

متوفر لدى جميع
الموزعين المعتمدين
ومراكز خدمة سبأفون

400

ريال إشتراك شهري
حسب سنة الإشتراك

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فائز شهرياً

خط الفوترة لتبدأ حُلة جديدة ومزايا فريدة

67%

تخفيض في خدمة
الأهل والأصدقاء

100%

الخط مجاني

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ريال بداية لباقات
الإنترنت

خط سبأ الجديد كلياً ... تحدث ، إربح ، شارك ، قل مرحباً بمزايا لا حصر لها .

- قيمة خط الفوترة سبأ مجاناً (فقط دفع مبلغ التأمين) .
- إشتراك شهري يبدأ من 400 إلى 750 ريال ، وذلك حسب سنة الإشتراك حيث يحصل المشترك على 5% تخفيض عن كل سنة .
- فقط 150 ريال إشتراك لخدمة الأهل والأصدقاء ، أول 6 أرقام تضاف مجاناً ويتخفيض في المكالمات والإشتراك الشهري يصل إلى 67% .
- تأهل للسحب ضمن 200 فائز شهرياً بجوائز قيمة وذلك لكل 2500 ريال يتم سدادها شهرياً وتستطيع مضاعفة فرصك للفوز .
- باقات إنترنت متنوعة تبدأ من 800 ريال فقط (40 ميغا بايت) .
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تواصل لا يشترى ...

تخفيض حتى 60%



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خدمة الأهل والأصدقاء تتيح لمشاركي نظام الفوترة إضافة 6 أرقام
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والحصول على تخفيض في المكالمات والرسائل يصل إلى 60%.

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YEMEN TIMES



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Beating her own drum: Rising rap star Amani Yahia is making a name for herself by breaking down cultural barriers. It hasn't been easy—she has her fair share of critics—but the young songstress is determined to succeed. *Read more on Page 8*
(Photo by Najla'a Hasan)

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Several political parties withhold support of subcommittee agreement

GPC and Nasserites refuse to sign off on document designed to reach consensus on number of regions

Mohammed Al-Hassani

SANAA, Dec. 25—Several Yemeni political parties on Tuesday rejected the Southern Issue Resolutions and Assurances document that was signed late Monday by the National Dialogue Conference's (NDC) Southern Issues's 8+8 Subcommittee.

Members of political parties including Islah, the Southern Movement (Hirak), Ansar Allah (the Houthis) as well as youth represen-

tatives all signed the agreement, which is supported by the U.N. and the Group of 10 Ambassadors in Yemen—who represent the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and five members of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

However, representatives from the General People's Congress (GPC), headed by former President Ali Abdullah Saleh, refused to sign the document presented by the U.N.'s special envoy to Yemen, Jamal Benomar.

The document, signed by others in the presence of President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi and Benomar, provides a solution for the number of regions Yemen's federal state is expected to be divided into by establishing a new committee whose

mandate is to determine the number of regions.

In a statement issued Tuesday, the GPC said, "The document aims to weaken the state in the North in order to facilitate secession of the South."

Representatives from the Socialist Party were absent when the document was signed.

The Socialist Party initially refused to sign off on the agreement, but later on Tuesday they consented to sign, provided that the option of whether Yemen will be comprised of two or six regions be put to a vote in the NDC's concluding plenary session, expected to be held this week.

Along with the GPC, the Nasserite Party has refused to sign the docu-

ment.

"We withdrew and refused to sign the document after all attempts we made to correct several shortcomings in the document failed," said Abdulla Noman, the leading Nasserite figure, via a statement published on the party's website.

Meanwhile, Benomar left Yemen late Tuesday. On Wednesday, President Hadi met with the subcommittee to discuss what was agreed upon in the document.

"We have been successful in this extraordinary situation. We must give priority to increasing security and overcoming economic hurdles in order to achieve security, stability, and unity," the state-run Saba News Agency quoted Hadi as saying.

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CAST YOUR VOTE TO CHOOSE YEMEN TIMES' 2013 PERSON OF THE YEAR

صوت لإختيار شخصية يمن
تايمز لعام 2013

Y.T. Person of the Year 2013
شخصية العام 2013

In order to feature and profile a person that has had the greatest positive impact on Yemen in 2013, the Yemen Times' editorial team has compiled a shortlist of nominees for you to choose from. Cast your vote and let your voice be heard. Voting closes at 11:59 p.m. on Dec. 31. The Person of the Year will be announced on Jan. 2. Submit your vote either through email: ytreaders.view@gmail.com or SMS: 8808.

من أجل إبراز الشخصية التي كان لها تأثير إيجابي أكبر في اليمن خلال عام 2013، قام فريق التحرير بصحيفة يمن تايمز بإعداد قائمة من المرشحين لإختيار الشخصية التي كان لها أكبر أثر كبيراً في اليمن هذا العام. ينتهي التصويت الساعة 11:59 مساءً من تاريخ 31 ديسمبر 2013 وسيتم إعلان شخصية العام في 2 يناير 2014. صوت وساعدنا لإختيار شخصية يمن تايمز لعام 2013 عبر البريد الإلكتروني: ytreaders.view@gmail.com أو ارسل رساله قصيره إلى 8808

<p>Farea Al-Muslimi – Youth activist and international advocate against U.S. drone policy. فارع المسلمي – ناشط حقوقي ومتحدث عالمي بشأن طائرات بدون طيار</p>	<p>Ramzia Al-Eryani – Late director of the Yemeni Women's Union. الرا حلة رمزية اليرباني – رئيسة اتحاد نساء اليمن</p>
<p>Noria Najj – Director of YERO, a charity dedicated to educating vulnerable children populations. First Arab woman to receive the Order of the British Empire (OBE) from Queen Elizabeth. نورية ناجي – مؤسسة منظمة الإغاثة والتعليم اليمنية واول امرأة عربية تحصل على وسام الشرف من الملكة اليزابيث على عملها الخيري من اجل اطفال اليمن</p>	<p>Ahmed Awad Bin Mubarak Secretary General of the NDC. د. أحمد عوض بن مبارك – الأمين العام لمؤتمر الحوار الوطني</p>
<p>Amr Jamal – Young Yemeni director who has reinvented Yemeni dramas through the production of various plays such as Ma'ak Nazil (Pull Over) and Akhir Fursa (Last Chance). He organized TEDxAden. عمرو جمال – كاتب ومخرج يمني شاب أعاد ابتكار الدراما اليمنية من خلال مسرحيات عديدة مثل "معك نازل" و"كرت أحمز" وقدم مسلسل فرصة أخيرة وأدار فعالية تيدكس عدن</p>	<p>Yasin Saeed Noman – Secretary General of the Yemeni Socialist Party. د. ياسين سعيد نعمان – الأمين العام للحزب الاشتراكي اليمني دعم نجاح مؤتمر الحوار الوطني وله مواقف وطنية على الساحة السياسية</p>
<p>Mohammed Murshid Najj – Late Yemeni singer and composer. الراحل محمد مرشد ناجي – فنان ومؤلف يمني له اغاني مشهورة وتعامل مع المقامات الشرقية العربية في اعماله</p>	<p>Murad Subaie – Activist and artist who initiated public campaigns advocating for human rights. He has won international awards for his campaigns. مراد سبيع – ناشط حقوقي و رسام قام بحملات عامة لحقوق الانسان بما فيها المخفين قسراً واحتطاف الاجانب والجوع و فاز بجوائز دولية في هذا المجال.</p>
<p>Abdulkarim Al-Eryani – Politician, intellectual and a member of the General People's Congress who has held a variety of positions. He is known for his supportive role at the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) even if it goes against his party's policy. د. عبدالكريم اليرباني – مفكر وسياسي يمني تقلد مناصب متعددة في الدولة اشتهر مؤخراً بمواقفه المؤيدة للحوار الوطني حتى وان كانت تتعارض مع سياسة حزبه – المؤتمر الشعبي العام</p>	<p>Ibrahim Muthana – Late activist and promoter of the youth's role in rebuilding the country. الراحل ابراهيم مثنى – ناشط ومفكر يمني ترك بصمته في الشباب من خلال العمل التطوعي ورفع اسم اليمن في الخارج</p>

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يهدف هذا المشروع لجمع البطانيات والملابس الشتوية، ومن ثم توزيعها على الأسر المحتاجة في صنعاء. يأتي هذا المشروع بالتزامن مع موجة البرد التي تشهدها صنعاء مع بداية فصل الشتاء. وبدأت يمن تايمز بجمع التبرعات من مستمعي إذاعة يمن تايمز، وبالتعاون مع عدد من المبادرات الشبابية. وتستمر هذه الحملة حتى نهاية العام الجاري 2013 إلى أن يتم توزيع كل ما تم جمعه خلال الحملة والتي بدأت فعاليتها مطلع شهر ديسمبر. وتدعوكم لمد يدكم ليدنا ومساعدة الأسر المتعنتة من خلال التبرع بالبطانيات والملابس الشتوية التي ستقيهم برد الشتاء وإحضارها لمقر مؤسسة يمن تايمز بجولة المصباحي خلف برج الصايدي. لمعلومات أكثر عن المشروع تابعونا كل خميس الساعة 7:30 صباحاً في برنامج "صباحكم رضا" على راديو يمن تايمز 88.8.

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New alliance of southern leaders seeks peaceful change

As violence continues in South, organization seeks resolutions

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, Dec. 25—About 40 sheikhs, influential figures, and academics belonging to several southern governorates met in Sana'a on Tuesday to form an alliance called the Southern People's Movement (SPM). The group has emerged as a means to address current tension in the South, while condemning the ongoing violence that is taking place between military forces and armed citizens in the region.

Not to be confused with the Southern Movement, a group of loosely aligned political factions calling for the secession of the South, the SPM says they are opposed to using violence as a way to achieve demands.

Mass anti-government rallies took place throughout Hadramout last Friday to demand the withdrawal of all government military and security forces in the governorate. Area leaders say the role of the government will be replaced by local personnel.

These rallies emboldened the residents of other southern governorates to take to the streets to demand secession. Clashes between the army and armed citizens in Hadramout, Aden, Lahj, Shabwa and Al-Dhale governorates broke out on Friday and spilled over into the weekend.

Reportedly, eight civilians and



Photo by Mohammed Al-Emad

two soldiers have died since Friday in sporadic clashes throughout the region. Dozens of injuries have also been reported on both sides.

SPM organizers say they are preparing to hold awareness campaigns throughout the South to voice Southerners' grievances and ask the central government for concessions but in a peaceful manner.

"The Southern demands are legitimate and even though many grievances are long-standing, the violence of armed groups such as Hirak [the Southern Movement] is an inappropriate way to demand rights," said Sheikh Khalid Al-Masri from Shabwa, a founding member of the SPM. "Violence is not a good way to make people listen [and sympathize]. The continuing violence in the South [has been completely counterproductive]. We condemn and renounce the current clashes in the South."

Another sheikh with the organi-

zation, who hails from Hadramout, Awadh Nasser Rakan, echoed Al-Masri's push for non-violent solutions.

"We condemn [the violence] happening in Hadramout and all the Southern governorates," he said. "Those who behave violently do not represent all Southerners. Both Southerners and Northerners have suffered [in these clashes]."

Rakan said that the movement aims to change the current trend that has seen Southern demands turn into calls for separation and violence.

"We demand [to be given] our rights and reparations, but peacefully," he said. Rakan added that in initial meetings with Southern Movement leaders, there has been a sense of cooperation.

According to the head of the SPM's Preparatory Committee, Mohammed Bin Daran, the SPM does not have and will not seek any political affiliation.

Government sits idle as Dammaj conflict widens

Casualties mount, aid organizations still unable to help

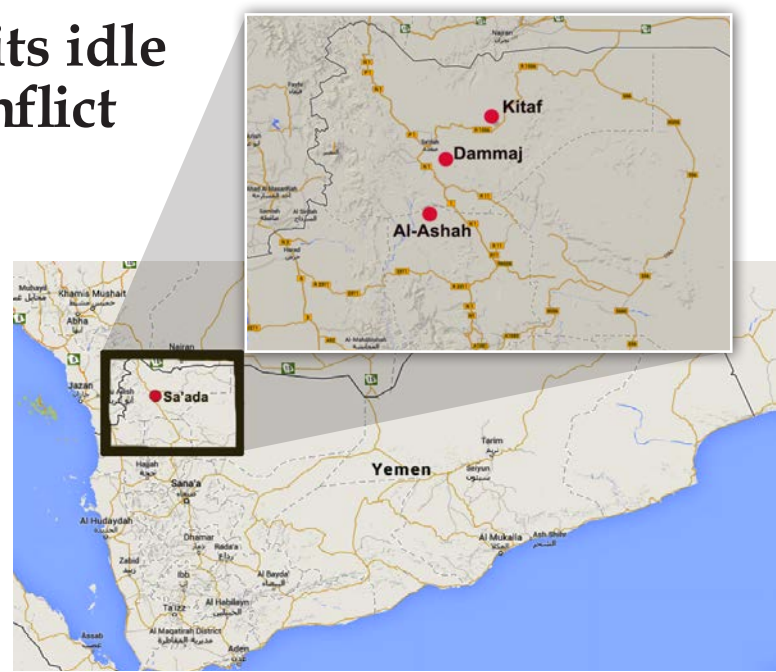
Nasser Al-Sakkaf

SANA'A, Dec. 25—As ongoing clashes in Dammaj in Sa'ada governorate between the Houthis and the Salafis enter their third month, the expansion of the conflict into surrounding areas is worrying to both the central government and locals.

While tension between the Houthis, who are Zaidi Shiites, and the Salafis, who are conservative Sunnis, first began to emerge late last summer, at the end of October intense fighting between the groups picked up, with casualties on both sides being hard to track. Estimates have been as high as in the hundreds. Due to roadblocks and lack of security, the assistance of aid organizations in the area has been extremely limited.

Spillover from the fighting has reportedly reached the Al-Ashah and Kitaf areas in Sa'ada, the Haradh area in Hajja governorate, and the Mutoon district in Al-Jawf governorate.

A presidential committee that returned to Sana'a this month after failing to secure a ceasefire in Dammaj warned in its report to



President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi of the negative impacts of an expansion of the conflict. The committee said a peace deal needed to be secured immediately.

"Conflict in these areas is an extension of the political conflict in Sana'a," said Ali Al-Bukhaiti, the spokesperson for the Houthis at the National Dialogue Conference (NDC). "Some people say the conflict is a sectarian one between the Houthis and Salafis, but that's not the case."

A local political analyst, Adel Al-Sharjbi, agrees with Al-Bukhaiti. He says many influential tribal and military leaders have also influ-

enced the conflict.

"Some tribal, political and regional parties have involved themselves in the clashes that are taking place in north Yemen," he said.

On the other hand, Adnan Al-Odaini, the head of the Islah Party's information department, said that the root of the conflict is sectarian in nature but has since been used for political gains.

"Sa'ada is fertile ground for sectarian conflicts," he said.

Parliamentarian Ali Al-Ansi says Parliament will be meeting with the presidential committee to decide on the best course of action in Dammaj.

South reaches fragile calm, Hadramout to be handed over to local security personnel

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, Dec. 25—Fighting in Hadramout and several other Southern governorates has abated following numerous protests and confrontations between armed locals and the army that began on Friday in the region.

The government in Hadramout has agreed to largely hand over security duties to local personnel at the beginning of January at the request of area tribes.

"There is a preliminary agreement with the tribesmen that the maintenance of security is the top priority... Over four [government] security checkpoints have been withdrawn based on the requests of tribesmen," said Gen. Ali Nasser Lakhsha, the deputy interior minister and a member of the committee formed by President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi to negotiate with tribes in Hadramout.

"We have distributed a number of

security personnel in many districts of the governorate to maintain security. This was done in agreement with the tribes," he said.

"The Interior Ministry will present a list of the security personnel belonging to the governorate to the general managers of the districts. The general manager of each district, who is a resident of the same district, will be mainly responsible for security," he added, saying dialogue with the tribes is ongoing and that any changes the government concedes to will be gradually implemented.

The Hadramout Tribal Federation, which is placing the demands on the government, say they will cooperate, provided they see tangible results.

"We will not agree [completely with the government] unless the military camps are evacuated, the security checkpoints are manned by local police, and jobs are transferred to Hadramout residents," said Saleh

Molla, a spokesperson for the federation. He confirmed that several checkpoints had been handed over to local control.

"We have ended the strike, but we may go on strike again," he added. While Lakhsha denied reports that the government had used military planes in the fighting that took place in Hadramout over the weekend a local journalist, Hadba Al-Yazidi, said he witnessed several aerial strikes.

The root of the mass protests can be traced back to early December when Sheikh Sa'ad Bin Hamad Harbish was shot dead at the entrance to the city of Sayoun by checkpoint soldiers. The sheikh reportedly refused to stop at a routine checkpoint when soldiers asked to inspect the convoy he was travelling with for weapons. Following the sheikh's death, the Hadramout Tribal Federation almost immediately demanded that all government forces be removed from the area.

Stuck at Guantanamo

Will Yemen manage to bring detainees home?

Nasser Al-Sakkaf

SANA'A, Dec. 25—Mohammed Al-Shubati's brother, Abdulrahman, has been held at the U.S. detention facility, Guantanamo Bay, since 2001.

Mohammed looks forward to the day that his brother returns home to Yemen. There are 158 individuals still in custody at Guantanamo, 88 of whom are Yemeni.

On Thursday Abdulrahman's fate will once again be put before the U.S. Senate when legislators will vote to reduce restrictions regarding the transfer of detainees cleared for release.

"While the bill does not address all of the [Obama] administration's concerns, its provisions regarding foreign transfers of detainees... will provide the administration additional flexibility to transfer detainees abroad consistent with our national security interests," White House spokesman Jay Carney is quoted in various media outlets as saying.

While it's expected that U.S. lawmakers will push the legislation through, it is not enough to convince Mohammed.

"We are pleased to hear this, but we do not really believe that they will be released because [U.S. President Barack] Obama has pledged their release more than once and nothing has happened," Al-Shubati told the Yemen Times.

Mohammed says his brother was teaching Quran lessons at a religious school in Pakistan when he was arrested in 2001 by Pakistani

forces and sent to Guantanamo.

Since he was first elected in 2008, Obama has repeatedly pledged to close Guantanamo. In 2009, 56 of the 88 Yemeni inmates received clearance to be transferred out of the facility, but moves by the U.S. Congress have stalled their release.

"There were some stumbling blocks in returning the detainees [to their home countries], such as payments by their home governments to the United States and the granting of permission from different U.S. Congressional committees," said Ahmed Arman, the executive officer of Yemen's National Organization for Defending Rights and Freedoms, known as HOOD.

Thursday's decision in the Senate "will facilitate detainees' release because it [has the potential] to do away with some of the previous conditions," Arman said.

Among the earlier conditions for release of inmates was that the U.S. government had to certify that the country to which an inmate was being sent was not "facing a threat that [was] likely to substantially affect its ability to exercise control over the individuals [being released to them]."

The Senate has set up a 120-day timeframe for the Secretary of Interior and the Secretary of Defense to report back on the readiness of the Yemeni government to receive and rehabilitate these citizens, according to Arman.

"The Yemeni government needs to be able to convince the U.S. that Yemen is able to [house any returned inmates in a very secure facility]," he said.

However, construction of such a

facility has not yet begun. According to Arman's colleague at HOOD, Abdulrahman Barman, completion of a suitable facility is a test of the will of the Yemeni government.

"If the government wants to do it, it can easily renovate an existing facility for this purpose in as little as two or three weeks," he said.

Statements from Yemen leaders have suggested that the nation is taking the responsibility to receive its citizens back seriously.

Yemeni foreign minister, Abu Bakr Al-Qirbi, said last month that the government plans to build a rehabilitation facility that would "focus on religious and cultural dialogue as well as job creation for Guantanamo returnees."

However, even if Yemen were to repatriate detainees, many fear it won't be easy to integrate detainees back into society.

Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), a terrorist organization that the U.S. considers a threat to American security, was in part founded by two former Guantanamo detainees.

"I am sure they have a feeling of hatred toward the Yemeni government because they have the feeling that we have neglected them for a long, long time," said Yemen's human rights minister, Hooria Mashhour.

In response to this, Arman argues, "There are some countries which are more chaotic than Yemen...and their detainees have been released."

"Guantanamo is an embarrassment to the United States. Releasing the Yemeni detainees will improve relations between both countries," said Rajeh Badi, an advisor to the prime minister.

Advertorial

AMTC launches the new Corolla 2014 brand

The Automotive and Machinery Trading Center (AMTC), TOYOTA's branch in Yemen, recently launched the new Corolla 2014 brand, which is the 11th generation of the Corolla vehicle. It adheres to TOYOTA's modern vehicle standards including the combination of powerful performance, luxury and maximum standards of safety and security.

Aidrous Bazara, AMTC's managing director, said in an inauguration ceremony attended by many clients that the Corolla 2014 model is distinguished by its modern design that appeals to sports fans.

TOYOTA depends on its legendary reputation to provide the maximum dura-

bility and credibility along with essential improvements on all aspects of engineering and design.

Bazara expressed his confidence in the new model of the Corolla car that has the same quality features passed down from one generation to the next. TOYOTA Corolla offers to newest techniques and principals in their designs which adds up to the most popular car worldwide.

The aim of launching the newest TOYOTA Corolla model is to satisfy clients in Yemen, Bazara said.

Throughout a 47-year journey,

the Corolla model has succeeded by selling about 40 million vehicles around the world.



Government-citizen security alliance announced in Sana'a

Reward being offered for information about terrorist activities

Story and photo by Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, Dec. 25—The mayor of Sana'a, Abdulqader Hilal, announced on Monday that President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi approved the gifting of a house to a citizen who assisted last week in the arrest of a motorbike driver. The driver is suspected of assassinating several military and security officials.

The mayor also announced that informants who provide valuable intelligence about terrorist activities are eligible to receive rewards from the national government in the amount of YR5 million (about \$23,000).

Hilal announced the reward during a meeting with security, government, community and tribal leaders in Sana'a to discuss ongoing measures being taken by the government to combat criminal and terrorist activities. The group also spoke about the support that will be required from the city to help implement the outcomes of the National Dialogue Conference, slated to conclude in early 2014.

"Security in the capital requires the cooperation of citizens in fighting terror," said Sana'a's security



At a meeting with security and community leaders, the city laid out a plan to engage citizens in efforts to combat criminal activity.

chief, Brig. Essam Jamaan. "We are preparing plans to combat terror."

Jamaan explained a program to be phased in over the coming weeks will include "deploying one security officer in each neighborhood of the capital city, providing each neighborhood with a military vehicle and engaging community

leaders and local citizens to uphold security."

Organizers of the community engagement portion of the plan say a campaign to convince residents that everyone plays a part in maintaining security is long overdue.

"The [citizens'] initiative was established due to security deterioration in the capital," said Ali Al-

Suraimi, a volunteer chairman for the citizens' initiative. "[Our goal is to achieve] security and stability in cooperation with security leaders."

The campaign will encourage citizens to assist police in monitoring their neighborhoods, in a system similar to the way neighborhood watch programs work.

In addition to the expected help from residents, the city will be installing surveillance cameras in locations yet to be revealed, said Ameen Khairan, Sana'a's assistant chief of police for neighborhood

security affairs.

Additionally, the city plans to activate a toll-free police hotline number, 888, which will exclusively be used for reporting urgent security matters.

Oil pipeline in Marib sustains multiple attacks in one week

Rammah Al-Jubari and Ali Saeed

SANA'A, Dec. 25—An oil pipeline in Marib that facilitates the transfer of the commodity to the coast for export was attacked again on Wednesday morning.

This is the third time the unprotected pipeline—which runs through parts of Yemen's rural desert—has been attacked by suspected tribesmen in one week.

In three separate incidents that officials believe are unrelated, area tribesmen used explosives to damage the pipeline. The most recent attack is believed to have been at the hands of the Al-Rukaisan tribe in the Al-Wadi district. On Saturday portions of the pipeline were exploded in the Al-Arqeen area in the same district and last Thursday piping was also damaged in the Aal Al-Hwaik area.

As a result, all transport of oil from Marib to the Ras Issa station in Hodeida—where the oil is prepared for export—has been halted,

costing the country much needed oil revenue. According to Hussein Nasser, the state's deputy officer for oil in Marib, about 90,000 barrels of oil pass through the pipeline every day.

Nasser said armed men from the Al-Rukaisan tribe are still positioned along the pipeline, preventing repair of the site.

Tribesmen often attack government infrastructure as a way to gain concessions from the state, including jobs and other services.

Nasser says tribal mediation is underway and that if it moves ahead, repairs of the pipeline can be completed in three days.

The public is growing weary of the government's inability to prevent such attacks.

"If the government wants to arrest [the saboteurs], it will have to get involved in a war against the tribes that protect them," said Ghalib Bin Moaili, the manager of the oil office in Marib.

"The state has not dealt strictly with this phenomenon, which

dates back to 2006," said Abdulla Al-Muradi, a tribal sheikh in Marib. "The state seems incapable of protecting the oil pipes and electricity lines. The saboteurs attack and flee easily."

Moaili is critical of a government policy that offers money to tribes in order to prevent them from attacking infrastructure. He says this only encourages future attacks.

"The solution is that the government should gradually stop paying the saboteurs and stop colluding with tribes," he said.

Officials at the Oil and Minerals Ministry say Yemen lost \$4.8 billion in oil revenues between March 2011 and March 2013 as a result of repeated attacks.

Government revenues, generated from oil, decreased by approximately \$660 million dollar over the first nine month of this year in comparison with the same period last year, according to a report released by Yemen's Central Bank in September.

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**YT vision statement****"To make Yemen a good world citizen."**Prof. Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf,
(1951 - 1999)
Founder of Yemen Times**OUR OPINION****Politics and the streets**

The streets of Yemen are a place of outrage right now. Citizens are split between those who are celebrating the success we have achieved so far and those who think the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) has failed miserably.

The truth is somewhere between those two extreme attitudes. We have not yet passed the threshold of failure or success. Political parties are still working together and individually to create consensus among their members. Before we can convince "those in the streets" of what we have done, NDC representatives need to agree to what leaders have put forward.

There are two major problems with the NDC as it approaches its end. The first is that politicians unfortunately have not committed to promises they have made. They simply lie. The other problem is that political leaders are not conveying what they have agreed upon in meetings to their political parties. When larger meetings are held, representatives either say they have no idea what has been agreed to, or they flat-out reject the agreements made by their leaders.

This is very alarming because it shows the political process in our country—whether through established parties or emerging groups—is a mess. There is no real organizational structure or hierarchy.

What make things worse are the statements politicians are making to media outlets. This includes both political party leaders and their members. Sometimes there are contradictory statements put out officially by the party, but mostly it is individuals voicing their personal opinions, which are based on their personal interests.

Unfortunately, we will not finish the NDC before the end of the year. We will however, begin the final assembly in 2014. We are now working on tying up loose ends and bringing the conference to a close. Sometimes it feels like herding cats. But it will happen—sooner or later.

The larger picture is gradually unfolding. We know there is general consensus that Yemen will be divided into more than two regions. Perhaps we will eventually have five regions, two in the South and three in the North. The governing system will be a mixed one with both a president and a prime minister, who will serve for two-elected terms beginning in 2016.

After the conference ends, the next milestone will be the creation of a Constitutional Committee, followed by a new government and then a referendum on the new Constitution. President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi's term will be extended to 2016. By then we should have created—or at least stated to create—a system that allows for the devolution of power and wealth, where the majority of political decisions are made by the regions, not the center.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

Point and counterpoint**Yemen does not constitute a GCC security concern**Mohammed Al Ghasra
Aawsat.net
First Published Dec. 24

Yemen has never been a concern to the six states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), and has never represented a threat to them. However, the presence of a very poor country which controls the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, and which has a dense population that shares the peninsula, which—apart from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia—is comprised of sparsely populated small countries with huge wealth, is a conundrum which needs to be solved.

The major states scrambled their naval forces to the Somali coast, Bab-el-Mandeb and the Arab Sea, when pirates threatened the security of maritime trade, because regional security was part of global security, and one of its main elements was to ensure there were no more failed states, as was the case in Somalia.

On the other hand, many politicians have linked the stability of the GCC states to the stability and prosperity of Yemen, which has one of the poorest economies in the world. This is not only because of the length of the borders, which it shares with Saudi Arabia and Oman, and Yemen's geographic position, which overlooks Bab-el-Mandeb and the coastal area opposite Somalia. This is also because of Yemen's vast territory and deserts which have become military bases for terrorist groups that spread terrorism to these countries.

The GCC succeeded in defusing the crisis in Yemen, and the Gulf Initiative

removed former President Ali Abdullah Saleh from power in favor of his deputy, Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi, which led to political dialogue to achieve conciliation. The weakness of the Yemeni central government, however, allowed Al-Qaeda to grow in Yemen's cities and vast deserts. The GCC states became involved, not only in trying to resolve the problems caused by the Arab Spring, but also the rehabilitation of Yemen, politically and economically, to turn it into a country which would be able to rely on itself and its own resources, and achieve sustainable development.

What is regretful though is that the recent Yemeni political effort failed to reassure the Gulf States and persuade them to return to the discussions on Yemen's accession to the GCC, which remains Yemen's dream, a dream which includes Yemen being able to meet most shortages in these countries, especially in the labor market.

The GCC, with the consensus of all six member states, took many steps before 2011, preparing Yemen to join the GCC, and welcomed it not only onto the sports committee, but also onto many other Council committees. Since the establishment of the GCC, Yemenis have felt that they were part of it, and that they were part of the system in the Arabian Peninsula, and that it was implausible that they should be excluded, for whatever reason.

Before the Arab Spring, GCC states started to rehabilitate the Yemeni economy and integrate it into the economies of the GCC states, as part of efforts to expedite the steps for Yemen's accession to the GCC. Economists estimated the cost of GCC projects aiming at clos-

ing the economic gap between the two sides through continuous investment, at between \$40 million and \$50 million. These investments stopped after the start of the Arab Spring.

The railway project was one of the successful ones linking the Yemeni economy to the GCC economy, creating many jobs and contracts, while transporting natural resources and agricultural goods to the GCC.

It is necessary to consider the Yemeni problem as a Gulf problem and to continue investing in Yemen in many fields—education, economy and oil. The concerns of Yemen are plentiful. In addition to the lack of security, which has become an urgent matter that is linked to the economic situation, there is poverty and illiteracy, which exacerbate the problem. The lack of resources has contributed to the rise in unemployment, and poor governance has led to widespread corruption, especially after the discovery of oil, which could have raised the individual income in Yemen slightly.

This country has not seen real stability, except for a limited period during the rule of Ibrahim Al-Hamdi in the mid-1970s. He became the victim of a coup, after he refused to allow tribal leaders to control the political decision. Hamdi instead gave the army a strong role which subsequently allowed Ali Abdulla Saleh to rule Yemen for 33 years.

However, Yemen did not benefit much from this unity, or from stability, or from control by the "organized state" in the south of Yemen—the result of the continuation of the establishment of the modern state in Yemen during the British colonial rule of Aden. It also did not

benefit from the openness and liberty gained from the Yemeni social revolution, which made it a safe haven for Al-Qaeda.

GCC states cannot become completely stable without Yemen being stable, without improving its living standards and its economy in a way that ensures an end to the flow of Yemeni labor outside the country. Yemen must also protect its borders from African migration inwards, especially from tension-ridden Somalia.

This view has not escaped Yemen's elite. Foreign Minister Abu Bakr Al-Qirbi said at the recent Manama Dialogue: "Yemen has survived falling into a terrible political crisis which could have led to civil war." He added, "Yemen is currently being threatened by attempts from some powers to hamper its transitional phase to protect their own interests, but the Yemeni people will not allow that, and despite the difficulties that face Yemen, it remains an important part of the region, through its geographical position which overlooks international waterways, and as the southern fence of the Arabian Peninsula. There are great efforts to stop the movement of labor—especially Yemenis who are looking for a living wage—to the GCC states, while terrorists move easily, especially into Yemen, in addition to the fact that Yemen suffers from the presence of around one million African migrants on its territory, and members of Al-Qaeda, all of which needs international effort."

Mohammed Al Ghasra is a Bahraini writer and journalist.

Yemen does constitute a GCC security concernNoel Brehony
Aawsat.net
First Published Dec. 24

Yemen has long been and will continue to be a security concern for the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The international community, led by the GCC, intervened to prevent possible state collapse in 2011. GCC governments played a crucial role in negotiating the political transition in Yemen—it is popularly known as the "GCC deal." GCC officials have supported the National Dialogue [Conference] to create a more inclusive political system, and the restructuring of the armed and security forces so that they owe allegiance to the state and not powerful individuals. GCC states are by far the greatest contributor to the billions of dollars promised for economic development and humanitarian relief.

The international community's involvement in Yemen is driven in large part by the need to deal with the threat posed by Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). The scale of the AQAP threat to Yemen is shown by the way it exploited the political conflict within the regime in 2011 to seize towns in Abyan. Its fighters were driven out, but they continue to operate in smaller groups. AQAP is pursuing a strategy of steady attrition against security officials and has ambitions to at-

tack economic facilities. Western governments assess AQAP as the most dangerous of the Al-Qaeda offshoots. It has the ambitions to attack targets in the GCC and beyond: at least three such attacks are known to have been frustrated since 2009. The use of propaganda techniques developed by Anwar Al-Awlaki have inspired terrorist attacks in the West. AQAP must be defeated in Yemen before it can enhance its capacity to launch new attacks beyond Yemen's borders. The GCC has learned from experience that the best way of fighting terrorism is to give people a strong stake in the status quo. Saudi Arabia's use of persuasion and rehabilitation to deal with Al-Qaeda is widely seen as a model of counter-terrorism. The GCC and its allies will need to put even more resources into helping Yemenis to reform their political and security structures and to alleviate the poverty and deprivation that can potentially drive people into the arms of extremists.

Yemen, which will have 30 million people by the early 2020s, cannot be allowed to remain an area of deep poverty in a peninsula that is so wealthy. Ten-million Yemenis do not get enough to eat. Most international indices measuring human development put Yemen near the bottom. Youth unemployment is unacceptably high. The oil and gas revenues that have sustained Yemen—or at least its elites—are in rapid decline, and the security situ-

ation deters new exploration. Parts of the country will run out of water in the next 10 to 20 years. Unless something is done, Yemen's problems will only get worse and create an even bigger security problem for the GCC.

The GCC will thus maintain its active role in helping Yemenis with the transition process by persuading all parties to make the necessary compromises and deter those powerful figures from the past who want to wreck it. Any new system will not be viable unless it can deal with the grievances and aspirations of the South and ensure that solutions are found to end the conflicts in Sa'ada and its surrounding governorate—which spilled briefly into Saudi Arabia in 2009 and 2010. The restructured security forces must protect the state, but will need additional support to deal with AQAP.

GCC countries for many years have been generous in their support of Yemen. They can now play the major role in creating the jobs that Yemenis so desperately need. Governments want to ensure that their money goes to those who need it and is not siphoned off by the elite networks or simply absorbed by the bureaucracy.

Many Yemenis want their country to become a full part of the GCC and not just a member of some committees. They want access to employment and aspire to the high living standards enjoyed by most

GCC citizens. The GCC is understandably reluctant to admit such a populous new member with so many problems. But it is in the long-term interests of its current members to help the Yemeni government to provide jobs and opportunities through support for the economy and encouraging GCC companies—and not just those set up by businessmen of Yemeni origin—to invest in Yemen. This may require some preliminary assistance in creating the conditions that will encourage investment: transparency in decision-making, and judicial and other oversight systems that can be trusted. GCC governments and companies can enhance the education in Yemen so that all Yemenis, including women, can acquire the skills that both Yemen and the GCC need.

Yemen has traveled a long way since early 2011, but it has an even longer and harder road ahead. The GCC is in the best position to help, since by doing so it will prevent Yemen becoming not merely a security concern, but the source of a security threat.

Dr. Noel Brehony is the author of *Yemen Divided: The Story of a Failed State in South Arabia*. He worked for the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, mainly in the Middle East, including a posting in Yemen.

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Life-saving hepatitis C drug approved, but cost is high

IRIN
First Published Dec. 23

Following approvals in the U.S. and Europe this month of a new drug to treat hepatitis C, activists are pushing for the medication to be made available in poor countries, a development reminiscent of the activism that forced down HIV/AIDS drug prices a decade ago in Brazil, South Africa and Thailand.

The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that as many as 185 million people are infected with hepatitis C, which is often called a "viral time bomb" because it can exist, undiagnosed, in a person's body for many years without causing symptoms.

According to the Open Society Foundations (OSF), more than 350,000 people die every year from liver disease related to the virus, and every year an estimated three to four million more people are infected.

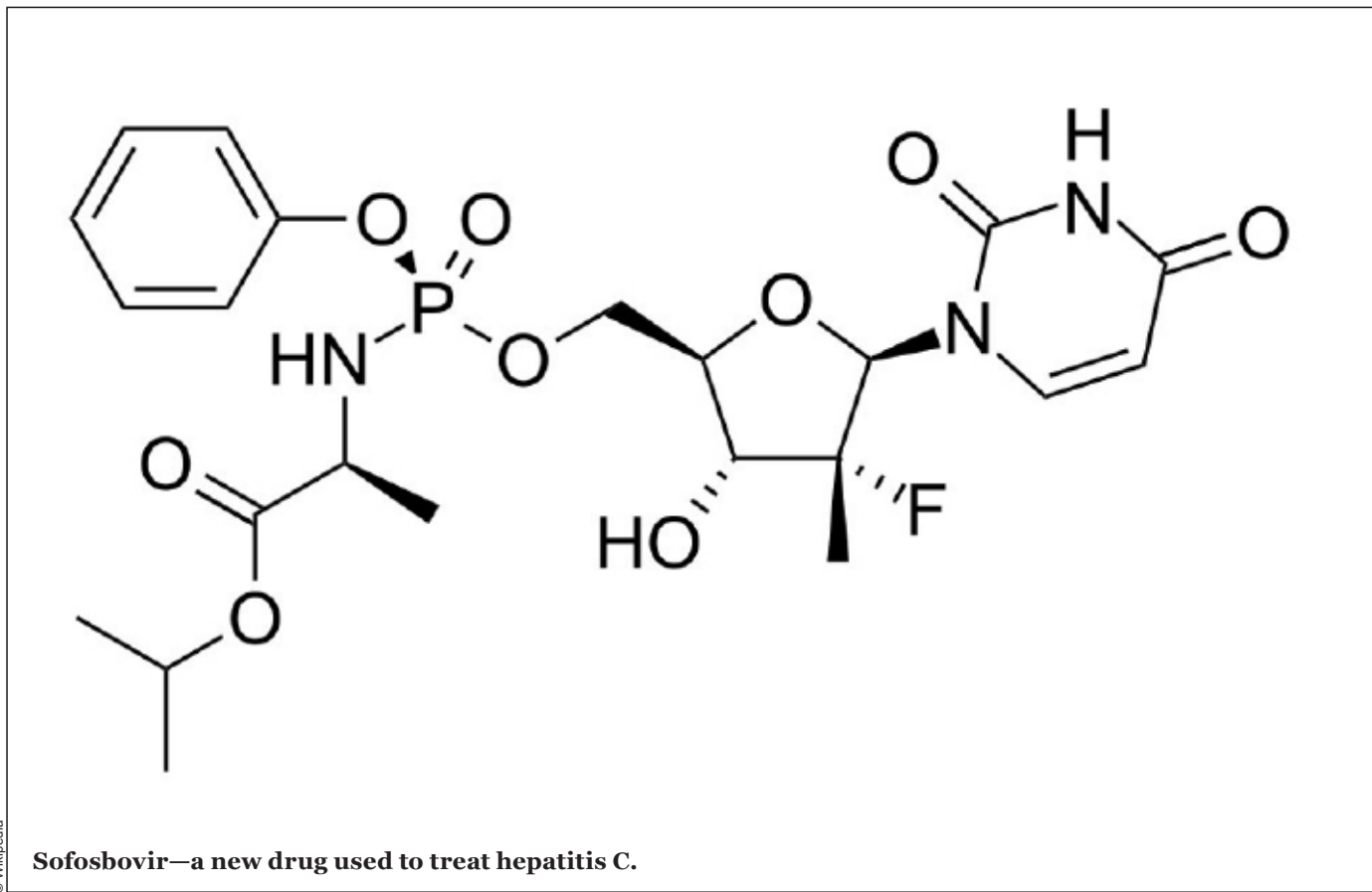
Many of these people are co-infected with HIV. The illnesses are both blood-borne and have shared routes of transmission, particularly injecting drug use.

Unlike HIV, hepatitis C can be cured. But current treatment options have serious side effects, do not always work and are unaffordable for most people. The existing treatment, pegylated interferon, which is manufactured by Roche and Merck, can cost as much as \$18,000 for a 48-week course.

Interferon, which must be injected, can, in combination with the drug ribavirin, cure 40-70 percent of patients who use it. But its high cost has kept it out of reach for most patients, except in Egypt and Thailand, where the governments were able to negotiate significant price reductions with drug manufacturers.

The new drug, sofosbuvir, released by pharmaceutical giant Gilead, promises a leap forward in the hepatitis C treatment. It is orally administered, reduces treatment time to 12 weeks, has fewer side effects, and, if used in combination with other drugs, can achieve a 90 percent cure rate. The hitch? The price tag.

In the U.S., which has some of the highest drug prices in the world, Gilead is expected to charge \$80,000 for one course of treatment—more than four times the cost of interferon. While the cost of the drug is likely to be lower elsewhere, healthcare advocates fear the price will remain beyond the reach of poor people.



Sofosbuvir—a new drug used to treat hepatitis C.

Pricing

Médecins Sans Frontières' director of policy and analysis, Rohit Malpani, says the drug has been priced so high because it cost the company \$11 billion to acquire Pharmasset, the original maker of the drug.

According to one analyst, Gilead has to make \$4 billion on the drug annually, to justify the high cost of the buyout.

This is not a reflection of the research and development costs; it is an assessment of how much the company can get for it, Malpani adds. "Companies will engage in extensive studies to determine what the market will bear, but that is not the way that life-saving commodities should be priced."

Access strategy

MSF's Access Campaign, which lobbies for affordable medicines for resource-strapped communities, is waiting for Gilead to finalize its "access strategy" for poor countries after having received input from a range of organizations.

A Gilead spokesperson told IRIN that it would announce the details of its access program early next year. The company says it is "committed to making its medicines available to patients, regardless of where they live or their ability to pay", and that it is "working very closely with advocates in communities that are affected by hepatitis C to develop an appropriate access and pricing strategy".

The spokesperson said Gilead

wanted to "help ensure access to Sovaldi [the brand name for sofosbuvir] in resource-limited countries, especially countries that have a high hepatitis C burden".

However, Malpani is not optimistic that the reduced price will be low enough to make the drug widely accessible. Furthermore, MSF believes Gilead is likely to offer "middle-income" countries—like China, Iran and Ukraine—a higher pricing strategy than that given to poor countries.

Ironically, 75 percent of the world's poor reside in middle-income countries, Malpani said. "Our concern with Gilead's access strategy is that it is likely to be unaffordable and punitive to the countries in that category," he said.

MSF would like to set a target price for the drug of less than \$500. However, according to an OSF report, "Unfortunately, past experience with HIV suggests that drug companies are unlikely to voluntarily extend significant discounts to middle-income countries, even if they may be open to reducing the price for the world's poorest."

According to one study, a 12-week course of sofosbuvir could cost as little as \$62-\$134 to produce.

Asked why the drug was so expensive in the U.S., the Gilead spokesperson said, "We believe that the price of Sovaldi in the United States is fair, based on the value it represents to a larger number of patients." A special program for

where drugs that so many people need are costing so much. This is not sustainable for anyone," she said.

Daniel Wolfe, director of the International Harm Reduction Program at OSF, said that because of its association with HIV and drug use, hepatitis C is still highly stigmatized. "The experience of HIV has shown us that the combination of expensive medication and social stigma is deadly," he said.

He added that companies are pricing their drugs for profit rather than public health concerns. "When governments are confronted by high prices for a stigmatized population affected, they tend to look the other way," Wolfe said.

Patent worries

In India a "patent opposition" has been filed by the Initiative for Medicines Access and Knowledge (I-MAK) to stop Gilead from obtaining a patent on the drug there, which would clear the

way for low-cost generics to be manufactured.

India has long been at the forefront of manufacturing generic life-saving drugs. Under its Patent Act, medications that are not new do not qualify for patent protection. I-Mak argues that sofosbuvir is "old science" stemming from a long line of antiretroviral drugs.

The World Trade Organization's 1995 Trade-related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) agreement laid down minimum standards for patent laws. There is, however, "some flexibility for countries to determine what is meant under the criteria of patentability," says Torreele, citing I-MAK's case against Gilead's sofosbuvir patent.

Since social activism helped force down the cost of AIDS drugs with generic alternatives over a decade ago, "the world has changed," says Torreele. "The solutions to making HIV drugs affordable are not there anymore."

While TRIPS makes allowances for governments to override patent laws to protect public health, "there is lots of pressure by the pharmaceutical industry on them to avoid these measures."

And negotiations, spearheaded by the US, are currently taking place with 11 other countries to finalize the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, a trade deal that some worry could undermine the flexibility allowed by TRIPS.

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ADVERTORIAL

Yemeni educational organization won international award organized by the British Council

Late last month, the Al-Hoban Technical Institute, of Taiz, and Dudley College, of the UK, received the International Skills Partnership—2013 award. The two organizations bested 29 other international nominees to become this year's winning team. Their two-year-old partnership has had effects far beyond the walls of their institutions and has influenced changes to the vocational education inspection process.

Regional and international skills education providers, employers and policy makers from more than



fifteen countries gathered in Casablanca, Morocco late last month. They explored the innovative role of international partnerships in developing employability skills globally. British Council educational ex-

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المعزون

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FROM THE AIRWAVES

Article 19 is a weekly awareness broadcast on Radio Yemen Times that tackles some of Yemen's toughest issues: those related to the right to freedom of opinion and expression as defined in Article 19 of the International Declaration of Human Rights.

The program airs on Radio Yemen Times, 88.8 FM, on Wednesdays at 8 p.m. and is rebroadcast on Saturdays at 11 a.m.

Young people's freedom of thought and expression

This week, Article 19 explored topics relating to young people's freedom of thought and expression and how it is manifested within the family and home. The most popular topics of discussion were the degree to which parents allow children to develop their own independent trains of thought and the ability of an adolescent to have a choice in the decision-making process at home. To weigh in on the discussion, Radio Yemen Times welcomed Ahmed Al-Qurashi, the head of the local Seyaj Organization for Childhood Protection, and Saba Al-Dhamrani, a 10th grade student and a member of the Children's Parliament, as well as Al-Dhamrani's mother, Jamala Al-Qadi, a school principal.

On freedom of expression in the home:

Jamala Al-Qadi "As a mother, I taught my children to freely express themselves. Otherwise children can become aggressive or reclusive if they feel they are being suppressed. This new generation has more opportunity to voice their opinions and demand their rights. My children have freedom to make personal decisions when it comes to clothes and toys, but when it comes to values and morals, families should instill them in their children, without violating their sense of autonomy."

Al-Dhamrani "I can freely express my own opinion at home. Family matters should be voluntary. For example, when my family decides not to travel during a summer vacation, I have the right to present my own opinion [about it]."

Al-Qurashi: "In Yemen, the term 'childhood' is often associated with toddlers and first- or second-grade students, but the worldwide accepted use of the term is under 18. Girls in our society often are ready to marry once they are 12 or 13 years old. Boys begin carrying weapons and joining the military or start working once they turn 13. If not, they are [socially stigmatized] as inadequate men."

On the internationally recognized Convention on the Rights of the Child—a universally agreed-upon set of non-negotiable standards and obligations for children—and its implementation on the ground in Yemen

Ahmed Al-Qurashi: "The Convention on the Rights of the Child is still lagging behind in terms of a culture [that supports it] and the level of awareness in Yemeni society. It still needs to be implemented in harmony with applicable Yemeni laws. [For example], the judiciary system issues verdicts [that do not comply with international standards] especially for crimes committed by persons under 18."

Saba Al-Dhamrani "The state will continue to fall short unless children's opinions are taken into consideration. Once we grow up, we want to be able to say that our relatives and government officials provided us a strong ground to stand on in the future."

On raising children

Al-Qadi: "Boys and girls should be allowed their privacy and must be given the opportunity to voice their opinions freely."

Al-Qurashi: "Some practices are acceptable for boys but not for girls. I taught both my son and daughter to talk about anything they want whether it happens in school or on the street. I did not force my daughter to wear a niqab [face veil], but she chose to wear it herself."

On early marriage:

Al-Dhamrani: "For me, early marriage is not acceptable because it deprives a girl of the right to her own life. As a child, I still need to be cared for by my parents. How can I get married?"

Al-Qadi: "Unfortunately, child marriage] has become too common in Yemeni society. Girls are dropping out of school because [their parents] are tempted by gold, money and a wedding ceremony. Later on, some do return to school, perhaps already mothers, and divorced."

On children and modern technology:

Al-Dhamrani: "I impose restrictions on myself when I use the Internet. Some children read more from Facebook than they read from school books."

Al-Qadi: "Parents should supervise their sons and daughters while using the Internet so that technology is properly used."

Al-Qurashi: "Personally, I do not allow my son to be on Facebook from a certain time at night until the next morning. I, as a father, should not give them absolute freedom."

YOUR TURN: What do our listeners think?

"We do not have freedom of expression and thought in Yemen because families...think parents know what benefits their children and what does not. Thus, parents are sometimes the reason behind their children's failure. I call on parents to allow room for freedom of thoughts and expression for their sons and daughters," said **Bardees Ahmed**, a secondary-school student.

"The rights of children in Yemen are nonexistent, just like the absence of citizens' rights in general," said **Osama Al-Haifi**, 20.

FROM SOCIAL MEDIA:

"Our children cannot express their thoughts unless we encourage them to do so at home and within the family. We should discuss and listen to what they say and make them feel that their opinions are important. This will encourage them to put their thoughts forward and defend them," said **Mohammed Mughalis**.

"If children are raised in an atmosphere that encourages frankness from early childhood, parents will not face any problems dealing with children," said **Gharam Mohammed**.

المادة 19 هو برنامج توعوي يتحدث عن حق الفرد والمجتمع في حرية التعبير عن الرأي التي كُفلت كضمانة كاملة بالنص الصريح بالمادة 19 في العهد الدولي للحقوق المدنية والسياسية، والإعلان العالمي لحقوق الإنسان والتي نصت على أنه لكل شخص الحق في حرية الرأي والتعبير. ويشمل هذا الحق حرية اعتناق الآراء وإداعتها بأي وسيلة كانت دون تقييد بالحدود الجغرافية.

هذا البرنامج يبث كل أربعاء الساعة 8 مساءً ويعاد يوم السبت الساعة 11 صباحاً على أثير راديو يمن تايمز 88.8.

حرية الرأي و التعبير للأطفال في اطار الأسرة و المنزل

الحلقة الثالثة من برنامج المادة 19 ناقشت حرية الرأي و التعبير للأطفال في اطار الأسرة و المنزل ومدى تقبل الوالدان لحقوقهم في التعبير عن آرائهم في ما يخص قضاياهم وخصوصاً حريتهم في التعليم واختيار شريك الحياة وغير ذلك. وقد كان ضيوف هذه الحلقة الأستاذ أحمد القرشي - رئيس منظمة سياج لحماية الطفولة و سبا الدمراني. تلميذه في الأول الثانوي وعضو برلمان الأطفال ووالدتها الأستاذة جميلة القاضي - مديرة مدرسة.

تربية الولد و البنت :

جميلة القاضي: لكل من الولد و البنت خصوصية في التربية و لكي يتزرع أبنائك أسوياء يجب أن تدعمهم يعبروا عن ذاتهم ويتحدثون بحرية.

أحمد القرشي: المجتمع يتقبل بعض السلوكيات من الذكور قد لا يتقبلها من الإناث، و أنا حريص جداً على تربية ابني و ابنتي على حد سواء، أن يتحدثوا عن ما يواجههم في الحياة بكل حرية سواء في المدرسة أو الشارع. على سبيل المثال، فيما يخص لبس النقاب لم أجبر ابنتي أبداً على لبسه إلى أن أتت هي بنفسها وطلبت أن تلبسه"

سبا الدمراني:

زواج الصغيرات بالنسبة لي مرفوض لأن ذلك يجرم الفتاة من حقها في الحياة

الزواج المبكر:

سبا الدمراني: زواج الصغيرات بالنسبة لي مرفوض لأن ذلك يجرم الفتاة من حقها في الحياة، لأنني كطفلة لا أزال أحتاج للرعاية في هذا السن فكيف يمكن أن أتزوج .

جميلة القاضي: للأسف أصبحت هناك ثقافة سلبية سائده في المجتمع اليمني فالفتيات يتسرن من المدارس من أجل الزواج منبهرات بالذهب والنال وحفلة الزواج ، وتعود للمدرسة بعد أن تكون قد تطلعت وربما تعود و هي تحمل في يدها طفلاً .

الأطفال والتكنولوجيا الحديثة

سبا الدمراني: أنا أعمل على فرض قيود على نفسي أثناء استخدامي للإنترنت و نحن نقرأ من الفيس بوك أكثر من مما نقرأ في كتب المدرسة.

جميلة القاضي: لا بد أن يكون هناك رقابة من قبل الأهل على استخدام ابنائهم للإنترنت وأن يقنن استخدامهم له ، وذلك ليكون استخدامهم لهذه التكنولوجيا استخدام صحيح .

أحمد القرشي: أنا شخصياً لن أتبع لأبنائي البقاء على الفيس بوك للفجر ، و لن أسمح أن تخرج ابنتي وتدخل متى شاءت ، لأنني أعرف أن الشارع أصبح مخيفاً ، كل يوم عندنا معدل بنتين مختفيات " وبما يخص الأولاد الذكور ، كولي أمر يجب أن لا أترك الحرية مطلقة للأبناء "

أحمد القرشي: عندما يتبني ولد يطلب أن يتحول جنسياً ، أقوم أولاً باستدعاء الطبيب الشرعي والمختص النفسي للكشف على الولد ، وعندما يثبت سلامة الولد من كل ما يمكن أن يسمح له أن يتحول بجنسه من الولد للبنت، عندها لن أسمح أبداً أن يدمر حياته وحياته أهله .

جميلة القاضي: كما أدعو التربية والتعليم والمعلمين والقائمين على المناهج ، أن يسمحوا للطلاب أن يتحدث ، أن يدير ويؤدر في حياته داخل وخارج المدرسة "

* إتفاقية حقوق الطفل أكدت على حق الطفل في حرية التعبير وإبداء الرأي في الأمور التي لها تأثير مباشر على جوانب حياته الاجتماعية والثقافية والدينية والسياسية كذلك.

اتفاقية حقوق الطفل وتطبيقها على الواقع اليمني

أحمد القرشي: نص اتفاقية حقوق الطفل لا تزال بعيدة كل البعد عن المجتمع اليمني في ثقافته العامة ومستوى الوعي ناهيك عن تطبيقها ، ولا تزال تحتاج لمواءمة مع القوانين اليمنية وهي لا تزال غير مأخوذ بها حتى من قبل القضاة في المحاكم اليمنية، أثناء إصدارهم للأحكام في بعض القضايا التي يكون فيها المتهم طفل دون الثامنة عشرة "

سبا الدمراني: الدولة تعتبر غير مكتملة إن لم يؤخذ رأي الأطفال فيها. عندما نكبر نريد أن نقول أن أهالينا والمسؤولين استطاعوا أن يضعوا لنا قاعدة قوية نستطيع أن نستند عليها في المستقبل . كما لا يجب إغفال حق الأطفال ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة أثناء مناقشة قضايا حقوق الطفل "

حرية التعبير في المنزل:

جميلة القاضي: أنا كأم قمت بتربية أولادي على حرية التعبير عن رأيهم وذاتهم ، و في حال تم قمع الطفل فذلك سيظهر بسلوكياته من خلال الإنزواء والعدوانية. الأجيال الحديثة أصبحت أكثر قدرة على التعبير عن آرائهم والمطالبة بحقوقهم . حرية ابني أو ابنتي مطلقة فيما يخص اختيار أغراضهم الشخصية من لبس والعباب وما إلى ذلك ، أما ما يخص المبادئ والقيم والأخلاق فعلى الأسرة أن تربي أطفالها على عدم التعدي على حرية الآخرين ، واحترام عاداتهم وتقاليدهم ودياناتهم .

سبا الدمراني: صوتي في المنزل أصبح مسموعاً ويمكنني التعبير عن رأيي فيما يخصني بكل حرية . لا بد أن يكون الأمر تشاركي داخل الأسرة . مثلاً إن صدر قرار بعدم السفر لقضاء إجازة الصيف فانا من حقي أن أشارك في اتخاذ هذا القرار ، مش يمكن أن أعني حل وهم ما يشوقوه ؟؟

أحمد القرشي: سن الطفولة في الوعي المجتمعي العام هو ذلك الطفل الذي لا يزال يجبو ، أو في الصف الأول أو الثاني الابتدائي، رغم أن سن الطفولة عالمياً هو دون الثامنة عشر. الفتاة في مجتمعنا إن بلغت الثانية أو الثالثة عشره لم تعد طفلة وتصحب مؤهله للزواج ، والولد بمجرد أن يبلغ ذلك السن يجب أن يحمل (الألي) ويلتحق بالجيش أو يلتحق بسوق العمل وإن لم يفعل ذلك فتعتبر رجولته منقوصة "

من التقرير الميداني

برديس أحمد طالبه في المرحلة الثانوية " إننا ما عندناش في اليمن ثقافة حرية الرأي والنقاش لأن الأهالي يعتبروه سؤ أدب ، لأنه أبوك وامك هم أدري بمصلحتك ، فيكون الأهالي في أحيان كثيرة هم السبب في فشل أبنائهم ، وأطالب الأهالي بأن يتحجوا لأبنائهم مساحة من الحرية في الحديث والتعبير عن آرائهم . "

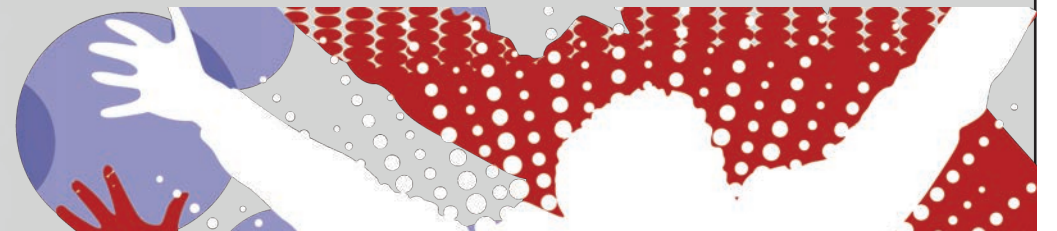
من التليفون

أسامه الحيفي 20 سنة : حقوق الطفل في اليمن معدومه ومن قبلها حقوق الشباب وقبلها حقوق المواطن بشكل عام .

أمين القادري : يجب على أمم والأب أم يتقمصوا شخصية الصديق لأبنائهم ليتمكنوا من مناقشة بعض القضايا معهم بكل حرية "

Facebook

محمد مغلس : لا يمكن لإطفالنا أن يعبروا عن آراءهم في المحيط، مالم نشجعهم على التعبير عنها في المنزل ومع الأسرة وببدي استماعنا لما يطرحون ثم نشجعهم ونشعرهم بأن رأيهم مهم ومأخوذ به وهذا بدوره سيكسبهم الشجاعة والمهارة ل طرح آراءهم والدفاع عنها. **غرام محمد** : اذا تمت تربيتهم على الصراحة من صغرهم فلن يكون هناك اي خوف من اي شيء ولن تواجه اي مشكلة في التعامل معهم.



تَهَنِّاتُنَا

للعريس

منذر فيصل ثابت هائل العبسي

بمناسبة

دخوله القفص الذهبي

ألف الف مبروك

المهنتون

أبو هاشم

الشيخ صامد عياشي

الشيخ فؤاد دهمش

غيث المنصوب

الشيخ / بديع المخلافي

أحمد عبدالله إبراهيم

عبدالله المنصوب

عبد الخالق عبد المانع

وجميع موظفي شركة كالفالي بترولיום



Stepping into the spotlight

Yemeni rapper takes on conservative society

Story by Ali Abulohoom
Photo by Najla'a Hasan

After entering a Yemeni high school as a senior three years ago, Amani Yahia was frustrated and felt alienated from her classmates. The young girl, now 20, had just returned from Saudi Arabia where she had been schooled since the first grade. Her dialect and way of wearing her hijab (head scarf) and abaya (full body dress) were reflective of Yemen's neighbor to the North, setting her apart from her peers, who she says were not accepting of the new diversity.

"I tried to change the way I spoke, but it was in vain," Yahia lamented.

As a student, the young girl grew used to hearing derogatory comments about those who travel outside of Yemen to work in other areas of the Gulf.

"You are Saudi and coming to destroy our country with your bad attitudes and behaviors," was one such remark that Yahia recalled hearing from a classmate.

But now, Yahia is a rising rap star, using her past experiences to fuel her push to succeed in Yemen's largely underground rap scene.

In a few short years, Yahia has established a reputation as a girl challenging gender stereotypes and conservative values in Sana'a's youth circles. Her music has aired on the Yemen TV channel as well as YouTube.

While the songstress originally began exploring her creative energy through poetry "mostly filled with

anger and animosity toward the people who used to hate" her, Yahia says she now has a different direction.

"I began to focus on expressing love, and my dreams and hopes through my poems," she said.

Her poetry—written in English despite a lack of formal education in the language—soon made its way to the stage thanks to the encouragement of some friends.

One night Yahia was invited to a Yemeni Knowledge Exchange Forum meeting on Al-Khamseen Street, near her home in northern Sana'a. There she met other talented young performers, who got together to dance, play music, recite poetry and sing once a week.

"I was so impressed by their performances that I decided to attend their shows every Thursday," Yahia said.

By day, the budding artist enrolled in dentistry classes at Sana'a University in line with her mother's wishes, but at night and in her free time, it was all about her creative passions.

Slowly Yahia made her way onto the stage. She began setting her poetry to music and performing for the forum's ever-expanding audience. In addition to her original numbers, Yahia also enjoys performing songs by some of her favorite artists including Nicki Minaj and Lil Wayne.

"All I really needed was to create my own style of rap, and I have accomplished that," she said.

Most recently Yahia met some guitarists, with whom she has collaborated to produce an original show. Two of the songs the artist is most proud of—one about child marriage and one about a woman's uprising—

have now been recorded and aired on Yemen TV.

Despite a growing fan base, Yahia's performance career has set her up for criticism.

The young artist typically puts on shows wearing trousers and a blouse, rather than the local traditional dress of a floor-length, black abaya. The unique style is considered immodest by many.

To test the waters, Yahia's friends created a survey on the social-networking site, Facebook, asking whether Yahia's unconventional style was justified or whether she was a girl just trying to break some rules.

"Almost 70 percent of [the people who responded to the survey] see me as an ill-bred girl, and that is frustrating," Yahia said.

Mohammed Saeed is a young Yemeni who criticized the rap artist in the Facebook survey.

"Amani imitates international singers and wants to bring an exotic, foreign culture to Yemen," complained Saeed.

Ruqaia, one of Yahia's closest friends, said that it is very difficult for girls to display their talents in such a conservative society, in which women are still considered inferior by many.

"But [she] has a dogged determination to carry through with what she has begun," Ruqaia said.

Yahia has just finished recording three new songs at a private studio in Sana'a. Shaking off her critics, Yahia says her goal is to become a household name.

"For me, it is also motivation to push ahead," she said.



Amani Yahia says she will continue to push boundaries in her performances.

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المركز الرئيسي: صيداع شارع السنين الجنوبي - جولة العمور
تلفون: ٠١/٦٠٠٠٢٤ - ٠١/٦٠٠٠٧٣ - ٠١/٦٠٠٠٧٤ - ٠١/٦٠٠٠٧٥
موبايل: ٧٧٧٦٠٠٢٤

سيارة BMW 318 لبيع موديل 99
علمنا أن شكل السيارة من (99-2005) نفس الشكل ذو محرك 4 اسطوانات بناقل سرعة اتوماتيكي، أسود ملكي. السعر 7000 دولار قابل للتفاوض. 733824568

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الوجه فقط حجر
للاتصال: 777384017



للبيع: سيارة BMW موديل 91، بحالة جيدة، جيد عادي لون أسود. 777736888, 736336666

سيارة سنتافي موديل 2002، ماكينة 2700، لون أبيض، فل أبشن، أوتوماتيك، للتواصل: 712754443

للبيع: مرسيدس 500 موديل 2006

سيارة سنتافي موديل 2002، ماكينة 2700، لون أبيض، فل أبشن، أوتوماتيك، للتواصل: 712754443

معاهد

٠١/٤٤٥٤٨٣/٣/٤
٠١/٢٦٤٢٣١
ف: ٠١/٥٥٧٤١٥
٠١/٥٣٧٨٧١
٠١/٤٤٤١٠٣٦
٠١/٤٤٨٥٧٣

معهد يالي
معهد التي
المعهد البريطاني للغات والكمبيوتر
معهد أكسيد
معهد مالي
معهد هورايزن

شركات التأمين

٠١/٥٥٥٥٥٥
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الشركة اليمنية للإسالمية للتأمين
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٠١/٢٦١٤٠٩٣
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٤٤٨٣٣٩

المتحدة للتأمين
الوطنية للتأمين
الشركة اليمنية للإسالمية للتأمين
إعادة التأمين
شركة أمان
الجزيرة للتأمين وإعادة التأمين
الشركة اليمنية القطرية للتأمين

مدارس

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٠١/٣٧٠١٩١/٣
٠١/٣٧٠١٩٣/٣
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٠١/٣٨٢٠٩١

تلفاكس: ٠١/٤٤٠٠٨٤
موبايل: ٧٣٣٤٥٥٦٤٥
مدرسة رينيو
مدارس صنعاء الدولية
مدرسة التريكة الدولية
مدرسة منارات

سفريات

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٠١/٢٧٤٦٩١
عند ٠١/٥٣٥٠٨٠
٢/٢٢١٢٧٠
٤٤٤١١٨
٤٤٦٣٥٠
٠١-٤٤١١٥٨/٥٩/٦٠

قدس فلاي
سكاي للسفريات والسياحة
عطالات الصقر
مركز أعمال الصقر
العالمية للسفريات والسياحة

مطاعم

مطعم ومخازن الشيباني (باسم محمد عبده الشيباني)
تلفون: ٠١٠٠٥٧٢٦٢٢ - ٠١٠٠٩٢٥٠٥ - فاكس: ٩١٦٧٦٢

مستشفيات

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العالمية للشحن - صنعاء ٠١/٢٦٧٩٢٩ - ٠١/٢٦٠٠٧٤٦

مستشفى الثورة
مستشفى الجمهوري
المستشفى الألماني الحديث
المستشفى الاهلي الحديث
مستشفى العلوم والتكنولوجيا
مستشفى الكويت

شركات طيران

٠١/٢٤٦٩٦٧-٦٦
٠١/٢٧٤٢٨٦-٨٧
ف: ٠١/٦٠٠٠٠٠
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٠١/٢٨٣٢٣٣

طيران اليمنية
فرع تعز: ٠١/٢١٧١٢٦
فرع عدن: ٠١/٣٥٢٤٥٦
فرع الحديدة: ٠١/٣٠١٤٧٤
٠١/٥٦٥٦٥٦
٠١/٤٤٤٤٤٤
٠١/٤٣٧٩٩٣
٠١/٢١٣٤٠٠
٠١/٤٤٥٩٧٠
٠١/٥٠٠٦٥٧٤
٠١/٥٠٠٦٣٠
٠١/٤٤٠٩٢٢
٠١/٤٤٦٠٦٤/٥/٧

مراكز تدريب وتعليم الكمبيوتر

٠١/٤٤٥٥١٨/٧

NIIT لتعليم الكمبيوتر

البريد السريع

٠١/٤٤٠١٧٠
عند ٢/٢٥٦٦٦٦
الحديدة ٢/٢٦٦٩٧٥
عز ٤/٢٠٥٧٨٠
اب ٤/٤١٩٨٨
المكلا ٥/٣٠٢٦٤
شبه ٥/٢٠٢٢٢٦
سينون ٥/٤٠٢٢١٩
بلحاف ٧٧٧٨٨٦٦
سقطرى ٥/٦٦٠٤٩٨

فنادق

٠١/٢١٣٥٤٤-٦٦
عند ٠١/٢٢٨٦٦٦
٠١/٤١٨٥٤٥/٧
٠١/٥٤٦٦٦٦
ف: ٠١/٥٤٦٠٠٠
٠١/٤٣٢٠٢/٣/٤٠
٠١/٤٣٢٠٣٠
٠١/٤٤٠٣٠٥/٧-١٤
٠١/٤١٨٣٢٠

فندق ميركوير صنعاء
فندق شمر
فندق مومبيك
فندق لازوردي
فندق لاج صيدو زرينيس
العالمية للفندق - صنعاء
فندق شهران - صنعاء

٠١/٢٨٦٥٠٦
٠١/٢٧٤٣٧١
٠١/٤٠٧٥٤٠
٠١/٥٣٨٩٠١
٠١/٢٠٩٤٥١

بنك سبا الاسلامي
بنك كاليون
يوناتيد بنك لميند
بنك كاك الاسلامي
بنك اليمن والكويت للتجارة والانشاءات

تأجير سيارات

زاوية (Budget)
يورب كار
هيرتز لتأجير السيارات

مراكز تدريب وتعليم الكمبيوتر

٠١/٤٤٥٥١٨/٧

NIIT لتعليم الكمبيوتر

البريد السريع

٠١/٤٤٠١٧٠
عند ٢/٢٥٦٦٦٦
الحديدة ٢/٢٦٦٩٧٥
عز ٤/٢٠٥٧٨٠
اب ٤/٤١٩٨٨
المكلا ٥/٣٠٢٦٤
شبه ٥/٢٠٢٢٢٦
سينون ٥/٤٠٢٢١٩
بلحاف ٧٧٧٨٨٦٦
سقطرى ٥/٦٦٠٤٩٨

شحن وتوصيل

٠١/٤٤١٠٩٦/٧/٨
٠١/٤٤١٠٩٦/٧/٨

UPS
DHL

مركز الندى للخدمات العامة
alnada2@yemen.net.ye

٠١/٢٥٢٢١١
٠١/٤٧٢٩٩٣
٠١/٢٣٥٤٢٣
٠١/٢٣٦٥١٢
٠١/٢٣٠٥٠٠
٠١/٤٠٢٣٥٤
٠١/٢٠٢٣٠٩/١٠
٠١/٢٨٩٥٧٧
٠١/٢٦٠٩٠٣
٠١/٤٤٤٨٣١
٠١/٢٣١٤٦٠
٠١/٢٣٧٢٤٤
٠١/٢٧٤٠٠٨
٠١/٢٥٠١٠١
٠١/٢٥٣٧٣٢
٠١/٥٣٧٩١٤
٠١/٢٣٣٧٠١
٠١/٢٦٠٣٦٥
٠١/٢٠٢٢٣٥٧
٠١/٤١٨٣٨٩
٠١/٢٣٦١٩٦

وزارة الصحة العامة والسكان
وزارة الشباب والرياضة
وزارة الصناعة والتجارة
وزارة العدل
وزارة السياحة
وزارة المقربين
وزارة النفط والمعادن
وزارة شؤون الداخلية
وزارة النقل
وزارة حقوق الانسان
وزارة الاتصالات وتقنية المعلومات
وزارة الادارة المحلية
وزارة الاعلام
وزارة التخطيط والتعاون الدولي
وزارة التربية والتعليم
وزارة الخارجية
وزارة الداخلية
وزارة المالية
وزارة المواصلات
وزارة المياه والبيئة
وزارة الكهرباء

البنوك

٠١/٢٦٠٨٢٣
٠١/٢٦٠٨٢٤
عند ٢/٢٧٠٣٧٧/٨/٩
٢/٢٣٨٢٤٤
ف: ٠١/٢٠٣٣٧١
٠١/٢٧٧٣٤٤
٠١/٢٧٧٢٩١
٠١/٢٦٤٧٧٠ - ٠١/٢٦٤٧٠٢
٠١/٢٦٤٧٠٣ - ٠١/٥٣٣٥٠٣
٠١/٤٠٧٠٢٠
٠١/٢٦٧٥٥٨/٢
٠١/٥٦٣٨١٣
٠١/٢٧٤٣١٤
٠١/٤٤٩٧٣١
٠١/٥١٧٥٤٤
٠١/٢٧١٦٠١

بنك اليمن والخليج
بنك التضامن الإسلامي
البنك التجاري
مصرف اليمن البحرين الشامل
بنك اليمن الدولي
البنك العربي
بنك التسليف الزراعي
البنك المركزي
بنك الامل
البنك القطري الدولي
بنك اليمن للتعمير

باحثون عن وظيفة

مدرسة ترغب في تقديم دروس خصوصية "منازل" لجميع المواد في المرحلة الابتدائية من الصف الأول إلى الصف الخامس وكذلك اللغة الانجليزية لكل المراحل. 734750811

بكالوريوس ترجمة - جامعة صنعاء - خبرة في المراسلات التجارية والأعمال الإدارية أكثر من 6 سنوات - يرغب في العمل في الفترة المسائية فقط. 777991248

بكالوريوس لغة انجليزية خبرة سنتين في مجال التدريس . اجادة استخدام الكمبيوتر والانترنت. للتواصل/ 772663229

بكالوريوس محاسبه وإدارة أعمال ودبلوم لغة إنجليزية، خبرة طويلة في إدارة الحسابات والمراسلات

انرقام مهمة

١٧٧
١٧١
١٩٩
١٩٨
١٩١
١٩٤
٠١/٢٥٣٧٠١/٧
٠١/٢٠٣٥٤٤/٧
٠١/٢٥٠٧٦١/٣
٠١/٢٣٣٠٠١/٢
٠١/٢٠٣١٣١/٣
٠١/٢٧٣٠٠١

طوارئ الكهرباء
طوارئ المياه
طوارئ الشرطة
الاستعلامات
الإطفاء
حوادث المرور
الشؤون الداخلية
الشؤون الخارجية
الهجرة
التلفزيون
الصليب الأحمر
الإذاعة

الوزارات

٠١/٢٩٠٢٠٠
٠١/٤٩٠٨٠٠
٠١/٥٥٥١٣٢
٠١/٢٧٤٤٣٩
٠١/٥٣٥٠٣١
٠١/٢٦٨٥٨٣
٠١/٢٧٤٦٠٠
٠١/٢٩٥٥٧٩
٠١/٢٧٦٤٠٤
٠١/٢٨٢٩٦٣
٠١/٢٦٢٨٠٩
٠١/٤٠٢٢١٣

رئاسة الجمهورية
رئاسة الوزراء
وزارة الاشغال العامة والطرق
وزارة الاوقاف والارشاد
وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي
وزارة الثروة السمكية
وزارة الثقافة
وزارة الخدمة المدنية والتأمينات
وزارة الدفاع
وزارة الزراعة والري
وزارة الشؤون الاجتماعية والعمل
وزارة الشؤون القانونية

كلمات متقاطعة

- ١- من الحروف الغريبة - الفن الصانع
٢- التفتيح - جمع منهل
٣- لدية - الاصابع أم - من الاسلمة
٤- يتخذ - لهم بالرمسي - تكسب اسحب أم
٥- حرق الحبي - لهاها - حرق لتصب
٦- الاثباتية أم - ومضى
٧- حن أم - باعلان - نظم منظر
٨- يؤديه على كمل وجه - متشابهان - زلف أم
٩- حرق جزم أم - مغفرة لينة
١٠- تتال في الورد أم - جمع الدراسة - حرق اجنبي
١١- الحديت أم - حكي أم - طريق معان
١٢- متشابهة - جمع بياض أم - شديدة مرد بدا غير المعاني
١٣- مغبر - ضمير الغلب - حالي أم
١٤- متشابهان - مغرب ليلتي - تغير - متشابهان
١٥- الفلال البركانية أم - متشابهة
- ١- منحل
٢- مهم
٣- وحى
٤- متسوع
٥- حامض
٦- حريق
٧- سيماء
٨- ناسي
٩- والي
١٠- وسيط
١١- وياه
- ١- منحل
٢- مهم
٣- وحى
٤- متسوع
٥- حامض
٦- حريق
٧- سيماء
٨- ناسي
٩- والي
١٠- وسيط
١١- وياه

الكلمة المفقودة

- ١- منحل
٢- مهم
٣- وحى
٤- متسوع
٥- حامض
٦- حريق
٧- سيماء
٨- ناسي
٩- والي
١٠- وسيط
١١- وياه
- ١- منحل
٢- مهم
٣- وحى
٤- متسوع
٥- حامض
٦- حريق
٧- سيماء
٨- ناسي
٩- والي
١٠- وسيط
١١- وياه

استراحة العدد

النجمة

عجائب وغرائب
تضع انثى الابطبوط 60 الف بيضة ثم تلزم مخبأها ولاتفادها حتى تموت جوعا

حكمة العدد
السعادة صحة جيدة وذاكرة سيئة

نكتة العدد
واحد سمع ان البنزين سيرتفع سعره فقال: ماتفرق معي لانه دانما اشترى بألف ريال.

لغز العدد
ما الفاكهة التي يوجد بذرها على قشرتها؟

هل تعلم
ان العالم الرياضي اسحاق نيوتن قد ابتكر التوالية العددية وهو في الصف الثالث الابتدائي

اسرى	جهد	سها	لون
المنى	حنا	عديم	مضج
النس	ويجا	عقد	نوع
بورق	سبون	قلع	نضع

١- أبدأ من الحرف القريب من الرقم ١ في المائدة الكبيرة متشقا مع الحرف متساويا وبأقصى الحركات المعاكسة من كلمات المائدة.
٢- تبدأ النجمة ككلمة بأخر حرف من الكلمة السابقة.
٣- تمديد الحروف الخمسة الموجودة في الجوانب الخمس الكبيرة على الحرف الدولية يربطها بالمتاصل الرمزي القريب من تلك المائدة لتشكل على كل ما هو مطلوب داخل النجمة.

١- كرتين - كرتين
٢- كرتين - كرتين
٣- كرتين - كرتين
٤- كرتين - كرتين
٥- كرتين - كرتين
٦- كرتين - كرتين
٧- كرتين - كرتين
٨- كرتين - كرتين
٩- كرتين - كرتين
١٠- كرتين - كرتين
١١- كرتين - كرتين
١٢- كرتين - كرتين
١٣- كرتين - كرتين
١٤- كرتين - كرتين
١٥- كرتين - كرتين



الحلول بالمطلوب

١- منحل
٢- مهم
٣- وحى
٤- متسوع
٥- حامض
٦- حريق
٧- سيماء
٨- ناسي
٩- والي
١٠- وسيط
١١- وياه

LG
Life's Good

LG Smart TV
CINEMA 3D

MODERN HOUSE EXHIBITION
SALEM MOHAMMAD SHAMMAKH GROUP
SANA A - 514621 / 821 264095 - 225646
ADEN - 252480 - 234377 HUDEIDA - 205918 - 205903
TAIZ - 251440 MOKALA - 326044
WHOLESALE: 01/514697

YEMEN TIMES

Yemen's first and most widely-read English-language newspaper

في حوار مع « يمن تايمز »..

البشري: الطائرات بدون طيار أصبحت تنفذ غاراتها عشوائيا دون أن تعير اهتماما للمدنيين الجمل: إذا استمرت الغارات ستتحول القبائل اليمنية إلى تنظيم قاعدة

هناك إتفاقية دولية في مجال مكافحة الإرهاب.. لكن هذه الإتفاقية لا تعني أن تنتهك الولايات المتحدة السيادة اليمنية وتعارض بموجبها القتل عبر طائراتها.. في عهد نظام الرئيس السابق علي عبد الله صالح أو طيلة العشر السنوات الماضية لم تكن هناك سوى عشر غارات نفذتها الطائرات الأمريكية بلا طيار.. اليوم في أقل من سنتين نفذت الطائرات الأمريكية أكثر من ٢٠٠ غارة تقريبا.. ثم لماذا تار اليمنيون على نظام صالح.. إن كان النظام الحالي سيتحجج بنفس ما كان يتحجج به حيال ارتكابه الأخطاء لماذا قامت الثورة الشبابية عليه في ٢٠١١.. القادمون الجدد إلى الحكم قدموا تنازلات لأمريكا أكثر من التي قدمها النظام السابق بغية إيصالهم إلى الحكم.. وأنا على حد علمي أنه لم تكن هناك إتفاقية موقعة في عهد الرئيس السابق صالح مع أمريكا بشأن السماح لطائراتها بضرب أهداف في الأراضي اليمنية، وإنما كان ذلك بناء على سماح شخصي إلى حد ما مكشوفة..

القاعدة تتواجد في معظم البلدان العربية و دول الشرق الأوسط ومع ذلك ليست هناك غارات أمريكية عليها كاليمن.. لماذا؟

الأمم المتحدة اعتبرت غارات الطائرات الأمريكية بدون طيار التي تشن على باكستان انتهاكا للسيادة الباكستانية لكنها لم تعتبرها في اليمن كذلك.. لماذا؟.. الجواب.. زارت لجنة من الأمم المتحدة باكستان فوجدت المسؤولين من صغيرهم إلى كبيرهم ضد غارات الطيران الأمريكي.. هذه اللجنة لو زارت اليمن لوجدت أكبر مسؤول، وهو الرئيس عبد ربه منصور هادي يقول أنا أوقع شخصيا على الغارات التي تنفذها الولايات المتحدة، رغم أنها تستهدف مشتهين بانتهاكهم للقاعدة.. الطيران الأمريكي نفذ غارات كثيرة جدا في العراق في المغرب العربي في باكستان وأفغانستان.. لكن اليمن حطمت الرقم القياسي، وفي اعتقادي أن نسبة الغارات يساوي نسبة العمالة لأمريكا وحجم التنازل الذي تقدمه السلطات اليمنية للخارج.

لكن ألم تحد الغارات الأمريكية من نشاط القاعدة في اليمن؟

لا لم تحد والدليل هو ما نعيشه اليوم.. زادت الغارات الأمريكية وزاد معها نشاط القاعدة.

انتقل إليك أستاذ محمد.. هل تعتقد أن مصالح الحكومة اليمنية مع أمريكا تستدعي صمتها إزاء ضربات طائراتها في اليمن؟

أعتقد ذلك.. لأن مسؤولينا أجبوا الكراسي ومستعدين لعمل أي شيء مقابل بقاءهم للأسف.

حسنًا.. هل تعتقد أن واشنطن تستغل حالة الاضطراب السياسي الذي تعيشه اليمن لتكثيف ضرباتها وأنه عندما تستقر البلاد ستوقف ذلك؟

لا أعتقد ذلك.. كل ما قلنا سنقدم نرجع إلى الوراء مائة خطوة.

وهل ينتهي دوركم كسياسيين في الشجب والادانت؟

لا بالتأكيد.. نحن طالبنا الحكومة وإن لم تستجب لمطالب الشعب فعلى جميع القوى والمكونات القيام بثورة لإسقاط النظام والحكومة.

السؤال الأخير لك عبد الرزاق.. ما هو الدور المجتمعي المفترض إزاء استمرار الغارات الأمريكية في اليمن؟

لن نجد قرارا سياسيا من الرئيس هادي بالغاء السماح بضربات الطائرات الأمريكية مالم يكون هناك ضغط شعبي.. إذا وجد هذا الضغط سيتخذ الرئيس موقفا مغايرا.

أعدت الغارة الأمريكية التي استهدفت موكب عرس بمديرية رداع محافظة البيضاء مؤخرا جدل الطائرات بدون طيار في اليمن إلى الواجهة، حيث هناك شبه إجماع على رفضها، في هذا الحوار يتحدث محمد البشري الأمين العام لحزب السلام، وهو أول الأحزاب التي تأسست عقب الثورة الشبابية ٢٠١١ والباحث في شؤون القاعدة عبد الرزاق الجمل عن الدور المجتمعي المفترض لعبه لوقف الغارات التي أودت بحياة عشرات المدنيين في اليمن وآثارها على المدى البعيد في كسب القاعدة المزيد من التعاطف الشعبي.. فإلى الحوار...

حوار وتصوير/ محمد الحسني

حتى عندما كان التنظيم يسيطر على محافظة أبين وأجزاء من محافظة شبوه، حيث كانت مواقع وتحركات القاعدة إلى حد ما مكشوفة.. فالطيران اليمني لم ينجح في ذلك على الإطلاق وفي نفس الوقت لا يعني ذلك فتح الباب للطائرات

٢٠١١ وحتى اليوم.. أخرجت هذه القوى مئات المسيرات تحت مئات المسميات ولم تخرج مسيرة تندد بغارات الطيران الأمريكي، وبالتالي أنا أرى أن الحكومة اليمنية معذورة في صمتها إذا ما قسناه بالدور المجتمعي الغائب.. لأنه لو كان هناك ضغط شعبي فأعتقد أن الوضع كان سيتغير.

انتقل إليك محمد



عبدالرزاق الجمل

البشري.. هل تعتقد أن موقف مجلس النواب بشأن الغارة كان كافيا؟

مجلس النواب يمثل الشعب.. وأعتقد أنه أدى دوره، وتبقى دور منظمات المجتمع المدني والأحزاب السياسية.

هناك من يحمل القبائل التي تحتوي عناصر القاعدة مسؤولية ما قد يترتب عن خطأ إستهدافهم.. كيف ترى ذلك؟

ربما أنا مع ذلك، وأنا أدعو كل القبائل التي تحمي عناصر القيادة إبلاغ الأمن عنهم قبل أن يستهدفهم الطيران الأمريكي.

وأنت عبد الرزاق ما رأيك؟

أنا أرى أن حل مشكلة احتضان بعض القبائل للقاعدة ليس بالطائرات الأمريكية.. هنا تتحمل الحكومة اليمنية مسألة تحويل كثير من القبائل إلى تنظيم قاعدة.. ما أريد قوله هو أن القبائل في حال استمرار الطيران الأمريكي بانتهاك سيادة اليمن وقتل المدنيين فلن تحتضن القبائل عناصر القاعدة فحسب بل ستتحوّل هي إلى تنظيم قاعدة، كما أن استعانة الحكومة اليمنية بالطائرات الأمريكية لاستهداف عناصر يعتقد بانتهاكها للقاعدة يعني أنها دولة فاشلة.

لكننا نسمع من الإعلام الرسمي بأن سلاح الجو اليمني يستهدف مواقع للقاعدة.. إذا كان كذلك ما الحاجة للغارات الأمريكية إذا؟

الطيران الحربي اليمني غير قادر على إستهداف القاعدة.. منذ ٢٠٠٢ وحتى ٢٠١٢ لم ينفذ الطيران اليمني غارة ناجحة ضد عناصر القاعدة

السؤال لك عبد الرزاق.. هل لديك معلومات عن خلفيات توقيع هذا الإتفاق؟

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محمد البشري

البشيرية أو على أجهزة الأمن اليمنية وحدها من يقدم المعلومات.. هناك شرائح عدة تتسابق على كسب ود الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية من خلال تقديم المعلومات، وهذا يقود إلى سؤال ما هو دور القوى المجتمعية.. أنا أعتقد أنه ليس لها أي دور يذكر في هذا الجانب.. منذ

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واحد أستهدف في الغارة.. الغارة استهدفت مدنيين سواء أخطأت هدفها أو لم تخطئ.. هي استهدفت مدنيين بالدرجة الأولى وأسفرت عن مقتل ١٧ شخصا وجرح ٣٠ آخرين.

أعود إليك محمد.. لماذا أثرت الحكومة الصمت عن الغارة حين وقوعها بينما تحدثت عنها المسؤولين الأمريكيون؟

هي بسبب الإتفاقية التي بين صنعاء وواشنطن بخصوص السماح للطائرات باستهداف القاعدة داخل الأراضي اليمنية، وأنا أدعو هنا إلى إسقاط هذه الإتفاقية وتجنب ما سيؤول إليه غضب الشعب اليمني حيال ذلك.

لكن لماذا هذا الغضب وهناك عشرات الغارات التي نفذت قبلها؟

هذا بسبب إثارتها من قبل الإعلام، عوضا عن أن الغارات من قبل الطائرات بدون طيار أصبحت تنفذ غاراتها عشوائيا دون أن تعير أي اهتماما للمدنيين.

انتقل إليك عبد الرزاق.. ما الذي تختلف فيه غارة البيضاء الأخيرة عن غيرها من الغارات التي تشنها الطائرات الأمريكية؟

في اعتقادي لا فرق بين الغارة التي استهدفت موكب عرس برداع وبين الغارات التي سبقتها سواء التي استهدفت القاعدة أو التي استهدفت مدنيين، التحليل والقصف الأمريكي من حيث المبدأ هو خطأ لأنه يقتل خارج القانون بدون أية محاكمات.. أنا لا أستطيع التفريق بين الغارات التي تستهدف أعضاء في القاعدة حتى لو كانوا قيادات وبين التي تقتل مواطنين لأن جميعها غير قانونية وبدون محاكمات، وأنا أعتب على من يفرقون بينها، لأن انتهاك السادة كل لا يتجزأ سواء لقتل القاعدة أو لقتل مدنيين.. وأنا أختلف مع الأخ محمد البشري في أن القاعدة غير موجودة.. القاعدة موجودة والتعامل معها بهذا الشكل يزيد من رصيدها الشعبي في أوساط المجتمع اليمني لأن القاعدة لا تريد إلا سوقا لترويج أفكارها وضربات الطائرات يقدمها لها دعما غير محدود، حتى لو كان لديها خسائر بشرية.

ما أبرز المعلومات التي لديك بخصوص غارة البيضاء الأخيرة؟

الحكومة اليمنية من خلال اللجنة الأمنية العليا حاولت التغطية على الغارة بالإدعاء أن هناك قيادات في القاعدة تم إستهدافهم في موكب عرس، والحقيقة أنه لا يوجد قاعد

على ماذا تعتمد الطائرات الأمريكية في تنفيذ غاراتها؟

تعتمد على الرصد وإحداثيات من أجهزة الأمن اليمنية وجواسيس يقومون بوضع شرائح الكترونية في جيوب المستهدفين من القاعدة أو في سياراتهم.

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