

Locals in Abyan accuse regime of fomenting chaos

By: Shatha Al-Harazi

SANA'A, June 26 — A leading Al-Qaeda figure confirmed to the Yemen Times that the fight in Abyan governorate, which has displaced over 1,300 families from the governorate, is against Al-Qaeda warriors and other cooperating "armed groups" that do not belong to Al-Qaeda, but share the same aim on the ground.

Locals told the Yemen times that security forces didn't fight the armed groups as effectively as they could, so that they could show the world that the southern part of Yemen is always under threat of terrorism, and that they could only be unified with the north under the current regime's control.

Mohamed Khanbash, a lieutenant colonial from a village only 20 km away from Zinjibar, said that it was easy for the armed groups to overcome the city and government facilities.

"They [the regime] want to send a message to the US that the Joint Meeting Party or the revolutionaries are those behind the armed groups in Abyan, to make the US take a position against the revolution," said Khanbash.

Although the locals believe the armed groups are sent by the regime, they try to keep them out of their villages in order to avoid drone strikes. "We advise some of these armed people not to enter our villages to avoid troubles and they listen," said Khanbash.

"The authority wants to create chaos in the south. They are doing their worst against us with their policies," said a local from Abyan.

Khalid Al-Abd, a local journalist from Loder in Abyan, said that the situation in Loder is terrible, with long queues for fuel and gas, and business completely stopped.

"The armed groups in Zinjibar are



Zinjibar residents, many of whom have fled to Aden, are now accusing the Saleh regime of inciting violent clashes in Abyan

originally from Loder. They were found by some of the regime figures in Sana'a who are claiming their support for the revolution now," said Al-Abd.

"What's happening in Abyan should be questioned this way: why is the fight against terrorists happening only in the south and not in the north? It's a play to make unification sound like the only solution to counter terrorism," he added.

"We are stronger than ever," said an Al-Qaeda member who asked to remain anonymous.

Although there has been no official statement from the White House that the drone strikes used against armed groups in Abyan are American, Yemeni security experts say the drones

are American. The New York Times reported a US official as saying that the Obama administration is using the country's power vacuum to strike at militant suspects with armed drones and fighter jets.

The fact that American drones strikes against a Yemeni city provokes Al-Qaeda and makes them strengthen their operations according to an Al-Qaeda member, and gains them more local support.

"Every day they are striking civilians. It's a crime against humanity," said a former colonel that was suspended last January. "The armed groups are few, and there is no way they could take over the city unless they were facilitated by officials. And that's what

happened. Everything is under their control," he added.

The displaced families escaped fearing for their lives to Aden, and were relocated within local schools, according to Islamic Relief Yemen.

Security force officials were replaced in Zinjibar after they escaped according to Adbellah Saeed, head of central security in Modya, Abyan.

After Tuesday's attack on Al-Hutta, Lahj civilians confirmed to the Yemen Times that the armed groups were known from Al-Hamra village and were not Al-Qaeda members.

"There were crazy explosions the whole night. The armed group were mingling in the city and no one stooped them. But the fight started when we

Economic crisis boosts Saleh's support

By: Shatha Al-Harazi

SANA'A, June 26 — An economic crisis has been gripping Yemen for more than a month now. Shortages of fuel, cooking gas and hour-long blackouts have convinced some Yemenis that that revolutionary youth and the anti-government uprising are to blame.

Those who have taken no part in demonstrations on either side of the political conflict are now beginning to express their support for now absent President Ali Abdullah Saleh. Their argument is that, regardless of the status of freedom and democracy in the country, before protests swept across Yemen at least the economy was stable and people had access to basic goods.

"They [the protesters] wanted change. This is the change [the economic crises] they called for" said a middle age man talking to the people on a bus.

Buses and public transportation have always been a safe place for Yemenis to share their concerns and exchange their opinions and analysis for both the economic and political situation.

People curse the protesters for seeking change the way Egypt and Tunisia did saying that Yemen is a total different society that empowers the tribal system that is strong enough to fight the state, the call for separation in the south and the fear of Islamists taking control in a power vacuum.

"They [Islah Party] will not allow women to be seen in public even if they are covered up. They will prevent women from going to school or work and they will not allow them to travel without male relatives" said one Sana'a resident to the Yemen Times.

However, protesters say the counter-revolution is what makes the situation ever worse. Some of them blame the Joint Meeting Parties, the opposition coalition parties, and the Hashid tribal confederation that joined the peaceful protests in March and fought the state in May. Other protesters blame the regime and president in Ali Abdullah Saleh's sons and nephews.

Political analysts say that the regime wants to keep people busy and concerned for their basic needs instead of participating in the political transition. Power has been cut for more than 18

hours a day following two days of normal power in the capital. The power cuts effect all facets of life negatively. The power cuts also effects students during exams. The ministry of education worked hard to make the student get their exams and not wasting an educational year of their lives, the ministry put in mind the difficulties the students face including the power cut and made privileges to the exams this year, most of their lessons were not included in the exams although it were taught to them, all the questions are optional.

"The whole exam was on TV with the answers yesterday as a revision and some of my friends saw it, but I didn't because of the power cut" said Summer Hussein, a ninth grade student.

Power cuts also drive up prices in other economic sectors, such as water distribution. Water trucks need power and fuel to run pumps. Fuel is transferred to Sana'a every Sunday night then long queues for three days causing crowds in spite Saudi Arabia granting 3,000,000 barrels to help Yemen out of this crisis but the storages in Yemen is not enough to receive the whole amount of fuel now.

"What's happening now is an attempt to change the revolution from being a revolution for more rights and freedom to a revolution of hunger and revenge" said Ahmed Al-Zurqa, journalist and political analyst, "people are fed up with the situation, all the political parties want to make the revolution sound as a political crises and get their own benefit of it".

Moreover, international NGOs and youth groups are trying to mobilize people to improve the situation. The emergency "Food Assistance to Conflict-Affected Persons in Northern Yemen" operation is experiencing a total 2011 financial shortfall of US \$27.1 million. The "Emergency Food Security and Nutrition Support to Vulnerable Populations in Yemen" operation is experiencing a total 2011 financial shortfall of US \$26.5 million. The "Food Assistance for Somali Refugees" operation is experiencing a total 2011 financial shortfall of US \$1.2 million. The Yemen country program, "Food for Girls' Education", is experiencing a total 2011 financial shortfall of US \$10.8

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Economic war against Sabafon continues

By: Sadeq Al-Wesabi

SANA’A, June 26 — For a month, the Ministry of Telecommunications and Information Technology has continued to disconnect the international calls, landline and internet services of Sabafon subscribers. They have given no reason except statements saying that the disconnection was done after receiving directives from higher authorities.

The disconnection of services has sparked anger from subscribers of Sabafon who say that they have been negatively affected. Some have decided to sue the ministry for disconnecting services, describing it as unlawful and unprovoked.

Sabafon stated that national security asked the company to allow for the eavesdropping on phone calls, but the company refused. Sabafon has indicated that it was their refusal to comply with national security that was the real reason behind the ‘illegal disconnection’.

In addition to the disruption to services, Sabafon communication towers have been repeatedly hit by rocket propelled grenades and gunfire. Engineers from the company have been facing difficulties and threats when attempting to repair and maintain the towers.

Lawyer Abdurrahman Barman told the Yemen Times that the Telecommunication Ministry had disconnected the three services for political reasons.

“The CEO of the company is



Hamid Al-Ahmer, who is known for his political opposition to and strong opinion about the regime. It’s just a political whipping by the regime,” he added.

Barman said that Sabafon is a li-

censed company that has had a contract with Ministry since 2001 and that the contract is still valid. “The Ministry has breached the contract and also failed to uphold the Yemeni constitution that stresses the impor-

tance of equal opportunities between citizens.”

“This breach makes the Telecommunication Ministry responsible for compensating the company for all losses and damages,” he said.

Barman said that the Yemeni economy was based upon freedom of economic activity. He also indicated that the state has pledged to protect and encourage investment in Yemen.

Barman criticized the national se-

curity services for asking to eavesdrop on subscribers’ calls. “The freedom and confidentiality of telephone communications are enshrined in the Yemeni constitution.”

“Unfortunately, the Yemeni judiciary is absent and cannot resolve this issue,” said Barman.

Subscribers of Sabafon have a right to demand compensation from the Telecommunication Ministry because they were deprived of the services of the company, according to Barman.

“The subscribers have a right to oblige the Ministry to restore the disconnected services,” he said.

“I cannot receive or make international calls. My relationship with international organizations and activists outside Yemen has stopped due to the disconnection of the international call service. Sometimes I cannot even call my family from telecommunication shops,” explained Barman.

About half of the international calls from Yemen are done by Sabafon’s subscribers, according to Barman. He also pointed out that there are losses to the state that used to receive about YR 3 billion annually (about USD 13 million) from the taxes on Sabafon scratch cards.

Sofyan Jubran, a journalist and Sabafon subscriber said that many of his friends cannot phone him.

“I cannot receive calls from my friends outside Yemen or from landline numbers any more. My number is known among many people and I cannot easily replace it with another number,” he said.

Demands for vice president to take full power

By: Mohammed bin Sallam

SANA’A, June 26 — As President Saleh enters his fourth week away from Yemen recovering from an assassination attempt, his deputy in Yemen struggles to take control.

Over the last three days, thousands of Yemenis took to the streets across the country demanding that Vice President Hadi create a transitional council and remove all remaining members of both the old

regime and Saleh’s family from power. While Hadi seems to be a member of the old guard, he will probably remain in power until 2013 with the explanation that he will ensure that a proper transition takes place. The conservative Islah party and the independent youth object to this notion because they do not want anything to do with the old regime that is still clinging to power.

Another problem with the current

situation is that although constitutionally the vice president should have all authority as president, he does not. According to opposition parties, the main reason for this is the president’s son Ahmed, chief commander of the Republican Guard, who feels he deserves to succeed his father more than the vice president does.

Meanwhile, the United States has just concluded a visit to Yemen in a continued effort to promote the

Gulf Initiative. According to members of the opposition coalition parties, Jeffery Feltman, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs insisted during his recent visit to Sana’a that all stakeholders must show restraint in order for any breakthrough in Yemen’s transition

to happen. He conveyed his government’s dismay at the attack against the president on June 3rd, 2011.

“Violence can never solve anything,” Feltman was reported as saying.

He also reflected on the deteriorating living conditions in many

parts of the country, including the lack of fuel and electricity, and how this will be a significant challenge facing the transitional government. The challenge will be compounded with any delay in signing the agreement and creating a transitional council.

Shortage of nurses at public hospital in Sana’a

By: Amira Al-Arasi

SANA’A, June 26 — The departure of Indian nurses from the capital Sana’a has caused an acute shortage of nursing services at the Al-Thawra Public Hospital in Sana’a, medical sources told the Yemen Times on Saturday.

“Due to the security situation, dozens of nurses from India have recently traveled which has caused a heavy burden on us,” said a Yemeni nurse working at the hospital who asked not to be named for fear her job would be terminated.

“We used to work in three shifts, and now nurses work only in two shifts. Patients have been complaining all the time as we are unable to take care of the patients in a proper way with such a low number of nurses,” she said. “We can’t endure beyond our competency. In my department, there are 37 beds and only 2-3 nurses who work each shift in the entire department. There has been a patient who died due to low number of nursing workers.”

She explained that the fuel shortage has also exacerbated the problem, as the hospital transportation has stopped taking nurses from their homes to work and bringing them back.

“We can’t go to work and return home by taxi as the fares have gone up,” she said. “The administration of the hospital is not cooperating with us on this matter and only tell us ‘It is a nationwide crisis and it should be overcome’. I really consider it a humanitarian problem

against the nurses and the patients at the hospital.”

“My husband and all my family live in India and they always call me saying to leave Yemen. But I will not leave. I see the situation has calmed down,” said Mayni, an Indian nurse who has been working in Yemen for nine years.

“Many Indian nurses have left the hospital, but I’m not afraid and I will keep working until my contract with the hospital ends,” she said.

At least 183 Indian nurses have resigned from their jobs at the hospital due to pressure from their families in India. The Indian Embassy has also sent a delegation to complete travel procedures and provide nurses with tickets, according to Saleh Muthana, director of the nursing administration.

“There is an acute shortage of nurses and we have closed some nursing rooms at the surgery department for this reason,” said Muthana. “Now we are examining some Yemeni nurses to cover the current shortage as shifts have been reduced from three to two shifts. Working hours are now from 7:00 am until 3:00 pm for the first shift and 3:00 pm until 8:00 am for the second shift.”

“We also face the transportation problem and are still discussing solutions for that... We do not force any female nurse to come out at night to work. Working hours during three shifts were 184 hours per month, and now with the two shifts it has been increased to 192 hours

per month,” he said.

Problems at the hospital are not confined to the travel of foreign workers. Some local doctors at the hospital are in dispute with the administration as they were suspended with their salaries for their participation in the two days of civil disobedience, called by the revolutionary youth for Saturday and Wednesday, according to the director of the nursing department.

At least 13 doctors have been suspended from work including the Arab board physicians and their salaries halted for their participation in civil disobedience, according to Dr. Shukri Al-Falahi, secretary general of the Doctors Syndicate Committee.

“Wednesday was my time to work in the medical ward clinic and I was committed to the civil disobedience and I did not receive any patient. The director of external clinics came to me and talked to me about that, and when I told him I was partaking in the civil disobedience, he left the clinic... Later on an officer of the department called me and told me that my position was terminated,” said Dr. Ahmed Bishr, from the Arab medical ward board.

“We have been terminated from work, despite our commitment to the shifts and this is only to terrify us from practicing our rights. I will remain committed to the civil disobedience until the objectives of the revolution are achieved,” said Bishr.

إختيار شركات الشحن والتخليص – برنامج الاغذية العالمي للأمم المتحدة



يقوم برنامج الأغذية العالمي التابع للأمم المتحدة في اليمن بمراجعة وتحديث قائمة الشركات التي تعمل في مجال الشحن والتخليص المحتملة.

و على الشركات المهتمة و المؤهلة و الراغبة، تقديم طلب إستمارة الأستبيان الخاصة بالشحن والتخليص ، لتعبئته و إرفاق جميع وثائق و بيانات الشركة و التراخيص ذات الصلة لمزاولة المهنة، خلال فترة أقصاها نهاية دوام يوم الأربعاء الموافق ٢٩ يونيو ٢٠١١ ، و يطلب من الشركات المعتمدة لدي برنامج الاغذية العالمي للأمم المتحدة، تعبئة إستبيان الشحن و التخليص، و تقديم جميع الوثائق و التراخيص ذات العلاقة خلال الفترة الموضحة أعلاه، علما بأن الطلب الوارد من قبل الشركات بعد هذا الموعد لن يأخذ بعين الاعتبار، و ينبغي تقديم الطلب إلى مكتب البرنامج في صنعاء على العنوان التالي، مع كتابة «قائمة شركات الشحن و التخليص»، علما بأن الشركات التي سيتم قبولها في القائمة هي فقط التي سيتم دعوتها للمشاركة في المناقصات.

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Les Campbell to The Yemen Times:

“There are many potential leaders that could take over from Saleh if given the chance.”

The US government played, and is still playing, a significant role in Yemen's politics today. It brings to the table technical, military and financial support in the hope of easing Yemen through an imminent transition.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf interviewed Les Campbell, Senior Associate and Regional Director for the Middle East and North Africa at National Democratic Institute (NDI), on this issue. NDI is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, non-governmental organization that has supported democratic institutions and practices in every region of the world for more than two decades.

In a number of media outlets, Les Campbell has commented that Yemen has much to offer, and that there are many potential leaders and a vibrant and cohesive opposition that could take over from Saleh if given the chance.

He said that Ambassador Feierstein and the US government have taken a very active role in encouraging a political transition. I know they are working closely with Vice President Abd Rabo Mansur Hadi, but they are also talking to the opposition parties and maintaining open channels to the youth in the many 'Change Squares'.

Transitioning into transition

The difference between Yemen and other countries in the region, according to Campbell, is that the Republic of Yemen has had a parliament since 1993 which has seated members of the opposition and also has an anti-corruption commission.

"Alongside elections there are a numbers of democratic institutions, which while flawed, have provided limited transparency and accountability," he said.

These factors, in his opinion, would help Yemen transit into a more stable country provided it is given the

chance.

Yemen's vice president is said to have recently complained that Saleh's son and family are not letting him do his job. Yemeni media have reported that he is threatening to throw in the towel and go to Aden. If Hadi follows through with his threat, would the US recognize a presidential council created by the JMP and the youth, effectively sidelining the current regime?

"The question of 'recognition' is a complicated legal matter that I can't comment on. The best course for all concerned is to support a quick and genuine political transition under Acting President Hadi," said Campbell.

He added they he also thinks it is prudent and necessary for the youth to keep consulting with the political opposition, and to move forward with planning for a transitional council.

"If there is a council that includes representatives of the south, the Al-Houthis, the youth, and other powers in the country, it could complement other transition initiatives including a government of national unity. The most important issue is to keep moving forward," he said.

Fuel and electricity are a priority Campbell has recently visited Yemen



Les Campbell

and one of the main issues he discussed with relevant stakeholders was the country's sustainability, especially concerning fuel and electricity shortages. In the main cities, long queues of vehicles line up in front of gas stations with many camping over night in order to fill their tanks. The power outages have disrupted businesses, and even created a sense of depression among Yemenis.

Everyone in the international community recognizes that normal life should return to Yemen, and it is a priority to restore fuel supplies, electricity and to open up transportation routes.

"It is difficult to say what the causes of the shortages are. It seems that there may be a number of different reasons for shortages: sabotage, poor transportation, conflict, and maybe even some government malfeasance," he said.

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Civil society

Despite all these challenges, Campbell is optimistic and believes in the necessity of a strong civil society, especially with a visibly empowered gender element. Tahalf Watan, a women's coalition made up of active vibrant Yemeni women, has been demanding a 30 percent quota in the transitional and new governments.

"I think 30 percent is a good idea," said Campbell. "As long as there is going to be political change, we should take this opportunity to make sure that women aren't left behind. It has been very inspirational to see the role that

women have played over the past few months, so it's important to capitalize on that momentum."

With Saleh gone, Campbell thinks the opposition will be divided. However, he is relying for Yemen's sake on what he termed as the 'emergence of the grassroots', what are being called the youth who demand an immediate change of the regime.

The traditional political opposition are willing to negotiate a political solution. "However, even the experienced opposition parties are basically being driven by the vitality and the legitimacy of the youth protests," he said.



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OUR
OPINION

It is not supposed to be easy

I knew it was coming, and now it is in my face. It is in all our faces, and sooner better than later we will have to deal with the mass disappointment that is overwhelming the country today. Why else are we the empowered educated leaders of the country?

In times like this, when the masses are confused and disappointed, it is up to the revolutionary leaders to pull the moral up. The situation is like this: Gloomy long faces exasperated by the need to chase after fuel, electricity and cooking gas. The famous carefree Yemeni attitude has simply disappeared.

If there is one word I could use to describe Yemenis today it would be lethargic. The weariness and exhaustion is oozing out of people left and right, like a disease.

But we knew it was coming, and in fact we should have prepared for it. It is never too late and as it is there are wonderful initiatives by so many youth who are trying to rebuild the country, one brick at a time. The problem is that the work is not very coordinated, and even the opposition parties are not realizing the significance of the disappointment challenge the country is going through today.

“I have been cheated!” complained my friend Akram two days ago, as he was ranting about how everything is going wrong. “They taught me in school that there is a state, and that there are citizens, now I don’t believe in either,” he complained about the fundamentals we were fed as children, about our revolution in the sixties, and why we should be proud to be Yemenis.

Analysts say this sense of loss was intended to keep the people engaged in trying to live, and sidetrack them away from political issues – mainly the revolution. Endless lines of cars queuing for days for fuel. The price of everything has increased tremendously so that people are now forced to live without basic necessities and adapt their lifestyle accordingly.

Perhaps one positive aspect is that some have started to chew less qat, now that qat prices have sky rocketed. But it also means that there is less money for food. And many people who enjoyed a nutritional diet are now forced onto a cheaper insufficient one.

One thing is sure, the disastrous level of violence – the missile attacks and the tanks in the streets – is over. But that does not mean that we can relax now. In fact, there is a greater challenge to come and we have to be up to it.

The problem is not war. The problem is managing to create a regular stable lifestyle that will allow Yemenis feel safe and at home.

This revolution has helped Yemen uncover the myths of the modern democratic state they thought they were living in. But the danger is when it is not accompanied with awareness, or any sort of cultural and educational programs that could carry the population through the transition.

It was never meant to be easy. We have to pull our act together for Yemen, knowing the challenges ahead and believing that together we can make things better.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

Youth will rebuild Yemen

By: Wasim Al-Qershi
Guardian News and Media Ltd:
Published in Gulfnews.com

Yemen’s popular youth revolution faced a unique set of circumstances among the contemporary revolutions of the Arab spring – a despotic regime, armed tribes and an Al-Qaeda presence under the official auspices of the regime. But faced with all this, the youth insisted on achieving a comprehensive transformation by peaceful means. And millions of Yemenis responded to this invitation, descending on protest squares across the country.

The challenge of inviting the tribes of Yemen to join in with a revolution that was peaceful was significant; the tribes represent a major segment of the population, and weapons are a part of their makeup. So when they began to pitch their tents in the squares, stripped of all weapons, it was a surprise and an indication of the desire by all Yemenis

to move towards a modern democratic state.

Now, after spending 120 days in the squares, during which time the protesters have suffered intense violence from President Ali Abdullah Saleh while the international community has spared him, no one has the right to condemn them for any step that they take.

Because it was only concerned with preventing civil war in Yemen, the international community allowed Saleh to continue his violence, despite him giving guarantees he would cease. Meanwhile, the protesters were required to exercise self-restraint.

Safeguarding the peaceful nature of the revolution has become like grasping hot coals. Then Saleh’s palace was bombed. It did not kill him, but lost him continuity as leader. The youth of the revolution believe Saleh is finished and that his presence in Saudi Arabia for treatment is a card being played to arrange post-Saleh conditions.

It is also being used to get round the youth’s demands for radical changes,

that the representatives of the regime be brought to trial and that Yemen be ruled by a transitional presidential council committed to the goals of the revolution. However, the youth have the stronger card: the protests will not cease until all their demands are achieved.

Those who did not share in their sacrifice today will share our country with us. So the opposition political parties and the remains of the ruling party are to share the political authority, while the US controls the security services, and the Saudis are protected from the ‘revolutionary plague’.

Meanwhile, the youth are shot at by the remnants of Saleh’s people, who America appears keen should remain in power. The US is ignoring the fact it may lose the cooperation of the Yemeni people in the fight against terrorism because the people hate those who stand at the head of the security forces, the same forces that killed hundreds of the peaceful protesters.

The feelings of the youth towards the international community was op-

timistic but has become frustrated, as the community which claims to stand for the values of freedom, justice and democracy abandoned them to be killed for the sake of these values without protection.

Rather than removing the cover of international legitimacy from the killings and freezing Saleh’s assets, they gave him guarantees of legal immunity.

These values could be mere slogans for western powers but the youth of the Yemeni revolution have demonstrated to the world true commitment to them. The youth opposed their country being seen only as an economic burden or a refuge for terrorism. Their frustration over the position taken up by the international community will not distract them from their beliefs.

Rather it will teach the youth to act in the interests of their country. Today those interests lie in building a modern civil democratic country with a robust economy and a just legal system which renounces violence and terrorism and extends a hand of peace to the world.

Yemen’s unfinished revolution

By: Tawakkol Karman
From The New York Times
Opinion Pages

After more than five months of continuous protests, I stand today in Change Square with thousands of young people united by a lofty dream. I have spent days and nights camped out in tents with fellow protesters; I have led demonstrations in the streets facing the threat of mortars, missiles and gunfire; I have struggled to build a movement for democratic change – all while caring for my three young children.

We have reached this historic moment because we chose to march in the streets demanding the resignation of President Ali Abdullah Saleh, an end to his corrupt and failed regime and

the establishment of a modern democratic state. On June 4, our wish for Mr. Saleh’s departure was granted, but our demand for democracy remains unfulfilled.

Following months of peaceful protests that reached every village, neighborhood and street, Yemen is now facing a complete vacuum of authority; we are without a president or parliament. Mr. Saleh may be gone, but authority has not yet been transferred to a transitional presidential council endorsed by the people.

This is because the United States and Saudi Arabia, which have the power to ensure a peaceful transition to democracy in Yemen, have instead used their influence to ensure that members of the old regime remain in power and the status quo is maintained. American counterterrorism agencies and the

Saudi government have a firm grip on Yemen at the moment. It is they, not the Yemeni people and their constitutional institutions, that control the country.

American intervention in Yemen is a product of the war on terror. In exchange for military and intelligence partnerships established after the bombing of the American destroyer Cole in 2000, the United States provided the Saleh regime with increased economic aid and military assistance. Because American security was given priority over all other concerns, counterterrorism agencies paid no attention to the human rights abuses being committed by their local partners.

Indeed, American officials chose as local partners the Central Security Forces, the National Security Agency and the Republican Guard, all of which are controlled by Mr. Saleh’s sons and

nephews. As a result of their partnership with United States counterterrorism agencies, these organizations received generous American financing as well as guidance and technical assistance.

Because America has invested so heavily in Yemen’s security forces, it now seems that a transition to democracy will depend on whether Washington believes that investment will remain secure. The establishment of a new government will therefore be contingent on American officials’ approving the country’s new leaders. Sadly, it seems likely that the United States will support figures from the old regime rather than allow a transitional government approved by the people to take control of Yemen. This would be a grave mistake.

Yemen vice-president out of the shadows

By: Khaled Al-Ziadi
From Gulfnews.com

The attempt to assassinate President Ali Abdullah Saleh in his compound has brought dramatic changes to Yemen. It has given Vice President Abed Rabbo Mansour Hadi an historic opportunity to emerge from the shadows. But, many doubts have been raised about his ability to rescue Yemen.

General Commander Hadi came to prominence during the 1994 civil war between the north and the south. Saleh used the southerner to carry out the most important military operations for which the president needed Hadi’s military expertise and knowledge. Hadi was appointed as minister of defense, and succeeded in his mission. As a reward Saleh made Hadi his deputy that same year.

The Joint Meeting Parties (JMP) opposition coalition and youth in Change Square are now looking forward to the vice-president exercising his wisdom, and not employing his military expertise or insisting on clinging on to power. They believe that the acting president, in the absence of Saleh, will greatly facilitate the transition process. They marched last week to the vice-president’s house calling for the formation of a transitional council in Yemen.

However, the leaders of the ruling General People’s Congress (GPC) and

remnants of the caretaker government are stressing and betting on the return of Saleh to continue the political wrangling and wars initiated by the military before he was severely injured in the attack and taken to Saudi Arabia for treatment.

Saleh’s son, who is now in charge at the presidential palace in the absence of his father, is supported by the president’s brothers Ali Saleh Al-Ahmar, Director of the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces Office, and Mohammad Saleh, Commander of the Air Force, and the president’s nephews Tarek Mohammad Abdullah Saleh, Commander of the Presidential Guard, Yahya Mohammad Abdullah Saleh, Commander of the Central Security Forces and Counterterrorism Unit and Ammar Mohammad Abdullah Saleh, Commander of the National Security Bureau. Hadi is carrying out his duties from his home, which at the moment is under the protection of revolutionary forces belonging to commander Ali Mohsin Al-Ahmar.

Averting civil war

It is well-known in political and security circles that the vice-president, while under Saleh, does not have any real authority. But today, without warning, Hadi finds himself the acting president in the absence of Saleh and has the constitutional right not only to rule the country but to make critical decisions that could save Yemen from a civil war

which was planned by Saleh.

The question is, does Hadi have the courage and adequate support of the opposition political parties and tribes that have declared war on Saleh, to revive the Gulf initiative, which remains the safest way out in the absence of an alternative solution? Furthermore, will he be able to meet the revolutionaries’ demands given his military background?

There were cheers and euphoria among young people across the country, shared by the JMP and tribes, on entering the war with Saleh for achieving the first and main demand of the revolution – the departure of the president. Whether or not it is recognized that his departure could be temporary is a different thing altogether. There are some attempts by the international community, led by the US and Saudi Arabia, to calm the situation, and there is a clear acceptance by all of such interventions that have already contributed to bringing about a truce.

Hadi’s orders to quickly resolve the hardships faced by the people began to show results when the electricity supply to the capital was restored and petrol became available at some pumps after one week. Are we going to see the same positive reaction from the president’s relatives and supporters if Hadi signs the power transfer deal?

Hadi drew flak from Saleh’s security forces and leaders of the GPC, especially after it became evident that the petrol, food, electric and water crisis in

the capital was created by the regime as a political tactic to put pressure on citizens.

Hadi was not part of the escalating political crisis, that’s why he does not fear being protected by revolutionary forces, who are calling for the fall of the regime. He needs real chance to engage with all other opposition forces in order to resolve the crisis.

Will Saleh’s departure be the beginning of the end of the crisis? It may help in the better coordination of international, regional and local efforts. It remains to be seen if Hadi is the safe pair of hands that Saleh referred to in one of his famous speeches.

There are international challenges and pressures facing Hadi – he seems unable to tackle them without clear support from Saudi Arabia, which must announce the true state of Saleh’s health and invite Hadi to sign the Gulf initiative.

Another challenge is the latest military operation by the US against Al-Qaeda in Zinjibar, where it seems Washington is either testing Hadi’s reaction to their future plans to combat terrorism or trying to finish the job once and for all before the transfer of power to a new government.

There is an urgent need for a settlement in order to pave the way for a peaceful transition towards democracy and the fight against corruption, terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and extremism in Yemen.

VACANCY ANNOUNCEMENT

The **United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)** invites **Yemeni Nationals** to apply for the following position



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Type of Contract: Fixed-Term Appointment – 66
Duty Station: Sana'a

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- Presentation of background information for formulation of country programme, draft project documents, work plans, budgets, proposals on implementation arrangements.
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Being responsible: Youth give back to community

More than 30 Yemenis from the Yemeni Youth for Humanitarian Relief to pull off an Open Day initiative to fund raise for victims of armed conflict in Yemen. According to the many visitors, they did a remarkable job and must do it again.

By: Nadia Al-Sakkaf

“I’ve never felt so happy like now as I see that there are people who really care about others,” said a young Yemeni man while standing between the donations counter and the “analyze your personality” corner. He was one of more than 200 people attending the Open Day initiative organized by Yemeni Youth for Humanitarian Relief last Thursday at My Café to fundraise for victims of recent armed conflicts in Sana’a and Abyan.

The Open Day is one of many events the group of young men and women behind the initiative are doing to give back to their community.

“It is interesting to see this initiative by people who, although not affected directly by the conflict, decided that what happens in any part of Yemen is their problem and that they should take action,” said Abdulrahman Jaber, who came with his wife and kids and donated clothes for the victims and pictures to the art gallery.

The Open Day resulted in collecting more than 230,000 Yemeni Rials [around USD 1,000] and a huge pile of clothes, toys, books and some blankets that will be distributed to the victims of

conflict in Sana’a and Abyan.

It is the first initiative of its kind that the group has done. During this Open Day, the group hosted many activities, including a kids’ corner that featured activities like face painting, drawing, painting and a puppet show. Other activities included rap and break dancing sessions, music, games and a Souq [market] corner for buying products. The group displayed artwork by local artists in a gallery, served a barbeque lunch and featured the famous “know your personality” corner.

Hoyda Al-Kibsi, a female Yemeni artist who participated with her sketches for the art gallery, said: “I was contacted by the organizing committee of the Open Day and they invited me to showcase my work and provide a percentage of the sales of the paintings for the displaced people.” She said she had relatives in Al-Hasaba who were affected by the conflict, so she was more than glad to be part of this initiative.

Aisha Al-Qirbi and her friend Manal Jabbar came to the Open Day after they saw the event announcement on Facebook. They admitted not knowing much about the reality of displacement and affects of the armed conflict and were curious to learn more.

“We hoped to learn more about what

is going on and how we can help,” they said. “It is the first time we come to an event of such a kind like this.” They commented that they were surprised at the festive mood even the topic was sad. They said they wanted to know more information about the affects of war and asked the organizers to have an educational segment next time.

Naji Al-Humaiqani said next time he wanted some more educational activities for the “grown-ups.”

“But I am so glad that this happened.. It must happen again and for many days.”

Entire families came to the Open Day — even grandmothers. Muadh Al-Sadi came with his mother, Eman Abdullah, his sister and her son to support his other sister, Umaima, who was part of the organizing committee.

“We came to be part of this initiative. We donated money and bought some items. It is a nice idea and shows the sense of community as people work together in crises,” he said.

The children with painted faces were running around with balloons in their hands and looking at not-so-violent pictures of the conflict, asking questions.

Rashid was a little boy whose mom, dad and relatives were part of the Open Day.

“I wish I had a lot of money I could donate for the children of the war,” he said. “I sometimes hear the gunshots and know that there are some people who are in trouble, and there are the ‘bad guys’ shooting at them. When I grow up I will stop the bad people,” he said before running away to catch a balloon that was flying in the room.



An overwhelming sense of society was created by this event. Nilli Naji, who had come with her friends, said this was the first time she had attended such a splendid event, which was very much needed, especially during these tense times.

“We desperately need to feel joy and happiness. Yemen has gone through hard times. Thank you YYHR for doing it and I hope there are many more events to come,” Naji said.

Freezo is a break dancer who was part of the show in the Open Day. He

came with his friends Bassam and Ahmed, who are also break dancers.

His team includes Moody, Mustafa, Jacqueline and Roa’a. They were setting up a stage to practice for their segment, which they volunteered to entertain the visitors.

“We are doing it to support the displaced people and to make the kids happy,” said Freezo. “Unfortunately there isn’t much in Yemen that makes you happy! The spirits are down and we wanted to express love and to convey a message to the society that we care.”

At the end of the day, as the guests were gradually going home, you could see the YYHR team smiling with exhausted faces. Some were leaning against the wall while looking around them, feeling proud at what they had accomplished.

They did not leave until they cleaned the place, although they had been very tired.

“This is why we are called strong youth,” said Murad when he was told to take a break. You could hear the laughter across the place.



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Hip-hop as a fun way to convey a message



Donations corner, piles of clothes, toys and booes.

Yemenis risk their lives for work in Saudi Arabia

By: Ali Saeed

Everyday, thousands of jobless Yemenis attempt to illegally enter Saudi Arabia seeking work opportunities in the neighboring oil-rich Gulf country. And the number is now rapidly on the rise, after hundreds of thousands of Yemenis have lost their jobs in Yemen because of the six-month long nationwide uprising against President Saleh’s 33-year rule.

Dozens of Yemenis reportedly die every month in the Saudi deserts for lack of water or food on their perilous journey to find work over the border.

Mahmoud Sagheer, 30, a Yemeni from Mahwit left for the Saudi border two weeks ago in search of work. Mahmoud found himself without work when he could no longer find fuel for the truck he drove. He decided to try and enter Saudi Arabia illegally to feed and provide for his family of five.

“He used to work as a driver for his father’s truck carrying food and staff from the city of Hodeida to our village, but with the fuel shortage he was forced to stop driving. He decided to infiltrate into Saudi Arabia for work,” his wife, Um Ahlam, told the Yemen Times.

“All the youth here, who are mostly jobless, have fled the village to Saudi Arabia to generate a living income for their families,” she said.

Over 45 percent of Yemenis are jobless, and with the financial and economic stagnation caused by the Yemen’s current political upheavals, the number is undoubtedly going to rise.

According to Dr. Mohammad Jubran, a professor of economics at the University of Sana’a, around 150,000 Yemeni workers have been laid off from the industrial and service sectors. Power cuts and the acute shortage in fuel have caused 80 percent of factories to shut down.

Over 90 percent of jobless men in Yemen’s northern rural areas, especially in the governorates of Hajja, Al-Mahwit, Sa’ada, Hodeida and Amran, head to Saudi Arabia’s southern border to find



Yemeni refugees are on rise, fleeing to the Saudi southern border with the economic and financial crisis in Yemen caused by six-month popular uprisings demanding an end to Saleh’s 33-year long rule.

work, according to Khaled Jailan, a social figure in Mahwit.

Jailan himself has experienced the miserable experience of trying to illegally enter Saudi Arabia. He explained that most of the men end up working in construction and building, sheep herding and farming. He added that trying to enter Saudi Arabia without legal documents was highly risky, and cost a lot of effort, time, and sometimes even lives.

“I know of three in my village who died on their way to Saudi Arabia. They were struck by lightning in the Saudi desert,” said Jailan.

Abu Saber, 35, who recently entered Saudi Arabia illegally, told the Yemen Times of the pain and terror he experienced on his journey to try and find a job opportunity.

“I spent 14 days traveling from Al-

Mashnaq to Amhayl. I walked and ate at villages or some farms,” said Abu Saber.

The Amhayl area in Saudi Arabia is a smuggling transit point, where Yemenis are taken by Saudi smugglers to different destinations including Jeddah, Riyadh, Al-Tayf and other cities.

“We spent our journey with no money to use. There was one friend from Aden who had some [money] and he was helping us,” he said.

“When we approached Amhayl, a Saudi smuggler picked us up in a car. There were only two seats in the front free, and we eleven migrants crowded ourselves in the rest of car’s space,” he said.

“We drove in the desert for two hours and then negotiations started on the price. We agreed to pay him SR 2,500

to take us to Jeddah, to be paid to him at the destination point,” Abu Saber said.

“During the three-day smuggling journey from Amhayl to Jeddah, the driver let us out of the car into a room to rest. But with no food or anything to drink we ran away.”

“After some hours, the Saudi smuggler appeared following us with a gun in his hand. He collected us one after another and brought us back to the car. He said to us ‘Did you not say that you are good men with respected tribal traditions?’ We replied saying ‘You left us hungry, thirsty and for that we fled.’ Then he brought some cakes and juice for us to eat and we continued to our destination.”

In the Al-Bahra area of Jeddah the smuggler placed the would be workers at an inn to take his payment from them, according to Abu Saber. While the Yemeni migrants were trying to contact their relatives in Jeddah to pay the fare, a group of the plain clothes passport police found them.

“They inspected us very carefully because they found drugs with the driver. They disagreed amongst themselves about whether to let us go or to deport us,” he said. “Eventually they agreed to let us go and find work.”

“After that I took a taxi to my relative’s house in Jeddah where I stayed for one week. Later I planned to go to Mecca, but I was caught traveling from Jeddah to Mecca,” he recalled.

“I was held for 12 days in a deportation center in Jeddah. It was full of Yemeni migrants who had come for the same purpose, to work. After that they took us by bus to Al-Tiwal. Here

we were thrown out with no money or anything to help us go back home,” Abu Saber said.

Ali Al-Wafi, a Yemeni economist and former chairman of the parliamentary financial committee, told the Yemen Times that “Yemen has entered an economic collapse, and Saudi Arabia will be affected by different aspects of this situation.”

“Many problems will be aggravated

along the Saudi southern border, including security, smuggling, children and drugs trafficking,” he said. According to Al-Wafi the biggest consequence to the Saudis of the economic collapse will be the thousands of Yemenis who will go to the border asking for relief.

“If Yemen does not get out of this crunch soon, the economic collapse will ruin all possible political solutions,” he said.

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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:

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

S. Nabil

Definitely with his return. I think he will come back because we pray for his well being every day. Everyone keeps on blaming him for every bad thing that is happening in the country. Why did they elect him in 2006 if they knew they would turn against him? If he comes back, we will support him. We continue to pray for his well-being.

Esham Al-Aryani

Definitely with the return of president until he hands over the power in a constitutional manner, which is to spare us civil war and division.

Karima Ibrahim

In my opinion, 33 years is way too long for one person to be the president. He should come back to Yemen because it is his home, but he should step down with the little dignity he has left, and give other people the chance to be president. We still like him for all the developments he has brought to Yemen, so he also should consider doing the right thing for Yemen.

Wathik Samawi

The return of Ali Saleh will be definitely unwelcome as it will provoke revolutionaries, opposition parties, and all other anti-regime individuals. Moreover, it will ignite the dormant violence which of course will lead to more bloody clashes and unnecessary confrontations. It's well known that there is an international consensus that Ali Saleh's departure is the only thing that can end the current crisis that has jeopardised Yemen's future. So, it's much better for him and for us to transfer power and enjoy his time out of Yemen.

Ahlam

I am not with his return and I have no doubt that he is never ever coming back again. If he really loves Yemen as he says he does, he should stay away and give other people the chance to be president. Yemen will be much much better without him.

Bushra Abdulaziz

President Saleh has no power in Yemen any more. He can return as a resident but he will be prosecuted anyway. He should appear on TV first to assure us that he is still alive. There is a lot of doubt about whether he is dead or not, and this confusion delays the revolution.

Thana Farooq

If we assume that he is still alive, my answer would be no. I am not with the return of Saleh for two important reasons: one is that as a president he has done nothing for his own people but cause them more pain. Why would anyone ever accept his return? What future is awaiting us with him that we can put our hope in? The second reason is that we are at the stage that we really need to work hard to make a successful transition to democracy in this country, and this can never be achieved with Saleh!

Tawfeeq Al-Qadhi

In my opinion it is impossible that he does not return, and no one can prevent him because President Saleh is Yemeni and it is his home.

Jamila Abdullah

We heard news that the president was to come back on Friday and he didn't come, so I don't think he is coming back any time soon. If he was to be back, we would have heard a speech from him or even seen his picture. In my opinion, he is critically injured or maybe dead, and the government is hiding this from us. We are citizens and are entitled to know what is going on in the country.

Next Week's Question:

The main goal of the revolution was for the president to leave Yemen, and now he has left no changes have been made or seen. What is your opinion on this?

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

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

We shall prevail

By: Ramzy Alawi
ramzy.alawi@yahoo.com

I am not entirely aware of how the youth of Change Squares around the country feel and act at this stage of the revolution. There are already huge sacrifices that have been made for the sake of the revolution and it never comes to my mind that the revolution is destined to fail.

Despite the series of crises that are deliberately inflicted upon the Yemenis before and after the Al-Sabeen incident, we must not be so frustrated, because we know it is a collective punishment intended to bring dignified citizens to their knees. We should not allow Saleh's prophecy to come true that we will be fragmented and afflicted with endless civil disturbances and war.

The youth have come a long way since they started the spark of the revolution. Persistence and serious determination are the keys for the revolution to gain momentum and reach its climax, however good wishes are not enough if not accompanied with sweat and toil. We need patriotic and visionary people to gather and draw the future of the country.

We will have to be more patient, as it is going to be pitch dark before the dawn breaks with the very first rays of freedom. And please let's not forget that the Almighty is watching over as and in Him we shall trust. It will never be and was never meant to be an easy triumph.



Cars lining up for gasoline in Al-Misbahi roundabout

Photo by Khalid Al-Baadani

Will you be there?

By: Naji Gazali
naji734@gmail.com

Continuously and consistently for over four months, Yemenis have written a history of how to uproot dictators peacefully. Their counterparts in Tunisia and Egypt were part of that legacy too, but with a few differences. In Yemen, the military is controlled by the president and his children, brothers, step-brother, nephew, and in-laws. But in Tunisia and Egypt, the military was not infiltrated by the family of Bin Ali or Mubarak. Therefore, the Yemeni revolution has and must remain peaceful, because the alternative will be costly.

Saleh knew from day one that this peaceful revolution would uproot him, and has worked diligently to militarize it. He ordered his heartless thugs to commit their massacre on the 'Day of Dignity' as Yemenis called it. The 'Friday of Dignity' where 57 were killed in cold blood without any reason other than they were chanting 'We want democracy, social justice, and freedom'. The regime could not tolerate their demands, and decided to silence them, only to find out that terrorist and criminal acts have worked in the favor of the revolution. Many decent people – those who still had an iota of conscience in their heart – immediately found no place with the regime and Saleh, and choose to leave him. This honorable move Yemenis will never forget, and should be seen as the stand that clears them of all of their sins with Saleh.

Then the balance of power changed. Roughly half the military crossed to the revolution, and half stayed with Saleh. Half, if not more, of the strong tribes stood with the revolution, and the rest with Saleh. The balance of power has changed the rules of the game between Saleh and our peaceful revolution. He tried to play for time, hoping that people would become fed up with their daily protests. Yet time did not help him as he thought, but rather worked against him as the revolution gained a momentum. Trying to deny this is similar to denying the sunshine or the moonbeam. The revolution has rocked him and his mini paid gatherings he ostensibly labored to organize.

He then asked for help and the Saudis provided it, offering him not just one initiative, but five. And yet he felt that signing it without a ceremony would dishonor his abnormal personality that we are paying the price of tolerating for three decades. Then the last chapter of his shrewdness was to attack those who supported the revolution and who had promised to sacrifice their lives for it. He attacked the strongest tribe that have provided him sustenance for years. He decided to attack them without any provocation, just to get them to react, and then declared to the whole world that Yemen was

heading towards a civil war. The other part of his plan was to create a power vacuum, withdrawing his army from Abyan. Only in Abyan – not Taiz or Ibb – because of the assumed presence of Al-Qaeda in Abyan that took advantage of such action to take control of a city. By doing so, Saleh wanted to start a civil war in Sana'a with Al-Ahmer and his tribe, and create concern in the West, especially in American, by allowing Al-Qaeda in Abyan full

control of a city. Then the next day he sent troops to fight Al-Qaeda, just to keep pressure on the Saudis and the West. He wanted to show what his departure would mean – a civil war and Al-Qaeda.

But justice was beyond his skillful plan, and he was hit by his own security apparatus, if not by his own family. They decided to attack him where he was assumed he was safest, his private mosque inside his most secured presi-

dential palace with his security guards glued to him. He tasted the blood that thousands of Yemenis have been forced to taste by his order for over four months, in Al-Mansora, Taiz, Aden, Ibb, Sana'a, Shiek Othman, Al-Mukalla, Abyan, Hadramout, Marib, and every city and town in Yemen.

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Faces from Yemen's revolution



Ameen Dabwan

By: Shatha Al-Harazi

In the center of a march led by the independent youth from their stage in front of the old university, one can always find a 31-year-old protester holding a microphone and shouting chants against the US and Saudi Arabian governments, both of whom try to paint “the Yemeni revolution as a political crisis.”

He comes from a family that gave two of its sons to serve the revolution, one in Change Square in Sana'a, and the other in Horiya Square in Taiz. Ameen Dawban in was born in Shara'ab, Al-Rona in Taiz governorate. He graduated from the faculty of education and majored in chemistry. Before the revolution started in February, he was continuing his studies and preparing for a master's degree from Sana'a University. He is head of a small family consisting of him, his wife, a son and a daughter.

Dabwan, who comes from a poor social class, had to struggle to reach his goal of getting his master's degree while also feeding his family. In a country that considers those holding a masters degree among the elite, Dabwan works a second job all night in a humble cafeteria after studying in the morning and then teaching school in the afternoon.

Dabwan is one of the people responsible for the independent youth stage and always gives a speech to urging them to never give up their revolution regardless of any pressure by other sides, the state or the Joint Meeting Parties.

"We were suffering, everything in our lives were just small parts of the great things they could be. Whenever the head of the university gives a lecture he compliments the president for no reason," said Dabwan.

Dabwan was among those who sparked the revolution. He believed in it then and still believes



Ameen Dabwan (right) in one of the independent youth marches, chanting with the mic and motivating the protesters.

in it with the same strength.

"I had faith in the revolution when I first saw the people go against injustice in the first few demonstrations," he said.

Although he spends his whole day in the square, Dabwan did not originally have a tent as his house is near the protest area. Then, when he and his friends started a coalition of the Yemen Free Youth as part of the independent youth work, he was member of its council. Thus his first tent was the tent they set up for the coalition, which acted as a shelter and organizational point for the independent youth who faced difficulties with the Islah party. The coalition's slogan was "No Political Parties, Our Revolution is a Youth Revolution."

Dabwan was once almost kidnapped by anonymous men in a car on his way from the Square to

Madhbab. Inside the square he also faced violations of his rights and continuous interrogations “because of the coalition”. “We kept silent for long time about the violations against the independent youth, but now we have silent marches inside the square to condemn the violations against us,” he said.

In the early days of the revolution, he said, "They [Islam] cut off our banners sometimes, some of the more active youth in our coalition faced double danger as they were followed by the security forces and also sometimes kidnapped by the Islamists in the square. Still, we try to address this kind of behavior inside the square because we are aiming for a more cohesive country."

Dabwan was also threatened with being transferred from his

job and was interrogated on the charge of “leading school students to engage in political activism in Change Square.” His salary was suspended as a result.

"Ameen is one of those youth leaders in Change Square who works in silence, a very modest person who always smiles and knows how to absorb anger," said one of the protesters.

Dabwan said that the independent youth are more revolutionary despite their poverty, and that despite their being less organized than other popular movements in the Arab World, their efforts will eventually end the revolution and achieve their goals.

"I vow to continue the revolution. The US and Saudi Arabia won't change our dreams. We can establish a civil state that draws the respect of its neighbors later, but for now we will revolt until we fix the country."



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