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A simple youth initiative called “Express your suffering with a candle” took place on Monday. The initiative wants to visualize objections to the frequent power cuts. Ali Zabiba, the young man behind this initiative, said they are accepting contributions of candles. Once the group has collected enough candles, they will melt them together to make the largest candle in Yemen. It will be five meters high. (Photo by Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki)

National dialogue reaches tentative agreement on political isolation

Rammah Al-Jubari

SANA'A, Oct 7 — One day before the inauguration of the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) Concluding Plenary, political factions arrived at a tentative agreement on political isolation. An agreement was reached that immunity for Saleh means he should abstain from political activities, as per law No.1/2012.

This new phrasing was proposed by Dr. Abdulkarim Al-Eryani, representative of Saleh's party, the General People's Congress (GPC) at Monday's Consensus Committee meeting, after days of heated debates and the boycott by GPC members who felt the political isolation proposal was interference with GPC's internal affairs.

“There is an immunity law and it cannot be challenged. We at the GPC refuse to contest it in any way because by doing so not only will this be considered as interfering in our party's internal affairs asking us who to have as our leader, but also it will create a rift in the party and potential withdrawing from the NDC,” he said.

Other political parties had brought up this issue condemning Saleh in person for alleged involvement in activities hindering the transitional process.

“To start with, there has been no real transfer of power. Power cannot be divided, when Saleh handed



Good Governance working group while debating its final report.

over his authority to his deputy it was not only the executive power as head of state, but it should have also included handing over the political power through resigning from his position as president of the GPC,” said Dr. Abdullah Lamlas, rapporteur of the NDC's Presidency.

The conflict started when an article proposed by the Good Governance Working Team at the NDC conditioned the legitimacy of im-

munity with prohibition of political activities in the future. Judge Afrah Badowlain, head of the Good Governance group, explained that this is an integral part of their work, which is to ensure justice, equality, the rule of law, and the combating of corruption as well as assuring accountability of Yemenis holding future significant jobs.

“It is something like the vetting of checking people's background be-

fore accepting them to hold high level decision making positions. It is not really talking about Saleh or his regime,” she said.

GPC General Secretary and Telecommunications Minister Ahmed Obaid bin Daghr told the Yemen Times he does not consent to any agreement or procedures outside the framework of the Gulf Initiative.

He added, “We are surprised about the emergence of the political isolation law all of a sudden, in the final days of the dialogue. We made concessions for the sake of Yemen's safety, but now we are isolated.”

However, the youth of the NDC's Transitional Justice Working Group have a different point of view. They have a similar article proposed but under the pretext of political isolation in terms having Saleh and all his affiliates out of politics for good otherwise they should abandon immunity.

Mohammed Al-Sa'adi, the deputy head of the Good Governance



Working Group and representative of Hirak, explained that this condition is to ensure that those who were granted immunity for any crimes committed against people should not take responsibility in the future as political leaders.

When the two groups started discussing the issue of immunity vs. political isolation, members of the GPC boycotted the discussions.

Political analyst, Naef Hasan, argued that the political isolation decision could be seen as an act of ‘extortion’ used by a particular side to pressure Saleh, as president of the GPC, for the sake of special interests.

“Removing Saleh from his post as the head of the GPC is naturally the only outcome of this debate, it is not really about the former regime or previous crimes.”

He added that “The political isolation article is a new maneuver between president Hadi and Saleh. It speaks for what is going behind the scenes.”



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Weapons depots threaten people's lives in Sana'a



A batch of turkish weapons siezed from a ship on Yemeni

Nasser Al-Sakkaf

SANA'A, Oct. 6—A weapons depot at Al-Hina Military Camp on Nukm Mountain in the western section of Sana'a exploded once again on Saturday evening, resulting in a large fire. There was a similar explosion at the same depot two years ago, military expert Mohsen Khasrrof said. There have been no reported casualties from the incident.

Eyewitnesses said the Civil Defense Authorities rushed to the scene and put the fire out. Firefighters remained at the scene from 9 p.m. until 1 a.m. The military camp is located near a residential area.

Defense minister advisor Brigadier Ahmed Mohsen told the Yemen Times that the explosion was a result of a large boulder falling on the weapons depot.

The arsenal was once under the control of the now-dissolved Republican Guard. The Republican Guard was an elite unit under the control of former President Ali Abdulla Saleh's son, Ahmed. The unit was dissolved during a series

of decrees issued by President Hadi to restructure the military. The weapons depot is now under the control of the Special Forces.

Mohsen said the boulder became destabilized during a small earthquake last week in the capital city.

Mohammed Gaghman, the general secretary of the Azal district's local council criticized the placement of a military camp near a residential area.

"It's vital that they move these [weapons] arsenals away from residential areas," he said.

Khasrrof told the Yemen Times that weapons arsenals should be at least three kilometers away from residential areas, according to regulations, to reduce the risk to residents if there are incidents.

"Unfortunately, places that would more appropriately be parks, are being used in the capital city as weapons depots," he said. Khasrrof said he doubted that a landslide was the cause of the explosion, saying it would be difficult for a large rock to fall on a weapons depot that is inside a cave.

Government increases checkpoints, security precautions

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

Mukalla, Oct. 7—The Interior Ministry announced increased troop deployments nationwide on Sunday, in anticipation of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) attacks, the ministry said. The ministry cited recent terror attacks for the increased security precautions, including the seizure of a military camp in Mukalla on Sept. 30, which AQAP has claimed responsibility for.

Mohammed Al-Mawari, the spokesperson for the Interior Ministry, told the Yemen Times that the ministry has deployed thousands of soldiers and security forces nationwide following the most recent attacks in Shabwa, Hadramout and Sana'a.

Al-Mawari said the ministry had received intelligence about more Al-Qaeda plots.

The ministry has set-up more checkpoints around the country, focusing on entrances to cities. All security forces are in a state of high-alert, the source said.

Security forces are raiding areas with known Al-Qaeda affiliates. Mohammed Musayed, a security officer in Aden, said a two-member AQAP cell was arrested in Aden on Saturday during a raid on homes.

"More security forces have been deployed to Hadramout, Abyan, Al-Baida and Shabwa governorates, where there is a larger AQAP presence," he said.

Shaker Al-Ghadeer, a soldier in the Brigade 111 stationed in

Abyan, told the Yemen Times that AQAP leafleted residential areas last week, telling residents they will regain control over the city and declare it an Islamic emirate once again. AQAP was forced out of Abyan by security forces last year. Taiz Security Deputy Head Edi Al-Yousfi said that two vehicles filled with weapons were discovered in Taiz last week. Taiz has witnessed a considerable increase in checkpoints, he said.

AQAP released a statement on Thursday, claiming responsibility for the seizure of the Second Military Region military base in Mukalla.

"These military bases, which help Americans in their war against Muslim people, are our targets," the statement says.

Al-Qaeda replaces state presence in Ra'ada

Nasser Al-Sakkaf

BEIDHA, Oct. 7—Locals of Rada'a district of Al-Beidha governorate complained that they are often forced to resort to Al-Qaeda affiliates to mediate their disputes in the absence of a strong state presence.

Abdulrab Abu Saleh, Ra'ada resident, said the increase of armed militants has to do with the absence of security in the district, which he says drove them to seek help from armed militants.

Although Ra'ada security manager Hamoud Al-Amari said the district needs at least 6000 soldiers to maintain security, Ra'ada currently has no more than 1500 soldiers.

Al-Amari said that armed militants launch surprise attacks on security checkpoints and flee the scene, usually leaving between eight and 20 casualties.

The latest attack on Monday saw seven men killed during clashes with the 139 Mechanized Brigade soldiers at Dar Al Najd checkpoint, east of Ra'ada city. Two soldiers were injured in the attack and two others were taken hostage.

The armed men attempted to forcefully pass through a security checkpoint in order to enter Ra'ada city when the clashes broke.

Ra'ada resident Hassan Al-Duraibi said that attacks have become commonplace, and that "the area has grown accustomed to almost daily killings."



Ansar Al-Sharia'a in 2011, parading their flag in Abyan to demonstrate their control over Zinjibar district.

As security situation deteriorates, civilians pay high price

8 injured in Hajja, 2 injured in Dhale

Rammah Al-Jubari And Nasser Al-Sakkaf

Hajja, Dhile- Oct.7—As the Ministry of Interior prepares to deploy more soldiers and security forces around the country, the breakdown in security has resulted in civilian deaths and injuries around the country, including

eight people injured in Hajja City and two people injured in Dhale.

Eight people were injured in Hajja City on Saturday when clashes broke out at a popular vegetable market near the security administration. Amongst the injured was a four-year-old child.

The clashes were between the Al-Sharaqi tribe and the Al-

Jameema tribe. The governor of Hajja governorate belongs to the former and the latter is associated with prominent General People's Congress (GPC) member, Fahd Dahshoush. Al-Sharaqi tribe prevented vendors from the Al-Jameema tribe from selling at the market.

Four months ago, tribal clashes

erupted in another popular Hajja market, leaving dozens of shops damaged. That market is still closed, residents say.

Deputy security manager of Hajja, Brigadier Yahia Al-Haifi told the Yemen Times that security forces stepped in to end the conflict, but came under fire from both sides. Five of those injured

in the clashes were bystanders, he said.

Local council member Hadi Warden said the deteriorated security situation has allowed for the frequent break-out of clashes. The governorate, Warden said, has been without a security manager for over six months.

Two people were also injured

in the Kataba district of Dhale on Monday during armed confrontations between unidentified armed men and security guards of a Yemen Central Bank vehicle.

The money had already unloaded the money at a bank branch in Dhale, said Mohammed Ghalib Al-Atabi, the general secretary of the Dhale local council.

Visually impaired receive computer training

Faheem Sultan Al-Qadasi

Sana'a- Oct.4—The first computer training course for visually impaired people at the Yemen Disabled Forum has come to a close, but organizers say the course is just the first in a series of other trainings that will provided for hundreds of blind men and women in Yemen.

The forum aims to help the blind acquire computer literacy skills through the use of screen readers. The forum has established and equipped a computer lab with the necessary screen readers, planning to continue the computer courses.

Participants say the courses will allow them to gain more independence and thanked those who made the training possible, including trainer Ali Al Jamali and his assistant, Arfat Hasan.

Forum head Hasan Isamel told the Yemen Times that such trainings will allow Yemen's visually impaired population to compete with similarly disabled people in



Visually impaired participants receives training on computer applications

the region.

The forum has similar programs for the physically disabled and

hearing impaired and plans to move forward with more courses in the future.

Yemen celebrates World Ozone Day



The two teams sing the national anthem at a soccer match meant to commemorate World Ozone Day.

Majed Al-Alyei

Sana'a- Oct.5—The Environmental Ambassadors Foundation organized a soccer match to commemorate World Ozone Day on September 16. The foundation's slogan is 'Healthy Air: The Future We Want'. Held under the auspices of the General Authority of Environmental Protection, the match was between the Environmental Ambassadors Foundation's team and the civil society organizations

gathered at Al Shab stadium in Sana'a.

Nasser Al-Kumaim, head of the Environmental Ambassadors Foundation, delivered a presentation, calling on all civil society organizations to encourage the limit of bromide—a gas used to control pests in the agricultural sectors that depletes the ozone—and to keep the planet healthy.

Al-Kumaim said the foundation was partnering with organizations to raise awareness of agricultural

and environmental issues and that World Ozone Day was a way to encourage youth to lead the way towards a sustainable future.

A workshop about the ozone and the role of youth is being planned.

During the ceremony, farmers in Sana'a, Dhamar, Mahweet, Hodeida, and Amran were honored for their environmentally-friendly practices. Agricultural technology that acts as an alternative for pest control was distributed to encourage farmers to forgo bromide.

Friends of Yemen: Yemen needs independent body to monitor funds, projects

Adham Manasrah

The Friends of Yemen group concluded its sixth ministerial meeting held in New York on September 25 on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly meeting. The group's final statement called on the Yemeni government to carry out the priority actions which were agreed upon during the donors' meeting in June. The statement made no mention of the amount of funding that would be dispersed to Yemen at this time. Marzouk Al-Silwi, head of the Economic and Developmental Studies Center, told the Yemen Times that the funding depended on Yemeni leadership and the political and security obligations that they tackle.

"It also depends on [U.N. Envoy to Yemen, Jamal] Benomar's report that was presented to the security council," Al-Silwi said.

Ministers and representatives of over 40 countries took part in the meeting. Representatives of international organizations and the World Bank also attended the meeting. Abu Bakr Al-Kiribi, the Yemeni Foreign Affairs Minister, headed the Yemeni delegation that included Minister of Planning and International Cooperation Mohammed Al-Sa'adi and a number of other Yemeni government officials.

Over the course of the meeting, participants discussed three reports presented by the Yemeni government. The reports touched on

the latest achievements realized in the security, economic and political fields as well as major challenges facing the country. The reports also mentioned the necessary support needed from the Friends of Yemen group so that the country could continue its transition and overcome challenges.

According to observers, the donors did not hand over funds directly to the government because they feared corruption and the further delay of projects that are already behind schedule

Observers and economic experts expressed their frustrations to the media regarding the outcomes of the meeting. They said the Yemeni government has not met expectations. The government has been criticized by the Friends of Yemen group for not making appropriate use of the sums donors have provided. The group also criticized the Yemeni government for the increase of financial and administrative cor-

ruption. This has resulted in a lack of trust from donors, leading them to reconsider promised assistance and support, observers said.

Observers: Donors do not trust the Yemeni government Experts say the establishment of the Executive Office of Projects Execution is evidence that donors do not trust the performance of the Yemeni government. This, they say, suggests that the government has not made progress in implementing economic and development projects, particularly in the fields of electricity and energy. According to observers, the donors did not hand over funds directly to the government because they feared corruption and the further delay of projects that are already behind schedule.

The establishment of an Executive Office of Development Projects Execution will provide monitoring and evaluation by an independent body to absorb grants and to implement projects. The office has not yet been established, but donors have called for the formation of an independent body, making its establishment likely.

"The inability of the Yemeni government to absorb this huge amount of money, as well as the rampant corruption of authorities, has led donors to mistrust the Yemeni government. The result is this call for an independent body," he said.

Observers said the establishment of the Executive Office of Projects


Execution is the government's final opportunity. The government, observers said, will not be granted any funds unless these funds aim to fulfill national economic priorities or the start of electricity and energy projects that have not yet been implemented. The government will not be free to do what it pleases, observers said.

Local media reported that American Ambassador Gerald M. Feierstein warned the Yemeni government of its poor performance regarding development. The ambassador has repeatedly urged the Yemeni government to carry out the projects, account for funds and meet deadlines. The government, observers say, has not taken the ambassador's message seriously.

British ambassador to Yemen, Jane Marriott, said in an interview this week that the Yemeni government is partisan and that its members are putting politics above the needs of the country. The poor performance of the government, she said, is a vital issue compounded by incompetence.

Rajeh Badi, media advisor to Yemeni Prime Minister Mohammed Basindwa, told Al Jazeera that the government hopes donors will make good on their financial pledges, totaling \$7.8 billion, which were pledged during Friends of Yemen meetings in September 2012. Most of the funds have not come through, he said, and the government will need the funds for the post-dialogue phase.

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Yemen received an additional \$1.4 billion in pledges last year

The Yemeni government received additional financial pledges estimated at \$1.4 billion from donor countries and organizations in September 2012, bringing the initial pledge from \$6.4 billion to \$7.8 billion. Half of the initial \$6.4 billion pledge came from Saudi Arabia.

A statement from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) urged continued support for Yemen, nec-

essary for full economic stabilization, the organization said. The IMF called on the international community to accelerate the dispersal of funds for immediate food aid.

The Friends of Yemen group was established in January 2010 in London to mobilize international support for Yemen, to help increase development and to help the country meet its many challenges.

Rammah Al-Jubari contributed to this report



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A steep road ahead: Protection of human rights in Yemen

Yemen Times Staff

As the debates over the future of Yemen continues across the country, a visiting U.N. human rights official said protection of human rights in the transitional period must not be neglected.

Wrapping up her official visit to Sana'a on Thursday, U.N. Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights Flavia Pansieri said that, "The future of Yemen cannot be built on [a foundation of] impunity for past violations—whenver and wherever they occurred."

After meeting with the Yemeni officials, Pansieri urged an "extra effort by the President and his government to ensure that human rights are not sacrificed for the sake of political expediency."

In another statement, Human Rights Watch welcomed the recently adopted resolution of the U.N. Human Rights Council on the situation in Yemen. The resolution called on the Yemeni government to protect journalists', women's and girls' rights, and urged them to take significant steps to address accountability for past human rights abuses.

Since the stepping-down of former President Ali Abdulla Saleh in February 2012, Yemen has been undergoing a transitional period. The transitional government, led by President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi, is nearing the end of its term.

The National Dialogue Conference (NDC), launched in March, has gathered a wide variety of players representing all walks of political life in Yemen to draft a new

constitution and to pave the way for general elections in 2014.

Under a Gulf-brokered initiative to end the protests that had paralyzed the country for more than a year, former President Ali Abdulllah Saleh agreed to step down after 33 years in power, on the condition that he be granted immunity.

Activists have rejected the condition, insisting that those found responsible for human rights violations, including the deadly attacks on protesters in 2011, be prosecuted.

Abdulrahman Barman, lawyer and human rights activist, told the Yemen Times that that UNHCR's position was a step in the right direction for human rights in Yemen, "But there is no serious procedure to abolish the immunity granted to the former president."

Barman, a member of the Organization for Defending Rights and Freedoms (HOOD) said that, "The government and the parliament are supposed to take action in order to cancel the immunity, because it contradicts the conventions of human rights and the Yemeni constitution."

Pansieri has visited Yemen several times in the past years and wants a "strong message to be sent during the constitutional process with respect to women's rights, children's rights and the rights of the marginalized communities."

One driver of human rights violation in Yemen is loopholes in the judicial system, Barman said.

"In the absence of deterrent measures, many people do not obey the law, especially when they see there is no punishment for the culprit," he added.

Ahead of Pansieri's visit, Yemen's human rights record came under the spotlight at a meeting of the council in Geneva when more than 100 countries, including Yemen, adopted the first-ever resolution on forced child marriage.

Looking at priorities that need addressing, the council emphasized investigating human rights violations during the 2011 youth uprising, as well as adopting laws on transitional justice, the abolition of child marriage and the ending of the death penalty for juveniles.

The resolution recognized the practice of child, early and forced marriage as human rights violations that "prevent individuals from living their lives free from all forms of violence," and impact the "right to education, and the highest attainable standard of health."

During the past months, the issue of setting a minimum marriage-age law in-line with international norms has revived an ongoing debate between conservative and liberal parties in Yemen.

But Barman is not optimistic that setting a marriage law could eliminate an old practice in the country. "It will not stop the child marriage phenomenon, but it would help the victims to defend themselves based on that."

In addition to Yemen, other countries with high rates of marriage before the age of 18 supported the resolution as well, including Chad, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, Sierra Leone, and South Sudan.

"If current levels of child marriage hold, 14.2 million girls annually or 39,000 girl daily, will marry too young," between 2011 and 2020, according to the United



Yemeni security officials confront a group of Yemeni journalists and human rights activists protesting against Shayi's sentence and the legality of the court.

Nations Population Fund's report, published in March.

HRW greeted Yemen's support of the resolution but called for prosecutions to create a deterrent effect.

"[It] is a positive message that the government is willing to address serious human rights challenges," said Julie de Rivero, regional director of HRW based in Geneva. "Now the real test will be whether the au-

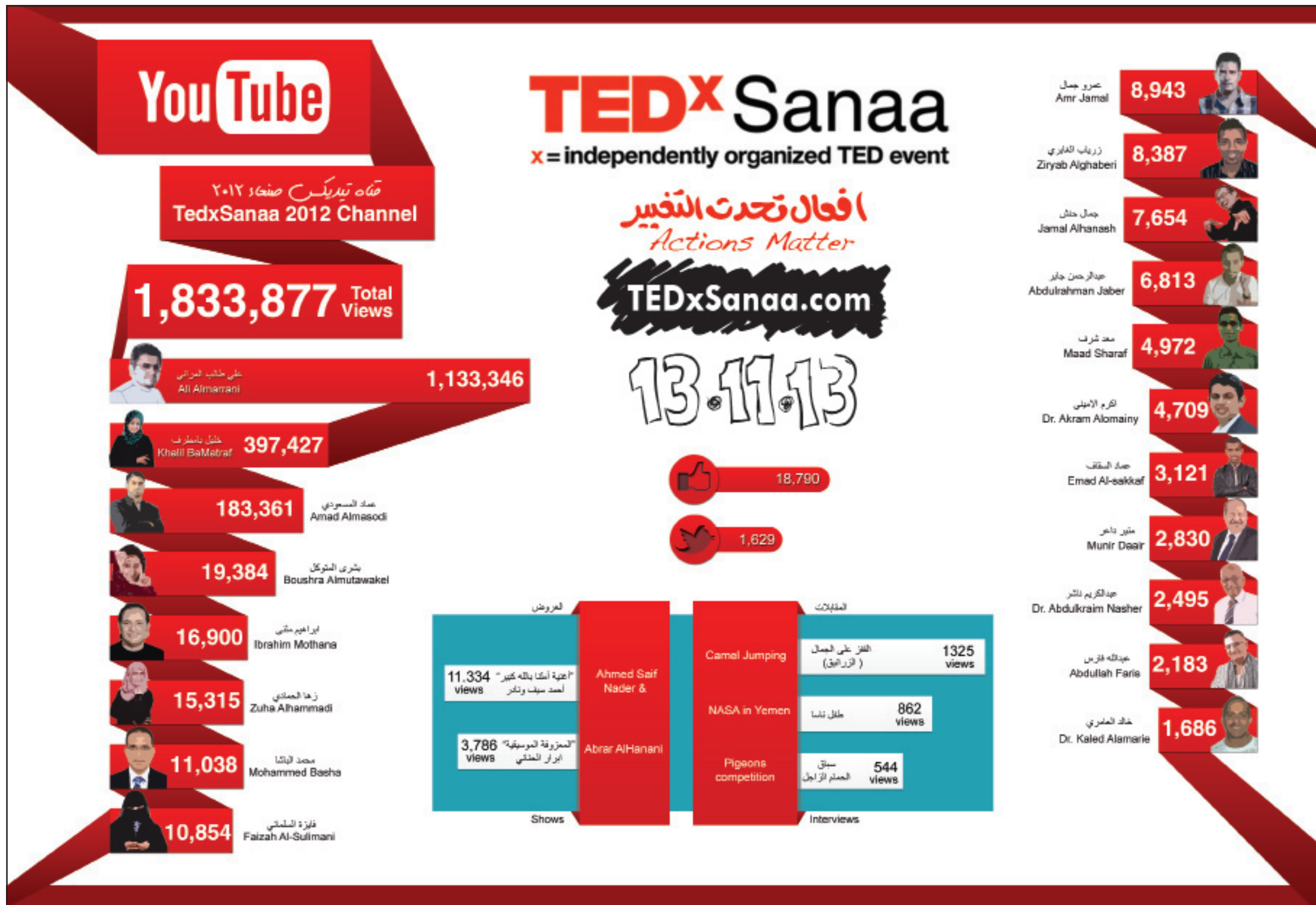
thorities act swiftly and do not delay further concrete measures to rein in abuses and ensure accountability."

The HRW statement urged Yemen's parliament to pass a transitional justice law that meets international standards.

Execution of minors charged with murder is another significant challenge facing the transitional Yemen, Pansieri said.

Jamal Al-Shami, the head of Democratic School, a non-profit organization concerned with children's rights, said more than 1000 juveniles are being held in prisons across the country, referring to field researches conducted by international organizations.

"Out of those juveniles, 103 are sentenced to death and 20 will be executed at any time," he said.





Do-it-yourself cartography of the Middle East

The US news media offers blueprints for the dismemberment of the Middle East, writes author

Belen Fernandez
www.aljazeera.com
Published Oct. 04

A recent offering from the New York Times Opinion page is an infographic titled "How 5 Countries Could Become 14".

Featuring analysis by Robin Wright—distinguished scholar at the United States Institute of Peace and the Wilson Center—it depicts prospective divisions of Libya, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen into territories with predictable names like Sunnistan, Shiitestan, Alawitestan, and Wahhabistan.

Despite the fixation with the -stan suffix, there is no polity called "Palestan".

In the article accompanying the infographic, "Imagining a Remapped Middle East", Wright declares the map of the modern Middle East to be "in tatters" thanks to "Syria's ruinous war" as well as other factors:

"... [T]he centrifugal forces of rival beliefs, tribes and ethnicities... are also pulling apart a region defined by European colonial powers a century ago and defended by Arab autocrats ever since".

Wright acknowledges that Middle Eastern borders were "initially defined by imperial tastes and trade rather than logic" and that subsequent "[r]econfigured maps infuriated Arabs who suspected foreign plots to divide and weaken them all over again".

Of course, it's difficult to argue

that the Times' blueprint for the dismemberment of five countries doesn't smack of imperialist speculation.

"Good Syria", "Bad Syria"

Luckily for speculators, imperialism's contributions to conflict in the Arab/Muslim world are generally excised from Western mainstream media discourse via a couple of easy tricks.

One is to blame everything on an alleged Muslim insistence on prolonging a 1,400-year squabble.

In a slightly hysterical September column for the New York Times, for example, foreign affairs columnist Thomas Friedman outlined his pet peeve regarding the debate on US intervention in Syria:

"...[P]lease do spare me the lec-

ture that America's credibility is at stake here. Really? Sunnis and Shiites have been fighting since the 7th century over who is the rightful heir to the Prophet Muhammad's spiritual and political leadership, and our credibility is on the line? Really? Their civilisation has missed every big modern global trend—the religious Reformation, democratisation, feminism and entrepreneurial and innovative capitalism—and our credibility is on the line? I don't think so."

Thanks to continuous media advertisements of purported Muslim backwardness, any intrusions onto the Middle Eastern map by the West and its militaries are seen to be civilising in nature. This is the case even when said intrusions are accompanied by instructions for Iraqis to "Suck. On. This"—Friedman's cultured pronouncement at the start of the Iraq war.

Friedman has since toned down his militant cheerleading in favour of calmer remapping suggestions—"Syria and Iraq will both likely devolve into self-governing, largely homogeneous, ethnic and religious units, like Kurdistan"—and important anthropological discoveries such as that the Swiss do not care about Syria because a grocery shop cashier in Bern has pink hair.

This naturally does not mean that the newspaper of record has withdrawn from the business of blatant warmongering. In late August, it hosted the headline "Bomb Syria, Even if It Is Illegal", whose author made a similar argument in a column for Al Jazeera.

Meanwhile, Times columnist Nicholas Kristof—patron saint of "humanitarian" intervention—has augmented his pleas for missile strikes on Syria by threatening that a failure to strike amounts to "landing on the wrong side of history".

Were Kristof in charge of redrawing the Middle East, we might find ourselves with a Syrian Arab Republic divided into two autonomous regions: "Good Syria" and "Bad Syria". As Columbia University scholar Mahmood Mamdani wrote in a 2007 essay for the London Review of Books, the columnist's previous fervent campaign for Western interference in Darfur constituted:

"...the reduction of a complex political context to a morality tale unfolding in a world populated by villains and victims who never trade places and so can always and easily be told apart. It is a world where atrocities mount geometrically, the perpetrators so evil and the victims so helpless that the only possibility of relief is a rescue mission from the outside, preferably in the form of a military intervention".

Since Syria and Iran are apparently the same country on certain regional maps, all the more reason to break them up

Documenting Kristof's wildly fluctuating death tolls for Darfur, Mamdani questions his "relative silence" on the far more lethal violence in Congo, especially given Kristof's own admission that "[t]he number of people killed in Darfur so far is modest in global terms". According to Mamdani, one possible reason for the discrepancy is that the Congolese militias "were trained by America's allies in the region, Rwanda and Uganda".

Syria = Iran

The question of how to deal with US friends and foes in the Middle East, meanwhile, has been handily resolved by Washington Post blogger

Jennifer Rubin, who in a September dispatch titled "Here's a resolution for you" drafted a proposed replacement for a US congressional resolution on Syria.

Rubin, who defines herself on Twitter as a "friend of @Israel", begins her resolution with a series of clauses:

"WHEREAS the United States has vital national security concerns at stake in the Middle East;... WHEREAS the United States cannot protect those interests or the interests of allies including Israel by disengaging from the region;... WHEREAS the Assad regime has used chemical weapons on its own people multiple times;... WHEREAS the United States must not allow users of WMDs to escape the consequences of their actions or to disarm at their leisure".

It goes without saying that the use of poisonous weapons by the US and its @Israeli friend is exempt from such ultimatums.

Having concluded the prelude to her resolution, Rubin proceeds to list its prescriptions, the first two of which are:

"The president of the United States shall be authorised to use all necessary force against Iran in the event it does not halt all enrichment and allow complete access to all facilities to verify the discontinuation and destruction of its nuclear weapons facilities...

"It shall be the policy of the United States to support free peoples in Iran seeking to change the regime and obtain essential human rights and a normalised relationship with the West".

Since Syria and Iran are apparently the same country on certain regional maps, all the more reason to break them up.

Belen Fernandez is the author of The Imperial Messenger: Thomas Friedman at Work, released by Verso in 2011. She is a member of the Jacobin Magazine editorial board, and her articles have appeared in the London Review of Books blog, Salon, The Baffler, Al Akhbar English and many other publications.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
وَيْتَابُ الصَّالِحِينَ

* الَّذِينَ إِذَا أَصَابَتْهُمْ مُصِيبَةٌ قَالُوا إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ *

ببالغ الحزن والأسى وبقلوب مؤمنة بقضاء الله وقدره

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ب وفاة المفطور له بإذن الله تعالى /

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وعظيم عفرانه وأن يسكنه فسيح جناته، وإن يلهم أهله
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ICG: Imposing settlement on South will lead to breakdown

Sadeq Al-Wesabi

A recent report by the International Crisis Group (ICG) said that imposing a final settlement for the Southern Issue, even under conditions where trust, legitimacy and consensus were likely, would set-back the process, strengthen the more militant Southern views and likely lead to bloodshed.

The 32-page report, titled "Yemen's Southern question: avoiding

a breakdown," urged National Dialogue Conference (NDC) participants and international partners to define extended transitional agreements, including a delay of the constitutional referendum and upcoming elections. It encouraged confidence-building measures between the North and South and inclusion of Southern activists, especially Hiraq leaders, in ongoing negotiations on the future state structure.

Political analyst and writer Abdulla Ali Sabri ruled out the possibility of successfully forcing a final settle-

ment on the Southern Issue.

"It's [clear] that forcing any solution on this critical issue will lead to instability in the South and will threaten the future of unity," Sabri said.

"Nobody inside the NDC talks about the separation option. The argument is only between the number of regions in a federal state," he added.

Popular calls for secession are increasing in the South. Despite steps taken to tackle grievances—such as job restorations—many southerners



Southern Movement activists say large demonstrations are expected in the South on 14 October to commemorate the end of British rule and to call for secession.

have not recognized the efforts as significant steps, and maintain that separation is their only choice.

The Southern Issue is considered the prevailing issue at the NDC. Many Southerners say, however, that Southern representatives to the NDC do not represent them.

"How can we accept the outcomes of the conference [when the] Hiraq movement was excluded from it?" said Mokhtar Ali, a Southern Movement member. "The NDC doesn't represent the majority of Southerners who are determined to gain independence," Ali claimed.

He confirmed the findings of the ICG and said that a final settlement cannot be imposed on the South. "The North must realize that Southerners are determined to secede," he said. "Without it (separation), the situation in the south will deteriorate."

Ali said Southerners do not care about NDC outcomes because the "conference is limited to traditional,

tribal and military Southern powers that [now] live in the North."

The South is expected to witness mass demonstrations commemorating the 50th anniversary of the 14 October Revolution, when Southerners ended British rule.

"People from [all] Southern governorates [are going to] swarm into Aden [to] call for secession," Ali predicted. "They feel that this federalism idea is a trap."

However, Southern NDC representative Khaled Abdul-Wahed told the Yemen Times that the ICG's report was off-tune.

"Such reports try to create crises from nothing," he said. "They rely on Hiraq members for information which is not [based on the] truth."

Abdul-Wahed said international reports on the South are often based on misleading information, and therefore, are often inaccurate. As for Hiraq, "they have no clear visions for the country," he said.

"We've been working for more

than six months to reach an agreement and we [want] to resolve the Southern Issue [by consensus]," he added.

Calls for secession are not popular with the international community, but many Southerners are not phased. The ICG says there has been progress these past two years.

"For the past two years, Yemeni politics has been guided by an imperfect transition agreement that, for now at least, has averted violence, initiated a political process and made some progress on substantive issues," said April Aleey, senior analyst for the Arabian Peninsula for the International Crisis Group.

The ICG is calling for more time and work, saying they are needed to create a "broad-based solution acceptable to most Northerners and Southerners alike."

ICG is non-profit organization working through field-based analysis and advocacy to prevent and resolve deadly conflict.

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Kirobo Utters His First Words from Outer Space

TOYOTA developed robot astronaut with voice capabilities to participate in the world's first conversation with a human being in outer space

In 1961 Yuri Gagarin became the first man to speak in outer space. Fifty-two years later, Toyota has helped give a voice to the first robot astronaut to utter words while orbiting the earth.

The Toyota robot astronaut Kirobo's historic first words reflected the importance of its 18-month mission: "On August 21, 2013, a robot took one small step towards a brighter future for all."

Toyota Motor Corporation provided Kirobo's voice recognition software and plans to use experience gained from the orbital experiments to improve the range of interactive conversation technologies it uses in its automotive and personal robotic assistance products.

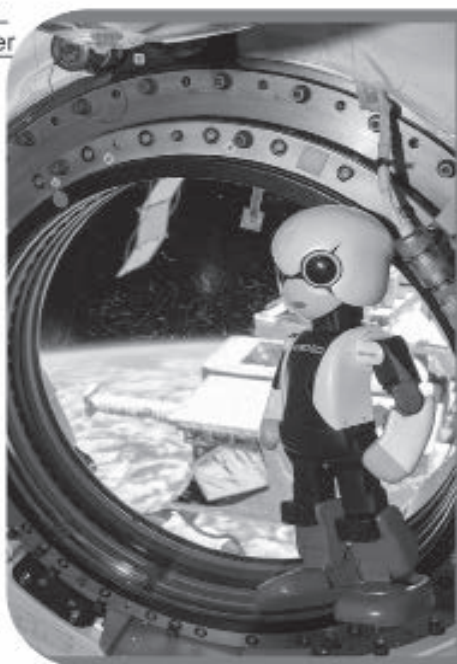
Kirobo left earth on August 4 following the successful launch of an H-IIB rocket from Tanegashima Space Centre in Japan. Sitting on top of the launch vehicle was Kounotori 4, a Japanese cargo vehicle containing the 34cm robot. After six days in orbit, Kounotori 4 docked with the International Space Station (ISS).

Kirobo will be joined by Japanese astronaut Koichi Wakata later this year. Wakata will arrive on Expedition 38 to become the first Japanese astronaut to assume command of the orbiting space station. Once on board, at an orbiting altitude of nearly 250 miles above earth, Commander

Wakata will take part in the first conversation held between a human being and robot in space.

The planned conversation will take place in the Japanese Experiment Module, nicknamed "Kibo" after the word for hope in Japanese.

Kirobo and his earth-bound 'brother', Mirata, are two humanoid communication robots developed under the Kibo Robot Project, a joint research project between Dentsu Inc, the University of Tokyo's Research Centre for Advanced Science and Technology, Robo Garage Co, and Toyota Motor Corporation. The project is also extensively assisted by the Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency (JAXA).



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VACANCY ANNOUNCEMENT

Yemen Monitoring and Evaluation Project (YMEP) invites **Yemeni Nationals** to apply for the position below.

Title: Outreach and Communications Specialist

Duration of Assignment: Full-time Position

Duty Station: Sana'a, Yemen with travel throughout Yemen

INTRODUCTION

The Yemen Monitoring and Evaluation Project (YMEP) is a multi year project that is designed to provide independent third party monitoring of donor-financed development projects and interventions in Yemen. It is implemented in Yemen by International Business and Consultants Inc. (IBTCI). We are seeking an Outreach and Communications Specialist (OCS) to work with YMEP staff as well as with donors to develop and implement specific activities in this area as outlined below.

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES:

The OCS is responsible for supporting, strengthening and augmenting the outreach and communications of YMEP.

- 1. Planning and development:** In consultation with the client, the OC specialist will develop an Outreach and Communication Strategy and Action Plan, and an overall timetable.
- 2. Event Coordination:** Duties related to event coordination will include, but not be limited to:
 - Organize and conduct workshops, conferences and seminars to disseminate activity and impact results and progress.
 - Leverage other events such as speaking engagements, graduations, and activity launches.
 - Work with implementing partners and the client staff to create and implement an events calendar.
- 3. Communications:**
 - Draft features stories and narratives to tell "Transforming Lives Stories" both in English and in Arabic of people who have received assistance.
 - Undertake site visits, conduct interviews with beneficiaries and implementers and attend public events and activities to collect stories, take photographs and videos of activities.
 - Build and maintain relationships with the local media, and work to encourage local media to report on development assistance success stories, particularly from a human interest perspective.
 - Prepare information packages including human interest stories and photographs to disseminate as part of a coordinated outreach campaign.
- 4. Translations:** will include but are not limited to:
 - Arabic approved written documents used for outreach and communications work.
 - Key outreach materials, such as newsletters, brochures, fact sheets, and reports and support with production of these materials.
- 5. Media monitoring and analysis:** including digital and social media.
- 6. Interpretation:** serve as an interpreter as needed.

REQUIRED QUALIFICATIONS:

- Undergraduate degree in a related field such as journalism or communications.
- At least three years of professional writing experience or event coordination or a combination of both.
- Level IV fluency in both oral and written English and Arabic is desired, at least Level III in English.
- Former working experience with international development organizations is highly desirable.
- Knowledge and familiarity with Yemeni media and communication networks, including web based.
- Strong written and oral communication in English and Arabic. Use of Microsoft products including Word (required), Excel and PowerPoint (preferred).
- Skilled in accessing, using and understanding social media.
- A pleasant personality, tact and courtesy in dealing with Government of Yemen officials, partners and recipients is required.
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- Qualified women are strongly urged to apply.

Please send your cover letter, a detailed CV and 3 references by email to HRYMEP@YAHOO.COM Responses will only be made to shortlisted candidates. The deadline for receiving applications is October 24th, 2013 by 5 pm.



NDC youth member: Political isolation “recognizes the immunity law, while the revolution refuses it”

The NDC Good Governance Working Group endorsed a political isolation proposal on September 19 for all officials granted immunity, including former President Ali Abdulla Saleh, under the Gulf Cooperative Council (GCC) Initiative.

Ninety percent of the group's members voted for the proposal in a controversial session.

The constitutional specific ratified by the Good Governance Working Group calls for the political isolation for officials given immunity under Gulf Initiative.

General People's Congress (GPC) representatives withdrew from the session in protest of the constitutional specific related to the immunity law and the political isolation law. The passage of the laws could result in prosecution for Saleh and other GPC members for violations committed

during Saleh's 33-year-rule, and in particular, for violations during the 2011 uprising.

Change Square youth have been demanding the abolition of immunity and the passage of a political isolation law since the signing of the Gulf Initiative two years ago.

What are the consequences of approving the political isolation law? Who are the parties affected or benefiting from the law? Doesn't it contradict the immunity law on which Saleh stepped out? Is the political isolation law a result of the increasing political tensions in the country?

Khalid Al-Anesi, a leading figure of the youth revolution, explains.

Interview and photo by Mohammed Al-Hasani

As a human rights activist, can you give a simple description for political isolation?

Political isolation is a disciplinary punishment for committing certain crimes. It's supposed to be based on legal prosecution that prevents people who had committed those crimes from certain political practices, such as accepting a public appointment. It's a legal idea that exists in the law and compliments the given punishment of a crime. It aims to isolate the person from certain political spheres.

Does political isolation contradict the immunity law?

Political isolation is not yet a law, it is a proposal for a constitutional article involving those who received immunity. Generally, the proposal

appears to be pro-revolution, but I have several objections to it. It recognizes the immunity law while the revolution refuses it.

Even if I agreed to make a political deal where the former regime can obtain the wealth it looted, the revolution would not accept it. It still it contradicts the revolution's principals and aims of recovering the wealth stolen by the former regime and its allies and to address the grievances of those whose rights were violated. The idea may seem politically nice but it can't be accepted from the perspective of the revolution and human rights activists because it accepts immunity--it's based on canceling punishment and accountability for the committed violations.

You said political isolation completes immunity. What do you mean?

The source of immunity and political isolation is the Gulf Initiative. The initiative gave immunity to the ousted president and his allies who were involved with him during his rule, and it never prohibited those who had benefited from immunity from future political office. Actually, there is no need for a new article on isolation because gaining immunity for political crimes results in political isolation, according to Yemeni law. But the state is weak, so an argument can be made that the building of these laws and institutions, even if they already exist, is a matter of taking the revolution and its principles seriously.

The ousted regime has roots and

members in the reconciliation government, so there was a need for a legal article because demanding immunity means admitting political crimes. The prosecution of these political crimes results in political isolation. Moreover, I'm against passing more laws to isolate people from politics. Those who've committed crimes should be prosecuted and banned from politics based on these judicial violations. Immunity must be annulled and people accused of committing crimes must be brought to trial. Legal verdicts can then be issued to politically isolate those who have been convicted. We don't want governments to play politics and simply use these sort of laws as an opportunity to punish former governments.

Did the youth of the NDC propose the political isolation bill?

Yes they did. However, the issue isn't about who proposed it. Any NDC component can present a proposal.

But some people question the [timing] of this political isolation proposal

Personally I believe there is a political dispute, but it's unfair to say that the dispute motivated the political isolation proposal. There were early talks. There was a disagreement on the implementation of the Gulf Initiative, a committee was supposed to be formed to illustrate this disagreement but it was aborted.

Why?

In order not to focus on the point that immunity includes political isolation, as I believe it does.

Do you want to include further information about the timing of the political isolation proposal?

Yes. Ideas can be presented as long as the NDC is ongoing...in principle, but personally, I believe there is a political disagreement between President Abdu Rabu Mansur Hadi and former President Saleh. It's related to authority [and power] within the GPC. In general, political isolation received support. The idea was presented earlier by revolutionaries, but now it's a political matter between Saleh and Hadi.

You mean that isolation [was proposed] to [increase tensions] between Hadi and Saleh?

I think it was pure coincidence, more of a forgotten card [up their sleeves] as it already existed that Saleh was to be granted immunity on the condition that he ends his political career and leaves GPC's leadership. Though, it's clear that political parties have figured out that Saleh's presence in the political scene will hinder change and that he is trying to create disorder.

*Generally,
the proposal
appears
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but I have
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to it. It
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Some say that Hadi used the isolation card against Saleh. Do you think so?

Perhaps, but as I said earlier, the seed has been planted since Saleh was granted immunity. It's been pushed for by revolutionary youth. They didn't intend to give up on their colleagues who had been killed during the revolution. Yet, the revolution rejected the Gulf Initiative and its immunity clause, so calling for political isolation is way of legitimizing what the revolution refused, because it acknowledges immunity.

*The main
thing is we
don't want
the revolution
involved in
these political
disputes
between Hadi
and Saleh
within the
GPC*

Don't you think that this role (seeking office) is appropriate, given the former president's continued prominence and involvement in the political scene.

He was ousted.

But didn't he step-down voluntarily?

There was a revolution recognized by the entire world. Did he step down voluntarily? Did he step aside when people took to the streets? Did he step aside because he felt he was no longer able to rule? The main thing is we don't want the revolution involved in these political disputes between Hadi and Saleh within the GPC. Our involvement should only be in ending Saleh's political role in the country more broadly.

Aren't you afraid political parties will exploit you?

This is Saleh's line of thinking, his logic. He used to say that the youth were exploited and that the movement that brought down his government was not the youth—that the movement had been hijacked.

But you said that, on one hand, the youth introduced the isolation proposal, and on the other hand, that Hadi was using it as a political tool to pressure Saleh.

I stand by my statement. I don't want to make too many judgments, this is a professional matter and I have to be more clear, more accurate about my expressions. Yes, this may be a political matter, but personally, I am against political isolation because I am against immunity—it contradicts the ideals of the revolution. The idea of isolation is nice, but is was suppose to be in the frame of a legal punishment, not means that could be used for retaliation. We don't want a repeat of what happened in Iraq with the Ba'ath Party or in Egypt with the National Party. We want political isolation to be a legal measure based on a [fair] trial.

We don't want it to be a political tool, a way to exclude a certain political party from the scene. At the same time, we should recognize that not everyone that is backing political isolation has cynical intentions. They probably wanted to spare the country from Saleh's troubles, but they neglected to realize that they were, in turn, recognizing the legitimacy of immunity and letting off the hook those that have stolen large amounts of money from the country. Revolutionaries and human rights activists can't accept this. We will also not accept political isolation as a tool of conflict. We want it to be a tool of justice.

Translated by Bassam Abdulaziz and Khalid Alkarimi



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أقر فريق لجنة الحكم الرشيد بمؤتمر الحوار الوطني يوم الـ ١٩ من سبتمبر الماضي قانون العزل السياسي على كل من شملتهم الحصانة التي نصت عليها المبادرة الخليجية، وعلى رأسهم الرئيس السابق علي عبد الله صالح، حيث صوت أعضاء الفريق لصالح القرار بنسبة تسعين بالمائة في جلسة سادها الكثير من الجدل. وينص الوجه الدستوري الذي توافق فريق الحكم الرشيد عليه، على "العزل السياسي لكل من شملتهم الحصانة بالقرار رقم (١) لسنة ٢٠١٢ والمبادرة الخليجية، وتسقط الحصانة عن كل من شملتهم بعد منحها عن أي جرائم تم ارتكابها".

وعلى أثر المادة انسحب ممثلو حزب المؤتمر الشعبي من الجلسة احتجاجاً على مناقشة الفريق موجهها دستورياً يتعلق بالحصانة والعزل السياسي، نظراً لما قد يتعرض له رئيس الحزب علي عبدالله صالح وأعضاء بارزين في الحزب من ملاحقات قانونية وقضائية جزءاً من جرائم القتل والانتهاكات التي حدثت أثناء حكمه لليمن على مدى ٣٣ عاماً وبالذات ما حدث خلال ثورة فبراير ٢٠١١ التي اطاحت به، حيث ظل قانون العزل السياسي وإسقاط الحصانة عن الرئيس السابق وأركان نظامه مطلباً ملحا لأنصار الثورة الشبابية، منذ التوقيع على المبادرة الخليجية قبل عامين.. ما هي دواعي إقرار مادة العزل السياسي بمؤتمر الحوار الوطني وهل هو جزء من المشكلة أم هو الحل؟.. عنوان حوار هذا الأسبوع التي تستضيف فيه الصحيفة القيادي في الثورة الشبابية خالد الأنسي.

حوار وتصوير/ محمد الحسني



الله صالح، عندما كان يقول أن الشباب يُستقلوا وأن الشباب سُرَقوا..

لكنك قلت إن من تقدموا بمشروع العزل كان الشباب وفي نفس الوقت لم تستبعد أن تكون ورقة ضغط من هادي ضد صالح؟

أنا اعتقد أن كلامي يجب أن يترك بنصه.. لا أريد أن أكون حاداً في مسألة الرفض أو إعطاء أحكام معينة، لأنني أيضاً حقوقي، ولا بد أن أكون دقيقاً في التوصيفات.. قد يكون هناك احتمال سياسي، لكن في

إلى إسقاط الدولة في مربع الفوضى.

هل أنت مع من يقول إن مادة العزل السياسي ورقة استخدمها الرئيس هادي ضد سلفه صالح؟

هذه المسألة لا تستبعد.. لكن ليست هذه الحقيقة لأن الفكرة، كما قلت لك، موجودة منذ منح قانون الحصانة.. وأنا أعرف كثيراً من شباب الثورة الذين تبنا هذه الفكرة، وأعرف أن نوابهم طيبة.. أنا اعتقد أنهم على سبيل المثال ليس لديهم رغبة في التنازل عن دماء رفاقهم، لكنهم اشتغلوا بظاهر الفكرة ولم ينتبهوا إلى عمقها وجوهرها في كونها تتضمن إقراراً بما كانوا يرفضونه وهي الحصانة.. بشكل أوضح الثورة رفضت المبادرة الخليجية.. رفضت الحصانة.. وعندما تطلب العزل السياسي مقابل الحصانة كأنها تعطي مشروعية لما رفضناه نحن كثوار.. كما يمكن أن تعتبر الفكرة من قبل أن الشباب يريدون تقليل الخسائر، حيث أنهم يرون أن هناك خسائر تترتب عليهم القبول بها في الماضي والحصانة كانت واحدة منها، فهم يسعون إلى تقليل هذه الخسائر من خلال وجود قانون العزل السياسي.

ألا تعتقد أن هذا الدور يأتي تماشياً مع الرد على التصعيد الذي أظهره الرئيس السابق صالح مؤخراً؟

أنا حقيقة أتحفظ على استخدامك مصطلح الرئيس السابق لأننا نعتبره الرئيس المخلوع.

ألم يتنازل عن الحكم طواعية وفق اتفاق؟

كان هناك ثورة يعترف بها العالم أجمع، لم يتنازل في ظل أزمة سياسية، لكن كان هناك ثورة.. ومسألة أنها أعطيت غطاء الأزمة غير صحيح.. العبرة لماذا تنازل.. هل تنحى طوعاً أو بعد خروج الناس إلى الشوارع، أم انه تنازل بعد أن شعر أنه لم يعد في مقدوره أن يحكم.. لأن الناس كانوا حتماً سيصلون إليه.. وعلى كل حال من حقل استخدام المصطلح الذي تريد.. والقضية الرئيسية أننا لا نريد أن تكون الثورة طرف في أي صراع سياسي، كما أن الثورة ليست مهمتها أن تتدخل في الصراع بين هادي وصالح على حزب المؤتمر الشعبي العام، قد ربما يكون لنا علاقة فقط في مسألة إنتهاء سيطرة علي عبدالله صالح على الدولة السياسية.

ألا تخشون من أن يستخدمكم أحد الأطراف؟

أنا اعتقد أن هذا الأمر هو منطق علي عبد

تطبيق المبادرة الخليجية، لأنه كان من المفترض أن ينيق عنها لجنة لتفسيرها، لكن هذه اللجنة أجهضت.

لماذا أجهضت برايك؟

أنا في اعتقادي حتى لاتفسر الحصانة بأنها تشمل أيضاً العزل السياسي.

هل تريد أن تكمل بشأن توقيت طرح مادة العزل؟

نعم.. الأمر الآخر مادام هناك مؤتمر حوار مستمر، فالأفكار متاح لها أن تطرح حتى آخر لحظة.. مادام هنالك حوار قائم، لا تسال عن التوقيت.. لماذا لم تطرح في أول يوم لماذا طرحت في آخر الحوار.. هذا من حيث المبدأ، من حيث قناعتي الشخصية أرى أن هناك صراع سياسي بين الرئيس المخلوع والرئيس الحالي عبد ربه منصور هادي، والصراع هذا متعلق بمسألة السلطة داخل المؤتمر الشعبي العام.. وعموما فكرة العزل لقيت قبولا وتبني مع أنها طرحت من وقت مبكر.. ربما لأنها أيضاً من ناحية أخرى تخدم الصراع.

يفترض أن يكون المنع من العمل السياسي بأحكام قضائية

يعني أنك تؤكد القول بأن مادة العزل جاءت لتخدم الصراع بين هادي وصالح؟

أنا اعتقد أن الأمر جاء محض صدفة، وأنه كانت هناك ورقة منسية، لكن كانت موجودة، وهي أن يتوقف الرئيس المخلوع عن ممارسة العمل السياسية ويتخلّى عن رئاسة حزب المؤتمر مقابل منحه الحصانة.. يعني لا يمكن القول إن الموضوع جاء فجأة لاجذور له.. ربما توافقت فيما بعد الأطراف عليه بصورة أكبر مما كانت عليه في البداية عندما وجدوا أنه مهم وأن بقاء علي عبد الله صالح طليقاً يمارس العمل السياسي سيعيق عملية التغيير، سيشكل عملية إرباك للمشهد، لأن المخلوع فعلاً يسعى

موافقة شباب الثورة على العزل السياسي تعني إقراراً منهم بالحصانة

حصانة على جرائم سياسية هو يعني عزل سياسي، يعني أننا كنا لانحتاج إلى مادة جديدة تنص على العزل، لكن هذا عائداً لكوننا نعيش في مجتمعات تسود فيها المغالطة السياسية.. لم توجد مؤسسات الدولة بشكل كامل، لازال النظام المخلوع له جذور وله عناصر موجودة في حكومة الوفاق فاحتاجت إلى وجود نص، لأن طلب الحصانة هو إقرار بالجريمة.. يعني أنا لما أطلب حصانة سياسية من المحاكمة والملاحقة.. معنى ذلك أنني أقر أن هناك جرائم أخاف أن أحاسب عليها، وهذه الجرائم السياسية غالباً ما يترتب على الحكم بالإدانة فيها الحكم بالعزل السياسي.. تحفظي الأخير أنني ضد العقاب السياسي بقوانينه مثل ما أنا ضد الحصانة.. ضد أن يمنع الناس من العمل السياسي بقوانين.. يفترض أن يكون المنع من العمل السياسي بأحكام قضائية.. يفترض أن تسقط الحصانة وكل من تورط في ارتكاب جرائم يقدم للمحاكمة.. من يثبت إدانته بهذه الجرائم ينبغي عزله سياسياً بحكم قضائي، حتى لا نفتح باباً للتحكم السياسي وحتى لا يأتي كل نظام سياسي يعاقب النظام الذي سبقه.

هل كان ممثلوا شباب الثورة بمؤتمر الحوار فعلاً من قدموا مشروع مادة العزل السياسي؟

نعم هم، لكن القضية ليست من قدم مشروع المادة.. أي طرف موجود في مؤتمر الحوار من حقه تقديم أي مقترح.

لأن هناك من يتساءل لماذا قدمت مادة العزل في هذا الوقت بالذات؟

على الصعيد الشخصي أنا أفتنع بأنه كان هناك نوع من الصراع السياسي، لكن القول بأن هذا الصراع كان الدافع وراء خروج المادة.. هذا غير مقبول، وأيضاً لأنه كان هناك حديث حول ذلك من وقت مبكر.. كان هناك أيضاً صراع حول

أنها تأتي للاعتراف بقانون الحصانة، والثورة في الأصل ترفض التنازل عن دماء شهدائها.. أنا موافق على أن تكون هناك صفقة سياسية مقابل ترك العمل السياسي، يذهب فيها النظام المخلوع بأمواله التي نهبها، لكن ذلك على كل حال يتعارض مع مبادئ وأسس الثورة التي من أهدافها إستعادة الثورة المنهوبة والإنتصار للمظالم والحقوق.. قد تكون الفكرة من ناحية سياسية جميلة، لكنها من ناحية ثورية وحقوقية لا يمكن أن يقبل بها.. لأنها تقوم على التنازل عن المحاسبة والعقاب على انتهاكات أرتكبت.

قلت إن العزل مادة تكميلية للحصانة ماذا يعني ذلك؟

أساس فكرتي الحصانة والعزل السياسي هي المبادرة الخليجية.. المبادرة أوردت نص صريح أنه يمنح حصانة للرئيس المخلوع ولكل من عمل معه في فترة سنوات حكمه، والإشكالية أن المبادرة لم تنص صراحة على حظر العمل السياسي على من منحوا الحصانة، لكن وفقاً للمفهوم القانوني الحصول على

بداية.. باعتبارك رجل قانون.. حدثنا بصورة مبسطة عن العزل السياسي؟

أولاً مصطلح العزل السياسي يعني معاقبة بعض من يرتكبون جرائم معينة كعقوبة تأديبية يفترض أن تأتي في الأساس وفق محاكمة قانونية تحرم هؤلاء من ممارسة الأعمال السياسية، فهي فكرة قانونية موجودة حتى في نصوص القوانين وتأتي كعقوبة تكميلية للعقوبة الرئيسية التي تكون موجودة على الجريمة نفسها، وتهدف إلى عزل الشخص من العمل السياسي مثلما تعزله أحياناً من تولي الوظائف العامة نتيجة ارتكابه لجرائم معينة.

هل يتعارض العزل السياسي مع قانون الحصانة؟

أنا كحقوقي أرى أن فكرة العزل السياسي ليست الآن قانون وإنما جاءت كمقترح لنص في الدستور ينص على أن يعزل سياسياً كل من شملهم قانون الحصانة.. وعموما الفكرة قد تبدو جميلة وبراقة وتبدو في ظاهرها أنها فكرة ثورية، لكن أنا لدي عليها عدة تحفظات منها

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Freedom from fear and the post-MDG agenda

IRIN
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Heroin from Afghanistan, the world's largest producer, is sent across the border to Tajikistan and then on to Russia, the world's largest consumer. Methamphetamines are sent from Benin via Egypt to Japan. Containers of Andean cocaine are shipped from Brazil to West Africa, where Nigerian smugglers then re-export the drugs to Western Europe. Migrants from Ethiopia and Somalia are smuggled to Yemen and Saudi Arabia.

Organized crime groups, often working with the compliance of governments, present a growing threat to citizens in fragile states. While casualties from armed conflict are reaching a historical low of approximately 50,000 a year according to research in 2012, little has been done to effectively combat the threat of organized crime groups around the world.

As the U.N. looks past the Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) 2015 deadline, many are calling for the inclusion of security and justice targets in the post-2015 agenda and a reframing of the current transnational crime discourse. Human rights organizations argue that "freedom from fear" and the tackling of organized crime are not just a personal security issue, but a development problem as well.

What is freedom from fear? Freedom from fear requires "a state that has monopoly of legitimate violence," Stephen Ellis, senior researcher at the African Studies Centre, University of Leiden, told IRIN. "It's a modern, liberal concept of what a good state really is."

The 1994 Human Development Report broadly defined human security as "freedom from fear and freedom from want." Although the phrase has roots going back to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this report instigated serious debate about human security and its connections to human development.

In their think piece for the UN system task team on the post-2015 UN development agenda last year, the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OHCHR) argued that "a new development paradigm is called for, directed to securing freedom from fear and want for all, without discrimination".

Posing questions about what constitutes fear for whom and in what contexts is likely to sharpen our analytical understanding of the conflicts of interest that generate fear in the first place" Adam Edwards, director of the Cardiff University Center for Crime, Law and Justice, told IRIN. This can help to then draft policies to combat these fears.

But not everyone believes that the terminology is suited to meaningful action. "In the abstract, it's impossible not to have fear," Desmond Arias, associate professor at George Mason University, told IRIN. "Even in a relatively safe society, you have fear. It's good to have a modest amount of fear."

"I'm not sure that it's a useful concept," Vanda Felbab-Brown, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, told IRIN. "Freedom from fear is completely unrealistic, but also very absolutist." Therefore, it



Madagascar's security apparatus, which comprises the army, the gendarmerie and police, is struggling to combat bandits known as dahalo.

is impossible to actually achieve. "The phrasing I would like to see is enhancing human security and strengthening the bond between citizens and governments," she said.

Fear and development

Organized crime plays a massive role in any debate about human security or freedom from fear. But James Cockayne, head of the United Nations University office in New York, also argues, "It's important to not lose sight of the freedom from want side." He told IRIN, "Unpacking the relationship between organized crime, violence and development - the want part, is quite complex."

"Many criminal groups will provide services to the community," said Cockayne, meaning that understanding freedom from want and the link between crime and development is crucial. Spending part of their funds from criminal activities to support development is a method crime groups use to gain acceptance in their towns and villages, according to Emmanuel Kwesi Aning, director of the Faculty of Academic Affairs and Research at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre. In many parts of West Africa, "they perceive them not as criminals but as developmentalists," he told IRIN. "It's not just an issue of crime. It's not just an issue of human security. It's an issue of development."

Not everyone agrees, however, that drug dealers and criminal groups are funneling the money back into the community. "A significant amount of drug money is going into the political campaign funds of politicians," said Ellis. "I can't see any evidence that it's going into schools and roads."

Mislabelling transnational organized crime

Some of this confusion, as well as the belief that transnational organized crime is growing, arises from the fact that in recent years, "certain types of behaviors which were previously called by other names are now being called transnational organized crime," said Ellis. "A lot of the behavior sometimes involving huge amounts of fraud used to be called things like patrimonialism, bribery, corruption."

West Africa was used as a transit point for heroin to the US as early as 1952, according to research by Ellis, and smugglers have been ferrying counterfeit and illicit goods in the region for a very long time. "Twenty years ago, they didn't smuggle cocaine," Ellis said, and they were seen as less dangerous to international peace and stability, partly because the connection to extremist Islamic groups and global terrorism did not exist then.

Beyond a purely semantic shift, there are serious dangers in mislabelling acts of transnational organized crime and in broadening the definition to include everything from terrorism and illicit substance smuggling to corruption. Doing so characterizes a wide set of actors as criminals, pushing them to the outskirts of society.

Organized crime "is a problematic label. It carries a lot of baggage and leads us to a law enforcement response, which is necessary but not sufficient," said Cockayne. He believes it erodes the willingness of the international community and other actors to engage with these groups, many of whom are also providing goods and services to the community.

Militarized approaches, such as in Latin America's "war on drugs", have failed to end the problem, experts argue. "While you stop the particular criminals, you don't stop the crimes," said Arias, the George Mason professor. The systemic, deep-rooted issues that create conditions conducive to crime go unaddressed.

One estimate puts the annual cost of the war on drugs at over US\$100 billion. During the six-

year tenure of Mexican president Felipe Calderon, approximately 60,000 people were killed as a result of the drug war, not including

the thousands who went missing.

Local yet global

Crime groups can be character-

ized as simultaneously deeply local and extremely global. On one hand, large drug cartels and criminal groups work across continents very effectively, moving illicit goods around the world. But in many respects, this same trade is also highly local.

"What you have is not a single organized enterprise that is doing it, but a series of interlinked networks that are operating across multiple countries," said Arias.

"It is important not to see transnational organized groups as something different to local organized crime groups. It's the networks that matter," said Jonathan Spencer, director of the Criminal Justice Research Unit at the University of Manchester. This means that the response needs to focus on tackling the transnational networks - those that go between organized crime groups - as well combating organized crime locally.

Tackling transnational organized crime

Experts argue that, in the first instance, strengthening police forces is vital. "Particularly in countries like many of those in Africa, where states do not have a monopoly of violence, states should be helped to acquire a monopoly of violence," said Ellis.

"You need to have permanent police forces that are focused on the well-being of the community," said Felbab-Brown. Simple grassroots measures such as street policing, she argues, are vital stepping-stones towards reducing the power of crime networks and controlling violence.

Continued on Back Page

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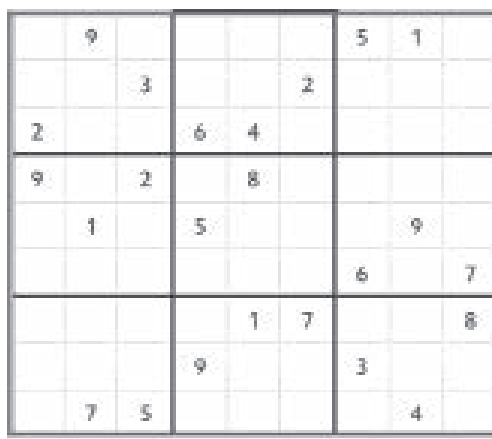


Coffee Break

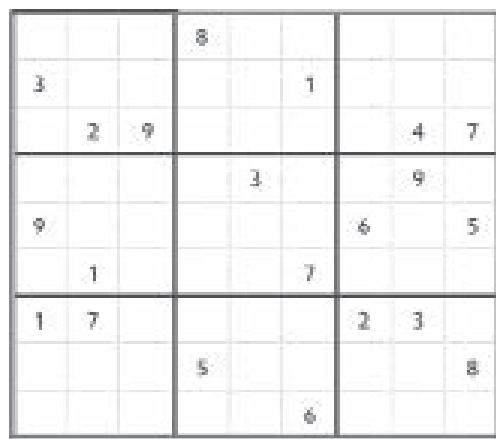
Sudoku



Easy

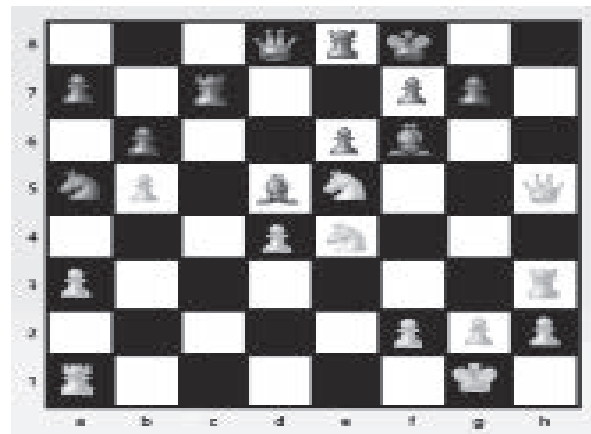


Intermediate



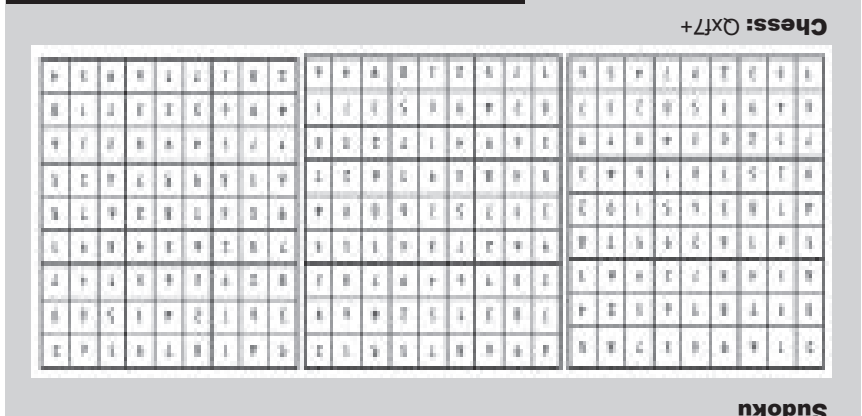
Difficult

Chess



White plays and wins in the 3rd move

Solutions



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at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, who considers democratic reforms fundamental to tackling organized crime. "We need to focus on legitimacy."

But building these institutions can be very complicated in countries with high levels of organized crime. "There is a lot of enmeshing between criminality and political networks," said Felbab-Brown.

There is a collaborative role for civil society to play, helping governments build effective policy. "Really strong state-society collaborations have helped you get better policing," said Arias. It gets communities involved, making them stakeholders. "You need to have human security in a way that binds citizens with the state," Felbab-Brown said.

However, simply improving citizen welfare is not the answer to tackling organized crime. The history of organized crime shows that, in many instances, groups marginalized by society and afforded less access to opportunity are more likely to form criminal gangs. In the US "in the twenties, it came out of, one, prohibition and, two, mass immigration," said Arias. "You have this large population that doesn't necessarily speak English well and is marginalized for religious reasons."

Therefore, tackling organized crime and violence may be less about raising overall socio-economic standards than it is about ensuring that all segments of society feel equally included. "Poverty alone isn't an explanation for these activities," said Arias.

The UN and post-2015 agenda

"While the interconnections between security, justice and development are accepted in principle at the highest levels, there are considerable disagreements about how they might be practically inserted

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into the process," Robert Muggah, research director and program coordinator for violence reduction at the Igarapé Institute, wrote in a background paper prepared for an expert meeting to review the Accountability Framework for Conflict, Violence and Disaster for the Post-2015 Development Agenda in June.

A post-2015 development agenda

has the virtue of being able to set specific targets - in particular to reduce violence, which will likely also reduce the rate of crime and people's perceptions of fear. "Measurable targets might include "halving violent deaths" or "improving perceptions of safety for all", wrote Muggah in a paper prepared for the UN Office for Drugs and Crime. But, he said, the exact

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provisions of the targets would be less important than ensuring that they are specific, ambitious and defensible.

Although linking development and crime is crucial, the international community needs to be very careful about how these programs are implemented. Paradoxically, providing aid and resources can entrench crime networks. "Simply putting in money is then a rent - a resource for politicians, gangs, to access," said Felbab-Brown. "We need to be thinking about socio-economic development from the perspective of criminality."

But the focus should not just be on developing countries, where the illicit goods are being created, and transferred across. "The fact that there is law-breaking on a global scale, and that this is possible through the global financial sys-

tem, is a major problem," said Ellis. Political elites, drug cartels and leaders of crime groups "can launder money through international banks very easily." So in addition to strengthening fragile states, there is a need to stop the profits of illicit trade from being banked worldwide.

Muggah considers security and justice to be standalone principles worth preserving. "They are rights, enshrined in international norms and rules, to which all citizens are entitled," he said. "While there are legitimate political sensitivities associated with the two themes, there is growing acceptance that security and justice warrant a prominent place in the post-2015 development agenda."

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PAGE 12

Freedom from fear and the post-MDG agenda

In the long term, creating strong institutions and getting citizens to play an active role within the state is crucial. "You try to move the country toward realizing that they need more people involved in government and decision-making," said Davin O'Regan, research associate

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