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## حوارنا حياتنا انت والمبادرة الخليجية

### كلنا شركاء في صناعة الوطن الجديد



لكي نعرفوا أكثر عن المبادرة الخليجية وآلياتها التنفيذية ومؤتمر الحوار الوطني شاركوا في الندوة المجتمعية في مدنتكم.

أيضا لا تنسوا إقتحام **المنصة التفاعلية** من المبادرة الخليجية لكي تعرفوا أكثر وتشاركه بمسئوليتكم.

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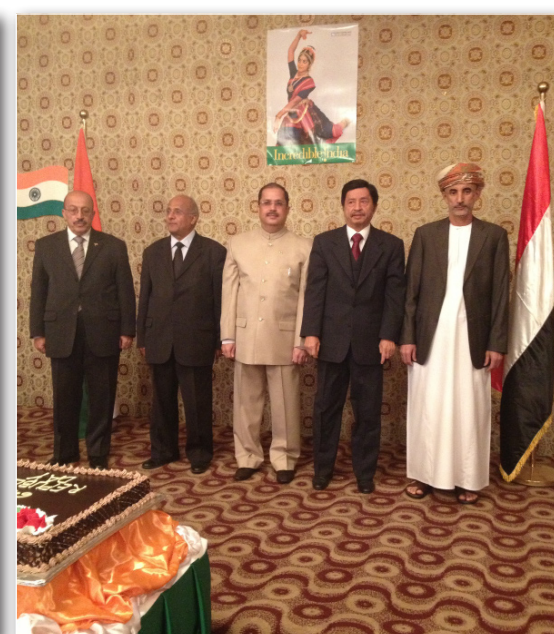
## India's Republic Day commemorated



Dr. Abdul Hafed Noaman, Minister of Technical Education and Vocational Training, Government of Yemen, was the Chief Guest at a reception held at Sheba Hotel to mark the 64th Republic Day of India on 26th January, 2013. Over 150 eminent persons, including diplomats, government officials, businessmen, journalists and Indian nationals participated in the colourful event. Earlier, Dr. Ausaf Sayeed, Ambassador of India unfurled

the Indian National Flag during a separate ceremony held in the morning at the Embassy premises.

The Republic Day is very important for all Indian citizens because it was on this historic day in the year 1950 that the Constitution of India came into force, declaring India to be a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic and assuring its citizens of justice, equality and liberty.



## Sabafon Sponsors Yemeni Cricket League Champion

Sabafon sponsored Yemeni Cricket League Champion (YCL) that has been concluded on last Friday at Sana'a and organized by Sana'a Cricket Association. The YCL events be held during the past two months in Alzcraft Stadium with participating of 6 teams from different nationalities in the presence of an interested mass crowd, including a number of Asians residing in Yemen and who consider cricket as a popular sport in their countries.

In the closing ceremony, the YCL final round was held between the Indian Team (Dove Cricket Club) and the Pakistani Team (Arabian Stars Cricket Club) in the presence of their Ambassadors in Yemen, a number of diplomats in the two embassies and a large gathering of cricket lovers of Indian and Pakistani community. After the match, the 2nd High commission of Indian Embassy Mr. Venkatesan praised Sabafon company role in supporting the new emerging game in Yemen. He wished that cricket become a contagion in Yemen, promising to continue to support the game here, urged that each sub-continent player should endeavor to bring and encourage Yemenis to play.

Pakistani Ambassador Dr. Irfan Yusuf Shami appreciated Sabafon role for organizing an excellent tournament, which was a substantial improvement over its first edition. He also appreciated all six participating teams, particularly the two finalists for excellent display of team spirit as well as sportsmanship. While expressing gratitude to all spectators, the Ambassador urged the organizers to adequately publicize, prepare and encourage attendance of Yemenis in the next tournament.

At the end of the ceremony, Sabafon honored Indian Team for winning the final YCL handed over with the league cup.

Sabafon has many contributions and supporting for various humanitarian and social issues. The Company supports a lot of institutions and organizations, including clubs and charitable funds and various social actors as an initiative to achieve the goal of access to the future vision with a successful society in Yemen. Sabafon, Yemen's first and largest mobile operator, seeks to build sustainable projects and activities for implementing those projects under Sabafon Brand yearly in Yemen.



Yemen's first and largest mobile operator.



## Security Council pledges help for Yemen

Nadia Al-Sakkaf & Najlaa Hasan

The U.N. Security Council held a meeting on Sunday morning at the Presidential Palace, leading many to believe the international organization is sending a message to both the global community and to Yemen that Yemen's transitional process is a top priority.

"Yemen is enjoying a unique interest and support from friends internationally and in the region, who along with the wise men and women of Yemen are working to navigate the country through a difficult time and achieve the change millions of Yemenis called for in the streets," said President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi in his welcome speech.

Mark Grant the U.K.'s permanent representative on the Security Council, who is cochairing this visit with Morocco's permanent representative Mohammed Loulichkie, said that the meeting is meant to support Yemen through its road map to forming a new government.

### No turning back

The meeting was marked by a strong emphasis on Yemen's transitional status. Leaders said Yemen has reached a vital point where stakeholder's true colors will be revealed.

President Hadi concluded his welcome speech by saying parties who refuse dialogue should be considered obstacles to the political settlement and should be dealt with accordingly.

"All those delusional people who think there is a chance of turning back must make up their mind. They must choose between remaining prisoners of the past or participating in making the future. This is not the time for obstruction or not



In its first visit to Yemen, the Security Council emphasized that the National Dialogue is the only way forward for Yemenis and that there is a minority that is trying to obstruct the transitional process. The SC warned that it will take action against them.

complying with commitments," the president said.

"All must understand the rules of the game have changed, the wheels of change are turning by the will of

the people and will not go back."

Grant said Yemen can serve as an example to the world of how a country is able to deal with problems peacefully.

"It is vital that all parties remain united and are not allow to interfere with the progress made. We call on all those who want to derail the process to stop," he said.

### \$8 billion in support

President Hadi has called on the international community, who has pledged \$8 billion to support Yemen's transitional process, to

fill their promises immediately as a form of confidence-building.

Continued on page 2

## Major parties threaten to boycott national dialogue

### Yemen Times Staff

Large political signatories of the November 2011 Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Initiative threatened to boycott the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) if their demands highlighted in Sunday's meeting with the Security Council were not met.

Yemen's Socialist Party, the Nasserite Party and a reluctant Islah Party voiced their joint demand that Saleh be removed from his position as head of the General People's Congress (GPC) before the NDC is to start.

"Former President Saleh insistence on leading the GPC, which is a partner of the GCC Initiative, is a clear violation [of the agreement] as he is still practicing politics," Sultan Al-Sami, the Secretary General for the Nasserite Party and also chair of the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP), told the United Nations Security Council delegation, who met in Yemen this week.

He demanded the Security Council take action against Saleh in order to prevent Yemen spiraling into an armed conflict.

Nobel Peace Prize winner, Tawakul Karman spoke to the delegation on behalf of the revolutionary youth, reiterating that Saleh received immunity in return for leaving politics.

"Saleh is using the billions he stole from Yemen during his rule to challenge the political transition. The international community needs to stop him," she said.

Dr. Yasin Said Noman, the Secretary General of Yemen's Socialist Party said that Yemen is now at a cross roads where the country can



Political parties highlighted demands at a security council meeting in Yemen.

either complete the political transition or go back to war.

"Our moving to dialogue is conditioned to a real transfer of power," he emphasized, pointing out the former ruling party still has control of 50 percent of the government and presides over 90 percent of state institutions.

### The South and Houthis are also not happy

Although the Houthis were the first political group that was not a signatory of the GCC Initiative to announce its readiness to join the National Dialogue earlier this year, it is now having second thoughts.

Their main hesitation, they say, is the fact that the 20 Points presented to the President by the NDC Preparatory Committee over four months is yet to be implemented.

"The points include an apology to the South and the Houthis for the wars against them. This apol-

ogy signals turning a new page and leaving armed conflict. We need this in order to feel safe and appreciated," said Dr. Ahmed Sharafaldin a representative of the Ansarallah Group known as Houthis.

The Houthis however also have those making demands against them. The Islah Party, who has long standing sectarian conflicts with the group, has called for the government to disarm them to ensure state control.

Karman, who is also a member of the Islah Party Shoura Council, supports her party's stance and said the international community should help Hadi with the recent army restructure and disarm gangs, namely the Houthis in the North.

The Houthis strongly refuse this notion.

"If they leave their arms they will be wiped off the face of the earth," Mohammed Al-Bukhaiti,

representative of the Houthis on the NDC's Preparatory Committee explained.

The Southern Movement is also not happy and moving further away from the conference. Although some factions have made hesitant steps towards dialogue, the majority of Southerners still say they are not interested in participating.

Statistics from the Preparatory Committee reveal only 20 percent of the roughly 9,000 independent applicants for the seats allotted for women, youth and civil society organizations come from Southern governorates.

The former minister of interior, Brigadier Hussien Arab, a well-known Southern figure, who today describes himself as an independent, conditioned his endorsement of the conference on the international community's direct supervision and close involvement.

"We want the Security Council to give a strong clear message to the South that it will supervise the dialogue and its results so that it encourages them to join," said Lutfi Shatara, a member of the Independent Southerners' Block of the Hirak movement.

### Political parties' lists

The most recent bottle neck in the NDC's preparation is a refusal of political parties to hand in their lists of representatives. Deadlines have already been extended three times.

Parties in the Joint Meeting Parties' block refuse to submit their list, claiming they are not sure their opposition, the GPC, will send appropriate representatives to the conference.

Already the GPC has announced their inclusion of two controversial figures: Sultan Al-Barakani, a well-known Saleh supporter and Hafidh

Miayad, who was allegedly involved in killing protestors in 2011.

The names were leaked on the GPC's website, Al-Motamar Net.

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## Southern Movement denies rifts at Hadrami festival, condemns protest

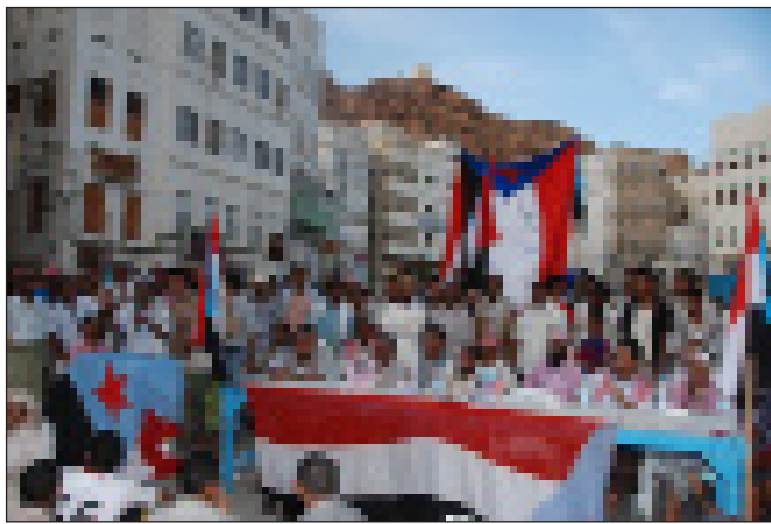
**Amal Al-Yarisi**

SANA'A, Jan. 27 — Following a surprise protest at a Hadrami Group festival on Wednesday, Brigadier Nasser Ahmed Awdh Hawaidar, the Head of the Southern Movement Supreme Committee in Shabwa, condemned the disruption, saying it was an attempt to create havoc and discord between various Southern factions.

The Hadrami Group, which formed in May of last year, wants to create an independent city-state on the basis that Hadramout has a unique identity separate to the rest of Southern Yemen. Some Southern Movement supporters say the group is not consistent with demands for a unified Southern state, independent from the North.

At the recent Hadrami Group festival, protesters chanted Southern revolutionary slogans and hoisted the Southern flag in protest against the Hadrami Group, calling for Southern unity, resulting in chaos, according to participants.

For his part, Abdullah Naji Rashid, the founder of the Southern Movement in Aden, said Southerners in Aden, Hadramout or any other Southern governorate are all united and no rifts exist among them. He stated that although they



Protestors called for a unified South.

might have different visions, there is a united goal of independence.

Rashid said the Hadrami Group has the right to call for their own independent state and should be free to express their dissent.

He said the protesters at the festival are not representative of the Southern Movement and true supporters would not stand in the Hadrami Group's way.

"These individuals belong to particular political sides that have a self interest in polarizing the South," Rashid said.

Meanwhile, Southern Move-

ment leaders are still torn about their participation in the upcoming National Dialogue.

"Anyone who will participate in the NDC under the name of the South has committed political suicide," said Hawaidar, refusing to acknowledge any Southern faction that agrees to participate.

However, Rashid disagreed, saying he is willing to participate in the NDC if certain conditions are met.

"The dialogue should be between the two states, namely the South and the North," he said.

## Strikers hits four Yemeni universities

**Bassam Al-Shamori**

SANA'A, Jan. 27 — A spokesperson for the Sana'a University Employees' Syndicate, Mohammed Abdulqawi Al-Absi, declared a comprehensive strike on Sunday at several of Yemen's government universities to protest the passing of a law that allows academics to be elected to senior positions at the university while preventing administrative staff from running for the positions.

Al-Absi told the Yemen Times that the syndicate agreed with Sana'a University employees on Saturday to instigate a strike.

As of Sunday, the strike was operating at four universities, Sana'a University, Damar University, Ibb University and Amran University.

The new law being protested, stipulates that administrative staff at universities cannot be elected as university rectors, deans or general secretaries, according to Al-Absi.

He says such a law is exclusionary and discriminatory. He went on to say that the general secretary of the university is usually a member of administrative staff.



Protestors clash with administration.

Al-Absi called on President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi to step in and defuse the crisis.

Dr. Ahmed Aqbat, the advisor of the university rector, told the Yemen Times that the law was implemented because deans and general secretaries are specifically concerned with academics and not administrative issues.

He urged the protesting staff to work on improving the curriculum in line with labor market demands. He also called on them to distance themselves from partisan blocks that could lead to the destruction of the educational process.

Aqbat claimed that recent partisanship triggered the current issue at the university.

## Continued From Page 1

### Security Council pledges help for Yemen

"We have created two commissions to deal with the land grievances in the South and this needs money, next week we also are going to finalize the restructuring of our security and policing systems, and this also needs money. Friends of Yemen need to help Yemen find answers to its political and security problems, which as we all know is economically related," Hadi said.

Abdulataif Al-Zayani, the Secretary General of the GCC reassured Hadi and said that the Gulf countries are more determined now than ever to support Yemen.

### A brief visit with promising results

The one day visit by the 15 Security Council members was very productive, according to President Hadi and Al-Zayani, who described the five main commitments made by the Security Council.

The members agreed to exert efforts to ensure the success of the National Dialogue, which Hadi said would be held soon.

They also pledged to help progress the transitional justice law and hold accountable those who stand in the way of transition. The fourth commitment made is to support the recent restructuring of various defense and security institutions. Finally, members agreed to support the uniting of security, policing and army forces under one leadership.

"We will not allow anyone to stop the wheel of change or direct it a certain way," said Abubakr Al-Qirbi, Yemen's Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The U.N.'s special envoy to Yemen, Jamal Benomar, will present a report to the Security Council on Feb. 7 in New York. In this report the Security Council will be updated on the results of this visit and the National Dialogue's status. This will include the controversial issue of former President Ali Abdullah Saleh being allowed to participate in the NDC as the head of the GPC.

"There are logistical preparations which are almost done, and we hope that the conference will start very soon," Benomar told the Yemen Times at press conference.

## U.N. Human Rights office says African refugees poured into Yemen in 2012

**Samar Qaed**

SANA'A, Jan. 27 — A little more than 107,000 refugees arrived in Yemen from the Horn of Africa in 2012, with a majority of the refugees making the voyage by sea, according to the U.N.'s Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR).

This influx is the highest since OHCHR started collecting statistics on this in Yemen in 2006.

In 2011, roughly 103,000 refugees from the Horn of Africa found their way to Yemen. OHCHR says a vast majority arrived via smuggling on ships. Nearly 80 percent of the refugees were from Ethiopia. A Somali population constitutes the remaining percentage.

According to the organization, Yemen serves as migration point for refugees on their way to other Gulf countries in search of jobs.

"There are reception centers along the coast in Kharaz, Hajar, Maifa'a, Ahwar and the Bab Al-mandab Strait, in which new migrants have been received via OHCHR's executive partner, a local organization called Humanitarian Solidarity," said Jamal Alnajjar, a communications assistant for OHCHR.

He said they help the migrants by providing them with water, food, medicine and clothes.

Alnajjar says the voyage across the Red Sea is very dangerous for the migrants. Many suffer from malnutrition and are under the

constant threat of drowning. Refugees have reported to OHCHR that boat smugglers often force them to jump into the sea early before reaching land. The reception centers say they have rescued thousands from this fate.

In a press statement from a representative from the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Nafeed Hussein, stated the influx of refugees from the Horn of Africa to Yemen is not considered just an issue for Yemen, but is a larger, regional concern that must be tackled in that context.

Hussein pointed out that OHCHR appreciates Yemen efforts and stances on refugees at a time when the country is facing economic difficulties.



New arrivals, who take the risk of heading to Yemen by sea, usually arrive malnourished, dehydrated and in shock.

## Rewards for security personnel, has led to motivated employees, security officials say



Security personnel inspect a truck at a checkpoint.

**Amira Nasser**

SANA'A, Jan. 27 — A reward and promotion from President Abdu Mansour Hadi for men at a checkpoint in Hais district, who seized over 5,000 Turkish-made pistols last month has led to an increase in illegal confiscations, according to security officials.

Security forces recently seized a large amount of hashish and weapons at a checkpoint in Hodeida governorate.

Staff Brigadier Mohammed

Saleh Al-Maqaleh, the Security Manager of Hodeida, told the Yemen Times the government's previous reward to security personnel has motivated security personnel to step up their game.

Al-Maqaleh added that security men also took control of a number of weapons that were hidden in a car in Damar governorate to head to Harad last week.

Further evidence of the decreasing level of corruption in the security services came when security personnel confiscated

two trucks loaded with fireworks in Al-Mansouria district on Tuesday. They were en route from Al-Makha district to Shafa.

Although checkpoint employees say the trucks' drivers offered them YR5million as a bribe, the security personnel turned down the offer, handing over the two trucks to the governorate security to take the necessary measures.

The men rewarded in Hais received YR 1 million for each and were promoted to Second Lieutenant.



# The prophet's birthday celebration: Sa'ada leaders say event not politicized but speeches slam government policies



During the event, men gathered and waved green flags repeatedly chanting the Houthi slogan "Death to America, death to Israel, damn the Jews and victory to Islam."



Houthi militia took no security risks at the event, positioning themselves on remote mountains surrounding the gathering.

Story and photos by Sadeq Al-Wesabi

**H**anging out of Hilux cars in Sa'ada governorate last Thursday, children of all ages with dusty faces and unkempt hair chanted their eagerness to make sacrifices in the name of the Prophet Mohammed as drivers praised their piety on a microphone.

In the city of Sa'ada, about 250 km. Northwest of Sana'a, celebrations of the Prophet Mohammed's birth flooded the war-torn governorate. The prophet's name was plastered over posters, flags, billboards, hats, cars, and scarves and even on guns.

Thousands of Houthis, an armed group of Zaidi Shiites that predominately controls the Sa'ada governorate, and their supporters gathered under the scorching sun to ring in the day.

At checkpoints, where attendees were thoroughly inspected, green flags bearing the religious leader's name were perched on rusty oil tankers while gunmen chewing qat greeted guests.

"Welcome guests of the greatest prophet [Mohammed]. Welcome

Allah and the prophet's supporters," read one street banner.

The Houthis also took the opportunity to display their infamous slogans that slam America, Israel and "infidels."

"Organizing this occasion is a message for enemies that we are a unified nation," read another banner.

Organizers of the event, said for security reasons and unlike in previous years, they had the event in a remote mountainous area an hour outside of the city of Sa'ada.

Houthi gunmen took no chances and were positioned at the top of high mountains to secure the area against possible attack.

Several prominent Houthi leaders were adamant that the day served as a means of celebrating a religious occasion and not a politically-motivated event.

"We've been celebrating this occasion for a long time," said Mohammed Abdul-Salam, a Houthi spokesman who added that they extended an invite to all Yemenis to attend the occasion, not just those of their religious influence.

However, the groups insurgents that are infamous for their clashes with the government in the North, took the opportunity to churn out



Children gather and chant for the Prophet Mohammed.

speeches full of political rhetoric.

"Today all principles and ethics have been abandoned. Our country has been trampled underfoot by the enemies," said Sheikh Shams Al-Din Sharaf Al-Din, the head of Yemen's Clerics Association. During his speech, the sheikh blamed acute failures and problems in Yemen on those who do "not follow the regulations of the Prophet Mohammed."

When Abdul-Malek Al-Houthi, the head leader of the Houthi movement, started his speech,

dead silence swept the rocky landscape, followed by chants of the notorious Houthi slogan, "God is great... Death to America... Death to Israel... Damn the Jews... Victory for Islam."

Although Al-Houthi said, "This day is supposed to be a national holiday with formal and popular celebrations," he then slammed the government repeatedly. He described it as shameless and an American agent.

"Unfortunately, the government prevented us from commemorat-



Thousands of posters and banners were present at the event and throughout the whole of Sa'ada.

ing this great day in a stadium in Sana'a, but it opened military bases for America and that indicates that this government doesn't respect the prophet," he said.

Hussein Dhaif Allah, an attendee, told the Yemen Times that the day is very important for Yemenis to come together and unify their aims.

"We come here to say for those who offend the prophet that their abuse of the prophet will make us more adherent to him," he said.

Despite the Houthi leaders'

claims of not being politicized, not everyone was convinced. For his part, Abdul-Halim Al-Hajri, a political activist from the Islamic Islah Party, a group known to ideologically oppose the Houthis, said the group used the day to send a message of their strength in the North.

"Houthis are contradictory. They suppress people, arrest and displace them but at the same time celebrate the prophet's birth," he said. "They should follow [the prophet's] regulations first and then celebrate.



Participants of the event, which occurred outside of the city center varied in ages, from the very young to the old.

Not all posters were political, with some highlighting verses from the Quran.



Abdulghani Al-Mawri to the Yemen Times:

**“When the Saudis are angry with the Iranians, this anger is reflected in Yemen. This is dangerous because Yemen is infested with weapons.”**

Abdulghani Al-Mawri is a well respected political analyst who comments extensively on the upcoming National Dialogue Conference (NDC). He currently sees the Islah Party as a united force who will present a strong case for their agenda at the NDC. Al-Mawri also counters the argument that the Houthi movement wants to build a civil state. He says that is no possible as long as they continue as an armed insurgent group. The political forecaster also sheds light on Yemen's situation as pawn in Saudi Arabia and Iran's struggle to assert their influence in the Southern Gulf nation.

Interviewed by Mohammed Al-Samei  
Photo by Sadeq Al-Wesabi

Let us start with the most urgent issue, the National Dialogue Conference (NDC). As a political analyst and observer, what do you think about the NDC? Will there be a Yemeni national dialogue soon?

It is clear that the NDC has become extremely significant. The international community strongly upholds it. Thus, it will be held. But, there is a problem in terms of selecting dialogue participants as well as many other problems. An example is the threat that Amala Al-Basha will resign from the Technical Committee because the [political] parties dominate youth and the civil society organizations' representation.

The committee presented the 20 Points to President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi in order to create a suitable atmosphere for the national dialogue. In your opinion, what prevents the implementation of these 20 Points?

There is a perspective that believes achievements and progress will result from the NDC, not precede it. This thinking is short-sighted and stupid. It is, for sure, the thought process of stupid people. Rights are not negotiated. What is the relationship between looted lands in the South and the national dialogue? These are rights and grievances and are not negotiable. The National Dialogue's purpose is not to restore those rights - restoring rights is the business of the law.

The NDC wants to lay the foundations of a real civil state. It is a great mission and should not be belittled. Besides, rights have nothing to do with the National Dialogue. Unfortunately, this is still not understood.

Some are optimistic about the NDC, but others say the outcome of the conference is already determined by foreign countries and patrons of the Gulf Initiative.

This is possible. Personally, I tend to think like this.

Do you mean Yemen is dependent on foreign countries even regarding the conclusions of the dialogue?

If we help ourselves, possibly others can help us. These foreign countries are concerned about the stability of Yemen, in particular Arab countries. This concern has to do with interests. For instance, they fear Yemen's failure because the security situation in the region could be imbalanced, particularly in the Gulf, a region known to be rich in petroleum. They have experienced the effects of the failure of the Somali state. What if Yemen completely fails? The situation could be worse.

Some say Yemen has become an area of conflict for regional and international powers. Do you think Yemen will find a way out of this cycle?

Yemen has been gradually turned to play the role that Lebanon played, namely an outlet of conflict. When the Saudis are angry with the Iranians, this anger is reflected in Yemen. This is dangerous because Yemen is infested with weapons. Clearly, this could affect Yemen's unity and stability.

The political elite apparently have been divided into two - one sides with Saudi influ-



Abdulghani Al-Mawri discusses the political situation in Yemen.

ences and other supports Iranian interference. What do you think?

This is true and obvious. Those who reject Saudi's influence, adopt Iran's influence. The reverse is also true. This is not patriotic. If there was patriotism, the intervention of foreign countries would be rejected. For certain, this interference is ideologically motivated.

Why do the elite welcome this interference?

The reason is financial temptation. We have parasitic political groups that only care about their interests and industries.

“

The Islah Party is large and important. However, it is not free of problems. It is making progress, considering it joined the Socialist Party to set up the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP). However, some of its affiliates still think in a traditional way.

Let's talk about the General People's Congress (GPC); does this party continue to have popular foundations in the Yemeni governorates?

Some people still believe that Ali Abdullah Saleh was a great personality. I am surprised that many people think so. As a result, the party still has foundations based on this perception [Saleh is great].

There are two factions in the GPC. One supports President Hadi and the other is still loyal to Saleh. What do you think?

This is normal. Some defend a man who ruled Yemen for 33 years. This led to the belief that if Saleh relinquished power, the country would fall into collapse. Also, the widespread corruption during Saleh's reign was not highlighted enough. This has led some people to believe that Saleh was attacked. In fact, his barbarism resembled the aggressiveness of the mafia.

Are decisions related to the GPC still in the hand of former president or President Hadi?

The decisions of the GPC are those of Ali Abdulla Saleh.

Let's move to the Islah Party. How do you evaluate its current performance?

The Islah Party is large and important. However, it is not free of problems. It is making progress, considering it joined the Socialist Party to set up the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP). However, some of its affiliates still think in a traditional way. Recently, one of its affiliates published a book talking about the NDC. He mentions in the book that there is solid evidence to prove some people want to adopt secularism in Yemen. The book's au-

thor cites a statement from Yaseen Saeed Noman (head of the Socialist Party) that says the ceiling for the dialogue should be open and without restrictions. This is confusing for the Party.

Some predict Islah will be the leading political power in the future, what do you think?

The Islah Party is very strong. This is a truth we must accept. It has the ability to stay united. It has resources and a clear vision. We should not forget that Islah has a strong presence in the South. These are all to Islah's advantage.

What do you think about the future of the Socialist Party keeping in mind that it has ongoing divides?

I think the Socialist Party has lost many of its supporters. It was not advantageous for the party to lose its support in the North. I still see the Socialist Party as a national one though. It has negative aspects. This is normal. However, it has a big advantage, which is that it has national agendas.

How do you evaluate the Nasserite Party? Is the party still popular? Does it still have influence?

The Nasserites played a big role in the revolution, but as was the case with other political parties, they didn't benefit a lot from the revolution. The revolution turned into a political settlement. Now the Nasserites feel guilty.

The head of the Nasserite Party, Sultan Al-Atwani says they can use revolutionaries as a means of applying pressure. This is a big mistake that was made by the Joint Meeting Parties when they used youths for their promoting their interests.

Houthis gained a lot of power in Yemen after the revolution. They have a large influence over people. How do you evaluate the current Houthi situation?

This is correct, but only if current circumstances continue as they are now. But, if there are intentions to build a state and unify the army on a national basis, Houthis will not have a future, and they will be forced to be a part of the political process in the country.

During an interview with a Houthi leader, he said that Houthis seek to build a new civil state. What do you think?

The first condition of the civil state is to not be armed. This is the primary condition for a civil state. Houthis have weapons and impose levies. They act as if they are the government.

Some say disputes between Houthis and the Islah Party will negatively affect the future of political life in Yemen. What do you think?

I'm afraid of this topic. Both parties that were in Change Square in Sana'a are ready to fight - this will lead to a tragic end.

Do you think the Islah and Socialist Party should separate from the JMP?

They actually did that politically but not systematically. I wrote an essay months ago that said the JMP should rebuild the coalition. But, the revolution started and the political coalitions are still the same.

“

The NDC wants to lay the foundations of a real civil state. It is a great mission and should not be belittled. Besides, rights have nothing to do with the National Dialogue. Unfortunately, this is still not understood.

“

Yemen has been gradually turned to play the role that Lebanon played, namely an outlet of conflict. When the Saudis are angry with the Iranians, this anger is reflected in Yemen. This is dangerous because Yemen is infested with weapons.



# المحلل السياسي عبدالغني الماوري ليمن تايمز في حال وجد توجه لبناء دولة وتم توحيد الجيش على أسس وطنية فلا مستقبل للحوثيين على الإطلاق إلا أن يندمجوا ويكونوا جزءاً من العملية السياسية في البلد

هل سنشهد تحالف قريب ما بين التيار السلفي والإصلاح؟  
ممكن أن يحدث هذا ولكن في إطار الحفاظ على الوحدة مثلاً، وهذا المطلب يمكن أن يوحد شعاراتهم.

من خلال متابعتنا لبعض آراء النخبة وجدنا أنهم مجمعين على بناء دولة مدنية حديثة، إلى أي مدى تتفق مع جديتهم في هذا المطلب؟

دعني أصحح لكل المفهوم، لا يوجد هناك شيء اسمه دولة مدنية، وهو مصطلح خادع ولا يوجد في علوم السياسة، ولكن يوجد شيء يسمى دولة ديمقراطية، وهذا مهم حتى لا يتم التحايل والتلاعب بالألفاظ، لدينا اليوم عدة خيارات لبناء الدولة، إحداها أن نظل اليمن دولة على ما هي عليه الآن، وهذا لا يمكن أن يتم لأنه أثبت بالتجربة تورطه في حدوث مشكلات عديدة ويهدد استقرار البلد، وهناك حل يقضي بأن تكون اليمن مجموعة أقاليم أو إقليمين وإذا كانت إقليمين كما يدعى البعض فهذا يعني انفصال، وهناك من يقول ثلاثة أقاليم، وهذا ما تم رفضه في وثيقة العهد والاتفاق في عام ١٩٩٢ لأنه كانت هناك رؤية بأن هذا سيؤدي إلى مشكلة طائفية في اليمن. الآن يتم الحديث عن خمسة وعن سبعة أقاليم، ولكن أنا أرى وأتوجه إلى أن تكون اليمن فيدرالية بشرط أن نقيم الفيدرالية التي تناسبنا يعني نريد أن تكون كل محافظة بذاتها مكون فيدرالي دون الحاجة إلى خلق أقاليم.

هل سيتفوق الداعين للانفصال على الرافضين في الجنوب في حال أجري استفتاء شعبي؟  
هناك مشكلة في الاستفتاءات بشكل عام، بمعنى أن الاستفتاء الذي تم إجراءه على مناطق من العالم، قليل من صوت بلا، والغالبية نعم، فلو تم عمل استفتاء في الجنوب بهل توافق على الانفصال، فالنتيجة الغالبة ستكون نعم، فهناك مشكلة في القانون الدستوري في العالم حول هذه القضية، وهناك من لا يشجع الاستفتاءات لأنها دائماً تأتي بنتائج سلبية، ولكن على كل حال، ما لم تفرض الدولة وجودها ويشعر المواطن أن هناك تغيير قد حدث، لا أستطيع أن أومأ أي شخص في الجنوب بأن يقول نعم للانفصال، فالنتيجة سيتحقق ما لم يتم عمل أشياء جديّة على الأرض يشعر المواطن أن هناك تغيير. عندئذٍ ممكن أن تتغير قناعاته.

هناك تعصب لرأيين البعض يريد اليمن القادم دولة علمانية، والبعض يريد دولة إسلامية، من برأيك سيكسب الرهان؟

لا يوجد مسمى دولة إسلامية، وعندما نتحدث عن الدولات التي كانت توجد سابقاً نسميها بأسماء مؤسسيها فنقول الدولة الأموية والعباسية والفاطمية والعثمانية، ولا نقول الدولة الإسلامية، لأن الحاكم ليس مخلوقاً من قبل الله أو من قبل رسوله بأنه هو الذي يقود هذه البلاد، ما دام الشخص مساهل ويمكن عزله، إذا فحن أمام دولة طبيعية عادية، ولا يوجد هذا المسمى. الشيء الآخر أنه أي دولة في العالم حتى لو كانت علمانية لا بد أن تستلهم من تراثها الديني، في أمريكا هناك استلهام من المسيحية وهي دولة علمانية وبالتالي أي دولة في العالم كاليمين مثل هي تستلهم التراث الإسلامي وهذا ليس عيباً بل بالعكس مهم ومروري.

لماذا تتعالى الأصوات في الجنوب المناهية بالمنطقة كالقضية العديّة والحضرمية، وهل هناك رابط بين حالة رفض الحوار مع جملة التعيينات في الجيش والأمن؟

لا بأس فأنا أرى أن القيادات الجنوبية مؤهلة أكثر من غيرها، لكن هذا الأمر يمكن التجاوز عنه في هذه الحالة، نحن لسنا في مرحلة طبيعية ولكن المشكلة المهمة هي فيما يتعلق بظهور النزعات المناطقيّة القديمة، وهذا شيء متوقع وطبيعي، وكل الأحلام القديمة ستظهر، حتى هناك من سيطالب بعودة الاحتلال البريطاني.



عبدالغني الماوري

وطنية فلا مستقبل للحوثيين على الإطلاق إلا أن يندمجوا ويكونوا جزءاً من العملية السياسية في البلد.

خلال استضافتي لقيادي حوثي، قال إن الحوثيين يسعون لبناء دولة مدنية حديثة.. كيف ترد عليه؟  
أول شروط بناء الدولة المدنية الحديثة لمن ينادي بها أن يكون غير مسلحاً وأن تكون الدولة أساسية لقيام الدولة، والدولة التي تفقد هذه الشروط لا تعتبر دولة، والحوثيين لديهم الاثنان يمتلكون السلاح ويفرضون الجباية، بمعنى أنهم يقومون بمقام الدولة.

هناك من يقول إن الخلاف الدائر بين الحوثيين والإصلاح سينعكس سلباً على مستقبل الحياة السياسية في اليمن، ما رأيك في ذلك؟  
أنا أخشى من هذا الموضوع وهناك في ساحة التغيير على وجه الخصوص استعداد من كلا الطرفين لمعركة، ربما يحصل ذلك، وهذا الأمر سيؤدي إلى نهاية مأساوية.

يقال إن الإصلاح والاشتراكي والناصري قد خرجوا من نطاق المشترك، هل تؤيد هذا الرأي؟  
هي بالفعل قد خرجت بالمعنى السياسي إنما التنظيمي لا. أنا كتبت مقالاً قبل عدة شهور وقلت أن على المشترك أن يجدد بناء التحالف وفقاً للثورة، ما الذي تغير، قامت الثورة ولا تزال التحالفات السياسية بنفس الكيفية، وهذا أمر يغير الدهشة.

اليمن تتحول شيئاً فشيئاً إلى أن تلعب الدور الذي تلعبه لبنان، أي أن تصبح منطقة لتنفيذ الصراعات

التماسك، لديه مصادر دخل، ورؤية واضحة.. ولا ننسى أن الإصلاح له تواجد قوي في الجنوب وهذه نقطة قوة مهمة لحزب الإصلاح.

باعتقادك ما مستقبل الحزب الاشتراكي في ظل انقسامه وتشتته؟  
أعتقد أن الحزب الاشتراكي فقد كثيراً من مؤيديه في الجنوب وهذا شيء لا يسعدني ولا يسعدني الاشتراكي هو حزب وطني برغم ما لديه من أن يفقد مؤيديه في الشمال. أنا أرى أن الحزب الاشتراكي هو حزب وطني برغم ما لديه من سلبيات وارتكابه حماقات في وقت ما وهذا شيء طبيعي، لكن ميزة الحزب الاشتراكي أنه حزب ذو أجندة وطنية، لماذا نشعر بسعادة بالغة عندما نقلل الوطنيين والوطنية فينا هل طواهره الفضلي وأنصار الشريعة هم الحل لإنقاذ اليمن؟

إذا ما تحدثنا عن اليسار، فالبعض يقول إن اليساريين يرتمون في أحضان الأنظمة السابقة، وينصبوا عداء للإسلاميين، ماذا تعتقد؟  
هذا يحدث في إطار المناكفات، وسأضرب مثال في مصر عندما تقوم مظاهرات لعزل النائب العام في مصر، ولكن الرئيس ذو التوجه الإسلامي محمد مرسي قام بعزله في الوقت الذي قام عمرو موسى بالنهابة إلى النائب العام ويقول إنه شخص كفو، وأنه يتعرض لحرب إسلامية. هذا نوع من المناكفات التي لا قيمة لها، لكن هذا الأمر سيؤثر بلا شك على مسار التحول الديمقراطي لأنه وضع العديد من العراقيل عندما يتحالف اليسار مع القوة التقليدية أو النظام السابق، فهذا يقلل فرص نجاح التحول الديمقراطي بشكل كبير.

كيف تقييم الحزب الناصري في اليمن، هل لا زال يمتلك الشعبية والتأثير؟  
الناصرين كان لهم دور كبير في الثورة، ولكن كباقي الأحزاب اليمنية الناصري لديه إشكالية، حيث لم يستفد من الثورة بشكل كبير، حيث بدت تقليدية، كان لديها في الثورة سقف منخفض جداً من المطالب وحولت الثورة إلى تسوية سياسية، الآن يشعرون بالذنب، على ذكر الحزب الناصري أيضاً، فريثس الحزب سلطان العتواني لا يتخرج من القول بأنه يمكن استخدام الساحات والشباب للضغط، وهذا الخطأ الكبير الذي ارتكبه أحزاب اللقاء المشترك عندما ساهموا أن يتحول الشباب إلى ورقة بيد القوى السياسية.

الحوثي وبعد قيام الثورة الشبابية أصبح لهم دور كبير في الساحة الوطنية ولهم تأثير كبير في الحاضر وربما في المستقبل، كيف تقييم وضع الحوثيين اليوم؟  
هذا كلام صحيح للغاية ولكن إذا استمرت الظروف على ما هي عليه الآن. أما في حال وجد توجه لبناء دولة وتم توحيد الجيش على أسس

هناك قسمين في المؤتمر الشعبي العام، الأول مؤيد للرئيس عبد ربه منصور هادي، والآخر لا زال متمسكاً ومؤيداً لعلي عبدالله صالح.. كيف تنظر إلى ذلك؟

هذا أمر طبيعي، هناك من يدافع عن شخصية كانت تحكم اليمن لمدة ٢٢ عام وكانت منهجياً مقررًا كل يوم على شاشات التلفزيون وكانت صورته منتشرة في كل مكان. كانت بعض القاطعات البسيطة تعتقد أن هذا الرجل بمجرد نهبه عن كرسي السلطة سوف تنهار البلد، فلدوهم هذه العاطفة تجاه علي صالح. وهناك نقطة مهمة أنه لم يتم تسليط الضوء على الفساد الذي كان يوجد في السابق وهذا ما جعل علي عبدالله صالح وكأنه شخص تم الاعتداء عليه بينما في الواقع أنه مارس السلطة ممارسة لا تقل همجية عن تلك التي تمارسها عصابات المافيا في العالم.

ماذا عن القرار في حزب المؤتمر، هل لا زال بيد الرئيس السابق أم أنه بيد عبد ربه منصور هادي الرئيس الحالي لليمن؟  
لعلي عبدالله صالح ولا شك في ذلك.

لننتقل إلى حزب الإصلاح، كيف تقييم أداءه في الوقت الراهن؟

الإصلاح حزب كبير ومهم، لكن الإصلاح لديه إشكالية مهمة، هو يتقدم على صعيد الممارسة بديل أنه دخل في المشترك وأسس مع الحزب الاشتراكي هذا التكتل، وقدم عمل وطني، ولكن لا زال بعض المنتهين إليه يتحدثون بمنطق بالي وقديم، أحدهم أصدر كتاباً يتحدث عن مؤتمر الحوار، ويقول فيه أن من الدلائل الواضحة لعلمنة الحوار مفتوحاً بدون قيود، وهذا دليل على علمنة اليمن، مع أن العلمانية ليست مشكلة بحد ذاتها، هذا الخطاب المتشدد في الإصلاح يقابله تقدم في الممارسة وأصبحنا الآن في حيرة والإصلاح لم يحسم هذا الأمر لحد الآن. والإشكالية الأخرى في حزب الإصلاح هو وقوفه في صف اللواء علي محسن الأحمر، فلابد أن ينظر الإصلاح إلى الامام وأن لا يربط نفسه بشخصيات لأنها زائلة.

البعض ينظر إلى أن المشكلة الملحوظة في حزب الإصلاح هو في أدائه الإعلامي، حيث لا زال هشاً، ما رأيك بهذا التصور؟  
الإعلام في الإصلاح تقليدي، بمعنى أنهم يهاجمون من يهاجم الإصلاح ويمتدحون من امتدحه، وهذه طبيعة الحركات الإسلامية أنها لم تنتج إعلام قوي ومتحرك، وهذا أمر طبيعي.

لكن البعض يقول إن الإصلاح في المستقبل القريب أو خلال الأعوام القادمة قد يكون الأول في اليمن من حيث تأثيره، ما رأيك؟  
حزب الإصلاح حزب قوي جداً، ولا بد أن نسلم بهذه الحقيقة. الإصلاح لديه قدر كبير من

لا يوجد هناك شيء اسمه دولة مدنية، وهو مصطلح خادع ولا يوجد في علوم السياسة، ولكن يوجد شيء يسمى دولة ديمقراطية

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قال المحلل السياسي الأستاذ عبد الغني الماوري أن اليمن تتحول شيئاً فشيئاً إلى أن تلعب الدور الذي تلعبه لبنان، أي أن تصبح منطقة لتنفيذ الصراعات.

وأشار الماوري في حوار مع يمن تايمز أن الخارج مهم باستقرار اليمن لأسباب تتعلق بمصالح هذه الدول.

وأفاد بأنه في حال تم استفتاء في اليمن حول الانفصال فإن الغالبية ستصوت بنعم للانفصال، مضيفاً أن الاستفتاءات دوماً تأتي بنتائج سلبية.

حوار: محمد السامعي  
تصوير: صادق الوصابي

بالخارج حتى في نتائج الحوار؟  
إذا ساعدنا أنفسنا فلا بأس أن يساعدنا الآخرين، لأن الخارج مهم باستقرار اليمن على الأقل الدول الغربية ولأسباب تتعلق بمصالح هذه الدول، مثلاً هم يخافون أن تفشل الدولة في اليمن لأن هذا سيكلف الأمن في هذه المنطقة الحساسة وهي منطقة الخليج، منطقة النفط والبترو، وهذا الأمر سيؤثر على هذه المنطقة. هم جربوا فشل الدولة في الصومال فما بالك لو فشلت الدولة في اليمن سيكون الوضع أكبر وأسوأ.

البعض يقول أن اليمن أصبحت منطقة صراع بين دول إقليمية ودولية، باعتقادك وبعد مرور الفترة الانتقالية هل سيصبح لليمن رؤية خاصة لكي تخرج من هذه الدائرة؟

اليمن تتحول شيئاً فشيئاً إلى أن تلعب الدور الذي تلعبه لبنان. أي أن تصبح منطقة لتنفيذ الصراعات، يعني عندما يغضب السعوديون مع الإيرانيين يتم تنفيس هذا الغضب في اليمن، مثلاً كان يحصل في لبنان، وبالتالي هذا أمر خطير للغاية لأن اليمن بلد ينتشر فيه السلاح وعادة ما تكون هذه التنفيسات مسلحة وهذا الأمر يؤثر على اليمن بشكل عام وعلى وحدته واستقراره.

انقسمت النخبة السياسية اليوم إلى قسمين: قسم يدعم التدخل السعودي وجزء يدعم التدخل الإيراني، ما مدى صحة هذا الطرح؟

هذا صحيح وواضح الذين يهاجمون التدخلات السعودية، هم يتبنون التدخل الإيراني والعكس صحيح فيما الوطنية تقتضي أن نرفض كل التدخلات، المشكلة أن التدخل الإيراني سبب المغضب، وهنا إشكالية كبيرة جداً.

ما الذي يدفع بهذه النخبة إلى تبني هذه التدخلات؟  
الإغراءات المادية تقف وراء ذلك، فكما قلت نحن لدينا نخبة سياسية طفيلية تلتهج وراء المال، ولا تهتم سوى بتجارها ومصالحها أكثر من اهتمامها بقضايا المقتربيين.

إذا تحدثنا عن حزب المؤتمر الشعبي العام.. هل لا زال المؤتمر يمتلك قواعد شعبية كبيرة في المحافظات؟  
هناك أشخاص لا زالوا يؤمنون بأن علي عبدالله صالح كان شخصية عظيمة جداً وأنا أستغرب من هذا المنطق، لكن هذا ما يؤمن به قطاع كبير من الناس، ولا زال المؤتمر يمتلك قواعد انطلاقاً من هذا المنطق.

نبدأ مع القضية الأكثر إلحاحاً «الحوار الوطني». أنت كمتابع ومحلل سياسي كيف تنظر إليه؟ هل سيكون هناك حواراً يمينياً في القريب العاجل؟  
من الواضح أن الحوار الوطني أصبح مهماً للغاية، المجتمع الدولي يقف وراءه بكل قوة وبالتالي هو سيعقد ولكن هناك إشكالية متعلقة بكيفية اختيار المشاركين في هذا الحوار، وبعض المشكلات الأخرى أقربها تصريحات أمل الباشا والتي هدت من خلالها بالاستقالة من اللجنة الفنية للحوار بسبب سطو الأحزاب على تفعيل الشباب وكذلك منظمات المجتمع المدني، وتوكل كرماني أيضاً قد انسحبت من اللجنة السباعية وهناك استقالتين لعضوين هما ماجد المنجحي ورضية المتوكل.

كانت اللجنة قد قدمت لرئيس الجمهورية ٢٠ نقطة خاصة بتهيئة الأجواء للحوار الوطني وتنص بعض منها على القضية الجنوبية، باعتقادك لماذا إلى الآن لم يتم اتخاذ عملية من قبل الرئيس هادي لتنفيذها وما الذي يمنع من ذلك؟

هناك وجهة نظر موجودة بقوة تقول بأن كل هذه الإنجازات والأشياء الهامة يجب أن تخرج عن مؤتمر الحوار لا أن تسبقه وهذا بصراحة تكفير قاصر وأسطيع القول وأنا مطمئن أن هذا تفكير لا يصدر إلا من أغنياء بطبيعة الحال لأن الحقوق لا يتم المساومة عليها، ولإتيم الحوار بشأنها، ما علاقة أن تعود أراضي الجنوب المنهوبة مثلًا بمؤتمر الحوار؟ هذه حقوق ومطالب غير قابلة للتفاوض أو التأجيل، والحوار الوطني ليست مهمته إعادة الحقوق لأن من يعيد الحقوق هو القانون.

ومؤتمر الحوار مهمته وضع الأسس الحقيقية لبناء الدولة، وهذا عمل كبير ومهمة عظيمة ولا أعرف لماذا يقللون من شأنه ويبحثون عن انتصارات وهمية على حساب المظلومين، ويريدون القول أنهم أعادوا الأراضي المنهوبة وأعادوا المسرحين من الجيش لأسباب عسكرية، هم يريدون أن ينسبوا كل الإنجازات العظيمة لهم، هذه حقوق لا علاقة لها بمؤتمر حوار وطني، لكن للأسف الشديد أنهم لم يفهموا هذا بعد.

لوقيمنا مؤشرات نجاح الحوار الوطني، لوجدنا أن هناك من هو متشائم ومفرد في التشاؤم ومن هو متفائل ومفرد في التفاؤل، لكن هناك آخرين يقولون إن الحوار سيعقد ومخرجاته قد تم إعداده سلفاً من قبل دول أجنبية أو من رعت المبادرة الخليجية؟  
هذا ممكن، وأنا شخصياً أميل إليه كثيراً.

يعني هل تقصد أن اليمن مرتبطة



# Yemen in 2013 - A forecast for the coming year in the Peninsula's restless state

Abubakr Al-Shamahi  
Majalla.com/eng  
First published Jan. 23

Last year was a time of transition in Yemen. The revolution, or crisis, depending on whom you speak to, led to the end of Ali Abdullah Saleh's 33 year rule and his replacement by former Vice President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi. Various parties and groups stepped into the resulting power vacuum, and foreign powers have become more interested in the threats emanating from groups such as Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. As Yemen splutters its way towards the first anniversary of the election of President Hadi, it faces a number of issues. Some of these threaten the very existence of the country as a unified entity, and others endanger the lives of millions of people in the Arab world's poorest nation.

Poverty is the most pressing concern to the average Yemeni citizen as we enter 2013. Many Yemeni families struggle to put food on the table, and this —more than the incessant elite power struggles— is the day-to-day reality for most of the country's inhabitants. Two-thirds of Yemen's population live

in rural areas; equally, 80 percent of Yemen's poor live in rural areas. The poverty of the rural poor is one thing that unites all the regions of Yemen.

Poverty is not an apolitical issue. First, it was one of the main drivers behind the uprising of 2011, a movement where some protesters were seen lifting bread in the air to highlight the issue of rising food prices. Government inertia is responsible for the high price of food, with no real incentives for farmers to grow crops instead of the ubiquitous qat, a herbal stimulant, and few moves to break up the monopoly of a small number of firms that control food imports into the country.

The new year was heralded with Yemen's confirmation as a major front in the conflict formerly known as the War on Terror. Although the latter part of 2012 saw a government counter-attack against Al-Qaeda-linked militants, they continue to operate in many of Yemen's more remote areas. The U.S.'s tactic centers on the use of drone strikes, the number of which increased greatly in 2012, when Yemen saw more drone strikes than Pakistan or Afghanistan. President Obama considers the Yemeni government a vital ally, so much so that the Yemeni acting ambassador in Wash-

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*Many Yemeni families struggle to put food on the table and this - more than the incessant elite power struggle - is the day-to-day reality for most of the country's inhabitants.*

ington was assigned one of the best seats in the house at Obama's recent inauguration.

Questions still remain over the complicity of certain shadier sections of the Yemeni government in the activities of militant groups. Many Yemenis saw the Saleh regime's hand at work behind the growing militant activity in Yemen in the 2000s. Suspicions were raised by dubious prison escapes and the huge U.S. pay-outs Saleh's government received as the terror threat increased.

Conspiracy theories aside, Saleh and his family will not willingly let go of the reins of power. Saleh had expected Hadi, his vice president from 1994, to be his puppet—easily controlled from behind the presidency. However, Hadi has proven to be quite independent; he has gradually been removing Saleh's men from power. Each time a Saleh relative or ally is removed from power they kick up a storm, but each time Hadi's decrees have won out, largely thanks to the support he has from the international community and the increasingly nega-

tive public opinion of Saleh.

Saleh's role in the upcoming National Dialogue conference is not yet known. The ex-president is variously reported as either leading his General People's Congress party's delegation or as leaving Yemen for the duration of the conference so as not to interfere. The international community, along with many Yemenis, will be hoping that the oft-delayed National Dialogue will bring the various sides together and provide a pathway for a solution to the growing discontent in former South Yemen.

Last, but certainly not least, is the most acute challenge facing Yemen in 2013: the threat to its existence as a single unified state. Al-Hirak Al-Janoubi, the Southern Movement commonly known as Hirak, is calling for the secession of the South from the rest of the country, and their rallies are attracting huge crowds. Without polling statistics it is difficult to comment with confidence, but anecdotal evidence points towards a majority of Southerners being pro-secession. Prominent leaders of the secession-

ist movement, including the first vice president of unified Yemen, Ali Salem Al-Beidh, have rejected the National Dialogue, and see any talk other than negotiating secession as pointless.

While the Hirak movement appears to have the masses on their side, they lack international support; the international community views Yemen's unity as vital to the stability of the region. This allows the Yemeni government, currently led by a Southern president and prime minister, an opportunity to salvage the state. This year will likely see conciliatory measures aimed at winning Southerners to the cause. However, as long as corrupt figures (and particularly those hated in the South) remain in positions of power, it may prove difficult to convince the restless South that unity is the way forward.

Abubakr Al-Shamahi is a British-Yemeni freelance journalist and editor of CommentMidEast.com, a platform for young people to write about the Arab World.

## The Martine case and a new logic

The Martine Foundation for Justice  
Justiceformartine.com  
First published Dec. 2012

U.K. authorities have recently outlined why there are compelling reasons that the Martine case should be tried in the country of the crime. The offence occurred on British soil at a time when both the victim and the suspect were guest students in London. Therefore, there is a presumption that the case should be held under U.K. jurisdiction. The witnesses and forensic and physical evidence are all in the U.K. Finally, in terms of a sentence, while the U.K. has abolished the death penalty, it still exists in Yemen.

In a Norwegian documentary in 2009 the suspect's lawyer confirmed that the suspect was living at home in Sana'a and his father paid for legal and living expenses. After the 2008 murder, the father allegedly assisted his suspected son to flee the U.K. by taking him on board his private plane en route from Cairo to Sana'a. The father will therefore always be associated with any outcome of the Martine case irrespective of his son's whereabouts.

The Yemeni Constitution prohibits a non-voluntary extradition of Yemeni citizens. However, it cannot be assumed that this constitution was meant to protect Ye-

meni criminals from law enforcement following crimes committed abroad. This would also be inconsistent with all religions including the focus in Islam being "justice, tolerance respect for human life and dignity."

Being a conservative Islamic state the present regime would achieve greater legitimacy by contributing to an ethical solution in the Martine-case. Beyond the Yemeni foreign minister claiming the Martine case put an extra burden on the government, the internal pressure following the political situation in Yemen is also felt strongly. Thus, Yemen should avoid being regarded as a safe haven for international fugitives both internally and externally.

New social media have made the world more transparent, and universal justice and legal rights have become mainstream concerns globally. In the long run, an ethical solution to this case will benefit all parties involved. Yemen will benefit internationally by contributing to improving international legal order by combating cross border crime. Legitimacy for receiving further military and financial foreign support (U.S./U.K.) would also increase following justice prevailing in this high profile case.

The need for filling a loop-hole in international law is reflected by a new resolution put forward to the OSCE by Norwegian parliamentarians last July. The reso-

lution was based on the experiences from the Martine case, and aimed at reducing international serious crimes such as trafficking, drug dealing, money laundry, kidnapping, rape, murder or terrorism in today's mobile world. Consequently it is important for the Yemeni authorities to see the Martine case as an opportunity to contribute combating "cross border crime," rather than seeing it as a challenge to their sovereignty.

Being considered a matter of ethics, rather than a question of extradition treaties, the longer the fugitive is made unavailable for U.K. authorities the more this case will build momentum — also in the Arabic world. It is vital to see any solution-scenarios in the Martine case in light of this new logic.

Rule of law, human rights and respect for cultures, religions and universal values is the ethical axis of our existence. The Martine-case is a vital test for our aspirations and motivation to contribute to a more humane world based on universal values and peaceful co-existence between nations.

It is still a hope that the suspect will ensure justice prevails by meeting his obligations as a former guest student in the U.K., and return to the country of the crime. In this way the two families could reconcile, which would reinforce the only sustainable global truth; that national and international interests must go beyond personal interests in a case of this nature.

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3 years of post-qualification experience covering the following areas:

- Financial accounting, with the ability to review and analyze accounting transactions; reviewing budgets;
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Must be fluent in English with strong professional communication and writing skills. The applicant should also have excellent skills in Microsoft office.

Qualified candidates for both posts above should submit their applications, including a letter of interest and complete Curriculum Vitae via e-mail to: [recruitment@kpmg.com.ye](mailto:recruitment@kpmg.com.ye) no later than February 11, 2013.

Interested candidates with good command in Arabic and English languages should send their full detailed CV along with all supporting documents within the period mentioned above.

#### Required documentation includes:

1. Two recent color passport photographs
2. Copy of ID or passport
3. Copy of supporting documents for educational and experience background
4. List of references that can be contacted, if any

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- Submissions will not be returned to the writer under any circumstance.
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## Vacancy Announcement for the Post of Managing Director of the Social Fund for Development

### Introduction

The Social Fund for Development (SFD) was established in Yemen by law No. 10/1997, as one of the social safety network components, to alleviate the side effects resulting from the economic reform programs.

The SFD's objectives are to improve the access of the poor communities to the basic social and economic services and to create a model of an effective and efficient organization providing services, supporting local authorities, enabling target communities to participate in local development, promoting income generating activities and creating permanent and temporary work opportunities.

The Social Fund for Development is working under a Board of Directors headed by the Prime Minister, and comprising members from government, NGOs, Private, and Financial sectors.

The SFD is fully autonomous in accordance with its establishment Law and its Manual of Operations. The Managing Director leads the SFD's executive body in the Main Office and the SFD's nine branches, which cover all the governorates of the Republic.

The SFD plans to invest approximately 250 million USD annually for implementing 1500 – 2000 projects nationwide. Thousands of consultants, contractors, suppliers, and intermediary agencies participate in implementation.

Since the position of the Managing Director is vacant, its Board of Directors seeks to attract qualified and highly efficient persons to compete for occupying this position as follows:

**Post Title:** Managing Director  
**Organization:** Social Fund for Development (SFD)  
**Location:** Headquarters of the SFD, Capital City

The SFD Managing Director leads all executive operations of the SFD including planning, financial management, human resource management, and programs implementation. This includes participation in the formulation of the Annual Plans, policies and the preparation of the SFD periodical Reports. The MD, in collaboration with senior staff members, develops effective mechanisms for communication with SFD's Branch Offices, partners and beneficiaries and ensures continuous assessment of performance.

Based on the SFD establishment Law and Manual of Operations, the SFD Managing Director has full authority and responsibility to manage SFD's staff in addition to all the administrative, operational, administrative and financial activities, within SFD.

### Main Tasks and Responsibilities:

- Supervising all SFD's operations to ensure the following is full maintained and accomplished:
  - Annual Work Plans are developed for SFD with indicators considering Geographical and sectoral fund allocation.
  - Branch Offices are established and are fully operational.
  - Projects are screened, appraised and selected according to SFD eligibility criteria.
  - Projects Agreements are signed with the relevant partners respecting SFD objectives.
  - Monitor the implementation of projects in accordance with the operations manual
  - An adequate internal auditing system is in place.
  - Respect of contractual principles and sound procedures.
  - An external independent Auditor with standards acceptable to the BOD and SFD's donors is in place to audit all SFD activities.
- Signing contracts of SFD personnel, assess their performance, and decide promotions or termination of contracts.
- Managing all aspects related to co-ordination with SFD partners including:
  - Negotiations of new agreements, preparation and submission of progress reports according to donors' requirements.
  - Coordination of SFD activities with relevant ministries.
  - Liaison with other governmental agencies interested to co-finance certain activities.
- Singing all Cheques and transfers issued by SFD, MD also represents SFD legally for aspects of SFD's operations on national and international levels.
- The MD can delegate any of the above responsibilities within certain limits for each task— while still having overall accountability for these tasks.

### Qualifications and requirements:

The applicant should possess the following credentials:

#### a) Education and experience:

- University degree - Master's degree or PhD is an advantage.
- At least 7 years experience in the management of projects with multi-programs of interventions and multi-resources of funding (local and international) that apply the best practices, and have an internationally recognized level of performance;
- Proven successful record in managing developmental community-based activities for poverty alleviation;
- Sufficient knowledge/awareness on development challenges and general relevant national poverty alleviation strategies.
- Familiarity with:**
  - Result-based M&E.
  - Community participation.
  - Principles of procurement methods and procedures.

#### b) Managerial Competencies:

- Development-oriented thinking;
- Fact-based decision making;
- High level of adaptability;
- Ability to work under pressure;
- Strategic thinking and ability to link SFD's roles and programs with government's overall poverty reduction strategies to achieve the greatest value and sustainable impact;
- High capabilities of communication for building and maintaining partnership and collaborative relationships with ministries, stakeholders, beneficiaries and donor;
- Ability to inspire trust and initiative spirit within SFD's staff for commitment to Results and Objectives of SFD ;
- Maintaining high standards of personal integrity;
- Planning and management of human resources in order to maintain high levels of performance;
- Sufficient computer skills

#### c) Languages

Fluent in Arabic and English languages (Reading, Speaking and Writing)

#### Other Requirements:

- Holds Yemeni nationality;
- Fully devoted for SFD's business;
- Available on a full-time basis as per SFD work system;
- Able and willing to travel inside and outside the country;
- Not convicted of a crime unless already granted a restitution of integrity.

#### Period of assignment

Renewable annual work contract

#### Reporting:

The Managing Director shall report directly to the Board of Directors.

For potential applicants fulfilling the abovementioned conditions and having the desire to fill the job, please send the job application, attaching a copy of the CV on CD in both Arabic and English languages and relevant documents. Applications should be sent, in a sealed envelope to the following address:

**Vice Chairman of SFD's Board of Directors and Minister of Social Affairs & Labor office, Social Welfare Fund**  
**Address:** Social Welfare Fund – Nougum - behind Sector of Curricula & Educational, Sana'a – Yemen.  
**Phone / Fax:** 01-544013

For those interested in more inquiry call: 01-544013, 736206666, 736331110 during office hours or send an inquiry via e-mail at the following address: [suaadalsalahi@hotmail.com](mailto:suaadalsalahi@hotmail.com) , [ahmed.team@gmail.com](mailto:ahmed.team@gmail.com)

For more information about the Social Fund for Development, please visit the following website:  
[www.sfd-yemen.org](http://www.sfd-yemen.org)

Application have to be sent starting on Tuesday, 12 of February 2013 and not later than 12 of March 2013.

## إعلان عن شغل وظيفة المدير التنفيذي للصندوق الاجتماعي للتنمية

### مقدمة

أنشئ الصندوق الاجتماعي للتنمية بموجب القانون رقم ١٠، لعام ١٩٩٧ كأحد مكونات شبكة الأمان الاجتماعي للتخفيف من الآثار الجانبية الناجمة عن برامج الإصلاح الاقتصادي.

تمثل أهداف الصندوق التنموية في تحسين وصول الفئات الفقيرة إلى الخدمات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية الأساسية، وتقديم نموذج المؤسسة ذات كفاءة وفعالية في تحسين أسلوب تقديم الخدمات، ودعم السلطة المحلية، وتمكين المجتمعات المستهدفة من المشاركة في تنمية مناطقها، وتشجيع الأنشطة المدرة للدخل وخلق فرص عمل ثابتة ومؤقتة.

ويعمل الصندوق تحت مجلس إدارة برئاسة رئيس مجلس الوزراء وعضوية ممثلين حكوميين وممثلين لمنظمات غير حكومية وقطاع خاص وقطاع مالي.

ويتمتع الصندوق باستقلالية كاملة وفقاً لقانون إنشائه ودليل عملياته. ويتولى المدير التنفيذي قيادة وإدارة الجهاز التنفيذي للصندوق بالمرکز الرئيسي وفرعه التسعة التي تغطي كافة محافظات الجمهورية.

ويخطط الصندوق سنوياً لتنفيذ ١٥٠٠ - ٢٠٠٠ مشروع لاستثمار حوالي ٢٥٠ مليون دولار أمريكي، ويشارك الآلاف من الاستشاريين والمقاولين والموردين والمنظمات الوسيطة في التنفيذ.

ولكون وظيفة المدير التنفيذي شاغرة، فإن مجلس إدارة الصندوق يرغب في جذب الكوادر المؤهلة ذات الكفاءة العالية للتنافس لشغل الوظيفة على النحو التالي:

**اسم الوظيفة:** المدير التنفيذي  
**المؤسسة:** الصندوق الاجتماعي للتنمية  
**المكان:** المقر الرئيسي، أمانة العاصمة

يتولى المدير التنفيذي قيادة جميع العمليات التنفيذية للصندوق بما في ذلك التخطيط والإدارة المالية وإدارة الموارد البشرية وتنفيذ البرامج والمشاركة في صياغة الخطط السنوية، والخطط التنفيذية والسياسات وإعداد التقارير الدورية. كما يقوم المدير التنفيذي بالتعاون مع كبار الموظفين في الصندوق بتطوير الآليات الفعالة للتواصل مع فروع الصندوق والشركاء والمستفيدين، كما يعمل على ضمان التقييم المستمر للأداء. وبموجب قانون إنشاء الصندوق ودليل عملياته، فإن المدير التنفيذي لديه كامل الصلاحية والمسئولية لإدارة الكادر الوظيفي وكذا الأنشطة الإدارية والمالية والعملياتية الخاصة بالصندوق.

### أهم المهام والمسؤوليات:

- الإشراف على مجمل الجوانب المتعلقة بعمليات الصندوق، وضمان تحقيق ما يلي:
  - تطوير خطط العمل السنوية للصندوق، مع مراعاة المؤشرات المتعلقة بالتوزيع الجغرافي والقطاعي للمخصصات المالية.
  - تأسيس الفروع، وتمكينها من القيام بأعمالها بصورة كاملة.
  - إقرار المشاريع وفقاً لمعايير الأهلية الخاصة بالصندوق.
  - التوقيع على اتفاقيات المشاريع مع الشركاء المعنيين لتحقيق أهداف الصندوق.
  - مراقبة تنفيذ المشاريع وفقاً لدليل العمليات.
  - وجود نظام ملائم للمراجعة الداخلية.
  - احترام المبادئ التعاقدية وسلامة إجراءاتها.
  - وجود مراجع حسابات خارجي مستقل، يكون مقبولاً لدى مجلس الإدارة والممولين، وذلك لمراجعة مجمل الأنشطة التي ينفذها الصندوق.
- توقيع عقود العاملين في الصندوق، وتقييم أدائهم، وترقيتهم أو إنهاء عقودهم.
- يقوم المدير التنفيذي بإدارة جميع الجوانب المتصلة بالتنسيق مع شركاء الصندوق، بما فيها:
  - التفاوض بشأن الاتفاقيات الجديدة وإعداد وتقديم التقارير عن التقدم المحرز في تنفيذ الأنشطة، وذلك وفقاً لمتطلبات المانحين.
  - التنسيق بين أنشطة الصندوق والوزارات المعنية المسؤولة عن القطاعات التي يتدخل فيها الصندوق
  - إقامة صلات وثيقة مع الهيئات الحكومية الأخرى المهتمة بالمشاركة مع الصندوق في تمويل أنشطة معينة.
- يقوم المدير التنفيذي على جميع الشكايات والتحويلات التي تصدر عن الصندوق. كما يقوم المدير التنفيذي أيضاً بتمثيل الصندوق قانونياً في الأمور المتعلقة بعمليات الصندوق، وذلك على المستويين الوطني والدولي.
- بإمكان المدير التنفيذي تفويض أي من الصلاحيات المذكورة آنفاً في إطار حدود معينة لكل مهمة على حدة - مع استمراره في تحمل المسؤولية عن مجمل هذه المهام.

### المؤهلات والمتطلبات:

يشترط في مقدم الطلب ما يلي:

- التعليم والخبرة:**
  - مؤهل جامعي - شهادة الماجستير أو / الدكتوراه، ميزة.
  - ٧ سنوات خبرة على الأقل في إدارة برامج متنوعة المجالات، ومصادر تمويل متعددة محلية ودولية، بمؤسسة/مؤسسات تتبع أفضل الممارسات ومعترف بمستوى أدائها دولياً.
  - سجل موفق من النجاح في إدارة أنشطة تنموية للتخفيف من الفقر وبمشاركة المجتمع.
  - إلمام ومعرفة كافية بالتحديات التنموية والاستراتيجيات الوطنية العامة ذات العلاقة بالتخفيف من الفقر.
- المعرفة:**
  - المراقبة والتقييم على أساس النتائج
  - المشاركة المجتمعية.
  - طرق وإجراءات التعاقدات/المشتريات.

### ب) القدرات والمهارات

- التوجه التنموي في التفكير
- القدرة على اتخاذ القرار المبني على الحقائق
- القدرة على التكيف مع بيئة عمل
- العمل تحت الضغط
- التوجه والرؤية الاستراتيجية والقدرة على ربط دور وبرامج الصندوق بالاستراتيجيات الوطنية العامة لمكافحة الفقر وبرامجها بما يحقق أثر أدام وأعظم.
- قدرات تواصل عالية لبناء شراكة وعلاقات تعاونية مع الوزارات والجهات المعنية والمستفيدين والممولين.
- القدرة على بث روح الثقة والمبادرة والالتزام بالنتائج في إطار رؤية ورسالة الصندوق لدى العاملين فيه.
- يكون على مستوى عالٍ من النزاهة الشخصية.
- التخطيط للموارد البشرية وإدارتها من أجل الحفاظ على مستويات عالية من الأداء المتميز.
- مهارات كافية في القدرة على استخدام تقنية المعلومات.

### ج) اللغات

إجادة اللغة العربية واللغة الانجليزية (قراءة، وتحدثاً وكتابةً)

### د) متطلبات أخرى:

- أن يكون يمني الجنسية، ولانتمياً صحياً
- التفرغ التام لعمل الصندوق
- متواجد للعمل على أساس دوام كامل بحسب نظام الصندوق الاجتماعي للتنمية
- القدرة على السفر داخلياً وخارجياً بحسب متطلبات العمل
- ألا يكون قد صدر ضده أي حكم قضائي بات في أي جريمة يعاقب عليها القانون ما لم يكن قد رُد إليه اعتباره

### مدة التعيين:

عقد عمل يتجدد سنوياً وفقاً لللائحة عمل الصندوق

### التقارير:

يقدم المدير التنفيذي تقاريره مباشرة إلى مجلس الإدارة.

فعل من تتوفر فيه الشروط ولديه الرغبة في شغل الوظيفة، إرسال طلب شغل الوظيفة مرفقاً به نسخة من السيرة الذاتية باللغتين العربية والانجليزية على قرص مرن CD مدعمة بالوثائق المهمة، وذلك في ظرف مغلق إلى العنوان التالي:

**مكتب نائب رئيس مجلس الإدارة وزير الشؤون الاجتماعية والعمل بصندوق الرعاية الاجتماعية**  
**العنوان:** صندوق الرعاية الاجتماعية - نغم - خلف قطاع المناهج والتوجيه التربوي - صنعاء - اليمن  
**تلفون + فاكس:** ٥٤٤٠١٣ - ٠١

للمرغبيين بمزيد من الاستفسار الاتصال على الأرقام التالية: ٥٤٤٠١٣ - ٧٣٦٢٠٦٦٦٦٠٠١ - ٧٣٦٣١١١٠ خلال ساعات الدوام وإرسال الاستفسار بالبريد الإلكتروني على العنوان التالي: [suaadalsalahi@hotmail.com](mailto:suaadalsalahi@hotmail.com) , [ahmed.team@gmail.com](mailto:ahmed.team@gmail.com)

لمزيد من المعلومات عن الصندوق الاجتماعي للتنمية يمكن زيارة الموقع التالي: [www.sfd-yemen.org](http://www.sfd-yemen.org)

يبدأ إرسال الطلبات اعتباراً من يوم الثلاثاء، الموافق ١٢ فبراير ٢٠١٣

وأخر موعد لاستلامها الثلاثاء الموافق ١٢ مارس ٢٠١٣



# Public urination: a private act now found on street corners



A lack of public rest rooms is a source of the problem according to public officials.

Amira Nasser

Walking the streets of Sana'a, your eyes are in constant motion as they dart from one scene of commotion to another, but people are complaining there is one sight that no one wants to see – someone urinating on the street.

While not only an eyesore and a public health risk, such incidence trouble shop owners and local residents, who are often the ones to witness the act and are at a loss as to what to do.

Marzook Masoud, a resident of Al-Tahrir, said he often sees people relieving themselves in the open in Al-Tahrir Square. He said the owners of houses and shopping centers feel powerless to stop the

situation.

"We wrote notices on the walls in order to avert people from urinating in such places. We also complained to the municipality. Now I don't know what the solution is," Masoud said, whose house is next to a bus station where the problem really manifests itself.

Ali Saeed, the proprietor of a shopping center in Al-Hasaba, said he has suffered financial losses

because customers have been driven away by the stench outside his store due to public urination. His store is near a hidden narrow lane, which he says encourages the act because people believe they are unseen.

Public urination is often done covertly making perpetrators harder to catch.

"Those who urinate on the street tend to do that so in the early morning or late at night. This is a problem," said Mohammed Hamoud Othman, the general manager of Al-Thwara district.

Othman said the phenomenon is a big issue in his area even though the district administration has installed many public rest rooms, particularly near the Hasaba market entrance.

However, he believes people are urinating in public now more because many of the rest rooms were damaged during the 2011 uprising.

Dr. Mohammed Al-Asbahi, the general director of environmental health in Sana'a doesn't think this is an excuse.

"Many of the public rest rooms that were available prior to the events of 2011 were shut down. But, recently these public rest rooms have been restored," he said.

Al-Asbahi, said low awareness of the bad effects of urinating in the street is the root of the problem. He wants media campaigns to play a part in educating people and wants more posters and brochures to be distributed in certain areas that highlight the detrimental impact of urinating in public places.

Al-Asbahi thinks there are many things that can be done to curb



A national museum wall frequently used as a "toilet" is now in a state of decay.

people's willingness to urinate in front of others. He says mosques can help by opening their rest rooms during the daytime.

He also wants business owners to regulate and be vigilant, making it known if they see someone relieving themselves near their shop.

In addition, he wants security forces to step up their efforts and hold someone over for two hours if they are caught urinating in public.

Finally, he thinks the private sector also needs to do its part.

"We requested that the owners of restaurants, cafes and parks contribute to building public rest rooms so as to mitigate this trend," he said.


Despite the city's efforts to keep

one tourist attraction – the Old City – clean, public urination remains an issue.

Khalid Al-Aqwa, the director of Old Sana'a, said they have strived to maintain Bab Al-Yemen's reputation as a pristine place by paving streets and growing trees. But, worried about distorting the picturesque scene, they hesitate to install public bathrooms.

Instead, Al-Aqwa says it is up to citizens to take pride in their city and refrain from acts that contribute to its decline like public urination.

"Sana'a is the face of Yemen. We make a plea to all Yemenis to preserve it and be honorable for everyone," he said.



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Interested companies are invited to contact CLP at the address below to request a copy of the RFQ during the period **January 28, 2013 thru Wednesday, January 30, 2013 04:00pm** to receive the complete Tender Documents.

CLP email: [proc@clp-yemen.com](mailto:proc@clp-yemen.com)

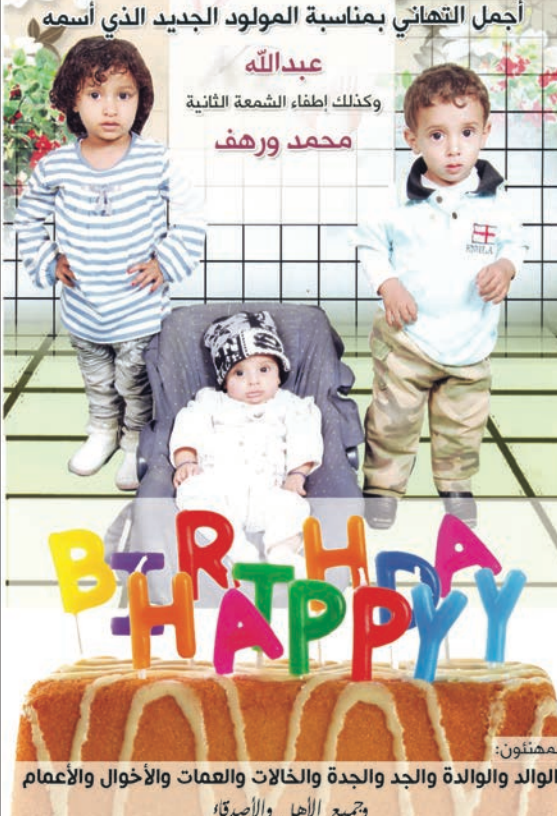


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 الفروع، الفيطة، ٠٥/٦١٠٣٩ - المكلا، ٠٥/٣٠٧٨٠ - سيون، ٠٥/٤٨٣٤٢ - شبوة، (صق) ٠٥/٢٠٠٧٥٧

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- ▶ Maged Mohammed, Dental Technician-experience for 8years, Diploma of technical conditioning & cooling, Connect:773899026 / 700215989
- ▶ Bachelor of English,

- Diplom of Computer, Experience of trade Correspondence. Connect: 700541634
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- ▶ Hussein Mbarack, Yemeni, Diploma, English secondary, Computer skills, Experience: Translator, Reservation 770018223
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**Coffee Break**

**Sudoku** Easy Intermediate Difficult

5	7	3	6						1		9	1	5	3						8	2	7				1
	4		6	5			2		1			5	9					5			8		2			
8			7	1	5					2	7		5					1		2		7				
	2	3		5		6			9		2	4		8					7	3			2	9		
4		9		2	7					3	4	8	7					6			7				3	
1	9	5			4				8		9			6					5		4				9	
2		3	8	1					6	3	5		1								9	2	3			
3		1	5	7						4	6			5				4								

**Chess**

Black plays and wins in the 4th move

**Solutions**

Sudoku

**IMPORTANT Numbers**

Electricity problems 177, Emergency Police 199, Fire Brigade 191, Water Problems 171, Telephone enquires 118, Accident (Traffic) 194, Foreign Affairs, 2025447, Interior Affairs 2527017, Immigration 2507613, Inter-City Bus Co. 262111/3, Ministry of Communication 325110/1/2/3, Radio Station 282061, Tourism 254032, TV Station 332001/2, Red Crescent 203131/3, Tel-Yemen 7522202, Y.net 752227

**AIRLINES**

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**BANKS**

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 Qatar International Bank 01-517544  
 Yemeni Bank for Reconstruction and Development 01-271601  
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USP 01-416751  
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Modern German Hospital 600000/602008 E-mail:felixpene@hotmail.com Fax. 601889  
 Al-Jumbury Hospital 01 274286/87  
 Hadda Hospital 01 412981  
 Al-Thawra Hospital 01 246967/66  
 Al-Junaid Hospital 01-424765  
 Al-Ahli Modern Hospital 01-444936  
 Science and Technology Hospital 01-500000  
 Al-Kuwait Hospital 01-283283  
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 Azal Hospital 01-200000

**HOTELS**

L'AZURDE suites hotel 01-432020/30/40  
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 Sheraton Hotel 01 237500

Movenpick Hotel 01 546666 Fax: 01 546000  
 Sheba Hotel 01 272372  
 Relax-Inn Hotel 01 449871  
 Gulf Tourist Hotel and Suits 01-630494  
 Mercure Hotel 01-212544  
 Shammur Hotel 01-418546  
 Universal Hotels 01-440305/7-14  
 Shahrani Hotel 01-417320

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UNITED INSURANCE Tel: 01/555 555  
 Free Number: 800 55 55  
 Al-Watania Insurance (Y.S.C.) Sana'a 272713/874 Aden: 243490-242476 Taiz 250029 Hodeidah 219941/4/6  
 Marib Insurance Sana'a: 206129/8/13 Aden: 255668 Taiz:240927/34 Hodeidah: 219545/8  
 Yemen Islamic Insurance Co. Sana'a 284193, 5 lines, Taiz: 258881, Aden: 244280  
 Yemen Insurance company Sana'a: 272806/272962/43, Aden: 247617 Taiz: 250345, Mukalla: 304292, Hodeidah: 261839/17  
 Aman Insurance 01-214093

**RESTAURANT**

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**SCHOOLS**

Rainbow Pre-School Tel: 414026 / 424433  
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 Sana'a International School Tel: 01 370191/2 Fax 370193  
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**SUPERMARKET**

Al-Jandul Supermarket. 01-422610  
 Happy Land supermarket 01-444424

**TRANSLATIONS**

Urwa Wautqa Int. Auth. Trans. Arabic-English-French -German-Russian-Italian- Spanish-Polish-Dutch- Iranian-Turkish-Eriterea-Amharic. Tel: 01-240515

**TRAVEL**

Sky Travel & Tourism 01-535080/83 02-221270  
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 Al-Nasim Travel 270750  
 Universal Business Travel Center 441158/9/60 Qadas Fly 01-280777

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**MINISTRIES**

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 Prime Minister 01-490 800  
 Ministry of Public Works and Highways 01-545132  
 Ministry of Awqaf and Guidance 01-274439  
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 Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour 01-262809  
 Ministry of Legal Affairs 01-402213  
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# Post revolution, newspapers in Yemen fight to stay in print

Story and photos by Motasem Abdulsalam

Many Yemeni newspapers are struggling to stay afloat, with an increasing number of nationwide newspapers such as Al-Ayam and Al-Nida, closing down. Although finances are often blamed for the decline of print media, various other factors have played a role in Yemen, including orders from the former regime that still permeate.

Throughout the politically tumultuous events of 2011, many newspapers were confiscated at military checkpoints because of news articles they published that were considered anti-regime. Al-Ola newspaper and Akhbar Al-Yoom were examples of papers that suffered huge financial losses due to

this practice and were eventually forced to close.

Hilal Al-Jamra, the managing editor of Al-Nida newspaper, which was also forced to stop publishing in 2011, said the confiscations of newspapers triggered tremendous financial losses because people were afraid to buy them. He claimed that seven successive issues of Al-Nida suffered this fate, financially crippling the newspaper, and damaging the staff's morale.

On top of this, due to a lack of security, the newspapers headquarters were burglarized several times, Al-Nida said.

Although the government set out a comprehensive compensation program for newspapers that were exposed to difficulties due to the revolution, many feel that the criterion for compensation was too complex. Al-Jamra says Al-Ayam newspaper deserves compensation

in conjunction with its level of professionalism, but the government program does not address this.

The Yemeni Journalists' Syndicate (YJS) recently published a report that shows the Information Ministry of the former regime closed several newspapers due to their coverage of politically contentious events.

At that time, the Ministry of Information also stipulated that no articles were to be published about the South, imposing strict censorship on all papers. Following the announcement, the ministry decided to shutdown Al-Nida, Al-Share, Al-Masdr, Al-Watan, Al-Hali and Al-Dyar newspapers for not complying.

Marwan Damaj, the secretary general of the YJS, said another hardship for newspaper in 2011 was the breakdown of electricity. Many newspapers could not go to

press, particularly independent institutions as they relied on power to run their printing presses.

Damaj is optimistic today. He says new newspapers continue to open up and replace the old ones.

However, many readers remain unhappy with the quality of journalism.

Mohammed Al-Asbahi, an avid reader, said print publications have not fulfilled the needs of readers.

"In Yemen the political press, the sport press and the economic press are not up to the standards of other countries," he said.

Because modern technology has not reached many parts of Yemen, people rely on newspapers as the sole reference for news and job vacancies. The state also depends on the newspapers to publish new laws and decrees, which is why readers like Al-Asbahi are concerned about the future of the profession.



Although new publications are gaining ground, several newspapers were forced to shut down during the revolution.

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