

## Somalis flee famine for malnourished Yemen

As the famine grinds on in the Horn of Africa, Somalis are seeking refuge in one of the world's hungriest countries.

By: Annasofie Flamand  
The CASBAH

ADEN, Aug 30 — A sharp increase has been recorded in the numbers of desperate Somali refugees risking their lives in often overcrowded and unseaworthy boats to cross the treacherous Gulf of Aden to Yemen fleeing violence and famine back home.

They arrive in one of the hungriest countries, with the third highest rates of malnutrition in the world.

Already 3,700 Somali refugees have reached the coast of Yemen so far in August alone making it the highest monthly arrival rate this year, according to the UN agency for refugees, UNHCR.

The arrivals also mark an earlier than normal start to the traditional peak season for smugglers' boats to arrive from the coastal town of Bossaso in northern Somalia.

The refugees are crossing what aid agencies have termed "the world's most dangerous refugee route", fleeing "the unstable security situation, severe drought, high food prices and lack of job opportunities," they tell UNHCR.

"It is testament to the refugees' desperation that they have chosen to flee to Yemen, which is itself affected by serious unrest," said UNHCR spokesper-



Aden, a three-year-old Somali refugee with his father Abdille, recovers at the stabilisation centre at Hagadere refugee area. An estimated 3.7 million people in Somalia - around a third of the population - are on the brink of starvation and aid agencies are stretched in trying to cope with a daily influx of Somalis escaping not only drought but the al-Shabab extremists.

son Adrian Edwards on Friday. "They cross the Gulf of Aden on what are often unseaworthy and overcrowded boats. Many do not survive the dangerous crossing. On Monday, two Somalis drowned when their boat capsized."

Yemen, which has seen growing unrest since the beginning of the uprising in the beginning of 2011 and a worsening humanitarian situation, hosts the second-largest population of So-

malis refugees in the region, numbering nearly 192,000 people. Some 15,000 of these have arrived since January, according to the UNHCR.

Numbers of Somali refugees seeking humanitarian help have declined in neighboring Kenya, which houses nearly 498,000 Somali refugees, from 1,500 arrivals per day to 1,000-1,200 people per day.

A significant drop in internally dis-

placed people inside Somalia has also been reported by UNHCR's Population Movement Tracking (PMT) partners who say that the number of displaced people arriving to Mogadishu, the country's capital, fell from 28,000 in July to just over 5,000 this month. That is a drop from more than 1,000 arrivals per day last month to an estimated 200 in August.

The UNHCR believes that more So-

malis are expected to arrive in Yemen in the coming months. "We believe many who fled their homes are already waiting in Bossaso for calmer seas before starting their journey," Edwards said.

Aid workers call hunger in Yemen the country's "silent emergency". With the third highest rates of malnutrition in the world, worse than anywhere in Sub-Saharan Africa, generations of Yemeni children grow up stunted, physically and mentally less than their potential.

A third of the country, over seven million people, struggle daily to afford enough food to lead a healthy and productive life, with many parents pulling their children out of school so they can help at home.

A 2010 survey by WFP estimated that of those going hungry each day, 2.7 million Yemenis are classified as "severely food insecure" meaning they

spend one third of their meager incomes just on bread.

Since rival clans overthrew the government in 1991, civil war has consumed the country and its people. Out of the anarchy of 15 years of warlords grew a vicious, religiously motivated militia, Al Shabaab, whose control now extends over large swaths of southern Somalia and most of its capital.

Mogadishu today is a graveyard. Its streets are abandoned to the wild gunfire of militiamen, as Al Shabaab and other Islamists fight to take control of the few remaining streets that government troops still control, protected by a contingent of African peace-keepers with no peace to keep.

For those who can, escape is the only hope. In the first half of this year alone UNHCR estimated that 200,000 Somalis fled their homes.

## Crumbling coalitions in a collapsing country

By: Strategy World

SANA'A, Aug. 28 — The fighting is desultory and sporadic. Small groups of al Qaeda gunmen are moving about in the south. Some of these gunmen control parts of three towns in the south. Tribal militias (pro and anti-government, or just anti-terrorist) keep al Qaeda out of most urban areas. The government has about 50,000 troops and police available, plus nearly as many tribal gunmen, available to control most of the country. The government controls several hundred armored vehicles, over fifty artillery weapons, several dozen warplanes and the small navy. But the economy is paralyzed and people are getting hungry and angrier.

The government estimates that the national GDP has dropped 40 percent in the last six months, mostly because of oil shipments being stopped by hostile tribes. But that means there are fewer imports, particularly of food.

The main problem is that the opposition is not powerful, or large, enough to overwhelm the pro-government coalition. The opposition is also divided by serious divisions between northern and southern tribes. The government coalition is united by the realization that they lose power and income if they lose control. The core problem is that Yemen is facing exhaustion of its water supplies and continued poverty driven largely by population growth. Yemen is the poorest Arab state, and has been

for generations. There has never been a strong central government, as the tribes have always maintained their power. Coalitions of tribes would dominate all of Yemen, and now a new coalition is competing with the one in power.

Over the last few days, attacks on the power transmission lines from the main electricity plant outside the capital has cut off most electric power reaching the city. This leaves most people dependent on batteries and portable generators.

The government is reinforcing its troops north of the capital, where they are confronted by anti-government tribesmen. There have been over a hundred casualties up there in the last week.

August 20, 2011: In the south, two suicide bomber attacks killed eleven people. One attack killed Sheikh Abu Bahr Ashal, the head of the Ashal tribe. The other attacked a tribal checkpoint. Al Qaeda cannot match the tribes in terms of armed manpower, so seeks to terrorize the tribes by killing their leaders and selected followers.

August 20, 2011: The new National Council of opposition groups suffered a setback as 22 percent of its 143 members quit. There were disagreements over how many seats on the council some tribes would get.

In southern Abyan province, two al Qaeda suicide attacks killed eleven anti-terrorist tribesmen.

North of the capital, an attack on an army base was defeated and six of the attackers were killed.

August 19, 2011: Several million Yemenis demonstrated in towns and cities to back the new National Council.

August 18, 2011: In Abyan province, pro-government tribesmen ambushed some al Qaeda members, and killed four of them.

August 17, 2011: Most opposition groups united to form a 143 member National Council.

In the southern coastal town of Shaqra, a group of al Qaeda gunmen came and drove out government officials. The government responded with an air strike which was thought have killed five of the terrorists.

August 14, 2011: In the south, a battle with al Qaeda left 17 terrorists and three soldiers dead.

August 13, 2011: American intelligence believes al Qaeda in Yemen is trying to produce the poison Ricin. While deadly, it does not last long in the hot and dry climate of Yemen. The U.S. is trying to verify whether this Ricin operations actually exists and, if it does, stop it.

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# Al-Hasaba children enjoy two-week summer camp

Photos by Yemeni Youth for Humanitarian Relief

**A**fter being subjected to difficult circumstances because of the armed conflict in their area, children of Al-Hasaba neighborhood in Sana'a received some very positive attention through a two-week summer camp. The camp which was funded by UNICEF and implemented by Yemen 21 Forum and Yemeni Youth for Humanitarian Relief targeted 200 children

ranging between 6 and 18 as well as their families. It allowed the children to enjoy fun activities in an educational manner whereby they learned numeracy, literacy, recreational skills as well as life skills such as the risks of unexploded of conflict materials, health issues. The best part was that it really made a difference and made them happier as they said and as the pictures show.





# The youth revolution in the eyes of the elderly

By: Marwa Najm

“We were drowned in the past period in a flood of problems we could not understand. There was the shortage in electricity, gas and all the fuel subsidies and then the price hikes you would go to the market with an amount that used to buy stuff and land up with a rotten small bag of tomatoes.. that is what the reckless youth brought to us with their revolution!” this is how Abu Haitham, an old man from Sana’a was saying to his friend the butcher in front of the meat shop. The friend had mocked Abu Haitham and criticized his stinginess and refused to sell him a quarter kilo of meat.

Abu Haitham says he can’t buy more than that because he can’t store it in the fridge since there are frequent electricity blackouts and hence the meat would go rotten. However, he has a strong opinion against the youth revolution blaming it for the crises befalling on Yemen today.

Abu Haitham, the old man from Sana’a is not alone.

In the waiting room of one of the public hospitals sits an old lady crumpled on herself over a wheel chair waiting for some medical attention. As soon as she spots two young men walking by she pours her wrath on them:

“What revolution! You are talking ages to achieve what the men in my time did in days! You have put us in misery and not found a way out! Useless revolution is the one you made!”

She is angry especially since her house is near the change square where the youth have been camping for the last seven months. She needs to go for regular physiotherapy sessions and the street outside her house is blocked because of the protest and this has hindered her already limited mobility.

“I know what they want. They want



Old man in Change Square in Sana’a singing the national anthem participating in his own way in the revolution.

Ali [the president] to leave and he has but they are still there. They want jobs and to have enough money to start their own families but he has gone and not given them anything, so they don’t have

anything left but to leave, which they should.”

But there are other senior citizens who say they understand what the youth’s revolution and are supportive of it. Hajj

Ameen is in his mid seventies and displays a mountain of emotions when he talks about the revolution.

“It is time for change! Even if we sacrifice blood because this is the price we have to pay by the people who waited 33 years under oppression,” said Ameen. “But Yemen has produced eager youth who refuse the injustice and these youth of today are the revolutionaries just like their grandfathers. They are proud and full of life and with their giant steps will make it happen.”

However, he does recognize the challenges and is up to date with the latest developments of the uprising. He knows about the national council and has read the suggested names. “We must find a way out and not lose hope,” he added. “We have seen what the current leaders did now we want others have to offer.”

Hameedia an old woman in her eighties has a very simple approach to the whole revolution. She says “They want to sack him [the president] even if he has made mistakes you don’t just fire someone and deprive them of their source of income! They should try to give him another job.”

She sees the president as an employee with the people and that he has made mistakes and now is being fired.



A lahouh (Yemeni bread) seller talks to an elderly Yemeni man about life at Al-Qa’a market in Sana’a.

She also sympathizes with him.. “It is hard for someone who has been doing the same job for 33 years to leave and do something else. And then what will happen to him if he quits? Do they want him [the president] to go around begging for money to feed his children? This is not acceptable at all!”

The men seem to have a better understanding of what is going on than the women. Hajj Yaseen has been part of the previous revolution in the sixties and remembers what it was like then. He also remembers the reform revolution in 1973 led by President Ibrahim Al-Hamdi who ruled Yemen for four years.

“That revolution also happened overnight but it came from decades of injustice across many sectors of life. It is a peaceful revolution that talks about modernization, equal citizenship and having the rule of law,” he remembers. “For example, the government car was considered a property of the state not the employee to be used personally. Also there was a limit to marriage dowry.”

He belittles today’s youth revolution and says that what is happening now is not a real revolution because not all the people are out in the streets. He says a revolution should be strong and wild like a volcano erupting.

“The youth of today don’t work or learn, what they do is go to the revolution square and curse the regime that does not give jobs or provide education,” he concluded.

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OPINION

## Eid Mubarak

To all the Islamic world: I hope you had a pleasant Eid.. To Yemenis: I hope you had a pleasant Eid and that you got the time during these few days of holidays to enjoy peace and festivities after a long time of tension and worry.

The signs of celebration this eid are not as usual. They were tainted with short in cash and troubled memories of the conflict that is still visible in many areas across the country.

Even the tourism industry has almost fallen apart. Tourism agencies and hotels have slashed their prices and created attractive packages in order to promote their services and catch the lone international tourist or the Yemeni family that is looking for some fun.

The problem with all these is that it is not working. The first reason is that the promotion is sudden and feels desperate. Although most Yemenis are not used to planning that much but they do take their time in deciding where to spend their money especially if it is entertainment. Therefore, they need to be convinced that the advertised product/ service is worth it and has a well known brand. Overnight advertising unless it is a huge campaign is bound not to work.

Another reason why the Eid events don't really work in a slow market is because there is a lack of customization. There is hardly any market research to identify what people want and how much they are willing to spend. Therefore the packages are mass oriented instead of customized.

This Eid many Yemeni families toned down the spending and increased the socialization. They realized that visiting someone and celebrating with them and their family is cheaper than going to an entertainment park and spending money on tickets and games. Although some did still go but they significantly cut down the amount allocated for each child.

This Eid was not the usual, because Ramadan was not the usual in Yemen. Yet we still managed to find some joy and celebrate in a way. I also believe that soon there will be some sort of political agreement that would sort out our troubled country and set things straight.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

## Meet Washington's foreign-policy fools

By: Doug Bandow  
The National Interest

The Obama administration wants Yemen to replace its dictator but supports the dictator who rules next-door Saudi Arabia. And Washington no longer thinks Syria needs to keep its dictator—though the administration's isn't exactly saying he should go. Do U.S. officials really believe that anyone pays the slightest attention to their ever-changing opinions about who should rule where?

One of the least appealing aspects of U.S. foreign policy is the belief that everyone, everywhere should listen to Washington on everything. In the view of American officials, no foreign nation should be denied Washington's counsel. No foreign economic system is too prosperous or political system too complex for American officials to judge. No foreign controversy is too complicated for the U.S. government to solve.

Washington's policy pirouettes during the Arab Spring have been breathtaking. As protests rose in Egypt, vice president Joe Biden cited Egyptian dictator Hosni Mubarak's value as an ally. As the regime tottered the administration endorsed a phased transition. As Mubarak's end neared, U.S. officials endorsed his ouster. None of these pious pronouncements had the slightest effect in Cairo. Popular demonstrations reached a roaring crescendo because most people had tired of dictatorship, not because Washington reluctantly warmed to democracy. Rather, the administration looked pathetic, desperately trying to get ahead of the latest crowd.

The administration continues to play much the same game in Yemen. When protests first sprouted in Yemen, the White House was backing president Ali Abdullah Saleh. He was a standard issue Third-World thug, but he won favor in Washington for being willing to battle jihadists, including the local al-Qaeda organization.

As opposition expanded, blood flowed in the streets and Saleh's hold on power loosened, the Obama administration had a change of heart. Earlier this month Washington sent foreign-policy aide John Brennan to meet with Saleh in Saudi Arabia, where he is receiving medical treatment. Brennan announced: "The United States believes that a transition in Yemen should begin immediately so that the Yemeni people can

realize their aspirations." Brennan's message to Saleh? Resign. However, the Yemeni leader paid Brennan no mind. Brennan continued on to Yemen, where he attempted to arrange a "swift transition" by convincing vice president Abed Rabo Mansour Hadi to seize power—but only in the name of democracy, of course. Hadi said no. Saleh's question for Washington obviously is not, "what have you done for me?" but "what have you done for me lately?" The fact that the U.S. government lavished aid on his regime in the past doesn't matter. His first, and these days only, objective is to hold onto power.

he should go?

Actually, he's apparently just moved onto the administration's naughty list for Christmas. After proclaiming Assad's "lost legitimacy," Secretary Clinton backed up and said she still hoped that he would adopt political reforms. An unnamed State Department official told the Washington Post: "Whether we take it farther will depend on events on the ground." After all, "We need to think through carefully what we say."

Alas, President Assad hasn't seemed to notice, no matter how hard the administration has thought before it said. He is still president, his brother still controls the security forces, and his minions still run the government. President Assad appears to believe that his legitimacy depends on his military's willingness to shoot rather than on what Washington thinks.

At least Secretary Clinton was firm when she opined: "We have said that Syria can't go back to the way it was before." But what if the Assad regime retains control? Is Secretary Clinton prepared to do anything in response? If not, she has issued the emptiest of threats.

Some analysts advocate that the U.S. government back up its public opinions. Reuel Marc Gerecht of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies argued: "The administration's policy toward Syria is shaping up to be the greatest missed opportunity of Barack Obama's presidency." However, Washington's options remain quite limited, at least so long as the Obama administration doesn't desire to start yet another unnecessary war in yet another Muslim nation.

At the margin Washington could push for regime change, but only at the margin. Syria's fate likely will be determined on its own streets, and not by anything done by the U.S.

Nor would overthrowing the Syrian dictatorship be a simple solution. It's one thing to blow up an authoritarian system. It's quite another matter to build a genuinely liberal, democratic society. Egypt risks going from a military dictatorship run by Hosni Mubarak to a military dictatorship run by anonymous military officers. Fear of rising Islamic extremism in Syria may be overblown, but ethnic and religious minorities have reason to worry about their future in a "democratic" Syria. The experience in both Egypt and Iraq gives much cause for concern.

Instead of constantly filling the atmosphere with more hot air—or worse, attempting to back the hot air with force—U.S. officials should shut up. They should say little or nothing

President Obama explained: "Increasingly you're seeing President Assad lose legitimacy in the eyes of his people. Similarly, said Secretary Clinton: "From our perspective, he has lost legitimacy." She added that "President Assad is not indispensable, and we have absolutely nothing invested in him remaining in power."

Does that mean he should go? Or does he have one last chance before

as crises inevitably develop in other nations.

Washington's principle objective should be to stay out of foreign conflicts. The U.S. government should reaffirm its general commitment to democracy and human rights. But American officials should drop their pretense of micromanaging events. Unlike God, who cares for the smallest sparrow that falls to earth, they need not worry about every event that happens on the earth, issuing uninformed opinions hither and yon. Washington might usefully offer private advice, including to opposition groups and figures. In rare cases, promises of support and aid might help advance reform, so long as U.S. officials remember the poor record of past foreign assistance and their consistent inability to predict, let alone control, foreign events. Such a nuanced approach would be a far cry from policy today.

U.S. officials must fight the very American desire to Do Something. We want people the world over to enjoy political liberty and economic prosperity. We want to help them succeed. But social engineering is hard enough in the United States. Transcending differences in culture, tradition, history, religion, ethnicity politics and more makes the international task even more daunting. Moreover, people want to rule themselves. They will always be skeptical of outsiders who show up seeking to direct events. Taking public positions proves even more painful when hypocrisy becomes obvious. There's a perfectly understandable realpolitik reason for Washington to prefer Saudi tyranny to Iranian tyranny, but if U.S. officials are preaching democracy around the globe, bombing some regimes and criticizing others, it's not easy to explain why Washington doesn't care if the Saudi (and now Bahraini) people suffer under tyranny. A more modest—and quiet—approach would allow American officials to adapt to practical reality without so obviously compromising fundamental principles.

When the next crisis erupts somewhere around the globe, the president might helpfully respond: "Who cares?" The point is not that Americans shouldn't care about tragedy elsewhere as human beings. But Americans shouldn't automatically care as a matter of government policy.

This truly would be an unnatural reaction in Washington. But it would be a far better strategy than what passes for foreign policy in the Obama administration.

There are signs that disaster can be averted. Yemen's foreign minister, Abubakr Al Qirbi, said on Monday that what Sanaa needs most is an «orderly transfer of power». The Yemeni political analyst Abdul-Ghani Al Iryani told The New York Times this week that it is «very promising» that the president's camp is talking openly about transition.

The June 3 bombing of the presidential mosque was not an ideal form of regime change, and violence between Saleh loyalists and the Al Hashed tribe has continued. But there are also glimmers of a more representative government emerging. For one, the current political stalemate has allowed opposition groups time

to organise and articulate demands.

In mid-July an interim council of former ministers was formed; members include the former defence minister and a former prime minister. Calls are also increasing for a return to the GCC-sponsored transition plan, which Mr Saleh had shelved three times before his injuries. It is past time for this plan to be implemented.

Whatever his intentions at this point, Mr Saleh continues to hold his country hostage by his refusal to step down. He has promised to do so, and reneged, several times. Although precedent suggests he will linger longer, Yemen can ill afford for him not to go.

## Saleh's return would only harm Yemen

National Editorial

Ali Abdullah Saleh owes his life to modern medicine. But if he returns to Yemen as has been promised in recent days, it will be his compatriots who will be in danger for their lives.

More than two months after Mr Saleh was medevacked from Yemen after an assassination attempt, his release from hospital in Saudi Arabia on Sunday is less important than where he goes from there. Officially Mr Saleh is still the president and his office has said that he plans to return to Sanaa.

He faces considerable hurdles if he chooses to do so, however. The United States and Saudi Arabia, formerly his most important sponsors, have both pressured him to leave office. American diplomats are urging him to stay away from Yemen, but it will be Saudi Arabia that holds the whip hand regarding Mr Saleh's movements.

Yemen is no ark of stability at the moment, but Mr Saleh's return would be a catastrophe. His decades of misrule were the main mobilising force behind six months of protests that have plunged the country into near chaos. Regardless of his role in government, his mere presence in the country would cause bloodshed.

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Government employee during Ramadan

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# The Middle East's tradition of environmental protection

By: Arwa Aburawa  
Green Prophet

Hima, practised for over 14,000 years in the Arabian Peninsula, is believed to be the most widespread system of traditional conservation in the Middle East, and perhaps the entire earth.

In these modern times, it's easy to think of environmental protection as a new concept which has emerged in response to modern problems linked to industrialisation and globalisation. In reality, the need to protect the environment from abuse has been a constant concern for humans since the beginning of time – especially for people who were living directly off the earth's resources.

Even the Middle East, which many assume is new to environmental concerns, had a system to help protect nature called "Hima". Hima which roughly translates as "protected or preserved place" has been practised for over 14,000 years in the Arabian Peninsula and is believed to be the most widespread system of traditional conservation in the Middle East, and perhaps the entire earth.

Hima is a system of resource protection in which pastures, trees or grazing lands are declared as forbidden and access to them and their use is denied by the owner. Types of Himas included reserves for bee-keeping, forest trees, reserving woodland to stop desertifica-



tion as well as the seasonal regeneration of fields. Hima pre-dates the emergence of Islam in Arabia, and according to Lutfallah Gari who has charted the rise and fall of the Hima system, Hima was sometimes placed under the protection of tribal deity.

He notes that; "Fauna and flora were protected; and [Hima areas] enjoyed the right of asylum" The animals con-

secrated to them grazed there safely, and no one dared to kill or steal them. The straying animals that crossed over the boundary were lost to their owner." Despite this, the system was subject to some abuse. The rich took advantage of it to protect their interests by pastures for their flocks and protecting themselves against the effects of future droughts.

# Beyond NATO's Libyan redemption

By: Christopher Hill  
Project Syndicate

SINGAPORE – While NATO probably will not want to replicate its Libya intervention anywhere else anytime soon, it appears that the alliance, with a little help from its friends, has prevailed in Libya, succeeding in toppling Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi. This is a good moment for NATO, but one that evokes more a sense of relief than of celebration.

Given the mismatch of member states' policy (topple Qaddafi) and a strategy to "protect civilians" based on a contested United Nations Security Council resolution, NATO can certainly take pride in managing a great challenge and strengthening its role as the preeminent Euro-Atlantic institution.

Now, however, comes the really hard part. Libya was not a smoothly operating country before the civil war started six months ago; today, it is thoroughly broken and will require an enormous amount of rebuilding – post-conflict operations, or "stability ops," to use the current jargon. Libya's needs run the gamut of challenges faced by countries in transition: governance, institutional capacity building, economic reform, and security.

As in most post-conflict countries, effective and legitimate leadership will prove hard to come by. The National Transitional Council, the governing body established in February by the various rebel groups, has functioned fairly well, given the mammoth centrifugal forces and other pressures at work. But the skills needed for leadership of a wartime governing council are very different from those needed to run a sovereign state.

Given the variety of the figures on the Council, there will be natural pressure from within Libya and beyond for a quick move to elections of some sort. The various political groupings need to discuss a timeframe for a popular vote, brief the restive international community, and finally set (and keep!) the date. But

that date should be set sufficiently in the future to allow an adequate start on rebuilding political institutions and the economy.

The security and judicial system, a wasteland under Qaddafi, should be the first priority, though it is the area probably most in need of deeper, longer-term reform. One can only imagine the endemic nepotism and corruption that have traditionally characterized Libya's police forces, but they will need to be made adequately operational quickly, probably via a new loyalty oath and some crash training. It is not ideal by any means, but allowing the streets to be policed by militias and various tribal-based groups would be far more dangerous.

What to do with the various rebel groups that "liberated" the country will probably be one of the main challenges facing any new provisional government. One can expect that NATO's devastating airstrikes on Qaddafi's forces will soon be forgotten in the heroic retelling of the intrepid rebel troops' advance to Tripoli.

The sooner these forces can be decommissioned, the better. Many will probably be absorbed into Libya's security service, but many others, one hopes, can go back to their place of origin. The sheer amount of weaponry strewn around the country will probably pose the greatest challenge to its prospects as a successful state with an effective government.

Qaddafi's armed forces were chosen on the basis of loyalty and ethnic affiliation, rather than any concept of merit, so the temptation to strip everyone to their underwear and send them home (to describe what may be the most humane of outcomes) might be great. But arguably the most important lesson learned in Iraq resulted from the almost catastrophic decision to decommission Saddam's army without pay or pension. That move lay at the root of many of Iraq's subsequent security problems.

Libya is fortunate in some ways. The oil sector appears to be relatively intact, and thus should contribute to government revenues relatively



soon. By contrast, other countries undergoing radical change, including Egypt and Tunisia, are more dependent on the service sector, including the always-fickly tourism industry.

The international community must stand ready to assist Libya. Key decisions need to be made in close consultation with the country's emerging leadership about which international institutions, civilian and military, should be present on the ground. Again, NATO might be popular now, but that could change quickly. Libyans, like other Arab peoples, may turn out to hold the conflicting views that have so confused the West in Iraq: they want us there, but they also want us gone.

Governance, institution building, security, and agreeing on an international presence are daunting challenges, but probably the most worrisome aspect of post-Qaddafi Libya will be the view among Western experts that experience in Iraq and Afghanistan has given them the knowledge and the skill sets to manage all these operations. One recalls Talleyrand's famous aphorism on the restitution of the Bourbons – that they learned nothing and forgot nothing.

The Western countries' collective knowledge is no substitute for a collective wisdom about Libya's distinct history and rhythms. Qaddafi was a brutal dictator, but he gained power – and maintained his grip on it for 42 years – for a reason. If we learned anything from Iraq and Afghanistan, it is that a few years of

# The manufacturing imperative

By: Dani Rodrik

CAMBRIDGE – We may live in a post-industrial age, in which information technologies, biotech, and high-value services have become drivers of economic growth. But countries ignore the health of their manufacturing industries at their peril.

High-tech services demand specialized skills and create few jobs, so their contribution to aggregate employment is bound to remain limited. Manufacturing, on the other hand, can absorb large numbers of workers with moderate skills, providing them with stable jobs and good benefits. For most countries, therefore, it remains a potent source of high-wage employment.

Indeed, the manufacturing sector is also where the world's middle classes take shape and grow. Without a vibrant manufacturing base, societies tend to divide between rich and poor – those who have access to steady, well-paying jobs, and those whose jobs are less secure and lives more precarious. Manufacturing may ultimately be central to the vigor of a nation's democracy.

The United States has experienced steady de-industrialization in recent decades, partly due to global competition and partly due to technological changes. Since 1990, manufacturing's share of employment has fallen by nearly five percentage points. This would not necessarily have been a bad thing if labor productivity (and earnings) were not substantially higher in manufacturing than in the rest of the economy – 75% higher, in fact.

The service industries that have absorbed the labor released from manufacturing are a mixed bag. At the high end, finance, insurance, and business services, taken together, have productivity levels that are similar to manufacturing. These industries have created some new jobs, but not many – and that was before the financial crisis erupted in 2008.

The bulk of new employment has come in "personal and social services," which is where the economy's least productive jobs are found. This migration of jobs down the productivity ladder has shaved 0.3 percentage points off US productivity growth every year since 1990 – roughly one-sixth of the actual gain over this period. The growing proportion of low-productivity labor has also contributed to rising inequality in American society.

The loss of US manufacturing jobs accelerated after 2000, with global competition the likely culprit. As Maggie McMillan of the International Food Policy Research Institute has shown, there is an uncanny negative correlation across individual manufacturing industries between employment changes in China and the US. Where China has expanded the most, the US has lost the greatest number of jobs. In the few industries that contracted in China, the US has gained employment.

In Britain, where the decline of manufacturing seems to have been pursued almost gleefully by Conservatives from Margaret Thatcher until David Cameron came to power,

politics, or institutional rebuilding, does not trump centuries of culture. Those centuries, not the remnants of the Qaddafi regime, are likely to be the real enemy of change in Libya.

Christopher R. Hill, a former US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia, was US Ambassador to Iraq, South Korea, Macedonia, and Poland, US special envoy for Kosovo, a negotiator of the Dayton Peace Accords, and chief US negotiator with North Korea from 2005-2009. He is now Dean of the Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver.

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the numbers are even more sobering. Between 1990 and 2005, the sector's share in total employment fell by more than seven percentage points. The reallocation of workers to less productive service jobs has cost the British economy 0.5 points of productivity growth every year, a quarter of the total productivity gain over the period.

For developing countries, the manufacturing imperative is nothing less than vital. Typically, the productivity gap with the rest of the economy is much wider. When manufacturing takes off, it can generate millions of jobs for unskilled workers, often women, who previously were employed in traditional agriculture or petty services. Industrialization was the driving force of rapid growth in southern Europe during the 1950's and 1960's, and in East and Southeast Asia since the 1960's.

India, which has recently experienced Chinese rates of growth, has bucked the trend by relying on software, call centers, and other business services. This has led some to think that India (and perhaps others) can take a different, service-led path to growth.

But the weakness of manufacturing is a drag on India's overall economic performance and threatens the sustainability of its growth. India's high-productivity service industries employ workers who are at the very top end of the education distribution. Ultimately, the Indian economy will have to generate productive jobs for the low-skilled workers with which it is abundantly endowed. Much of that employment will need to come from manufacturing.

For developing countries, expanding manufacturing industries enables not only improved resource allocation, but also dynamic gains over time. This is because most manufacturing industries are what might be called "escalator activities": once an economy gets a foothold in an industry, productivity tends to rise rapidly towards that industry's technology frontier.

I have found in my research that individual manufacturing industries, such as auto parts or machinery, exhibit what economists call "unconditional convergence" – an automatic tendency to close the gap with productivity levels in advanced countries. This is very different from the "conditional convergence" that characterizes the rest of the economy, in which productivity growth is not assured and depends on policies and



external circumstances.

A typical mistake in evaluating manufacturing performance is to look solely at output or productivity without examining job creation. In Latin America, for example, manufacturing productivity has grown by leaps and bounds since the region liberalized and opened itself to international trade. But these gains have come at the expense of – and to some extent because of – industry rationalization and employment reductions. Redundant workers have ended up in worse-performing activities, such as informal services, causing economy-wide productivity to stagnate, despite impressive manufacturing performance.

Asian economies have opened up too, but policymakers there have taken greater care to support manufacturing industries. Most importantly, they have maintained competitive currencies, which is the best way to ensure high profits for manufacturers. Employment in the manufacturing sector has tended to increase (as a share of total employment), even in India, with its services-driven growth.

As economies develop and become richer, manufacturing – "making things" – inevitably becomes less important. But if this happens more rapidly than workers can acquire advanced skills, the result can be a dangerous imbalance between an economy's productive structure and its workforce. We can see the consequences all over the world, in the form of economic underperformance, widening inequality, and divisive politics.

Dani Rodrik, Professor of International Political Economy at Harvard University, is the author of *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*.

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Hadda Road near the intersection with the 60 Meters Road at 11:30 on Thursday August 25, 2011. The streets are deserted during Ramadan in the morning as Yemenis changed their lifestyle from night to day and vice versa.

YT Photo by Fatima Al-Azani

## An SMS from an Exiled Woman (Part 1)

By: Salwa Yehia Aleryani

I was going up the stairs to my bones specialist. His clinic was on the third floor. I have been his patient since a year and a half now. My knees were killing me when ever I went up the stairs! I still remember my doctor's history, when he only had 3 patients waiting for their turn to enter and compared to now, his clinic is full. Patients are also waiting outside the waiting room, at the door of the apartment aggressively elbowing to enter. In the past he shared the apartment with a gynecologist and the apartment was in an old area full of noise and trash. The doctor was lucky, however, because he had graduated from a European country and this meant a lot to people here. It was a guarantee that he is an ideal doctor. As soon as the number of his patients increased he immediately raised the price of the medical examination from 1500 to 3000 Yemeni riyal, double the price. Who cares if the majority can't afford it?? Who does? Not him! In the past this doctor used to listen to his patients carefully. He used to explain the medicine and the dose clearly. He used to ask about the

family medical history to avoid any possible conflict with the medicine he just prescribed. He used to joke and had caring eyes. I used to pray Allah to bless him with success and health. I also used to praise him anywhere I went. It seemed like God had made true my prayers and in a year he moved to a more modern flat, which he didn't share with anyone. It was clean, full of light and smelt good. He raised his fee from 3000 - 3500. As a result of that, patients had to calculate the visit, the transportation to reach the clinic before deciding to go. This was in a country where it is not how sick you are which decides whether you should visit a doctor or not, but it is how much money you are actually willing to give for this process.

The doctor has changed negatively. He started to finish the visit quickly so he can call on the next patient and gain more money daily. He no longer explained, nor asked any questions. He didn't even listen to the patient's complaint properly. In less than 8 minutes I found myself leaving and the next patient entering. I stood there in the hall, sad and disappointed. The doctor has neither told me for how long I should use this medicine, nor

written another medicine instead, if I don't find the first one and this was a very familiar incident! Also he didn't tell me if this medicine was acceptable or not for high pressure patients, as I was one of them!! The man didn't say a thing! I went down the stairs and my knees were killing me. I went to the pharmacy and bought all the medicines and ointments. At home I read the prescriptions. I read in the prescription of the medicine for the roughness, friction of knees that people suffering high blood pressure shouldn't use this medicine as some cases of heart failures were recorded as a result of using this medicine. I was shocked! Why did the man write this medicine for me? Did the doctor forget? Was he careless? Was what was written simply medical exaggeration? Now, what should I do? Finally, to stop myself from drowning in that flood of question, I decided to call and ask him to be on the safe side. I looked at my watch, the time was suitable. I took the number from the back of the card. I called and there was no reply. I decided I would send him a text message which he can't deny receiving. I typed, "I am your HBP patient (High Blood Pressure). You

wrote me a medicine for my knee. I read in its note that HBP patients shouldn't take it because heart failure cases were recorded as a result of this medicine so, should I use it? Thank you." I also added my name to remind him of myself. He carelessly didn't answer. I was in a hurry to receive the answer. I knew the quicker my knee would function properly the quicker I would go back to work in the factory and capture my regular life before it streamlines from me. I decided to give it another try and call the young man at the front desk. I explained to him the issue. He told me that I had to call again tomorrow because the doctor had already left to his house. The next day, I counted the hours until I called the doctor. He was supposed to be in his clinic, he didn't answer! I typed the text message, "Doctor, I am your patient for a year and a half. I suffer as you know from HBP and I read in the medicine you wrote me yesterday, that HBPs shouldn't use it. So should I?" Unfortunately I received no answer. I called the clinic. The young gentleman answered me quickly. He shouted, "The rain is pouring outside, I can't hear you. Call later." He ended the call rudely.

## A self made man

By: Mikael Strandberg  
An Explorer Learning Arabic

"It's all haram (forbidden)", my new very good friend exclaimed with disappointment and threw out his hands, turned his new Mercedes Benz around and returned back to what was not long ago a foul-smelling sewer canal, which is called the silo in local tongue, but now turned into an exiting main road through the city and he continued: "Every good idea to turn things around for the better for everyone in this country is killed by the religious fanatics and called haram!"

Let us call my very new good friend the Self-Made Man. A true description of this fighter in every sense turned into a powerful factor in this great, but complicated country. He was showing me one of his great visions to turn one part of the Old City of Sanaa into a great possibility to draw tourist from all over the world. Which is something the country desperately needs to have a chance to handle the future. My new friend is also a great

visionary. He sees the silo, the main street, free of traffic, which is covered on both sides of the great buildings of Old Sanaa, turning into a Yemeni version of both sides of the river Seine in Paris, France. Cafés, an array of entertaining street artists, open door exhibitions, museums, open theaters for opera and local music. And, I fully believe, like him that it would be a great success!

It is early morning in Old Sanaa. Life is slowly starting up, I hear one noisy motor bike only, a car with a silent motor passing with blaring classical music, people walking past with tired steps on the stone layered street below my window, a dog barking in a distance, a neighbor having a shower and the call of the muezzin just finished. I haven't slept many hours, because I enjoyed the meeting tremendously yesterday and this new friend of mine. Like me, he is a self made man and I do, naturally, prefer self made people far more than that other group of spoiled brats who have made their way up in life. I believe I have met another brother here in the Arab world, just like Talib in Oman. A soul mate. Ever since I had this vi-

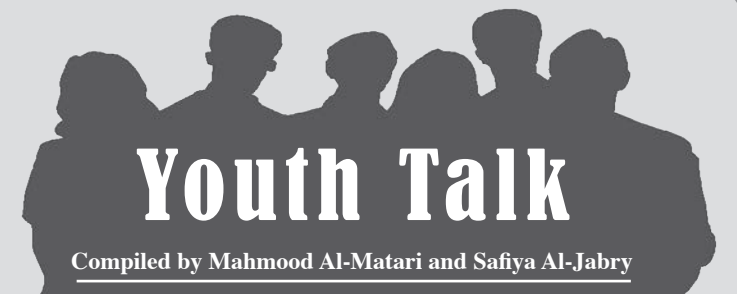
sion to do this Expedition, the most amazing things have happened and I think this is part of the true Arabian Experience. Amazing things, almost un-explainable, does happen. Some of them almost like it would be a grace of God and like they would already be written in the stars. Another piece of the jigsaw of life falling into place. It happens all the time. My best friend here in Sanaa, Pam, is one of these almost un-explainable meetings. It was one of her friends in the US who knew The Self Made Man. She is also a self made person, a fighter of enormous strength. She has helped me with great energy with the planning of the Expedition.

I feel extraordinary privileged to constantly running into people who understands my vision and want to help. Most of the time, it is pretty much the same type of people. People with a positive attitude who's lives have been up and down, but everything handled without bitterness, hate or negativity. Very positive, energetic people who want to make a difference and understands that big visions makes a difference. Like the Self Made Man. He liked my vision and after having

spent an evening together, meeting a lot of powerful Yemenis, we realized that we have the same instincts. And love for Yemen. My friend, The Self Made Man, who you will meet more, in shallah, in my dispatches from Yemen, has really, better than anybody sold me the overwhelmingly positive aspects of Yemen and I will finish this off with him recounting when he came back to the country from abroad a few days ago:

"I returned back in the middle of the night from abroad, not really knowing if it would be good or bad to come back to this disorganized, sometimes hopeless country, but I decided to drive through the Old City. I turned up the the Verdi opera on my CD-player, opened all the windows and slowly passed through the winding and narrow alleys and souks. Suddenly I felt something grip my soul, like a belonging, like a major part of me belonged here, and I realized how privileged I was to almost daily to encounter the spirit of the Old City of Sanaa."

The Self Made Man could well be the solution to the Yemeni problem. Both to the country and mine. Future will tell.



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:**

**How has your sleeping pattern changed in Ramadan? Are there any funny incidents about this you want to share?**

**Rania Abdulsalam**

During Ramadan this year I have fallen ill especially since I don't get much sleep. My immunity system went down and the staying up all night landed me in trouble. I can't wait to get back to the normal routine.

**Taha Al-Azab**

This is a funny matter, in fact I'm so sorry to say that most of Yemeni people are not regular in their sleeping, except if there is a daily work, It's known that Ramadan makes a change in our habit of sleeping, but this Ramadan has a special taste, with no electricity which lead us to connect a wire or wireless to our brains whether it's switched on or off, so our sleeping should follow Mr Electricity's orders.

**Hooria Mohammed**

In the first days of Ramadan we used to stay up until 12 and then get up at four for Sahoor eat, pray and then sleep until eleven in the morning since we have summer holidays. In the last ten days of Ramadan because they are blessed days we stay up all night to pray and read quran and we sleep at dawn.

**Nadia Abdulaziz**

To be honest nothing much has changed. Some nights I have to stay up late in order to socialize and to feel part of the society because otherwise if I stick to my pre-Ramadan routine I feel so isolated. But in general I try to get my sleep at night like God intended for us. My cut-off time for receiving phone calls has extended from 9 at night to 11 to accommodate the new sleeping patterns.

**Eyad Al-Mathhaji**

We stay up all night during Ramadan and then during Eid we stay up for 24 hours so that we manage to wake up early for Eid prayers at 7 and eventually we sleep out of exhaustion at night and this fixes the sleep pattern.

**Esam Al-Rawhani**

I never got enough sleep throughout the month. This is my tragic situation which I hope after Eid will be fixed.

**Ali Saeed**

I used to sleep from one to 3:30 in the morning and then after eating sahor and pray in the mosque and then sleep until 10 in the morning. The last ten days of Ramadan I stay up all night until dawn. I think my eid holidays will be spent sleeping to compensate for the deprivation.

**Bushra Omar**

We stay up until dawn. We sleep everyday at five after we pray fajr. Every day we have guests for Iftar and dinner so we wake up at noon and start the cooking and preparation for our guests. The children sleep until two or more. We watch TV and socialize.

**Next Week's Question:**

**Was this Eid celebration any different that previous years? how?**

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!

## Al-Ahmer, means blood

By: Mohamed Ali  
[mohamedali2009@maktoob.com](mailto:mohamedali2009@maktoob.com)

Residents of All Yemen conveyed their fear at a civil war breaking out in the capital city after clashes in there are took place between Al-Ahmer tribe and Republican Guard and first armored division all this Ahmer(blood) family which will be this clashes expanded to all governorates, in the end Ahmer (blood) family will be in the power and the people the victims for them

It is sure that if the civil war started no where in Yemen will be safe. all Yemeni people tired of leaving their houses to the villages and returning back to them every time, they to avoid unavoidable war which will be happened by Ahmer(blood)family.

act against those robbers they will steal all vechiles of residents.

The duty of security to preserve the security and stability of the community to stop this bands to force them to go back to Hishid, these people not respect the truce at all, they are robbers, they will return again and again, their minds same like their leader, s minds, they are gang, should be taken off them from the root from Yemeni community, why Al-Ahmer condemn shelling and he himself started while he stole the vechiles.. Is not very strange ?!!

He still warning that he will use violence, !Is not what is happened not violence?!!

He is really crazy, he called the soldiers to be under his obeying to be involved in his crimes

Yemeni people will not allow him to destructive Yemen, they will support the president to remove Ahmer(blood) family from Al-Hasaba and Yemen to act as Al-Amam who cut the heads of their grandfather and their uncle, this family historically Ahmer(bloodshid) .or to act as the president Al-Hamdi who not allowed them to stay in Sana.a, but they prepared a plot against him for assassination.

We appreciated that your report was independent with truth that some robbers tribesmen who belong to Hamir stole two state armored vechiles which led the Republican Guard to react by shelling Hemiar, s house, that is the proof that this tribesmen and their leaders robbers since long time, it is their life, if there is no re-



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## Faces from Yemen's revolution

Sara Jamal

**By: Shatha al-Harazi**

**S**ara Jamal is a 23 years old woman, known as the English tongue of the peaceful revolution. She is a well-educated woman helping raise awareness and spread the word of peace in Change Square where the anti-government protest has taken place since February.

Sara was one of the first girls to attend the "academic tent" [one of the square's tents for academic sessions and discussion on the revolution]. She has played an important role in awareness the square, calling for more understanding between different groups in Yemen, both politically and socially.

Attending an academic session in a tent full of men chewing qat [green planet Yemenis chew] is not socially well accepted, especially when some of the attendees are tribesmen.

### Silent march

Sara has fed the square with creative ideas; including a silent march to condemn the international community's own silence over the killing of peaceful protesters in Yemen.

The silent march, which happened in April, was the first in change square since the protests started. It saw the well-known activists who usually lead protests and marches being led by young activists who showed determination and faith in the revolution of Yemen.

Sara made the march participants cover their mouths with tape and raise hand written signs that read different phrases instead of the usual chants shouted by the protesters.

One sign read: "How many of us should die for the world to pay attention".

It reflected the belief among Yemenis that the western media pays more attention where protesters are killed and massacres are committed.

This is not just an issue with the media; it is also reflected in the role played by the US and European Union as observers to the events in Yemen - there has been no remarkable progress and they have not expressed a firm position on the Yemeni regime.

Sara said all this in her speech to thousands of protesters, who paid great attention to the new style of march she brought.

Sara stands confidently giving a speech to even millions of people, as in the celebration of 21 anniversary of unification between south and north Yemen that the protesters organized.

Sara gave her second speech in English as well, speaking to the world to say that Yemen will always be unified by its people - that the unification was never ali Abdullah Saleh's achievement.

### Sara's second march

The second march she organized was as creative as the first and managed to grab media attention. It was also part of the youth activities celebrating unification day on May 22.

The second march was a balloons march - another first for the Yemeni revolution. The idea was for all participants and protesters to hold balloons of three colors; red, white and black, the colors of the Yemeni flag.

"Using the flag's colors is designed to strengthen our unity," said one participant.

Sara used with two friends to help mobilize people, raising social awareness in different tents across Change Square.

"Me and Sara came to the square to change the social mentality rather than remove the regime; Sara came to pass her information on the civil state she is seeking for the protesters," Sara's colleague told the Yemen Times.

Sara pays a lot of attention to the southern cause, which if unsolved, might lead to separation.

Sara always expresses her hopes for Yemen to be a civil state; she stands against any actions inside the square that seems to be contrary to this concept such as not allowing women to march along with men one time.

She was attended a conference for activists, calling for gender inequality from Islamists. Although Sara didn't approve of being videoed, the conference was filmed by state-run TV and played all that day to highlight the various defections among civil society activists and Islamists from the square and the differences between them.



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