENT

WE HEREBY ANNOUNCE THAT **MR. JUSTIN SEBIT LAKO**, SUDANI NATIONALTY, WHO WAS WORKING AS CONSULATE ATTACHEE AT **ROYAL NORWEGIAN CONSULATE GENERAL, YEMEN**, IS NO MORE WORKING WITH US SINCE 20TH APRIL 2011.

WE WILL REFUSE TO TAKE ANY RESPONSIBILITY IN CASE OF MR. JUSTIN'S INVOLVEMENT OR PROMISES TO ANYBODY ON CONSULATE MATTERS. FOR ANY CONSULATE MATTERS, ALL ARE REQUESTED TO CONTACT THE CONSULATE GENERAL OFFICE DIRECTLY.

**ROYAL NORWEGIAN CONSULATE GENERAL**  
PB NO.1108,  
SANA'A  
REPUBLIC OF YEMEN  
TEL: 01-212895 FAX:01-215468

**MAINTENANCE PLANNER (Maintenance Department)**  
**Position#06-039 (B51)-CPF/Territorial - Hadramout**  
**For Yemeni Nationals Only**

**Basic Function:**  
Establishes and coordinates the manpower and equipment/materials required for all maintenance activities. Includes collecting and analyzing equipment maintenance data from the maintenance management computer system and manufacturers' manuals to plan equipment maintenance schedules for routine and preventative maintenance programs.

**Job Duties:**  
The incumbent shall:

- a. Plans and coordinates manpower and equipment/materials required for routine maintenance work and major maintenance projects. Includes collecting and analyzing equipment maintenance data and manufacturers' manuals to establish equipment maintenance schedules. Refers to P-I-D to plan for maintenance work, isolates appropriate area for work, plans for equipment shut down and coordinates all maintenance requests related to that area, to minimize production loss. Consults with Foremen to determine scope of job and estimates the materials, tools and manpower deployment required for the job.
- b. Generates daily work schedule. Includes attending daily planning meetings with functional Superintendents and Foremen, and other departments as required, to review and plan for maintenance work order requests.
- c. Administers the maintenance management computer system (MMS). Includes entering data and generating reports and historical data for analyzing performance statistics and trends. Oversees the Administrative Clerk in entering the daily timesheet data into MMS. Generates time-keeping and man-hour reports.
- d. Generates weekly and monthly reports to management. Reports, such as Maintenance Volume and Efficiency Report, are distributed to Operations Manager and other departments.
- e. Ensures that maintenance work progress is updated and on schedule. Includes updating the MMS with job status information obtained from Foremen. Advises supervisor of projects that are off-track.
- f. Carries out other similar or related duties such as creating and maintaining spreadsheets to produce statistics/charts for specific maintenance activities.

**Minimum Requirements:**

- a. Bachelor's degree, preferably in engineering discipline.
- b. 8 years' experience in a maintenance trade including 3 years' manpower deployment and work planning in a process industry.
- c. Excellent computer skills including Word, Excel, database applications.
- d. Very good knowledge of English.

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◆ Applications should be submitted NO later than June 25<sup>th</sup>, 2011. Failed applications will not be considered.  
◆ Take care that you mention the job title you are applying for in the email subject.  
◆ Only short listed candidates will be contacted.

## YT vision statement



Prof. Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf,  
(1951 - 1999)  
Founder of Yemen Times

**"To make Yemen  
a good world  
citizen."**

OUR  
OPINIONThe calm before  
the storm

It has been quiet in most Yemeni cities, so far at least. But after what they had gone through, Yemenis refuse to relax. Everywhere there is tension and people are expecting the worst to happen. "This is the calm before the storm," tells me a shop keeper the other day as he complained about how the revolution had all gone wrong.

Recently I met with a group of amazing Yemenis, all trying to contribute to rebuilding Yemen. "First thing we need to make sure those affected by the conflict are ok," they said. They raised money and distributed blankets and food to displaced Yemenis from Zunjubar in Abyan and Alhasaba in Sana'a.

Just hearing them talk and seeing the shine in their eyes makes me feel optimistic. They know it is hard and realize the size of the challenges. They all acknowledged the "storm in the horizon" but said they cannot NOT do anything about it.

If only I could get the world to meet these Yemenis and to see my Yemen... The other side of this nation that does not make world news just because it is not Al-Qaeda or armed conflict.

There are so many Yemenis who are working extremely hard to help ease the country through this transitional phase. What they lack in experience and funding they compensate for in passion and commitment. The problem is that passion alone does not put bread on the table or rebuild homes.

I had just been to several places in Europe and they all were asking me what will happen next in Yemen and whether it will either become another Somalia or another Afghanistan. It is like we are already doomed and there is a ready sentencing for us, we just have to accept it without questioning.

But Yemen should matter to the world and it is in the best interest of the west especially to invest in Yemen, not in hard security and sending fighter jets to bomb towns in Yemen, but rather to help its people take care of their own problems.

We all know there is a storm coming; this is why we need to be prepared for it. By building the capacity of Yemenis, especially the younger generation who until the beginning of this year were invisible politically, the world can participate in a safe transition for Yemen.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

## Clinging to power at all costs

By: Manal Abdul Aziz

If this is the case, why have many Arab rulers broken their oath and worked for their own personal welfare at the cost of that of the public's interests and subjected their countries to division, civil war and the intervention of foreign forces?

These are some of the questions that come to one's mind while contemplating the events in Arab countries in which the people are uprising to change their ruling regimes.

Regardless of the way that they are brought to power, rulers are supposed to be at the service of the public and their remaining in office is conditional on the will of citizens.

It is well known that many rulers in the Third World reach rule and remain in office (until death) by fraudulent means. However, none of them admit this fact, but continue living the lie of being chosen and supported by the majority of citizens.

It seems that most of such dictators manage to remain in power through their much-dreaded security agencies and the corrupt entourage defending their presence as much as their personal interests.

With time, some people might actually believe the lie especially when leading democratic countries have closed their eyes to these dictatorships as long as they continue to serve these major powers' interests in the region.

Ironically, some of those autocrats believe this fallacy themselves and consider their remaining in power a national duty allegedly to protect the

country from foreign conspiracies or domination by terrorist groups.

This reminds one of the famous words of former president Hosni Mubarak uttered to ensure his remaining in office, despite the growing calls for change, when he stated that he would remain in office 'as long as my heart is beating'.

He seemed to believe deep down that his departure would mean abandoning Egypt to chaos and the rule of extremist Islamists.

All this could be understood and acceptable in the man's mind. However, seeing millions of Egyptians taking to the streets in most governorates of the nation seeking to end his rule should have changed his conviction over his actual clout in the street.

He should have realised that the majority of people wanted him to step down. He did not make this move until he came under unprecedented public pressure and that of the Army after the latter refused to use force against protesters.

Not all Arab peoples have enjoyed the same fortune of their armed forces taking their side against their rulers and understanding their role of defending the country. This role means defending the nation against any threat and not subjecting the people to death, division or civil war and even foreign intervention, as is the case in Libya.

This week's heavy shelling of Tripoli by NATO has not convinced the Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi to surrender. Instead, he has vowed to fight to the end. Ironically, with these ominous words, Gadd-

afi is not addressing NATO but the revolutionary rebels who have managed to control the east of Libya, the western port of Misrata and the range of mountains near the border with Tunisia.

In face of civil demonstrations requesting a change in Libya, the arrogant Gaddafi resorted to the use of force and threatened to bring the country to a civil war with the aim of keeping power.

What Gaddafi has done with Libya is a crime that has made the international community take the decision of forcibly intervening to save the Libyans from the massacres by Gaddafi forces of civilians and soldiers refusing orders to shoot at unarmed citizens.

This is exactly what Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh continued to do in his homeland when he refused to step down to preserve the country's unity. Instead he kept threatening that his quitting would mean domination of al-Qaeda members over the country's rule.

Although most Yemeni males have weapons as one of their tribal traditions, the wise civilians continued to go down onto street for peaceful potential protests, an approach that has so far saved the country from potential division and civil war.

Astonishingly, Saleh who was forced to leave Yemen for Saudi Arabia to be treated for the serious injuries he received, when his palace was subjected to heavy shelling, he has continued his tenacious hold on power and refused to announce his resignation making his country's future look increasingly uncertain.

Though his temporary departure has eased turmoil in the country, there is still fear of conflict over authority by different tribes, no small thanks to his refusal to sign the Gulf Co-operation Council's brokered initiative of power transfer to an elected government.

Conditions in Syria are no difference, except that the long-oppressed people could no longer maintain the peacefulness of their demonstrations against the excessive use of force against them and their towns. Accordingly, they had to counter attack the forces affiliated to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad.

Some members of the army started to turn against the ruler and take the side of the revolutionaries. This could end Syria becoming another Libya, especially given the European trend of getting a UN resolution incriminating the acts of al-Assad's regime. In this case, it would make one wonder if this would mean the start of direct foreign forces against Syria.

For the region's stability, let's hope that different powers in Libya, Yemen and Syria would resort to wisdom and unite to end tyrannical regimes, so as to preserve the unity of their countries and offer their nations a real chance of having democratic rule.

At the same time, they should learn the lesson of never letting a ruler turn into a dictator and keep reminding them of the oath they made on taking office and, if possible, including an article at the constitution penalising a ruler that violates the swearing-in oath.

Decadent Arab regimes part of an  
obsolete era

By: Wadah Khanfar

When Al Jazeera and other Arab satellite TV services were launched in 1996, the intelligence agencies of Arab regimes began a campaign to create

an atmosphere of doubt around us, including the rumour that Al Jazeera was established by a Mossad officer living in the Doha Sheraton. When you deal with this level of distortion, you know you are facing regimes that are too scared to confront you with facts.

In recent years they have started using new techniques, denying us accreditation so that we could not report in their countries. Tunisia never allowed us to report from its soil, and almost all other Arab countries where there was unrest followed suit. Sometimes heads of state have demanded this as a matter of national security.

Al Jazeera has been treated as a threat that had to be met by the strongest measures: in the past few months our equipment has been confiscated and our reporters detained or assaulted in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Jordan and Syria. Our senior cameraman was killed in Libya by the regime's forces. Our transmission was completely blocked by many Arab regimes. We were off-air in the whole region for a few hours at the peak of the Egyptian revolution.

If all this had taken place before 2007 the Arab public might have remained in the dark. But these decaying regimes didn't recognise that withholding information and harassing journalists will no longer silence the truth. They couldn't comprehend that, with the availability of mobile phones with cameras and high-speed internet, a new form of media was being born: the people's media, created by the people and for the people. You

can call it interactive media or Twitter and Facebook media or whatever you like: it enabled people to become masters of their own voices, away from the iron grasp of the state.

This outstanding change, this historic moment, was totally lost on ageing governments that thought they were dealing with a bunch of kids who only needed to vent and then go home to their aimless lives. But they were wrong: because their ideas were old, their opinions were old, their minds were old, and their spirit was old. Ignorance can sometimes be a tool of destiny.

This historic moment enabled Al Jazeera to soar. When the Tunisian revolution broke out we didn't have reporters or cameramen there, but we had a tool that cannot be controlled by the authorities: active young people reporting live from the squares, sending video footage and calls for freedom. This people's media couldn't have played the vital role it did on its own, but by reaching out to us it was able to reach millions around the world.

There are difficulties, of course. We try to use people who are known to us: we know their names and phone numbers, and we know whether or not we can trust them. But recently in Libya, Syria and some other countries, our contacts' phone lines have been hijacked by secret services, and imposters have tried to feed us lies so that we might lose our credibility. When this has happened, the country's state-owned media have attacked us and told the world that we are deceitful.

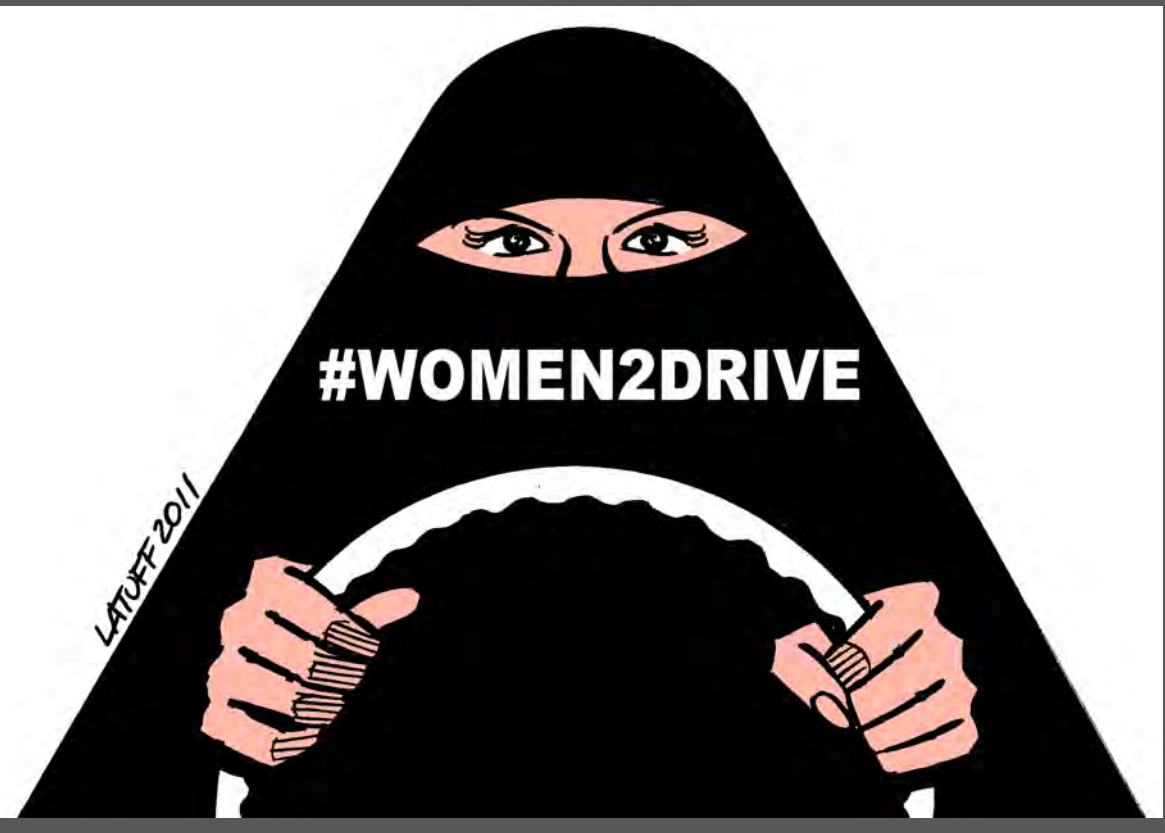
The most notorious example was when someone claiming to be from the Yemeni opposition turned out to be the president's media officer. And of course among all the people we contact, a few might be unprofessional, over-emotional or prone to exaggeration. But the solution is to direct our journalists to extract whatever information they can, put it into its proper context and try to verify it using other sources.

Whenever we receive footage we need to be sure it is recent. Many citizens at the scene of a protest will now take a picture of a day's newspaper, or a poster with the day's date, before filming the rest of a demonstration, thus eliminating any possibility of fraud. The only time we did transmit false pictures was when we showed torture in a prison that we were told was in Yemen, but turned out to be in Iraq. We immediately apologised to our audience. However, we cannot allow things like that to stop us - and we have to remember that the people's media is a hundred times more honest than the official state media.

And so in today's revolutionary atmosphere, with so much to play for, the people are our most valuable assets. We have our Twitter and Facebook followers, and we have the people on our side - people who marched in the liberation squares, people who risked their lives to send us pictures and videos - and we cannot let them down. We must stay close to the people and never let these glorious revolutions turn into a tool of dictators and murderers.

## SKETCHED OPINION

By: Carlos Latuff



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# Does Arab Spring herald a more fragmented Mideast?

Some observers say political divisions at risk as governments lose power

By: Arieh O'Sullivan  
For the Media Line

The Middle East and North Africa are undergoing a historic change as the Arab Spring empowers the street, forcing long-standing leaders out of office and forcing others to undertake reforms.

But some observers say the upheavals raging across the region aren't the ones that protestors, policy makers or experts are focusing on. Rather than leading the Middle East to democracy or Islamism, the Arab Spring may be splitting the region's traditional array of nation-states into smaller entities, divided by tribe, religion or ethnicity.

While the mass protests that have shaken the region since the start of the year are usually seen in a national context, the Arab Spring has exposed the fragility of the artificial borders imposed on the Middle East by European powers nearly a century ago. When the dust settles, the map of the New Middle East may be drawn along tribal and ethnic lines.

"I foresee the borders that were the foundation of the Middle Eastern order in the past almost one century -- since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire -- being redrawn," says Aluf Benn, editor-at-large for the Israeli daily Ha'aretz. "Certain states, which aren't really ethnically or politically united but comprised of different tribes or different ethnic groups fighting for their autonomy or power, will eventually separate."

The prospect of a fragmented Middle East would present unexpected new di-

lemmas both for the region and for the West, which for the last three decades has been preoccupied with Islam as the greatest threat to the region's established order and the need to prop up existing regimes to keep it at bay.

The process of fragmenting began in Iraqi Kurdistan and in Sudan even before the Arab Spring erupted in Tunisia last December. Kurdistan embarked on the road to quasi-independence from Iraq as far back as 1991, while South Sudan fought a decades-long war with greater Sudan and is slated to become the newest of the world's 200 countries when it formally declares independence on July 9.

This year, Libya has moved in the same direction, rupturing into tribal-based enclaves while Yemen, a weak state to begin with, has seen central authority collapse and the tribal leaders coming in to fill the vacuum. In Syria, both President Bashar Al-Asad and many outsiders, fear that his ouster might see the country torn apart by religious divisions.

When the Second World War ended, there were just 100 independent countries on earth. Today, there are about 200, probably the most at any time in centuries. In his best seller *How to Run the World*, Parag Mehta predicts that the number of states will grow to about 300 in the coming decades.

The growing trend toward smaller political divisions may be a reaction to globalization, says Benn, who suggests that the Arab world is mimicking the Europeans who are witnessing a growth of national divisions in Belgium, Italy and Britain, even as the European Union (EU) tries to impose a pan-European ideal.

"The super-national trends like the EU and like Facebook bring back tribalism," Benn told The Media Line. "Once nation states have ceded more

and more power to the super-national structure of the EU, you see more Scottish nationalism. You see more autonomy of the different states in Italy. You see the rise of this local tribalism in Europe."

"It's easy to solidify your identity, to create your identity with people who live next to you and not with people who share some cultural affinity and so on rather than with this artificial nation state that was there several decades and no more than that," Benn says.

The political map of the Middle East and North Africa is characterized by suspiciously straight lines. Many of them are the fruit of the division of the Ottoman Empire by the British and French diplomats Sir Mark Sykes and Francois George-Picot during the First World War.

"The British and French foreign ministers signed the treaty between them to divide the Arab world in what they thought would be manageable. Divide and rule," Professor Munther Dajani, dean of the faculty of Arts at Al-Quds University near Jerusalem, told The Media Line.

"So the French got Syria and Lebanon. The British got Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Iraq and ... the eastern areas of the Arab peninsula. So what we are talking about here are artificial borders," Dajani says.

One only needs to look at the Bani Sader Bedouin tribe in Jordan to see just how artificial the borders are. Many have Saudi or Iraqi citizenship since their traditional lands straddle both sides of the international borders.

Pan-Arabism, the ideology espoused by the late Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser and the Baathist Party that dreamed of a day when all Arabs would be united in a single political entity, was the initial reaction to these imposed borders. It was the driving force

of Middle East politics in the 1950s and 1960s and led to the brief merger of Egypt and Syria. It remains popular with many in the region, and has taken on a new, religious guise for Islamists seeking to revive the caliphate. But for most Arabs it's a passé ideal.

"The nation state idea just like in eastern and central Europe was brought to the Middle East after the First World War. With the break up of the pre-existing order new nations will come to the fore," Benn says.

Some of the region's states are more vulnerable than others. Libya is made up of three former Italian colonies built on tribal lines. Jordan is made up of an array of tribes and further divided by the influx of Palestinians from what is now Israel arriving after 1948.

Saudi Arabia was formed by conquest in the years after the First World War by the Al-Sauds. Israel's population is about one-fifth Arab and Israelis are divided over whether to let those Arabs in the West bank and Gaza break off into their own independent Palestinian state.

While not all the countries of the

region face any immediate threat, one successful division could prompt others, warns Dajani.

"It will be a fiasco," he says. "Because once the breakup starts to take place it will have a domino effect. Everybody will want to have his state. This is what a lot of people are afraid of; the Balkanization that will take place in the Arab world."

Benn says Syria is already on its way to unraveling into a mélange of ethnic and religious enclaves -- Kurds in the north, Alawites in the northwest and Druze in the south.

"Even if Syria isn't carved up, if Al-Asad falls, we will see more and more demands for ethnic or tribal autonomy. And why not? I don't see the counter-force besides the West and everybody else trying to keep things the way they were. But I'm not sure it's worth protecting," Benn says.

Ibrahim Sarsur, an Israeli Arab legislator from the United Arab List, says he doesn't believe the Arab Spring is motivated by tribal or religious divisions. But he does accuse the Arab world's dictators of exploiting people's fears.

"Tribalism is used by the totalitarian regimes of the Arab world to frighten both those living inside the country and those outside," Sarsur told The Media Line. "But what's going on is actually completely different. It's peaceful resistance against totalitarian regimes."

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict in many ways points up the dilemma's fragmentation. On the one hand, the two sides are separated by religion, language and economic development; but on the other hand an independent Palestine will struggle economically, especially if it tries to absorb the millions of Palestinians living abroad.

Many Israelis fear a division of the land they share will only encourage Palestinian irredentism. Many also worry that the artificial nature of neighboring states makes signing peace agreements a risky business.

"The right wing mantra [is] ... that you should not sign any peace deals because you sign it with a regime that tomorrow morning might not be there and probably won't be there, so all we have to do is sit tight and wait till it's over," Ha'aretz's Benn says.

## Boehner threatens Obama on Libya ahead of golf match

By: Jennifer Bendroy  
For the Huffington Post

House Speaker John Boehner is spending Saturday golfing with President Barack Obama in a highly publicized show of bipartisan camaraderie, but their outing comes less than a day after the Ohio Republican was threatening more headaches for the president on Libya.

Boehner announced late Friday that he plans to hold votes this week aimed at challenging Obama's authority to carry out U.S. military operations in Libya without congressional consent. He gave no details on specific actions.

"From the outset of this operation, Members of the House have demonstrated respect for the authority granted to the Commander-in-Chief," Boehner said in a statement. "Unfortunately, the President has not exhibited a similar appreciation for Congress' important job of providing oversight and accountability. Even worse, he has failed to communicate to the American people why continuing this mission is critical to our national security."

"Over the coming week, our Members will review all options available to hold the administration to account," he wrote.

Boehner's vow comes on the heels of a New York Times report that Obama rejected the views of Justice Department and Pentagon lawyers when the president concluded he has the legal authority to proceed in Libya without congressional approval.

That report is only fueling the criticisms that Obama faces from another faction of lawmakers, led by progressive Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio), who filed a lawsuit last week challenging the president's authority to bypass Congress on war matters. Kucinich has also vowed to force a House vote in the coming weeks to cut off funding for Libya. Specifically, he plans to offer an amendment to the Defense spending bill that challenges the White House's argument that bombing operations and support of other countries' military operations do not constitute war.

"We have the makings of a Constitutional crisis when the president, who as a U.S. Senator acknowledged the duty of a president to come to Congress for permission to conduct a war, simply changes course on his interpretation of the War Powers Resolution and determines to conduct a war absent Congressional authorization, even when it is contrary to the best legal advice of the Pentagon and the Justice Department," Kucinich said in a Saturday statement.

During a Thursday briefing, White House Press Secretary Jay Carney hint-



ed at disagreements within the administration on Obama's legal authority to carry out military operations in Libya without violating the War Powers Act. He described administration officials' discussions as "robust" and said "there was a full airing of views" among lawyers in the room.

"It should come as no surprise that there would be some disagreements, even within an administration, regarding the application of a statute that is nearly 40 years old to a unique and evolving conflict," Carney said. "That discussion is ordinary and healthy."

Congressional Democratic lead-

ers are largely supporting the White House's stance that it can proceed without Congress. House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) said Thursday she is "satisfied" by the limited role the U.S. is playing in the international effort. And Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.) said Friday that Obama isn't breaking any laws.

"The War Powers Act has no application to what's going on in Libya," Reid said on PBS' "NewsHour with Jim Lehrer." "We have no troops on the ground there, and this thing's going to be over before you know it, anyway. So I think it's not necessary."

## Tunisia risks controversy with travel ads

Come-ons mix politics with sex, potentially offending tourists and Tunisians

By: David E. Miller  
For the Media Line

Determined to regain its place as a Mediterranean tourist paradise, Tunisia is adopting an edgy approach by reminding potential visitors of the turmoil, detentions and deaths that brought down its autocrat Zine Al-Abidine Ben Ali but hasn't yet restored peace and quiet.

In the last few weeks, billboards have appeared in Paris and London depicting a smiling, sultry and apparently nude woman, enjoying the benefits of a massage. "They say that in Tunisia, some people receive heavy-handed treatment," it says. Another shows ancient Roman ruins with the words: "They say Tunisia is nothing but ruins."

The campaign has stirred controversy at home and abroad, but beset by a depressed tourism sector and an economy in the doldrums, Tunisia has little to lose in a go-for-broke strategy to bring back visitors. Like Egypt, its bigger neighbour to the east, the Arab Spring has garnered it a lot of Western admirers but has frightened sight-seers and beach denizens.

"We identified the main obstacle to incoming tourism as the fear of post-revolutionary Tunisia, so we decided to face the issue directly," Syrine Cherif, managing director of the Tunis office of Mamac Ogilvy, the advertising company in charge of the government-sponsored campaign, told The Media Line.

The country's revenue from tourism will likely shrink by 50% this year, Trade and Tourism Minister Mehdi Houas told the Reuters news agency on Wednesday, bringing in revenues of just \$1.3 billion, compared with \$2.55 billion in 2010. The number of arrivals will also fall by half to 3.5 million.

With its long, sandy beaches, ancient ruins and short flight-time from Europe, tourism is a natural for the country. It

accounts for 6.5% of Tunisia's gross domestic product and for 50% of its foreign exchange earnings, employing one of every five Tunisians.

The BBC reported that the ad campaign, which is appearing on London buses, had offended some people, although its report didn't name anyone who said they reacted negatively.

But Cherif said Tunisians' unique sense of humor, like the one in the ad campaign, helped them through the difficult years of Ben Ali's dictatorship. She denied that her campaign, launched three weeks ago in France and expanding to 14 European countries, offended Tunisian sensibilities.

"Our campaign represents the new Tunisia. The dictatorship is over now, and although the path to democracy is still long -- we have set our eyes on our goal."

But human rights activist Masoud Ramadan said that evoking the memory of Tunisia's violent past was a bad marketing idea.

"Let's leave the revolution alone," Ramadan told The Media Line. "We badly need tourism, but I don't think we should refer to torture. I don't think any intelligent person would buy this ad."

Ramadan said he doubted that the typical tourist was influenced by politics. Tourism grew during Ben Ali years, despite his reputation as a corrupt and oppressive dictator, he said. But tourists didn't make their choice of vacation destination on politics.

If the tourism commission wants to employ politics, it should portray Tunisia realistically, as an attractive destination because it is in the process of developing into a full-fledged democracy. "Sometimes, I'm really embarrassed about how they present Tunisia," he said.

Tunisia's Jasmine Revolution erupted last December, inspiring the wave of anti-government unrest across the Middle East and North Africa that continues to rattle the region today. The rebellion was relatively short, with Ben Ali fleeing into exile three weeks after the revolt started, but in the meantime

200 people died.

The country continues to experience periodic bursts of violence, which human rights activists blame on loyalist of the old regime, and is struggling to make the transition to democracy. Last week, elections for a constituent assembly were postponed by three months to October 23.

Tour packages like TIU Germany and Thomas Cook AG are trying to encourage people to go back to Tunisia and Egypt, after those countries' revolutions and MSC Cruises said this week it would resume calls to Tunisia, beginning in July. Holland America and German line AIDA Cruises began calling in Tunisia last month, but several others, including Costa Cruises and Disney Cruise Line, haven't yet returned.

Tunisian singer Muhammad Al-Jbali also believed that his countrymen were resilient enough to deal with the region's painful realities. In a new video clip called "Who Are You?" Al-Jbali portrayed Ben Ali alongside deposed Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Libyan leader Muammar Al-Gaddafi as videogame caricatures firing at helpless citizens.

He told the Saudi-owned website MBC.net that his choice to convey the violence of North African dictators in a comic manner stemmed from the fact that the Arab dictators were "funny and sad at the same time." The somber words of the song indeed run counter to its comic imagery.

"Who are you? You've killed a people and had no mercy. Today the Arab nation is liberated. It will plan and it will decide."

Larbi Sadiki, a political scientist at Britain's University of Exeter and an expert on democratization in the Arab world, said the sexual imagery of the new campaign was more likely to agitate Tunisians, who are almost all traditional Muslims, than the political allusion.

"Tunisia is largely a religious society," Sadiki told The Media Line. "I don't think people will care about the political connotation as much as the sexual one."

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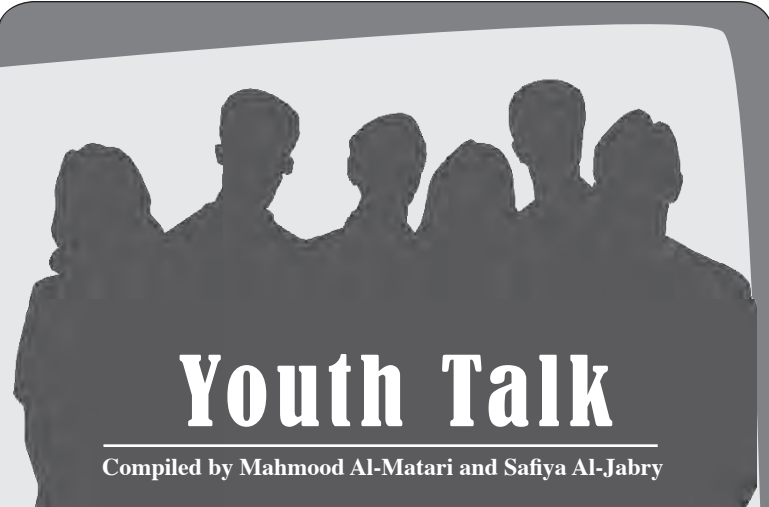
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## Youth Talk

Compiled by Mahmood Al-Matari and Safiya Al-Jabry

In this section we talk to young people about their concerns, hopes and dreams. Every week we hit the streets and share what young people have to say right here.

**This week's question:**

**If the Gulf initiative was signed will the items be implemented? If it is not signed what would happened after that?**

**Abdualkarim Obyan**

I think it makes no difference whether the initiative is signed or not as long as the eluding Ali Saleh is not willing to leave the fruitful position. Use of force by powerful tribes or by opposition parties seems to be inevitable in order to topple such heedless ruler who does not pay account to peaceful youth.

**Ibrahim A. A Ldaghar**

In my opinion, if the Gulf initiative signed will be carried out only by the protestors and the ruling party will procrastinate on the implementation of those items. But if it is not signed we will enter into a civil war as have now been launched.

**Aamer Mohammed Al-Dbyani**

We know that it is very impossible to implement the GCC initiatives items, because the youth insist to stay in their sit-ins and also Ali Saleh is wily and he does not want to leave the power. But my opinion, if the initiative signed, it would be the end for the ongoing crisis, whether its items has been implemented or not, because it maybe discover to us who want to continuo this crisis. However, now we know that, Ali Saleh rejected signing the initiative, so this act could lead to violent and bloodshed. For that we must be united with the protestors to remove Ali Saleh from the power and prosecuting him and his regime, because they did not let another option for us.

**Nabil Taha Al-Ahmadi**

In my opinion the gulf initiative rejected and not signed. The result as you can see, Saleh wants to change the course of the peaceful youth revolution into civil war because, he began bombing the sheikh Sadeq's house and killed six tribal leaders at least. I think in the end, Saleh would not leave the power through initiatives gulf, I think maybe he will go through international pressure or discuss the Yemen's problem in the Security Council. Thanks for the young, because they didn't use the violence in their peaceful revolution.

**Khalid Al-Karimi**

Since the outset of the protests, I have had qualms in terms of the success of the peaceful revolt. Time has proved that mediation and initiatives can not suffice the Yemeni people to be convinced, even sealed initiative. Their attitudes depict obstinacy rather than wisdom. The so-called gulf initiative has ended up in abject flop. Thus, a civil conflict will take its turn which may atomize Yemen. Indeed, to endeavor to abort a peaceful revolt is an attempt to make a violent revolution a must. Nowadays we experience these words. Yemen is on the verge of an unstoppable blood-bath.

**Sami Shamlan**

In my opinion, If the initiative signed or not the situation will change to war, because president Ali Saleh doesn't like to transfer power and he wants to be president forever and change the republic to kingdom. Do we think President Ali Saleh will transfer power immediately without force, we are wrong. I think President Ali Saleh agrees to initiative not to transfer power peacefully, but to prepare himself how to create civil war in Yemen.

**Next Week's Question:**

**Are you with return President Saleh to Yemen or not? Why?**

Follow this section for a new question every week and feel free to reply with your answers or feedback by sending an e-mail to

[ytyouth@gmail.com](mailto:ytyouth@gmail.com)

So this is your chance to share your humorous stories, poems or opinions with other young readers!

## How revolution has changed the stereotypical image of Yemen?

By: Dr. Ameen  
Al Hemyari



In the Gulf and the rest of the world, epithets that are used to describe Yemen are many, but some of the salient ones are tribal fighting, rampant illiteracy, lawlessness, poverty, corruption, terrorism and kidnapping. The ongoing revolution has dismantled many of these myths and stereotypes. It has demonstrated quite successfully that the Yemeni people may be poor and uneducated but they possess political acumen and social intelligence which they have used during the past five months to bury all their political and tribal differences and rally behind one slogan "the people want the end of the regime"

During the ongoing revolution, protestors have faced many different types of torture and crackdown, but they have confronted all these with bare chests and empty hands. Though they possess weapons and are quite skillful in using them, they have resisted the temptation to resort to them. They have done this because they know that if they use weapons the regime will be the winner. The losers are going to be the Yemeni people. The regime has tried very hard to change the revolution from a peaceful one into a violent one. The Yemenis have, however, remained peacefully steadfast in their demand for the change of the regime.

There are many reasons why the peaceful Yemeni youth revolution should be appreciated, supported and protected. First, it has erupted in a country that is full of weapons. The latest statistics estimates the number of weapons available with the civilians is around 60 million items. Therefore, the patience of the youths in the squares to receive the various types of tortures and attacks from the regime's thugs and snipers is highly admired. They could have brought their guns and their pistols and defended themselves. Yemenis have given a wonderful example for a highly civilized society.

The second reason is that this revolution attracted most of the political parties of various ideologies. It incorporated most of the tribes even those who are enemies to each other and they have to take revenge from each other according to the Yemeni tribal conventions. It has also contained the non-governmental organizations and the independent youths. All these groups lived together in harmony in the camps in the streets for 5 months. There was no single evidence of a clash or a disagreement.

Another reason is that the illiteracy rate is the highest in the region (i.e. more than 40%). This could mean a society with this high illiteracy rate can easily dispute and never agree on certain goals. It can also be misled and easily be deceived because of this illiteracy. On the contrary, the regime tried very hard to create a lot of rumors and disputable issues among the protestors but failed to divide them nor distract them.

The forth reason is the poverty rate which is estimated by 40-50 %. It is obvious that poor people can usually be attracted with very little money or few incentives. The regime has exploited the poverty of some people by gathering tens of thousands in Assabaen Square by giving them small amounts of money. The regime employed a number of people in each governorate to bring these people every Friday to the square which is located to the north of the presidential palace. No TV channel is allowed to come and record or video tape the gathering because the Yemeni TV uses older videos of bigger festivals that were held in the same place and manipulate the pictures to tell the media that the president's supporters are millions but the protestors are only few thousands.

With the reasons mentioned above, I believe the peaceful Yemeni youth revolution should gain a lot of respect and appreciation from most of the Arabs in particular and from the International community in general. This revolution should be supported and protected so that Yemenis can build their own modern, democratic and civil state. If the international community let these youths down and does not give them a hand, they will be disappointed and they may give up peaceful change and use their weapons and go into a civil war.



One of the first large signs to be erected in Change Square, built in early March

Photo by Jeb Boone



**تقديم خدمات القحص التوعوي والكيمي على المواد الغذائية**

يقوم مكتب برنامج الأغذية العالمي التابع للأمم المتحدة بالتعاون مع الجهات الراعية، بمراجعة لائحة الشركات للسجلة لجهة القحص بتوفير خدمات القحص التوعوي والكيمي على المواد الغذائية.

ويتأكد البرنامج تشجيع الشركات الراغبة في تسجيل أسمائها في لائحة البرنامج الخاصة بخدمات القحص التوعوي والكيمي والتي لديها الإمكانيات اللازمة للقيام بعمل هذه التوعية من الخدمات على مواد الحبوب والبقوليات والخبز والحديد والسكر والملح المسم باليه والزيت والارز والبسكويت عالي الطاقة.

على الراغبين في تقديم طلبات التسجيل سحب استمارات التسجيل من مكاتب البرنامج بصفاة صفاة، ونهتتم الاستكمال من الشركة وتسلطنا، وتسلمها إلى عابدين البرنامج المذكورة لتتأهي مواد الصاء السلعة التوعية بعد ظهور يوم 2 يوليو 2011.

استعداد مكتب برنامج الأغذية العالمي للأمم المتحدة، شارع تواقشط منزل رقم 22، ستعداد الجمهورية اليمنية، أو عن: فرع مكتب برنامج الأغذية العالمي التابع للأمم المتحدة فيلا رقم 3، خور مكسر، المدينة البيضاء-الجمهورية اليمنية.

على أن تكون جميع الطلبات مستوفية الشروط بما في ذلك اللغات التوعوية عن الشركات متلفة في ظرف مقفولة ومعتونة من الخارج بالتوازي الرغبة في الاشتراك في خدمات القحص التوعوي والكيمي.

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IDEAL



By: Shatha Al-Harazi

## Farida Al-Yarimi

**F**arida Al-Yarimi was the first woman to join the sit-in in front of Sana'a universality which is called now "Change Square". A mother of five and 47 years old, when you see her in her long black abaya [overcoat worn by women in Yemen] and scarf wrapped tightly around her head might not strike you as one of the leading independent Yemeni female protestors but she is.

Originally from Taiz although living most of her life in Sana'a, Farida's stories are an example of struggle and pursuit of justice. Even though her husband is no longer a part of her life today, her larger family including her former in-laws still support her and view her as symbol of bravery.

Farida is one of the figures who believed strongly in "the Yemeni revolution" and never give up. You would always find her smiling even in the worst situations. She joined the protest in its second day on 12 February 2011, to become the first women who actually slept in a tent in the square defying all Yemeni norms and stereotypes. The organizers at the time dedicated a side section for female protestors which she was the first to use.

"I knew what I did wasn't expected traditionally. But one of the female activists had to start and pave the way for women to join the protests for real," she reflects on her brave decision.

"When I first came here I expected the worst, but it was great. The way the men protected me



and secured the tent was amazing," she added even though she complains of the sun which gave her a dark tan from being in the streets for more than five months.

Four of her children joined her just two days after she joined the protests. Farida's youngest son and daughter are as eager as herself to make the revolution happen and to turn this tribal society to a civil society. They were exposed to tear gas in some of the security attacks against change square.

Throughout the five months during which she had left her comfortable house to become an integral part of the protests her life was not easy for obvious rea-

sons. The sense of privacy and relaxation were almost gone as she had to go to the mosque to use the toilet or relax. Her mobile phone was stolen during one of the security raids on the square but still she has not given up, although now since the mosque has become an extension of the field hospital to treat the wounded protestors her life has become much more difficult on Change Square.

But today, Farida realizes that what she has done has even helped change the mentality of even traditional tribesmen who learned to respect her and her female colleagues for what they stand for and how they contribute to change in Yemen.

Looking back at her background, she says she is an ordinary educated Yemeni woman; a university graduate from the science college who works in the educational sector. She had a regular job before joining the protests. Today her contribution to the revolution is acknowledged and other protestors view her as an optimistic and giving person who keeps them energetic and encourages them to continue.

Throughout her struggle the opposition parties tried to dominate independent youth in general one way or the other, but she insisted on remaining independent.

Over a month ago, when the independent youth decided to take their separate place in reaction to the political parties [mainly the Islah] domination, Farida was among the few women who left "the women section" and set up her own small tent in the new protest section alongside independent youth.

Recently especially since Saleh has left the country, there had been some disputes and sometimes violence between the political parties and the independent youth. Farida played a role in encouraging the youth not to leave the square or give up their dream.

"We will continue, no matter what or who is against us, we will never leave what we have

started for others to climb on our shoulders to power," she said. "As we making an end to Ali Abdullah Saleh's regime of 32 years, we will continue our peaceful protest against anyone who wants to take advantage of our revolution, and we will not change our stance or demands for a civilian state."

Although Farida as part of the independent youth were the first to call for toppling the, she was accused many times publicly by the Islah members by name of being an agent for the state "National Security," who in turn was rumored to include her in some wanted list to coerce her into leaving the protest.

Despite her position and long history in the struggle Farida did not receive her fair share of the limelight whether locally or internationally, still she did not mind that. "I am not here to be a hero, I am here to make sure that my children have a better future," she said.



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