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400

ريال إشتراك شهري
حسب سنة الإشتراك

200

فائز شهرياً

خط الفوترة لتبدأ حُلة جديدة ومزايا فريدة

67%

تخفيض في خدمة
الأهل والأصدقاء

100%

الخط مجاني

800

ريال بداية لباقات
الإنترنت

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- 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 .
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تخفيض حتى 60%



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المشغل الأول والأكبر للهاتف النقال في اليمن



Not enough to go around: At the Dialysis Center in the city of Hodeida, patients have seen their treatment sessions be cut dramatically due to the center's inability to cope with an influx of patients.

Read more on Page 3

(Photo by Samar Qaed)

NDC extends Hadi's term for one year on a day marked by an assassination



The NDC has endorsed a one-year term extension for President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi.

Ali Saeed

SANA'A, Jan 22—On the same day one NDC representative was assassinated and the son of a well-known political figure survived an alleged assassination attempt in Sana'a, the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) on Tuesday approved its final comprehensive document, which was 10 months in the making.

According to the paperwork, called the Solutions and Guarantees Document, the NDC extended President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi's term in office for one year. The conference also approved federalism as Yemen's new state structure.

"Hadi will remain president until presidential elections are held in line with the new constitution," said

Yasser Al-Ruaini, the NDC's deputy secretary general.

President Hadi's two-year interim presidency was due to expire this February. Following an internationally-brokered deal in which former President Ali Abdulla Saleh agreed to relinquish power, Hadi was ushered into office in early 2012 in a one-candidate election.

In his extended term, according to NDC's document, President Hadi will oversee the drafting of a new constitution, preparing it to be voted on directly by the populace.

This process, Al-Ruaini said, should not exceed a one-year extended term, which begins on Jan. 25, the day marking the official end of the NDC.

The document also requires Hadi to reshuffle the Cabinet and restructure the Shura Council—

Parliament's consultative body—in order to make it more inclusive of all political parties.

The Shura Council will be reorganized "to represent all political entities that participated in the NDC with [an even split for Northern and Southern representatives]. Thirty percent of the council's seats will be allocated for women and 20 percent for youth."

After the new constitution is approved via a referendum, the government will hold a presidential election in a period that does not exceed nine months, Al-Ruaini said.

Hours before the NDC meeting on Tuesday, Ahmed Sharaf Al-Deen, a Houthi representative at the conference, was shot and killed by unidentified gunmen while he was

en route to the NDC's concluding session.

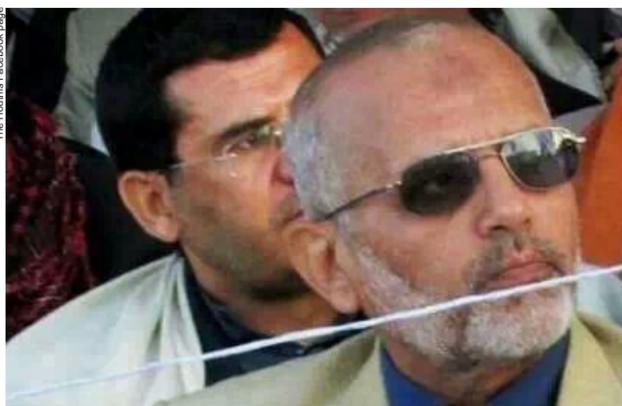
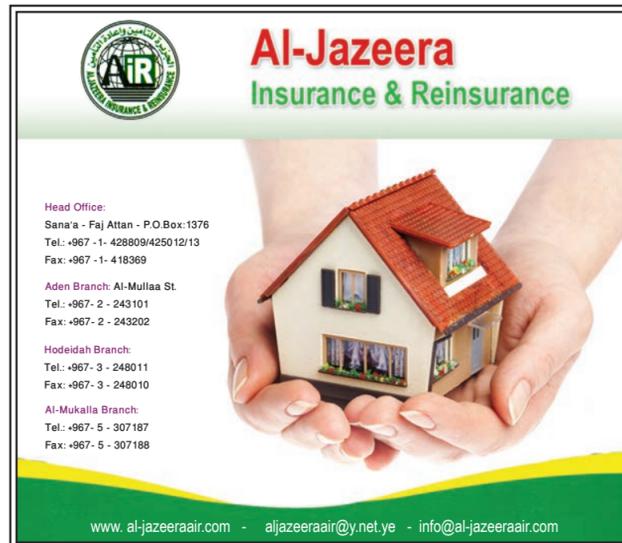
In another incident, Amer Abdulwahab Al-Ansi, the son of the secretary general of the Islah Party survived a believed assassination attempt when a roadside bomb exploded while he was on Algiers Street in Sana'a. Al-Ansi was taken to an area hospital after the explosion.

Islah.net, the official media outlet for the Islah Party, reported that the bomb targeted Al-Ansi's father, Abdulwahab Al-Ansi.

In his speech at the concluding plenary session, which was broadcast



The Shura Council will be reorganized "to represent all political entities that participated in the NDC with [an even split for Northern and Southern representatives]. Thirty percent of the council's seats will be allocated for women and 20 percent for youth," according to the NDC's final document.



Both Abdul Karim Jadbhan (left) and Ahmed Sharaf Al-Deen (right) were assassinated while representing the Houthis at the NDC.

live by a state-run television outlet, President Hadi urged all NDC members to stand with him against "evil powers that want to derail the National Dialogue Conference."

Houthi representatives, who left the concluding session after they received word of Al-Deen's assassination, have suspended their participation in the conference to protest their colleague's death.

In November 2013, Abdul Karim Jadbhan, another NDC Houthi representative, was shot dead by unidentified assailants while leaving a mosque in his neighborhood.

"Targeting us is targeting the NDC's outcomes, and we still believe that the dialogue is the only way to build a civil modern state of Yemen," said Ali Al-Emad, a NDC Houthi representative.



Al-Dhale under fire

Clashes continue between the military and Southern Movement gunmen

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, January 22—One person was killed and six others wounded, including four soldiers, in the city of Al-Dhale on Tuesday and Wednesday, in clashes that broke out between the military and gunmen associated with the Southern Movement, according to local, military and security sources.

Sporadic clashes continued through Wednesday at a governorate compound, the military camp hosting Brigade 33 and the Central Security building in the governorate.

Both sides used RPGs, mortars and machine guns in the fighting, said Lieutenant Sadeq Mohammed Al-Hakimi, the spokesperson for Brigade 33. He said the four soldiers were injured in the clashes on Tuesday when the brigade was surrounded for hours by armed gunmen.

One resident was killed and two others were wounded in military shelling in Al-Dhale on Wednesday, according to Mohammed Al-Shaeri, Al-Dhale's security chief.

"Some houses were damaged as



A funeral tent was shelled in December by Brigade 33. Fifteen civilians were killed.

a result of the shelling. Residents are panicked," Al-Shaeri said.

Tensions continue to run high following the shelling of a funeral tent inside a school compound in late December in the Sanah district of Al-Dhale governorate that left 15 civilians dead.

"The reason behind the tension is the deployment of the brigade's forces in streets," Al-Shaeri said.

Brigade 33's welcome in the area continues to wane. Spokespersons for the brigade admitted to accidentally firing a shell at the funeral in late December. However both security officials and eye witnesses say the funeral tent was hit three

separate times by shelling.

"The army used tanks and machine guns to rock the city [of Al-Dhale] and villages in Sanah," said Majed Al-Shuaibi, the editor-in-chief of Al-Youm Al-Awal newspaper, which is associated with the Southern Movement. "Clashes also broke out between the armed men and soldiers at a security checkpoint."

The Southern Movement, formed in 2007, has led calls of secession for Southern governorates. They would like Yemen to be split into two separate nations based on pre-1990 divisions when the country was divided into two.

Drone crashes in Al-Mahra governorate

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, Jan. 22—An alleged U.S. drone crashed into a mountain in the Hat district in Al-Mahra governorate, in eastern Yemen near the Omani border, on Thursday, according to a security source in the president's office.

"The plane crashed on Thursday in Al-Mahra governorate. It was a pilotless plane, and its wreckage has been taken to the Hat Military Camp in the governorate. Some unexploded missiles were also found," said the source who asked to remain anonymous because they were not authorized to talk to the press.

The source was not able to comment on the reasons behind the crash.

"The wreckage as well as the [two] unexploded missiles are at the Hat Military Camp," said Brig. Gen. Mubark Musaed Hussein, Al-Mahra's security manager.

"We found parts of [the plane] at the top of the mountain and other parts were found at the bottom. We are still waiting for experts, who the presidency said they will send, to identify the reasons behind the crash," Hussein said.

Neither American nor Yemeni authorities have officially released information on the crash nor clarified the circumstances surrounding the incident.

In an article in the American magazine, foreign policy, an un-

made soldier from the locally-stationed Brigade 133, said the plane "was fairly damaged and roughly the size of a Toyota Corolla," which the report says is "too small to be one of Yemen's traditional, manned aircraft."

Locals say the crash created a sense of panic among residents in the semi-desert Shuaib village, which borders Oman.

"[At] first they thought they are under attack because it's the first time they saw a drone in the governorate," said Muneer Al-Shamiri, the director of the Education Ministry's Office in Al-Mahra.

This is reportedly the first time a drone has been spotted flying over Al-Mahra governorate. According to Yemen's Central Bureau of Statistics, Hat has a population of 2,800 people, and the entire governorate is home to 100,000.

Since 2002, the U.S. has operated a drone program in Yemen, targeting Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) affiliates. The program is controversial and covert, with the U.S. admitting to a faction of the strikes that are reported.

"Yemen opened its skies up for the American planes, signing agreements with the American government for the war on terror," said Brig. Saleh Al-Asbahi, an expert in security affairs.

Drone strikes typically occur in the governorates of Abyan, Shabwa, Hadramout and Al-Beida'a,

where there is a strong AQAP presence.

In February 2011, AFP reported an unmanned aircraft crashed in Abyan governorate and "Al-Qaeda gunmen in cars...hijacked the wreckage."

In another instance, according to a WikiLeaks cable from March 2007, "an unmanned USG reconnaissance aircraft (Scan Eagle) that had washed ashore on the Arabian Sea coast" was discovered by Yemeni military officers. The cable says the Yemeni government-instructed by the U.S. Embassy in Sana'a—put a media blackout on the case. Later "official and pro-government media sources reported that the Yemeni military had shot down an Iranian 'spy plane' off the coast of Hadramout."

Since the drone war began, monitoring sites report that over 100 civilians have been killed in aerial attacks.

In mid-December, 12 people were killed and eight others wounded in a drone strike that hit a wedding convoy right outside the city of Rada'a in Al-Beida'a governorate on Dec. 12. Yemeni authorities say an AQAP affiliate was targeted in the attack and later offered money and guns to the village where the victims were from to compensate them.

The U.S. has not officially claimed responsibility for the attack or acknowledged civilian deaths.

Yemen to exempt Internet and postal services from WTO regulations

Ali Saeed

SANA'A, Jan 22—State-run Internet and postal services will continue to operate outside of new regulations in Yemen that are a result of the nation's recent World Trade Organization accession, said Dr. Hamoud Al-Najar, the head of the Yemen Communication and Coordination Office.

Al-Najar said the decision was made in reaction to a statement the minister of telecommunications and information and technology said earlier this week.

State media quoted Ahmed Ubaid Bin Daghar, the minister of telecommunications as saying Yemen will lose YR60 billion (\$279 million) per year if the sector complied with other regulations under WTO membership.

"Liberalizing Yemen's telecommunications is a negative impact of Yemen's WTO accession," the London-based Al-Hayat Arabic newspaper quoted Bin Daghar saying on Sunday.

"[Joining the WTO] represents a direct threat to 12,000 workers at the Public Telecommunication Cor-

poration and its affiliated companies such as TeleYemen, Yemen Mobile and the Public Postal Authority," Bin Daghar told Al-Hayat.

Currently mobile phone service are allowed to be privately owned in Yemen, whereas Internet services and landline phones are still monopolized by the state-run Public Telecommunication Corporation.

Yemen signed final papers to solidify its WTO membership on Dec. 4 in Indonesia. The country is required to finalize a review of its trade laws in accordance with the WTO regulations by June this year.

Houthis throw a wrench in NDC final document

Spokesperson denies the group's support of conference outcomes

Mohammed Al-Hassani

SANA'A, Jan. 22—Following a speech from President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi on Tuesday expressing his optimism in Yemen's future after the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) officially ends this Saturday, a Houthi's spokesperson at the conference said on Wednesday that his political party does not stand behind the NDC's final document, possibly signaling a bumpy road ahead as Yemen's transition continues.

The NDC's outcomes, outlined in the Solutions and Guarantees Document, extend Hadi's term for a year and officially set Yemen on the path to become a federal state. The document also stipulates that Yemen's Cabinet, comprised of ministers, be restructured.

However, Parliament will remain as is until a new constitution is drafted. Elections will be held at future, unannounced dates. The Shura Council, an advisory board for Parliament will be reorganized to include 50 percent representation from Northerners and 50 percent from Southerners.

At the NDC's concluding plenary session on Tuesday, the president said the Houthis—a group of Zaidi Shiites who established their own political party following Yemen's popular uprising in 2011—had sent a signed letter expressing their support of the solutions document. The letter was only referenced never released.

"We believe the document aims to extend the term of the current, failed government and security institutions. Even if the NDC's outcomes were positive, they would fail because they rest on failed institutions," said Houthi spokesperson Ali Al-Bukhaiti.

Al-Bukhaiti refutes the letter Hadi references. The Houthis

left the plenary session before it concluded after receiving news that their fellow representative Dr. Ahmed Sharaf Al-Deen had been assassinated on his way to the session.

Sharaf Al-Deen was one of 20 members of the Guarantees Committee at the NDC. The committee was the group in charge of drafting the final documents.

While Al-Bukhaiti denies that Sharaf Al-Deen had signed the document before his death, Abdulmalik Al-Mekhlafi, the head of the Guarantees Committee, said on Tuesday that all members had signed off on it.

"Sharaf Al-Deen worked for the success of the NDC, and to honor him we should work hard to make it successful," Al-Mekhlafi said.

Al-Bukhaiti said the Houthis will not be attending any future NDC meetings, including the closing ceremony on Saturday unless the government promises protection for their representatives.

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ADVERTORIAL

Emirates and Real Madrid Search for their Ultimate Fan

Emirates and Real Madrid have launched the 'Fans for Real' campaign today in search of the most devoted Real Madrid fans around the world. As part of the joint campaign, which runs from 14 January to 7 March, fans will be asked to +1 Emirates and Real Madrid's Google+ pages, and upload engaging content about Real Madrid using #FansForReal and #FlyToMadrid.

The winners will receive the chance to fly to Madrid, courtesy of Emirates, for an experience of a lifetime that includes meeting and watching their favourite Real Madrid players at Santiago Bernabeu Stadium.

The video that will launch the 'Fans for Real' campaign encompasses a story of a boy whose surprise awaits him at Santiago Bernabeu Stadium after arriving on an Emirates flight. He is greeted by four Real Madrid stars including Luka Modric, Marcelo Vieira, Gareth Bale and Alvaro Arbeloa. The video can be seen here



Fans can also check the competition's website here: <http://www.realmadrid.com/fansforreal>

Emirates and Real Madrid are linked through a five year shirt sponsorship of the Club until the end of the 2017/2018 season. Like minded in their vision to be at the forefront of their fields, both organizations use the power of sport as a vehicle to create moments of inspiration for fans and enable new experiences based on a shared passion for football.

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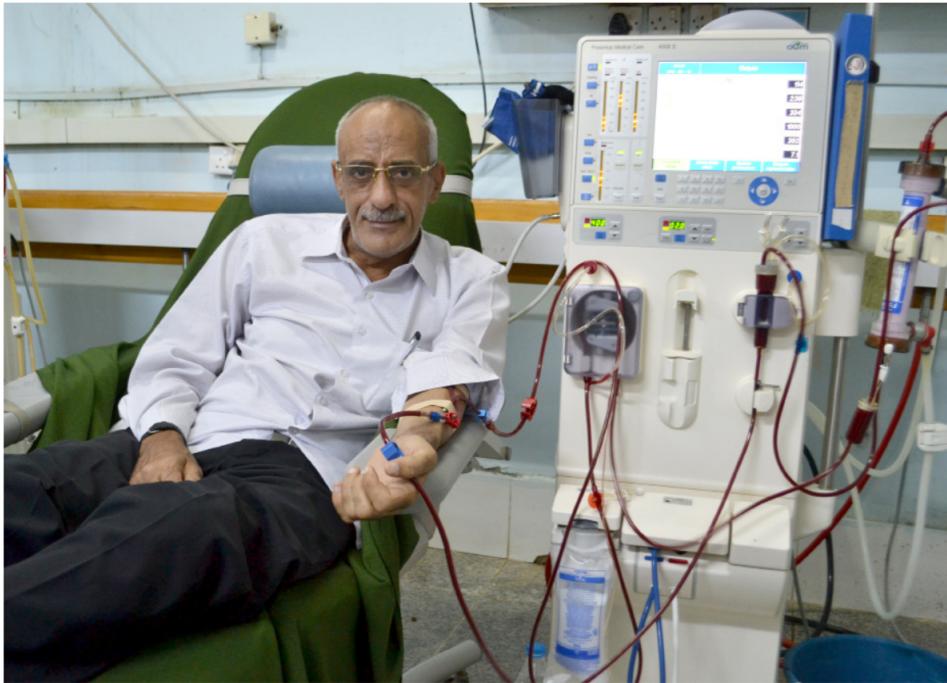
Feb 8, 2014

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In need of treatment

Exhausted dialysis center in Hodeida reduces patients' appointments to cope with influx of patients



Due to the lack of dialysis machines and staff, only 150 of the 220 patients who seek daily treatment receive it.

Story and photos by Samar Qaed

The 30 dialysis machines at the Dialysis Center in the city of Hodeida are almost constantly in motion, with only two hours of inactivity per day. They serve a growing population, one they cannot accommodate. Patients with diabetes and other kidney related disorders from surround-

ing governorates including Hajja, Dhamar, Al-Mahweet, Taiz, Raima and even Sana'a, are forced to rely on the center to do the job their kidneys cannot.

A shortage of facilities in other parts of the country is making treatment hard to come by in Hodeida.

Hamdan Ali has been going to the center since his childhood as a result of his kidney failure. A young man in his 20's, the patients looks tired and exhausted. Dialysis has

taken a toll on Ali.

It's a 30-minute journey from Ali's rural home to the Dialysis Center. He calls ahead to make sure there is vacant machine before he embarks on the journey.

"It's hard to wait for my turn in the center due to my deteriorating health condition. I feel better when I receive treatment," Ali said.

But treatment is few and far between these days. Ali used to receive treatment five days a week,



but due to an influx of patients, he is now lucky if he can be hooked up to a machine three days a week.

On average 220 patients come to the center daily but only 150 patients can receive treatment. The medical staff has had to make some tough decisions as a result.

"Due to the large number of patients in the center, we have to reduce a patient's time slots and provide them to others," said Maliha Shehaiber, a nurse supervisor. She recognizes that this could have dire consequences for the patients' health.

"Each time after I receive treatment, I suffer from headache, nausea and dizziness, but I have to receive the treatment," said Sameera Qaed, whose swollen veins reveal her years on dialysis.

Qaed is originally from the city of Wesab in Dhamar governorate. Several years ago, she had to make the choice to move permanently to Hodeida so she was assured treatment.

The center says there were 800

patients who received treatment at the center in 2013. That is 70 more than they had in 2012. But already stretched to the limit and with no new resources, the 70 patients have burdened the center. The state-supported center, which opened in 1990, offers treatment free of charge but patients are expected to pay the costs of an initial medical examination and registration fees.

Every five years Yemen allocates money in its budget for dialysis centers. Over the years, the center in Hodeida has gradually gone from 10 machines to their current number of 30, which are not keeping pace with demand. Given the current plan, it will not be until 2015 when the Dialysis Center is eligible for money again.

Other difficulties

The facility is also severely understaffed and is subject to frequent employee strikes.

In October of last year, following a three-month delay in salaries, em-

ployees went on strike.

Following the strike, the Health Office in Hodeida governorate paid the over-due salaries. However, the health office was unable to provide salaries for November and December so the non-profit organization, the Charitable Society for Supporting Kidney Failure Patients, stepped in and covered the expense.

The head of the charity, Ahmed Jazim Saeed, is concerned about salaries for January as no one knows who will be paying staff salaries.

"We call on the Health Office, the finance minister and Hodeida's governor to take action and rescue the center. We want to guarantee these employees, working on contracts, will get their salaries in 2014," he said.

More centers, better services

There have been efforts in place to better health service offerings in Hodeida governorate. In 2003, the administration at the Dialysis Center proposed a plan to the central Ministry of Public Health and Population to establish more dialysis centers in the governorate bases on population density.

The plan has seen some success. In 2004, three small centers were built in the Al-Qanawis, Zabid and Bajil districts in Hodeida. The Zabid center opened in February 2013, but the Al-Qanawis and the Bajil centers are not yet up and running. A Qatari businessman paid for the equipment for the Al-Qanawis center and the Turkish government equipped both the Bajil and Zabid centers. Al-Qanawis is hopeful that the centers will open this year.

"We hope these new centers will provide better services," he said.

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**YT vision statement****"To make Yemen a good world citizen."**Prof. Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf,
(1951 - 1999)
Founder of Yemen Times**OUR OPINION****Yemen's civil society and the country's emerging democracy**

There are over 8,000 registered civil society organizations in Yemen and around the same number of unregistered initiatives and local corporations. This is on average, one organization per 1,500 Yemenis. This is a fairly good ratio, considering Yemen is a new, emerging democracy.

Despite the presence of civil society organizations since 1990, they have not necessarily led to a culture that is conducive to such organizations. In fact, most organizations were either created as and still operate as charities or were simply used to further images of influential politicians.

It was only in the late 2000's that a new trend of civil society work started to emerge, one that was focused on human rights and good governance. A number of civil society organizations began identifying themselves as rights' based and shifted their work to promote human rights, democracy and good governance.

Moreover, Yemen's 2011 "Arab Spring" brought another opportunity. Politics suddenly became everyone's business as people took matters into their hands and took to the streets. Over the course of 2011, several initiatives started working on political issues—both for and against the anti-government uprising.

Despite the growing and recent engagement of civil society in politics, there still remains a disconnect between the organizations and common civilians. Yemen's civil society sector that is involved in political issues such as democracy, governance and human rights are operating to serve certain political interests and not the general public.

One reason behind this—in addition to the fact they were created and championed by politically motivated individuals—is that they are concentrated in urban areas and reach limited populations. Most of the people affected by the work of these organizations are educated intellectuals and politicians who already have exposure to these issues.

Only independent civil society organizations that are not politically controlled are able to create real change in governance, human rights and democracy. The donor community and international organizations should take measures to ensure the organizations they support are independent and do not discriminate based on political affiliations.

Additionally, there needs to be more support for organizations working outside urban centers. About 70 percent of Yemen's population lives in rural areas, and they need to be reached.

Yemen's civil society has been evolving for more than two decades. From charity-based organizations to development focused and now finally to human rights, but there is still no real culture for civil society organizations.

Yemen also faces the challenge of creating "watch dog" organizations if the current trend of politically-motivated organizations continues to flourish.

Yemen is still an emerging democracy and has a long way to go. Today's political changes represent an opportunity to quicken this process, but it will not work without the support of the international community, who need to fund independent organizations with real connections on the ground.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf**Opposing views:****Turkey could form an alliance with the Gulf states****Sinan Ulgen**
Aawsat.net
First Published Jan. 20

Given the diversity of geopolitical and economic challenges faced by the Arab world, a long-term alliance between Turkey and the Gulf states can only be beneficial for the region. There are several reasons why such an alliance can be instrumental in helping to bring more stability and prosperity to a turbulent region. First, it is clear that both partners share an interest in preventing the increase in political instability that can have detrimental effects on overall security in the region. It is no coincidence that Turkey closely aligned itself with Saudi Arabia and Qatar in an effort to force Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad's regime out of power. Those parties realized that Assad's role had become a destabilizing factor not only for Syria, but also for the region. So, unlike Iran, they shifted their priorities towards forcing a regime change in Syria. This alliance was strengthened over time through regular political and diplomatic consultations over the developments in Syria, and also through

an attempt to coordinate international support for the Syrian opposition, with a view to hastening the forced exit of the Assad regime.

Turkey and the Gulf countries also share a similar vision concerning the potential role of Iran in the region. Ankara is as much opposed as its partners in the Gulf to the military dimensions of Iran's nuclear program. Turkey has therefore been a strong supporter of international efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Iran nuclear crisis. It even took the lead in 2010, in cooperation with Brazil, to make a deal with Tehran that would have shipped most of Iran's enriched uranium abroad.

Turkey and the Gulf states can also be instrumental partners in helping the region overcome its economic difficulties. These are countries with strong economies and significant economic resources, and they are increasingly interested in leveraging their economic capabilities to help the economies of regional states that are in distress. Thus Turkey was one of the few countries that extended an unconditional loan of \$2 billion to the post-Mubarak government in Egypt. Turkey is also one of the world's largest donors of humanitarian assistance,

giving out figure more than \$1.5 billion in aid per year. Likewise, the Gulf countries have also extended significant economic assistance to the post-Mubarak—but also the post-Mursi government—in Egypt. It is also known that there are high expectations from Turkey and its Gulf partners to invest in large infrastructure projects in the Middle East.

But beyond the regional challenges that tend to militate for a closer alliance between Turkey and the Gulf states, the global political setup is also conducive to this outcome. The ongoing economic crisis in Europe has deeply affected the EU's ability to engage as a more constructive and influential player in the Middle East. On the US side, President Barack Obama's policies have restrained U.S. ambitions, and U.S. public opinion is very much opposed to more U.S. presence in the Middle East. This dynamic of the gradual disengagement of the global players necessarily augments the potential role of regional players. Global players are increasingly aware of the limits of their own power and abilities.

The outcome of this unavoidable rebalancing is the realization that on the one hand that more efforts

are needed to shape common agendas between the global and regional powers, but on the other hand regional alliances have a more important role to play in helping deal with the region's problems. This sense of regional ownership and regional initiative is set to shape the future of international politics. This is perhaps the main reason why a more long-term alliance between Turkey and the Gulf states will be condoned by the West.

Today, the main obstacle regarding the emergence of such an alliance is the vastly differing viewpoints on the political developments in Egypt. Turkey has been very critical of the new Egyptian regime and has openly supported the Muslim Brotherhood. But with a better understanding of Egyptian political dynamics, a sense of realism will gradually be regained in Ankara, allowing a more sustainable alliance to emerge between Turkey and the Gulf States on many of the regional challenges that will continue to confront them.

Sinan Ulgen is the chairman of the Istanbul-based EDAM think tank and a visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe in Brussels.

A Gulf-Turkey alliance is impossible**Aayid Mannaa**
Aawsat.net
First Published Jan. 20

There is no doubt that the Turkey of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is fundamentally different from that of eras since the demise of the Ottoman Empire in 1923 at the hands of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

At that time, Atatürk, supported by the army and Turkish nationalist forces, removed the Islamic religious cloak from his country and shifted towards the West. Atatürk's desire here was not to control, dominate and spread religion, but to keep up with the progress and advances of civilization.

Since 1923, Turkey has been trying—almost begging—to convince Western states that the country as a whole, and not just Istanbul, is a part of Western civilization, in order to achieve its dream of joining the European Union. The West, however, resisted this for a number of reasons, the most important of which was that most of Turkey is in Asia, not Europe. In addition to that, the EU said Turkey's democracy was artificial, and its treatment of minorities, such as the Kurds, was aggressive and oppressive.

There were also several other criteria for joining that Turkey could not meet. An example of this was the assumption of power by religious parties such as the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which

defied European standards, most notably the need for the separation of state and religion.

This constant rejection by Europe may be the reason why the Turks have begun to look to their history and to move East. There lies wealth, urbanization, a low population, the reliance on the labor and products of others, and the mixing of religion with politics—even where this tends toward religious extremism.

All these factors have encouraged the Islamist AKP to look back at the Ottoman legacy in order to compete with the West for profitable resources and lucrative markets—and this is exactly what has happened.

Erdoğan's government began to address Arab sentiments by speaking openly about the rights of the Palestinian people to an independent state, and using verbal confrontation—Erdoğan's public row over Gaza with Israeli President Shimon Perez at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2009, in which Erdoğan stormed off the stage—and physical confrontation—the dispatch of the Mavi Marmara to Gaza—to gain Arab trust.

All these actions encouraged the neo-Ottomans to return to the legacy they left when poor and exhausted, only to return to find it one of the richest in the world. Because of this, Turkey not only attracted the attention of the West, it achieved remarkable economic growth. Even the debts that burdened the Turkish state became a distant memory.

It is no secret that Arab Gulf mar-

kets, investments and tourism have all played a great role in reviving the Turkish economy. We can point here to Turkish agricultural and industrial products and Turkish construction companies, which have been noticeably present in most Arab countries, particularly Iraq, which relies more on Turkish companies, labor and products than it does on Iran's.

But this Turkish invasion now seems likely to recede, for a number of reasons.

The first is Erdoğan's involvement in internal Arab conflicts. He had a good relationship with former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, but soon turned against him and supported the uprising that toppled his regime. When the military-backed June 30 uprising toppled Muslim Brotherhood President Mohamed Mursi, Erdoğan stood defiantly against the ouster, a move that resulted in the recalling of the Egyptian ambassador and the expulsion of his Turkish counterpart. If this was in relative harmony with Western stances, it was in total contradiction to those of the Gulf, which were mostly in agreement on supporting post-Brotherhood rule, and this proved that Erdoğan was following his Brotherhood-inspired political sentiments.

The second is that there is no doubt that the Americans and the Europeans do not want Turkey to be an integral part of the West. At the same time, they do not want Turkey to abandon them, because econom-

ic independence leads to political independence, and the Americans and Europeans cannot allow Turkey to flood markets exclusive to the West with cheaper products, especially in countries with which it also has strong religious links.

The third reason is the recent corruption scandal. Corruption in all its guises was one of the causes of the deterioration of the situation in Turkey under governments before the AKP. Erdoğan's government succeeded economically because it was not corrupt. But late in 2013, financial scandals affected a number of ministers and led to the formation of a new government by Erdoğan, despite demands from some that he shoulder the political responsibility for the scandals and offer his resignation.

Finally, the Turkish dream of abandoning the West by moving East will not come about because major Western powers will not allow Turkey—and especially its Ottoman model—to regain the wealth it lost more than 90 years ago. They do not want it to bounce back with an ever-greater appetite for consumption, foreign labor and security. This is doubly so since the West—the heir of the Ottoman legacy—can provide Gulf Arabs with their needs directly, or indirectly through states and people with little ambition beyond exporting their labor and goods.

Aayid Mannaa is a Kuwaiti analyst, commentator and political scientist.

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Offices**Taiz Bureau:**

Imad Ahmed Al-Saqqaf

Tel: +967 (4) 217-156,

Telefax: +967 (4) 217157

P.O. Box: 5086, Taiz

Email: yttaiz@y.net.ye

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What now?

Citizens reflect on the NDC's impact

Mohammed Al-Hassani

Since mid-March Yemen has been known internationally for its slow-burning National Dialogue Conference, which was slated to end on Sept. 18, and now will officially be coming to a close on Jan. 25. Engineered to draw Yemenis together in what were sold as inclusive, reconciliatory talks, the conference was supposed to pave the way for the drafting of a constitution and national elections early this year. Now already four months behind the timetable, it doesn't seem elections nor a con-

stitution will be ready according to the timetable being followed by the transition's international broker as outlined in the Gulf Cooperation Council's Initiative.

One of the biggest criticisms of the conference has been that its 565 delegates have been out of touch with the needs and desires of average Yemenis. Many have pinned their hopes on the NDC. As the conference draws to an end, the Yemen Times asked citizens about their perceptions of the national conference. Did they follow it? What are their expectations now that Yemen moves further into its transitional phase?



"I look forward to seeing that NDC outcomes provide justice for all those wronged in Yemen, either in the North or the South. There should be a lot of pressure put on the various political parties to make that happen," said **Ahmed Abdulwarth Al-Madhaji**, who told the Yemen Times he was 55 years old.



"I do not know anything about the NDC. I also do not know its outcomes," said **Bakeel Hussein Fara**, a 42-year-old construction worker.



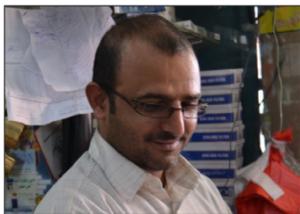
"I hope the NDC will come up with fair policies that not only please dialogue participants but everyone who has grievances, including the Southerners who were fired from their military and security jobs or whose land plots were looted. [I hope] the Sa'ada issue [is also resolved]," said **Ahmed Sinan**, a linguistics professor.



"I keenly followed the NDC since its kickoff in March. But my enthusiasm died down when it became apparent that every member was after their own personal and political interests. I hope the NDC outcomes will guarantee the rights of people in the South and the North. I also hope the NDC's outcomes will lay the foundation for a democratic state that other countries in the region will use as a model," said **Sharf Al-Wadei**, a 26-year-old pharmacist.



"I want a policy that comes out of the NDC to raise the salaries of teachers. I want a better income and a better income for my husband," said **Fawzia Al-Aghbari**, a 32-year-old private-school teacher.



"I follow the dialogue, but I do not expect results that serve the public interests. The NDC members were not elected [by the people], and its outcomes were already predetermined by the countries that sponsored the Gulf Initiative," said **Abduljaleel Jazim**, a 33-year-old grocery store employee.



"People are also fed up and are not optimistic. However, we hope the NDC outcomes will create a sense of fairness and satisfaction for people so that love and tolerance will be evident," said **Abdulsalam Al-Sharihi**, 30-year-old broadcaster.



Abdulla Saleh Qasim Othman, 27, is an employee in a restaurant. He said he is not following the NDC activities. But he stated, "I expect good results from this dialogue."



"I hardly eke out a living for my children. I work from the morning until late at night and then go directly to sleep. I do not have time to watch TV. I hear some news on the radio while driving, but frankly, I do not care," said **Abdulla Qaed Ahmed**, a 40-year-old bus driver.



"I hope the outcomes of the NDC will preserve Yemen's unity so that country will be able to overcome its economic and political crises. In case of separation, God forbid, I am concerned about the entire country, not about myself only," said **Ali Al-Ba'adani**, a 44-year-old barber.

What analysts are saying about South Sudan's crisis

Irinnews.org First Published Jan. 16

Since violence first broke out on Dec. 15, the conflict in South Sudan has left thousands dead and displaced hundreds of thousands more. Representatives of President Salva Kiir and his rival, former Vice President Riek Machar, are meeting in Addis Ababa to attempt to negotiate a settlement and a ceasefire. Meanwhile, think tanks, academics and experts have been scrambling to explain the causes of the bitter acrimony and bloodshed that has engulfed the country.

What is the role of the armed forces?

"The current conflict has three main dimensions—a political dispute within the ruling party, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM); a regional and ethnic war; and a crisis within the army itself," Alex de Waal and Abdul Mohammed wrote in Foreign Affairs.

International Crisis Group notes: "What has for some time been a political crisis within the ruling Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) has now spilled over into an army that has long been riven by internal problems, including ethnic divisions and tensions. The blurred lines between these institutions, senior political figures and ethnic communities—as well as wide-scale arms proliferation—make the current situation particularly volatile."

The dysfunctional army, de Waal and Mohammed argue, traces back to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005: "When the CPA was signed, the SPLA [Sudan People's Liberation Army] was, in fact, just one of many military forces in South Sudan. Arguably as strong as the SPLA was the rival South Sudan Defense Forces, which is organized and funded by Khartoum and has a strong ethnic-regional base. Many feared a Southern civil war following the peace with the North. But Kiir, newly installed in 2005, reached out to the SSDF

leadership and other militia commanders to offer them membership in both the army and government."

The government spent 55 percent of their budget on defence, and more than 80 percent of that went to the salaries of the more than 200,000 people employed by the SPLA. "Over time, the payout created insurmountable obstacles to army reform and professionalization. The army was little more than a coalition of ethnic units tied together by cash handouts," they said.

Jok Madut Jok, executive director of the Sudd Institute, a think tank in Juba, also points to the fissures built up during previous conflicts.

"Intense competition for political power within the ruling SPLM was bound to spark violence, as it was likely to touch the wounds of the last three decades of liberation wars, during which South Sudanese had turned guns against one another over leadership of the movement."

These conflicts "were often patched up or swept under the rug in the interest of keeping the eyes on the common goal, but they were never sufficiently resolved, and far too many communities were left wanting for justice."

He mainly blames the outbreak in violence on "the failure of the post-war development programs to meet the dividends that the citizens highly expected going into independence." Most people in the country have not seen the development, wealth, reconciliation and security that they expected when South Sudan became an independent state.

What about ethnicity?

Hannah Bryce, an international security expert at Chatham House, argues that this has been primarily an ethnic conflict.

"The dynamics of the leadership struggle between President Salva Kiir, a Dinka, and former Vice President Riek Macher, a Nuer, colors politics throughout the country, illustrating the prevalence of political tribalism at the highest office."

She also argues that there is a strong perception by other ethnic

groups that the SPLM and SPLA are dominated by the Dinka.

But Amir Idris, a professor and chair of the Department of African and African American Studies at Fordham University, strongly disagrees.

"Much of the colonial writing on the social and political cultures of South Sudan have focused on two groups: the Dinka and the Nuer. Very few have focused on other ethnic groups. Politics, therefore, came to be seen and defined through the lenses of these two groups."

"It is inaccurate to interpret the recent political crisis as an ethnic conflict between President Salva Kiir, a Dinka, and his former Vice President, Riek Machar, a Nuer, for it assumes that the political stability can be restored if the two ethnic groups agree to share political power," he said.

He notes that the participation of all groups in peace agreements is crucial to the success of peace talks.

"The ongoing conflict is neither ethnic nor cultural, it's a political one. Second, these conflicting ethnic identities, such as the Nuer and the Dinka, are not static. They could become peaceful identities if the state was redefined and restructured in a way that makes the managing of and coexistence between overlapping identities possible in postcolonial South Sudan," he said. This, he thinks, requires a political solution.

Are administration failures to blame?

Steve McDonald, director of the Africa Program at the Wilson Center, says top leaders failed to do their jobs.

"Since independence, the government of South Sudan has been wracked with incompetence, malfeasance and corruption," he said. "Elites were lining their pockets, while the vast majority went hungry. Warlords were making deals with international entrepreneurs in their sectors, but the central government seemed totally ineffective."

Alex Vines of Chatham House, in an opinion piece in The Guardian,



A teenager displaced by recent violence washes clothes in a basin at the compound of the U.N. Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), which has become a makeshift camp for Nuer people.

wrote, "This current conflict is about poor political leadership within a country that is still in need of a massive state-building exercise."

He added, "An elite power struggle within the tiny leadership looks to be drawing the whole country into a full civil war that is rapidly developing ethnic dimensions."

John Campbell, senior fellow for African Policy Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, argues that poor leadership has resulted from structural problems. "The SPLA was a liberation movement, not a political party. Beyond independence and 'development', it has no coherent political program."

"It is apparent that South Sudan, two years after independence, is yet to establish legitimacy as a state with a functioning government that can keep its people safe and provide services to them," said Josephine Kibe and Mwangi S. Kimenyi of the Brookings Institution's Africa

Growth Initiative. They accuse the top leaders of corruption.

"The legitimacy of the state can only be achieved if it provides essential services such as education, health and security to the citizens," they wrote.

What was the international community's role?

"While commentators can argue about who or what is most at fault in this terrible turn of events, one fact is clear: the international community—the many regional and international players who have been supporting the transition in South Sudan—shoulders some of the responsibility," said Sara Pantuliano, head of the Humanitarian Policy Group at the Overseas Development Institute.

She notes that the international community had "high expectations for peace" after the CPA was signed, and looked at the North-South con-

flikt as the main obstacle to peace, failing to focus on divisions within the south.

"Concerns and warnings about the role that patronage and ethnicity play in South Sudan's politics, as well as calls to better understand the causes of vulnerability, power relations and drivers of instability, were largely ignored." The international community focused on development-based "technical" fixes, according to Pantuliano.

"Many in the aid sector in South Sudan have been operating on the assumption that greater development—improved services, infrastructure, access to food—would lead to stability and lasting peace," she said. "Technical fixes have failed South Sudan: it's time to put politics at the heart of the nation-building project at last."

Continued on the back page



Joining the club

'Yemen's WTO membership will encourage competition and boost the state's economy'

For 13 years, Yemen was at the negotiation table with the World Trade Organization (WTO) trying to secure its place in the international organization. Finally, at the end of 2013, the Gulf nation's membership was approved, and it became the 160th country to join the WTO. Dr. Hamoud Al-Najar, the chief of the communication and coordination office for the WTO at the Ministry of Trade and Industry, accompanied Yemen on its over-a-decade-long journey. Despite mounting criticisms of the negative impact Yemen's accession will have on its national economy, Al-Najar says the fight to join the WTO was well worth it. He discusses with the Yemen Times what it took to get there and how the Arabian Peninsula's poorest country can benefit from the global markets is now a part of.

Ali Saeed



Dr. Hamoud Al-Najar

On why the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) both recommended Yemen join the WTO:

Al-Najar: Yemen started financial and administrative reforms in late 1995 in partnership with the IMF and the WB. Trade was one component of the financial and administrative reform program. At that time Yemen's trade system was outdated—all imported goods had to have a license from the Ministry of Supply and Trade [now referred to as the Ministry of Trade and Industry].

This license was hard to get due to bureaucracy. Officials personally sold licenses instead going through the law. This law was later revoked. However that does not mean the door was opened for all goods to be imported. Pesticides, explosives and drugs still require licenses to enter the country.

The IMF and the WB also recommended Yemen redraft its customs' tariffs as they were not based on an

economic plan. Tariff rates did not differentiate much between luxury goods, commodities and raw materials. The aim of the tariffs was just to generate revenue with no consideration of how it fits into the economy. The IMF and the WB suggested that Yemen gradually shift to a tax system. Yemen eventually responded to this request and dropped its customs' tariff and introduced a new sales tax law that took a long time to implement.

In 1998, Yemen began thinking about joining the WTO. So the government set up a committee to explore the possibility of WTO membership.

In 1999, Yemen applied to become a WTO observer and was accepted.

On Yemen's application process to become a WTO member:

Yemen applied for full WTO membership in April 2000. The application was accepted by the WTO's gen-

eral council in its meeting on July 7, 2000. The general council allowed Yemen to begin negotiations allowing for accession. I had the honor to stand next to our minister of supply and trade, Mr. Abdul-Aziz Al-Kumaim, as he delivered Yemen's statement pertaining to its application for WTO membership. Building new mechanisms and finding sufficiently trained individuals were required to begin dealing with the membership negotiations.

A national committee was set up to deal with the issue. The committee, called the National Committee for the Preparation and Negotiations with the WTO, was headed by the minister of trade and industry. Twenty-two others, including deputy ministers, representatives from the private sector and the Yemeni Workers Union were also included in the committee.

A Higher Committee was also established. It was headed by the prime minister.

This committee was tasked to

guide the national committee and to set specific mandates for the minister of trade and industry.

An administrative office was also set up at the ministry of trade and industry. It was called the Communication and Coordination Office for the WTO. This was a joint office for both the committees.

Besides supporting Yemen's accession as a whole, the European Union supported the establishment of this administrative office.

On why Yemen's WTO membership took so long:

When Yemen applied in 2000 for WTO membership, and the application was accepted, Yemen had to prepare a trade policy fact book called the Memorandum on Foreign Trade Regime (MFTR). It had to be submitted to the WTO's secretariat in order to be disseminated to the organization's members.

MFTR uses a standard template for all acceding members to fill out according to a specific outline.

Yemen was not ready to do this. There was no one to prepare this document. Therefore, the data collection and the preparation for the document took two years. It took time for officials to familiarize themselves with the literature of the [WTO].

The National Committee needed time and the Communication and Coordination Office working with the WTO needed time to streamline its work at the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

In 2000, I was tasked as the economic attaché, responsible for Yemen's WTO file. I continued my work there until 2005. Then, I came to Yemen. Nagib Hamim, the chief of the Communication and Coordination Office at the Ministry of Trade and Industry took a new job. He left for Geneva, and I took over his job here in Sana'a.

After submitting the MFTR, we received 167 [points needing clarification] on the contents of MFTR. This is a relatively low number compared to other countries submitting the document. We were lucky and this is because Yemen had positive global relations at that time.

The clarifications included questions on legislation and laws, as well as trade policies. It took more than one year for Yemen to clarify the 167 [points]. When WTO members asked for information, the concerned department or ministry, prepared the answers and then the National Committee discussed and approved them. It took a long time because the answers had to be translated to English first and had to be reviewed by an international consultant here in Yemen. Sometimes it required a review by international consultants abroad.

This conservativeness [of Yemeni politicians regarding foreign trade

policy] caused many more questions. During the first round of questioning, we were afraid that we would be questioned more. Each answer had to go through the [appropriate] government department, the Technical Committee, the National Committee, the consultants and then sent to the WTO's governing body.

In 2004, the first meeting regarding Yemen's accession was held, chaired by Mr. Hartmut Roeben from Germany.

Then we were asked to present goods and services offers [regarding market access]. This is protocol. The U.S. and the EU asked Yemen for a bilateral meeting in addition to a multilateral meeting.

Then negotiations went ahead in two tracks—bilateral and multilateral negotiations. There were also plurilateral negotiations. This was done by a group of members with interests in agricultural support and other issues.

On criticisms that Yemen consumes goods and services and doesn't produce, and therefore WTO membership is not appropriate:

Let's ask all these people who say [Yemen's current economic state puts it at a disadvantage], 'how do you know that there is a loss for Yemen as a result of joining the WTO?' Where is the loss?

This is a common misconception among many people even economists. They say Yemen is at a loss from the WTO membership. I ask, where is this loss? Earnings and losses are based on figures. So tell me where the loss in revenues and for Yemen's membership at the WTO?

Continued on the back page



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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.

Reflections on Yemen's revolution and what is up next for Yemen

This week's Radio Yemen Times Article 19 program discussed the relationship between the freedom of expression and the uprisings that swept the Middle East beginning in 2011, known as the Arab Spring. To comment on how the anti-government protests played out and what they now mean in the nations where they took place, the program featured Mustafa Nasr, the head of Studies and Economic Media Center, and Abdulbari Al-Hassani, the head of the Organizing Committee of the Youth Revolutionary Council.

On the lessons of injustice:

Al-Hassani: "The Arab Spring revolutions broke out to reclaim lost freedom and rights. It makes sense that an explosion happens after pressure mounts. The popular outrage started in Tunisia and then in Egypt and Syria. Libya and Yemen followed. The first lesson learned happened after [former Tunisian President] Ben Ali left. Each dictator...faced an end to their rule, some with death as happened to [former Libyan leader] Muammar Gaddafi or some with prison as was the case with [former Egyptian President] Hosni Mubarak."

On the causes of the Arab Spring:

Nasr: "Prior to the breakout of the Arab Spring, tension was mounting because of the long-standing absence of [human dignity]. People were not free. Their hearts were filled with anger towards the corrupt rulers and regimes."

On counter-revolutions:

Nasr: "Yes, these revolutions erupted and brought down regimes, taking influence and wealth from them. Former powers, without a doubt, continue to look for ways to preserve their rule. They use a different language, but it's close to the revolutionary language."

Al-Nasiri:

The main goal of the youth protests was to oust [Ali Abdulla Saleh's] regime. They accomplished that. Regarding what else is going to be accomplished, now it's up to politicians

On leadership and the Arab Spring:

Al-Hassani: "The Arab revolutions were not leaderless or unstructured, as some may think. The revolutions were created by leaders. The youth took to the streets. Their leader was the injustice which they suffered from. When a revolution breaks out, it is not necessary to find a political leader for it. The revolution created leaders out of men."

On the aspirations of the youth revolution in Yemen:

Al-Hassani: "The main goal of the youth protests was to oust [Ali Abdulla Saleh's] regime. They accomplished that. Regarding what else is going to be accomplished, now it's up to politicians. But this doesn't mean the revolution is over. There have been things like the overthrow of Saleh's regime, a military restructuring and the National Dialogue Conference, but the revolution is not complete."

YOUR TURN

Callers, Facebook followers and citizens on the street have their say

- ❖ "The youth used innovative means during the Arab Spring revolutions to oppose autocratic regimes. They used technology, media, demonstrations and mass civil disobedience to force regimes out," said Waleed Al-Amari.
- ❖ "Revolutions are a process of radical change, but only a partial revolution took place in Yemen. Some youth have started to reorganize themselves to take on corruption in the country," said Ameen Al-Medwahi.
- ❖ "The message of any community should be clear during their protests or sit-ins and should not be misused by the media," said Maeen Abdulmalik.
- ❖ "Peaceful revolutions are good. The Arab Spring revolutions were limited to political ambitions and attempts to gain power," said Hamza Adnan.



المادة 19 هو برنامج توعوي يتحدث عن حق الفرد والمجتمع في حرية التعبير عن الرأي التي كُفلت كفالته 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 تقيد بالحدود الجغرافية.

هذا البرنامج يبث كل أربعاء الساعة 8 مساءً ويعاد يوم السبت الساعة 11 صباحاً على أثير راديو يمن تايمز 88,8.

الثورات السلمية (ثورات الربيع العربي)

ناقشت الحلقة الثامنة من برنامج المادة 19 علاقة حرية الرأي والتعبير بالثورات السلمية (ثورات الربيع العربي)، واستضافت الحلقة الأستاذ/ مصطفى نصر - رئيس مركز الدراسات والإعلام الاقتصادي والأستاذ/ عبدالباري الحسني - رئيس اللجنة التنظيمية في مجلس شباب الثورة.

الثورات السلمية

الحسني: "ثورات الربيع العربي أتت بدافع الحقوق والحريات المسلوبة من الشعوب، ومن الطبيعي من بعد الضغط الكبير يبدأ الإنفجار والغضب الشعبي الذي بدأ في تونس، وبعدها مصر، ثم سوريا، وليبيا وبنغلاديش، وكانت العبرة الأولى برحيل بن علي من تونس، فكانت لكل ديكتاتور يريد أن يسيطر أو يظن أن الوطن ملكيته الخاصة، إما الموت كما كان لعمر القذافي، أو السجن مثل مبارك، اقتراكمات الماضي، أخرجت الشعوب للشوارع تصرخ بكلمة أرحل، يطلبون بها رحيل كل ديكتاتور وطاغية."

تأخر قيام الثورة الشبابية في اليمن

الحسني: "كان لدينا حاجز خوف وهذا الخوف كان مسيطر على الشعب اليمني، منهم من كان يخاف على لقمة عيشه، والوظيفة، لذا لم يكونوا قادرين على الخروج والمطالبة برفع الظلم، لكن حاجز الخوف أنكسر بقيام الثورات العربية الأخرى."

رسالة الثوار ووسائلهم

الحسني: "رسالتنا أثناء الثورة كانت واضحة ولها أهداف وأهداف خلع النظام، وثورتنا مكتملة لثورتنا 26 سبتمبر و 14 أكتوبر، ووسائلنا كانت سلمية ووسائلنا الجديدة ستكون اننا سنزجرل ما تبقى من منظومة الفساد ومن تبقى من بقايا النظام المتواجدين في جميع مؤسسات الدولة."

وعي الشباب بالإطاحة بالأنظمة

نصر: "الشباب استخدموا حق من حقوقهم السياسية وأهمها حق حرية التعبير عن الرأي ومواجهة أي تعسف أو ظلم، وكانت هذه الثورات نوع فريد من الثورات يجب أن يُدرس لأجيال قادمة، ثورات واجهت الرصاص والمدافع بلا خوف".
ويضيف: "هناك مبادئ خرج من أجلها الشباب وهي التغيير، ومحاربة الفساد، السعي من أجل الكرامة، ويجب أن نضعها نصب أعيننا لنتمكن من محاربة من يتولى المسؤولية وفي حال انتهكها نقوم بثورة جديدة ضده بأشكال مختلفة، وفي كل مرحلة نطالب بإعادة هيكلة الجيش بناء على أسس وطنية، لأن الجيش الوطني كان مختلف من قبل أسره حاكمة بعينها."

عبدالباري الحسني:

"جيل ثورة 11 فبراير هم جيل رسوا الخطوط العريضة لأجيال قادمة، والثورات يخطط لها الأذكيا ويقوم بها الشجعان ويسلبها الأذال."

الحسني: "كثوار نحن الآن في استراحة محارب منذ بدأ مؤتمر الحوار، سنعيد نشاط ثورتنا السلمية من جديد لتحقيق أهدافنا، ونستخدم فيها كل الوسائل السلمية، ونحن الآن منظمين أكثر".

نصر: "الثورة هي فعل تغييري مستمر، يتطلب أن لا نيبس، ويجب أن ننقل إلى المجتمع لأنه الحاضر الأساسي لأي ثورة، وبالتالي عندما تحدث ثورات على مستوى فوقي ويحدث نوع من الانتفاضة السلمية التي حدثت والمجتمع اليمني في الأرياف والقرى في حالة أسس، هنا تصبح كارثة، وربما يعود إنتاج المشاريع القديمة وهي التخلف والاستبداد."

وعي المجتمع

الحسني: "كيف يمكن للمواطن العربي أن يستخدم الكلمة وهو بمجرد خروجه للشوارع للمطالبة بحق، يرمى بالغاز المسيل للدموع، أو يؤسر أو يرمى في السجون".
نصر: "الوعي المجتمعي له دور كبير من خلال دور الشباب ووسائل الإعلام والتكنولوجيا، نحن بحاجة لجهد مضاعف لرفع المستوى المجتمعي نحو سيادة القانون".

مصطفى نصر:

"ثورة اليمن سلمت لتسوية سياسية ومن مخاطر ذلك أن جزء كبير من بنية النظام ظل كما هو، بالرغم من إبعاد رأس النظام فالهيكلي قائماً بالكامل".

تقييم ثورات الربيع العربي

نصر: "ثورات الربيع العربي أتت بعد حالة من الغليان الكبير جراء ممارسات متعددة وأولها غياب الكرامة، وشعور المواطنين بأنهم يعيشون بلا حرية، وهؤلاء كانوا بحاجة لشارة تجاه ما اعتلم في صدورهم من غضب تجاه الحكام الفاسدين وتجاه الأنظمة التي عاثت في الأرض فساداً. وأضاف بأن تلك الأنظمة استغلت الفساد في الثراء غير المشروع ونهبت مقدرات الشعوب العربية، وأوصلتها إلى مستوى من الذل والمهانة والفقر، وبالتالي تفجرت ثورات الربيع العربي بصورة غير متوقعة وبدون قاده، لأن ثوراتهم لم يكن مخطط لها وأنت من مواطنين يبحثون عن كرامتهم واسترجاع حقوقهم المسلوبة."

المقصود بالثورات المضادة

نصر: "بكل تأكيد أن هذه الثورات جاءت وانتزعت سلطات، وانتزعت من أصحاب نفوذ مال وسلطة وغيرها، وهؤلاء النافذين بكل تأكيد يبحثون عن تكوينات أخرى للتشكل من جديد والبحث على أدوات مختلفة للسيطرة على الحكم، وحتى إن كان بلغه مختلفه وأحياناً قد تكون لغة تقترب من لغة الثورات، وقد تكون فعلاً ثورة مضادة لها أسباب شرعية كأخطاء الثوار مثلاً".

تنظيم ثورات الربيع العربي

الحسني: "إن الثورات العربية ليس كما يعتقد بأنها بلا قاده أو أنها كانت غير منظمة، الثورات خلقت لها قاده، وعندما خرج الشباب للشوارع كان قائدهم الظلم الذي عانوا منه، فعندما تمام الثورة ليس بالضرورة أن تستورد لها قائد من السياسيين فالثورة قد صنعت رجال يحتذى بهم."

منجزات الثورات الشبابية - ثورة اليمن

الحسني: "إن الهدف الأساسي الذي خرج من أجله الثوار هو إسقاط النظام، وهذا ما عملوا عليه، أما عن ما يمكن أن يتحقق فنحن نركزنا ذلك على طاوله السياسيين، ثورتنا لم تنتهي بسقوط نظام علي عبدالله صالح ولا بهيكله الجيش ولا بمؤتمر الحوار الوطني. ويضيف: "نعمل على تحقيق أهداف الثورة الشبابية السلمية الثمانية ومنها إسقاط شبكة الفساد التي كانت من بقايا النظام السابق، ومن أتى من النظام الحالي سنعمل على ترحيله إذا لم يؤمن بالديمقراطية أو بثورة الشعب اليمني التي سنتنفض ضده."
نصر: "في أي نظام يكون هناك مناصرين ومؤيدين واعداء، الثورة

تقرير ميداني:

وسائل الشباب في الثورات

- ❖ **مصطفى نصر:** مهم أن يعي الشباب أهمية التغيير، والتغيير وسائل مختلفة منها الخروج للشوارع، لكن هناك أدوات كثيرة أصبحت متاحة، كوسائل الإعلام، والتخميم والاعتصامات السلمية، لذا لا بد أن تؤسس لحق الاعتصام كحق من حقوق كل مواطن يعني ونضمن هذا الحق في القوانين والدساتير الأخرى."
- ❖ **وليد العمري:** (ناشط شبابي): استخدم الشباب في مختلف ثورات الربيع العربي وسائل مبتكرة لمقاومة الأنظمة المستبد، تنوعت بين الوسائل التقنية والفنية والإعلامية أيضاً، وكذا الخروج للشوارع والعصيان المدني ما أجبر الأنظمة على الخضوع لإرادة الشعب."
- ❖ **معين عبدالملك:** رئيس استقلالية الهيات - عضو لجنة التوفيق - عن مكون الشباب المستقل في مؤتمر الحوار الوطني: "يجب على أي

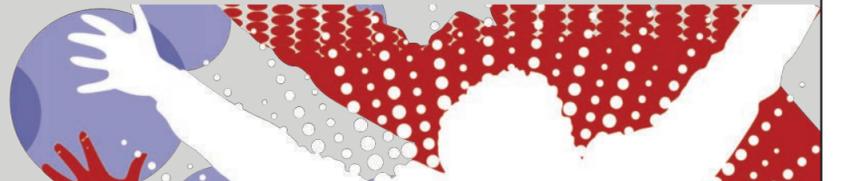
مجتمع أن تكون رسالته واضحة في الاحتجاج أو الاعتصام لكي لا يساء استخدام ذلك إعلامياً."

مداخلات هاتفية

- ❖ **سماح:** "إذا كان اليمنيين شعروا بظلم، فلماذا لم يشعروا به قبل ثورتهم مصر وتونس، نحن لم نستفد أبداً من الثورة والدليل أننا قدنا الأمان".
- ❖ **أمين الخضواحي:** "الثورة عملية تغيرية جذرية، لكن ما جرى في اليمن هو نصف ثورة، هناك شباب بدأوا بتشكيل أنفسهم من جديد لكي يقوموا بثورة جديدة على الفساد في البلد، فهل يجوز تسميتهم بأنهم عناصر ثورة مضادة أو بقايا نظام".

Facebook Comments

- ❖ **همزة عدنان:** "الثورات السلمية جيدة لكن ثورات الربيع العربي كانت عبارة عن طموحات سياسية ومحاولة للإستيلاء على السلطة لا غير".
- ❖ **وليد:** بعض الثورات كانت ناجحة، والبعض الآخر كانت فاشلة."



الشركة البراق

وعبر مكاتبنا .. أن تصنعكم

وترحب بكم على ركب اسطولها الحديث ورحلاتها المنتظمة وعلى بساط الراحة ندعوكم إلى رحابنا للشهد الرحال معا صباحا ومساء إلى جميع المحافظات

المرکز الرئيسي: صنعاء شارع السنين الجنوبي - جولة المرور
تلفون: 01/60603, 01/60603, 01/60603
موبايل: 01/247474

التخصصات العلمية والأدبية القسم العلمي قسم انجليزي حاصلين على بكالوريوس كحد أدنى مع خبرة 3 سنوات. ت: 525121, فاكس: 525124

مطلوب مندوبين مبيعات مواد غذائية، المؤهل لا يقل عن الثانوية العامة، رخصة قيادة سارية المفعول، خبرة لا تقل عن سنة في نفس المجال، يرجى إرسال السيرة الذاتية على فاكس رقم: 01-261262 أو التواصل على الرقم 01-510788

أبشن، أوتامتيك، للتواصل: 712754443 - 772661611

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

للبيع: سيارة BMW موديل 91، بحالة جيدة، جيد عادي لون أسود. 77773688, 73633666

مبنى دورين على شارع 16 الذي يتوسط الخط الدائري الغربي وشارع هائل، 4 لبن، أرض حره. الدور الأول حجر كله ومسحج، الدور الثاني الواجحة فقط حجر للإتصال: 777384017

سيارة سنتافي موديل 2002، ماكينة 2700، لون أبيض، فل

في (الحسابات - المراجعة - الرقابة) التجارية باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في اليمن والسعودية، مستعد للعمل فوراً، جوال: 715608677

مدرس متخصص يرغب في اعطاء دروس خصوصية للصف التاسع في الرياضيات والعربي والانجليزي والعلوم لطلاب المدارس الحكومية. 734680597

مهندس شبكات، شهادة بكالوريوس في الاتصالات والشبكات وشهادة SISCO في مجال الشبكات مستعد للعمل فوراً. 770497062

بكالوريوس محاسبة، خبرة 10 سنوات في مراجعة وإدارة الحسابات، قدرة التعامل مع الأنظمة المحاسبية الالكترونية، اجادة الانجليزية، حاصل على شهادة ايزو. 733913209

مطلوب مدرسين للعمل في المدارس التركية اليمنية لكافة

مهندس مدني، خبرة سنتين، لغة انجليزية ممتازة. 777055889

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 الادارية 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

سيارات

فيلا لايجار - دورين بالحي السياسي، 10 غرف بكل دور، صالنتين، 4 حمامات، 4 مطابخ، حوش، موقف لعشرة سيارات. 777727471

وظائف شاغرة

المركز الكندي للتدريب وتنمية القدرات بحاجة إلى سكرتارية وإدارة شؤون الطلاب. لتفاصيل أكثر اتصل على ت: 406448, 467588, فاكس: 406437

مطلوب مدرسين للعمل في المدارس التركية اليمنية لكافة

معاهد

01/440483/3/4
01/364231
01/007410 : ف
01/032871
01/441036
01/448073

معهد يالي
معهد التي
المعهد البريطاني للغات والكمبيوتر
معهد مالي
معهد مورايين

شركات التأمين

01/000000
01/272924
01/608272
01/214093
01/428809
01/200000 : فاكس
448239

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

مدارس

01/440840 : تليفاكس
77260540 : موبايل
01/440840
01/440840
01/370191/2
01/370193 : ف
01/440840/9
01/382091

روضة واحة الأطفال
مدرسة رينبو
مدارس صنعاء الدولية
مدرسة التركيه الدولييه
مدرسة منارات

سفرات

01/280777 - 01/276691
01/050800 : عدن
02/221270
444118
446230
01-441108/09/60
01/272890-6

قدس فلاي
سكاي للسفرات والسياحة
عطلات الصقر
مركز أعمال الصقر
العالمية للسفرات والسياحة
وكالات سفرات اليمن

مطاعم

مطعم ومخازن الشيباني (باسم محمد عبده الشيباني)
تلفون: 01-073666-01-073666 : فاكس

مستشفيات

01/246967-66
01/242828-87
01/600000
01/601889 : ف
01/444936
01/000000
01/282828

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

شركات طيران

01/405050
01/217126
01/202456 : فرع عدن
01/202456 : فرع عدن
01/060606
01/200800
01/444444
01/427993
01/213400
01/440590-3
01/060606
01/060606
01/440922
01/446666/05/07
01/442720
01/446666

طيران اليمنية
السعيدة
الإماراتية
الإثيوبية
الألمانية (الوقتازا)
التركية
السعودية
القطرية
طيران الخليج
طيران الأردنية - صنعاء
طيران الاتحاد
طيران دبي

فنادق

01/212044-66
02/228666
01/418040/7
01/056666
01/056666
01/442202/3/40
01/442202
01/440305/7-14
01/418220

فندق ميركوبو صنعاء
فندق شمر
فندق موفمبيك
فندق لازوردي
فندق تاج صيدو رزدنيس
العالمية للفندق - صنعاء
فندق شهران - صنعاء

تأجير سيارات

01/066372
01/240908 : ف
01/270701
01/050985
01/240620 : فرع عدن
01-440305 : صنعاء
01/089050 : فرع شيراتون
01-240620 : عدن

زاوية (Budget)
يورب كار
هيرتز لتأجير السيارات

مراكز تدريب وتعليم الكمبيوتر

01/440518/7
NIIT لتعليم الكمبيوتر

البريد السريع

01/440100 : صنعاء
02/240620 : عدن
02/216970 : الحديدة
04/200780 : تعز
04/419888 : اب
05/222222 : المكلا
05/222222 : شبوه
05/402199 : سنيون
77788866 : يلحاف
05/660498 : سقطرى

FedEx
UPS
DHL

شحن وتوصيل

مركز الندى للخدمات العامة
M&M Logistics & Aviation Services
العالمية للشحن - صنعاء

البنوك

01/202211
01/472923
01/230522
01/232012
01/220000
01/402304
01/202309/10
01/289077
01/260903
01/444821
01/232160
01/227242
01/270008
01/200101
01/202722
01/027914
01/232270
01/260360
01/202220
01/418289
01/232196

بنك كاليون
يوناييد بنك لميند
بنك كالك الاسلامي
بنك اليمن والكويت للتجارة والانشاءات

وزارة الصحة العامة والسكان
وزارة الشباب والرياضة
وزارة الصناعة والتجارة
وزارة العدل
وزارة السياحة
وزارة المغتربين
وزارة النفط والمعادن
وزارة شئون 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

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 اليمنى للانشاء والتعمير
بنك سبا الإسلامي

الوزارات

01/290200
01/490800
01/050222
01/274439
01/030021
01/268082
01/276600
01/294079
01/276604
01/282622
01/262809
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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 الشئون الاجتماعية والعمل
وزارة الشئون القانونية

القطاعات

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

كلمات متقاطعة

15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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15

عقودي
1- ممتل كويكبي سوربي كبير - يتسمون الى احدى الدول العربية
2- متشابهة - السيطرة
3- إبداع - في البوحه - فنطن لها - يو فيشيرة
4- علم مذكر لها - يثنى - من انواع الحيوانات
5- مستحيل لها - ظلماتية - ختمته - يحب
6- منظر سوربي - عكس القمري
7- يتبعهم - لا تلتصق لها
8- دولة لوريتية - مدينة قبرصية
9- بكت بضياع وموت لها - علم مؤنث لها - لتغيير
10- العنقة لها - أذا موسيقية - توتة العدد
11- يساهم - نغم بالانجليزي - تعلقه لها
12- مكان للعامة - اسبته لها - حرف جر لها
13- من الورا الفصية - يظني
14- خيل من بطونة محمد رجب - ضمير المتكلم
15- مقرفس ارضي - ممتل كويكبي غليبي لها

الكلمة المفقودة

ت ج د ي هـ

3 اسم
4 سبل
5 دواء
6 الديون
7 الرسائل
8 النيران
9 المعارضه
10 رمال الساحل
11 حجره في القلب
12 رواتب العمال
13 اسم
14 سبل
15 شبيخ

الانقباض
المعارضه
دار القضاء
يوم السلام
رمال الساحل
حجره في القلب
رواتب العمال
شديده الجفاف
حضورات ثمينه

استراحة العدد

النجمة

عجائب وغرائب
ابتكرت شركة روسية غرفة افتراضية لقياس أو تبديل الملابس عبارة عن شاشة تعرض صورة ثلاثية الأبعاد للشخص وهو يرتدي القطعة المراد شراؤها رغم انه لم يلبسها أصلا، فتمكن الشاشة المشترين من تغيير الملابس أو أي أطقم يريدونها من دون أن يتحركوا من مكانهم وتظهر شكل قطعة الملابس عليهم وكأنهم ارتدوها بالفعل.

حكمة العدد
لا تفتك عندنا كبرا، أخطأ، ماضيك فهي ستحول حاضرنا جميعا ومستقبلنا حطاما، ولكن يكفك منها وفقا اعتبار.

نكتة العدد
واحد وقف أمام المرآة مغمض عيونه رآته امرأته فسألته ماذا تفعل؟ قال: أحاول انظر إلى نفسي وأنا تائم.

لغز العدد
شيء يوجد منه في عمان وأحد وسورية اثنا ولبنان ثلاثة والكويت أربعة وليبيا خمسة ولا يوجد في مصر

هل تعلم
أن أول من عرف القمح هم المصريون القدماء العام 5400 قبل الميلاد

الحلول بالمطلوب

1- أبدأ من الحرف القريب من الرقم 1 في المائدة الكبيرة متبعا مع السهم مستطويا بأحد الكلمات المناسبة من كلمات القائمة.
2- تبدأ الكلمة الكبيرة بأحد حروف من الكلمة الصغيرة.
3- تم وضع الحروف الخمسة المموجودة في الموائد الخمس الكبيرة على أطراف النجمة ورعاها بالتسلسل الرقمي القريب من تلك المائدة لتشكل على حل ما هو مطلوب داخل النجمة.

أبواب
أساس
الكلم
حفلان

معا
تأخذ
وحدات

الأم
حالة
عابرا
مفر

تائم
مكو
رسام
سلاح

أبواب
أساس
الكلم
حفلان

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