





Economic Opportunities Fund (EOF) Presidency of Council of the Ministers - Sana'a, Yemen **Economic opportunities Programme (EOP)**

International Marketing Firms Required (ICB)

The Government of Yemen represented by the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation has received a Grant from (IFAD) and co-finance from Islamic bank for Development and European Union toward the Economic Opportunities Fund. EOF was created by the Presidential decree # 183-2010 dated 25/09/2010 as a public-private partnership entity working to improve the economic status of poor women and men in rural areas.

The EOF is managing the Economic Opportunities Programme (EOP), a rural development programme financed by the Government of Yemen, the European Union, the Islamic Development Bank and the International Fund for Agricultural Development. The goal of the Economic Opportunities Programme (EOP) is to improve the economic status of poor rural women and men. Its objective is to create sustainable economic opportunities for poor women and men in the programme areas.

The main outputs of EOP will be the targeted precious commodities (coffee, honey, vegetables, fruits and handicrafts,.... etc) that are aimed to get their positions at high value regional and international markets with high revenues and profits margins for both Yemeni exporters directly and reach indirectly the targeted producing associations composed of poor rural farmers.

Therefore, the EOF is seeking to contract a "Professional Marketing Company" specialized in marketing of agricultural commodities through their wide marketing networking at the countries around the world which known by seeking such EOP's commodities in a wide demand along a year, in addition to has an efficient marketing channels/tools for targeting such high value markets at the targeted countries whether the markets are factories, hypermarkets or big wholesalers.

The marketing process will be developed in close collaboration with the relevant staff of the Economic Opportunities Fund, EOP's exporters and other involved stakeholders.

Respective Companies whether they have their presence at Yemen or not are requested to submit their proposals for the required services within the below specified period. The proposal should include technical and financial proposals in separate sealed

The request for proposal (RFP) is to be obtained by the eligible qualified firms, up on a written request to be addressed to EOF, the Interested Marketing Companies/firms may obtain further information by lodging to EOF website www.eofyemen.org or by contacting EOF at the below address during official hours (08:00am-04:00). (Sat-Wed)

Economic Opportunities Fund (EOF), Sana'a.

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الاستعلامات: 241230 01

تليفاكس: 517108 01

E-mail: procurement@eofyemen.org or ceo@eofyemen.org

The deadline for submitting proposals is 25th of March 2013, 3:00 pm.





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Displaced by Sukhoi 22 plane crash, Ma'een residents receive government compensation

Story by Amal Al-Yarisi Photo by Bassam Al-Ashmori

SANA'A, March 10 - A committee assigned by the Ministry of Public Works and Highways began a survey Saturday of the Sukhoi 22 aircraft crash site near the Change Square of Ma'een District to verify the reports made by the Secretariat Compensation Committee.

Over six houses were damaged by the military aircraft, which plummeted to the ground on February 22, killing 11. The Secretariat agreed to compensate those whose homes were damaged by the crash and so far has made good on his promise, granting an initial YR500,000 or about \$2,300 in compensation to 15 families, Mujahid Al-Khalidid, the general manager of Ma'een said.

The Compensation Committee assigned Waleed Rafe and Abdulrageeb Ata, managers of the public works office, to hire local contractors. The buildings will be repaired as soon as possible, Al-Khalidi said, but did not specify when that recon-



Compensation offered to families of the six destroyed homes is expected to sustain them for six months.

tic that my house will be repaired."

placed tenant, agreed that the Sec-

retariat has been cooperative—and

he, too, received compensation-

but remains skeptical that his home

fulfill its pledges of rebuilding and

"I wish the government would

will be rebuilt.

Mustafa Al-Shamiri, another dis-

struction would begin. In the meantime, the compensation is expected to sustain those displaced by the damages for up to six months.

Abdulkhaleq Mohammed's threefloor house sustained damages. He is content with the compensation.

"The Secretariat cooperated with us," Mohammad said, "I'm optimisrepairing the houses," he said. Yahia Taj Al-deen has not re-

ceived any compensation. He said the first floor of the six-storey building, where he is the landlord, was damaged.

"The sewer pipes in my house were completely destroyed," Al-Deen said. His tenants left. He's lost all of the money that he would otherwise have collected from their rent, he said.

The Russian-made aircraft that fell to the ground last month was running routine military operations over this residential area when a technical malfunction caused the pilot to lose control of the plane, a recent fact-finding committee found. Three months prior, another military plane crashed in the Hasaba area of Sana'a.

Despite the fact that Yemeni President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi has issued statements calling on the military to find alternative areas for training, far from residential areas, no new plans have been





Government roles out increased security in anticipation of NDC

Story and photo by Amal Al-Yarisi

SANA'A, March 10 — A tightened security campaign that targets all governorates nationwide began on

The campaign is being streamlined under the auspices of the Military Affairs Committee in preparation for the National Dialogue Conference (NDC), beginning March 18.

In Sana'a General Ali Saeed Obaid, the spokesperson of the Military Affairs Committee, said the city has been divided into four areas, each managed by a security official, who will ensure that check points throughout the city are confiscating unlicensed weapons and

Anyone carrying an unlicensed weapon will be apprehended, Obaid said, calling for local cooperation.

security campaigns in the city for ment.



Officials say the increased security presence will be "operating around the clock" in preparation for the National Dialogue Con-

discriminately applying regulations. Locals complain influential with us, given the difficulties we Citizens have criticized previous persons receive preferential treat-

"We call on sheikhs to cooperate face when we deal with them," said Abdulbari Al-Amiri, a checkpoint

security guard in Sana'a, adding that some tribal leaders feel like they are exempt from undergoing checks such as these.

Despite such criticisms, locals are generally pleased with the increased measures. Qasim Rasheed, a Sana'a resident, called the campaign a "positive step."

Rasheed said that he hopes the security checkpoints stay in place, even after the national conference



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EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

Dr. Fuad Al-Salahi to the Yemen Times:

stability build a state and call the dialogue a success, there

"If we want to achieve

Turn to page 4 for the interview



مقائلة حصرية

الدكتور فؤاد الصلاحي ليمن تايز: جهات قبلية وعسكرية في صنعاء لا تريد للحوار أن ينجح

نص المقابلة في صفحة ٥



Yemeni detainees in Guantanamo Bay receive special government committee

Rammah Al-Jubari

SANA'A, March 10 — Human rights advocates say they are gaining ground in their fight to secure the return of Yemeni citizens detained at the U.S.-owned detention facility, Guantanamo Bay.

Last Wednesday, activists and relatives of Guantanamo detainees met with officials to establish a ministerial committee dedicated to negotiating with U.S. powers responsible for the prison located in Cuba.

The committee consists of representatives from the Interior Ministry, the National Security Bureau, HOOD Organization for Defending Rights and Freedoms and relatives of detainees.

Abdurrahman Barman, the head of HOOD, a local non-profit that follows the issue, said a Yemeni delegate, in coordination with the U.S administration, is preparing to visit the prison in order to monitor a reported hunger strike in one of the prison's blocks that began about a month ago.

Yemenis comprise the majority of Guantanamo's detainees - 116 nationals have been detained since



Although the U.S. Department of Justice has acquitted 58 Yemeni prisoners but no one has been released.

the facility opened in 2002. Not everyone is convinced the committee will make headway with this international and

brother of a Yemeni who has been imprisoned for 13 years.

"Yemen is unwilling to receive the arrestees who have been acquitted by the U.S administration," he added, referring to the 58 detainees that Barman says have been cleared by U.S. officials for a prison transfer.

U.S. officials could not be contacted by press time to comment on the

controversial issue. "Relatives of the arrestees deem this step an attempt to calm them down," said Nabeel Al-Hela, the

Benomar calls Dubai meeting



Mohammed Al-Samei

SANA'A, March 6 - United Nations special envoy to Yemen Jamal Benomar arrived in Sana'a on Sunday, a day after he met with Hirak leaders in Dubai to negotiate their participation in the National Dialogue Conference to

begin March 18 and to put an end to recent clashes in the South.

Hirak, also known as the Southern Movement, repeatedly threatened to boycott the conference

Benomar told media outlets the outcome of the meeting was fruitful and positive.

After the meeting in Dubai, Hirak participants issued a statement.

"We agree the Southern issue will only be solved peacefully," they said. "We will exert our best efforts to prevent acts of

A key reason Hirak's presence at the NDC is still uncertain is the diverging opinions among its

Some remain locked in ideas of secession, while others have shown willingness to consider federalism as an option for state formation, to be debated at the conference.

"We said previously that we won't participate in the dialogue unless it's a dialogue between the South and the North," said Dr. Abdu Al-Ma'tari, a spokesman for a faction

Security guards fired from US Embassy protest severance, demand compensation

Story and photo by Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, March 6 - Dozens of protestors have been standing outside of the massive, heavilyguarded United States Embassy since Saturday, when the embassy fired 25 Yemeni security personnel. The protestors, some of whom had been working for the embassy for up to five years, say that their contracts had been violated.

Protestors said that they don't know why they were fired. Their rights, both as workers under Yemeni law and in accordance with the contracts that they signed with the embassy, have been denied, they said.

Before their dismissal, the security guards at the embassy earned around \$400 to \$800, or YR86,000 to YR172,000, a

"Unfortunately, circumstances have required the U.S. Embassy Sana'a to eliminate a number of positions," Lou Fintor, a spokesperson for the embassy told the Yemen Times in a written

"Those affected by this reduction have already been notified individually—both in writing and in person. The embassy is working diligently to provide comprehensive assistance to all those affected. This includes job counseling, assistance with alternative employment, and the full extent of all benefits allowed under Yemeni law," Fintor said. Though promised severance pay

from the embassy, the guards have yet to receive any money.



The labor office in Sana'a has promised protestors to involve the Yemeni government in their case against the embassy.

Abdulsalam Al-Sanabani, the investigation coordinator in the Labor Office in Sana'a, said his office has been following the case and that they will be sending a report to the Yemeni Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Yemeni law guarantees them prompt compensation, Al-Sanabani said.

"We worked as security guards of the embassy. We've been receiving our salaries from the U.S. Department of the State for 4 to 5 years," Akram Al-Arami, spokesperson of the fired guards,

"We were surprised by our dismissal. We don't know the reasons," Al-Arami said. "The embassy told us that the U.S. Department of the State has gone bankrupt and wants to reduce the workforce."

The embassy employs over 450 Yemeni security personnel, in addition to their American staff.

"I turned down many job offers to accept this position at the embassy. Now? They fire me without prior notice," Al-Arami said.

Mohammed Al-Duba'ai, another protestor, said he and other fired guards would continue to protest. They will set up tents and block streets in front of the American embassy, Al-Duba'ai said.

The United States Embassy is located in a huge, fortified compound on the northeast corner of the city. Since the revolution two years ago, the United States has increased the amount of aid they have dedicated to Yemen by millions, now pledging \$345 million towards development projects.

with Southern leaders 'fruitful'



While those in the South continue to debate their terms and conditions leading up to the NDC, others are growing more uneasy about the international community's involvement following Benomar's meeting.

demanding secession.

"We don't know the outcome of the NDC yet but what the International Community wants will be carried out," said political analyst Ghamdan Al-Yusfi. think Yemenis are the least influential part in the NDC."

Fertile valley in Dhamar threatened by ongoing water depletion practices



Arbitrary consumption of water in Jahran Valley leads to well depletion by three meters each year.

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

DHAMAR, March 6 - Randomlydug water wells in the Jahran Valley of Dhamar governorate are now numbered at 1,000, according to officials.

Anareaknownforitsagricultural productivity, the number worries local experts as water supplies are being depleted at unsustainable levels, said Colonel Ahmed Ali Obad Al-Saqri, the official manager of Jahran District.

Water levels are decreasing by three meters each year due to random consumption and are shrinking much quicker due to modern machinery.

A majority of the water is being used for qat planting, a crop widespread in Yemen, but

controversial due to its high water consumption.

Although, Yahiya Mujahid Ibrahim, the project coordinator in the local council, said "digging in Jahran Valley is not permissible," farmers in need of water for their plants continue to do so.

To save the dwindling water supply, the Water Resources Office in Dhamar is creating workshops to educate farmers about water usage and implementing a scheme that is growing in popularity uprooting gat plants and replacing them with coffee.

While gat-elimination advocates praise the technique, others question its practicality, saying farmers rely on gat for income. Coffee replacement campaigns are also often criticized as "elitist."



The Heads of Mission Spouses Association (HOMSA), a local organization that works with women and children, hosted a benefit lunch on Wednesday to raise money for children suffering from cancer.

TIMES

'Yemen's forgotten citizens,' Muhamasheen community anticipate participation at NDC

Story and photos by Sadeq Al-Wesabi

hough Yemeni, they typically live on the edges of society, often called "pariahs" in their own country. They're distinguishable by their dark complexions and African heritage and locally, they're still derogatorily referred to as the, "Akhdam" — literally "servants."

But activists from this community, one of Yemen's poorest, call themselves another name: Muhamasheen, the "marginalized ones"—and intend on presenting demands at the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) this month. Although still unofficial, the conference's Preparatory Committee say the Muhamasheen



Much of the impoverished community live on around \$3 day.



Members of the Muhamasheen community see the National Dialogue Conference will be a chance to gain political clout.

are slated to be granted at least one seat from the 62 that will be distributed by President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi.

"We're Yemenis and have rights as citizens," Ali Abdullah Saleh, a Muhamasheen activist, said.

Per a seat allocation plan, decided on by Yemen's U.N. Special Envoy Jamal Benomar, the Muhamasheen fall into the category of underrepresented groups that require presidential appointment. Other groups assumed to make the list, include artists, religious scholars and the Jewish community.

Saleh believes that participating in the NDC will be a step forward for his impoverished community.

"We have visions about the constitution and the civil state," Saleh said. "First, we have to say that we're here. We aspire to change our lives; we don't want to live on handouts anymore."

The revolution two years ago

arrived as pre-Islamic invaders from Ethiopia— and number over a million, but they've never held equal access to education, health services, employment or been able to participate in national politics, they say.

Out of the 565 seats in the upcoming meeting, the number dedicated to the Muhamasheen will be small, either one or two.

which toppled President Ali

Abdullah Saleh has encouraged

previously marginalized groups like the Muhamasheen to organize

within their communities. Last

April there was a 4,000-strong

strike of Sana'a street sweepers,

the majority of whom belong to

the Muhamasheen community. After the streets became clogged

with trash, interim Prime Minister

Mohamad Basindawa entered

"We're not greedy," Saleh said.

Rashed,

another

school.

'We only want a crumb of Yemen's

Muhamasheen from Sana'a, is not

optimistic. He doesn't imagine his

community will fare well at the

"No one will take them seriously,"

In Sana'a, most Muhamasheen live

attend

in crippling poverty, in overcrowded

shacks on the outskirts of town.

negotiations.

Abdulla

Rashed said.

Muhamasheen

wealth.

Out of the 565 seats in the upcoming meeting, the number dedicated to the Muhamasheen will be small, either one or two. By contrast political parties like the General People's Conference, previously headed by former president Ali Abdullah Saleh, and their opposition the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP) have been granted the lion's share.

but children often follow in their

parents' footsteps, earning around \$3 dollar a day, scraping by on the

They've lived in Yemen for as

long as anyone can remember

local legends hold that thev

streets of Yemen.

Fuad Alawi, the head of Anti-Discrimination Sawaa Organization, stressed the importance of establishing a formal political party for the Muhamasheen; thus far the community has been only loosely organized.

"[Establishing] a political party will empower them and enable them to gain political positions," he said.

Ali Al-Muqri, the award-winning Yemeni novelist who highlighted the Muhamasheen's plight in his book, "Black Taste, Black Smell," told the Yemen Times that he has serious doubts about the NDC's aims.

"The government has no serious intention of improving the situation of this community," he said.

"I think their presence will be nominal," he added.

Still invisible

Boshra Al-Amri, a journalist and human rights activist, said that the Muhamasheen remain invisible, both to the government and in the SANAA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL



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private sector. This should change, she said.

The NDC ought to include the Muhamasheen, as well as other typically marginalized social groups in the country even if they do not have political clout, Al Amri said.

Eighteen-year-old Muhamasheen Raheel Mohammed hopes to see the government make efforts in the future to educate children from the underserved community.

"Our children have been disgraced. Some have been killed in cold-blood," she said. "We want [the children] to be well-educated.

We don't want our children to be beggars and plastic can collectors anymore."

While some Muhamasheen have

been talking about this month's conference, for others it's abstract. They're too busy struggling to make a living.

"We have no idea about our

"We have no idea about our participation in the NDC," said Mohammad Al-Marzooqi, head of the Cleaning and Sweepers Syndicate, which is made up of Muhamasheen workers.. "We're not sure if we'll be included in the NDC or not."



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Interview 11 March, 2013

Dr. Fuad Al-Salahi to the Yemen Times:

'If we want to achieve stability, build a state and call the dialogue a success, there should be logical remedies for the Southern issue.'

Like many academics, Dr. Fuad Al-Salahi, a sociology professor at Sana'a University, has opinions about the upcoming National Dialogue Conference (NDC). Set to begin March 18, Al-Salahi is hesitant to say the conference will kick off successfully. He says many obstacles still stand in the way of implementation, including the government's inability to fully address issues in the South.

Unlike many optimists, Al-Salahi takes issue with the view he says many have - the dialogue will change Yemen over night. He says even after the conference, Yemen faces a long road ahead.

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

Just days from the commencement of the National Dialogue Conference (NDC), some say it will be delayed. What is your opinion?

Generally speaking, Yemen cries out for dialogue because the country is going through an incomparable situation. There is security and military chaos and many stifling economic crises. Government institutions are unstable. An active role of state institutions is needed. This situation requires a dialogue and stability. Stability needs political reconciliation between political stakeholders in the country. The dialogue will not only be devoted to the issues highlighted in the Gulf

Dialogue is essential so the inclination towards violence is limited. Democracy cannot be established without a culture of dialogue among people and political parties. There is a lot of optimism because people think the dialogue will push Yemen toward development overnight. This is not true. Dialogue is only the first preparation towards

Will the situation become stable and will security be restored once the conference is

There are some things that invite the delay of the dialogue. There are internal political powers that encourage violence. There are also regional powers that do not want the dialogue to be held. However, if the NDC is going to be held on March 18 as scheduled, this will help create reconciliation among political parties. One of the principles of the dialogue is to accept one another and rely on a variety of opinions.

Some say the majority of political parties will join the NDC, leading to a calm situation.

The first session will be exploratory. Everyone will feel each other out - what the Houthis think, what the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP) and what the civil society organizations think.

There are some opinions in Yemen that those who represent the NDC are not representatives of the revolution. Revolutionary youths are absent from the NDC because the bulk of attendees are political party representatives. The parties have nothing to do with the revolu-

Many of the revolutionary youth are affiliated with parties that had a leading role in the revolution.

Very few, when you look at the names. The youngest one was 45-years-old. So, where are the

For example, I came across some young on the Houthis' list. Those youth were active in the revolu-

The number of youth remains limited. In fact, independent youths were the backbone of the revolution, not partisan youth. The independent youth are hopeful and ambitious to achieve a civil state.

The dialogue stakeholders should accomplish the goals of the revolution, build a civil state, establish equality and the rule of law. Aden and Tehama's grievances or those of any other governorate should be addressed.

What are the steps that should be taken prior to the launch of the NDC, particularly when it comes to the Southern Movement (Hirak)?

The Southern Movement sides with dialogue. But, there are steps that should be taken before the dialogue - procedural steps that create trust such as an apology made by President Hadi for the 1994 War. Also, the committee set-up to discuss land disputes should make decisions regarding the return of looted land. This should take place prior to dialogue in order to build trust with the Southerners. The prisoners under the Southern Movement should be released. This will consolidate trust and send the message the government is heading towards a political dialogue that excludes no one.

Do you think President Hadi's visit to Aden is fruitful in terms of communicating with the Southern Movement?

Neither the presidency nor the government has declared the results



This government takes the same approach as the former regime - it isn't transparent.

of the visit. But, let's examine these results. This government takes the same approach as the former regime - it isn't transparent. But, we know President Hadi went to Aden because the situation was turbulent. There is no justification for the clashes that took place on Feb. 21. Unfortunately, there are some political powers that want to flex their muscles and exert themselves in all cities and governorates. They want to send a message that their voice is loud. The Southern issue is key to political dialogue and peace



Dr. Fuad Al-Salahi is a sociology professor at Sana'a University.

in Yemen. If we want to achieve stability, build a state and call the dialogue a success, there should be logical remedies for the Southern issue.

Some political analysts say there will be presidential decisions and procedures aimed at reassuring Southerners and involving them in the NDC. What is your opinion?

Why have these decisions and procedures been delayed to the last moment before the dialogue? Why were these procedures and decisions not made in order to prepare for the dialogue? I don't know what **ence?** the expected outcomes are. Is it an apology for the 1994 War? Will the detainees who protested peacefully in Aden be released? The land issue and post-war destruction are very big issues. President Hadi insists on the success of the NDC. On his visit to Aden, he met with leading Southern figures that represent the South. He wants the first sessions of the NDC to succeed at least. I think the first session will be held in Aden.

It is said that some political parties participating in the NDC do not want it to suc-

ceed? At present, there are many hurdles that lie ahead of it. Some tribal and military figures continue to attempt to foil the NDC because they think chaos is advantageous. Yemen has been a block for regional conflict. There is Qatari, Saudi Arabian, American and Iranian interference. There are some internal and external powers that do not want the dialogue to succeed or begin on time.

If the NDC and its opening session are held in Aden on time, in the presence of all parties, or even most of them, citizens will be optimistic. They will see political, tribal and military bodies, as well as Hirak, are eager to achieve stability and support the building of a civil state at the same time.

If the opening session is held in Aden, will that be the first

step to solve the Southern Issue?

It will not solve the Southern Issue but rather build trust with Southerners and Hirak. I hope President Hadi will issue an apology this week for what happened in the 1994 War in order to build a real trust. In doing this, Hadi will promote his popularity and earn societal respect.

There are different opinions about issues to be discussed at the NDC. What are the most prominent issues you want to be discussed at the confer-

There is a disagreement on that



We want a unified country based on a parliamentary regime and multi-regional federalism, which promotes popular participation at a local regional and national level.

First, who are the parties involved in the NDC? The bodies taking part in the NDC do not understand the real issues and are not representative of the revolution. They are not even affiliated with 10 percent of

Second, what are the agendas to be discussed at the conference? There are 13 points of discussion including cultural and social issues which [should be solved outside the NDC.]

The Preparatory Committee for the NDC, the General People's Congress (GPC), the Islah Party, and the Joint Meeting Parties (JMPs) have presented long-term issues like marginalized groups' rights and early marriage. [Although] these issues need to be addressed and require political awareness, the real dialogue should be focused on building a state and whether Yemen can continue as a unified country. Will a parliamentary regime and multi-regional federalism be a solution for current problems? Will the situation continue with the same structure without any change?

State building will be a prominent issue at the conference

It should be discussed on the first day for two reasons. It is the most glaring aim of the 2011 revolution and without the revolution, the NDC would not exist. The former regime was a major problem in Yemen, and now there is mass confusion. The state will be a prominent issue, but what kind of state? We want a democratic and institutional state based on law.

The NDC will achieve this aim?

The role of the state is currently absent. There are unofficial checkpoints, chaos and attacks on electricity power lines. We want a unified country but what is unity? We want a new formula for unity. The current formula has not worked since the 1994 War.

We want a unified country based on a parliamentary regime and multi-regional federalism, which promotes popular participation at a local, regional and national

You support dividing Yemen into two or more regions?

Not two regions because this is considered separation. I suggest we establish three regions, composed of seven governorates each. Sana'a, Aden and Taiz will be the capitals of these regions. Moreover, we can also divide it into five regions composed of four governorates, since there is a capital and a harbor (Sana'a and Aden).

Regions will enable citizens to participate in politics through elections. They will be able to vote for local councils and [other bodies] which will have mini-parliaments. They will participate at the state level through a federal parliament that allows parties and residents to hold each other accountable. Yemen is not an exception, this system exists in 35 countries worldwide.

How will a civil state work, considering many want Islamic Sharia law?

Some parties and powers spread fear about a civil state. The civil state isn't against religion. It has functioned in Europe. When feudalism collapsed [in Europe], there was a need to change the relation between the state and society. At the time, religious reform movements emerged in Europe because the church controlled political, civil and religious divisions.

In Arab societies, there are no religious associations that claim [this kind of] control, rather there are political powers that want to impose their agendas in the name of religion by issuing fatwas (a legal, religious pronouncement).

Religion flourishes in a civil society and ensures tolerance and equal citizenship, but some political parties distort this concept. These parties want to protect their interests in Yemen. Yemen needs a civil society to eliminate tribal and sectarian disputes that date back 50 years.



The other challenge is whether leading political stakeholders will agree on the nature of the state and governing bodies.

Do you think current political parties are satisfied with the civil state?

Some parties don't believe in equal citizenship. [Many] minority groups in Yemen are marginal-

What are the foundations of a civil state?

A civil state will apply the rule of law, ensure equal citizenship, will be self-governing, divide wealth equally and is based on merit, not legacies.

What are the most important challenges facing Yemen?

I don't know if Hadi is able to control the political process and the NDC. The Gulf Initiative countries and the U.N. will have to play a vital role in assisting with this. Divisions in the military, ongoing clashes in [many] cities between armed groups have lead to violence, like what happened in Aden on Feb. 21.

The other challenge is whether leading political stakeholders will agree on the nature of the state and governing bodies. Some believe Hadi is just a transitional president. They are preparing for his successor in 2014.

There's an economic challenge because politics are not separate from the economy. Stability and political compromise cannot exist in a bad economic situation. People cannot nourish themselves with politics nor a dialogue. All they want is a government that reduces negatives for them - such as food prices - and supports the rights of consumers in Yemen. If residents have basic services, they will trust the government. They will see the state is seriously supporting dialogue and political stability.

الدكتور فؤاد الصلاحي ليمن تايمز: جهات قبلية وعسكرية في صنعاء لا تريد للحوار أن ينجح

هناك جهات قبلية وعسكرية في صنعاء لا تريد للحوار أن ينجح بل لا تريد للحوار أن يبدأ، لأنها تحقق مصالحها من خلال الفوضى السائدة حالياً، هكذا يقول أستاذ الاجتماع السياسي في جامعة صنعاء الدكتور فؤاد الصلاحي الذي أضاف في حوار مع يمن تايمز أن الشعب اليمني يتصور أن الحوار سينقل اليمن إلى التطور بين عشية وضحاها، وهذا تصور غير صائب.

الصلاحي اقترح أن يقوم الرئيس هادي بخطوات إجرائية تخلق الثقة لدى الجنوبيين مثل أن يصدر قراراً يعتذر فيم عن حرب ٩٤ باعتبارها حرب خاطئة، فقرار الاعتذار سيعزز شعبيته وتقدير المجتمع له.

ويشير الصلاحي إلى أن هناك أحزاب وقوى زرعت تخوفا من الدولة المدنية، مؤكداً أن اليمن أكثر الدول العربية بحاجة إلى الدولة المدنية لكي تخرج من الصراعات القبلية والطائفية والمذهبية التي لا تزال سائدة في اليمن منذ ٥٠ عاماً.

> حوار: محمد السامعي تصوير: صادق الوصابي

لم تبق إلا أيام على موعد انطلاق مؤتمر الحوار الوطني. هناك من يقترح التأجيل، وهناك من ينظر إلى أهمية انعقاد المؤتمر في الظروف الحالية، كيف تنظر أنت لذلك؟

بشكل عام، اليمن بحاجة ماسة إلى الحوار لأن الظروف الصعبة التي تمر بها البلد استثنائية، هناك فوضى أمنية وعسكرية، أزمات اقتصادية كثيرة، عدم استقرار مؤسسات الدولة، أزمات اقتصادية خانقة... هذا كله بحاجة إلى تفعيل مؤسسات الدولة وتفعيل أنشطتها، هذا يستلزم الحوار، وهذا الأمر يتطلب الاستقرار، والاستقرار يتطلب توافقا سياسيا بين كل الأطراف في البلد لأن الحوار ليس مهمته فقط مناقشة القضايا المرتبطة بمجالات المبادرة الخليجية كما يرى البعض، فالمبادرة عملت هدنة بين الأطراف المتصارعة، وأحالت موضوع الحوار إلى القوى السياسية لكي تمرر من خلاله كل الترتيبات والإجراءات السياسية لبناء الدولة. ومن هنا فالحوار مطلوب حتى نقلل النزوع إلى العنف داخل الساحة اليمنية. لا يمكن ترسيخ الديمقراطية دون ثقافة الحوار بين الأحزاب والناس في المجتمع، مع ذلك هناك

هل ستهدأ الأوضاع في البلد وسيخف الانفلات الأمني والعنف وقت انعقاد المؤتمر؟

قدر كبير من التفاؤّل داخل المجتمع. يتصور

الشعب أن الحوار سينقل اليمن إلى التطور

بين عشية وضحاها، لا؛ هو خطوة أولى نحو

الترتيب للاستقرار.

كنت أريد الوصول إلى هذا النقطة، فهناك مؤشرات تدعو إلى تأجيل الحوار، وهناك قوى سياسية تثير قدر من العنف في الداخل، وهناك قوى إقليمية لا ترغب بالحوار في هذه اللحظة لأن كل مجموعة إقليمية لها تابعين في اليمن، لكن إذا تمت الترتيبات للحوار وعقَّد في الثامن عشر من مارس كما هو محدد له أتصور ربما في البداية سيخلق توافق أولى بين القوى السياسية، فمن الدلالات السياسية للحوار أننا نتقبل بعضنا البعض ونعتمد على تعدد الآراء.

هناك قوى سياسية تريد أن تفرض نفسها على الساحة اليمنية وأن تقول بأنها هي من تجب أن تمثل الدين عبر فتاوي. لكن عمليا الدولة المدنية هي الدولة التي ينتعش فيها الدين والتدين، يبرز التسامح والمواطنة المتساوية وهي التي تحفظ للدين مكانته، إلا أن هناك جهات سياسية تريد أن تشوه هذا المصطلح بأفكار ومعانى خاصة بها وحمولات تاريخية، فهی ترید أن تحافظ علی مصالحها الأساسية،

هناك من يقول إنه في وقت انعقاد المؤتمر ستكون معظم الجهات والمكونات السياسية في مؤتمر الحوار وبالتالي ستهدأ الأوضاع ولن تحدث أي أزمات في البلد؟ ربما الجلسة الأولى ستكون استكشافية،

كل واحد يستكشف ماذا عند الآخر، ماذا عند الحوثيين وماذا عند المشترك وماذا عند منظمات المجتمع المدني.

هناك آراء موجودة فيَّ الساحة تقول إن الذين سيصلون إلى الحوار ليسوا ممثلين للثورة فشباب الثورة غائبون في مؤتمر الحوار لأن غالبية الحاضرين هم مثلون للأحزاب، والأحزاب لا علاقة لهم بالثورة.

كثير من شباب الثورة هم منضمون لأحزاب شريكة أساسية في

قليلون جداً، أنا نظرت للأسماء، أقل واحد عمره ٥٥ سنة، أين الشباب هنا؟!.

مثلا في قائمة الحوثيين أنا قرأت عدد من الأسماء لشباب فاعلين في

صحيح، لكن يظل عدد الشباب قليل جداً، الأصلُ أن الشياب المستقل كان عماد الثورة وليس الشباب الحزبي، وهؤلاء لديهم أمل، وكان طموحهم أن نصل الى دولة مدنية، الشباب لا يريدون الانتصار على أحد داخل الساحة ، طالما أن هناك غياب للشباب في مؤتمر الحوار، على المتحاورين أن ينفذوا أهداف الثورة، والوصول إلى دولة مدنية، إلى مواطنة متساوية، إلى دولة قانون، أن يكون هناك انتصار للمظلومية التى تعرضت لها عدن وأبناء تهامة وكثير من المحافظات.

ماهي الخطوات التي يفترض أن تتم من أجل التهيئة للحوار ودعوة الحراك للمؤتمر؟

الحراك هم مع الحوار، لكن هناك خطوات لا بد أن تتم قبل الحوار، خطوات إجرائية تخلق الثقة، مثل أن يصدر الرئيس هادي قراراً يعتذر فيه عن حرب ٩٤ باعتبارها حرباً خاطئة، وأن يكون هناك أمور مستعجلة من اللجان التي تم تشكيلها والتى أوكلت لها التحقيق في نهب الأراضي في الجنوب، وأن يتم اتخاذ قرار بإعادة قدر كبير من الأراضي العامة والخاصة المنهوبة قبل الحوار ثم تستمر اللجنة في عملها حتى يتم خلق ثقة مع الجنوبيين، ومن الضروري إطلاق المساحين من الحراك، هذه ستعزز الثقة أن الدولة والحكومة متجهة إلى حوارسياسي يضم الجميع ولا يقصى أحد.

زيارة الرئيس هادي إلى عدن هل كانت نتائجها مثمرة فيما يتعلق بالتواصل مع الحراك الجنوبي؟

عمليا الرئاسة والحكومة لم تعلنان عن نتائج الزيارة، لكن نستشفها كتحليل سياسي. الحكومة مستمرة بنفس نهج الحكومات السابقة بأنها لا تعتمد الشفافية ونشر المعلومات عما حدث؛ لكن نعلم أن الرئيس ذهب إلى عدن؛ لأن الواقع كان مضطرباً عندما قتل عدداً من المواطنين في ۲۱ فبراير، لم يكن هناك مبرر للصدام في ذلك اليوم لكن هناك قوى سياسية في الساحة تريد أن تستعرض عضلاتها وتقول إنها موجودة في كل المدن والمحافظات



الدكتور فؤاد الصلاحي

وأن صوتها هو الصوت الأعلى، هذا أمر لا يمكن أن يؤدي إلى حل وحوار لأن القضية الجنوبية هي مفتاح للحوار السياسي والسلم في اليمن، إذا أردنا تحقيق الاستقرار وبناء الدولة ونجاح الحوار يجب أن تكون هناك معالجات منطقية للقضية الجنوبية.

في الحراك في الداخل والخارح الذين يمثلون

الجنوب، فهو يريد أن لا يفشل الحوار في

جلساته الأولى على الأقل، وأتصور أن يتم

انعقاد الجلسات الأولى للحوار في عدن،

لماذا لا ينعقد في عدن؟ يفترض أنّ تكون

الافتتاحية في عدّن ومن ثم انتقال اللجان

هناك من يقول إن بعض الجهات

السياسية الشريكة في مؤتمر

الحوار لا يوجد لديها رغبة في

هناك جهات قبلية وعسكرية في صنعاء

لا تريد للحوار أن ينجح بل لا تريّد للحوار

أن يبدأ، لأن مصالحها تحققها من خلال

الفوضى السائدة حالياً، وهناك قوى إقليمية

ربما، واليمن أصبحت ساحة للصراع

الاقليمي، هناك تدخلات قطر والسعودية

وأمريكاً وإيران، وأي دولة لديها فلوس

تعمل عليها في الساّحة. هناك قوى داخلية

وخارجية لا ترغب في نجاح الحوار أو أن يبدأ

إذا بدأ الحوار في وقته الحقيقي، وإذا

بدأت الجلسة الافتتاحية في عدن وبحضور

كل الأطراف أو حتى غالبيتهم سيؤدي ذلك

إلى خطوات تفاؤلية، ومن ثم سيقدم إيحاء

للمواطن بأن النخب السياسية والقبلية

والعسكرية والحراك لديهم آمال كبيرة بأن

هنالك شيئاً يتجه إلى الاستقرار ودعم مسار

لو انعقدت الجلسة الافتتاحية في

عدن هل سيكون ذلك خطوة أولية

ليس حل القضية الجنوبية، بل خلق ثقة مع

الجنوبين والحراك الجنوبي، وقبل هذا أتمنى

من الرئيس هادي إصدار ٌقرار بالاعتذار عن

حرب ٩٤ وأتمني أن يكون هذا القرار هذا

الاسبوع ليس عشية المؤتمر حتى يتم

خلق ثقة حقيقية، وهذا الأمر ليس فيه

سوى إدراك من الرئيس لخطأ يتم تصحيحه

ما هي أبرز القضايا التي ترغب أنت

في مناقبتيتها في مؤتمر الحوار،

فهناك تباين في وجهات النظر حول

الآن السائد في الساحة، ليس الخلاف عن هذا

وسيعزز شعبيته وتقدير المجتمع له.

القضايا التي يفترض طرحها؟

في حل القضية الجنوبية؟

في موعده الحقيقي.

بناء الدولة في الوقت.

محللون يقولون أنى سيكون هناك قرارات وإجراءات رئاسية قريبة تهدف إلى طمأنت الجنوبيين وبالتالي دعوتهم للحوار؟

ولماذا يتم تأجيل ذلك إلى الساعات الأخيرة قبل الحوار؟ لماذا لا يبدأ من الآن حتى يكون هناك تهيئة لهذه العملية؟ لاأعرف ما هي القرارات المتوقعة، هل الاعتذار عن حرب ٩٤ والإفراج عن المختطفين والمتظاهرين السلميين الذين يفترض أن يتم إطلاقهم حينما كان الرئيس في عدن؟ لكن قضية الأراضي وما لحق بعدن من دمار بعد حرب ٩٤ مسَّألة كبيرة جداً. الرئيس هادي مصر على نجاح المؤتمر، وربما بعد زيارته لعدن وعقده لقاءات عديدة مع القادة الميدانيين

لست أدرى ما مصادر القوى التي بيد الرئيس هادي التي يمكن أن تمكنه من ضبط إيقاع العملية السياسية وضبط مؤتمر الحوار، لذا سيكون هناك دور حقيقي للدول الراعية للمبادرة الخليجية والأمم المتحدة

الموضوع، الخلاف على قضيتين في البداية، أولاً من هم المتحاورون، فالموجوّدون في الحوار الآن ليسوا أصحاب القضية الأساسية، وليسوا أصحاب الثورة ولا يمثلونها ولا يمثلون الثورة بنسبة عشرة في المائة.

الأمر الآخر: ما هي الأجندة؟ هناك ١٣ محورا للنقاش، هذه قضايا اجتماعية ثقافية، الأمر الذي لا يخلق أملاً بنجاح الحوار وجديته، عندما ذهبت لجنة الحوار وقيادات المؤتمر والاصلاح والمشترك الذين قامت الثورة ضدهم في الأصل، وضعوا قضايا اجتماعية طويلة المدى مثل قضايا المهمشين وزواج الصغيرات، هذه قضايا طويلة بحاجة إلى تنمية ووعى سياسي، الحوار الحقيقي هو حول بناء الدولة، هل سنستمرفي دولة موحدة أم دولتين، هل سنعتمد على دولة إتحادية بنظام برلماني وفيدرالية متعددة الأقاليم كحل للإشكالية الحالية والصراع القادم أم سنستمر بنفس تركيبة النظام

مسألة بناء وشكل الدولة سيتم النقاش حولها في مؤتمر الحوار كقضية من أهم القضايا؟

هو المفروض أن يتم نقاش هذه القضية في أول يوم لسببين، الأول: أن ذلك الهدف الرّئيسي والهام من أهداف الثورة، لأن الحوار أتى بعدّ الثورة، فلولا الثورة لما أتى الحوار. السبب الثاني أن النظام السياسي السابق والذي خرج الشباب ضده كان من أهم أزمات اليمن. نحن اصبحنا الآن أمام فوضى عارمة، لابد من إعادة الاعتبار للدولة، لكن السؤال ما هي الدولة؟ نحن نريد دولة ديمقراطية، دولة "القانون والمؤسسات.

ولهذا الهدف سيتم عقد مؤتمر الحوار الوطني؟

الدولة الآن بهذه الصورة غير موجودة، هناك تقطعات في الطرق، وهناك فوضي، واعتداءات على الكهرباء، نريد دولة موحدة، لكن ما هو الاتحاد؟ نريد صيغة جديدة للاتحاد، الصيغة الحالية للدولة أثبتت فشلها عام ٩٤، نريد دولة اتحادية تعتمد نظاماً برلمانياً على فيدرالية متعددة الأقاليم. هنا تتسع المشاركة السياسية للشعب من خلال المستوى المحلى في الحكومات والأقاليم المحلية، ومستوى مركزي وطني. هذا الأمر سيعزز الثقة بالدولة وبالهوية المشتركة والاندماج الاجتماعي والوطني.

أنت مع فكرة الأقاليم أو الاقليمين فيما يتعلق بشكل الدولة؟

ليس إقليمين من ثلاثة أقاليم أو خمسة، لأن الإقليمين عودة إلى التشطير، لكن لو وضعنا ثلاثة أقاليم، اقليم عاصمته عدن وإقليم عاصمته تعز، وإقليم عاصمته صنعاء، كل إقليم فيه سبع محافظات، أو خمسة أقاليم، في كل إقليم أربع محافظات، واعتماد أن هناك عاصمة وميناء تجاري «عدن

الحراك هم مع الحوار، لكن هناك خطوات لا بد أن تتم قبل الحوار، خطوات إجرائية تخلق الثقة، مثل أن يصدر الرئيس هادي قرارا يعتذر فيه عن حرب ٤ ٩ باعتبارها حربا خاطئة، وأن يكون هناك أمور مستعجلة من اللجان التي تم تشكيلها والتي أوكلت لها التحقيق في نهب الأراضي في الجنوب، وأن يتم اتخاذ قرار بإعادة قدر كبير من الأراضي العامة والخاصة المنهوبة قبل الحوار ثم تستمر اللجنة في عملها حتى يتم خلق

ثقة مع الجنوبيين،

وصنعاء» لأن الأقاليم ستمنح المواطن هوية كبيرة، ومشاركة كبيرة سياسياً لأنه مشارك في الحكومة المحلية انتخابا وتصويتا في المجالس المحلية والحكومات المحلية، لأنّ الحكومات المحلية سيكون لها برلمانات صغيرة، ثم على مستوى الدولة الوطنية الكبيرة سيكون هناك برلمان فيدرالي ومجلس شورى وبالتالى سيتنافس الأحزاب والمواطنين على هذه العملية، وهذا الأمر موجود في أكثر من خمسة وثلاثين دولة في العالم، نحن ليس استثناء.

هناك حديث كبير حول الدولة المدنية وسط تخوفات من بعض الجهات التي تريد تطبيق الشريعة الاسلامية.. أنت كيف ترى؟

أنا أتصور إن هناك أحزاب وقوى زرعت تخوف من الدولة المدنية، الدولة المدنية ليست ضد الأديان. هناك تجربة في أوروبا، ودور الكنسية في السلطة السياسية والمدنية عندما انهار النظام الإقطاعي، وكان لا بد من تغيير طبيعة العلاقة بين الدولة والمجتمع وظهرت حركة الاصلاح الديني في أوروبًا لأن الكنيسة كانت مسيطرة على الجَّانب السياسي والمدني والديني.

لكن في المجتمع العربي لا توجد هذه المؤسسة الدينية التي تُدعى السيطرة ولكن هناك قوى سياسية تريد أن تفرض نفسها على الساحة اليمنية وأن تقول بأنها هي من تجب أن تمثل الدين عبر فتاوي. لكن عملياً الدولة المدنية هي الدولة التي ينتعش فيها الدين والتدين، يبرز التسامح والمواطنة المتساوية وهي التي تحفظ للدين مكانته، إلا أن هناك جهات سياسية تريد أن تشوه هذا المصطلح بأفكار ومعاني خاصة بها وحمولات تاريخية، فهي تريد أنّ تحافظ على مصالحها الأساسية، فاليمن أكثر الدولة العربية بحاجة إلى الدولة المدنية لكي نخرج من الصراعات القبلية والطائفية والمذهبية التي لا تزال سائدة في اليمن منذ ٥٠ عاماً.

هل باعتقادك كل الجهات السياسية راضية عن الدولة المدنية الحديثة؟

هناك قوى سياسية لا تؤمن بالمواطنة المتساوية، وهناك إقصاء للمهمشين

ماهي الأسس التي تقوم عليها الدولة المدنية الحديثة؟ هناك خمسة أسس لها، أول شيء أنها

دولة تعتمد على الدستور والقانون، ودولة مؤسسات ومواطنة متساوية، لا يمكن أن تكون هناك مواطنة إلا أن يكون هناك دستور وقانون، والدولة المدنية هي دولة تنموية لا تتسول الآخرين، دولة تنتج الثروة، وتوزع الثروة بالعدل، وأخيراً هي دولة تقوم على العلم وليس على الخرافات.

أبرز التحديات السياسية التي تواجهها اليمن في الوقت الحالي؟ لست أدرى ما مصادر القوى التي بيد الرئيس هادي التي يمكن أن تمكنه من ضبط إيقاع العملية السياسية وضبط مؤتمر الحوار، لذا سيكون هناك دور حقيقى للدول الراعية للمبادرة الخليجية والأمم المتحدة، فاستمرار انقسام المؤسسة العسكرية واستمرار الفوضى في المدن والجماعات المسلحة قد يخلق بؤرة عنف قوية كما حدث في عدن يوم ٢١ فبراير، والتحدي الآخر هو مراكز القوى في البلد هل هي متفقة على طبيعة الدولة وعلى طبيعة النظّام السياسي؟ هناك من يرى أن هادي يجب أن يكون رئيسا لفترة مؤقتة، وهم يستعدون لخلافته في ٢٠١٤. وهناك تحدي اقتصادي لأنه لا تسير السياسية إلا بوجهين سياسي واقتصادي، لا يمكن أن يكون هناك فوضى أمنية وعدم اتفاق سياسي والوضع الاقتصادي سيء، الناس لا يأكّلون سياسة ولا حوارا نريد حكومة تقلل من التأثيرات الاقتصادية على المواطن من أعباء شراء السلع ودعم حقوق المستهلك في الجمهورية. إذا وجد المواطن الخدمات البسيطة ستخلق لديه نوع من الثقة من أن هناك حكومة ونظام جاد في دعم الحوار والاستقرار السياسي.



Taxis in Sana'a: 46,000 and counting



Unemployed men turn no further than Sana'a's crowded streets to find a job shuffling residents around. It costs no more than \$23 to get a taxi license.



At noon, the effects of the city's 46,000 taxi licenses are inescapable - traffic is jammed and horns noisily sound in chorus.

Story and photos by Bassam Al-Ashmori

a country where unemployment is at 60 percent, there is one place where men can still find work: behind the wheel of a taxi. In the past 17 years, 46,000 licenses have been issued to taxi drivers and there is no end in

The Automatic Issuance Center, which works under the Ministry of Interior has set no ceiling on the

private or commercial vehicles.

"This is an attempt to limit unemployment," Colonel Abdulkareem Al-Jaefi, the general manager of the traffic department in Sana'a said.

If a Yemeni wants to drive a taxi, all he has to do is hold a valid driver's license.

The price of a taxi license is YR5,000, or around \$23.

Isam Al-Usaimi drives a taxi in Sana'a. Eight years ago he graduated from a vocational

number of license issued, either to institute, learning how to install air conditioners. He couldn't find any work. Then, four years ago, he started driving a taxi.

> "I borrowed YR1 million [around \$4,500] to buy a taxi and eke out a living for myself and my family," Al-Usaimi said. Now, he makes around YR2,500 a day, less than \$12. During holidays, he can earn up to YR9,000, almost \$42.

> Al-Usaimi owns his taxi, but other drivers rent taxis for around YR2,000, about \$10 or YR3,000, about \$15, a day.

Some taxi drivers hold other, areas of the city where the streets part-time jobs to supplement their income. It's common also for university students to drive taxis when they're not in class.

Ramzi Abdulla, a university student and part-time taxi driver, says that he has few options other than driving a cab.

"I have [no other job] I can do. I can't expect to be employed immediately after my graduation."

All of these taxis on the streets have unintended consequences. Traffic piles up during rush hour. In

are particularly busy-like Hadda Street and Bab Al- Yemen-cars slow to a crawl.

The number of taxis on the road makes it harder for people to get from place to place, Jameel Dahaq, who lives in the Musaik neighborhood, says.

"I'm always late to work," he said. "I'm frustrated. I can't get to my office early. Taking a taxi doesn't help.'

Students graduating from secondary schools and universities can't find work elsewhere, Ahmed Saeed Shamakh, an economics expert who works at the Yemen Central Bank, says. Driving a taxi requires no schooling and relatively little investment.

As it stands, there is no mechanism in place to limit or even keep track of the number of drivers that are on Sana'a's streets, either commercial or private. On top of those 46,000 taxi licenses, there are around 125,000 private cars in the city, at least, and thousands of buses and motorcycles.

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Yemen at the midpoint to its new future

Wael Zakout Menablog.worldbank.org First Published March 6

his month marks the midpoint of the transition process in Yemen. The peace agreement brokered by the Gulf Cooperation Council was signed in November 2011, but the actual implementation of the process began with the election of Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi in February of last year as president of the Republic of Yemen and head of the of the national reconciliation government. As agreed upon in the peace initiative, the transition will include: a national dialogue that brings together a broad geographic and political cross section of the country, the drafting of a new constitution

and conclude with new parliamentary and presidential elections. The two year transition is due to be completed in February 2014.

The formal transition process has three important political, security and economic components. Much has been said about progress on the political and security fronts. I want to focus today on economic developments. The picture at this stage is mixed. There is good news and not quite as good news.

Let me start with the good news. First, at the macro level, things are stabilizing. The Central Bank of Yemen reported an increase in foreign currency reserves to \$6.2 billion, from a low of around \$3.7 billion that was reached at the height of the crisis. This is partly the result of a \$1 billion deposit made by Saudi Arabia but also due to improved

management by the Central Bank. The currency is stable at around 215 Yemeni riyals to the U.S. dollar. Inflation is also under control. The International Monetary Fund expects a growth rate of around 4.4 percent this year, compared to a mere 0.5 percent last year and a contraction of around 19 percent in 2011, the year of the political crisis. Finally, the Central Bank recently reduced interest rates to 15 percent. While this is still high, it is much lower than the 22 percent of only six months ago.

Donor and government funded projects are now progressing. Almost all donors have now returned to the capital, Sana'a and a large number of contracts are currently being awarded. The projects being launched are not focused on the capital alone but in cities and

villages throughout Yemen. Roads are being repaired, schools are being built, streets are being cleaned, airports are being constructed and a major tunnel project on the road from Sana'a to Hodeida is under bidding. Soon the government will start building an expressway that will connect Aden to Taiz. There are many other projects at the design and bidding stage.

Not only have donors returned to Sana'a and projects come back to life, but an additional \$7.5 billion was pledged to Yemen at conferences last year in Riyadh and New York. These new funds will finance priority projects over the next three years. There have been extensive discussions between the government and donors as to which specific projects the new pledges will finance, and some of the promised funds have already started arriving. On Feb. 14, the World Bank's board of directors approved a number of grants to Yemen totaling \$206 million and the first installment of a pledge of \$400 million in additional support. Other donors are also moving to fulfill their commitments. Saudi Arabia has already reached an agreement with the government on the allocation of most of their pledge of \$3.25 billion.

Now for the news that is not quite as good. First, not all donors are delivering on their pledges. While Saudi Arabia has moved quickly by depositing \$1 billion with the Central Bank and aligning most of its promised funding with specific projects, some countries have neither delivered on their pledges, nor started the conversation with the government on the destination of the funds.

Second, while things are improving, both at the macro level and with the pace of government and donor financed projects, overall economic activity, especially as it relates to the private sector, has not improved enough to make a difference in either the jobless rate or poverty levels. More than 50 percent of Yemenis are still under the poverty line. Food insecurity is still very high and high malnutrition levels, especially among children,

Lastly, the government has not made progress in the implementation of their commitments made with donors at last year's conference, nor formalized with the signing of the Mutual Accountability Framework (MAF). It has taken the government almost five months to agree on the establishment of the Fast Track Mechanism, a critical agency that will ensure the rapid absorption of donor funds and their distribution to earmarked projects. It will probably be a few more months yet before it is fully operational. There also has not been significant progress on key policy actions itemized in the MAF. These include measures to improve governance and promote anticorruption, reforms to the power sector and the business environment, and the building of partnerships with Civil Society and private sector.

Where do we go from here? The government needs to accelerate the establishment of the Fast Track Executive Bureau and launch serious efforts to implement the commitments made at the donor conference in Riyadh, or their credibility will suffer. The donors in return need to deliver on their pledges, and deliver quickly. There is no time to waste on either side.

Wael Zakout is the country manager for the World Bank in Yemen.

Arab revolutions have made women worse off

Moha Ennaji Dailystar.com.lb First Published March 6

hough women across the Middle East participated actively in the Arab Spring protests that began in late 2010, they remain second-class citizens, even where popular uprisings managed to topple autocratic regimes. Indeed, the Islamist governments now in power in several countries seem more determined than the despots that they replaced to keep women out of politics. In conducting interviews with women in the region, I am struck by their pessimism. They fear the loss of their rights. They see economic disintegration all around them, raising the possibility of a further increase in violence. As social bonds fray, they feel increasingly vulnerable. More than once, I heard them express the view that things were better before the revolutions.

Female representation in parliaments and cabinets after the Arab Spring has been either absent or meager, and women activists fear Islamist parties will implement reactionary policies that discriminate on the basis of gender. In Egypt, for example, the Freedom and Justice Party, which dominates parliament, claims that a woman cannot become president. Egyptian women were heavily represented in the protests that brought down President Hosni Mubarak's regime in 2011, but they have been largely excluded from any official decisionmaking role ever since.

In Morocco, while there were eight women in the previous Cabinet, today there is only one in the Islamist-led government. In January, the Islamist-dominated parliament adopted a decree lowering the age of marriage for girls from 18 to 16, a major setback. Moroccan feminists have protested vigorously, but to no avail.

Parliamentary representation for women has also taken a hit. Women hold less than 1 percent of seats in the current Egyptian parliament; previously, they held 12 percent. In Libya, a first draft of the electoral law reserved 10 percent of seats in the constituent assembly for women, but the quota was later aban-

In Tunisia, the election in 2011 brought 49 women into the 217seat Constituent Assembly. But 42 of these women are members of Ennahda, which regards Shariah (Islamic law) as the source of legislation. Longtime Tunisian activists fear that Ennahda, which dominates the assembly, will use the presence of women parliamentarians to restrict women's rights.

The recent assassination of the secular Tunisian opposition leader Chokri Belaid has raised the stakes for women there. Belaid was a voice on behalf of women's rights. and the threat of increased political violence will focus on those who advocate secular equality for all Tunisians, including women.

conservative Unfortunately, forces in the Arab world repeatedly turn against women when political unrest spreads. In Bahrain, several women protesters have been arrested and tortured. In Yemen, the authorities call on male relatives to "tame" their women. In Tunisia, the most Westernized Arab country, women have been attacked at universities and schools, and are being forced to wear the hijab. A woman allegedly raped by two policemen in September 2012 was charged with public indecency when she filed a complaint.

Likewise, in Egypt, women protesters face greater scrutiny than men. Those arrested by the military during the anti-Mubarak protests were subjected to virginity tests as

a form of intimidation. Across the Middle East, Islamist militias have harassed, arrested, raped and tortured women pro-democracy activists. The model of Iran's Islamic Revolution in 1979, which imposed second-class citizenship on women, is frequently cited as a threat in Arab countries now ruled by Islamist parties.

These countries are at a crossroads. Women make up half of the Middle East's population, and any hope of political and economic development must account for that fact. Organizations like the United Nations Development Program have repeatedly issued reports demonstrating the connection between economic decline and oppression of women. Simply put, the Arab countries will not succeed unless women are fully integrated into political and economic life.

In her Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech in 2011, Yemeni political activist Tawakkol Karman, made the point clearly. "The solution to women's issues can only be achieved in a free and democratic society in which human energy is liberated, the energy of both women and men together."

Middle Eastern countries should protect and consolidate women's rights as a way of reinforcing democratic ideas and habits. They must institute the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international laws and agreements in order to eradicate gender-based discrimination and violence. The hope for women's progress is really a hope for a decent society in which development for all is possible.

Moha Ennaji is a professor of cultural and gender studies at Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University and president of the International Institute for Languages and Cultures in Fez.



Yemen International Telecommunications Co. (TeleYemen) Vacant Announcement

Yemen International Telecommunications Co.(TeleYemen), invites qualified Yemeni national candidates to apply for the following vacant post.

Internal Audit Manager

Primary Objectives:

- Team execute Internal Auditing within the company activities.
- Produces audit report and maintains report systems across management and reports to the CEO, and to Board of Directors.
- Develops audit program for internal auditor(s) to implement and review existing audit program to meet new established system in the company.
- Suggests action to correct weaknesses and lack of control. Check efficiency and knowledge of procedures' implementation.
- Keeps relationship with Leads Internal Audit External Auditors on Internal Control Report to work on finding issues and action taken.

Supervision/Management Tasks

 Prepares Annual Work and Financial Plan/Budget (AWF&P/B) of the IA staff (CEO is authorized by the Board of Directors to approve IA plan).

Internal Audit Conduct

 Review systems and operations to assess the extent to which organizational objectives are achieved and the adequacy of controls over activities leading to such achievement.

Reporting Systems

· Produces audit report and maintain report systems across management and report to the CEO and to Board of Directors.

Requirements:

- Hold at least bachelor degree, specializing in Accounting or other related fields.
- Certified internal Auditor (CIA).
- CPA is preferable or equivalent.
- At least 5 years experiences in managing of audit.
- Excellent skills in using computer (Word, Excel, E-mail, Internet & PowerPoint).
- Dynamic and pleasant personality.
- · Hard-working and high commitment.
- · High level of written and spoken English.
- Excellent interpersonal and verbal communication skills.
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Interested candidates requested to submit their Covering Letter and CV by email to: Jobs@televemen.com.ve

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Millions of leaky, combustible gas canisters sold in local markets

Story and phots by Samar Qaed

cross Yemen, there are millions of leaky gas cylinders being used-in homes, restaurants and small shops—which could explode at any moment. The Civil Defense Council will launch a campaign this coming week to collect a limited number of the canisters and raise awareness about the dangers that Yemenis face when shopping for gas.

"We desperately need stricter regulations," Ahmed Al-Baraq, a member of the Gas Cylinders Sellers' Assembly said.

Prior to the 2011 revolution, the Assembly had planned to launch a campaign to regulate unsafe gas containers. The popular uprising, however, brought the Assembly's efforts to a standstill.

According to the organization, there were a reported 400 fires in homes last year. Faulty gas canisters were the cause of 50 of them.

There are two kinds of gas canisters: locally made and imported, according to the Civil Defense Council. The majority of faulty canisters are imported; they are made of thinner metal, and weigh

around 26 pounds or about 12 kilograms Yemeni canisters weigh 30 pounds or about 15 kilograms and can last for up to 15 years, according to a 2010 report from the Yemeni Standardization and Metrology (YSMA).

"Gas cylinders [of an unsafe] weight have unfortunately entered Yemen through customs ports," Mohammed Al-Bawsani, from the Yemeni Gas Company (YGC) said. There are 25 models of these lighter, unsafe cylinders, all imported from China, Al-Bawsani said.

The YSMA is responsible for checking all gas canisters which are imported into the country. There are nearly 5 million cylinders used across the country, a report from the Interior Ministry in 2010 found.

That same report found that the majority of those cylinders have dysfunctional safety valves. Noxious fumes which slowly leak from



Old gas canisters are used in small food stands across Sana'a. If left unchecked, the containers can pose big health threats.

or become poisonous.

Ministry agreed to ramp up safety adding that it has proven difficult regulations at Yemen's ports. Ibra- to stop such goods from flooding

the canisters, could either combust the technical affairs at the YGC, said that in recent years Yemen has In 2010, YGC and the Interior opened its door to shoddy goods, him Al-Hasr, deputy director of the market. Corruption may play a

role, he said.

"Importers have strong relationships with state officials; we can't prevent these imported goods from entering the country," Al-Hasr said.

The YGC allocates \$1 million each year to maintain gas cylinders. Replacing and maintaining 5 million gas cylinders will cost the company \$140 million, according have The majority of faulty cylinders will go unrepaired.

The Civil Defense Authority is cooperating with the Yemeni Gas Company, looking-somewhat fruitlessly-for ways to protect citizens from these poorly regulated, faulty gas canisters.

Abdulkareem M'iad, director of the Civil Defense Authority, said if they had the resources, this problem could be solved by assigning to Al-Bawsani, a sum they do not inspectors at gas-filling stations. But those resources are not avail-

In the meantime, they're just trying to raise awareness.

Examine your gas canister closely. If you notice a leak, the Civil Defense Authority advises, close the safety valve on your gas cylinder tightly. Open your windows and doors; let the gas dissipate. Do not turn on an electric fan, as this could cause sparks, leading combustion. Do not light matches or smoke cigarettes inside

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IMPORTANT Numbers

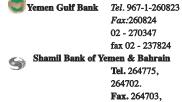
Electricity problems 177, Emergency Police 199, Fire Brigade 191, Water Problems 171, Telephone enquires 118, Accident (Traffic) 194, Foreign Affairs, 202544/7, Interior Affairs 252701/7, Immigration 250761/3, Inter-City Bus Co. 262111/3, Ministry of Communication 325110/1/2/3, Radio Station 282061, Tourism 254032, TV Station 332001/2, Red Crescent 203131/3, Tel-Yemen 7522202, Y.net 7522227

AIRLINES

Continental Airline 278668/283082 Egypt Air 273452/275061 Gulf Air 440922

Qatar Air ways Fax: 506038, Tel.506030/5 Royal Jordanian 01 446064/5/8

BANKS



International Bank of Yemen

Arab Bank

01 407030

01 276585/2

CAC Bank 01 563813
Al-Amal Bank 01-449731
Qatar International Bank 01-517544
Yemeni Bank for Reconstruction
and Development 01-271601

 and Development
 01-271601

 Saba'a Islamic Bank
 01-286506

 Calyon Bank
 01-274371

 United Bank Limited
 01-407540

 CAC Islamic Bank
 01-538901

 Yemen and Kuwait Bank

Yemen and Kuwait Bank for Trade and Investment 01-209451

CAR RENTAL

CAR SHOWROOMS & SPARE PARTS

FORD/HYUNDAI 267791

MERCEDES-BENZ 01 - 330080

NISSAN Hodeidah: 200150/49

Sana'a: 400269

OPEL / GM 203075

SUZUKI 02 - 346000

TOYOTA 445362/3

COMPUTER EDUCATION AND INSTITUTES

 Computer Education
 Aden: 02-237199

 Infinit Education
 01-444553

 NIIT Quality Computer Education207025/26

 British Institute for languages & Computer

 266222 - Fax: 514755

 YALI
 01-448039

 ALTI
 01-274221

	200222 - I an. 317/33
YALI	01-448039
ALTI	01-274221
Exceed	01-537871
MALI	01-441036
Horizon	01-448573

COURIERS

Sana'a 01 440 170 Aden 02 245 626 Hodiadh 03 226 975 Taiz 04 205 780 USP 01-416751

USP 01-416751 DHL 01 441096/7/8

FREIGHT FORWARDERS

Al-Nada Center for General Services Tel: 967 1 431339 Fax: 431340 alnada2@yemen.net.ye

 M&M Logistics & Aviation Services

 01 531221/531231

 Al-Nasim Cargo Forwarders
 407905

 World Link
 01 444550/441935

 YEMPAC Cargo
 01-447126

Mas Fright International 01-429671
Mareb Travel and Tourism - Cargo Division
01-441126
Sas Cargo Services

01-472192/3 World Shipping 01 260746 / 267929

HOSPITALS

Modern German Hospital 600000/602008 E-mail:felixpene@hotmail.com Al-Jumhury Hospital 01 274286/87 01 412981 Hadda Hospital 01 246967/66 Al-Thawra Hospital Al-Junaid Hospital 01-424765 Al-Ahli Modern Hospital 01-444936 Science and Technology Hospital 01-500000 Al-Kuwait Hospital 01-283283 Sadui-German Hospital 01-313333 01-200000 **Azal Hospital**

HOTELS

 L'AZURDE suites hotel
 01-432020/30/40

 Versailles Hotel
 01-425970/1/2

 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

 Gulf Tourist Hotel and Suits
 01-630494

 Mercure Hotel
 01-212544

 Shammar Hotel
 01-418546

 Universal Hotels
 01-440305/7-14

 Shahran Hotel
 01-417320

INSURANCE COMPANIES

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

Al-Shaibani Restaurants Super Deluxe
Tel: 01 505290
01 266375
Fax:01 267619

SCHOOLS

Rainbow Pre-School Tel: 414026 / 424433 Juniors' Oasis kindergarten

Telfax :01- 440840 - Mobile734522225 Sana'a International School Tel: 01 370191/2

International Turkish Schools 01-419330-1, 737999199 Taiz 205593

Al-Majd Yemen School Tel: 206159 Manarat Schools 01-410011

SUPERMARKET

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

TRANSLATIONS

Urwa Wantqa 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

 Falcon Holidays
 444118

 Falcon Business Center
 446250

 Al-Nasim Travel
 270750

 Universal Business Travel Center
 441158/9/60

 Qadas Fly
 01-280777

UNIVERSITIES

American World University, Rep.
by IS academy Tel. 01 - 535700 733061203 Fax: 535702
University of Applied and Social Science
Sana'a: 412442 Fax: 412441,
Aden: 234533 / 234960
Queen rwa University Tel: 449971/2
Sana'a University Tel: 250553/4/5
Alandalus University Tel: 675567
Fax:675885

MINISTRIES

Presidency 01-290200
Prime Minister 01-490 800
Ministry of Public Works and Highways
01-545132

Ministry of Awqaf and Guidance 01-274439
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific
Research 01-535031
Ministry of Fisheries 01-268583
Ministry of Culture 01-274640

Ministry of Civil Service and Insurance
01-294579
Ministry of Defence
01-276404
Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation

01-282963 Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour 01-262809

Ministry of Legal Affairs 01-402213

Ministry of Public Health and Population
01-252211

Ministry of Youth and Sports 01-472913

Ministry of Industry and Trade 01-235462

 Ministry of Industry and Trade
 01-235462

 Ministry of Justice
 01-236512

 Ministry of Tourism
 01-220050

 Ministry of Expatriates
 01-402254

 Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals
 01-202309

 Ministry of Internal Affairs
 01-289577

 Ministry of Transport
 01-260900

 Ministry of Human Rights
 01-444831

 Ministry of Communications and
 01-331460

 Ministry of Local Administration
 01-227242

 Ministry of Information
 01-274008

Ministry of Local Administration 01-227242

Ministry of Information 01-227408

Ministry of Planning and 11-250101

Ministry of Education 01-252732

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 01-537914

Ministry of the Interior 01-332701

Ministry of Finance 01-260365

Ministry of Transportation 01-2022257 Ministry of Water and Environment 01-418289

To have your number listed please

Ministry of Electricity

To have your number listed please contact: 268661 - Fax: 268276

01-326196



would like to





TRAVEL DIARY

'Our Yemen,' a journey back home

Sahar Noman

summarize our impressions of a trip we took to Yemen, both to the capital Sana'a and the city of Aden. I hadn't been to Sana'a for more than 20 years when I recently ventured there with my son. I found Sana'a to be a very busy city. Although we only stayed for three days, we were able to visit the famous Bab Al-Yemen. We strolled freely and admired the beautiful historic architecture as we wandered through narrow alleys, which are full of traditional stores and kiosks. They are brimming with products famous in this part of the world, such as dates, currants,

There were many other products tempting to the eye. We explored the spice market, Souq al Baharat and a large qat market. In the afternoons we managed to squeeze between the busy qat shoppers, frantic to get their daily afternoon supply of the leaf as chewing time drew near.

We were very impressed and welcomed by locals. A young man approached us as we were admiring the architecture of build-



The travelers pose in front of a shop in Sana'a as the

history of such structures in the surrounding area. He willingly became our professional tour guide for the rest of the visit.

In Bab Al-Yemen we ate for the first time, the famous Yemeni dish, Salta. It came out sizzling and was served in a stone bowl, haradha. We even bought back a bowl for family we had left behind

Another highlight was visiting a silversmith in Souq Al-Fidha where I bought some jewelry, which I knew I will be proud to wear and show off in London

On our fourth day, we headed to Aden, where I was raised as a child. There is a lot we can say about Aden, the beautiful city on the sea.

Aden is my eye candy. During our stay in Aden, we went to the various sea shores

and ate the famous local dish called mukhbaza made of bread, fresh fish and hulba (chutney). We followed up this delicacy with a glass of tea served in a tumbler glass. We then visited family and friends

whom my son hadn't seen since he was a child .So his first challenge was to prove he was a Yemeni true and through. That means he had to chew gat. I was excited to see the effect it had on him.

"It is good mum, it will help me stav awake and do my assignments for university," he said.

This means my son, who was raised in London, can adapt to his Yemeni roots. His knowledge of the Arabic language gave him confidence to use public transport and

wander the streets of Aden freely.

برامج سياحيه الى

Torkey

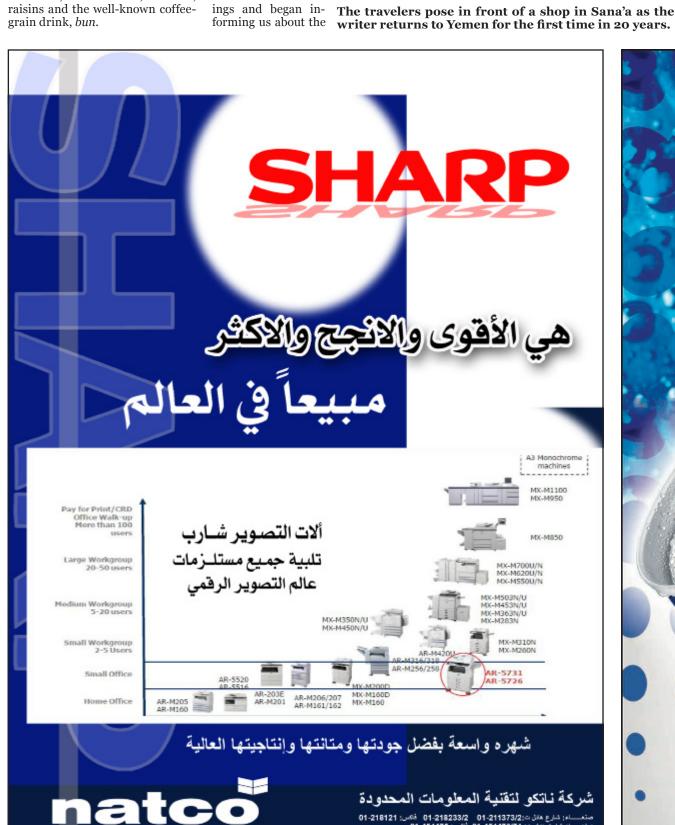
العالمية للسياحة

Malaysia

ماليزيا

He realized that the most important features of any community are the social interactions people have and the human connection they offer. He witnessed firsthand the saying, "Al Eyman Yamani Wa Alhikma Yamania," a hadith from the Ouran that blesses this country. This is what Yemeni people are all about.

In a short period of time, my son was able to see what his father and I have always said about Yemen. This is our Yemen.



\$\$ Perkins

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Tel: +967-1-450551/2 Fax:+967-1-450553 - Oirest Tel: 777-308-600 Branches Hodaldah Tel:03/230151 Soon: Talz & Aden



Kubota YANMAR

AOLAO.