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- استخدام الخدمة: إطلب 9 \* يليه رقم الموبايل المطلوب ثم إتصال.
- الخدمة متاحة لجميع خطوط الدفع المسبق ضمن شبكة سبأفون ولا تحتاج إلى تفعيل.
- إمكانية الإتصال حتى بدون رصيد بالنسبة للمتصل، لكن يشترط توفر رصيد كاف لدى الطرف الآخر حتى تتم المكالمة.
  - استقبال الكالمة: عند ورود المكالمة سيظهر رقم المتصل على شاشة الموبايل وعند الرد سيستمع المتلقي إلى رسالة صوتية تطلب منه قبول المكالمة على حسابه بالضغط على الرقم 1 أو رفضها بالضغط على الرقم 2 وفي حال كانت المكالمة من رقم موجود في قائمة السماح، سيظهر رقم المتصل على شاشة الموبايل وعند الرد سيتم إستقبال المكالمة مباشرة دون إنتظار موافقة الطرف الآخر.
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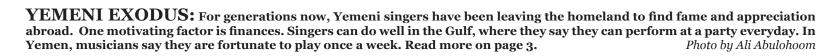
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## World Bank approves \$8 million grant to civil society organizations

#### Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, March 5—The World Bank has approved an \$8 million grant to help Yemeni civil society organizations and non government organizations (NGOs) implement development projects, it announced on Tuesday.

The announcement came during a conference organized by the Ministry of Cooperation and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor, in cooperation with the World Bank's Yemen office.

Wael Zakout, the World Bank's Yemen country manager told the Yemen Times that civil society organizations and NGOs can apply for grants at the Social Fund for Development. The fund will then nominate organizations for grants.

"The World Bank wants to support all civil society organizations in Yemen, but

so many]. So organizations with the best visions and projects will win support," Zakout said.

There are about 13,000 civil society organizations and NGOs in Yemen, according to Zakout.

Minister of Planning and International Cooperation Mohammed Al-Sa'adi said the Yemen government is Planning and International keen on coordinating with civil society organizations and NGOs.

> "The government believes it is important to boost the role of these organizations so that they are strong and independent partners. This is necessary for development and to develop services in a way that fulfills the aspirations of Yemeni society," Al-Sa'adi said.

A Supreme Council of Partnership was created between the government NGOs and civil society organizations

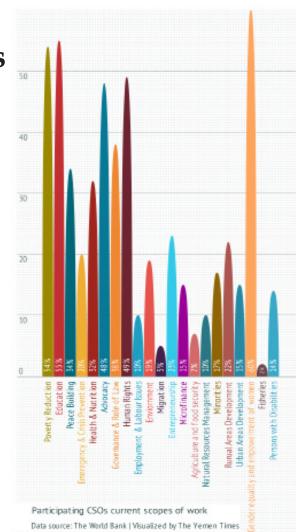
it cannot because [there are during the conference. The council consists of 60 NGO and civil society organization members and 40 members from the government.

The council hopes to enhance community participation, capacity building and to help develop their policymaking.

About 147 organizations, including many foreign delegations, took part in the conference.

The World Bank prepared a study about civil society organizations in 2013. It called on the government to coordinate the work of NGOs so that they meet the developmental challenges Yemen has been facing.

The study said Yemen saw an increase in the number of civil society organizations and NGOs following the 2011 uprising. Up to 24 percent of these organizations were established after the uprising, the study said.











## Drone strike kills three in Al-Jawf

#### Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, March 5-A drone strike killed three people on Wednesday in the Al-Khalq district of Al-Jawf governorate, in the north of Yemen, according to security sources.

One of the three was identified as Ali Saleh Jareem Alyan, an alleged Al-Qaeda affiliate, said Hamdan Al-Husam, an officer in the operations department in Al-Jawf. The two other bodies are charred beyond recognition, he said.

Al-Husam told the Yemen Times that the three were in a white Suzuki Vitara when their vehicle was targeted by a drone at about 11



"The car was carrying a large amount of ammunition and shells," said Al-Husam. "It continued burning for one hour following the strike."

Mabkhoot Mohammed, a journalist based in Al-Jawf, said the airstrike occurred when the vehicle left a popular

market in Al-Khalq district. On Monday, a drone strike killed one person in Marib governorate. On Tuesday, two people were killed in an airstrike in Shabwa governorate. The government has accused all three individuals of belonging to Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).



## Truck drivers threaten to block Taiz-Aden highway



#### Story and photo by Emad Al-Saqqaf

TAIZ, March 5-Dozens of truck drivers in Taiz threatened to block the Taiz-Aden highway in protest of the killing of their colleague on Monday.

The drivers blocked the Taiz-Aden main road in the Al-Hawban area and pitched tents on the side of the street, calling on security forces to quickly apprehend the people responsible for the killing of their colleague, Ahmed Mohammed Al-Anz, a 40-year-old resident of Amran. Al-Anz was killed by unknown gunmen Al-Hawban. The drivers threatened to block the road if those responsible were not arrested.

"We set up tents in the street because we are determined to see that the murderers are arrested and brought to justice. We will block the road completely if security forces do not arrest the assailants," one driver told the Yemen

Sultan Al-Alimi, the press officer for the Taiz Security Department, said that unidentified gunmen shot Al-Anz early Monday while he was driving on the TaizAden road.

As the truck rushed away from the scene, it ran over a pedestrian identified as Waheed Tarish Mohammed, who died instantly. The truck also damaged other cars, a shopping center, some motorcycles and a light pole, finally coming to a stop in front of Al-Zindani Market in the Al-Hawban area.

On Monday and Tuesday, the security authorities captured nine men suspected of killing Al-Anz. Investigations are still underway, said Al-Alimi.

"The truck ran over one citizen. If this had happened during peak hours, it would have been a catastrophe," said Bassam Abdulbasit, the owner of a shopping center located near the incident. "Perhaps dozens would have died, because this is a popular market, crowded with people.

Shawqi Ahmed Hael, the governor of Taiz, said that the security authorities are doing their best to maintain security and stability in the governorate, adding that the local government will distribute 20 additional military vehicles among police stations and security offices, according to a statement released by the governor's office.

## New credit fund will support Yemeni agriculture

#### Dares Al-Badani

SANA'A, March 4—The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) announced last week that it is planning to set up a credit fund to support and develop Yemen's agricultural sector.

Salah Hajj Hassan, the representative of the organization in Yemen, said this idea was proposed at the 32nd conference that was held Feb. 24-28 in Rome.

"We received orders from the organization to prepare a plan for this fund. We will cooperate with our partners at the Yemeni Ministry of Agriculture to set it up," said Hassan in a statement to the Yemen Times.

Assuming that this fund materializes, it will be a boon to farmers, according to Azeez Ahmed, a farmer in Hodeida governorate.

"We come up short in a lot of areas. We have to purchase pesticides on the black market, and we are often short on the diesel fuel that we use to operate pumps," he said.

Supporting the agricultural sector in Yemen will go a long way toward solving the country's food insecurity and will create job opportunities, according to the FAO office in Yemen. About 75 percent of the rural population depends on

agriculture for its livelihood, and supporting this sector will mitigate the food insecurity of 10.5 million Yemenis, the organization said.

According to the FAO, a leading reason behind Yemen's food insecurity is because it imports 90 percent of its food.

Abdu Saeed Al-Jabri, a farmer in Dhamar, said that Yemen's poor harvests are due to farmers not having what they need to make the land productive. "We own land, but we cannot

invest in it because our [financial]

resources are limited. We do not have anyone to support us with diesel fuel supplies or modern irrigation systems," Al-Jabri said. Farmers in Yemen still use traditional irrigation systems because

they cannot afford new, more efficient ones. Farmers do not have a strategy for production and marketing of agricultural products, said Mustafa Nasr, the head of the Studies and

Economic Media Center. He said farmers in Tehama, for example, annually sustain huge losses in wintertime, when markets are saturated with tomatoes. Because of the market glut, they often sell for less thanYR50 (23 cents) per kilo, whereas a kilo of tomatoes sells for YR600 (about

\$2.70) in the summertime. There are times when the market is saturated with certain agricultural products, and times when these same products are hard to find. This phenomenon is an indicator of ineffective management and the absence of a marketing strategy," said Nasr.

Yemen lost 71 billion riyals (over \$330 million) from late 2012 until September 2013 because of the Tuta absoluta moth infestation that swept through Yemen, destroying much of the country's tomato crop, according to a statement made by the agriculture minister, Fareed Majawar, in September of last year.

We hope this fund will be established as soon as possible, given that our farmers are struggling with many challenges-including the moths-that we cannot wipe out singlehandedly. These moths destroy the plants unless pesticides are used to control them. However, some farmers cannot afford to use pesticides because they are expensive," Al-Jabri said.



BUSINESS

AWARD

## Military commanders elude assassins in Shabwa, deadly attacks continue

#### Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SHABWA, March 5-Two commanders in Shabwa escaped an assassination attempt in an ambush by unidentified men on Tuesday, according to a local security source. One soldier was killed in the attack and two others were injured.

The attempted attack on Brigadier Qasim Laboza, commander of the 2nd Naval Infantry Brigade, and Brigadier Ahmed Saleh Al-Hamzi, commander of the 2nd Mountain Infantry Brigade, came one day after an attack in the same area by gunmen in a military vehicle that left six soldiers dead and 11 others wounded in the Balhalf area of Shabwa, according to Mubarak Al-Azlam, assistant chief of Shabwa Security.

"The gunmen [in both attacks] are Al-Qaeda affiliates because they have previously carried out assassinations like this in several areas of the governorate," he claimed.

Backed by armed local tribesmen, Al-Qaeda suspects control some areas of Shabwa where there is a complete absence of state authority, according to Al-Azlam.

"We are still waiting for reinforcements and weapons to be sent from the Defense Ministry and Interior Ministry," he said.

The 2nd Mountain Infantry on Friday arrived in Shabwa from Abyan governorate to reinforce the troops whose job it is to secure the oil facilities in the governorate.

Abdulmon'em Al-Atefi, a resident of Shabwa, said that the situation in the governorate is unstable despite the arrival of the reinforcements.

"Gunmen still occupy some areas and we do not feel safe. Daily fighting takes place in the Balhaf area and security forces are not around," Al-Atefi said.

Following repeated attacks on the site, the 2nd Brigade has been heav-

ily deployed in the area and a battalion associated with the brigade was transferred from Abyan to Shabwa to provide backup.

Balhaf is a coastal area of Shabwa governorate. The Balhaf plant produces liquid natural gas in Belhaf Port and is supervised by Yemen LNG. Belhaf port was established in November 2009 and is closely guarded by the military. It exports natural gas under long-term agreements with the GDF Suez, Total and Kogas companies.

The plant was attacked on Sunday, leaving two attackers dead and four soldiers wounded.

## Amran tribes reach tentative agreement, negotiations still underway

#### Mohammed Al-Hassani

SANA'A, Mar.5-Negotiations between pro-Houthi tribes and their opponents began early this week, under the supervision of Sana'a Mayor Abdulqader Hilal.

Sheikh Mohsen Al-Sufiani, a leading tribal figure in Amran told the Yemen Times that negotiations are taking place between Sheikh Saleh Al-Wajman, head of the pro-Houthi tribes, and General Ali Mohsen.

The conflict between the Houthis and their opponents in the north of Yemen left about 42.000 people displaced during the conflict that intensified between November and February, according to UNOCHA.

The two warring parties were involved in bloody fighting between June 2013 and February 2014 that left dozens killed and hundreds wounded.

Al-Sufiani said that Al-Wajman doesn't represent the Houthis but rather represents the Amran tribes that fought against Al-Ahmar family.

A presidential committee early February was able to reach a truce between the two parties but residents in the area said that the truce still lacks guaran-

Al-Wajman and Mohsen reached a ten-point agreement to resolve the conflict in Amran.

The points are to be presented to President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi to ratify them, according to Al-Sufiani.

Al-Sufiani said that Hilal and Al-Wajman took the initiative to meet with Mohsen to discuss the tension in Amran. The ten points included ad-

herence to peace by all parties. Al-Sufiani said the residents are Yemenis sharing the same religion and country and everybody must respect each other's freedom of thought and the right to organize protests and ceremo-

All gunmen should leave the area to enable residents to return to their houses, according to the agreement.

The points included renouncing the use of force and threats to spread ideologies.

'The state will guarantee the agreement and will work to eradicate the reasons that led to conflict," added Al-Sufiani.

 $Hassan\,Al\text{-}Humran, the \,public$ relations officer for the Houithis, denied any official involvement in the negotiations between the pro-Houthi tribes and their opponents.

Al-Humran told the Yemen Times that, "we have not had any meetings with General Ali Mohsen. But we will meet with him if needed."

Ali Al-Bukhaiti, a former

National Dialogue Conference representative for the Houthis, told the Yemen Times that the Houthis are ready to hand over their weapons to the government according to what was agreed upon at the NDC that concluded in January.

The Sa'ada Issue Working Group members at the NDC agreed on 60 articles. One article stipulates that all the tribal and political components should hand over their weapons to the government.

"Our willingness to hand over weapons comes in the context of our agreement to the Sa'ada Issue Working Group outcomes. But there must be a mechanism to guarantee that all parties hand their weapons over without exception," said Al-Bukhaiti.

Abdulrahman Al-Duais, a political researcher, said the Houthis are showing willingness to hand over their weapons following the passing of Security Council resolution no. 2140.

The resolution threatened to punish spoilers of the political transition with sanctions and travel bans.

The Houthis have an arsenal of weapons including tanks, armored vehicles and rocket launchers, according to Abdulsalam Mohammed, the head of Aba'd Center for Strategic Stud-

Senior Reporter

Mohammed bin

Sallam

## Government confiscates legal pesticides cargo in Hodeida

#### Ali Saeed

SANA'A, March 5-The Ministry of Agriculture confiscated 120 tons of legal pesticides this week belonging to a local pesticides importing com-

The company was previously accused of smuggling and hiding illegal pesticides on land owned by the company in Sana'a, said deputy ministry of agriculture, Mohamed Al-Ghashim to the Yemen Times.

The Public Fund Court in the capital Sana'a ordered on February 24 the shutdown of Daghsan Agricultural Pesticides Company and authorized the Ministry of Agriculture to ban the company from importing any pesticides in the future.

Owners of the company are still at large and are being prosecuted in absentia, according to the state-run Saba News Agency.

"The confiscated pesticides in Hodeida are licensed, but we confiscated the shipment because of the court order that banned the company from importing," said Al-Ghashim.

Al-Ghashim said he asked the court to speed up the trial process in order to send the confiscated illegal pesticides found last November for incineration at international waste disposal sites.

The confiscated pesticides in Sana'a are still kept in containers

where they were discovered and there have been no scientific examinations of the pesticides, according to the Ministry of Agriculture.

Al-Ghashim said that the Ministry of Agriculture had to remove the soil where the pesticides were buried and is storing the soil in plastic bags.

"These pesticides and the affected soil must be destroyed outside Yemen in international disposal sites, he said while speaking to the Yemen

The UN Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] estimates that half a million tons of toxic pesticides are scattered throughout developing countries, according to Tanzanian Daily news in July 2013.

The government knew about the pesticides in Sana'a after locals in Al-Jiraf area reported a bad chemical smell to the local police station that was near their homes, the ministry said in February.

Abdullah Masood, an engineer and the head of the Central Lab of Pesticides Residue in Sana'a told the Yemen Times that pesticides have a waiting period after application. The waiting period varies, but it is dangerous to consume crops within this waiting period.

"If the crops are consumed during this waiting period, they can affect human health and can even result in paralysis or death," Masood said.

What should I do if I am exposed to a pesticide?



#### Minimize further exposure

- If a pesticide is splashed on your clothing remove the clothes as soon as possible and later wash the clothes separately from other clothes.
- If pesticides are on your skin wash with soap and water for at least 15 minutes.
- For pesticides in the eyes, rinse your eyes with water for at least 15 minutes.
- If you accidentally eat or drink a pesticide, read the label to see if vomiting should be induced. If you feel a burning sensation, rinse your mouth with water and dilute the poison by drinking milk or water.
- If you have inhaled a pesticide, leave the area and seek fresh air. Follow re-entry directions on the product label.

Source: Michigan Department of Community Health, Division of Environmental and Occupa

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### BUSINESS FOR PEACE AWARD

# Following a long-lasting trend, Yemeni singers continue their exodus

Singers heading to Gulf, where they say they are more appreciated and better-paid

Story and photo by Ali Abulohoom

emeni singers have been emigrating abroad for generations, and each generation has its reasons for leaving.

During the rule of the imam at the beginning of the 20th century, singing was considered by the imam himself to contradict Islamic

A wave of Yemeni siners such as: Abu Baker Salem Belfaqeeh, Mohammed Sa'd Abdulla, Salem Bamadhaf, and Mohammed Abu Nassar left Yemen in the early 60s. Ahmed Fathi and Karama Mersal departed not long afterward.

Another wave of singers left Yemen following the 2011 youth uprising because of the economy and the political climate.

In 2012 Mohammed Sharaf left for Qatar. He justified his decision by saying that the cultural environment in Yemen is not supportive of artists

"I would hold at least one party per week in Aden prior to the 2011 revolution, and I would make about YR50,000 (about \$250)," he said.

Attendance decreased following the uprising as a result of the deteriorated security and economic situation, so he decided to move to Qatar, where he organizes parties for its Yemeni community and for Qatari fans of Yemeni music.

"I have been in Qatar for over two years now and I have never regretted my decision [to leave Yemen]. I believe I should have [left] earlier because I can organize parties here almost daily. Some singers followed suit and came to reside in Qatar because the environment here encourages singers."

Singers Fuad Al-Kibsi and Hussein Mohib also moved abroad in late

"The environment in Yemen doesn't encourage singers and this forces us leave to other countries," said Mohib, who now resides in Qatar.

"I chose Qatar because the environment there motivates singers and the Qatari people adore Yemeni music," he added.

Mohib is well-known for his original songs and his voice. He also covers tunes from late Yemeni singers such as Hamoud Al-Harethi.

Mohib, who is very famous in Yemen, is regularly invited to sing at wedding parties in the country.

"Yemen's Ministry of Culture is no longer orga-

nizing parties and cultural events since the events in 2011, so singers resort to only singing at weddings," Mohib said.

"Although singing at wedding parties is nice, and it makes people happy, my goal is to reach the entire



Musicians are leaving Yemen for varied reasons, among them the poor financial prospects in Yemen, but also because they feel they are not appreciated in Yemen as much as they are appreciated abroad.

Arab world through my songs."

Mohib's migration wasn't financially-motivated, he said. He intends to introduce Yemeni songs to the Gulf countries as Belfaqeeh and Fathi did before him.

Fuad Al-Kibsi, a popular Yemeni

singer, used to record his songs on cassettes and sell them directly to the public.

"It's difficult for Yemeni musicians to protect their copyrights with MP3s. Singers have received no support from the Ministry of

Culture. Yemeni singers used to sell cassette tapes as a main source of income. They now depend on wedding performances for their livelihoods," Al-Kibsi said.

Mohammed Al-Saleh, a 25-year old student at Sana'a University, is

a big fan of Al-Kibisi. He believes Yemen lost a great singer and many more will follow suit if something does not change.

Culture

A recurring complaint from singers who have left is that Yemeni society does not value musicians.

Singer Jabir Ali Ahmed, an advisor to the minister of culture said the musical environment in Yemen is weak, and the Yemeni government neglects the arts.

Ahmed said that the government should implement music into school curricula so that children are exposed from an early age.

It is also time for the Ministry of Education to establish music institutes and the option to study music in universities, he said.

Though he produces music, he has not released his songs because he is afraid of piracy.

For Nizar, Yemen is not a hospital place for a musician and he is considering leaving.

"The lack of a music industry in Yemen has frustrated Yemeni singers, driving most of them to leave,"



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## BUSINESS AWARD

# Unemployed grads: Time for gov't to step up

## Gov't considers monthly stipend for unemployed university grads

Mohammed Al-Hassani

dnan Al-Rajihi graduated from Sana'a University five years ago, but he is still unemployed. Al-Rajihi is not alone in struggling with unemployment. Thousands of students nationwide share the same plight.

In order to help these unemployed university graduates, the Yemeni government wants to establish a fund to be financed by the government, by donor nations and by international organizations.

Taha Al-Hamdani, the first deputy minister of the civil service, told the Yemen Times that the ministry has already prepared the bill and handed it over to the government. However, it is not expected to be presented for parliamentary approval until the beginning of 2015.

Al-Hamdani said that there are about 270,000 unemployed graduates of public and private universi-

Al-Hamdani said the fund's purpose is "to mitigate poverty in society by temporarily supporting un-

provide financial support to those who register with the Civil Service Ministry."

Monthly aid will be in line with the lowest monthly government salaries, about YR25,000 (\$116).

Al-Rajihi said setting up this fund is a good beginning, and a strategy that has been employed in neighboring countries.

"This will give young adults hope that the government is working to resolve their unemployment issue which has only gotten worse, year after year."

Many graduates welcomed this news, but wonder if the announcement is anything more than politi-

Amal Al-Makhidi graduated from university in 2003 and has been unemployed ever since.

"It is good that they have announced a plan to establish this fund, but what really matters is tangible results," Al-Makhidi said.

Abduljaleel Al-Maghbashi, a young political activist, said that although three years have passed since the beginning of the 2011 up- cient to achieve levels of per capita

employed graduates. The fund will rising that saw the end of former president Ali Abdulla Saleh's presidency, the economic situation has not improved.

> "[This] fund is obviously just [talk] meant to distract young people from their demands for jobs,"

A low standard of living and high unemployment were among the major reasons that youth rose up against the government in 2011.

Although Al-Hamdani claims that the government will be able to find financing for the fund, a representative of the International Monetary Fund, Gazi Shbaikat, told state-run Saba news agency that the financial situation in Yemen in 2014 will be difficult unless foreign aid increases and the government carries out many of reforms.

"The Yemeni economy has continued to recover from the 2011 crisis. In 2013 it grew at a rate of 4.5 percent. The growth rate is low because of repeated disruptions to oil production," Shbaikat said.

He expects that moderate growth will continue, but it will be insuffiincome in line with 2011 levels.

Mustafa Nasr, an economist and the head of the Studies and Economic Media Center, dismissed the idea that the government would be able to set up a fund to support the unemployed graduates.

"The government has had trouble paying employee salaries and making welfare payments since 2011. How can the government possibly afford to set up such a fund?"

According to the center, 54 percent of Yemenis live below the poverty line, and unemployment has reached 40 percent.

"If the government is serious about tackling the issue of unemployed young adults, it should give them jobs instead of welfare, which will keep them dependent on societv," Nasr said.

Officials at the Civil Service Ministry said that the fund would be largely reliant on donor nations. However, Nasr said Yemen's ability to receive and administer foreign loans and grants is very weak.

The Friends of Yemen group held a ministerial meeting on Dec. 25, 2013 in New York. They called on forms. The group emphasized the job opportunities.



Youth participate in a rally, calling for the fall of then-President Ali Abdulla Saleh in Oct. 2011. A low standard of living and high unemployment were among the major reasons that youth rose up against the government in 2011.

the Yemeni government to do more in regard to job creation and also to implement energy-related re-

importance of encouraging foreign investment in Yemen in order to boost the economy and create new

# Sisi's transition: Pivoting away from 1954?

**Maged Atiya** 

he popularity of Field Marshal Abdel Fattah al-Sisi rests more on hope that he will lead Egypt away from the brink and less on knowledge of the man himself. While many journal-

ists and scholars have been quick difficult, but not insurmountable, to caricature him, few have tried to understand the historical forces likely to shape his role. If Sisi sees the presidency as much as a national obligation as a personal ambition, then his behavior in office will depend largely on the problems he faces. Egypt possesses an array of

problems. The odds of success for the next leader are small, but not non-existent.

The Egyptian republic is in tatters, so its leader will face the stark choices common to distressed regimes. He can choose to be a reactionary and attempt to reconstruct

the old regime. Alternately, he can face reality and attempt to fix problems as best he can and in the process become a transitional leader, however reluctantly. Historically, transitional leaders are a product from the very system they end up changing radically. Most transitional leaders set out to make modest reforms and minor fixes before reality and the logic of a failing system force them onto other paths.

Recent history offers many examples. Mikhail Gorbachev, a loyal Soviet man, presided over the peaceful dissolution of the Soviet Union. Deng Xiaoping was Mao Tse-tung's faithful companion who reoriented China 180 degrees away from Maoism. F. W. de Klerk was both the mature scion of apartheid and the man who dismantled it in less than two years. Closer to home, Sa'ad Zaghlul, father of the Egyptian independence movement, started out as a protégé of the imperial Lord Cromer.

Sisi, born in 1954, is of the generation that Gamal Abdel Nasser called "Abna' al Thawra," or "Sons of the Revolution," and who made him beam with delight when they addressed him as "Baba." Sisi may quickly find that maintaining the order instituted in 1954 will mean certain failure, and that success for Egypt will demand a turning away from the regime that nourished him. The contours of failure are so clear that they warrant no further discussion, but should success not evade Sisi, it will be important to understand the potential nature of this transitional figure. Some patterns have emerged already, but other, perhaps more critical, are still a mystery.

Stylistically, Sisi is not Nasser. Egyptians are in the habit of elevating leaders to heroic status, especially in times of trouble, but Sisi retains a diffident public persona in the face of the hoopla. He has made it clear he intends to be the hard driving manager of a capable outfit, rather than a heroic leader in the manner of Saladin, the Kurdish conqueror appropriated by the Arabs. Sisi's speech announcing the July 3 removal of Mohamed Morsi was closer to a Power Point presentation than the sonorous eloquence of Anwar al Sadat on July 23, 1952.

Sisi has fostered, or at the least, tolerated Egyptian hyper-nationalism with a marked turning away from the Arab world. Where Nasser expended Egyptian treasure to export revolution to the Arab coun-



tries, Sisi has garnered significant to alter the ruinous fuel subsidies, assistance to Egypt in order not to export the revolution to them. While there seems to be no return to Nasser's opposition to the West's role in the Arab world, Egyptian cooperation with the United States on regional affairs, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict, is more mut-He speaks of "Misr, Um Al Dunya" ("Egypt, Mother of the World") rather than promise to recreate the mythical great Arab nation. Egypt's needs will likely accentuate that Turning hard against the Muslim

Brotherhood is yet another indication of a move away from Mubarak's policy. The Brotherhood was, in many ways, a component of the pre-2011 order. Although officially banned as a political party, it was given great latitude in social matters and its candidates tolerated, as long as they did not threaten to become a significant parliamentary force. Although the current policy superficially resembles Nasser's attempt to suppress the Brotherhood, it is actually far harsher and seems more determined to eliminate the group as a political force. The Brotherhood has been tolerated for more than 40 of the past 60 years, but today its very existence seems at stake. Permanent suppression of the Brotherhood would be a historic event and will deeply color Sisi's legacy.

There are other significant areas where there are hints but no clear idea of what Sisi's policies will be. On the economic front it is difficult to believe that he can replicate Nasser's statist policy. Egypt can no longer afford that, nor can the government nationalize resources for its use without upsetting the equity holders of these assets from the Gulf and the West. The government has already indicated it might want

and leaked recordings indicate they may approve of such measures. Any major economic reform to further liberalize the economy will collide with one of Sisi's other major quandaries; the role of the army. From 1952 to 2011, the Egyptian

army did not intervene directly in ed, either by choice or necessity. governing, although it was always the backbone of the regime. Since 1973 in particular, much of this has been accomplished by granting the army a major role in the "commanding heights of the economy." Economic reform may alter this and as a consequence force Sisi to face the issue of what role the army will play in politics. Confronting this issue is as painful as ignoring it. How he handles it will determine the features and the stability of the upcoming regime.

Transitional figures sometimes lack a clear idea of where their journey will take them, and often others have a major say in the destination. De Klerk's actions would have had different results without a Nelson Mandela. Deng's reforms would have been for naught if George H. W. Bush had not encouraged investment in China even after Tiananmen Square. Gorbachev's path was accelerated by the restive Eastern European countries, and even some states in the Soviet Union. Similarly, the actions of Egyptians and outsiders could significantly affect the nature of a Sisi transition. These actions will determine if he is the last of his kind, or the precursor to something far more problematic.

Maged Atiya is an Egyptian-American physicist and businessman.

This article was re-published with permission from the Atlantic Council.









**MENAVAS** 













#### Global Communities - Yemen EASE Program REQUEST FOR QUOTATION



RFQ Number: (EASE-RFQ-14-02)

The EASE program focuses on providing humanitarian assistance to displaced people, returnees and host communities in in 4 governorates in Yemen. The overarching goal of the EASE program is to the early recovery needs of conflict-affected populations through a holistic approach to rebuilding productive livelihoods and improving WASH outcomes. As part of the above objectives, Global Communities is planning to distribute Livestock (goats) for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), Returnees and Community Members to program beneficiaries. As such Global Communities is publishing (EASE-RFQ-14-02).

Interested vendors can receive the documents for the above mentioned RFQ by contacting the email address listed below. The below information & qualifications must be submitted with the quotation:

Required information & qualifications:

- 1. Certified and valid initial check or approved banking guarantee in the amount of \$2,500, valid for a minimum of 60 days.
- 2. Valid Commercial Record ID card
- Valid Tax ID Card.
- The quotation must be submitted in both English and Arabic languages.

Global Communities reserves the right to visit any interested vendor's offices & rejects vendors considered to be unqualified for the proposed work.

#### The last date for submission of quotations is (13th March 14).

Accompanying data, background information, Terms of Reference, Livestock (Goats) specifications and other requirements for this RFQ are available upon request.

For further information about this (RFQ) please contact:

Email: Procurement-EASE@globalcommunitiesyemen.org

Global Communities – Yemen

Aden- KhourMaksar-White City-, Education Round

Phone: +967 2 234087 +967 2 275019



#### Global Communities - Yemen EASE Program REQUEST FOR QUOTATION

Global Communities Partners for Good

RFQ Number: (EASE-RFQ-14-03)

The EASE program focuses on providing humanitarian assistance to displaced people, returnees and host communities in 4 governorates in Yemen. The overarching goal of the EASE program is to the early recovery needs of conflict-affected populations through a holistic approach to rebuilding productive livelihoods and improving WASH outcomes. As part of the above objectives, Global Communities is planning to distribute Poultry (chickens) for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), Returnees and Community to program beneficiaries; as such Global Communities is publishing RFQ:(EASE-RFQ-14-03).

Interested vendors can receive the documents for the above mentioned RFQ by contacting the email address listed below. The below information & qualifications must be submitted with the quotation:

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- Certified and valid initial check or approved banking guarantee in the amount of \$1,000, valid for a minimum of 60 days.
- Valid Commercial Record ID card
- Valid Tax ID Card.
- The quotation must be submitted in both English and Arabic languages.

Global Communities reserves the right to visit any interested vendor's offices & rejects vendors considered to be unqualified for the proposed work.

#### The last date for submission of quotations is (13th March 14).

Accompanying data, background information, Terms of Reference, Poultry (chickens) specifications and other requirements for this RFQ are available upon request.

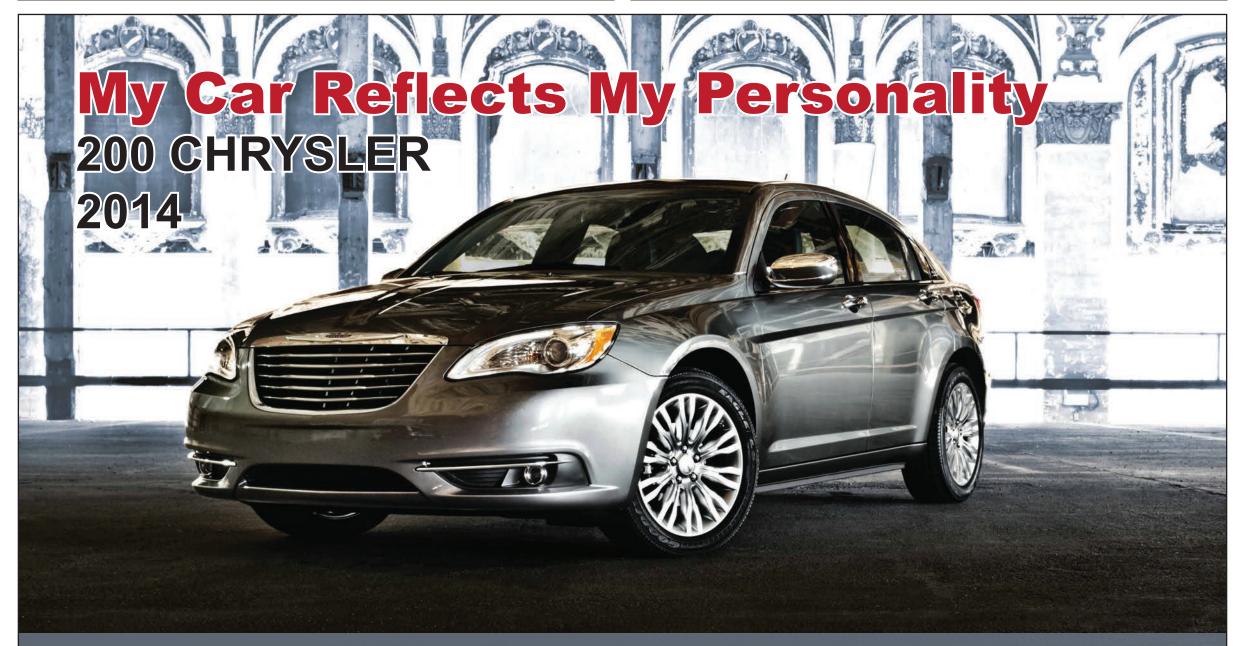
For further information about this (RFQ) please contact:

Email: Procurement-EASE@globalcommunitiesyemen.org

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6 Opinion 6 March, 2014



YT vision statement

"To make Yemen a good world citizen."

**Prof. Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf,** (1951 - 1999) Founder of Yemen Times



#### **OUR OPINION**

#### The Popular Heritage Museum needs a home

he only national museum of Yemeni heritage has been closed for the last four years. Several other museums have also closed—whether for management or security reasons—but the story of the Popular Heritage Museum is different.

It is different because the museum's collection is the personal initiative of researcher and author Arwa Abdu Othman. She has been collecting heritage items from all over the country for the past 17 years. In 2004 she started the museum in a small venue in Sana'a's Old City. The Ministry of Culture provided nominal support with the building's rent.

Othman, acting on her own initiative, bought and collected more than 7,000 titles for the museum's library, including more than 150 regional costumes, traditional cookware and cooking implements, handmade furniture and furnishings, leather items, jewelry, thousands of photographs, and the first and only audio library of Yemeni heritage.

Because of her passionate desire to share the richness of Yemen's heritage with everyone regardless of financial means, museum entry was free of charge. She did generate a small income by selling postcards and copies of original photographs, but it was not enough to support the museum.

At its peak, the museum organized elaborate festivals. Themes were: Adeni folkloric traditions; Mashaqer—the use of flowers to decorate women's hair; Madraha—the tradition of having a Hajj pilgrim bound for Mecca stand on a swing (madraha) while the community gathered to sing in celebration; and even a special festival to remember and appreciate Yemen's former strongly-embedded culture of tolerance in which Yemenis lived peacefully and cooperatively regardless of racial, ethnic, and religious differences.

For each of these events, the museum produced a print publication, mounted a photography exhibit, and organized seminars and public discussions. Each cultural festival would conclude with a musical celebration

Othman also staged several debates and conferences, the last of which addressed the image of the ruler in regard to Yemeni heritage. There are also several unfinished projects, such as the documentation of 1,000 traditional stories, for which she created a special story-telling theater production. She also started a series of books meant to document all 1,000 stories, but has managed to publish only a fragment of the series (three books of 50-70 stories each). Under her direction, the museum also published a periodical called "Dhakira" (memory) the focus of which was cultural heritage and the Yemeni folklore. Only two issues of this periodical were ever sent to press.

The first building she rented was too small to properly house all of her treasures so she moved spaces several times until 2011, when she was compelled by the political atmosphere, lack of governmental support, and lack of both national and international tourists to shutter the museum and place its contents in storage.

We have a huge public management problem in Yemen, and it is especially visible when it comes to the arts, cultural traditions and folklore. Unfortunately, the powers that be seem to consider culture a luxury and do not give it much attention. This is why personal initiatives by concerned individuals are so very important. However, when such initiatives do not find support, we lose the only hope we have for maintaining our national heritage.

We lose our connections with the past.

Already, many popular traditions have faded away and we have only our grandparents to remind us of what once existed.

It is museums such as the one Othman created that keep our history alive. What she desperately needs now is a suitable location for reestablishment of the museum before the items get lost or damaged, or even destroyed because of inadequate storage. Please help Othman to save Yemen's cultural heritage before it is lost forever!

If you would like to help, please write us at *yementimes1991@gmail.com* 

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

# Economic reform, the only way forward for Egypt

Jamal Khashoggi English.alarabiya.net First Published March 3

upporters of Egyptian Field Marshal Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi like to picture him as another Gamal Abdel Nasser. However, he certainly knows that if he wants to succeed as Egypt's president, he should never be like Abdel Nasser, rather he should fix the Egyptian economy that was tarnished by the "eternal leader." He certainly knows that Egypt's problem is the economy and that all those who came after Abdel Nasser tried to rebuild the economy but did not succeed.

President Anwar Sadat tried to make economic reforms under his "Open Door" policy, without compromising the structure of the rentier state and the command economy left by Abdel Nasser. The result was the emergence of a parallel economy producing what the Egyptians called "fat cats" who enjoy prosperity alone, away from the underprivileged majority. Hosni Mubarak made better achievements by hiring qualified economists, but the reality of a parallel economy continued. Mubarak once justified it using the "Trickle Down Economy", a theory that became popular in the United States during the era of former U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who encouraged reducing taxes on rich people and giving incentives to businessmen, hoping to increase their incomes and thus affect the rest of the

It is clear that this theory failed in Egypt and subsequently caused the Jan. 25 Revolution, the most important slogan of which was "social justice". The problem is that politicians and intellectuals in Egypt avoid discussing the most important issue in their country, which is the economy. They prefer to deal with any other issue such as discussing whether the state is civil or religious, civil or military, military or "Brotherhood." They also waste time discussing international conspiracies and "revolutionary" treatments for HIV and hepatitis. They would rather debate anything but the economy, perhaps because they all know that it is the real monster that can only be taken on through very painful decisions that may lead to a revolution, much bigger than what Egypt witnessed in the past three years. All the economic reforms made by previous Egyptian governments were mere tranquilizers and unfulfilled promises. The most important reason for the resignation of Hazem Beblawi's government days ago was that it issued a decision to raise the minimum wage that had been implemented in January, but it did not include everyone. Those who were included did not enjoy the raise due to burgeoning inflation. Consequently, factional strikes and sit-ins spread across the country.

## The difficult solution Any future president of Egypt knows

that the problem is simple but its solution is very difficult. The problem is that the state's income is less than its spending; The Egyptian budget deficit is about 240 billion pounds (\$34.9 billion), equivalent to 14 percent of Egypt's GDP during the last fiscal year, and the only possible solution is that these two numbers should at least be equal. This will only be possible by getting rid of Abdel Nasser's legacy; the massive public sector, an army of unnecessary employees with more than six million employees who are expected to increase to seven million soon with the government's offer of permanent contracts for the temporary staff. This week, 75,000 teachers were offered permanent contracts, while the state subsidizes the prices of costly commodities, most notably energy which alone needs 140 billion pounds (\$20 billion) from the state budget, along with the complex network of "protective" systems that restricted the economy and kept Egypt caught between a free market economy and a command economy.

During Mubarak's term, they tried to address these issues, but the solutions were marred by corruption and exclusions. Despite being "unfair" for a lot of people, it helped in achieving good growth rates for the Egyptian economy overall, recording 7.1 percent growth during the peak of the global financial crisis in 2008; however a quarter of the Egyptian population living below the poverty line did not benefit from it. Despite all that, this is very good news compared with the growth rate during the first quarter of the current fiscal year, which did not exceed one percent.

Many countries have faced the same situation as Egypt, but "President" Sisi should look into two particular cases while reading and examining the changes that led them to get out of the bottleneck; it was not easy but rather expensive. As long as Egypt is paying an expensive price to impose security and restore the state's respect for an individual-based regime, we cannot advise him to expand his national base through reunification and reconciliation; it is better to use this cost to serve the nation and not the individual, so that it won't be a vicious cycle of another crisis but an opportunity to break the cycles of totalitarian rule to establish an economic renaissance for a pluralistic democratic society.

#### Taking note

The above mentioned two cases are Chile and Turkey, where chaos and inflation prevailed for decades, to the point that the army was prompted to intervene. Judging if it was praiseworthy or blameworthy does not matter now. In Chile, General Pinochet came to power in 1971 and ousted the elected government. He was very tough, to the extent that Chileans are still imprinted by the memories of his harsh years. Thousands are still missing. The current president's father died after being tortured in Pinochet's prisons, but most of them admit that he succeeded in imposing economic reforms that his elected predecessors have failed to achieve. Thus he paved the way for what is known today as the "Miracle of Chile". Even more, Chilean students of famous Nobel laureate economist Milton Friedman, led the economic reform in their country during the Pinochet era, applying Friedman's theory regarding the "free market", which led - according to what he says in his memoirs – to a "better performance in the economy, saving Chile from the central government and replacing the ruling military class with a democratic society". Perhaps some Egyptian liberals would find better justification for accepting the development of the "on hold" democracy if they went through the ideas of the Milton Friedman School that is also known as "neoliberalism". The theory believes that democracy works best in self-sustaining communities that enjoy a free economy. The Egyptian society is certainly not self-sustained on the economic level and does not enjoy a free economy, but one of the main challenges faced by the "neoliberals" in Eastern Europe and Russia is the corruption and abuse of the "minority" or what is known as the "oligarchy", who now control the destiny of the country. President Vladimir Putin confronts them at times and lets them be at other times, they have not decided on the terms of their relationship with the state yet. Egyptian elites must recognize the existence of the "oligarchy" in their country, forming centers of power involved in the governance of the country, and they should admit as well that this case cannot be sustained under a fully democratic regime.

In Turkey, General Kenan Evren led a military coup in 1980 against an elected government after years of chaos. In the first two years of his term as president, Turkey saw dark days; tens of thousands of detentions and executions and like Chile, Turkish people are still search-

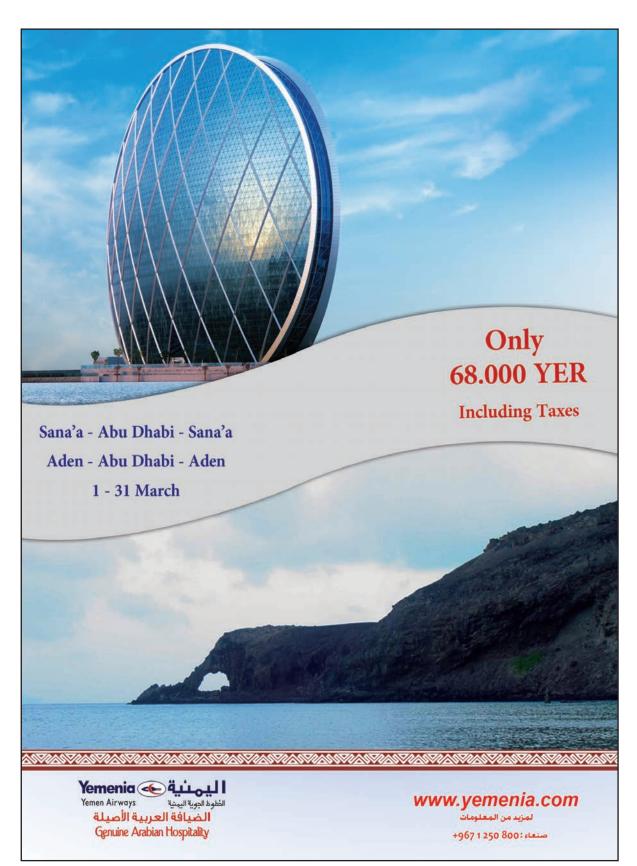
ing for thousands of missing Turks. He then handed the presidency to economist Turgut Özal, who led the massive economic reforms related to the "neoliberal" school, opening the door for historic reconciliation between Turkey's secular Kemalist legacy and its Islamic heritage. A decade later, the military rule withdrew, paving the way for an economic miracle in Turkey. In the end, the rulers left and Turkey and Chile remained. They have even topped the list of the fastest growing economies. Today, any Turkish or Chilean citizen can be sitting in an elegant restaurant, reading a newspaper that is freely criticizing or praising the government, and he can be discussing with his friend the upcoming elections in his country without being afraid of national security or being worried if he can pay the luxurious restau-

BUSINESS

AWARD

Egyptians should base their heated arguments on the economic dilemma. They should accept harsh solutions that would be better taken under a national consensus, unfortunately that needs a miraculous reconciliation that does not seem in sight. The only one who did that is novelist Ezzedine Choukri Fishere in his wonderful "prophetic" novel the "exit door", which opened all the doors except the exit door. I reference Ezzedine Fekri's character who comes to power, defeats all of his opponents in order to achieve the goals of the revolution, but fails when addressing the country's six million employees. The bureaucracy monster symbolizes the rentier state, perhaps because he was alone.

Jamal Khashoggi is a Saudi journalist, columnist and the general manager of Al-Arab News Channel based in Bahrain.



# BUSINESS FOR PEACE AWARD

## Yemen's decade of division

Farea al-Muslimi Al-monitor.com First published March 4

ince the start of the decade, Yemen—the country, its entities and individuals—has seen one split after another. There have been horizontal and vertical splits within Yemen's entities, institutions, parties and communities.

Those divisions didn't start at any one particular point, as the driving differences sometimes lay dormant for years. But signs of one of the most significant splits first appeared inside the alliance of the traditional forces. These forces, mostly military political decision-makers, were in power for three decades. The tension between former President Ali Abdullah Saleh and his family started after he made several appointments that favored his son, Ahmed, at the expense of other relatives. Ahmed Saleh was named commander of Yemen's Republican Guard in the early 2000s. The appointments escalated existing tensions and the alliance began to crumble, affecting the Yemeni army, state and society. The split became official when Maj. Gen. Ali Mohsen Al-Ahmar, the commander of the First Armored Division, turned against Ali Abdullah Saleh and became his biggest military threat.

Ahmar declared his support for the revolution that was launched against Saleh after the Karama massacre on March 18, 2011. That split was a major sign that the Saleh regime was teetering from the inside. After decades of covering up the division inside the Yemeni army, the truth eventually came out. The leaders that Ahmar helped bring to power suddenly became revolutionaries who attacked Saleh and his regime. Those closest to Saleh described the dissidents and Ahmar as outsiders whose corruption was suddenly unveiled. The announcement by some officials and deputies from Saleh's party that they were siding with the revolutionaries was merely the civil facade for intramilitary conflicts.

The leadership of the General People's Congress (GPC) — Saleh's party, and the most influential political party in Yemen until 2011 — denied allegations that political forces and officials were using the party as a cover to achieve their common interests as quickly as possible. The GPC's leaders were intellectually loyal to other Yemeni parties and organizations, from right to left. After March 2011, that fact became clear. The dissidents and the loyalists used the same discourse used by army commanders. The two most important parties to emerge from the events of 2011 were established by those who left the GPC, such as the National Solidarity Party and the Justice and Building Bloc. Those who remained in the GPC had to choose between either remaining loyal to Saleh or to Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi (the party's secretary-general and the new president of the republic), after their positions diverged and their disagreements outweighed their convergences, especially after Hadi decided to oust army commanders loval to Saleh.

The third most important party that emerged in 2011 was the Salafist Rashad party. The Rashad party didn't split from the ruling forces, but instead separated from its religious group, which forbade democracy and considered it a Western invention designed to create divisions among Muslims.

Most of those responsible for the military and partisan splits were from the Hashid tribe, from which Saleh and his allies hail. However, many people belonging to this tribe were also against these separations. Therefore, the tribe itself ended up splitting between people who supported the revolution and others who opposed it. Some of the tribe's elders sided with Saleh, while others sided with Ahmar, as also happened with members of the Al-Ahmar, Abu Shawareb and Jalidan families of the Hashid tribe. The same applies to a lesser degree to the Bakil tribe, which is bigger but less influential

than the Hashid and whose leadership is contested.

Those protesting Saleh's regime also split after the announcement of the Gulf Initiative. The Islamist Islah Party supported the initiative, while Houthis and their allies opposed it and considered it a betrayal of the revolution. Afterward, new revolutionary entities were born, such as the Front to Save the Revolution.

While residents of the capital, Sanaa — which was also divided joined the political process, multiple movements in the south of Yemen were stricken with different types of splits. Some movements considered the youth revolution a response to the demands of the Southern Movement, even though the revolution was launched in the north. Other movements regarded it as a private affair to be settled among the squabbling forces in Sanaa and refused to engage in the political process under the umbrella of the Gulf Initiative.

Following previous divisions, some real and some caused by outsiders, the Southern Movement split in two, cleaving to their positions on the Gulf Initiative and the National Dialogue Conference (NDC). Even then, the pro-dialogue movement witnessed splits, when two representatives of the Southern Movement in the NDC, Ahmad bin Farid al-Sarima and Mohammed Ali Ahmed Bin Ali , separated from the movement.

The most important bloc, smart enough to have maintained unity in its position despite its internal differences, was the Joint Meeting Parties alliance, the formal face that politically spoke for the youth revolution later. But after Saleh's departure, and when the time came for sharing senior positions of the new government, each component of the bloc started feeling the heavy burden of the other's positions, as evidenced by the polemics of the Islah Party (Islamist), the Yemeni Socialist Party (leftist) and the Nasserist party (nationalist). The division first appeared when Ahmar



A police officer gestures as he joins other police and army officers during an anti-government demonstration at a Change Square protest camp in Sanaa, March 3, 2014.

— who is close to the Islah Party — joined the revolution's ranks. The dispute between those who openly participated in the revolution recently came into the open, to cast a shadow on the position of these parties. They disagreed over the NDC document concerning the Southern Issue. Islah signed the document, but the other two parties adopted positions similar to that of the GPC. Then, everyone backed down and signed the document, albeit with conditions that seemed to gradually fade. But the rift remains.

It is now three years into the new decade. Schisms in Yemen have not just been reserved for political, state and military entities; society also has had its share of splits. This turmoil has exposed the identity of Yemeni society to new divisions, despite its factions' old roots.

The most serious division in society is perhaps the sectarian split that emerged suddenly. When all other alliances were disintegrating, sectarian communities remained cohesive until recent years. The people then took refuge in their tribes and denominations. The sectarian division became the most dangerous of all, because it did not just end an alliance, but paved the way to a neverending conflict. Yemen had known religious coexistence for decades. With the intensification of battles between Salafists and Houthis, the forcing out of the Salafists and Houthis reviving religious holidays such as Eid al-Ghadir (celebrated by Shiites) and Mawlid (the Prophet Muhammad's birthday), vertical and horizontal splits have emerged.

This division has been expressing itself through the barrel of the gun over the past months.

Based on the above indicators, the divisions among the leaders led to the disintegration of the base that served their interests. Society found itself at the mercy of religious edicts, the ambitions of politicians, money from regional countries and arms dealers. Those parties are the real beneficiaries of the situation, and they are creating an environment that is ready to explode whenever one of the parties wishes. They need only announce it in the mosques, which no longer are gathering points for Yemeni Muslims.

Farea al-Muslimi is a columnist for Al-Monitor.



#### COMMUNITY LIVELIHOODS PROJECT (CLP)

#### **Tender Invitation**

The Community Livelihoods Project (CLP) is a USAID-funded project in Yemen managed by Creative Associates International.

In coordination with the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation , CLP is responsible for the following work:

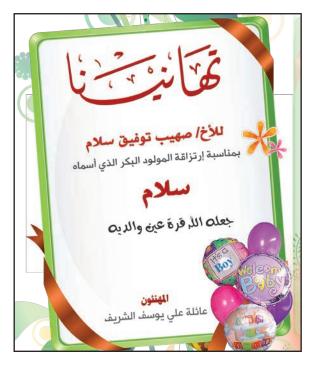
Providing honey producing equipment (Sana'a ,Taiz and Hadramout governorates)

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Interested companies are invited to contact CLP at the address below to request a copy of the RFQ during the period March 6, 2014 thru Monday, March 10, 2014 03:00 pm to receive the complete Tender Documents.

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A2Z School of English, an international institute, is currently recruiting for highly-qualified instructors to teach English as a Foreign/Second Language to students from various backgrounds. Preferred candidates should be native or near native speakers of English, committed to excellence in Teaching, and able to integrate a wide range of diversified delivery methods inside the classroom.

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Eligible candidates are requested to email a cover letter and CV to

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# 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.



الماده 19 هو برنامج توعوي يتحدث عن حق الفرد والمجتمع في حرية التعبير عن الرأي التي كُفلت كفاله كاملة بالنص الصريخ بالماده 19 في العهد الدولي للحقوق المدنية والسياسية ، والإعلان العالي لحقوق الإنسان والتي نصت على أنه لكل شخص الحق في حرية الرأي والتعبير، ويشمل هذا الحق حرية اعتناق الأراء وإذاعتها بأي وسيله كانت دون تقيد بالحدود الجغرافية.

هذا البرنامج يبث كل أربعاء الساعة 8 مساء و يعاد يوم السبت الساعة 11 صباحا على أثير راديو يمن تايمز 91,9.

## Good governance and transparency

What is good governance? What is its relationship to transparency? **Tawfeeq Al-Budaigi**, executive manager of the Yemeni Group for Transparency and Integrity (YTTI); **Mohammed Alaw**, a National Dialogue Conference (NDC) member and coordinator for the National Organization for Defending Rights and Freedom (HOOD); **Mohammed Al-Hanahi**, a lawyer and human rights activist; and **Nashwan Al-Mujahid**, head of the Legal Department in the state-run National Information Center.

How can we define good governance in a simple way that can be understood by the public?

**Al-Budaigi:** Good governance means that the authority performs its duties in a way that achieves sustainable development, improves [the management of] long and short-term resources and strengthens the principle of accountability, integrity and protection of public and human rights in general

Is Yemen currently a state of law and institutions?

Alaw: No, but we hope that Yemen can be a state

# Alaw: When we accomplish good governance, corruption will stop.

of law and institutions in the future. Accountability is associated with the constitutional and institutional building of countries.

Do you think we have strong public awareness around the concept of good governance?

**Al-Hanahi:** We know that a large percentage of the country is illiterate. There are groups of people with a lot to lose if we adopt good governance, and they are motivated to restrict access to information regarding this concept.

How can we achieve balance between people's right to have access to information and the disorganized and unsystematic information that is coming in?

**Mujahid:** Information systems are used world-wide to combat corruption, to make information available to the public, etc... We can't have accurate information unless the center is controlling the process of incoming information.

Is the information available at the center available to everyone?

**Mujahid:** All information at the center is available to all people.

Do we need laws and the rule of law to support good governance?

**Al-Hanahi:** Good governance can't exist without the rule of law.

Does the law guarantee a person's right to have access to information?

**Alaw:** Based on the NDC outcomes, nobody will have immunity, not the president or any other public official. Anyone providing information should be protected of any harm. For example, an employee must not be afraid to lose his or job or they will not

provide information, or be a "whistleblower".

Is YTTI an NGO?

**Al-Budaigi:** It is a non government organization, and it is a branch of Transparency International in Berlin.

How do you evaluate the role of transparency?

**Al-Hanahi:** I think transparency is similar to getting access to information. So, transparency is the way to hold the corrupt accountable, but making sure the public can access what is happening. If corruption continues, that means there is no accountability. We work on transparency and access to information. We held training courses for youth and civil society organizations. It is our goal to raise awareness about transparency, to fight corruption and to increase access to information. However, there must be a political will [to support this effort.]

How long are we going to suffer from corruption while we continue to call for good governance?

**Alaw:** When we accomplish good governance, corruption will stop. We must have access to information and establish good governance to end corruption.

Why do civil society organizations work to enhance integrity and fight corruption.

# Al-Hanahi: Good governance can't exist without the rule of

**Al-Budaigi:** We started in January doing research on regulations aimed at fighting corruption and on the Supreme Authority for Combating Corruption. The research focused on financial disclosure and the laws related to disclosing finances. What are the shortcomings of the law? As civil society organizations, we should call for an amendment on the financial disclosure law that complies with international standards.

It seems there is not yet a detailed role that youth will play to support good governance and to fight corruption. Why is

**Al-Budaigi:** We focused on youth in terms of capacity building and access to information. The campaigns to fight corruption target the youth, these campaigns were launched by youth. The youth have a lot of energy and we took advantage of that.

**Al-Hunahi:** Before [we] talk about the role of the youth in fighting corruption, there must be support for volunteer movements. When we establish a culture of volunteerism, we will know how to fight corruption and to build the country.

## حرية التعبير والحكم الرشيد

ركزت حلقة هذا الأسبوع من برنامج المادة 19 على مفهوم الحكم الرشيد وكيف يضمن حرية التعبير. وقد إستضاف البرنامج توفيق البديجي المدير التنفيذي للمجموعة اليمنية للشفافية والنزاهة والمحامي محمد علا وعضو مؤتمر الحوار الوطني ومنسق منظمة هود و محمد الهناهي ناشط حقوقي ومحامى وعبر الهاتف نشعوان مجاهد رئيس الدائرة القانونية في المركز الوطني للمعلومات

هل المجموعة اليمنية للشفافية والنزاهة منظمه غير حكومية ؟

البديجي: هي منظمة غير حكومية وفرع للمنظمة الشفافية الدولية في برلين.

كيف تقيمون دور الشفافية المتاحة هل فعلاً تطبق و هل تواجهون أي صعوبات ؟

الهناهي: اعتقد ان موضوع الشفافية هو الوجه الثاني للحصول على المعلومات لذلك إذا وجدت الشفافية هي طريق للمسائلة والمحاسبة للفاسدين. إذا استشرى الفساد فهذا يعني أن لا مسائله ولا محاسبة. اشتغلنا بموضوع الشفافية والحصول على المعلومات وقمنا بعمل دورات تدريبيه مع الشباب ومنظمات المجتمع المدني، وهذا دور بسيط نحاول من خلاله رفع الوعي ولكن في الدرجة الأساسية في موضوع الشفافية ومكافحة الفساد وحرية وصول المعلومة. لا بد أن تتوفر إرادة سياسية لدى القيادات العلياء.

إلى متى سنعاني من الفساد في ظل مطالب وتمنيات أن يكون لدينا حكم رشيد في اليمن؟

علاو: عندما نصل إلى الحكم الرشيد سيتوقف الفساد وعند غياب المعلومة لا يمكن أن نصل إلى حكم رشيد فهي مسألة مترابطة لا بد

#### توفيق البديجي:

الحكم الرشيد يعني ممارسة السلطة السياسية لأعمالها بما يحقق تنمية مستدامه وتنمية موارد الدولة على المدى القصير والطويل وتعزيز مبدأ المساءلة والشفافية وحماية الحقوق العامة وحقوق الانسان بشكل عام

من وجود المعلومة وتوفر الحكم الرشيد حتى ينتهي الفساد.

لماذا انتم كمنظمات مجتمع مدني تعملوا على النزاهة ومكافحة فساد ولابد أن تحصلوا على المعلومة ونسير على هذا المبدأ ونؤسس الحكم الرشيد في اليمن؟

البديجي: نحن بدأنا من شهر يناير بحث وطني على مستوى منظومات مكافحات الفساد، وتركز البحث مكافحات الفساد، وتركز البحث على الذمة المالية وما هو إخفاقات هذه القانون وما هو القصور. ولا بد أن نبدأ كمنظمات مجتمع مدني نطالب بأن يتم تغيير قانون الذمة المالية بحيث يتناسب مع المعايير الدولية.

نلاحظ أن دور الشباب غائب في دعم الحكم الرشيد ومكافحة الفساد. هل لا زالت طاقات الشباب غائبة ومهدرة لم تستخدم بعد ؟

البديجي: نحن ركزنا على الشباب في موضوع بناء القدرات والحصول على المعلومة والمناصرة وحملات مكافحة الفساد تم استهداف الشباب ومن قام بهذه الحملات هم الشباب. للشباب طاقات كبيره ونحن استغلينا طاقات الشباب المهدورة في الشيء السليم.

علاو: مسألة الشباب هي مسألة خلق ثقافة وبناء قدرات ولن يعمل بهذه إلا أشخاص لديهم طاقة وان يدربوا ويتفاعلوا وينخرطوا في مجالات التدريب على المشاركة على المواطنة المسئولة. وهذا يعتمد على قضية القدرة على جمع المعلومة وتوظيفها .

الهناهي: قبل الحدث عن دور الشباب في مكافحة الفساد الأصل أن يكون هناك دعم لحركات العمل الطوعي ككل عندما نوجد ثقافة العمل الطوعي سننتقل بعد ذالك إلى كيفية بناء القدرة ومن ثم المشاركة في حملات مكافحة الفساد أو في التنمية بكافة مجالاتها. كيف يمكن تعريف مفهوم الحكم الرشيد بطريقة بسيطة يفهمها المواطنون؟

البديجي: الحكم الرشيد يعني ممارسة السلطة السياسية لأعمالها بما يحقق تنمية مستدامه وتنمية موارد الدولة على المدى القصير والطويل وتعزيز مبدأ المساءلة والشفافية وحماية الحقوق العامة وحقوق الانسان بشكل عام...

هل اليمن الآن دولة قانون ومؤسسات؟

علاو: الآن لا ولكن نأمل ذلك في المستقبل. والمساءلة متصلة بالبناء الدستورى والمؤسسي للدول.

هل تعتقد ان هناك رأي مجتمعي قوي يفهم معنى الحكم الدشيد؟

الهناهي: نعرف ان المجتمع اليمني مجتمع تسود فيه الامية بنسبة 70٪ ومعنى هذا وجود نخب قامت العلاقة بينها على المصلحة ولن تسمح لأي مواطن بالوصول الى ما يريده من معلومات.

إلى أي مدى يسهل المركز للمواطنين الحصول على ا المعلممات؟

المجاهد: يحصل المركز على المعلومات المتوفرة من الجهات الحكومية ولكن اعتقد في بلادنا نريد قوانين تنظم العمل المعلوماتي.

كيف يمكن تحقيق التوازن بين حق المواطن في الحصول على المعلومة بشفافية وعشوائية المعلومات المتدفقة؟

المجاهد: كل انظمة العالم تستخدم المعلومات لأغراض مكافحة الفساد واتاحتها للرأي العام وأغراض أخرى.. نحن في المركز الوطني للمعلومات لا نستطيع الحصول على المعلومات الدقيقة إلا اذا استطعنا ان نتحكم بدخول وخروج المعلومات.

هل المعلومات تتاح بشفافية في المركز الوطني للمعلومات؟

المجاهد: بالنسبة للمركز الوطني للمعلومات لاتوجد لدينا معلومات غير متاحة كل المعلومات متاحه لمن يريد الاطلاع عليها.

القانون وسيادة القانون هل نحتاجها في دعم الحكم

الهناهي: لا يمكن ان يوجد حكم رشيد بدون سيادة قانون والقوانين موجوده حتى القوانين العرجاء التي لا تؤدي الغرض ولكن الاشكالية في الالية التي يجب اتباعه للحصول على المعلومات .. وكذألك نحتاج للمعلومة ومن ثم نعمل على الاليه لاتي تجمع فيها المعلومات

#### حاهد:

كل المعلومات متاحه لمن يريد الاطلاع عليها

هل يكفل لي القانون حق الحصول على المعلومه؟

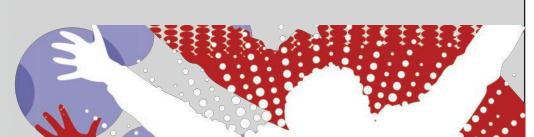
علاو: بناء على مخرجات الحوار الوطني لن يكون هناك حصانات، سيتم الغاء الحصانات من الرئيس الى اصغر موظف في الدولة. الإشكالية أنه عند وجود القانون والموظف اعطى معلومة لمواطن او لصحفي او لأي جهة وهذه المعلومة لا تتوافق مع مزاج مسؤوله او يرى انها تظره اذا سيتردد الشخص عن الادلى بالمعلومة. لذلك لا بد امن ان توفير الحماية للموظف والكثير من الجهات تخاف ان تعطينا المعلومات خوفاً من العقوبات من من هم اكبر منهم منصباً.















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- هندية الأصل حاصلة على دبلوم انجليزي وسكرتارية بتقدير ممتاز لديها خبرة في الجرافيكس والترجمة والمراسلات التجارية, لديها خبرة في ادارة التسويق والمبيعات, تريد العمل في تعز. 736653489
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• بكالوريوس محاسبه وإدارة أعمال وديلوم لغة إنجليزية، خبرة طويلة في إدارة الحسابات والمراسلات التجارية باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في اليمن والسعودية، مستعد للعمل

772663229

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

فورا، جوال: 715608677

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بنك كاليون

بونابتد بنك لمبتد

بنك كاك الاسلامي

زاوية ( Budget)

هيرتز لتأجير السيارات

الكلمة المفقودة

بنك اليمن والكويت للتجارة والانشاءات

تأجير سيارات

مراكز تدريب وتعليم الكمبوتر

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سنوات في مراجعة وادارة الحسابات, قدرة التعامل مع ا لا نظمة ا لمحا سيية الالكترونية, اجادة الانجليزية, حاصل على شهادة ايزو. 733913209

6 March, 2014

• ماجستير محاسبة - 8 سنوات خبرة في (الحسابات -المراحعة - الرقابة) أخرها رئيس قسم المراجعه - إجادة اللغة الإنجليزية (كتابة -محادثة ) - إجادة إستخدام الحاسوب - إجادة البرامج المحاسبية (خاصة يمن سوفت) - دورات عدیدة فی العلوم المالية والمصرفية والإدراية. 714796729 -737299730



•المركز الكندى للتدريب

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فرع شیرتون ۹۸۵ه۱۵۰۱،

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فرع عدن ۲/۲٤٥٦۲٥٠ صنعاء ۱-٤٤٠٣٠٩

عدن ۲-۲۶۰۲۲۰،

مستشفى الثورة

مستشفى الجمهوري

مستشفى الكويت

طيران اليمنية

الإماراتية

الإثيوبية

التركية

السعودية

طيران الخليج

طيران دبي

فندق شمر

فندق موفمبيك

الألمانية (لوفتهانزا)

طيران الأردنية - صنعاء طيران الاتحاد

فندق ميركيور صنعاء

فندق لازوردي فندق تاج صيدة رزدينس العالمية للفندقة - صنعاء

فندق شهران - صنعاء

المستشفى الالماني الحديث

المستشفى الاهلي الحديث

مستشفى العلوم والتكنلوجيا

وتنمية القدرات بحاجة إلى فاكس: 525124

> اتصل على ت: 406448, 467588, فاكس: 406437

۰۰ أن تدعـــوكم

وترحب بكم على ركب اسطولها الحديث ورحلاتها

المنتظمة وعلى بساط الراحة ندعوكم إلى رحابنا

لنشد الرحال معا صباحا ومساء إلى جميع المحافظات

المركزالرئيسي: صنعاء شارع الستين الجنوبي - جولة المرور تلفون: ۲۱/۱۰۶۲۲، ۱۱ ، ۲۰۷۲، ۲۱، باب اليمن ۲۹۷۶۷۶، ۱۰ موبايل: ۷۷۷۲،۰۲۴

لكافة التخصصات العلمية

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فرع تعز : ١١٧١٢٦ ،

فرع عدن: ٢٥٢٥٢٥٦،

فرع الحديدة : ٣/٢٠١٤٧٤.

.1/070707 .1/70. ...

خبرة 3 سنوات. ت: 525121,

فرضاكم أملنا وراحتكم مسعانا

فلا تنتظروا البراق فالبراق ينتظركم

مواد غذائية، المؤهل لايقل عن الثانوية العامة، رخصة قيادة سارية المفعول، خبرة لاتقل عن سنة في نفس المجال، يرجى إرسال السيرة الذاتية على فاكس رقم: 01-261262 أو التواصل

طوارىء الكهرباء طوارىء المياه طوارىء الشرطه الإستعلامات لاطفاء حوادث (المرور) لشئون الداخليه الشئون الخارجيه لهجرة لتلفزيون لصليب الاحمر

#### الوزارات

رئاسة الجمهورية رئاسة الوزراء وزارة الاشغال العامة والطرق وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي وزارة الثروة السمكية وزارة الزراعة والري وزارة الشئون الاجتماعية والعمل

وزارة الشباب والرياضة وزارة الصناعة والتجارة وزارة العدل وزارة السياحة وزارة المغتربين وزارة النفط والمعادن وزارة شئون الداخلية وزارة النقل وزارة حقوق الانسان وزارة الاتصالات وتقنية المعلومات وزارة الأدارة المحلية وزارة الاعلام وزارة التخطيط والتعاون الدولي وزارة التربية والتعليم وزارة الخارجية وزارة الداخلية وزارة المالية وزارة المواصلات وزارة المياه والبيئة وزارة الكهرباء

البنك التجاري مصرف اليمن البحرين الشامل

. بنك اليمني للانشاء والتعمير بنك سبا الاسلامي

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ف: ۲۰۳۲۷۱ ا ٤ ٢ ٢ ٧ ٧ ٢ ١٠ ف: ۱۹۲۷۷۲۱۱ .1/7727/1. - 077377/1. ف:، ١/٢٦٤٧٠٠ - ١/٥٠٣٣٥٠ .1/2. ٧. ٣. ·1/57070/1 ٠١/٥٦٣٨١٣ .1/772712 .1/229VT1 .1/01 VO £ £

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DHL

شحن وتوصيل مركز الندى للخدمات العامة

سكرتارية وادارة شؤون الطلاب. لتفاصيل اكثير

• مطلوب مدرسين للعمل في المدارس التركية اليمنية والأدبية القسم العلمي قسم انجلیزی حاصلین علی بكالريوس كحد أدنى مع

مستشفيات

شركات طيران

فنادق

كلمات متقاطعة

• مطلوب مندوبین مبیعات على الرقم 510788-01

.1/7074.1/4 .1/7.7022/ .1/10. 471/4 .1/447..1/4 .1/7.7171/7 .1/777.71

وزارة الاوقاف والارشاد وزارة الثقافة وزارة الخدمة المدنية والتامينات وزارة الدفاع

وزارة الشئون القانونية

#### .1/020147 .1/778889 .1/040.41 .1/771015 .1/77272.

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198

بنك اليمن الدولي البنك العربي بنك التسليف الزراعي . البنك المركزي بنك الامل . البنك القطري الدولي

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#### عجائب وغرائب

خسرت سابين ميلر البالغة من العمر 30 عاما جنينها وجزءا من امعائها الدقيقة بسبب الاهمال الذي تعرضت له في أحد المستشفيات, فحصلت على تعويض بقيمة 11.5 مليون دولار, ولكن هذا التعويض لن يعوضها المشاكل الصحية التي ستعاني منها طوال حياتها وفقدانها الأمومة.

#### حكمت العدد

لسان الجاهل مفتاح حتفه

#### نكتت العدد

سألت احداهن جارتها: ماذا تستعملين لتنظيف الصحون؟ فقالت الجارة: جربت الكثير من وسائل التنظيف ولكن لم اجد افضل من زوجي في التنظيف

#### لغز العدد

هو له رأس ولا عين له وهي لها عين ولا رأس لها. ماهما؟

أن أول من وطأت قدماه القمر هو الامريكي نيل ارمسترونغ

## ٢- تبدأ الكلمة التالية بآخر حرف من الكلمة السابقة. قم بجمع الحروف الخمسة الموجودة في الدوائر الخمس الكبيرة على أطراف هو مطلوب باخل النجمة. روان ریا جحر

خرافي

١- ابدأ من الحرف القريب من الرقم ( ١ ) في الدائرة الكبيرة متجها مع

0

کائن کائن

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	الفرن	دول
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	تانیا	ورع
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i	الجميل	دمعة
	غسول فم	دوار
	7	قرية
	الاوزان	همام
	المحتال	وريث
,	المقتول	5

بوخارست

# 10



6- لكن - نقود - تحصل عليه (م)

## الحلول بالمقلوب

الدبوس والابرة نعي العدد:

قعهقفلا مولكاا

همجنأا

۲۱۰ تنایاها – الجوارح (م) متلتی – لی 11. ٠١٠ دله (م) - الواسع (م) - ارنب القاعل (4) – كاميليا

71.  $mag(4) - 10md\bar{g}(4) - 10d$ 

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١٤٠١ - ١٤١٤ - ١٤١٥ (م)

المات (م) – الرايات (م) – تعليل

حس - استراليا - هيل (م)  $|L|L(4) - \omega ceci - \alpha c(4)$ ابو بكر سالم - جوبا

معادلقته تالملح

٧٠ باسكال مشعلاني

الحسن بن الهيثم

٥ / ٠ انبهها (م) - الهادب (م)

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ت کلمالا – (م) باکلفایا

سمر سامي – الاسرة الا – السكوت – تل

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بلابل - فمك (م) - دا (م)

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بالمهتسا – بلمة

۲۱۰ هام - التجاري (م)

31.

71.

افقي:

(م) باليا – نيسن – ليال (م)

جن (م) - العالي (م) - واعد

محياه – امجد (م) – ار (م)

الجيب

حرارة العضلات

8 الثقافية

قلة الفهم

## 5- قدح - تقال في البرد (م) - العوائق 6- تزهق - الافتتاح 7- ممثلة سورية - العائلة 8- باستثناء - الصمت - جبل صغير 9- القيود (م) - الاماكن

7- نقبض - علم مؤنث (م) - مخلص 8- احتواء - عكس شبع - حرف اجنبي (م) 9- من اقسام الجملة الفعلية (م) - من الاشجار 10 - ارشده (م) - الفسيح (م) - حيوان أليف 10- وجهه - علم مذكر (م) - مقياس ارضي (م) 11- اباه - نعم بالفرنسي - قوة العدد (م) - اثنان بالانجليزي 11 - للنداء - نغمتم 12 - داخلها - الاعضاء (م) 12- عكس انس (م) - الدولي (م) - حافل بالانجازات 13 - اخلاق (م) - الصعود (م) - جاءه 13- ضروري - يتعلق باحدى المهن (م) 14- سائل لغسيل الصحون - ماركة سيارة - علم مؤنث (م) 14- الاعلام (م) - ذكر الاسباب

15 - المدلعة - المعدات (م) 15- تيقظها (م) - الفار (م) Yemen's first and most widely-read English-language newspaper

## Invention competition tests students' ingenuity

Samar Qaed

n Feb. 10, 2014, in Sana'a's Al-Bustan Hotel, 55 teams of inventors competed in the Best Invention Award competition, sponsored by the British Council and the Ministry of Technical Education and Vocational Training. A total of 350 students from technical and vocational institutes in Sana'a, Aden, Amran, Taiz, Hadramout and Dhamar governorates participated in the four-day competition, which was judged by specialists from the ministry.

Teams from Al-Hawban Technical Institute in Taiz earned four of the top five awards. The Orphans Technical Institute of Sana'a placed fourth. Winning team members and their academic advisors received cash awards and other prizes from the British Council.

The winning project is a "smart" safe based on the principle that each individual's eyes, much like fingerprints, have unique patterns. The



At Al-Bustan Hotel in Sana'a, 55 teams gathered to compete at the 4-day-long Best Invention Award Competition. The winning project was a "smart" safe that scans irises for authorization.

SHARP

lock on the team's safe uses laser beams to scan irises and instantly compares those scans to a preprogrammed database of authorized users of the safe. This technology can be used to reduce bank theft by making access to a bank's safe more secure. It can also reduce credit card fraud by introducing an additional security measure that matches card data to individual cardholders. It also has the potential to eliminate the problem of forgotten passwords by eliminating the need for passwords altogether.

"We spent two months preparing our project...for the competition," said Ahmed Ali, a member of the first-place team from Al-Hawban.

Encouraged by their win, they are eager to commercialize their project but first they have to find an investor. "We are prepared to work hard to bring our project to market," said

Ali and his teammates had to overcome several obstacles in the development of their project. Some of the exact components they needed were unavailable in Yemen and they had to improvise, using what was locally available.

The fourth-place team, from the Orphans Technical Institute, had the same problem, which they resolved by importing parts.

"We had to ask friends in Malaysia to send us the pieces we needed," said the team's advisor, Mohammed Dabwan. It was the second time that his team had participated in the competition. In 2012 they earned fifth place.

The competition's organizer, Abdulhakim Hashim, is head of the Quality Department at the Ministry of Technical Education and Vocational Training. He said that such competitions and awards encourage students to apply their talents and creativity.

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The third-place project was a dual-purpose fan that both cools air and perfumes it.

"By recognizing and rewarding students...we motivate them to carry out practical projects and begin to think positively about the future," Hashim said.

This was the second time the competition was held. It was first held in 2012. The 2012 competition saw 30 teams participate, involving 148 students drawn from technical institutes in the same, aforementioned, governorates.

"We are planning to make the Best Innovation Award an annual competition, evolving it to include equal numbers of male and female students," said Nadim Al-Sakkaf, director of the British Council. "The Council intends to expand the award criteria to include awards for action plans and lesson plans and training units.'

The best projects should have scientific and technical relevance, contribute to scientific development, and have a practical application that addresses a national need.

The British Council three years ago introduced a quality assurance project at 13 technical and vocational institutes

in Sana'a, Taiz, Hodeida, Dhamar, Ibb, Hajja and Hadramout governorates. British trainers provided technical and financial support.

The council also sponsors a partnership between Al-Hawban Technical Institute in Taiz and Dudley College in England. In November of 2013, the institute won the best partnership award at the International Conference on Educational Partnerships held in Morocco.

The second-place project integrates a digital visual and audio display screen that operates through a mobile projector and can be either solar-powered or use conventional power sources. It can be used to display advertisements or alerts.

The third-place project was a six-speed, dual-purpose mobile fan that both cools air and perfumes it. Its speed shifts automatically based on ambient temperature, and it can also be run on solar or conventional power.

The Orphans Technical Institute-this year's fourth-place winners-created a wireless control system, and Al-Hawban's fifth-place team developed a mobile system to monitor high-tension-wire electrical towers and oil pipelines.



Three years ago, the British Council introduced a quality assurance project at 13 technical and vocational institutes in Sana'a, Taiz, Hodeida, Dhamar, Ibb, Hajja and Hadramout governor-







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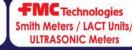


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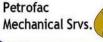
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