

Saleh returns to Yemen

By: Shatha Al-Harazi

SANAA, Nov. 27 — Honorary President Ali Abdullah Saleh returned to Yemen on November 26 despite media reports that he would stay permanently in Saudi Arabia after signing a deal to transfer power to his deputy last week.

Saleh headed a meeting of the ruling General Peoples Congress on Sunday in which he offered a presidential pardon to anyone who had committed what he termed "stupid acts" during the last ten months of protest. Excluded from the planned pardon are those who committed criminal acts, violent crimes, and those involved in the attack on the presidential palace on June 3.

The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) deal, signed on November 23 in Riyadh, did not mention anything about Saleh's remaining in or departing from Yemen.

Media reports on Sunday stated that Saleh returned to supervise the implementation of the GCC deal.

An hour before Saleh's return, his deputy, Abd Rabbo Mansour Hadi, called for an early presidential election to be held on February 21, constituting the first step of the first phase of the transitional pe-

riod, according to the GCC Implementation Mechanism (IM) accord.

However, Hadi will be the country's sole candidate on February 21. From there, he would stand to be president for up to two years, this constituting the second phase of the GCC IM accord.

The deal also states that a new government should be formed in no more than 14 days' time. The new government should consist of 50 percent of the opposition Joint Meeting Parties (JMP) and 50 percent of the ruling GPC.

The new prime minister has also been chosen, according to JMP spokesperson Mohammed Qahtan. "Today [Sunday], Hadi will authorize [Mohammed Salem] Basundwa as prime minister," Qahtan told the Yemen Times.

Basundwa should then propose two lists of government nominations to Hadi.

Media leaks revealed at least three purported lists of new governments on Saturday. However, Qahtan told the Yemen Times that the National Government names have not yet been set.

Protesters surrounding Sana'a's Change Square continue to disagree over the GCC deal. The inde-

pendent youth have rejected it and have launched a campaign called "No to GCC deal". At the same time, others at the square welcomed the signing of the initiative that effectively ended Saleh's 33-year rule.

One day after signing, five protesters were killed while marching against the GCC deal. Another 30 were wounded. Eyewitnesses reported that Saleh supporters carried out the attacks.

Following the signing of the GCC deal, the last Friday of mass protest and prayer was named "Our Revolution Continues", indicating a rejection of the deal and a call for both Saleh's regime and the JMP to leave power.

The GCC mechanism states that the youth should be involved in a dialogue during the second phase. This, however, does not meet the

stated demands of youth protesters.

"The National Government will negotiate with them [youth protesters]," commented Qahtan.

For his part, Saleh has often said in the past that he will remain in the country as the head of the ruling General People's Congress party. Saleh has also stated that once the opposition is in power, he will play a hard, oppositional role against them.



Ali Abdullah Saleh, honorary president of Yemen, returned to the country after signing a power transition accord in Saudi Arabia on November 23.

Bloody sectarian battles continue in Sa'ada

By: Ali Saeed

SAADA, Nov 27 — Fierce, bloody confrontations took place on Saturday from 11:15am to 8:00pm between Houthis and a Salafi group in Damaj in the Sa'ada governorate of north Yemen. As a result, 24 Salafi students were killed and 60 others left injured, according to a local source in Damaj.

The source — who, for security reasons requested that his name not be published — stated that among the dead students were two Americans, two Indonesians, one Russian and one Malaysian. All other victims were Yemeni.

With many of the injured students in critical condition, the death toll is likely to rise. According to an independent source in Sa'ada City, who spoke to the Ye-

men Times on condition of anonymity, Houthis are still preventing both entrance to, and exit from, the area.

"The Houthis prevented us from even taking our injured people to the hospital," said a Salafi student "and this raised the number of casualties".

During Saturday's battles, the Houthis used tanks, missiles, anti-aircraft weapons, mortar shells, field artillery and bazookas, according to the source in Sa'ada City.

A new tribal coalition known as "Yemen's Tribesmen's Union to Support Damaj in Al-Buqa'a of Sa'ada" announced on Sunday that it will open a new front against the Houthis to break the 40-day blockade of Damaj.

On Sunday morning, tribesmen

from Al-Jawf, Marib and Al-Baid-a reached Al-Buqa'a to join the newly-established tribal coalition and to join the fight against the Houthis, the Marebpress.net news website reported.

Sheikh Yahya Al-Hajoori, principal of the Dar Al-Hadeeth School in Damaj, called for Jihad (holy war) against the Houthis in a statement recorded on Saturday evening, saying: "It is one of the most Islamic obligations of our time."

"We have been patient and tolerant for a long time, but this did not help the Houthis. And from this position, I call on my fellow clerics and Muslims to respond to this call for Jihad, for the cause of Allah," said Al-Hajoori. The recorded statement was posted on his website.

Meanwhile, the humanitarian

situation in Damaj continues to worsen, with access to food and medicine blocked by the Houthis.

Fighting broke out between the Sunni Salafi group and the Shiite Houthis 40 days ago, after a letter allegedly written by Al-Hajoori was leaked into the hands of the Houthis. In the letter, which Al-Hajoori denies having written, the Salafi imam allegedly thanked Saudi Arabia for battling the Houthis and urged the commander of Yemen's security forces to commence a war against the Shiites.

The Houthis took control of Sa'ada governorate in March, after the state-appointed governor fled his office for Sana'a. The rebels, who have fought the Yemeni army for the past six years, later elected the arms dealer Fares Mana'a to run the governorate.

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إعلان

عن التصفية الاختيارية
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(ك-سيب فرع اليمن، كالين سابقاً)

إلى جميع عملاء بنك كريدبي أجريكول للتمويل والإستثمار - فرع اليمن

إستناداً لقرار بنك كريدبي أجريكول للتمويل والإستثمار في فرنسا، وموافقة البنك المركزي بتاريخ الأول من نوفمبر سنة ٢٠١١ م، يعلن بنك كريدبي أجريكول للتمويل والإستثمار - فرع اليمن عن قيام البنك بالتصفية الاختيارية لعملياته والإغلاق التدريجي لكافة فروع في اليمن وذلك ابتداءً من الأول من مارس سنة ٢٠١٢ م.

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إغلاق فرعنا والمركز الرئيسي في صنعاء سيتم الإعلان عنهما لاحقاً.

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- المركز الرئيسي وفرع صنعاء: شارع الزبيري - عصر، صندوق بريد ٦٥١، هاتف ٣٧١/٢/٣ ٢٧٤ (٩٦٧١)
- فرع عدن: الشارع الرئيسي - المعلا، صندوق بريد ٥٣٧١، هاتف ٤٠٢/٣/٤ ٢٤٧ (٩٦٧٢)
- فرع الحديدة: شارع ٢٦ سبتمبر - الحي التجاري، صندوق بريد ٣٥٧٧، هاتف ٥٠٦/٧ ٢١٩ (٩٦٧٣)
- فرع تعز: شارع المواصلات - أمام البريد، صندوق بريد ٥٦٨٦، هاتف ٧٠/٧٠ ٢١٠ (٩٦٧٤)
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الإدارة العامة

بنك كريدبي أجريكول للتمويل والإستثمار
فرع اليمن

The Latest Buzz

By: Nadia Al-Sakkaf

- ▶ Nine tourism, construction and industrial investment projects in Aden Governorate were granted licenses this month. The total capital invested in these projects exceeds YR 17 billion.
- ▶ Turkey has expressed willingness to provide technical and information assistance to Yemen's Customs service. The announcement was made by Mohammed Zumam, director of Yemen's Customs Authority, after a conference on trade in Turkey last week.
- ▶ The Civil Services Authority declared Wednesday an official public holiday, the day marking the 44th anniversary of Southern independence on November 30.
- ▶ Aden airport received 884 flights during October alone, processing more than 37,000 passengers. Cargo operations in the airport handled more than 118,000 kilos of merchandise and baggage.
- ▶ An argument that spiraled into violence was witnessed in Dhamar among several men from a marginalized group over a young woman. The men brawled with sticks and knives, with tens left injured and two sent to the hospital in critical condition last Wednesday.
- ▶ Truck drivers staged a protest outside the Yemeni Oil Company in Marib governorate, demanding fuel supplies for their vehicles. The truck drivers' anger stems from a scarcity of fuel, which has negatively affected their businesses.
- ▶ As a direct result of the country's ongoing state of crisis, over 70 percent of Yemeni contractors have been rendered jobless, according to a report by the Construction and Contracting Sector. Also, several contractors who performed services worth USD 180 million for the government have complained that they have not received payment.
- ▶ Sixty medical interns and doctors received training on treating various injuries at the 48 Hospital in Sana'a in coordination with the Red Cross on Sunday.
- ▶ In Hadramout, a member of Mukalla's Revolution Council warned that a number of guns with silencers have arrived through Mukalla airport. He expressed concern that these would be used in assassination attempts and to create havoc in the area.
- ▶ Child vaccinations intended for 350 children in Al-Jawf governorate were reported by medical staff to have been ruined as a result of heat exposure.

Hodeida vows to end weapons smuggling



Weapons and ammunition have apparently been smuggled from Hodeida to Sana'a.

By: Sadeq Al-Wesabi

HODEIDA, Nov. 27 — Anti-regime protesters in Hodeida have been condemning the smuggling of weapons from the city's harbor to the capital of Sana'a.

Several demonstrations were held last week, demanding the departure of the regime, that President Saleh stand trial and calling for an end to the smuggling of weapons, which they say have been used to kill protesters.

"The prevention of the smuggling of weapons from Hodeida is a national, religious and moral duty," one of the slogans read.

Over the last months, Hodeida's revolutionaries have held several marches and strikes, denouncing weapons smuggling from Hodeida harbor. The protests have been heavily guarded and protected by the security.

On Wednesday, the protesters vowed to end the smuggling by holding strikes in front of Hodeida harbor. They also called for Saleh to be put on trial and chanted slogans that read: "You will be tried; treacherous [Saleh]" and "Wait tyrant... justice is coming."

According to a military source in Hodeida harbor, the regime has

used cargo ships to smuggle weapons and ammunition inside containers under the pretext of transporting goods.

The source, who asked to remain anonymous, revealed that at the start of the month the regime imported Russian and American weapons from one of the Soviet countries.

The smuggling of weapons has increased during the last four months, according to the source who indicated that the containers were also heavily guarded by the Republican Guards.

"They were able to pass the first weapons shipments from Hodeida to Sana'a but later tribesmen stopped them," the source said.

Despite spreading poverty and unemployment in the governorate, many Hodeida locals are still pro-regime.

Abul-Raqeeb Al-Ghurbani, 41, a resident from Hodeida, played down the significance of protests in the governorate.

"This revolution has disrupted locals' interests and increased poverty," he explained. "The aim of a revolution is to change something for the better. But our revolution has destroyed us."

For his part, Abdulla Al-Romana, 55, one of the pro-democracy pro-

testers said that Hodeida locals are ready to stand under the scorching sun to overthrow the regime. "We took to the streets to bring down the corrupt regime and it's impossible to reverse our decision."

"Hodeida revolutionaries are special heroes. They have been challenging many problems and difficulties like bad weather and poverty. They really are strugglers," he said.

On the other hand, many residents in Hodeida demand that both the regime and opposition leave.

"They don't care about us. They only care about their interests," said Abdul-Alem Al-Abdali, who works as a driver in Hodeida. "Both of them are corrupt. We seek a leader who stands with poor people and cares about their suffering and demands."

According to Al-Abdali, people in Hodeida are marginalized because of their kindness and submissiveness, "but this crisis made them more aware of their rights".

Sheikh Hussein Al-Zomi called for the Hodeida revolutionaries to continue their struggle until the departure of the regime.

During his sermon last Friday, Al-Zomi stressed the importance of achieving the main aim of the revolution: overthrowing the regime.

Questions remain for Sana'a University students

By: Malak Shaher

SANA'A, Nov. 27 — Students of Sana'a University are worried about resuming study at the headquarters of Sana'a University, where protesters have been demanding an end to Saleh's regime.

Arbil Nasr, a sophomore student at the Faculty of Languages, said that she is concerned as she does not know where she and her colleagues are going to study in the coming days.

The Student Union at Sana'a University and the Teachers' Syndicate said yesterday that lessons at Sana'a University's headquarters are to be resumed on Monday.

According to Ma'een Al-Towaity,

a soldier with the defected First Armored Division, they were told they would be evacuating Sana'a University and other schools within the next month.

However, Khaled Tumaim, the President of Sana'a University, told state news agency Saba that studying would not resume until the soldiers had first evacuated the university.

"Study should not be involved in any kind of political conflict. I want to focus on my studies and I do not know if we are going to continue studying in tents or at Sana'a University," said Nasr.

Since September, Sana'a University students have been studying in tents in Sa'wan as an alternative

while the university is occupied by soldiers of the defected army.

The union and the syndicate said at an opening ceremony at the Faculty of Law and Order on Sunday that study should resume.

Khalil Al-Ma'mari from the Student Union said that both the union and the syndicate have given Sana'a University's leadership two weeks to decide whether or not study will resume on the grounds of the university.

If they do not respond, the union and the syndicate of the teachers in Sana'a and Amran will hold elections to appoint new faculty deans, according to the Student Union.

Al-Ma'mari said that Ali Muhsen Al-Ahmar, the leader of the defect-

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Radio English helps rural learners

By: Malak Shaher

SANA'A Nov. 26 — For Mohammad Al-Tashi, 26, English has become more interesting with an educational series on Radio Shabab.

"I think that listening to lessons on the Radio is more interesting and exciting," said Al-Tashi.

The series are part of the educational program by the British Council, an international organization for education and cultural relations.

The program, "Learn English via Radio and Newspapers", creates convenient opportunities for Ye-

menis interested in learning English from native speakers. The program has been developed by a team of British Council experts, according to Edrees Al-Qadasi from the organization.

Al-Tashi is from Rada'a, a rural area in Al-Baida governorate, and graduated from high school six years ago. He has been following other educational series but said that the radio shows are more interesting.

The show, named Obla Air, is broadcast through Radio Shabab in the form of weekly lessons every Wednesday at 7:40pm, set around

the interaction between a pilot, crew, staff and passengers of a small independent airline office called Obla Air.

"In Obla Air, people speaking English in many dialects are involved in the lessons," said Al-Qadasi.

"This gives English learners the opportunity to adapt to the many dialects people from different cultures might use."

The international context of the travel business provides a believable arena in which people from many different countries can interact — but the focus of the series is not so

much on the airline and the experience of flying as on the relationships between the characters.

The series consists of 20 lessons and is developed by British experts especially for learners in Arab countries.

The rock of the business and the central character of the series is the redoubtable Betsy who runs the Obla office in a shed on the airport's perimeter. It is she who has to handle the irate passengers who have missed their flights, the dreamers who try to blag free tickets and the strange crates that mysteriously

turn up.

Much of the action takes place in the Obla office, but there are also scenes in the nearby shops and cafes, as well as plenty of banter with Bosie the taxi driver.

Al-Qadasi said that other than the radio series, two other print series are to be published on a weekly basis every Wednesday in Al-Wasat Newspaper and every Sunday on Al-Share'a newspaper.

Both are related to the British Council's Premier Skills Program, which helps deliver English educational content.

The Premier Skills Program is the first of four, followed by General English, Family English and Business English. They are to be published in the advanced stages.

Each lesson finishes with a question so that learners feel more interested to follow and find the answer in the coming lessons. Learners are urged to answer questions via SMS and enter a prize draw to win laptops every week. These questions are developed in an educational yet fun way to encourage more people to learn English and ensure more engagement with the lessons.

The Management and Staff of
Yemenia - Yemen Airways
express their best wishes to
H.E President

يتقدم كافة موظفي الخطوط الجوية اليمنية
بأحر التهاني وأطيب التبريكات
لفخامة الأخ الرئيس

Ali Abdullah Saleh

عبدالله بن عبد ربه
رئيس الجمهورية

And to all our great Yemeni people
on the New Hijri Year and
the 44th anniversary of
November 30th independence day.

وإلى كافة أبناء شعبنا اليمني العظيم
بمناسبة العام الهجري الجديد
والذكرى الرابعة والأربعون لعيد الجلاء الثلاثون من نوفمبر
أعادهم الله علينا وعليكم بالخير واليمن والبركات

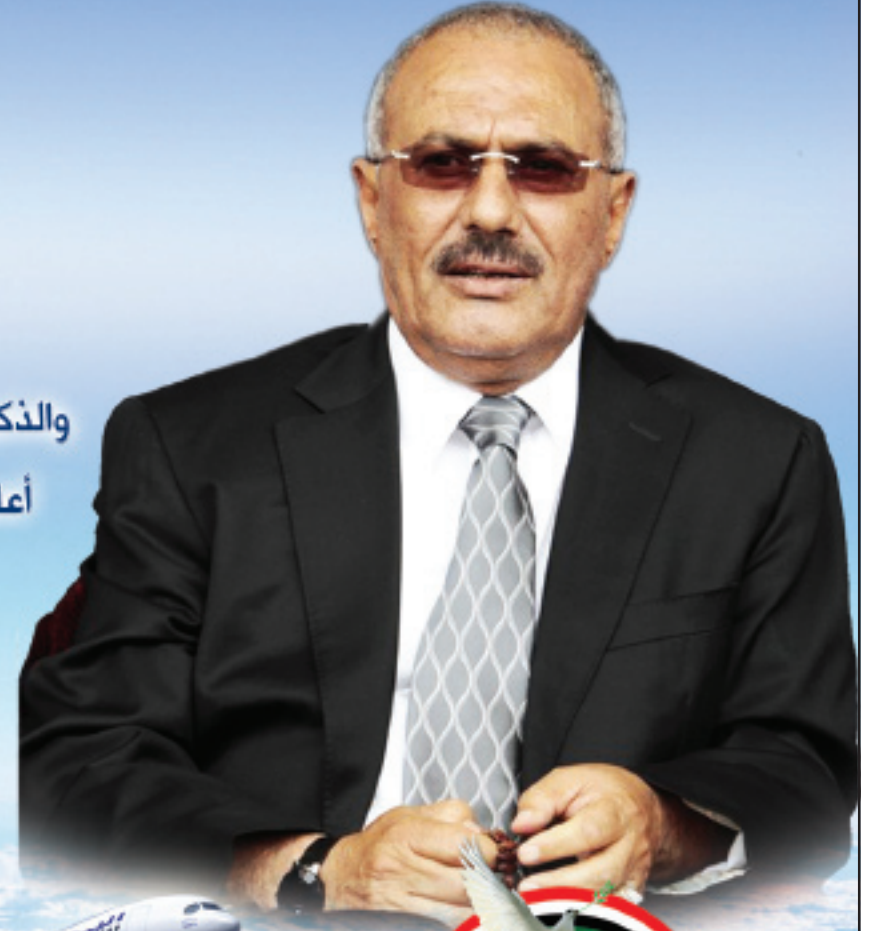
Many Happy Returns

Yemenia - Yemen Airways

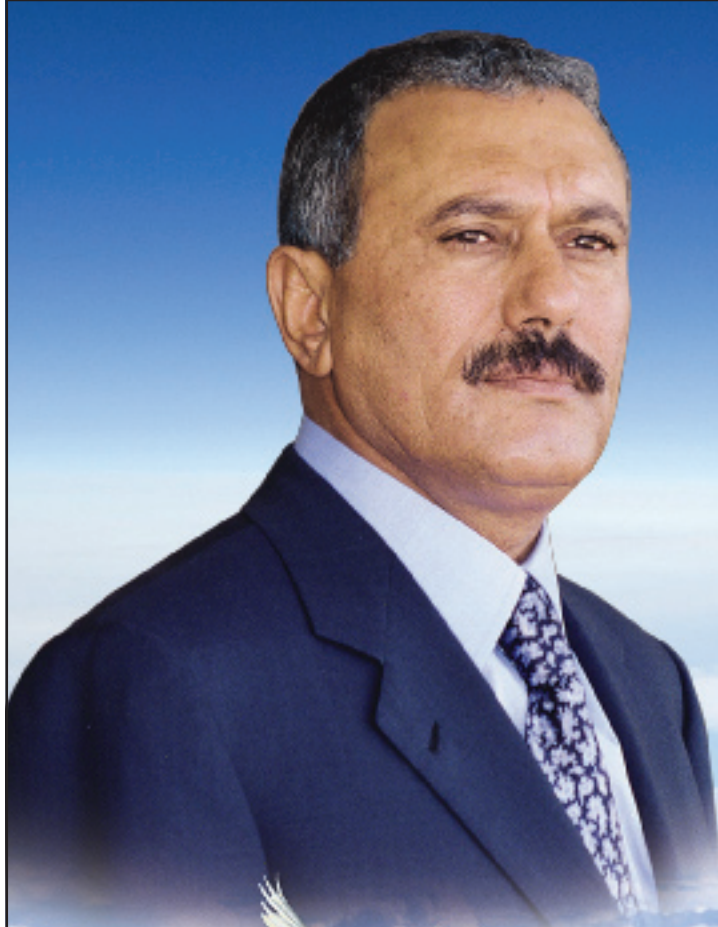
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Yemen Airways الخطوط الجوية اليمنية
الضيافة العربية الأصيلة



on the New Hijri Year and
the 44th anniversary of
November 30th independence day.

We present our heartfelt congratulations to H.E.

Ali Abdullah Saleh

President of the Republic
And to the great Yemeni people.
Many Happy Returns

بمناسبة العام الهجري الجديد
والذكرى الرابعة والأربعون لعيد الجلاء الثلاثون من نوفمبر
نتقدم بأحر التهاني والتبريكات لفخامة الأخ المشير /

عبدالله بن عبد ربه
رئيس الجمهورية

وإلى كافة أبناء الشعب اليمني العظيم.
كل عام وأنتم بخير



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رئيس مجلس الإدارة

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YT vision statement



"To make Yemen a good world citizen."

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

OUR
OPINION

Yemen's transitional period

So the old man is gone. Well, gone from power at least, as he is now back in Yemen. Keeping in mind that someone who is used to being the top man won't be eager to let go of authority, it is very likely that he still has a hand in running the show from behind the scenes.

Now that we are in transition, there are three major concerns: The efficiency of the coalition government and whether yesterday's enemies will today be able to work together as a team. The ability of president-to-be Abdu Rabo Mansour Hadi to control a country that is experiencing armed conflict and with military forces still in the hands of the old regime.

Infrastructure, corruption and the rule of law. In spite of the fragile and illegitimate parliament we have resurrected, the next phase will be one of ministers and not parliamentarians. This is dangerous, as it means there is no mechanism given to the people by which they can participate in the shaping of their future – outside of political parties, that is.

This also means that the independent youth and any other groups in society have no one to truly represent them and respond to their needs.

The various ministers whose names are bandied about must be able to handle this stage's demands in practice. Otherwise, Yemen is a lost cause. It may sound scary but the truth is that the fate of Yemen's development, both today and tomorrow, lies in the hands of the 30 ministers.

As for security – or the lack thereof – along comes the second concern. How strong is Hadi? And will he be able to direct military and security institutions in a coordinated, constructive way? The most alarming concern regards the issue of trust and the wounded egos of various military leaders. Who has won and to what degree will be a matter to be proven, one way or the other. This is why we have been witnessing killings since the president signed the power transfer deal on Wednesday.

Finally, there are issues that matter to the general public: daily concerns such as power cuts, bills, jobs, safety and so on. Such things are not treated as urgent matters in the new government's plans. They will be dealt with, as they say, accordingly.

The point is that although Yemenis adjust and keep on adjusting to hardships, they are also very fickle-minded and easy to mobilize. Whether it is ignorance or the lack of a sense of belonging to one nation, this much is clear from the actions and words of many Yemenis across the country.

Just yesterday I was told that some youths in the south have made up their minds to join either the secessionist parties or Al-Qaeda, simply because these entities would give them a cause and involvement – precisely what they aren't being given through state institutions or policies.

Yemenis are currently living in a state of uncertainty. We know that we are not Egypt because, at least, the entire world has reached some kind of an agreement on Yemen. But we are also not Egypt because Yemen's many political players are known figures.

We as citizens know what to expect from our politicians because we understand their motivations. We know what we need because we suffer from what we lack. Until true participation becomes reality, such knowledge – though bitter – is just about all we'll have.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

The Syrian conundrum and the Yemeni predicament

By: Osman Mmirghan
english.alarabiya.net

It is no wonder that the official Yemeni authorities have objected to the Arab League's resolution regarding Syria. The situation in the two countries may be different in numerous aspects, yet there are also marked similarities, especially regarding the way in which the two regimes have handled Arab efforts to find a solution, and their attempts to circumvent such endeavors or use them as a tool to buy more time.

This is all in the hope that the two regimes will succeed in quelling the popular uprisings and abort the popular demands of change. The two regimes offered guarantees but failed to fulfill them, and they announced pledges which they also failed to implement. The reason is the same in both cases; the lack of a real desire to carry out changes that respond to the people's aspirations and demands that they have expressed through their continual protests, in spite of the suppression and tyranny they have faced.

From the outset these two regimes have considered the protestors to be traitors, and deemed their demands to be a conspiracy plotted by foreign parties. It was clear since then that the two regimes would not offer concessions to meet the popular demands, and that they would resort to all means and tricks to quell the protests. In any case, it was clear that both regimes would continue their tyranny and suppressive policies.

Ali Abdullah Saleh gambled on the fact that the West would need him in its war against Al-Qaeda in Yemen, and that other regional countries were dreading the security unrest and chaos in a country deemed geographically difficult, a country with a complex political and tribal structure and a heavily armed population. Therefore,

President Saleh addressed his people with his famous phrase, "I will not leave. You leave."

As for the Syrian regime, it has gambled on the fact that the West needs it even if it did not like it, because Western powers dread all other alternatives and seek not to destabilize the situation near the Israeli border. Such a way of thinking was exposed by the statements of Rami Makhlouf, the Syrian president's nephew and a former influential figure in the regime, when stating to the New York Times newspaper that if there was no stability in Syria, then there would be no stability in Israel.

For anyone who considers such statements to be old or not in line with the regime, we must refer to the series of threats launched by the Syrian leadership on several occasions, when saying that it would ignite the entire region and escalate the unrest and troubles in other countries. We must also refer to the leadership's statement that any harm inflicted upon Syria will not be limited to its borders, but will extend to the neighboring states and the Gulf region.

This was not the only gamble, as Damascus and Sana'a have both relied on the assumption that Arab official reactions will remain crippled and ineffective, and that the maximum the Arabs can do is to issue condemning statements and call for an end to the violence and bloodshed.

Thus at the beginning the Syrian regime rejected any Arab action or intervention, for it believed that the solution must come from within. In effect, this meant further security suppression to quell the popular uprising, more superficial solutions, and loose promises of reform. Later on, the two regimes adopted a policy of procrastination and embarked on attempts to buy time by offering promises and pledges that were never fulfilled. They

also announced their acceptance of Arab initiatives, but without taking actual steps to put them into effect.

The success of this gamble was guaranteed in the past, but the Arab world began to change as never before when Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali fled his country and Hosni Mubarak stepped down from power, in response to stormy protests and popular uprisings. The Arab stance changed during the events in Libya, where resolutions adopted during the Arab League's recent meetings created a turning point in the course of the Libyan revolution. At that time, Gaddafi and his son Saif Al-Islam reacted to the Arab League's position with the ugly phrase, "To hell with the Arabs, and to hell with their league."

Recently we have heard the same language in the reaction of Syria's envoy to the Arab League, following its recent resolutions that surprised Damascus, which did not expect the League to adopt such strong action. In fact, it was not the Syrian regime alone that failed to expect the Arabs to come up with timely decisions, going beyond mere rhetoric and statements to genuine action. The Syrian protestors had previously carried banners condemning the Arab League's deadlines given to the Syrian regime, claiming that they did nothing to prevent the suppression and killings.

The Arab League's recent statements alone will not force the Syrian regime to respond to its people's demands of change, but they will at least give a boost to the protestors, and open the door for upcoming Arab and international measures to exert more pressure on the regime. The resolutions may also be a tuning-point in the course of events. The Arab stance this time went a step further when it addressed the Syrian army and demanded that it refrain from acts of violence and killing civilians. The Ar-

abs invited the Syrian opposition for a meeting at the League's headquarters to discuss measures for the upcoming period and agree on a unified vision, or more precisely, to draw up a roadmap for the course of events and the future of Syria. These two steps are of great significance and convey a message that the majority of Arab states reject the Syrian regime's account of events, and that they are no longer convinced by its promises. Thus they are inclined towards accepting the demonstrators' call for the regime to step down. Perhaps, in this context, one can understand the Jordanian King's statement, in which he urged the Syrian president to step down for the sake of his people.

Syria is now likely to witness major transformations in its crisis, after the regime has alienated all parties that tried to help it end the crisis, and convinced them that it is not serious about its promises of change and ending the violence. In view of such a stance, the Arabs, at long last, have overcome their complex of failing to take clear and strong measures against the Syrian regime, fearing that this would be interpreted as supporting the demands of the protestors and their call for change.

As long as the situation develops this way in Syria, Yemen will not be spared the consequences. This is because President Saleh has also convinced everyone that he is maneuvering to cling onto power, and that his unfulfilled promises have now become a predicament threatening the GCC initiative. The only alternative available now is to increase the pressure to accelerate his departure, in order to avoid further violence.

The writer is Asharq Al-Awsat's Senior Editor-at-Large, where this article was first published on Nov. 20, 2011.

Yemen's dangerous power vacuum after President Saleh

By: The Daily Beast

Cornered by the Saudis, Yemen's dictator stepped down. Bruce Riedel on how the nation could pull off a transition to democracy – or fall into the hands of warlords and Al-Qaeda operatives.

If it holds up – a big if – the deal made by King Abdullah in Riyadh to ease Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh out of power is a significant coup for the Saudis that could avert civil war and put Al-Qaeda under pressure. But there are lots of spoilers in the Arabian desert who will try to undo the deal.

The king and his new Crown Prince Nayef hosted Saleh for the signing of the deal. At least twice before, Saleh had promised to sign over power but always backed out. This time, the Saudis had him cornered. The UN was threatening to seize his money, ban

his travel, and label him a criminal. Worse, the remaining loyal troops of his Presidential Guard were starting to defect to a rival warlord. So he has belatedly transferred power to a weak vice president, Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi, who is to form a transitional government and hold elections in three months. In turn, Saleh gets immunity, keeps his cash, and can come to New York for medical attention for the severe injuries he suffered in an assassination attempt last June.

The king called it "the turning of a new page in the history of Yemen" – and it does end a 33-year-long run as dictator for Saleh. But the Saudis and other Gulf Arabs will need to put lots of money behind the deal to make it work. They will need to buy off Saleh's son, who runs the Presidential Guards; rival generals and warlords; tribal chiefs; and the young protesters who started the revolution and want a real democracy.

The religious leadership, composed of both Sunnis and Shia, will need to be brought in too. The rebellious Houthi tribe along the Saudi border will need accommodating, which means ending the threat of more Saudi military operations against them at least for now.

Southern separatists in Aden will need to be accommodated as well. The Saudis have been their patron before and have influence there.

All of these players can spoil the deal unless bought or intimidated.

Of course, the Saudis don't want a real democracy to emerge from the chaos. That could be contagious. Bahrain would ask for freedom too. Kuwait now is hovering on the brink of political turmoil. Change frightens the royals. But the Saudis can't dictate Yemen's future. They've tried before and always failed.

If the Saudis can pull off managing a bumpy transition – with lots of cash

and some help from the UN – then Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula can be put under more counterterrorism pressure.

The US and the Saudis are already trying hard. The killing of Anwar Al-Awlaki was a big win. If the Yemenis get their house back in order, more can be done.

AQAP has flourished in the chaos of the last year. Any resumption of order will help contain the jihadis.

Saleh is the fourth dictator to fall this year in the tsunami of change that has swept Arabia.

His departure will inspire Syrians and Bahrainis. It may inspire young Saudis too. The US gains from a successful Saudi deal.

Obama's team helped to corner Saleh. The deal also helps ease US-Saudi frictions. The new crown prince gains too.

Now comes the hard part: making it all work out on the ground.

SKETCHED OPINION

By Hajjaj



www.mahjoob.com

Jihadis talking in Yemen

By: Gregory Johnsen
bigthink.com

Earlier today Aaron Zelin over at Jihadology pointed me to a new release on the forums. Ansar Al-Shariah, the group we first heard about earlier this spring in a talk by Adil Al-Abab, AQAP's chief cleric, has released its first publication.

The three-page newsletter, which is dated from September and mostly deals with issues that took place during Ramadan is an intriguing new development in Yemen. The newsletter is put out by a group calling itself the Madad News Agency (lit: the Support News Agency – the English loses something, but the Arabic works – although there are some ty-

pos throughout).

There are a number of fascinating things present in the newsletter, and after a quick read through this morning I would highlight three:

1. As suggested by Abab's usage of the name "Ansar Al-Shariah" earlier this year, this group appears to be quite close to AQAP, although it is careful, at least in this publication, to maintain the appearance of separation. In the newsletter there is both a denial that Wihayshi (the head of AQAP) had been killed, as well as comments from a media officer in the Al-Malahim media wing.

(This newsletter was not put out under the umbrella of Al-Malahim.)

2. The organization is both talking and apparently moving towards providing social services. The news-

letter mentions providing foodstuffs to citizens during Ramadan, which meshes with Abab's talk of the sewer problems back in the spring. AQAP has also, in my analysis, been moving towards being more sensitive to local concerns in recent years, particularly by providing teachers to isolated villages in 2009. This is more of the same.

3. Much like AQAP – and again I think Ansar Al-Shariah is a subsidiary of that group – Ansar Al-Shariah is doing much to get its message out. There are photos of young people being shown Al-Malahim video productions. To me this is similar to the lectures Wihayshi used to set up with former Guantanamo Bay detainees, who would sit with young Yemenis across the country talking about their

experience in Afghanistan and then in Guantanamo.

There is much more to talk about here, and I hope that people will be talking about it in the days to come. There is no need to go overboard like the media did when Inspire first appeared, but while this newsletter may be less dangerous at least initially to US security concerns for the homeland, I think it is actually more dangerous when it comes to long-term security concerns.

AQAP is evolving and changing and if the US and whatever government eventually emerges in Yemen is not aware of this fact and prepared to meet it, then things could go very wrong. The organization Al-Qaeda is not necessarily going to stay in the analytical box – a terror

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Tel: +967 (1) 268-661
Fax: +967 (1) 268-276
P.O. Box 2579, Sana'a, Yemen
Letters: yreaders.view@gmail.com

ADVERTISEMENTS:
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Email: adsyemen@yahoo.com

Publisher & Editor-in-Chief
Nadia Abdulaziz Al-Sakkaf

CEO
Khair Aldin Al Nsour

Interns

Amira Al-Arasi
amira_new20@yahoo.com

Marwa Najmaldeen

Senior Reporter
Mohammed bin Sallam

Head of Design Dept.
Ramzy Alawi Al-Saqqaf

Editorial Staff

Garnet Roach
garnet.yt@gmail.com

Ali Saeed
alisaeed.yt@gmail.com

Malak Shaher
malakshaher@gmail.com

Sadeq Al-Wesabi
sadeqalwesabi@hotmail.com

Shatha Al-Harazi
shatha.yt@gmail.com

Offices

Taiz Bureau:
Imad Ahmed Al-Saqqaf
Tel: +967 (4) 217-156,
Telefax: +967 (4) 217157
P.O. Box: 5086, Taiz
Email: yttaiz@y.net.ye

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The Yemeni opposition in Egypt

By: Shatha Al-Harazi

It's not only protesters at change and freedom squares in different governorates of Yemen who are putting pressure on the Yemeni regime. Yemenis aboard are working as organized opposition groups, playing different roles to bring together the same aim of overthrowing the regime. Egypt is one of the countries witnessing Yemeni opposition activities, with an estimated 20,000 Yemenis living in the country.

They chose Egypt for two reasons; Egypt is seen by the Yemeni opposition as a role model after succeeding in forcing their own president to step down on February 11. Moreover, they are also role models for Yemeni protesters because they prosecuted ousted president Hosni Mubarak – exactly what the Yemeni protesters hope to do with Ali Abdullah Saleh.

The Yemeni protesters have been rejecting any political initiative to end their struggle by giving immunity to Saleh, as offered by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) deal signed on November 23.

The second reason is that Egypt became a shelter to nest the Yemeni opposition's activities because Yemenis can enter and live in the country easily since no visa is required.

Some former parliamentarians, who faced personal threats on their lives by Saleh's regime inside Yemen since the uprising began, chose Egypt as their base to coordinate

the work they need to do in order to boost the revolution inside Yemen.

Shawqi Al-Qadhi, an Islah party MP and one of the revolution's leaders, said he had to move to Cairo after shelling on his house in Taiz two months ago, though he was luckily in Istanbul at the time. He added that it is easier to travel to and from Cairo than it is from any city in Yemen and that his efforts to strengthen the revolution have been more successful from Cairo than at home.

However, while the opposition leaders were holding different activities in Egypt, President Saleh claimed they were on holiday.

As well as the opposition members, Egypt also offers a sanctuary for southern leaders. Some were exiled after the 1994 war between the north and the south of Yemen while others who left in June 2007, when peaceful protests against the regime first started in the south, found it easier to do their work from in Egypt.

When Jamal Haider, a southern activist, was leaving for Cairo on November 5, he told the Yemen Times that he would not be back unless Yemen freed itself from the current regime. Haider was traveling to work for Shebam TV, a new channel founded by southern leaders and aimed at a southern audience, mainly discussing southern issues.

A large conference for the southern leaders was held in Cairo on November 22, headed by Ali Nasser Mohammed, a former southern

president, discussing federalism as a solution for the south. The conference concluded that southern Yemenis should have the right to decide their own destiny – whether to stay unified through a referendum after five years of federalism.

Discussing Yemen's situation

As the Arab League headquarters are based in Cairo, Yemeni students in Egypt came with the idea of protesting in front of the building. Four students established a tent promoting the Yemeni revolution. The Arab League building also happens to be in Tahrir Square, the focus point of Egypt's own protests, so now there stands two tents; one covered by the Yemeni flag and the other by the Syrian.

When someone passes by, they often stop for a while, looking and asking about the tents – and that is how they promote the Yemeni revolution. The protesters are also active on Facebook, uploading their activities to keep in touch with those inside the country. They are well updated on the situation in Yemen. They keep an eye on the political changes and violence that has been happening on the streets, so when they promote the revolution they also inform people on the situation, using data and photos of exactly why they aim to overthrow the regime.

The Arab league decided to suspend Syria on November 12. Syria has since failed to implement plans to end the conflict and killings, and the Arab League has approved a

draft plan of economic sanctions against the country, including the suspension of commercial flights and dealings with the central bank.

This is a response to the crimes the Syrian regime has committed since its people took to the streets calling for president Bashar Al-Assad to step down. The Yemeni protesters neighboring the Syrian tent were hoping to achieve the same objective to put pressure on the Yemeni regime, but so far they have not had the same response from the League.

Inside the tent they play videos of the regime's crimes against civilians in Yemen so that Egyptians know exactly what is happening in the country.

Egypt's second revolution

In the past weeks Egyptians have taken to the streets again, rising up against the military council now running the country. Despite damage to the tents during clashes between the security and protesters, which have cost the lives of 40 Egyptians and injured more than 2,000 since November 19, the Yemenis insist they will rebuild, and stay until their own revolution is successful.

Redhwan Al-Azab of the Yemeni tent in Tahrir Square, Cairo, said: "The tent was damaged, we lost our laptops, phones and banners but we will never give up. We will keep protesting until our demands are met. We support our Egyptian and Syrian brothers and we are part of the Arab Spring so we will stay until our dream come true."



Yemeni protesters have been camping in Egypt's Tahrir Square.

Houthis look to establish Shiite state along Saudi border

By: Ali Saeed

During the past six years, the armed conflict in Sa'ada, north Yemen, remained confined to the militant Houthis and the Yemeni army, with only the slight involvement of Salafis in the war-torn area.

Ironically, the area had witnessed a peaceful period from the beginning of last year after the warring parties signed a ceasefire agreement in February 2010. The area enjoyed increased security and stability for more than a year – something that has been lost in the larger cities of Yemen including the capital Sana'a and Taiz, as the country erupted in popular protests against President Ali Abdullah Saleh's regime.

But the situation started changing dramatically in Sa'ada in May after armed clashes erupted in the neighboring governorate of Al-Jawf between the Shiite Houthis and the Sunni local tribesmen.

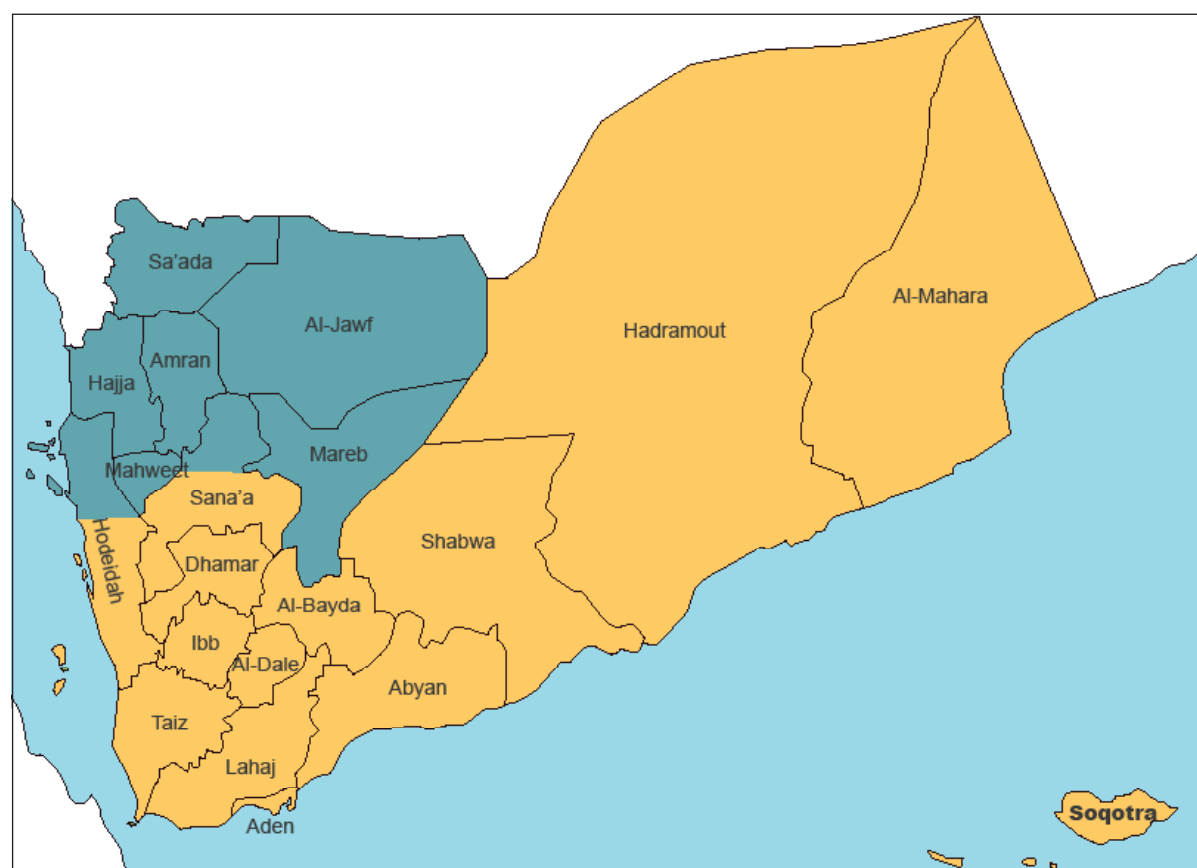
Taking advantage of the nationwide insecurity that has accompanied the anti-Saleh protests, the Houthis have worked hard and expanded their military operations with the aim of setting up their own minor state on the border with Saudi Arabia, according to a new report released last week.

Saudi Arabia, a regional Sunni heavyweight, was involved in fierce battles with the Houthi-Shiite group in late 2009 during the sixth round of war between the Yemeni army and the rebels. The Yemeni army accused the rebels of receiving Iranian support to extend Shiite influence into the Arabian Peninsula.

The map of the Houthis' proposed state absorbs governorates from Marib and Al-Jawf in the east of Yemen, a strategic oil area, to Midi port on the Red Sea in the west of Yemen, said the Abaad Studies and Research Center report released on November 21.

The Houthis and the Salafis

The Houthis have been blockading the Damaj Salafi area in Sa'ada for over 40 days after a letter, allegedly written by the principal of the Dar Al-Hadeeth Salafi School, Yahya



The proposed Houthi Shiite state in north Yemen covers parts or all of eight governorates.

Al-Hajoori, was leaked. It urged the commander of Yemen's security forces and Saudi Arabia to fight the Houthis.

Therefore, the Houthis have imposed a siege on the Salafi area where around 7,000 students of Yemeni and foreign nationalities, including women and children, study the Quran and other Islamic teachings. The Houthis are demanding the Salafis surrender their military positions to the defected army or any other non-Salafi allied forces.

Last week, a 20-year-old woman was killed by a Houthi sniper's shot and her child injured in the Damaj area, where the Houthis have recently deployed their snipers on the surrounding mountains, according to a student from the school.

One of the students was shot in the back by Houthi sniper fire, causing him serious injury while he was washing his clothes last Sunday morning, while another was injured in the leg last Monday.

The Houthis took control of Sa'ada in March after a sixth round

of war ended with a ceasefire agreement in Feb, 2010. Despite this, 2011 has seen sporadic clashes between the Houthis and Sunni tribesmen loyal to the Islah Islamic party in Al-Jawf, Hajja and Amran.

The report explained that the clashes between the Houthis and tribesmen in Yemen's northern governorates have escalated with the Houthis' continued, expanding military operations.

"There are signs that tribesmen in Hajja, Amran and Al-Jawf prepare to confront the Houthis' armed men in which confrontations between the two sides may extend to reach the Houthis' hometown in Sa'ada, utilizing the misgivings of Saudi Arabia and the American-Europeans' priorities after the Arab Spring revolutions," the report said.

The report explained further that Saleh's regime utilizes different currents to create chaos through nationwide proxy conflicts to stay in to power

"The military movements and the designations of new leaders to

brigades in Sa'ada, Al-Jawf, Abyan, Al-Dale, Hodeida and Hadramout indicate that the regime works on creating chaos inside military camps in preparation to surrender northern areas to the Houthis, the middle areas to Al-Qaeda organization and the southern areas to secessionist groups," the report said.

A student in Dammaj, Sa'ada, whose Salafi school stood alongside incumbent President Saleh against the youth revolution said the Houthis are taking control of several districts in Hajja.

"The ruling party allied with the Houthis against the Islah party in Hajja in which they took over districts easily with the help of the General people Congress (GPC)," he said.

When the Yemen Times asked the Houthi spokesperson why they had blockaded the Damaj Salafi area in Sa'ada, he replied simply: "We are defending ourselves."

But Dr. Ahmed Al-Daghashi, a professor of Islamic philosophy and an expert on Islamic groups

at the University of Sana'a, argued against this. "The recent clashes between the Houthis and the Islahis in Al-Jawf and Hajja show only that they [Houthis] are not true when they say that they are defending themselves, but are only expanding their control to bring back the imamate rule," he said.

Houthis and the Islah Party

There are contradictions in the Houthi relationship with the Islah party. While they fight in the northern governorates, they are united with the Islahis in change squares, demanding the removal of Saleh's regime. The Houthis and the Islahis also have representatives inside the opposition coalition known as the JMP.

At the same time both sides are involved in armed conflict in Al-Jawf and Hajja as each attempts to position itself as the more influential body after Saleh leaves.

Despite their common political aim of toppling Saleh, the Houthis and Islahis are ideologically different since Houthis are Shiites and the Islahis are Sunnis.

The Islah party welcomed and accepted Saleh's signature on the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) power transfer deal signed on November 23, which grants Saleh and his associates immunity, the Houthis rejected it and demanded the continuation of the revolution until Saleh both leaves and is brought to prosecution.

Houthis and the Southern Movement

The Houthis as a militant group first surfaced in 2004 in the north of Yemen, having extended their internal alliance with either traditional political parties or other informal groups such as the Southern Movement, which emerged in 2007 demanding independence for south Yemen.

The Houthi relationship with the Southern Movement has blossomed and continues to grow amidst the popular uprising calling for an end to Saleh's regime. Yemen's ongoing conflict has enabled members of the Southern Movement to travel easily to Sa'ada and meet their Houthi allies.

"Leaders of the Southern Movement have visited the Houthi leader in Sa'ada in which the latter promised the secessionists funds and military training for their followers," the Abaad report said.

But while the Southern Movement and the Houthis have a common goal to topple Saleh's regime, ideologically they have differences; the Houthis are Shiites whose ancestors ruled north Yemen for over 1,000 years under the imamate rule, while the Southern Movement is a mixture of socialists, Salafis and former Jihadists, most of whom are Sunnis.

During the ten-month uprising this year, the Houthis and the Southern Movement were issuing similar positions towards a number of political developments, including the rejection of the National Council of the Revolution, formed on August 17. But it is not known how they will cooperate once their common goal has been achieved.

A difficult job ahead

The JMP opposition coalition is expected to lead a government in the coming three months, but it is still unclear how such a cabinet will manage the country amidst expanding armed ideological and political conflict in most northern areas of Yemen.

This conflict is taking place in heavily armed areas where most residents possess at least a Kalashnikov and other organized groups possess artillery, mortars, tanks and anti-aircraft weapons.

While the Houthis may hold contradictory positions with many political factions in the country, it is still uncertain how this will play out in the coming months amidst Yemen's turbulent political weather.

On a regional level, Saudi Arabia will not allow a Shiite state to be established on its southern border. It proved this with the sacrifice of 400 Saudi troops in late 2009 to prevent the Shiite expansion.

On an international level, the USA and the UK have not yet considered the Houthis as a threat despite aggressive slogans repeated in their political activities, stating: "Death to America, death to Israel, victory to Islam."

Diesel shortage brings services to a halt

By: Nadia Al-Sakkaf
& Marwa Najmaldeen

Following a severe 10-day diesel shortage, limited quantities have started finding their way from Aden's seaport to main cities around the country.

The diesel shortage caused a nationwide, week-long halt in the garbage collection system, as all the vehicles used for the service run on diesel. Also, some hospitals

and almost all government institutions were unable to procure fuel for electricity generators, leading to severe operational problems.

Urban citizens who use power generators in response to regular power cuts in the national grid remained in the dark.

"The main problem is the diesel pricing," Minister of Trade and Industry Hisham Sharaf told the Yemen Times. "The government is incurring huge losses because of the diesel subsidies, which reach

as high as 70 percent. Now, the government has reached a critical financial point and can't pay for imported fuel and sell it at such a low price."

Over 10.8 million liters of diesel is consumed in Yemen every day, with around 1.8 million liters consumed in the capital city of Sana'a. As a side effect of the subsidies, diesel is smuggled outside the country to Djibouti and Somalia or is sold on the black market for double, if not triple, its price of sale.

Similar problems were recently faced because of petrol shortages, of which Yemen consumes around 13.9 million liters a day. The government was in debt and unable to provide fuel and as a direct result, a fuel crisis occurred. However, when the subsidies were lifted and fuel was sold at an internationally regulated price, the problem was resolved.

"It will be the responsibility of the coalition government to finalize the price of diesel soon so that Yemen recovers from this financial problem," said the minister.

Abdulwahab Sabra, deputy of the city maintenance sector for Sana'a Municipality, said it needs at least 10,000 liters of diesel a day to operate the 4,000 garbage collection and handling machines and vehicles in the capital city alone. The sector usually receives 50,000 liters every five days or so.

"We have a problem getting the allocated fuel from the Ministry of Oil and recently it was not coming at all, so we needed to buy diesel directly from the oil company in Aden," he said.

Further obstacles hamper such



Garbage piled up in ridiculous quantities since there was no collection service for over a week. Sana'a locals produce over 1,200 tons of garbage every day.

alternatives, as bandits regularly hijack fuel containers traveling from Aden, leading to nationwide fuel problems.

"We are not given any extra quantities and so don't have reserves. When there is a scarcity, our operations are halted – as you have seen recently," said Sabra.

He added that the capital produces over 1,200 tons of garbage every day. "You can imagine how

much rubbish is piled up when we can't collect garbage for a few days, which definitely causes an environmental problem."

Regarding subsidies, providers of resources such as water, city maintenance, and bread bakeries are supposed to be exempted from diesel price increases. There has, however, been an increase in price for such providers, from YR 50 to YR 120 per liter.



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No more tomatoes

By: Marwa Najmaldeen

N'a'em is a poor woman in her late fifties who manages by collecting the remains of unsold vegetables and discarded fruit. You can find her standing for hours near fruit and vegetable vendors with a plastic bag containing an assortment of rotten tomatoes.

"We are poor and this makes us vegetarians by force because meat and poultry is just too expensive," she said as she gathered whatever vegetables she was allowed to take for free.

Yemeni families are avid consumers of tomatoes and eat on average a kilo per day. But recently, prices have sky rocketed from around YR 200 (less than USD 1) per kilo to at least YR 600 – a three-fold hike.

Although the prices of vegetables are generally affected by the season, increasing in the winter due to the frost, today's prices are unprecedented because the natural fluctuations are coupled with the increase in fuel prices.

Not many people understand the dynamics behind the increasing consumer prices and so according to Mohammed Al-Shara'abi, the owner of a large vegetable shop in



Tomato prices have jumped from YR 200 per kilo at the start of the year to more than YR 600 per kilo today.

Sana'a, the customers become "unfriendly" when they hear the high prices – especially the cost of tomatoes.

"They curse and shout at me and my employees as if it is my fault," he said. "Many have resorted to canned tomato paste instead, which has also gone up somewhat because of the increasing demand."

Export first

Yemen exports tomatoes to other countries – mainly Saudi Arabia. Ali Al-Junaid, General Manager of Planning and Monitoring and Evaluation of the Ministry of Agriculture said that Yemen exports 30 percent of its agricultural produce to the Kingdom.

The government's policy is usually to export first and then send the rest to cover the local market because of the financial gains from shipping tomatoes at high prices.

"In the last three months our exports to Saudi Arabia were less than usual because many farmers stopped working so produced less – and also because the local prices increased and so farmers preferred to sell locally," said Al-Junaid.

At a wholesale market in Qa'a Jahran, Ma'abar, farmers auction their produce by the truckload where a 20-kilo crate is eventually sold for between YR 9,000 to YR 12,000 (between USD 35 and USD 50).

Official reports from the Ministry of Agriculture state that tomato farming does not exceed one percent of the total agricultural produce in Yemen. According to 2010 reports, Yemen produced over a million tons of vegetables in that year – around 262 thousand tons of which were tomatoes. This was despite the high demand and despite the fact that agriculture is one of the largest sectors in Yemen with over 53 percent of the labor force working in the industry, contributing to between 10 and 15 percent of the GDP.

The Agriculture Ministry says that tomato farming has in fact de-

creased since 1990, when more than 276 thousand tons were produced. But because of the lack of government support for agriculture, farmers abandoned their trade for more financially rewarding jobs.

The increased prices have also affected vegetable dealers who realize that unless they sell the produce for very high prices there is no profit to be made. Majed Al-Faqeh who owns a fruit and vegetable shop in Sana'a says that he buys a 20-kilo crate of tomatoes from the wholesale dealers or farmers for 11,000 (around USD 45) and winds up selling each kilo for YR 600, giving him just YR 1,000 profit and not worth the work.

"It is not only tomatoes, many other vegetables have astronomically increased in prices and this season over 40 percent of farmers have stopped producing vegetables," said Al-Faqeh.

Farmers confirm this and say that it is due to diesel prices affecting their business. Farmer Abdulelah Al-Qurashi, who owns a vegetable farm 15 kilometers north of Hodeida, said he can't pump the water from the wells because the pumps operate on diesel.

Another farmer from Hodeida, Abdu Al-Ahdal, who produces tomatoes, said that he is still working but is heavily affected by the increase in fuel prices.

"It is natural that there is a scarcity of tomatoes during this season but this year it is worse than ever. Now we have to buy 200 liters of diesel at YR 25,000 (around USD 104) while it was YR 60 a liter, or YR 12,000 for 200 liters, before the uprising began.

"A number of farmers stopped working and said it is not worth it. They are offering their farms for sale. Also electricity has affected our work and the lack of care for the soil has rendered it useless for agriculture," said Al-Qurashi. "We will need another 20 years to recover the lost fertile lands."

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Youth Talk

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:

Choosing from: Elections, education, economy, justice and post-conflict community rehabilitation, what should the new government's immediate focus be? What specific projects in these fields should be implemented?

Abdulnasser Al-Abdali, 28, English teacher

In my opinion, the people are the real wealth for any country's development and progress in the world. For example, Japan has become one of the most famous industrial countries in the world because the government cares about its citizens and considers them the main source of the country's development. Therefore, Yemen's new government must focus on making sure people are capable of building the country and this can be done through education – its importance is the same as that of water in our life.

Khalid Al-Karimi, 23, final year English student at Sana'a University

Nothing is perfect unless education is deemed as the way to realize perfection. Justice cannot be a reality without education.

The electoral process is a sheer waste of time and funds as long as Yemenis think a ballot box is a complete farce. And our economy needs minds teeming with bold ideas. For our economy to be boosted, it must be built by people whose main mission is a prosperous nation. We do not need a tribal chief to contribute to the restoration of the coming Yemen. What Yemen is crying out for is a real education to recover from its chronic crisis.

Taha Al-Azab, 24, final year student at faculty of languages

Justice is one of the biggest factors in helping to build civil society and the essential foundation for making all people in Yemen respect their laws and government. We all know that an unjust country is eliminated in a blink of an eye, even if it has large amount of features and wealth. What we need are our most basic of our rights; elections, education, economy etc.

Asha Yussf, English teacher

The new government should put more emphasis on the education system because in Yemen, when it comes to education outside of private schools, the system is very poor – mostly due to overcrowding.

Thereby teachers can't cope with the large number of students and in return most of the students tend to lack attention from the teacher.

The new government should also give the education sector a guidance and counseling center to help guide students towards the right path in order to create a life-changing situation for the betterment of their country.

Haitham Ahmed Alshamiri, 21, English student at Sana'a University

I think justice should be the most well focused thing that the new government should address itself to reconstruct, because if there is a real justice, no one can be made to commit any illegal acts, whether in the field of election, education, economy or creating conflict in communities. If real justice is made anywhere around the world, peace, education and also a good economy will be achieved as a result.

Nezar Shamsan, 25, graduate of libraries and information

The government has to look for solutions to rescue our collapsed economy, because no government can function without an economy or money. After that the government has to look towards the development of education.

Emad Algabali, 25, civil engineering graduate from Sana'a University

To save Yemen from the current situation, the Yemeni army must be re-structured and each division must follow the ministry of defense.

A proper place must be found for students to continue their studies. The government must also remove weapons from public places and set up a special court to investigate the crimes that have been committed in Yemen over the past 10 months.

The government needs to work to reduce Yemen's population growth, especially through birth control.

We need an election every five years and a constitution that states no president can run for more than two periods.

Adeeb Ramadhan

For the true development for any community there are three main factors that any government should focus on; education, health and infrastructure. Unfortunately our current government did not develop these aspects to a level that would allow the Yemeni people to work on an equal playing field to neighboring Gulf states or other advanced communities.

So any new government must focus on these issues, though more attention should be paid to education on all levels, from kindergarten through to university. We need first rate hospitals to nurture our talented doctors as well as a developed infrastructure with modern stations for electricity and water supply and drainage systems – in these fields many developed countries and a number of donating organizations will support Yemen.

If we succeeded in improving these important aspects then we will be able to have an educated, healthy community that will be able to elevate our country to the higher levels Yemen is dreaming about.

Next Week's Question:

If you had the opportunity to study or work abroad, would you go? And would you come back? Why

Send us an e-mail with your name, age, occupation or university course to tyyouth@gmail.com. This is your chance to share your humorous stories, poems or opinions with other young readers!

Picture of the Week



Garbage piling up in Sana'a after ten days of diesel shortages shut down collections.

YT Photo by Nadia Al-Sakkaf

A peaceful revolution until the end

By: Naji Gazali

This revolution has shown us the bright side of Yemenis in many ways. It has shown us that we are really peaceful people despite the fact that we ranked second after the US in the world for possessing firearms per citizen.

Here are some stats from the Institute of Justice in America which shows the horrific consequences of the usage of firearms in the US; the most powerful country in the world which has a powerful police force, legal and court system and laws to combat crimes, yet the findings are shocking. It shows that "in 2005, 11,346 persons were killed by firearm violence and 477,040 persons were victims of a crime committed with a firearm." Most murders in the United States are committed with firearms, especially handguns.

"In 2006, firearms were used in 68 percent of murders, 42 percent of robbery offences and 22 percent of aggravated assaults nationwide." Weapons data is not collected for rapes.

In Yemen there are 60 million firearms, which, if divided among the population equally, gives almost three for each citizen. In other words we are armed to our teeth yet we do not have the crimes listed above in

the US, which ranked number one. But despite the ongoing slaughter of demonstrators on an almost daily basis, the prospect of civil war in Yemen is very minute if not impossible.

It is indeed redemption of the character and persona of Yemenis; of being wise and patient and soft hearted as the prophet PBUH described us long ago. The reason I am mentioning this is because of the continuous violent crackdown on the peaceful demonstrators by the government starting with their massacre on the well-known Friday of Dignity and most recently the massacres in Taiz, Arhab and the Kentucky intersection in Sana'a.

The government, or most accurately Saleh's armed forces, chose to be outcasts, practicing crimes against their own brothers and sisters and children.

Yet the revolutionary masses insisted on keeping their revolution peaceful, even if it takes longer and more precious sacrifices are made.

Saleh's crimes and those of his kids and nephews will not be forgotten even if they get a way with the guarantees of immunity from the Gulf initiative.

If justice is not achieved in this life due the world's biased attitude toward our revolution, justice will be served regardless – and if not sooner, definitely later!

Easy access to leading doctors

By: Melissa Sawa

I've been doing some research on healthcare in Yemen and found that this topic isn't discussed often enough. Having grown up in Egypt, a country not exactly known for its medical access, I realize how difficult it is to see the caliber of doctors found in the United States.

I wanted to share a service called 2nd.MD. It is a service that offers direct access to doctors in the top 12 out of the top 17 medical institutions in the United States (Harvard, Yale, Boston Children's, etc.). All doctors have a profile that lists where they went to school, their specialty, their ideal patient, etc. Any individual can log onto the site, search for a specialist, book

an appointment, and speak to the doctor over the phone or through a video portal (similar to Skype). The doctors listed on our site are not only good, but the best in the country and this is a great option for the people of Yemen to speak to the best doctors from the privacy of their own home.

This is a great service for those that have questions about a surgery, need to get more information on a medical procedure, or to establish a relationship with a doctor before traveling.

We are looking at creating a web page exclusively for Yemen with articles on healthcare and technology in Yemen.

For more information, please feel free to go to www.2nd.md to read a little more about what we do

Is your enemy's enemy a friend?

By: Emran Khan

When I was in school, it was extremely confusing for me to remember the math equations for $+X+ = +$ (plus multiplied by plus = plus), $+X- = -$ (plus multiplied by minus = minus), $-X+ = -$ (minus multiplied by plus = minus) and $-X- = +$ (minus multiplied by minus = plus).

But then a teacher told us a fantastic and simple way of remembering all these equations. He told us to consider that "plus" is a friend and "minus" is an enemy. Put that into those equations and think what you will get. So $+X+ = +$ (friend's friend = friend), $+X- = -$ (friend's enemy = enemy), $-X+ = -$ (enemy's friend = enemy) and $-X- = +$ (enemy's enemy = friend).

The examples were so logical and easy that I never forgot those equations and still remember them as if I was taught them yesterday.

The above equations always work in mathematics and mostly in daily life. So that means my enemy's enemy is a friend! In recent years Turkey has developed a bad relationship with Israel, and Syria has always had bad relations with Israel. So then Turkey and Syria must be friends.

And mostly we see that the so called diplomatic relations among various countries of the world are based on the same equations, where relationships are established on common interests rather than on fair principles of justice, honesty and truth.

But recently Turkey has developed unfriendly relations with Israel and Syria simultaneously when both are sworn enemies of the other. The real question that comes to mind is "why is it like that?"

Israel's dire atrocities against poor Palestinians over the last 60 years are not hidden and are well documented, but Western support for it never vanishes. Although the West vocally champions the agenda of human rights, democracy and justice for the whole world, they become blind when it comes to Israeli brutalities against a whole nation.

Democratically elected Hamas is not acceptable, but military and autocratic rulers in many countries are acceptable to the West if they guard Western interests. With United Nations intervention, South Sudan and East Timor can become sovereign states because of human rights violations against the people

there.

But the issues of Kashmir and Palestine remained unsolved by the United Nations for over six decades despite the same atrocities.

The Haqqani network and other militant organizations in Pakistan and Afghanistan were greeted with red carpets and termed as great freedom fighters by the West when they were fighting the Soviets but now they are terrorists and enemies of the world.

Double standards and hypocrisy are the fundamental basis of modern diplomacy wrapped in the colorful propaganda of Human Rights, Justice and Truth.

So why is Turkey not a friend of Syria – so what if the Syrian regime is killing protesters? When the whole world is following the same enemy's enemy is a friend formula? But then comes the real norms that Justice is Justice no matter who you're dealing with.

In the past Turkey ignored the Israeli actions against Palestinians and was considered its trusted and best friend in the region. But the government of Recep Tayyip Erdogan stood against the cruelties of Israel and severed Turkey's relationship with the country. He also showed the courage to criticize the United States for its policies on the Middle East.

In recent years Turkey enjoyed an excellent relationship with Syria, but when the Syrian regime started brutal human rights violations against its own people, Turkey's leadership raised its voice against the cruelties, jeopardizing their good relationship.

It shows the real character of Erdogan and Turkey's leadership that if one stands for principles of justice then those principles should be uniform for everyone. But what we mostly see is countries that simply ignore these issues for their own advantages.

It also proves that your enemy's enemy is not automatically your friend if the rules of engagement are based on norms of justice, equality and truth.

Turkey and its leadership surely deserve appreciation for their principled stance in world affairs and I hope that Turkey will follow the same line in the future too.

If other countries, especially the West, start following the uniform principles of justice, equality and truth for everyone then many problems of the world could be more quickly and easily solved.

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المعزون

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Announcement of the Royal Norwegian Consulate General Relocation

Royal Norwegian Consulate General has been relocated from Al - Saeed Building in Al - Zubairy Street to the temporarily office in Haddah effective from Nov.16, 2011.

The new office locates near the Yemeni Kuwait Company for Real Estate Development in front of the branch of International Bank of Yemen, in the same building of United Insurance Co., Haddah.

We will continue using the present telephone numbers and email which are:

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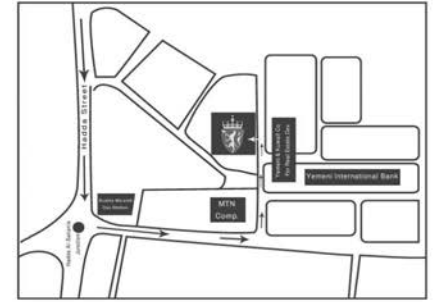
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We apologize for any inconvenience caused and

please feel free to contact us on the following numbers

in emergency cases:

Mobile :737777744 - 737777722



JOB ANNOUNCEMENT

Oxfam, an international NGO working with others to find lasting solutions to poverty and suffering, has been working in Yemen since 1983. Oxfam announces the following vacancy for its Humanitarian Programme

Communication Officer

Contract Duration: 4 Months with possible extension (Subject to funding)
Location: Hodeida

The role

You will be developing and delivering a Communication Plan to support the impact of the Emergency and Food Security and Livelihood Project. You will be collecting and developing case studies to capture project progress and impact. You will be writing and disseminating press releases, articles ...etc, producing visual content for the EFSL website and translating materials between Arabic and English. You will be developing a beneficiary communication plan and making sure communications are grounded in programme experience such as awareness of gender and race.

What we're looking for

We are looking for someone with proven experience of using MS Office applications; good knowledge of graphic design programmes is preferable. You should have the ability to gather information, collate and systemize for effective communication and networking. You should have the ability to work as part of a multi-cultural team and communicate effectively, so you will need to be fluent in English and ideally in Arabic.

Monitoring and Evaluation Learning Officer

Contract Duration: 4 Months with possible extension (Subject to funding)
Location: Hodeida

The role

You will be supporting staff to develop Monitoring and Evaluation Learning plan for Food security & Livelihood project, planning field activities and collecting information. You will assess and identify weakness and strengths of Field Officers, ensure beneficiary data is collected from the field and entered into the data base, and work with team and parties to maintain regular exchange of information. You will be participating in specific research studies related to food security and Livelihood, and preparing reports on the situation.

What we're looking for

We are looking for someone with very good analytical and assessment skills. You should have proven experience of using MS Office applications, good knowledge of graphic design programmes is preferable. You should have the ability to gather information, collate and systemize for effective communication and networking. You should be skilled in capacity building in Early- Warning- System (EWS). Your ability to work as part of a multi-cultural team and communicate effectively is essential, so you will need to be fluent in English and ideally in Arabic.

To apply

If you believe that you have the qualifications and skills to excel in either of these positions, please send a copy of your CV and a cover letter, clearly stating the job you are applying for, to yemenjobs@oxfam.org.uk or send a fax to 01 450170

Closing date for applications is 05th December 2011

Please apply immediately as we will be interviewing suitable candidates before the closing date



UNHCR Sub-Office Aden,
Building No.(28 &27), Embassies area,
Beside German Consulate, Khormaksar,
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REQUEST FOR PROPOSAL (RFP/SOADEN/011/11)

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), has an international mandate to protect refugees and to seek durable solutions to their problems. UNHCR plays a major role in coordinating aid to refugees, returnees and displaced persons of concern.

In this context, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Republic of Yemen, UNHCR is currently looking for a renowned internationally affiliated auditing firm to conduct audit of projects funded by UNHCR.

The language of the written communications (audit certificate and management letter) shall be in English.

Bidding documents are available for collection during 28th of November 2011 from UNHCR Sub-Office Aden, Supply Chain Unit, located at the above-mentioned address. Tel.: +967-2-231-441/235-111 FAX: +967-2-234-406



Yemen revolution's civil society



In a time of unprecedented popular movements, Yemen's civil society has its share of the excitement creating a new branch of civil society organizations through networks, coalitions, alliances and initiatives.

Eyoon Shabah Initiative: Youths feeling responsible

By: Nadia Al-Sakkaf

In August 2008 a group of young activists came together and decided they wanted to create their own group to serve the community and do social work. The youth had been active in several projects before but decided that despite their good intentions, they were going about it the wrong way; feeling unfocused and doing unsustainable charity work.

"It was the first day of Ramadan that year when we decided to create our own entity to change in the community and so Eyoon Shabah was born," said Taha Muthana, founder of the initiative.

The group aims to enhance youth involvement in community development. Their activities range from awareness to environmental protection and sustainable development to encouraging volunteering and community work.

Their first project involved providing meals for the poor and on-duty workers during the fast breaking time in Ramadan. They have continued the project each year since, starting with 200 meals in the last three days of Ramadan 2008 for traffic police, workers and the poor in Al-Hasaba and Al-Qaa, Sana'a.

The following year activists from Eyoon Shabah shared their vision with like-minded people from other Arab countries and soon the initiative became a regional project including members in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Today the initiative has over 80 members, the majority of whom are women.

"We hope to have members from the entire Arab world and even beyond," said Muthana.

Eyoon Shabah has a number of its members directly or indirectly involved in the uprising. However, the initiative is strictly development oriented in order to lobby efforts

around less controversial issues.

Until now the initiative's activities have been funded by members' personal contributions, and in some cases some donations from outside the project. This year the group hopes to create a sustainable mechanism for its work.

Already the group has managed to get sponsorship for its first campaign "Yallah Nesho Sah" (Let's Live Ramadan Right) from the Siraj Program of Save the Children, the Lebanese International University and the National Women's Committee. The project is aimed at encouraging the youth to live Ramadan in its full meaning – not just abstaining from food and drink but also being a more compassionate, tolerant person.

In 2010 the group had a new campaign; "Mengadeed 1" (New Beginning 1) for which they got funding from Saudi businesses. It was an economic project designed to use existing resources to create



sources of income for the poor. It focused on recycling the remains of meals from restaurants and preparing them to provide food for the poor. They employed youths from poor areas so it became a source of income as well as food.

With support from UN volunteers, Eyoon Shabah organized "Baqaya Amar" (Remains of Prosperity) which was focused on conflict ridden areas such as Al-Hasaba. The name came from Baqaya Dmar, which means turning the remains of destruction into something more positive.

"We use Arabic names for every project in order to create a connection and ownership among the youth and the targeted areas," explained Muthana.

In Al-Hasaba, an area rendered contaminated because of a lack of garbage collection since it became a conflict zone, Eyoon Shabah launched an initiative with other volunteers to clean the area. They also renovated the walls of



The New Beginning project showing how much food is wasted in restaurants and which could be used to feed the poor.

a school where bullet holes marked the impact of conflict, decorating them with bright colors and positive wordings, turning the bullet holes into beautiful works of art.

Finding funds

Finding sustainable funding for the group's work is the most difficult challenge they now face, especially since they have rented an office space and need to cover bills and transportation expenses – let alone incentives for the volunteers.

"Eyoon Shabah has proven its credibility and seriousness in development work but we still have a problem in reaching the Yemeni

private sector and convincing them to support our projects," explained Muthana, who added that sometimes when companies give money they demand publicity which could take away from the project's integrity.

The youth in this initiative work hard to give back to their community as they have a strong sense of responsibility. They believe they can provide for their communities if they are given a chance. Muthana says that donors help sponsor projects but wants to see a day "when Yemenis take their fate into their own hands instead of relying on aid all the time."



Volunteers ridding Al-Hasaba of the piles of garbage, which have been creating a humanitarian and environmental disaster.

Coming Soon

Arabic supplement with the Yemen Times features

قريباً

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