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**اتصل
على حسابي**

**لأول مرة في اليمن
خدمة إتصل على حسابي**

**سوبايفون
SUPER HABA**

خدمة إتصل على حسابي ... لجميع مستخدمي الدفع المسبق

- استخدام الخدمة : اطلب *9* يليه رقم الموبايل المطلوب ثم إتصال.
- الخدمة متاحة لجميع خطوط الدفع المسبق ضمن شبكة سبافون ولا تحتاج إلى تفعيل.
- إمكانية الإتصال حتى بدون رصيد بالنسبة للمتصل، لكن يشترط توفر رصيد كاف لدى الطرف الآخر حتى تتم المكالمة.
- استقبال المكالمات : عند ورود المكالمات سيظهر رقم المتصل على شاشة الموبايل وعند الرد سيستمع المتلقي إلى رسالة صوتية تطلب منه قبول المكالمات على حسابه بالضغط على الرقم 1 أو رفضها بالضغط على الرقم 2 وفي حال كانت المكالمات من رقم موجود في قائمة السماح، سيظهر رقم المتصل على شاشة الموبايل وعند الرد سيتم استقبال المكالمات مباشرة دون إنتظار موافقة الطرف الآخر.
- لإدارة الخدمة من قبل المتلقي، أرسل الأمر المطلوب إلى 999 .

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Karama Has No Walls makers attend Oscars

Amal Al-Yarisi

SANA'A, March 3—Yemeni eyes were glued to their TV screens on Monday, hoping to see an Oscar win for the film about the 2011 youth revolution, "Karama Has No walls." It was nominated in the category of Best Documentary Short Subject at this year's 86th Academy Awards.

Despite not winning an Oscar, the experience is a milestone in the history of Yemen's documentary film industry, said the film's assistant director, Abdurrahman Hussein, to the Yemen Times.

The film won a Special Mention at the Glasgow Film Festival in 2013 for its powerful and human storytelling. "Karama Has No Walls," directed by Yemeni-Scottish filmmaker Sara Ishaq, highlights the events of the "Day of Dignity" (Juma'at Al-Karama) on March 18, 2011 when over 50 people were killed and hundreds injured



"We are proud that we carried Yemen's name to the Oscars," said the film's assistant director, Abdurrahman Hussein. "International recognition for Yemen's art is the real prize for us."

during the bloodiest day of Yemen's uprising.

The day is often remembered as the turning point of the uprising, leading to numerous defections and helped turn the tide for the protests, which eventually saw the departure of Yemen's 33-year-long president, Ali Abdulla Saleh.

Winning in the category was a British film, "The Lady in Number 6: Music Saved My Life," a film about a renowned concert pianist, Alice Herz-Sommer, who was the world's oldest Holocaust survivor until her death last week at the age of 110. The three other nominees were "CaveDigger," "Facing Fear," and "Prison Terminal: The Last Days of Private Jack Hall."

"We are proud that we carried Yemen's name to the Oscars," said Hussein. "International recognition for Yemen's art is the real prize for us."

The Oscar nomination cre-

ated a great deal of buzz on social media as Yemenis expressed their pride in the film's achievement on the international stage.

"I did not imagine that one day Yemen would be recognized by the international art world. Life in Yemen is hard, but these young people were able to do Yemen proud," said Ahmed Al-Hakimi, a student at Sana'a University.

He said he hopes the Ministry of Culture will nurture talented youth like those who made the film and provide them with the tools they need to excel at their craft.

The filmmakers—Ishaq, Hussein, and the cameraman, Ameen Al-Ghabri, are still in the U.S. and are expected to return to Yemen on March 13.

The Academy Awards, commonly known as the Oscars—the nickname of the golden male statuette awarded to winners—is an annual American film awards event organized by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences of the USA. It is broadcast live in over 200 countries.

Security Council resolution prompts diverse reactions

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A March 2—The unanimous adoption on February 26 by the U.N. Security Council of Resolution No. 2140, "Welcoming Yemen's peaceful transition towards new constitution, general elections," has provoked widely varying reactions among Yemenis.

The resolution stipulates the formation of a committee to monitor those who would obstruct or undermine the political transition in Yemen. Recommended strategies are the freezing of assets and implementation of travel bans—for individuals or organizations. The resolution also addresses issues of human rights abuses and international funding.

The General People's Congress—the party of former president Ali Abdulla Saleh—has launched a media campaign against the resolution, calling it a form of foreign hegemony in Yemen.

The resolution "expresses concern over use of the media to incite violence and frustrate the legitimate aspirations for peaceful change of the people of Yemen."

The Houthis, the Southern Movement, the youth movements and Sheik Abdulmajeed Al-Zindani, a well-known clergyman, all rejected the resolution, deeming it outside interference in internal Yemeni affairs.

"We reject all foreign interfer-

ence in the internal affairs of the country," said Ali Al-Bukhaiti, a leading Houthi figure. "We want internal solutions to all national issues."

The Joint Meeting Parties (JMP), welcomed the resolution. "The Security Council resolution is a roadmap to a modern Yemeni federal state," the JMP said in a statement released following the adoption of the resolution.

"The JMP welcomes the resolution because it addresses acts of terrorism, assassins who target civilians, and attacks on the oil and electricity infrastructure. The resolution recommends—under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter—punishment of such criminals and those who support them as well as those who would hinder implementation of the NDC outcomes."

In the language of the resolution, the Security Council reaffirms its "strong commitment to the unity, sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Yemen" and welcomes "the outcomes of the comprehensive National Dialogue Conference, signed by all political parties, and whose decisions provide a road map for a continued Yemeni-led democratic transition underpinned by a commitment to democracy, good governance, rule of law, national reconciliation, and respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all the people of Yemen."

The Revolutionary Youth Council said in a statement, "The resolution meets the demands of the youth and the goals of the [2011] revolution."

The February 21 Youth Federation that was established in January of this year said that the resolution was unfair. "The federation believes that the U.N. resolution legitimizes the unconstitutional and indeterminate extension of President Hadi's rule and that it opens the door for foreign powers to have free rein in targeting certain political groups," the group said.

Dr. Mohammed Al-Mekhlafi, Minister of Legal Affairs, told the state-run 26 September news website that, "The resolution does not impinge on Yemen's national sovereignty, as some parties claim, but, rather, its purpose is to protect Yemen from devolving into chaos."

In a speech on Thursday delivered to supporters, Saleh criticized the resolution by saying, "This decision replaces the authority of [Yemeni] government institutions with the United Nations, Jamal Benomar and the British ambassador."

Tawakkul Karman, the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, told the Yemen Times that, "The resolution did not include U.N. sanctions against the state and did not mention military intervention.

Rather, it imposes asset freezes and travel bans on specific individuals involved in acts intended to derail Yemen's political process."

Karman said she considers the resolution an international recognition of the importance of Yemen and its stability and the need for a mutually beneficial partnership with Yemen, based on equal participation and common interest.

"The resolution must be urgently enforced prior to elections and will culminate in a power transfer based on the new constitution, in order to maintain Yemen's unity, sovereignty and independence as well as to close the book on the presidency of Ali Abdulla Saleh," she added.

The resolution created a committee of four experts assigned by the U.N. Secretary General to help the U.N. sanctions committee identify any individuals and groups responsible for obstructing Yemen's transitional process. The committee's term will continue for 13 months and is scheduled to present an initial report on June 25, 2014, a second report on Sept. 25, and a final report on February 25, 2015.

The Security Council called upon the Hiraq Southern Movement, the Houthis and others to partake constructively in the transition process and to reject the use of violence for political aims.

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Hearings continue for those accused of Saudi diplomat's killing

Accused also charged with kidnapping of Swiss woman, robbing of bank

Mohammed Al-Hassani

SANA'A, March 3, 2014—A third hearing was held in the case against those accused of killing the Saudi military attaché's assistant Khalid Shebikan Al-Enizi and his guard Jalal Mubarak Shaiban, kidnapping the Swiss teacher Sylvia Abrahath and robbing the Coop-

erative & Agricultural Credit Bank in Hodeida.

Shebikan and his guard were killed late November 2012 in Bait Zabatan area, south of Sana'a, in what is believed to be botched kidnapping attempt.

Abrahath was kidnapped from her house in Hodeida governorate in March 2012 and remained in captivity almost for a year before being freed through Qatari mediation in February 2013.

Judge Shafeeq Al-Seraji, a member of the Supreme Court, told the Yemen Times that judges take into consideration the havoc wreaked on Yemen and its econ-

omy through the kidnapping and killing of foreigners and that the sentences must reflect the severity of the impacts the crimes have on society.

Yemen Law Number 24 of 1998 on combating kidnapping and the blocking of roads stipulates that those convicted of conspiring to kidnap people, block roads or steal public and private property must receive the death sentence.

The indictment issued by the Criminal Prosecution accused Mohammed Saleh Abu Ser Al-Aqeeli, Abdulaziz Ahmed Obad Al-Qadi, Hussein Salem Makhzomah Al-Aqeeli, Hussien Saleh Abu Rabu

Al-Aqeeli, Yusuf Saleh Abu Rabu Al-Aqeeli and Shaif Abu Mohammed Al-Haimi of joining an armed gang and participating in operations associated with Al-Qaeda against foreign diplomats between 2011 and 2013. They are also accused of the kidnapping of the Swiss woman and robbing a Hodeida bank.

The court has postponed transferring the prisoners from a temporary detention center to the Sana'a Central Prison in light of the most recent prison escape, saying the security situation is not yet stable enough, according to the state-run Saba news agency.

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Al-Dhale residents flee ongoing violence

Ali Saeed

SANAA, March 3—The continued violence in Al-Dhale city has forced an unknown number of families to flee their homes, local sources in Al-Dhale and Aden told the Yemen Times this week.

Fighting broke out late December between the 33rd Military Brigade and locals affiliated with the Southern Movement, when the brigade attacked a funeral tent, killing 15 civilians and injuring 20 others.

Ahmed Al-Zawqari, head of the Modern Democratic Forum, a local NGO based in the city of Al-Dhale, said all schools in the city have been closed and that other

basic services—including water—have not been available since early January.

“Al-Dhale has become a war zone—without education and without water—and we have electricity only one to two hours a day,” said Al-Zawqari.

Al-Zawqari said there is an unofficial curfew observed and that few venture outside from afternoon until the following morning. He added that the continual gunfire exchanged between the two sides makes it hard for human rights activists to take count of the victims.

Some displaced families are living temporarily in rented dwellings in Aden. Others have fled to neighboring areas, including Al-

Jalila and Al-Wabah.

“The situation is extremely difficult and if it continues, it will cause mass displacement,” said Mohamed Noman, head of the Yemen Human Rights Studies Center in Aden in a phone call with the Yemen Times. “We call [on both parties] to stop fighting because [an armed response only serves to escalate the violence].”

Waleed Al-Yafee, 30, one of those displaced, said that he had to abandon his home in Al-Dhale and leave for Aden because it became unsafe to stay in the city.

“Our lives were at risk—we could have been killed in any exchange of gunfire,” Al-Yafee said. He is now jobless and living in a rented

apartment in Khor Maksur in Aden city.

So far, around 40 people have died between Dec. 27, 2013 and Feb. 2, among them six women and four children. The Ministry of Defense has not yet disclosed the numbers of soldiers killed or wounded. The ministry posted on its website on Feb. 18 that seven soldiers had died in an ambush by local militants. The militants have also taken 17 soldiers captive, according to the Ministry of Defense.

Doctors without Borders suspended its health care services in Al-Dhale city on Feb. 17. The organization said the lives of its medical staff were at risk.

Drone strike kills two in Marib

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

MARIB, March 3—Two people were killed in a US drone strike on Monday, according to local security sources in Marib.

A drone fired a missile at a vehicle in the town of Al-Shabwan, according to a security official in Marib who requested anonymity.

The source said that there was an increased drone presence in the area the past week.

The source told the Yemen Times that one of the killed was Mujahed Saleh Al-Shabwani, a suspected AQAP figure in Marib. The other

figure was a Saudi national, he said.

Abdurazaq Al-Jamal, a Yemeni journalist specialized in Al-Qaeda affairs told the Yemen Times that Al-Shabwani was a member of AQAP, but not a high-profile leader.

Following the strike on Monday, armed Al-Shabwan tribesmen attempted to blow up an oil pipeline in Marib and attacked the headquarters of the 3rd Military Command to protest the strike, said

Waseel Al-Shafi, deputy administrator of Marib's governor office. This resulted in clashes between the military and the tribesmen.

Belhaf gas plant to resume operations

Following 3 month evacuation, workers return to site

Jamila Obaid

SANAA, March 3—About 1,000 Belhaf Liquid Natural Gas Plant workers returned to work in Shabwa governorate on Friday, three months after being evacuated because of security threats, local sources told the Yemen Times.

Abdulla Mohsen, a security guard at the plant said that employees returned to the port after security was restored and forces sent for reinforcement were stationed in the area.

However, fighting renewed Sunday between the army battalion

that guards the gas company and militants, according to a security source in Shabwa, resulting in the suspension of the company's operations for two hours.

The attacks left two assailants killed and four soldiers injured in the Al-Nasheema and Bafakhsoos areas, where the military is stationed to protect the port.

In December 2013, the Yemen Liquefied Natural Gas Plant evacuated foreign and Yemeni workers from Belhaf Port after an explosion at the site. According to the company, the rocket targeted the yard of the Belhaf station, resulting in light damages.

The company said security authorities then took further precautionary measures in order to secure the station and to provide safety for the employees. Following the explosion, about 1,000

employees were given leave and operations were temporarily halted.

Following repetitive attacks on the site, the 2nd Brigade has been heavily deployed in the area and a battalion associated with the brigade was moved from Abyan to Shabwa for reinforcement.

The Belhaf plant produces natural gas in Belhaf Port and is supervised by Yemen LNG.

Belhaf port was established in November 2009 and is intensively guarded by the military. It exports natural gas under long-term agreements with the GDF Suez, Total and Korea Gas Corporation.

The French Total owns 39.6 percent of the Yemen LNG. The production capacity of the Belhaf plant is 6.7 million metric tons per year.



Yemeni journalist set free after a month in Egyptian prison

Amal Al-Yarisi

SANAA, March 3—The Egyptian authorities said they would release a Yemeni journalist, blogger and youth activist on Sunday who had been detained by Egyptian forces in Cairo for a month.

Feras Shamsan, a Yemeni national who lives in Egypt and has a blog that focuses on art, was arrested after photographing a book fair in early February.

Abdulrahman Al-Zailai, the head of the information department at the Foreign Ministry told the Yemen Times that Mohammed Al-Atafi, consul

general of the Yemeni embassy in Egypt, has been closely following Shamsan's case.

“Shamsan will be deported to Yemen in the next two days,” Al-Zailai said, adding that Shamsan will be banned from entering Egypt.

Shamsan, he said, was accused of working for “biased TV channels.”

In a message posted on his Facebook page, Shamsan said the Egyptian authorities have decided to release him but he is still in custody waiting to finalize release procedures.

Ali Al-Dailami, the head of Yemeni Organiza-

tion for Defending Freedoms and Rights, said the day Shamsan was arrested there was a heated conversation at the book-fair about the Egyptian defense minister, Abdul-fatah Al-Sisi, which attracted the attention of security forces.

Al-Dailami said the Yemeni embassy in Egypt began following the case closely after a number of rights organizations called on Yemen's foreign minister, Abu Bakr Al-Qirbi, to step in.

Four Al-Jazeera English journalists who were arrested in late December in Egypt remain in custody.



A heated discussion about Egyptian defense minister, Abdul-fatah Al-Sisi, attracted the attention of security forces the day Shamsan was arrested at a Cairo book fair.

Two security officials assassinated in Rada'a

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANAA, March 3—Two security officials were assassinated in the Rada'a district of Al-Beidha on Sunday by unidentified armed men on motorbikes, according to the manager of the criminal investigation department in the district, Sadeq Mohammed Al-Hadad.

“The two [gunmen] opened fire while the two security officials were driving on the main street in Rada'a city. Al-Hadad was killed instantly. Al-Radei was hospitalized in Rada'a, but died from his injuries on Monday,” said Col. Hamoud Al-Amari, the security manager of Rada'a district.

Security officials in Rada'a say they regularly receive death threats from militants. “There is almost daily fighting between armed militants and tribesmen,” said Rajeh Al-Hamdani, a soldier stationed in Rada'a.

One week ago, unidentified armed men on motorbikes assassinated two teachers in the heart of Rada'a city.

Eight die in Sana'a, Al-Jawf clashes

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANAA, March 3—Fighting between security forces and armed Houthis and tribesmen in three separate instances left eight dead and 11 others injured over the weekend in Al-Jawf and Sana'a, according to local security sources. Two people have been arrested in connection with the fighting.

On Saturday, security forces clashed with armed tribesmen over a dispute with the Air Force, according to the security manager of Sana'a governorate, Brigadier Yahia Hameed. The Air Force is stationed on Al-Nabi Shuaib Mountain in the Bani Matar area of Sana'a.

Hameed told the Yemen Times that armed men in Bani Matar attempted to intercept a police patrol, leading to clashes. Col. Ali Al-Hatabi, the commander of the Mobile Military Vehicles in Brigade 101 of the Air Force, died in the fighting. One fighter was injured and another was arrested.

In a separate incident also on Saturday, two armed tribesmen were killed and a civilian was injured at Al-Huthaili roundabout, in the eastern part of Sana'a. Fighting broke out when armed tribesmen from Bani Dhaban refused to cooperate with a routine stop at security checkpoint, according to Hameed. He said the men had been en route to a hospital in Sana'a with

a tribesman who had been injured earlier in a tribal clash.

Ashraf Matahar, an eyewitness, told the Yemen Times that light weapons were used in the clashes. He said he saw a military vehicle ablaze and a number of dead and injured. The confrontation lasted for an hour, according to Matahar.

Al-Huthaili is located in the Sanhan district of Sana'a and has been witnessing a heavy influx of Houthi militants. Two months ago, fighting broke out between the Houthis and local tribesmen, and dozens were injured.

Media reports regarding clashes between Houthis and Islah members are incorrect, Hameed said. “Houthis and Islah members

aren't involved in the fighting in Bani Matar or in Al-Huthaili. This has been misreported by the media.”

On Friday, confrontations in Al-Jawf governorate left two soldiers and three gunmen dead, and four soldiers wounded when gunmen associated with the Houthis attempted to seize control of the government compound in Al-Hazm city.

A presidential committee, headed by General Awadh Mohammed Bin Fareed, the defense minister's assistant for human resources, arrived in the governorate on Friday to resolve the conflict in Al-Hazm city.

Fareed told the state-run Sep-

tember 26 news website that the committee will report their findings to President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi.

The local authorities in Al-Jawf on Friday released a statement to clarify the instances of fighting in the governorate. It said that groups of gunmen associated with the Houthis arrived at the security checkpoint leading to the government compound and the security department, and suddenly attacked the soldiers, killing two and wounding four others.

“The soldiers returned fire, killing three of the attackers and arrested others,” according to the statement.

Ali Al-Bukhaiti, a leading Houthi

figure, told the Yemen Times that the Houthis did not attack the security checkpoint. He claimed that men dressed in military uniforms but affiliated with Islah had initiated an attack on the Houthis.

“There are no problems between the Houthis and the army,” he said.

The Houthis, who now control Sa'ada governorate as well as parts of Al-Jawf and Amran governorates, were involved in six rounds of fighting with the military in the period between 2004 and 2010. The fighting was resolved by a truce. Following the 2011 revolution, the Houthis were able to drive out the governor assigned by the government and take control of Sa'ada.

Bogus motor oil soaks Yemeni market

Nasser Al-Sakkaf

Haithem Abdulmalik thought he was being responsible by splurging on high-quality motor oil and changing it regularly, but he has just paid YR80,000 (about \$400) to fix his car as a result of the motor oil he is using.

The Yemeni market is flooded with used motor oil that re-packaged and sold as new. It comes in the same packaging as the genuine product.

Abdulmalik says he tries to take very good care of his car and changes its motor oil every 700 kilometers. At every oil change, his mechanic swears that the oil he is using is new.

"[Then] my car broke down and [it cost me an arm and a leg] to fix it," he said. "I can't tell which is high-quality oil and which isn't because both are sold at the same price and have the same packaging."

Ameen Taha, a Sana'a-based mechanic, says that fresh, high-quality motor oil can be used for 3000 kilometers before needing to be changed.

"Even the sellers themselves can't differentiate between high-quality motor oil and fake oil because we purchase from middlemen, not directly from authorized distributors," said Mohammed Ghaleb, the owner of a store that sells motor oil in Sana'a.

Motor oil merchants prefer to purchase oil from these middlemen because their prices are lower, according to Ghaleb.

"Distribution houses sell large



Used motor oil is processed around the world, but it is processed according to specific procedures and standards so that its performance will match that of virgin motor oil. But, this level of re-processing is not currently found in Yemen, according General Authority of Standards and Measures.

quantities of oil to middlemen at lower prices and they, in turn, sell it to us," he explained.

Taha said that a viscous substance is added to the refined oil to mislead users who can't tell the dif-

ference between new, high-quality oil and filtered, reused oil.

"Drivers don't know that if they use low-quality oil it increases the engine temperature. It doesn't properly lubricate the engine. Con-

sequently, their cars break down," he added.

All imported brands of motor oil are checked before they are approved and only the brands that meet international standards are allowed into the country, according to Hadid Al-Mass, director of the Industrial Products Control Department at the General Authority of Standards and Measures.

Al-Mass said that they only make visits to stores when they receive a complaint from an importer of brand-name motor oil.

"[The] used motor oil is locally processed. There are about 14 licensed oil refineries in Yemen as well as several unlicensed ones," he said.

Used motor oil is processed around the world, but it is processed according to specific procedures and standards so that its performance will match that of virgin motor oil. But, this level of re-processing is not currently found in Yemen, according to Al-Mass.

Al-Mass said that the authority recently arrested someone who was producing motor oil at his home and selling it to unsuspecting consumers. He said that these manufacturers of substandard motor oil purchase used oil and as well as the used but original packaging containers of well-known brands of motor oil. He said that the authority is preparing a set of regulations to control the motor oil recycling process.

Article 19 of the Law to Encourage Competition and to Prevent Monopoly and Commercial Fraud stipulates, "The staff of the Ministry of Trade and Industry cooperates with the General Author-

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ity of Standards and Measures to identify counterfeit [and substandard] goods and cases of commercial fraud to take necessary legal action based on applicable laws."

Ali Abdulaziz Al-Haj, deputy head of the Trade and Industry office in Sana'a, said, "We don't visit markets in search of counterfeit oil unless someone files a complaint with our office. The existing laws enable us to resolve all issues by way of arbitration and we try to solve all issues in this manner. If

the agent of the trademarked brand and the owner of the counterfeit oil reach an agreement, the counterfeit oil is confiscated and the problem is resolved," he added.

"Our office staff can't differentiate between high-quality and counterfeit goods, so they don't visit the markets unless they receive a complaint."

The Sana'a office received 64 complaints in 2013. Most were resolved by arbitration, and 25 cases were referred for prosecution.

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Yemen's security woes not a deterrent for Socotra-enthusiasts

Story by Ali Abulohoom
Photos by Nancy Hendryx

Nearly 100 Russian tourists landed on Socotra Island in late 2013 on a direct flight from Moscow to practice adventure tourism—hang gliding, climbing, desert camping and diving.

"It's my first visit to Yemen. I would not have thought that Yemen would have such beautiful nature," said 25-year-old Natasha Rekovetch. She had heard that Yemen was an attractive tourist destination with mountains and beaches to visit. She had planned to visit previously to discover its ancient historical sites, but politics got in the way.

"I had intended to visit Yemen previously, in early 2011, because I had heard from friends that it is a wonderful country with hospitable people, but after the Arab Spring began...and because of the chaos and political instability, I postponed my plans until the situation changed," she said.

Four months ago, Rekovetch decided it was time to visit Yemen, and Socotra Island in particular, because it is a safer than the mainland, without any recent history of terrorist attacks or kidnappings. Rekovetch spent three weeks in Socotra, where she climbed with friends and went diving.

Socotra is a 3,700-square-km island located in the Indian Ocean about 380 km off the shore of Hadramaut governorate. Because of its isolation, it developed a unique and rich ecosystem with many plants and insects that are not found anywhere else on the planet. It is also a favorite destination for birders. Socotra's famous "dragon's blood" tree is a national symbol that is found on



A fisherman at Qalansiya, Socotra's second city, proudly showing off the squid he just caught.

the Yemeni 20-riyal coin.

According to a study prepared by Mohammed Al-Moa'afa, the director of the Amran governorate tourism office (forty miles west of the capital, Sana'a), the number of international tourists visiting Yemen reached 1,024,870 in 2009, but this number dropped dramatically following the 2011 uprising. Those numbers can be misleading—many people who enter Yemen on a tourist visa come for business or to study, and first enter on a tourist visa before applying for residency.

Al-Moa'afa said that before 2011, adventure tourists used to explore mountainous governorates like Amran, Haja'a and Ibb for hang-gliding

and climbing. Others used to head to coastal governorates for diving, and to deserts for camping. This all changed following the security deterioration that followed the uprising. Socotra Island, on the other hand, has been unaffected by the chaos that rocked the country due to its isolation, said Al-Moa'afa.

According to Ali Abdullah, an employee at Dihamri Marine Protected Area, where a coral reef provides an attractive environment for snorkeling and diving, the number of tourists visiting Socotra has recently increased dramatically.

"We have had as many tourists in the first two months of 2014 as in all of 2013," he said.

country—and we hang glided together to the neighboring governorate of Hajja," said Moteea.

James told Moteea that Socotra was the place he had been searching for after he left Yemen following the 2011 uprising. Moteea and James have since shared unforgettable moments, including hang gliding in Socotra.

"[It didn't really feel like] Socotra was a part of Yemen...because it is not affected politically by what is going on throughout country," Moteea said.

Al-Moa'afa confirmed that the Ministry of Tourism is developing a center in Sana'a that will support the strong demand for adventure tourism by training Yemeni guides in sports such as hang gliding, climbing and scuba diving.

"Whenever I have visited Amran or areas along the coast, I have noticed that many of the tourists are keen on adventure sports. That's why we decided to establish a special center for it," said Al-Moa'afa.

According to Socotra radio host Khaled Al-Obali, in Socotra the mountains and shores are flooded with people hang-gliding or climbing, or gathering to watch such adventures.

As for the Russian tourists, they made a 14-minute video about adventure tourism in Socotra, vowing to spread it across Russia and beyond to

Abdullah reports that most of the visitors have been from Russia or eastern European countries such as Slovenia and the Czech Republic, adding that people come to Socotra because they are not worried about their personal safety. "Unlike on the mainland, people feel safe in Socotra. It is very peaceful here," he said.

Mohammed Moteea, 35, is a Yemeni hang glider. He used to practice the sport in Amran governorate until 2011, when his British coach left Yemen for security reasons.

"There were many tourists and Yemenis who would travel from governorate to governorate seeking out good spots to climb and hang glide. But they left Yemen when the uprising began and terrorist attacks were reported," Moteea said.

Nonetheless, tourists are returning to Yemen—but to Socotra, not the mainland.

"I was surprised to run into my American friend, James, in Socotra. We had been together on Maswar Mountain in Amran—which is the second-highest mountain in the



A man scrubs down his boat with sand in Qalansiya. A boat and pilot can be rented for a fixed price of YR12,000 (\$56) for a day's trip around the coast to Schuab beach, where one can usually spot dolphins. A cooperative rotation system keeps boat owners happy.



A Socotri guide and his client enjoy a quiet lunch in a seasonally dry part of the Wadi Dirhur canyon.



Sleeping beachside in airy cabanas is an option at Dilisha beach resort.

let people know about "the forgotten Island," said Rekovetch.

"I will not forget Socotra and Yemen and for sure I will visit again [and bring more people with me]," Rekovetch added.



Socotra is filled with caves—a spelunker's paradise. These caves are located on the north coast, at Erher.



Of 835 known plant species, 308 are found only on the island, such as these "desert rose" bottle trees (*Adenium obesum*). Its sap is highly poisonous. The obese bottle trees often appear to grow directly out of rocks.



Endemic Dragon's Blood trees (*Dracaena cinnabari*) rule the high mountains of the interior. The blood-red sap of the trees is dried and powdered, and used in cosmetics, medicines, paints and dyes.



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Two years after Yemen's 'statue' came to life Will Hadi ever leave?

Adam Baron
Thenational.ae
First Published March 1

The final week of last month marked two years since the long-time Yemeni vice president, Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi, took power as part of an internationally mediated power transfer deal aimed at resolving a year-long anti-government uprising against his predecessor, Ali Abdulla Saleh.

Mr. Hadi came to power roughly a year after the start of nationwide protests, which succeeded in spurring the overthrow of Mr. Saleh but also allowed long-simmering tensions to burst to the fore.

The bulk of government institutions were racked by defections, while the country's military split in to warring camps.

As the government's control over much of the country dissipated, the Zaidi Shia Houthis rebels – the target of six brutal wars under Mr. Saleh – gained the upper hand in their strongholds in the northern province of Sa'ada, while Al Qaeda-affiliated militants seized control of the province of Abyan, including Mr. Hadi's birthplace.

The economy, already weak, was brought to the brink of collapse, spiking unemployment and leaving millions of already impoverished Yemenis on the brink of starvation.

The exact date that Mr. Hadi for-

mally became the man given the task of dealing with these issues is a matter of debate. Strictly speaking, February 25 saw his inauguration. But some prefer to start the presidency on February 27, which saw Mr. Saleh formally hand over power to his longtime deputy in a ceremony held at the presidential palace.

The government itself tends to put it at February 21, the date of Mr. Hadi's election, of sorts, in a one-candidate vote.

This itself is rather telling. February 21's referendum-like poll epitomized efforts to provide Mr. Hadi with a modicum of legitimacy.

There was some success as Yemenis hopeful that Mr. Hadi's presidency would lead to a return to calm turned out in higher than expected numbers, but boycotts by youth activists, the Houthis and southern separatists signaled larger challenges facing the president, bolstering cynical appraisals casting the whole thing as merely thinly veiled political theatre.

As Mr. Hadi took the oath of office in the Yemeni parliament two days later, the roots of his rise to power were plainly visible. His audience – a cross-section of the country's political elites – gestured to his unique position as a figure acceptable to the two groups who inked the power transfer agreement that led to Saleh's exit from power, the former president's party, the General People's Congress (GPC) and the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP), a

coalition of establishment opposition factions.

Mr. Hadi delivered a blunt speech cataloguing the challenges facing the country, the first time the spotlight had fallen on him during his long political career. For while Mr. Hadi had been Yemen's vice president for a decade and a half, he was still a virtual unknown.

The general outline of his biography – his birth in the southern province of Abyan, his military background, his flight to the north after falling on the losing side of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen's 1986 Civil War, his decision to side with Saleh during the south's attempt to stop Yemen's nascent unity in 1994 – were common knowledge.

But his reputation, if anything, was largely rooted in his silence. His regular appearances next to Mr. Saleh during the former president's speeches lead many Yemenis to jokingly refer to him as "the statue". And, at the time, expectations for Mr. Hadi had more to do with Yemenis' hopes and fears regarding the country's future than the man himself.

Mr. Hadi's key victory has been his ability to demonstrate that he is, indeed, his own man.

His 17 years of public silence and apparent complacency as Mr. Saleh's deputy had fuelled doubts about whether he would be able to break free of his predecessor's influence.

But Mr. Hadi has proven willing to take on the former president's allies, removing powerful members of the Saleh family from key posts in a series of steps aimed at restructuring the Yemeni Armed Forces. To the consternation of some fellow members of the GPC, Mr. Hadi has managed to position himself as a figure independent of Yemen's pre-2012 political divisions.

Still, many Yemenis continue to criticize him as a weak leader. In some sense, it's a side effect of an otherwise positive aspect of his nature. Those close to Mr. Hadi cast him as a careful, methodical decision-maker, deeply reluctant to act without a great degree of thought and deliberation.

At the same time, it remains the case that the Yemeni government lacks any semblance of a monopoly on power.

Both members of Mr. Saleh's inner circle and figures such as regime strongman-turned-defector Gen. Ali Mohsen retain a great deal of power, regardless of their current positions. The central government's hold on much of the country remains fragile to nonexistent. Mr. Hadi – and, by extension, the Yemeni government itself – often appears to act as negotiator-in-chief, treating consensus brokering as a virtual prerequisite rather than relying on the power of his office alone.

This is arguably a double-edged sword – many of those who wish

Mr. Hadi were stronger direct their anger at those seen as undermining him, rather than the president himself.

Still, as long as the security vacuum continues to breed violence and stifle the economy, resentment will inevitably mount.

Mr. Hadi's continued backing from key western and Arab actors has brought Yemen financial support, but it has also served as a subtle reminder that an internationally-brokered accord – for better or worse, an act of foreign intervention – was what brought Mr. Hadi to power. His most acerbic critics have cast the president as a tool for foreign interests.

Regardless, the greatest challenges facing the president – and Yemen itself – are far from Sana'a. Despite efforts towards inclusion, the Houthis in the north retain a deep ambivalence regarding the central government – and clashes spurred by the group's rising strength have fuelled fears of a wider conflict.

In the formerly independent south, calls for secession have only grown louder, as the government has proved unable to build goodwill. Any efforts have been stymied by civilian casualties in clashes with secessionist fighters – most notably, in the town of Al-Dhale – and periodic crackdowns on pro-secessionist protests.

Only a fraction of separatist factions participated in the recently concluded National Dialogue, and

many of the most powerful pulled out before the conference's conclusion. Even if they've rejected the final decisions of the committee asked to sketch it out, Yemen's recently announced shift to a federal system could provide the means for reckoning with the grievances of both groups.

If things remain unresolved, it is hard to believe that tensions won't continue to build, threatening further conflict, if not Yemen's split to pre-unification borders.

Mr. Hadi may have confounded many Yemenis' expectations, and he certainly retains a great degree of popular support. But the many challenges he inherited remain unresolved, and the ultimate fate of Mr. Hadi's presidency remains unclear.

Standing next to Mr. Saleh on February 27, 2012, Mr. Hadi stated that he aimed to similarly transfer power to his successor in two years time, during parliamentary and presidential elections this year.

This, perhaps, provides the key irony of Mr. Hadi's presidency. When he came to office, the question was whether he'd survive. Today, the uncertainty centers around when he will eventually leave.

Adam Baron is a Sana'a-based journalist who reports regularly for the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Economist* and *McClatchy Newspapers*.

Beyond the walls of Yemen's revolution

Tom Finn
Newyorker.com
First Published Feb. 28

In 2011, a month after protests broke out in Yemen against President Ali Abdullah Saleh, an activist sent me a video that had begun to circulate widely online. Filmed from the balcony of an apartment building in the capital, Sana'a, the footage shows a throng of unarmed protesters taking shelter behind a ten-foot wall in the street below. Black smoke is rising from a pile of burning tires on the other side of the wall, where pro-Saleh thugs are crouched, firing rifles at the protesters. During a lull in the shooting, one of the protesters—a young man with a green shawl wrapped around his head—pulls himself up onto the wall. Pumping his fists in the air, the man turns to face the gunmen, then leaps off the other side. Moments later, the crowd surges forward, tears down the wall, and chases the gunmen down the street.

The symbolism was not lost on Yemenis. I asked one of the protesters, Ahmed, a forty-two-year-old grocer and father of three, why he followed the young man over the wall. He brushed the question aside. "I didn't hesitate. I didn't even think about it," he said. "The

wall was the regime. We had to tear it down or the revolution would have failed." Other protesters described the experience in more personal terms. "It changed me. When I went over the wall, I felt as if I'd left a part of me behind," Yassir, a law student who was shot in the foot that day, said. "My life was out of my hands. I wasn't scared. I felt powerful."

The toppling of the wall marked the end of the bloodiest crackdown in Yemen's history, and the beginning of the revolution that would eventually unseat Saleh after thirty-three years in power. On that day, Friday, March 18, 2011, now known in Yemen as Jumaa al-Karama, or the Friday of Dignity, protesters had gathered for noonday prayers in the place they named Change Square when snipers opened fire, killing fifty-three and wounding hundreds more. The massacre prompted a wave of resignations: ministers, officials, ambassadors, and even the country's most powerful military general defected. The protests against Saleh, which had been scattered and sporadic, swelled as thousands poured into the square in solidarity.

I was in Change Square that day, reporting for the *Guardian* as a freelance journalist. When the shooting started, I ran to a nearby mosque for cover. In its dusty prayer room, I stood and watched

as the dead were carried in. One by one, their pale, mangled frames were wrapped in white shrouds and lowered to the floor. Prayers were uttered. Miniature copies of the Koran were placed on chests, as blood soaked into the carpet. After the gunfire died down, a woman burst through the door. She was looking for her son. When she saw his body in the corner, she wailed and ran to him, stumbling over the arms and legs of other corpses as if they were tree roots in a forest.

There was death and despair that day, but also grit and bravery. For every protester I saw shouting or hurling rocks over the wall, another was standing still, often in plain view of the snipers, filming the events on a camera or mobile phone. Among them were sixteen-year-old Nasr al-Namir and his friend Khaled. They worked for an opposition TV channel and were considered by many to be the cameramen of the revolution. Both were nearly killed. Their footage, shaky and raw, is the foundation of "Karama Has No Walls," a thirty-minute account of the massacre and a nominee for this year's Academy Award for Best Documentary Short.

The film, which splices together Khaled and Nasr's footage and interviews with bereaved relatives, is both an elegy to the dead and an exploration of loss and protracted

trauma. Above all, "Karama Has No Walls" is a paean to the strength of nonviolent resistance. It is the men in hardhats flashing V-for-victory signs and baring their chests, not the regime's gunmen, who prevail.

To a Western audience, the violence of the Arab Spring can seem difficult to understand. The imagery of "Karama Has No Walls" cuts through our confusion. We stare into the empty eyes of Ghaleb al-Hamazi, a gravelly voiced street vendor whose eleven-year-old son, Saleem, was blinded by a sniper. "I came home and asked Saleem's mother where he was," he recalls. "She said, 'He went to buy eggs for breakfast and didn't come home.'"

Sara Ishaq, the film's twenty-nine-year-old director, was born in Sanaa, to a Yemeni father and Scottish mother, but has spent most of her adult life in Edinburgh—studying film, mountain-biking, and teaching yoga. In early 2011, as unrest spread across the Middle East, Ishaq returned to Yemen to make a documentary about her family and found herself in the middle of a revolution. Like many Yemenis her age, she was drawn to Change Square, the two-mile-long shantytown by Sanaa University where protesters camped for months. In the square, Ishaq met Afro and Ameen, two other budding filmmakers. Together, they gathered footage of the attack and

tracked down relatives of the victims.

"The more people we spoke to, the more we realized how much that day had changed them," Ishaq told me. "It was like an awakening, not just for those who were there. The whole country suddenly woke up. That was when we knew this was something that needed documenting." It changed Ishaq, too, rekindling her attachment to a country whose deeply conservative culture had felt alienating after living for so long in the West.

Today, as the bloodshed continues in Syria and as Egyptian military rule digs in, the Arab uprisings are being described by some as failed revolutions. But political transformation should not be the only yardstick; cultural and social shifts have been set in motion. In "Karama," we see women in the square, young and old, delivering speeches, strumming guitars, and beating drums—images of Muslim women rarely seen in the West. A post-revolutionary struggle is currently underway to secure rights for women, such as a ban on child marriage and a law that would reserve thirty per cent of all elected offices for women. And in a nation where the right to bear arms is more deeply ingrained than it is in the American heartland, we see unarmed tribesmen flashing peace signs and shouting "We're peace-

ful" as they are fired upon.

In some ways, Ishaq is fortunate. Her film, shot in the heady days of the revolution, does not have to grapple with the internal schisms that would later hamper the Yemen uprising. It is a snapshot of a protest movement at its most powerful, when differences (male, female, Southern, Northern, Sunni, Shia, old, young, secularist, Islamist) were put aside in the name of battling the shared injustices of poverty, unemployment, and corruption. Three years have passed, and that thread has unraveled. Saleh, a master of political intrigue, is still at large; his deputy clings to power. Bakeries are empty. U.S. drones regularly strike the countryside. And in Change Square, now a terminus for motorbike taxis, a few crumpled tents remain, coated in dust.

Last summer, I returned to the street where the wall had been torn down. Outside a café, two students were playing chess. A bullet-pocked lamppost and a melted tire were the only signs of March 18th, 2011. I asked one of them if he knew where the wall had been. He shook his head, his eyes not leaving the game. The other man apologized. "He's depressed," he said. "He thinks the revolution failed." I asked him if he thought the same. "No I don't," he muttered. "But I miss the square."

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Low-pay, long hours

Yemen's private security guards make as little as \$200 per month

Story and photos by Ali Abulohoom

After working a 16-hour shift, 23-year-old Yahia finally heads home.

According to the contract he signed in 2011 with his employer, Al-Wafa Security Company, Yahia works as a guard for an oil company. He is supposed to work eight-hour shifts, with the option of working overtime.

But Yahia says that the conditions he agreed to in his contract are not being upheld. He says he is regularly asked to work overtime, but never compensated for the extra hours.

Although he does not get paid for it, Yahia says he feels pressured to work the overtime his employer assigns him.

"I have to work overtime whenever they ask, otherwise I will be fired. There are many unemployed people on the street ready to take my position," he said.

In addition to his security job, Yahia is studying business at Sana'a University. He says the extra work is affecting his studies and he is finding it increasingly difficult to attend class due all the extra hours he puts in.

Yahia receives YR40,000 (about \$200) per month after \$50 is deducted for insurance and other expenses. He says he has filed a complaint with the Ministry of Labor, but has received no response.

"No one can deny that we get much more money from the clients than we pay to our guardsmen," according to Marwan Al-Karimi, a supervisor at Al-Wafa Security Company. "However, we spend a lot



Ibrahim Al-Qahatani works security for two different companies to make ends meet.

of money on their uniforms, training and health insurance."

Yahia says the company takes far more than the six percent stipulated by his contract.

Al-Karimi confirmed that guards earned \$250 per month, and said their salaries increase to \$350 after two years. Yahia has worked for the company for three years.

Ahmed Ghurab, a Yemeni journalist who has done extensive research on private security companies in Yemen, said security companies are often paid \$1000 to \$1500 per guard.

Private security companies have contracts with big companies, schools,

universities and restaurants to provide them with security services, guards and monitoring technologies such as CCTV cameras.

Al-Karimi said his company has many contracts with commercial clients and restaurants for experienced armed guardsmen.

Mohammed Al-Amoodi, an economic analyst at Sana'a University's Research Center, said these private security companies first emerged in the 1990s. At that time, only two companies existed. But as the demand for security services increased, the number of companies grew.

"According to a survey conducted

by the center, the number of private security companies reached 20 in 2011," Al-Amoodi added.

Al-Amoodi said each company recruits at least 2,000 young people who need jobs.

According to a report released by the Ministry of Planning, Yemen's youth unemployment rate reached 40 percent in 2013.

"We alleviate unemployment among youth, so we don't set complicated criteria [for the recruitment process] such as having specific documents. But, we do require the ability to read and write in Arabic and of course the maximum age applicants should not exceed 40," Al-Karimi said.

Ibrahim Al-Qahatani, 30, works as a guardsman for two different companies. He works one shift for Al-Alamia private security company, and one for Shumaila Hari Supermarket.

"Shumaila Hari has its own security department. I work there for a second shift to increase my income because the salary Al-Alamia pays me is not enough," he said.

"[Al-Alamia] deducts 10 percent of my salary for health and social insurance, according to the contract, but the insurance is not guaranteed when needed because there is nobody you can complain to," Al-Qahatani added.

Abdu Al-Hakeemi, the Deputy Minister of Social Affairs and Labor, told the Yemen Times that these private companies have not been approved by his ministry. Rather, their licenses were granted by the Ministry of Interior—though they should have been issued through the Ministry of Labor.

Al-Hakeemi said the majority of private security companies belong

to powerful security forces and their circle. He accused them of using their influence to obstruct the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor from monitoring their performance.

"According to the law, the minimum wage for an employee in the private sector should be equal to the minimum wage in the public sector. But we cannot guarantee that this law is implemented because these companies are not monitored," Al-Hakeemi added.

Abdualghani Al-Wajeeh, the for-

mer Walking Police commander with the Ministry of Interior said there is no specific department in the ministry to oversee private security companies and all of the licenses issued by the minister's office.

"I support those companies because they are creating jobs and decreasing unemployment," Al-Wajeeh said. "However, they should be monitored to make sure guardsmen are trained and qualified enough and also to ensure that they are not being exploited."

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The transitional period and President Hadi's term should have ended by now, according to the Gulf Initiative. But is Yemen making progress along the right path? What are the expected scenarios for the upcoming phase? What are the possible opportunities to overcome the problems currently faced by President Hadi and his government?

In an interview with the Yemen Times, Loai Abass Ghaleb, a journalist and political activist, discussed the transition and what is up next for Yemen.

Interview and photo by Mohammed Al-Hassani

What's next for Yemen?

"It has been suggested that each region maintain 20 percent of the [income from] local resources..."

weapons and stopped pointing them at one another. We removed the barricades. We have withdrawn from the armed conflict arena and entered the political and economic sphere. This is an achievement.

Now president Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi stands before a major challenge, considering that he bears immediate responsibility for this phase. He faces many obstacles, including [people who actively oppose his] making changes to the government. Those running this government—who are either affiliated with the General People's Congress or the Joint Meeting Parties—admit the government's failure.

Some ask what the value is of the NDC outcomes—particularly in terms of the Southern Issue—at a time when many southerners reject these outcomes. What do you say?

So, we should ask what the alternative is. If we do not have a dialogue, what do they want then? Should we fight? If the dialogue participants refuse to participate in a dialogue, what do they want then? Should we continue to watch [events from the sidelines and criticize them]? Or should we contribute to finding a solution to our problems?

What do you think about the NDC outcomes in relation to Sa'ada and the Southern Issue?

First, we should realize that the NDC outcomes are a big achievement, but I think many people do not realize this, particularly when the media affiliated with the south neglect to highlight the [importance of the] NDC outcomes. I think divvying up important government jobs [for example, the ministries] between the north and the south is a good thing, and it appeases southerners. However, what is happening is that the southern media...have further mobilized the southerners who reject

the NDC and its outcomes.

Some say that the economic problem is a core reason behind many of the country's crises and conflicts. However, the elite seemingly makes politics its priority. Why is this?

Prioritizing politics or the economy has been an extant controversy among communities since the emergence of the state. I believe that economics is the dynamic driving all political events. However, [jockeying for power has been the priority of politicians] since 2011.

Although the public drove political change, it has since been on the sidelines of the political scene. What do you think about this?

We can say that this is so. The political elite has taken advantage and played all sides.... Moreover, the political elite seized the opportunity to use the youth.... All the political parties have claimed that they struggle to give the youth their rights, resolve their issues and support them. However, once the politicians got what they wanted, they left the youth behind.

Let's move to another topic, federalism. Some say the solution does not lie in redrawing the country's internal borders. They say that the real problem is corruption and mismanagement. What is your opinion?

Talking about regions is discussing the future. So, it should be clarified that federalism is a system that has been adopted by about 29 countries. About 40 percent of the world population is governed by federal systems. Therefore, mention of a federal system should not invoke fear. But it seems that fear is entrenched in the Arab political mindset.

Anyway, in our recent history, a centralized government structure proved to be a failure. One advan-

tage of the federal system is that it gives the population of each region or governorate an opportunity to hold their own officials accountable. The important thing is that [holders of major political offices] will be chosen in [regional and democratic elections rather than being appointed in a decision made by one individual].

But some people say that Yemen is different from other countries that have adopted federalism.

...Yemen could be a successful example of federalism. I think that continuing [to operate under our existing] centralized system will create fear and could end up splintering the state. So, federalism is a conciliatory administrative [compromise] between two parts. One is pro-separatist and the other is pro-unity. Federalism is an ideal solution to this current political situation [that can be embraced by both sides].

Some areas of the country may demand to be shifted into a different region or may demand a separate region. How would you respond to such a situation?

We should explain that [the current plan for regional divisions] is temporary. The media hype following the announcement of the regions and people's reactions to it occurred because the media did not examine all aspects of this issue. The committee appointed to determine the regions issued a statement that the division is temporal—transitional—and that the final division will be settled following two rounds of voting. The committee's decision also empowers the residents of each governorate or district to put the issue of being included within a certain region to a [local] vote.

Some have said that shifting to

a federal state will cost Yemen a huge sum of money. Do you think this is true?

It is not correct to think of cost as an obstacle because the cost, no matter how great it is, would remain small in comparison with the results of continuing with the current system of governance.

How will national wealth be distributed throughout the regions?

Resources fall into two categories: natural resources and other resources [such as customs revenues]. Each region will share in a percentage of the country's resources, and this division will be detailed in the new constitution. It has been suggested that each region maintain 20 percent of the [income from] local resources and that the remainder go to the central government to be distributed among the other regions.

Some fear that a certain group or party may end up controlling a region and its resources. Should that be a concern?

This depends on community awareness, which will be the greatest challenge for us. However, I think that the direct elections will establish this awareness over time.

A controversy has recently arisen over whether federalism is a national resolution or an external interest. What do you have to say about this?

Speaking as a specialist in the political sciences, I have seen several reports that speculate about this issue. I can't say that it is impossible but it is a weak possibility considering the current circumstances of the Arab world. I think we can safely say that this is not true because [federalism] emerged from the National Dialogue Conference with the participation of almost all of the country's political and social groups.

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العامل الاقتصادي هو الأساس المحرك للأحداث في اليمن تحويثاً وتقعيداً وتحريكاً



بعد إنتهاء المرحلة الإنتقالية وإنتهاء ولاية الرئيس هادي، بحسب ما نصت عليه المبادرة الخليجية لنقل السلطة.. هل تسير اليمن في خط السير الصحيح.. ما هي السيناريوهات المحتملة لما بعد إنتهاء المرحلة الإنتقالية، وما هي فرص تجاوز الكم الكبير من المعضلات التي يواجهها الرئيس عبد ربه منصور هادي وحكومة الوفاق.. هذه الأسئلة وغيرها سنحاول الإجابة عليها في هذه الحوار الذي تستضيف فيه الصحيفة الإعلامية والناشط السياسي الشاب لؤي عباس غالب.. أهلاً وسهلاً بك أستاذ لؤي..

حوار وتصوير / محمد الحسني

بداية.. كيف تقيم سير المرحلة الانتقالية إجمالاً؟

في البدء لا بد أن نعترف أننا ما زلنا نقف على أرضية رخوة.. هناك الكثير من التحديات التي تواجه اليمن كبلد وأرض وإنسان، لعل أهمها ما أسميته حراك جنوب الجنوب ووثنية شمال الشمال وقاعدة كل مرة من جهة، إلا أن التحدي الكبير والمشكلة في عمقها في اعتقادي إقتصادية.. فمسار تطور الأحداث خلال الأعوام الأخيرة أكدت أن العامل الاقتصادي هو الأساس المحرك للأحداث تحويثاً وتقعيداً وتحريكاً، وبالنسبة لتجربة التسوية السياسية والوفاق الذي عاشته البلاد خلال العامين الماضيين فلا بد أن نعترف عند مقارنتها بالتجارب العربية أننا أفضل من غيرنا بكثير.. ونلاحظ ما يجري في سوريا حتى اللحظة، وعندما نيمع وجهنا إلى الخلف نلاحظ ما أنجزناه، وبكثير من التفاؤل نقول الحمد لله فقد صدق في ذلك قول النبي الكريم الإيمان يمان والحكمة يمانية.

يعني أن الوضع أفرز المزيد من النخب السياسية وجاء ضد مصلحة المواطن العادي الذي ربما ليس له علاقة بكل ما يحدث؟

قلت إن الوضع كان معقداً، وقد تجنبنا الدخول في حرب أهلية، وأخضنا أسلحتنا من صدور بعضنا البض وأزلنا المتارس.. والآن سحبنا الصراع من مربع السلاح إلى مربع السياسة والاقتصاد.. وهذا إنجاز بحد ذاته، والآن التحدي الكبير يقف أمام الرئيس عبد ربه منصور هادي باعتباره الرجل الأول المسؤول عن هذه المرحلة.. وأمام الرجل عوائق كبيرة من بينها منعه من إحداث التغيير في الحكومة التي طال الحديث على تغييرها واعترف القائمون عليها بفشلها سواء من قبل حزب

لكن أين هذا التقدم الذي ذكرت في وضع حياة المواطن؟ أوافقك الرأي في جزء مما ذكرت، ففي حين هناك تقدم سياسي يشهد له القاضي والداني يبقى

المؤتمر أو كتلت اللقاء المشترك.. البعض يتساءل.. ما قيمة ما خرج به المتحاورون، خاصة فيما يخص القضية الجنوبية والكثير من أبناء المحافظات الجنوبية رفضوا الحوار ومخرجاته في الأصل؟

إذا فليكن السؤال ماهو البديل.. إذا لم نتحاور فماهو الخيار البديل، هل نتصارع.. نتقاتل.. هذا الذي يجب يسأل كل من يتحدث بالسؤال الذي سألته.. أطراف ترفض الحوار.. ماذا تريد إذا.. هل تتعارك بالأيدي أم تتصارع بالأسلحة أم ماذا.. أو هل نظل نتفرج ما يحدث ونتنقد فقط أم نشترك في فعالية توفر حلاً أو مخرجاً لمشكلاتنا.. هذا ما أتمنى أن تضعه كل النخب السياسية في الداخل والخارج.

هناك من يطرح أن المشكلة الاقتصادية هي من يقف وراء الكثير من الأزمات والصراعات في اليمن ومع ذلك المشهد السياسي هو من يتصدر لماذا برأيك؟ جدلية متواجدة في المجتمعات البشرية منذ ظهور الدولة وحتى اليوم هي أولويات السياسة والاقتصاد، وأنا أعتقد فعلاً أن العامل الاقتصادي هو المحرك لكل الأحداث السياسية، ولكن ربما أولويات السياسي في اليمن منذ 2011 فرضها الشارع بأحداث أول تغيير سياسي في تاريخ اليمن الحديث، وبالتالي الشارع هو من فرض الأولوية السياسية، كما أن العامل الاقتصادي بالنسبة لليمن يمثل حجر الميزان بين استمرار النظام الحالي أو تغييره هو من سيقوم على إثره نجاحه من فشله.

لكن ألا ترى أن الشارع رغم أنه المحرك وصاحب التغيير السياسي إلا أنه مع ذلك ظل في هامش المشهد السياسي.. لماذا برأيك؟ يمكن القول بذلك.. والحقيقة أن إنتهازية النخبة السياسية واستئثارها بلعب كل الأدوار خلال الأعوام الماضية هي السبب في ذلك، كما أن النخب السياسية جعلت من الشباب بأفظة يرفعها الجميع ويتعامل معها السياسي والسياسيون بانتهازية مفرطة، ولذلك أصبح الشباب هم الحلقة الأضعف في كل ما يدور، حيث ظلت كل الأطراف السياسية تدعي النضال لئيل حقوق الشباب ومعالجة قضاياهم ومناصرتهم، وأنه لا بد أن يأخذوا

نصيبهم من الكعكة، وما أن يصل السياسيون إلى ما يرمون إليه حتى تجدهم يتصلون عن الشباب. انتقل بك إلى محور تقسيم اليمن إلى ستة أقاليم.. هناك من يقول إن المشكلة لم تكن في التقسيم وإنما في الفساد وسوء الإدارة.. كيف ترى أنت ذلك؟ الحديث عن الأقاليم أصبح حديثاً عن المستقبل.. ويبقى الحديث عن رفض الفيدرالية والأقاليم من وجهة نظري حديثاً ماضوياً يتجاوز الزمان والمكان، وبالتالي لا بد من التوضيح بأن الفيدرالية كنظام إدارة عرفه العالم، حيث توجد ما يقرب من 29 دولة تنتهج هذا النظام، كما أن نحو 40% من سكان العالم تحكمهم أنظمة فيدرالية، لذلك النظام الفيدرالي بحد ذاته لا يمثل أي قلق، ويبدو أن القلق في مجتمعاتنا العربية والعقل السياسي العربي هو دائماً كل جديد.. وعلى كل حال تجربة الدولة المركزية خلال الفترة الماضية أثبتت فشلها، وهناك ميزة مهمة للنظام الفيدرالي تتمثل في أنه يتيح لسكان كل ولاية أو محافظة في الإقليم اختيار ومحاكاة مسؤوليهم المباشرين.. المهم أن يكون إختيار من يتقلدون المناصب العليا في كل إقليم عن طريق الانتخابات.

لكن تجارب الدول العالم كما يطرح البعض انتقلت من الاتحادية أو الفيدرالية إلى الوحدة الاندماجية وليس العكس كما في الحالة اليمنية؟

ليس شرطاً.. هناك في الحقيقة تجارب مختلفة، بعض الدول انتقلت من الوحدة الاندماجية إلى النظام الفيدرالي، واليمنيون ربما قد يكونون نموذجاً ناجحاً للدولة الفيدرالية مستقبلاً.. واعتقد أن الخوف هو في استمرار اليمن بنظامها السياسي الحالي المركزي، لأنه قد ينتهي إلى تفكك الدولة لأسباب كثيرة من بينها الأصوات التي تطالب بالانفصال.. لذلك تأتي الفيدرالية كحل إداري وسطي بين طرفين نقيضين أحدهما انفصالي تماماً والأخر وحدوي تماماً، فالفيدرالية تأتي كحل وسطي ومقبول كمخرج لوضعنا السياسي الحالي.

ما الضامن من عدم عودة المركزية مرة أخرى على مستوى الإقليم؟ أولاً يجب أن ندرك أن المرحلة الحالية تفرض خيار الفيدرالية، وأن نظام الدولة البسيطة لم يعد

مقبولاً من الكثير من الأطراف السياسية، وبعد ذلك لا نستطيع الأحداث، ويكفي أن كل القوى السياسية تدرك الآن أن المركزية الشديدة للدولة هي التي أفرزت معظم المعضلات التي تعاني منها اليمن اليوم.

ما هي ضرورات تحول اليمن إلى دولة فيدرالية؟

أولاً الفيدرالية ستتيح إمكانية إحداث تنمية مجتمعية وسياسية من خلال إنتخاب المواطنين مسؤوليهم بصورة مباشرة ومحاسبتهم، فضلاً عن العدالة في توزيع الثروة بين الأقاليم والمركز وغيرها.

وكيف سيتم التعامل مع مطالب أبناء محافظة ما ينقلهم من الإقليم الذي وضعت محافظتهم فيه، أو مطالبتهم بأن يكونوا إقليمياً مستقلاً؟

أولاً لا بد من الإشارة إلى أن آلية التقسيم الحالية التي أقرتها لجنة تحديد الأقاليم هي مؤقتة، وأن الزخم الذي أحدثته إعلان اللجنة وما تخلله من ردود أفعال معارضة يأتي بسبب تقصير الإعلام في تسليط الضوء على كل الجوانب في موضوع الأقاليم، حيث جاء في وثيقة أو بيان للجنة أن هذا التقسيم مرحلي أو انتقالي، وأن التقسيم النهائي سيكون بعد دورتين إنتخابيتين، كما تركت اللجنة حق في استفتاء أبناء كل محافظة أو مديرية في شأن ضمها إلى الإقليم هذا أو ذاك.

وماذا عن التكلفة المالية لانتقال اليمن إلى دولة فيدرالية.. هناك من تحدث عن تكلفة مالية ضخمة؟

التفكير بالكلفة المادية كعائق أمام الإنتقال إلى الدولة الفيدرالية ليس دقيقاً، لأن هذه الكلفة ومهما عظمت ستبقى قليلة أمام المقامرة باستمرار التجربة بنظام الحكم الحالي.

كيف ستوزع الثروة في كل إقليم؟ هناك موارد سيادية، وهناك موارد أخرى يمكن لكل إقليم أن يتنفع بها، في الموارد السيادية هناك حصص للإقليم منها، وهي لم تحدد حتى الآن، وسوف يتم تحديدها في الدستور الجديد لليمن، وهناك رأي غالب، وهو أن لكل إقليم 20% من الموارد السيادية المتواجدة، سواء على ظهر أرضه أو باطنها، والنسبة الباقية ستعود لمركز الدولة،

لكن الرئيس هادي صرح رسمياً الشهر الماضي بأن عمل لجنة تحديد عدد الأقاليم قد إنتهى؟

أنا قلت إن هذا التقسيم تقسيم مرحلي لم تكتمل رتوشه، ويمكن تعديله بعد دورتين إنتخابيتين، وهذه الصرامة التي أبداهها الرئيس في اعتقادي إيجابية، لأن قدراً من الصرامة لإنفاذ القرارات سوف يساعد النظام في إحراز خطوة نحو الأمام.

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In coordination with the Council on Malaysian Oil
Yemeni Authority for Standardization and Metrology organizes seminar on palm oil plant

Malaysian Ambassador to Yemen:
We welcome and encourage Yemeni companies to establish branches in Malaysia



In coordination with the Council on Malaysian Oil and the Yemeni Company for the Manufacture of Margarine and Soap –the Yemeni Authority for Standardization and Metrology and Quality Control organized a seminar on the palm oil plant in Sana'a last Wednesday.

The seminar, which was attended by a number of academics, researchers and businessmen, reviewed a number of working papers on the definition of the palm oil plant and its technical, nutritional and health characteristics. The seminar discussed the specifications and technical regulations for the fruit of the palm, its many uses in the field of nutrition, the methods of storage and handling, and determined a definition for the Authority Yemen Standardization and the role played by in coordination with the concerned authorities, as well as the definition of some of the properties of vegetable oils..

The organizer of the seminar, deputy director general of the Yemen Standardization, Metrology and Quality Control Ibrahim Al Hashif marked on the importance of the seminar, which comes

as a result of cooperation between the Commission and the Council of Malaysian palm oil in order to definite the palm oil plant and to determine the standards for the product, thus contributing to the development the national industries for palm oil and to regulate imports and meet the requirements of the standard specifications.

Al Hashif recognized the Commission's efforts to update all the Yemeni specifications specialized on the cooking oil, of which the Authority owns more than 16 varieties, especially for oils meeting international and regional standards. He emphasized that the authority has worked to take the necessary measures to promote edible oils that include some nutrients such as vitamins. All national manufacturers are obliged to provide such vitamins , as agreed to by Yemen and Malaysia regarding the flow of goods to markets.

The deputy director general emphasized the importance of supporting national industries, especially after the announcement of Yemen's accession to the World Trade Organization, praising the efforts of the Malaysian Ambassador in Sana'a and the Yemen Com-

pany for the Manufacture of Margarine and Soap and in their contribution to the success of the seminar and to contribute to more visions that support the palm oil trade and industry.

Malaysian ambassador to Yemen Abdullah Faiz Zain spoke about the importance of the seminar in partnership between the Malaysian Palm Oil Board specifications and Yemen Company for the Manufacture of Margarine and Soap, noting that the seminar will open business opportunities in the area of palm oil trade between Malaysia and Yemen.

"We are counting on the Yemeni market and we welcome and encourage Yemeni companies to establish branches in Malaysia," the ambassador said. "

The ambassador said that Malaysia will be a focus of the Council on Malaysian Palm Oil, a body under the Ministry of Industries and Agriculture and Commodities in Malaysia. The Council gave induction programs on Malaysian palm oil under the guidance of the Malaysian Technical Cooperation Program. It offered technical assistance to the Yemen Company for the Manufac-

ture of Margarine and Soap through training on the palm oil industry.

Abdul Majid al-Shaibani, director of research and development at the Yemen Company presented scientific and analytic information on vegetable oils, including palm oil at the conclusion of the scientific seminar.

The seminar was attended by Hajj Abdalwasa, a board member of the group and Engineer Ali Saleh Aklan, director general of the Yemeni Company for the Manufacture of Margarine and Soap – as well as a number of businessmen, academics and researchers interested in the vegetable oil industry in Yemen.

The Yemeni Standardization and Metrology Authority is an independent body with independent financial disclosure that aims through a number of departments and branches in the governorates of the republic to the prepare, review , modify and cancel the replacement and modernization of national standards for all goods and local products and exported and imported products in accordance with the principles and regulations and formal procedures approved by the Board of the Commission.

Child labour climbs among Iraqi refugees in Lebanon

IRIN
First published Feb. 3

Ali Al Wasate may only be 13, but he has been forced to grow up. No longer in school, he has begun the painstaking search for work to help his family pay the bills in Beirut, Lebanon.

It was not always this way. When he was younger, living in Baghdad, his stepfather Ahmed had a well-paid government job, and Ali attended a good school. Nine years after the US-led invasion of Iraq, they felt that they had survived the worst of the situation. Then one day, everything changed.

"I was coming home from work one day, and two men with beards were waiting," Ahmed said. "They accused me of being a spy and told me to leave the neighbourhood before it was too late. I asked them who sent them, but they told me it was dangerous to ask those kinds of questions."

Convinced their lives were at risk, the Wasates packed up and fled to Lebanon. There, they became part of a small community of between 6,000 and 7,000 Iraqi refugees awaiting resettlement in a third country.

The family wanted Ali to continue studying, but when they started looking for a place to enroll him they were struck by the country's high prices. Basics in Lebanon, such as rent, are often more than double the cost of those in Iraq. "We brought money that we thought would last two years. It was gone in six months," Ahmed said.

The few local public schools were full, and they could not afford the fees for private ones, so Ali never went back to school. And with Ahmed unable to do manual work due to a pre-existing back problem, the family now looks to Ali to pay the bills.

"We wanted [to find him] a legal job, with protections, so we went to an organization that helps Iraqis find jobs. We begged them to offer him a job, but they said he was too young," Ali's mother Inass says. He has not yet found work, but is looking for something illegal in the manual sector.

Their story is increasingly common among Iraqi refugees in Lebanon. A new report by the NGO Caritas, which has been providing support for Iraqi refugees in the country for over a decade, says a growing number of children are being forced into labour.

While "overall, a minority of Iraqi refugees are using child labour as a coping mechanism," the report said, families that are particularly vulnerable - "usually those with a large number of members and those with parents who are unable to work - are at risk for sending their children to work."

The report authors interviewed nearly 100 Iraqi children between ages 11 and 18 who were suspected of working illegally. The vast majority were—with two-thirds citing money as the primary reason for dropping out of school. Tellingly, few parents had realized their kids would be forced into work when they left Iraq—92 percent of the children had not worked before.

Squeezed out

Iraqi refugees are restricted from engaging in professional work in Lebanon, and the majority, according to Caritas, are working illegally, often in manual work with few benefits.

The situation has been made worse in the past two years by the arrival of around 890,000 refugees from Syria. They have taken many of the manual jobs that Iraqis depended on, often accepting significantly lower wages. Caritas has also documented numerous cases of landlords arbitrarily evicting Iraqi tenants to move Syrians in for higher rents. The sheer numbers of Syrians, who often sub-divide properties, has pushed up housing costs for others.

At the same time, as Iraq has drifted away from the world's focus, support to those fleeing the country's violence has reduced. As financial support to Iraqis, principally American, has been scaled back in recent years and as numbers of refugees have declined from their peak of 17,000 in 2006, the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) has reduced its services in recent months, cutting support for those with chronic health conditions.

Joelle Eid, spokesperson for UNHCR, says that funding has been an issue but says they still provide as much as they can: "The scale of assistance to Iraqi refugees used to be higher than that of the Syrians at the beginning of the [Syria] crisis," she says. "With the [Syria] crisis scaling up, assistance to Iraqis is becoming more targeted. Education grants decreased and became in line with that given to the Syrians. Hospital care covered only the life-saving, in line with the Syrians."

Isabelle Saadeh, project coordinator at Caritas, says that many Iraqis feel they have received less support than their Syrian counterparts. "Syrians are getting a lot of distribution: blankets, stoves, winterization equipment. So they feel the difference between the two populations," she says.

UNHCR said that Syrian refugees had received more winter aid, but that this was in part because they tended to live in colder parts of the country, whereas Iraqis were concentrated in cities and the coast.

Caritas has also reduced its staff and services as funding has been scaled back. "For regular assistance, we are choosing the most



"Syrians are getting a lot of distribution: blankets, stoves, winterization equipment. So they feel the difference between the two populations," said Isabelle Saadeh, projector coordinator at Caritas, an NGO.

vulnerable from the vulnerable - it is really very difficult to do this."

A matter of language

Money, however, is not the only reason children are swapping school for the workplace.

As Lebanon is not a signatory to the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees, Iraqi families in the country are awaiting resettlement to a third country. The process usually takes between one and two years but can take much longer, according to Caritas and UNHCR. But many families wrongly expect that they will be relocated to a third country within a few months, and choose not to enroll their children in Lebanese schools, planning instead to enroll their children when they move on.

"We try to explain to them that if they don't go to school while they are in Lebanon, by the time they are resettled it may be too late," Saadeh said, adding that they had even asked some parents to sign papers promising not to remove their children from school.

Those who do go to school often struggle to keep up. Iraq's curriculum is almost exclusively taught in Arabic, while Lebanon's is predominantly in either French or English. As such, many children enroll but find themselves unable to cope with the different language.

Making do

Livan Orah is 10 years old, but his schoolmates are not. After his

mother was killed in the violence in Iraq, his aunt Nadeema fled the country with their family. Livan's older two brothers, one still a teenager, were forced to work to pay the family's rent, but Nadeema was determined that Livan would get an education.

But instead of enrolling him in

a class with kids his own age, the school put him in the first year. This means that his classmates are six years old. Livan towers above them.

"We felt it was the right thing to do, so he could start again and learn the language," Nadeema says.

She adds that she is determined

for him to get an education, but hopes that it will be in the West rather than in Lebanon. "They all love education. I would like the oldest two to study as well, but we just can't afford it."

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PALM YEMEN

Sana'a, Republic of Yemen
Job Vacancies Announcement

PALM YEMEN-Sana'a a leading company for General Services and Consultancy is looking for qualified Candidates who are able to ensure hotel services standards are achieved in all departments. PALM YEMEN provides a good salary and benefits package. Professional experience in Administration, facility operations and maintenance is the most critical selection factors for all of the positions. Inter personal skills, time management and Fluency in English are also a positive selection factors.

POSITION	DESCRIPTION	MONTHLY SALARY
Project Manager	PMO Admin Assistant is responsible for providing secretarial, clerical and administrative support in order to ensure that services are provided in an effective and efficient manner. His/Her main activities are to receive, direct and relay telephone and fax messages, maintain the general filing system and file all correspondence, assist in the planning and preparation of meetings, conferences. Any other required duties that are related to the position.	\$650 US Dollar (Gross)
Inventory Specialist	Inventory Specialist is responsible for Compiling and maintaining records of quantity, type, and value of assets, material, equipment, merchandise, or supplies stocked in an establishment: Counts assets, material, equipment, merchandise, or supplies in house and posts totals to inventory records, manually or using a computer database. Proper control of the physical inventory will add to a positive guest and staff experience. Any other required duties that are related to the position.	\$410 US Dollar (Gross)
Maintain Purchase Liaison	Maintain Purchase Liaison is responsible for the following duties <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ensure that required parts are ordered and stocked appropriately. Responsible for accurate purchase order management, inventory control and stores management. Act as a liaison for Maintenance department when dealing with suppliers and contractors. Investigate product specifications for production equipment. Expedite parts and items to fulfill urgent needs as required. Keep track of parts used and replenish as per max / min stock levels. Research vendors for parts and service and negotiate for competitive quotes. Work within budget as indicated by management. Attend prescribed courses and training as required. Any other required duties that are related to the position. 	\$560 US Dollar (Gross)
Receptionist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To perform in a pleasant, professional, and efficient manner, a combination of duties mainly related, but not limited to, check-in and checkout of guests which contributes to an overall positive experience. Greets, registers, and assigns rooms to guests. Issues room key and escort instructions to Bell person or directly to guest as appropriate. Date-stamps, sorts, and racks incoming mail and messages. Transmits and receives messages using equipment such as telephone, fax, and switchboard. Answers inquiries pertaining to hotel services, registration of guests and shopping, dining, entertainment and travel directions. Keeps records of room availability and guests' accounts. Computes bill, collects payment and makes change for guests. May post charges such as room, food, liquor, or telephone by hand or machine. May make restaurant, transportation, or entertainment reservations for guests. May deposit guests' valuables in hotel safe or safe-deposit box. May order complimentary flowers for special guests. All other duties as assigned by a manager or supervisor. Any other required duties that are related to the position. 	\$400 US Dollar (Gross)
Human Resource Clerk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Produces information by transcribing, formatting, inputting, editing, retrieving, copying, and transmitting text, data, and graphics. Organizes work by reading and routing correspondence; collecting information; initiating telecommunications. Maintains department schedule by maintaining calendars for department personnel; arranging meetings, conferences, teleconferences, and travel as needed. Maintains employee confidence and protects operations by keeping all HR information confidential. Prepares reports by collecting information. Maintains office supplies inventory by checking stock to determine inventory level; anticipating needed supplies; placing and expediting orders for supplies; verifying receipt of supplies. Secures information by completing database backups. Contributes to team effort by accomplishing related results as needed. Entering data into systems in both English and Arabic. Any other required duties that are related to the position. 	\$500 US Dollar (Gross)
General Accountant	Must be able to work in Excel spreadsheets, computerized accounting systems, knowledge of balance sheet profit and loss statements and be fluent in speaking and understanding English. Bachelor degree in accounting is a positive selection. Any other required duties that are related to the position.	\$750 US Dollar (Gross)

Interested Qualified applicants can send CV to hr.recruiter@palmiyemen.com
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EMBASSY OF INDIA, SANA'A

VACANCY ANNOUNCEMENT

The Embassy of India, Sana'a invites applications from qualified individuals for the post of Local Clerk-cum-Typist in the Embassy. Candidates should be fluent in English, knowledge of Arabic and any Indian language is desirable. Candidate should be conversant in use of computers and have aptitude for public relations.

Interested candidates may send curriculum vitae with two recent photographs to Head of Chancery, Embassy of India, Sana'a, Near Y Company, Off Hadda Road, Sana'a (Tel. No. 433631/32; Fax-433630; E-mail: hoc.sanaa@mea.gov.in; hoc@eoisanaa.org; admin@eoisanaa.org latest by **31st March, 2014.**

YEMEN TIMES
Radio

FROM THE AIRWAVES



Article 19 is a weekly awareness program 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, 91.9 FM, on Wednesdays at 8 p.m. and is rebroadcast on Saturdays at 11 a.m.

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 91,9.

Rights and democracy

What is democracy? What will democracy in Yemen look like? What sort of rights will individuals have in a democratic Yemen? **Misk Al-Junaid** (title) and **Jamal Al-Shami** (title) discuss transparency, democratic institutions, obstacles for elections and how to turn democratic yearnings into democratic participation.

What are rights that people who live in a democracy can enjoy?

Al-Junaid: In my opinion, people have the right to live their lives freely, but a person's freedom ends where another person's freedom begins. In a democracy, people enjoy civil, political and social rights.

Is democracy functioning in Yemen?

Al-Shami: Democracy in Yemen is still in an early phase. Although four presidential and parliamentary elections took place in 1994, 1997, 2003 and 2006, tribes are still trying to dominate and wield power; women in effect, do not enjoy equal rights.

Jamal Al-Shami:
There must be strong, federal protection for minorities

Will a new Yemen be a dramatic departure from the status-quo?

We will achieve [democracy] one day but we have to overcome obstacles and conflicts first. As Yemenis, we have to [problem-solve] in order to achieve this dream.

How can residents plant the seeds for democracy in a society?

Al-Shami: I think that we can achieve this in the long run by practice. We tried this with the Democratic School in 2000. It was a civil society organization with a children's parliament.

What are the rights we should focus on when we establish a democracy?

Al-Junaid: We can't separate democracy and citizenship. When we talk about citizenship in general, it should be within the principles of democracy. Rights of citizenship are justice, equality and equal opportunities.

Do you think that there are equal opportunities in Yemen?

Al-Shami: Unfortunately not. Four million women participated in the elections and they have only one female representative in Parliament.

Do you think that the upcoming election will face obstacles?

Al-Shami: We have a roadmap to follow from the National Dialogue Conference (NDC), but this needs time and money.

Al-Junaid: Supposedly, we are to focus on holding free and fair elections in the coming phase. The elections should be held in line with the rule of law and should be supervised by an independent judiciary.

Is the current situation stable enough for elections?

Al-Shami: Holding elections at this time is very difficult because the situation in the south and Sana'a is not stable. [The situation may stabilize]

following implementation of the NDC outcomes. The NDC outcomes are very detailed and include clear guidelines on the elections.

Will the minority rights be respected in the new Yemen?

Al-Junaid: Unfortunately, the country is witnessing intense conflicts. One reason is because minorities were not treated justly in the past. Some minority groups have now armed themselves, though the majority of groups remain unarmed. There must be strong, federal protection for minorities.

How do you see the future of education in Yemen? Was it an NDC priority?

Al-Shami: The NDC did not discuss this issue. It focused its discussions on political issues. The education budget needs \$3 billion to expand schools, secure furniture such as desks and chairs and to employ more teachers. The NDC was supposed to tackle this issue.

Will people one day have the right to say that the NDC did not represent us? That it only represented the elite?

Al-Junaid: We did not wake up to suddenly find that there was a NDC. There was a long period of preparation for this conference and for choosing representatives. Generally speaking, the idea of a dialogue is a civilized one and the dialogue's participants weren't from another planet, they were Yemeni.

Misk Al-Junaid:
Generally speaking, the idea of a dialogue is a civilized one and the dialogue's participants weren't from another planet, they were Yemeni

How do you see the future of the Yemeni people? Will freedom triumph?

Al-Shami: The NDC outcomes are the foundation for progress. However, the ongoing situation is worrying. What happened in Sa'ada and Abyan resulted in chaos. So far, no one has been brought to trial for committing crimes against citizens or for violating their rights.

Do you think transparency is essential for democracy?

Al-Junaid: No one who behaves rightly fears transparency. Transparency is a foundation of democracy.

Rights are still being violated.

Al-Junaid: There are violations that take place every day by individuals, families and the state. Violations will continue unless the political system is democratic.

Al-Shami: The rights of children are very important. If we start to focus the children's rights, we will build a new Yemen where citizens know their rights.

انتخابات حرة ونزيهة وخالية من الضغوطات والاستقطابات في ظل سيادة القانون وظل قضاء نظيف يرابط الانتخابات وتصحيح سجلات الانتخابات.

هل يسمح لنا الوضع الحالي في اليمن بإجراء الانتخابات؟

الشامي: من الصعب إجراء الانتخابات في الوقت الحالي لأن الوضع في الجنوب وفي صعده لا يزال ساخنًا ما لم يتم تطبيق مخرجات الحوار الوطني كونها مخرجات مزمنة ومفصلة تفصيل كامل بالنسبة للانتخابات وتقسيم الأقاليم.

بالنسبة للأقليات، هل ستحترم إرادتها ورغبتها أثناء تنفيذ أي قرار يخص اليمن؟

الجنيدي: للأسف البلد الآن يشهد صراع شديد بسبب أنه مر في فترة من الفترات لم تراعى الاقليات وحقوقهم، إن وجدت الآن الاقليات فإنها أصبحت مسلحة والأغلبية أصبحت منزوعة السلاح. نحن نحتاج الآن إلى إعادة ترتيب المشهد و لا يحدث هذا إلا في ظل وجود دولة قوية.

حق التعليم مكفول للجميع فكيف ترى مستقبل هذا الموضوع هل هو من اهتمامات مخرجات الحوار الوطني؟

الشامي: للأسف لم يتطرق مؤتمر الحوار الوطني إلى هذه القضية ولكن تطرق لقضايا سياسية بحتة... والتعليم يحتاج إلى 3 مليار دولار لتوسيع المدارس وأثاث ومدرسين، لذلك كان من المفروض أن يتطرق لها مؤتمر الحوار الوطني

جمال الشامي:
تكافؤ الفرص يعني أنه لا بد أن تكون الحقوق الديمقراطية متكافئة بين الرجل والمرأة، والحقيقة نجد أن حقوق المرأة مفقودة.

في حال أن الديمقراطية تجسدت في أوساط الشعب هل من حق الشعب أن يقول أن الحوار لم يمثلني في شيء لأنه كان حوار نخبة؟

الجنيدي: أولاً لم نصحو على وجود مؤتمر الحوار الوطني كان هناك فترة طويلة للتخضير لهذا المؤتمر ولأختيار الفرق ومن يمثلها في المؤتمر.. ومن كانوا يعترضون على الحوار كانت لديهم فكرة مغايرة للتغيير وبشكل عام فكرة الحوار هي فكرة حضارية ولا يحق لنا أن نقول أنه مؤتمر أتى إليه أناس من بلاد آخر أو من كوكب آخر.

هل سيعلو مستوى الوعي وكذلك سقف الحريات لدى المواطن اليمني؟

الشامي: مخرجات الحوار أسس نمشي عليها ولكن الوضع الحالي مقلق جداً وما حصل في آيين من القاعده وصعده ودماج يخلق عدم توازن والوضع الأمني غير مستقر ولم يحاكم شخص إلى الآن قام بقتل مواطن أو انتهك حقه ..

هل تعتقد أن الشفافية لا بد أن تكون ملازمة للديمقراطية؟

الجنيدي: لا أحد يخاف من الشفافية إذا كان موقفه شريف وقانوني. فكيف نريد من أي شخص أو مواطن أن يشارك في العملية السياسية وصنع القرارات وهو مغيب عن حقيقة العملية السياسية؟ وبالتالي فأساس من أسس الديمقراطية هي الشفافية.

الكثير من الحقوق التي لا تزال منتهكة كيف تراها في ظل المستقبل الجديد الذي نتطلع إليه؟

الجنيدي: هناك انتهاكات حقيقية تحدث يوماً على صعيد الفرد أو في إطار الأسرة أو على صعيد الدولة، والانتهاك سيظل قائم إذا لم يتغير النظام السياسي باتجاه حكم ديمقراطي رشيد لأنه ستظل حلولنا في إطار الممارسات الشخصية البسيطة التي لا تنعكس على المجتمع ككل، ولكي نقوم بعملية تغيير حقيقية لا بد أن يكون هناك توازن بين دور الفرد ودور الدولة

الشامي: حقوق الطفل هي الأساس، فإذا بدأنا بحقوق الطفل أسسنا إنسان جديد ليمن ومجتمع جديد واعي بحقوقه بشكل عام

ما هي الديمقراطية؟

مسك الجنيدي: الديمقراطية هي شكل من أشكال الحكم يشارك فيها جميع المواطنين على قدم المساواة.

جمال الشامي: الديمقراطية هي الصوت المرتفع ذو البيان من دون سقف مثل التشريعات الانتخابية الاستفتاء.

ما هي الحقوق التي يمكن أن يتمتع بها المواطن في ظل الديمقراطية؟

الجنيدي: الحقوق التي ينبغي أن يتمتع به الإنسان تحت سقف ديمقراطي من وجهة نظري هي أن يعيش الإنسان كما هو ويمارس حقوقه وحرياته حيث تنتهي هذه الحقوق والحريات عندما تبدأ حريات وحقوق الآخرين. وهناك ثلاثة مستويات للحقوق هي حقوق مدنية وسياسية واجتماعية.

مسك الجنيدي:

حقوق المواطن هي العدالة والمساواة وتكافؤ الفرص وهي من أهم الحقوق التي يجب التركيز عليها

هل يتم تطبيق الديمقراطية بشكل فعلي في اليمن؟

الشامي: الديمقراطية في اليمن لا زالت في مرحلة المراهقة ولم نبدأ بها بعد لأننا خضنا أربعة انتخابات برلمانية ورئاسية في 1994 و 1997 و 2003 و 2006 ولكن ما تزال القبيلة تسعى للاستحواذ على الاصوات بينما لا يوجد مشاركة فعلية للمرأة والجانب الديمقراطي عند الأحزاب لا يزال غائباً.

في ظل الوضع الراهن في اليمن، هل نستطيع أن نأمل أن يرتفع مستوى الديمقراطية في اليمن الجديد الذي يتطلع إليه الجميع؟

الجنيدي: سنصل يوماً ولكن علينا التغلب على الصعوبات التي سنواجهها في ظل الصراعات والمقتدرات الرهنة نحن كمواطنين ينبغي أن نكسر بدورنا في الوصول لهذا الحلم...

كيف يمكن لأفراد المجتمع ترسيخ معنى الديمقراطية؟

أنا أقول أنه يمكن ترسيخ ذلك على المدى البعيد عن طريق الممارسة، ولنا تجريبه في المدرسة الديمقراطية في عام 2000م عندما أقيمت انتخابات في برلمان الأطفال وكان ممنوع أن تنشر أي خبر عن برلمان الأطفال.

ما هي الحقوق الواجب التركيز عليها أثناء بناء ديمقراطية واضحة في المجتمع اليمني؟

الجنيدي: لا يمكن الفصل بين الديمقراطية والمواطنة فحين نتحدث عن الديمقراطية لا بد أن يدخل تحت إطار الديمقراطية احترام حقوق المواطنة وحين نتكلم عن المواطنة في إطار عام وكلها لا بد أن يكون تحت هذه المواطنة احترام لآخرة ومبادئ الديمقراطية. حقوق المواطنة هي العدالة والمساواة وتكافؤ الفرص وهي من أهم الحقوق التي يجب التركيز عليها...

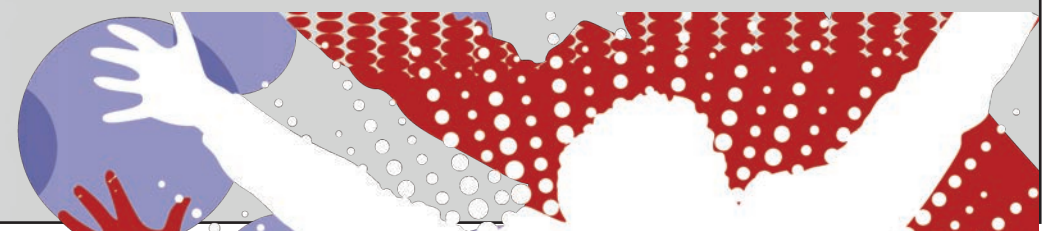
هل تعتقد أنه يوجد تكافؤ فرص أثناء ممارسة العملية الديمقراطية في اليمن؟

الشامي: للأسف لا، لأن تكافؤ الفرص يعني أنه لا بد أن تكون الحقوق الديمقراطية متكافئة بين الرجل والمرأة، والحقيقة نجد أن حقوق المرأة مفقودة، وللأسف الشديد شاركت 4 مليون امرأة في الانتخابات ولم تصعد إلا امرأة واحدة إلى مجلس النواب... وكذلك لا يوجد تكافؤ فرص بين الأحزاب حيث أن بعض الأحزاب في الساحة قويه ويمكنها الترشح والفوز بينما هناك أحزاب ضعيفة لا تستطيع ترشيح فرد منها.

هل تعتقد أن الانتخابات القادمة ستواجه صعوبات وعوائق؟

جمال الشامي: في هذا الموضوع يوجد هناك خارطة طريق نمشي عليها مؤتمر الحوار وما بعده من انتخابات وإنشاء أقاليم وهذا كله يحتاج إلى وقت طويل وإلى أموال.

الجنيدي: من المفروض أن ينصب هدفنا في المرحلة القادمة على



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Why Crimea won't soften Moscow's stance on Syria

Theodore Karasik
English.alarabiya.net
First Published March 3

The recent focus on Ukraine's meltdown brought out a lot of analysis on how events in the broken country may affect the Kremlin's foreign policy on Syria. Many pundits argued that there would not be much of a change. That assertion may be

a bit premature: the temperature throughout the region appears to be reaching the boiling point.

The events in Ukraine, especially the escalating situation in Crimea, are challenging the Kremlin at a critical juncture between Moscow and Damascus. As we know, Moscow argues that Syria is an integral part of the Kremlin's foreign policy in the Middle East.

Commentators are maintaining that events in Ukraine are likely to

force changes in Russia's strategic outlook thus making the Kremlin either more assertive on the Syrian question or perhaps dropping Damascus in terms of importance because of the strategic distraction of Ukraine.

Some would argue that Crimea is a strategic distraction for Russia from the Kremlin's Middle East policy. It's not. Those thinking that Russia is diverted will likely find the Kremlin acting out, challenging conventional wisdom and policy-planning that we all thought were fairly solid up until a week ago.

Russian President Vladimir Putin is a man of his word when it comes to Syria. If pundits think Moscow will toss Syria aside that would be a mistake. In fact, Russian foreign policy is likely to go into overdrive. One who believes that Russia cannot handle multiple regional crises at once is going to be sadly mistaken.

For Russian security policy, make no mistake that the Kremlin has for decades had a "what if" plan for Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula. And Moscow is moving quickly, inserting troops into Crimea, drawing the ire of the West. There is talk already of U.S. President Obama not attending the G8 in June 2014 in Moscow.

But the Kremlin is not stupid. The Kremlin is prepared for multiple contingencies of various degrees. So make no mistake that Putin is ready to strike out in all directions, especially in the core of the Middle East through diplomatic jolts.

Some would argue that the events in Crimea and the rest of Ukraine must be making Syria a bit nervous about receiving the necessary attention from Moscow. With certainty, Assad's patron to the North will continue to arm the regime, keep the Russian advisors on the ground, perhaps delay implementation of the chemical weapons extraction, and sustain its support of Assad in order to delay and degrade the Geneva process.

When discussing strategic distraction, one should also keep in mind that while the Ukraine issue unfolds, Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt and Iraq will continue to fight extremists. And as the world watches events in Ukraine, extremists know to take advantage of the situation by launching more attacks against governments, infrastructure, and individuals. A key question is whether these extremists will see any opportunity to support their "Muslim brothers" on the Crimean peninsula, the

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Some would argue that Crimea is a strategic distraction for Russia from the Kremlin's Middle East policy. It's not.

Tatars. The Tatars faced the same type of history as other Muslim minorities in the Northern Caucasus, including deportation. In the past decade, Russia, and various Ukrainian politicians have used the excuse that Al-Qaeda was trying to infiltrate the peninsula and bring jihad. These false rumors of the past may become true in the near future. Syrian extremists, who are against Assad, may see a new opportunity to spread their chaos. These jihadis are looking for a new fight anywhere and Crimea and Russia may be their next targets. We need to be watching their discourse carefully for "support for the Crimean Tatar brothers."

The next few weeks are likely to be filled with tension and diplo-

matic confrontations. We will all be watching for signals from Putin, from the Russian Foreign Ministry, and from the Russian Defense Ministry, on both the Ukrainian front and the Syrian problem. The most important point is to look at the trans-regional linkages between Russia's intervention in Crimea, and the impact on Syria's immediate future because these two foreign policy crises are now intertwined. Suddenly, the spring of 2014 is turning out to be very nasty.

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