

NSIDE

News

Reparation committee receives complaints of Al-Dhale residents

Page 2

Report

Arms dealers turn to social media advertising

Page 4



Opinion

The wounded goat

Page 6

Business

Women painters fight unemployment, challenge gender stereotypes

Page 10





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- 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 المكالمة: 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 أو رفضها بالضغط على الرقم 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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Tuesday, 1 April, 2014 • Issue No. 1768 • Price 50 Yemeni Riyals



AQAP REVEALS DETAILS OF FEB. PRISON BREAK: Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) on Sunday posted a video clip that revealed details of the Feb. 13 attack on Sana'a Central Prison that resulted in the escape of 29 inmates, including 19 Al-Qaeda members. In the 51-minute video, the group pledged to free Al-Qaeda members still being held in Yemeni and Saudi prisons. The February attack left eight soldiers and two civilian passersby dead. One civilian and two guards were wounded in the attack. "The attack lasted just minutes, not about an hour as reported by the Ministry of Interior," said one of the escaped Al-Qaeda affiliates in the video. See more on page 2. Screenshot from YouTube video.

Attacks leave four dead and two injured in Abyan

Ali Saeed

SANA'A, March 31-Three separate attacks in Abyan governorate on Saturday left four people dead and two injured.

The attacks took place in Ahwar and Lawdar districts. Two of the dead were soldiers and two others were Popular Committee members, according to according to Col. Mohamed Danba'a, Abyan security chief.

The Popular Committee members were killed in Lawdar district. The soldiers were killed in Ahwar district when armed men in a Toyota Hilux pick-up truck am-

bushed a military water truck in Ahwar district, killing two soldiers, according to Danba'a.

On the same day, in the same Hadramout road detonated.



Three separate attacks on Sunday left four people dead and two injured in Abyan governorate. The Abyan security chief believes Al-Qaeda affiliates are behind the

> district, two civilians were injured when a roadside explosive device that was planted along the Aden

ried out by Al-Qaeda militants who target the military in Sana'a, Hadramout, and other areas," said

AQAP has been waging sporadic operations against militiamen and the army in several areas of Yemen, including Sana'a, Abyan, Hadramout, Shabwa and

In Early August of 2012, 45 persons were killed and dozens wounded in a suicide attack that targeted the funeral of a member of the Popular Committees in Jaar in Abyan governorate.

AQAP in late February claimed responsibility via a youtube video for the attack against on headquarters of the 111th Military Brigade in Ahwar on Oct. 18, 2013, that resulted in 12 soldiers dead and nine wounded.

The Popular Committees "These operations are often car- have played a major role in Abyan, helping the army drive sunni Al-Qaeda militants out of Abyan in mid-2012.

Investigative journalism gets boost in Yemen

Jamila Obaid

SANA'A, March 30-Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism (ARIJ) on Saturday held a strategic planning workshop in Sana'a to establish a longterm plan to support investigative reporting in Yemen.

The Amman-based nonprofit is dedicated to promoting investi-

gative journalism in Arab newsrooms. Founded in 2005, it funds in-depth journalism projects and provides media coaching, and professional, technical, and legal support. It helps journalists working in print, radio, TV and online media in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Bahrain, Palestine, Yemen and Tunisia.

Mohammed AlAsadi, an ARIJ board member, told the Yemen Times that their goal is to engage local partners in strategic planning in order to determine the priorities of ARIJ in Yemen in the coming years. Waheeb AlNasari, the head of the Investigative Reporters Network in Yemen, said ARIJ will train Yemeni journalists

and provide them with support in cooperation with the Danish organization, International Media Sup-

Planning session participants expressed optimism that they will be able to produce good investigative reports, given that Yemen now has laws that guarantee access to information.

Tribesmen besiege oil companies in Hadramout

Nasser Al-Sakkaf

SANA'A, March 31-Local tribesmen set up checkpoints in Hadramout on Sunday to protest the government's perceived inaction on demands made by the tribes following the killing of tribal leader Sa'd Bin Habrish at a security checkpoint in December. The tribes have prohibited any food commodities from reaching oil companies operating in the governorate.

On Sunday, the Hadramout Tribal Federation placed checkpoints on routes leading to the oil companies in order to pressure the government into fulfilling their demands. The federation said Monday in a statement that "the government's procrastination and lack of seriousness to meet the demands of Hadramout tribes has forced us to besiege the oil companies and the camps of the companies' guards."

"The checkpoints set up by the federation will not allow any food commodities to enter the oil companies," the statement added.

The federation warned against smuggling food to the companies, saying that smuggled goods would be confiscated.

After the killing of the tribal

leader, the federation raised demands which included handing over control of the governorate to local security personnel and employing Hadramout residents at the oil companies working in the governorate.

"We will not further escalate measures unless [we] feel that the government is not serious about meeting our demands," said Sabri Bamakhsham, a member of the federation.

In early March the government provided 202 guns, a billion Yemeni Riyal (\$4.6 million) and 20 cars to the tribesmen as part of arbitration efforts. "The HTF checkpoints have been dealing humanely with the oil companies' employees. They did not besiege them previously. However, the government's negligence has prompted us to resort to this," said Bamakhsham.

Sabri Salem, a journalist based in Hadramout, said that the troops at government checkpoints have been heavy-handed and provocative in inspecting citizens, even though these citizens are not carrying arms. He added the federation checkpoints are now set up and the government forces have kept silent over this move.









Al-Qaeda video clip shows attack on Sana'a Central Prison

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, March 31-Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) on Sunday posted a video clip on You-Tube that shows details of the Feb. 13 attack on Sana'a Central Prison that resulted in the escape of 29 inmates, including 19 alleged Al-Qaeda members.

The 51-minute video was posted by Al-Malahim Media on YouTube and was filmed in a mountainous

Gunmen appeared in the video shooting their guns in the air and

singing popular songs in celebration of their achievement and the freeing of their colleagues. They also pledged to free Al-Qaeda members still being held in Yemeni and Saudi prisons.

Saleh Moneer Al-Bawni, one of those freed, said in the video that

they had planned the attack months in advance, adding that the inmates initiated the attack by using grenades first to signal the Al-

Qaeda members who had come to free them and also to kill or injure the guards working at the prison. The Al-Qaeda members outside the prison then detonated a bombladen car which made a large hole through which the inmates escaped.

Al-Bawni said that they had made 10 grenades of different sizes inside the prison but he didn't say how they got the needed materials or how they were able to make them inside the prison.

"The attack lasted just minutes, not about an hour as reported by the Ministry of Interior," said Al-

Dr. Saeed Al-Jamhi, the head of the Al-Jamhi Center for

Study and Research (on terrorism) in Sana'a, told the Yemen Times that "Al-Qaeda carries out attacks and then releases video clips to demonstrate its power and attract more supporters.

Al-Jamhi said that the video clips are as important as the battles in terms of propaganda.

"Al-Qaeda's freed members said they made grenades inside the prison and this proves what I said earlier about the collusion of some people inside the prison with Al-Qaeda. It's impossible for a large number of inmates to escape from prison without the help of the people in charge of the prison," said Al-Jamhi.

No official response has so far been made by the government regarding the Al-Qaeda video. Ahmed Harba, the Interior Ministry press secretary, said that they do not have any details about the video.

The February attack left eight soldiers and two civilian passersby dead. One civilian and two guards were wounded, according to the Interior Ministry.

The then head of the Prisons Administration, Gen. Mohammed Al-Zalab, and director of the Sana'a Central Prison, Col. Mohammed Al-Kawl, were dismissed follow-

ing the incident. Appointed to replace them were, respectively, Gen. Awadh Mohammed Ya'eesh and Brig. Saifan Saleh Al-Hujairi. Al-Kawl has been imprisoned and is accused of incitement against the former interior minister, Gen. Mohammed Qahtan, according to Ali Al-Kawl, Al-Kawl's cousin.

"We have been staging a sit-in for 12 days in the Bani Bahlool area of Sana'a to demand the release of Al-Kawl. We have evidence that proves that Al-Kawl informed the Interior Ministry about a plot to attack the prison eight months prior to the attack, but the ministry did not respond to his alert," he said. Al-Kawl said that the letters sent by Col. Al-Kawl to the interior minister were presented to President Hadi when he visited the prison following the attack, adding that the Interior Ministry had put him to contact Sana'a Central Prison but received no response.

in prison because he had told the truth. The Yemen Times attempted

Reparation committee receives complaints of Al-Dhale residents

Nasser Al-Sakkaf

SANA'A, March 30-An official reparation committee on Sunday began receiving the complaints of those affected by the fighting between the army and militias in Al-Dhale governorate.

Mohammed Al-Aqla, a member of the tribal council in Al-Dhale, said "the victims have started submitting their complaints. We want to make them feel their rights are guaranteed.'

The presidential committee headed by the deputy minister of interior signed an agreement with tribal council early last month. The agreement stipulated that both sides end the fighting and release their respective captives. In addition, it called for compensation for

residents affected by the fighting. "Two items of the agreement have been implemented, namely exchange of captives and ending the fighting. We are continuing our efforts to implement the other items." Al-Aqla said. "This reparation committee stemmed from the presidential committee. After receiving the complaints of the victims, it will pay field visits to verify these complaints," he added. At present, soldiers of the army's 33rd Brigade still hold control of two locations in the governorate, but other locations have been replaced by security services checkpoints, according to Al-Aqla. Walid Al-Khateen, the media officer of the Al-Dhale Coordinating Council, said that about 4,000 families were displaced as a result of the fighting. Al-Khateeb said that "some of the victims will not be happy with the compensation unless the barricades of the 33rd Brigade are removed," adding that "the Dhale residents will not accept the blood money. However, they will accept to receive money in compensation for the financial losses they sustained during the clashes. Accepting the compensation does not mean the Al-Dhale resident are willing to forgive the perpetrators.

Al-Khateeb indicated that 3,000 houses sustained partial damage in Al-Dhale governorate.

On Friday, the Special Security Forces raided a house in Damt district of Al- Dhale. Al-Qaeda members were alleged to have been using the house. The Interior Ministry's security media center website said one suspect was killed during the raid and another was arrested. Two soldiers of the SSF were killed, according to the website. The website claimed that the soldiers of the SSF seized weapons. explosives and mobile phones. The security authorities in Al-Dhale informed the Interior Ministry that the suspected Al-Qaeda members were preparing to launch attacks against security and military locations in Al-Dhale governorate. Since Dec. 20, Al-Dhale has been witnessing sporadic armed clashes between the army and local gunmen. The trigger was the 33rd Brigade's shelling of a funeral tent which left 15 civilians dead and dozens injured. The brigade said at the time that the attack was a mis-



Friends of Yemen group to meet April 29 in London.

Contrary to recent reports stating that the upcoming donor conference will be held in Rivadh, the Yemeni Ministry of Foreign Affairs said Monday that the 7th Friends of Yemen Conference will take place in London on April 29, according to the state-run Saba News Agency.

It quoted a press release from the foreign affairs ministry which stated that Yemen, Saudi Arabia and the U.K. will co-chair the upcoming meeting about developments in Yemen related to the political transition.

The ministry said that the conference will also address the economic situation in Yemen and will review the disbursement of funds pledged for Yemen in September 2012 at a meeting in New York.

Security issues, particularly the threat of armed groups in Yemen, will also be a major focus of the meeting, the ministry said.

The Friends of Yemen group, made up of donor countries and international funding organizations, was established in 2010 to support Yemen financially.

Four boats laden with toxic pesticides seized in Mocha

The Coast Guard forces in Mocha port on Saturday seized four smuggler's ships "with huge amounts of toxic pesticides, fireworks and crates of smuggled cigarettes," the Ministry of the Interior reported Saturday on its website.

"The pesticides we confiscated are illegal in Yemen. They have been banned because of the dangers they pose to people and the environment,' according to the director of the Agriculture Office in Taiz, Abdullah Al-Janadi.

"The Coast Guard will continue hunting smugglers until smuggling is

completely eliminated, because of its deleterious efforts on human health and the national economy" said Col. Ahmed Al-Maqrami, leader of the Coast Guard in Mokha.

Eight children injured in land mine explosion in Sa'ada

Eight children between the ages of seven and 11 years old were wounded Saturday in a land mine explosion in the Fahta area of Sa'ada governorate, according to the website of the Ministry of the Interior. The ministry explained that that land mines are remnants of the Sa'ada wars that took place from 2004 to 2010 between Houthi rebels and the Yemeni army.

Man, child injured in IED explosion in Abyan

The Interior Ministry website quoted Abyan police as reporting that a 13year-old child and a 37-year-old man had been injured in the detonation of an improvised explosive device (IED) that had been planted near the police department in the Ahwar district.

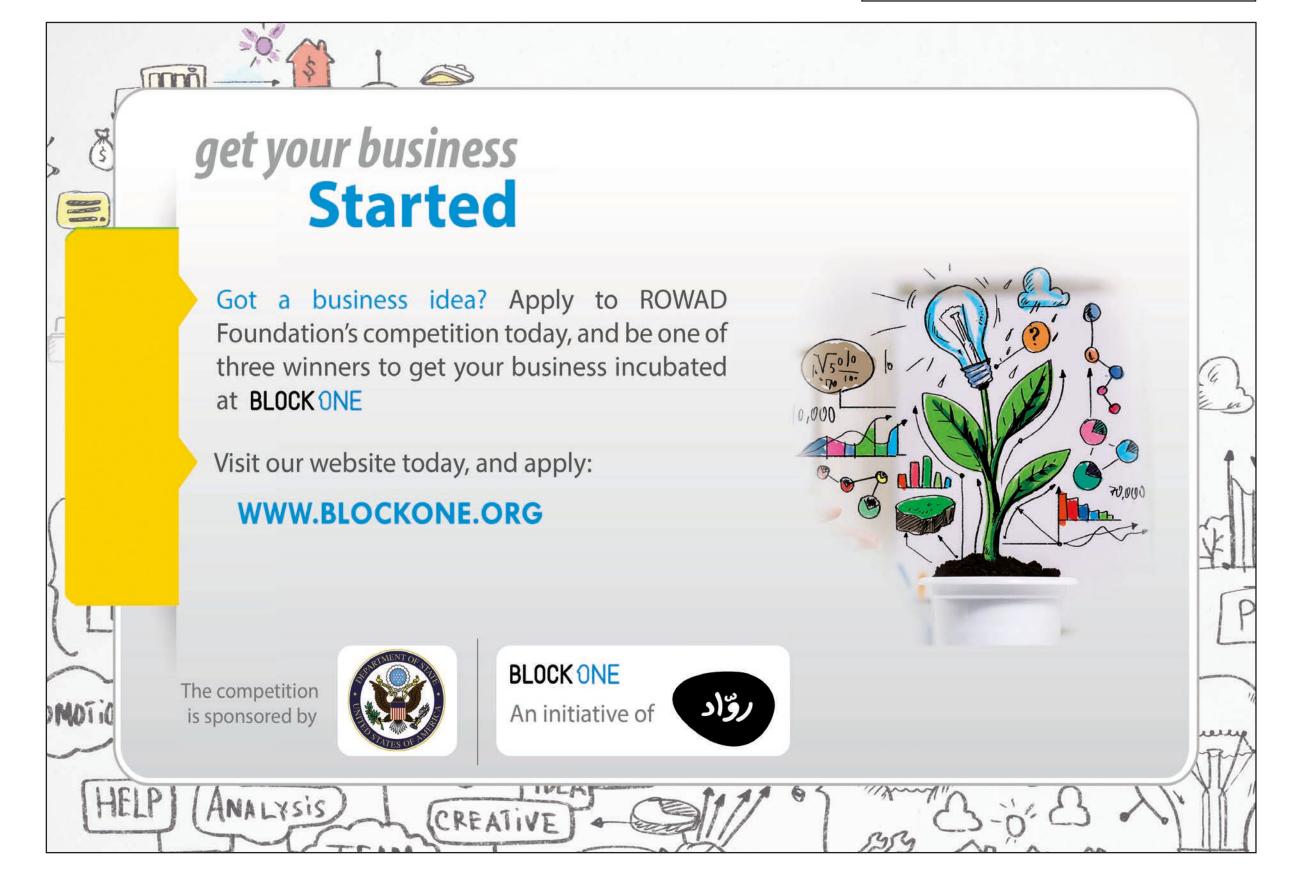
The police explained that the mine was detonated by remote control as the two victims happened to pass by

Al-Beida police defuse explosive device

The police in Al-Beida on Saturday managed to defuse an explosive device found within 200 meters of the Political Security Office, the Ministry of the Interior reported on its website.

The ministry explained that the device was filled with TNT explosives and connected to a cell-phone, a dynamo and an electrical current. All of these items were hidden in a pair of

The Interior Ministry has instructed Al-Beida police to be on high alert in order to foil any "potential acts of terrorism, particularly in Rada'a."





UNDP Youth Economic Empowerment Program attempts to rebuild Yemen, create jobs

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) sponsors numerous programs in Yemen, one of which is its Youth Economic Empowerment Program (YEEP). The main goal of the YEEP program is youth job creation, but it goes beyond this in dealing with other areas such as infrastructure repair, financial management skills, sanitation and hygiene, and greater opportunities for women to enter the

This strategy is called the "3x6" approach, which has three main milestones. Each of the milestones has two sub-components, which make up the 3x6 idea. The three cornerstones of the approach are inclusion, ownership and sustainability. Participating youth are paid for their work, which should benefit the community, and they also receive life skills and business development training.

Participants are encouraged to save two-thirds of their earnings, and there is a big incentive to do so, because whatever they have in their bank accounts at the end of the training period will be tripled by the UNDP. They can then use this money-alone, or in partnership with other participants—as seed money to launch their own businesses, thereby creating work for themselves and, it is hoped, for others as well. While building their businesses, youth are mentored and supported by UNDP with assistance from the government.

The UNDP points to what it says is a success story of the "3x6 Approach" in post-conflict Burundi, also with support from the Japanese Government. YEEP is now implementing this new approach in Yemen to contribute to conflict prevention by addressing youths' desire for immediate and sustainable employment.

In this issue, the Yemen Times presents two of Yemen's current YEEP projects (pages 3 and 10). Yemen's projects enjoy additional support from the Dutch and Japanese governments and For All Foundation, a national development-focused NGO.

Arhab program repairs infrastructure, empowers youth

Ali Abulohoom

ack of employment and prospects for the youth has been at the basis of the so-called Arab Spring. Without addressing this priority, the political transition in the country risks being unsustainable," according to Gustavo González, UNDP Senior Country

More than 60 youth from the Arhab District of Sana'a governorate, just north of Sana'a, have benefited from the YEEP program in Arhab. This program targeted Arhab because it is an area that witnessed armed conflict between tribesmen who sided with the anti-Saleh rebels in 2011 and a brigade that had been stationed in Arhab and whose leader was believed to have supported former President Ali Abdulla Saleh.

Confrontations lasted for months until the Gulf Initiative deal was signed in late 2011. In the course of the fighting, most of the area's drinking water wells were destroyed and local infrastructure was dam-

Since then, residents have not had sufficient water in their homes for basic needs such as drinking, cook-

ing, laundry, and bathing. The only sources of clean water are wells located far from their district, necessitating the use of cars, tank trucks and sometimes pack animals, such as donkeys, to transport water. This is according to Mohammed Al-Arhabi, 32, a resident of Arhab and a participant in the project.

According to the UNDP, lack of sufficient access to potable water is a widespread problem in Yemen. Because of this, it says, Yemen faces a water, sanitation and hygiene state of emergency.

Noman Al-Ghiat, the research department manager at the Environment and Natural Resources Organization, an NGO, confirmed that more than 25 percent of the water supply systems in Yemen are not functioning due to the depletion of water sources, disrupted power supplies and the inability of communities to pay for repairs.

In a bid to tackle this problem in one of the hardest-hit areas, the UNDP piloted a program in Arhab. In 2013, 700 unemployed Arhab youth were targeted and 560 were eventually enrolled for training in Water and Sanitation Hygiene (WASH) interventions.

Basmah Al-Eryani, business advisor at YEEP, said that the first phase of their project, which lasted two and a half months, included technical training on how to fix broken water pumps, repair piping systems, rehabilitate cisterns, and re-dig destroved wells.

The broader project also includes rainwater harvesting, and 100 households were targeted for installation of rooftop water collection

Youth participating in the project are paid for their WASH work. Savings accounts were opened for each participant and two-thirds of their earnings automatically deposited.

Al-Eryani said that, once the youth have completed their training, in the second phase of the program they become eligible to launch their own businesses. Their savings are tripled by the UNDP, and the combined money forms the startup capital that youth can use to launch their own small business projects.

The third phase involves monitoring the new businesses to see if they are being implemented as initially proposed. An impressive 236 small businesses have been launched. through this project.

"This approach has already been implemented in Taiz, Aden and the Capital Secretariat and now, Arhab. Beginning in April and lasting until

the end of 2015, this program will be implemented in nine other governorates," Al-Eryani said.

Tayseer Maqhat, 27, one of the youth, says, "we have been trained in how to design and plan our own projects as well as how to fix water pumps because in our area there is a shortage of clean water."

Maqhat added that they have not been compelled to launch any particular kind of project, but that they have been encouraged to develop projects that are relevant to their needs.

"Each participant has been paid YR 200,000 (\$930), which is not very much on its own. For this reason, 10 of us have combined our savings and purchased a water truck to bring clean water from Sana'a and other neighboring areas into our village," Maqhat added.

"We will collect the money we earn from this project and distribute the profit among us at the end of every month. I think this will be a good investment," said Maquat.

Nasseb Ghanem, 28, another beneficiary, says, "before we got involved in this project, I had no clue about water pump maintenance or how to rehabilitate destroyed

Ghanem has decided to use his



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savings from the project to open a business that maintains and repairs water pumps.

"In our village, due to the armed conflicts that took place in 2011, most of the water pumps were damaged or destroyed. I have decided to establish a mechanical pump repair workshop."

Caroline Lensing-Hebben, Chief Technical Advisor of the YEEP, says, "we have just adopted our upscale plan for the next two years, targeting 8,000 vulnerable youth in 9 governorates, with a focus on conflict-affected areas such as Abyan and Sa'ada, and targeting at least 25 percent of women. We are also continuing our work in the WASH sector, in Hajjah, among others."

Mohammed Yahia, 33, another participant, said that he also plans to use his 3x6 savings to buy a water truck for hauling water from Sana'a to his village.

"Our village is chronically short of water and the fighting only worsened the situation. So I think a truck for bringing in water is a good idea,'



Report 1 April, 2014

BUSINESS FOR PEACE AWARD

Arms dealers turn to social media advertising

Facebook increasingly used to sell arms

Story and photo by Amal Al-Yarisi

itting among friends inside the arms shop he owns in the well-known Jahana arms market, Ali Awla busily posts photos of newly-arrived arms on his Facebook page.

Several types of weapons are carefully hung inside the shop to attract customers.

The Jahana arms market, which is located about 25 kilometers from Sana'a, is home to over 40 stores selling an impossibly wide range of weapons and body armor, including rocket-propelled grenades, AK-47s and bullet-proof vests.

Aish Mohammed, a resident of Khawlan district of Sana'a, browsed the arms on display inside one shop, which he came to know about through Facebook.

"The internet helps people to connect with each other. I saw a weapon on the Facebook page of an arms dealer and contacted him to buy it," he said.

The weapons trade has thrived in Yemen over the past three years since the 2011 uprising. A deteriorating security situation has seen a corresponding rise in demand for guns, and nowadays Jahana is abuzz with buyers.

To advertise their wares, arms traders have increasingly taken not only to Facebook, but to other social media platforms as well, including Twitter and WhatsApp.

Traders use names such as Arms Black Market and Yemen's Arms Market for their Facebook pages, but some of them use their personal

Thus far, Awla has had several with his friends and customers. responses to his Facebook postings. "I give the address and my mobile number only to the serious customers, and then they visit me and pay to get the arms," he said.

Several arms dealers in Jahana confirmed that the internet has facilitated deals with potential customers. But, others are less enthusiastic about online advertising.

Abu Kahlan, who inherited the arms shop he has been working in for 23 years from his father, said that despite the proliferation of Facebook pages showcasing arms, he has never felt the need to go that

"Whoever wants to buy weapons comes to my shop because all people know the locations of arms markets," he said.

According to Abu Kahlan, there is a lot of false advertising, and many people post photos of weapons that are not available on the Yemeni

"Some people put photos on the internet and mislead people and this makes the customer lose their trust in us. Weapons sold in markets are the same as those owned by the military, and we don't have other kinds as some people claim," he

Fares Yahia, another Jahana arms dealer, said that they use all available means to promote weapons they sell, adding that the customers contact them via private messages to inquire about the prices and get their addresses.

"We sell weapons without any licenses to anyone, even to 10-yearold boys," Yahia said, adding that he had created a group on WhatsApp to share photos and weapon prices

Although many dealers say they are looking for new ways to expand their trade, others have said that they are willing to quit arms dealing in favor of alternative livelihoods if the state would help them.

Ahmed Ali Salah, an arms shop owner in Jahana who began selling arms eight years ago, said that he chose the arms trade only after repeatedly failing to get another

"I graduated in 2002 with a physician assistant certificate from the Health Institute in Taiz, but the jobs for myself and 32 colleagues of mine were given to other people,' he said.

"I didn't find another job and then decided to follow my father who was an arms dealer, although I wanted to have a job within my specialization," said Salah.

He said he would quit selling arms if the state would provide him with a job and buy all the weapons he currently has. He realizes, however, that this is an unrealistic prospect given the current economic and political climate.

"The existence of these shops reflects corruption within the state and the security vacuum we live in,» he said, adding that "owners of arms shops get weapons from other dealers as well as soldiers who sell off their personal arms."

Saleh Al-Dasim is a leading figure in the Jahana market who began working there in 1981. According to him, the market was established following the revolution of September 26, 1962.

"Most of the arms dealers are state officials, including military commanders who import weapons for the state and sell part of them to



Yemeni law prohibits the possession of firearms in main cities without permission from the Interior Ministry, but the law is rarely applied. Arms dealers have in fact become more bold, and some are displaying their arms on social networking sites such as Facebook under their actual names.

the arms shops," added Al-Dasim.

He said that several shipments of smuggled arms have been confiscated at Yemen's ports, but that dealers get hold of them later through bribery. "Corruption is rampant in all state institutions," he said.

There are other notable arms markets in other Yemeni governorates, like Al-Hasoon market in Marib and Mafraq Mawiah in Taiz.

However, some dealers choose instead to sell weapons undercover, either in their homes or at secret locations.

Al-Dasim thinks that the arms trade will continue to thrive with some help from social media. He believes that the number of arms shops will increase, largely because of the lack of state control. He said that the state cannot prevent arms dealers from selling arms unless it provides alternatives.

Article 3 of law No. 40 of 1992, which was passed to regulate weapons, prohibits the possession of firearms in the main cities unless the person has permission from the Interior Ministry. However, there is little evidence of this law being enforced on the streets.

Yemen has the second highest gun ownership rate in the world. According to a survey published in 2007, there were 54.8 firearms (licit and illicit) per 100 people.





Advertisement 1 April, 2014



BUSINESS

AWARD

ARTEX Opens Its New H.Q. Building



Mr. Esam Obadi Al Haiki, General Manager

RTEX Trading Company Limited, on Wednesday March 26, opened its new H.Q. building in the downtown of the capital, Sana'a. The anew building is in addition to its several already-existing branches and after

sale service centers located in different major cities across Yemen.

During the opening ceremony, Managing Director of ARTEX Mr. Esam Obadi Al- Haiki revealed that, "the new work center will consolidate the presence of ARTEX in the local market."

"ARTEX always seeks to provide its clients with a range of the latest household appliances and electronics," he added.

Continuing to play its pioneer role with highly qualified and talented sale teams, AR-TEX has evolved and flourished while contributing to the rapid development in the life style of Yemeni families.

ARTEX was incorporated in 1994 as a member of Hayel Saeed Anam Group of

Companies (HSA) and Al Haiki Trading Corporation. Its line of work has been centered on introducing high-quality electrical and electronic household appliances to the Yemeni market. ARTEX is the sole agent in Yemen representing scores of international top-brand companies, including Glem Gas, DeLonghi, AKAI, Babyliss Pro and Prestige, as well as a main distributor of Moulinex, Krups, Thomson and Amana products.

ARTEX owns the trademark of ROYAL, which manufactures a wide range of household appliances and electronics.

Today, ARTEX enjoys a leading position in the field of electrical and electronic household appliances with a network of local distributors centered in different parts of Yemen.











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Opinion 1 April, 2014

The wounded goat

Hooria Mashour Minister of Human Rights

ltais has many interpretations in the Arabic language. It is a star in the constellation Draco, but in biological terms it refers to the male goat. When the Altais family chose this name they probably didn't know about the star, even though Arabs are well known for their mastery in the field of astronomy, because before the invention of the Global Positioning System GPS, it was their form of guidance when traveling through the desert and the rough terrains of the Middle East. It is quite common in the Arab world to come across animal names attributed to humans, especially ones that represent power, endurance, intelligence, and beauty, for example: assad (lion), namer (tiger), fahd (panther), rasha (deer), mai (baby monkey), maha (calf), ghazal

Naif Altais is the person around

whom this story evolves. When asked about his age he says he doesn't know but his brother thinks that he is around 25 years old. Born in Yemen, he is a typical Arab-looking young fellow. His clothes are dirty and his hair is messy. He has just been discharged from the hospital following a long and expensive stay, on a medical odyssey that is far from over. This arduous journey was necessitated by a drone strike that targeted a wedding convoy in Ra'ada, in the south of Yemen, in

His family, which is poor, had to pull him out of the hospital because of crippling indebtedness. In addition to this financial burden, he needs treatment abroad because Yemen's medical resources are inadequate to address removal of the shrapnel that has lodged in his eye socket. According to his medical records, his doctors fear that his other eye could be affected by the shrapnel, but their gravest concern is that the shrapnel could cause a fatal brain infection.

Compounding his misery, his left leg, which suffered a compound fracture, was poorly repaired with metal rods that have now poked through the skin and become embedded in the plaster cast on his leg. If his leg fracture is not properly treated, he will not be able to return to his work as a shepherd, which is his family's sole source of income.

When I visited him together with a delegation of National Dialogue Conference (NDC) participantsincluding the head of the transitional justice team and many other influential individuals, including physicians-he didn't know who I was. He probably did not recognize me because he doesn't own a phone or watch TV news, or follow politicians or politics.

Prior to the drone strike, he lived a simple life with his two wives and six children—the sixth of whom was born just a couple of days before my visit. For work, he had managed a small herd of goats, and his income barely covered his family's basic expenses. His children are still much too young to take on their father's

At the hospital, he glared at me with an expression full of blame, because I represent the government and the government has failed to provide him with adequate medical

And when I said that the country was struggling with the fight against terrorism and that everyone should stand firm to confront it in order to avoid horrendous acts like the one that hit the Ministry of Defense, he replied, "If I were to hear about any terrorists I would immediately report them. I am an illiterate villager and I have no affiliation whatsoever with terrorists. My only crime was that I went to the city to attend the wedding of a relative.

When I asked about his demands on the government he replied, "I want medical treatment and I want the drone strikes to stop because they have killed so many and left so many wounded, like me."

I couldn't bear to see the looks and hear the wails, not only from him, but also from the tens of people who have suffered similar misfortunes. The day after meeting him I was at the 25th session of the Human Rights Council in Geneva and was able to use that platform to echo the pleas of Yemenis and demand an end to unmanned drones, based on the will of the people as well as the outcomes of the NDC.

It was also my moral and professional commitment as Human Rights Minister, and the commitment of the reconciliation government-which was born of the womb of change-to offer justice, compensation, and apologies to those poor, simple Yemeni villagers. The Yemeni parliament also confirmed its objection to the use of unmanned drones along with the European Union, which took the same position last month.

I therefore predict an increase in support for this matter in the American Congress, from Human Rights organizations in the free world and from many different countries. Pakistan has also proposed a draft resolution that is currently under negotiation in the Human Rights Council, and I am confident that it will be met with acceptance by the member and observer countries.

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All of these efforts to protect and maintain human rights will not derail our efforts to fight terrorism, in line with the national strategy approved by the government. Many interventions were prioritized including fighting poverty, amending the educational curricula, and raising awareness of the risk of terrorism. We will also enhance collective efforts expand joint activities with different countries, especially in technical and informational intelligence areas.

Issuing an anti-terrorism law that accurately defines acts of terrorism and sets appropriate punishmentsaccording to United Nations' standards in fighting terrorism-will discourage the blackmailing of political opponents and will help us find the right balance between law enforcement and respect for human rights.

Saudi-Qatari tensions and implications for the Persian Gulf

Afro-Middle East Centre First published March 27

ensions are increasing between Qatar on the one hand, and Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) on the other. In the latest dispute, which began on 5 March, the three states recalled their ambassadors from Qatar, demanding that it ends its support for the Muslim Brotherhood, and that it stops interfering in their internal affairs. Qatar shot back that the disagreement had to do with concerns in countries outside the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), whose members are Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE, Bahrain, Oman and Kuwait. Subsequently, the pressure on Qatar, led by Saudi Arabia, intensified. There have been Saudi threats to seal off Qatar's only land border, imposing sanctions and closing its airspace to Qatari planes. Saudi Arabia also demanded that Qatar shuts down the Al Jazeera network and two prominent research centers in Doha. These tensions are clearly very serious, and Saudi Prince Saud Al Faisal underlined their gravity saying that the group of three countries has rejected international mediation, and that the only way to resolve the dispute is for Qatar to amend its policies. This diplomatic crisis comes in the wake of other serious GCC crises that could potentially realign geostrategic alliances in the Persian Gulf and the entire Middle East region.

Saudi Arabia and the future of

Within the GCC, there is a growing rift not only between Oatar and Saudi Arabia, UAE and Bahrain, but also between the latter three countries and, separately, Kuwait and Oman. This division was highlighted recently when Oman publicly disagreed with Saudi Arabia over creating a greater union out of the GCC alliance, an idea that was first proposed by the Saudi king, Abdullah, in 2011, and repeated in December 2013 by Saudi state minister for foreign affairs, Nizar Madani. Oman's foreign affairs minister, Yusuf bin Alawi, rejected the idea, arguing that the GCC was an economic and security alliance that had to preserve the independence of its six members.

Oman's stance on the union

was a clear message that it would regard attempts to form a union as a threat to Oman's sovereignty. Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, however, insist that union is inevitable. Saudi Arabia has another reason to be irritated with its smaller neighbor. Since 2011, Oman has played host to secret negotiations between the USA and Iran, thus facilitating warming relations between the two rival states that led to the November 2013 Geneva nuclear deal between Tehran and the P5+1 (USA, Britain, France, Russia, China and Germany). Saudi Arabia's animosity towards Iran is no secret; in fact, its attempts to form a union out of the GCC states may be interpreted as a response to Iran's increasingly favorable reception in the West. Since its inception in 1981, the GCC has been rooted in Gulf Arab fears of a revolutionary Iranian state; hence its continual efforts to solidify security arrangements between member states. From the Saudi perspective, Oman – by declining to form a union with maintaining warin relations with Iran and actively assisting in its rehabilitation - is not only thwarting Saudi Arabia's desire for regional hegemony, but is also presenting it with a security

The GCC states face other problems too. Saudi Arabia is keen to form a GCC security pact that will unite member states against any external threat (read Iran), and allow for better coordination on internal security issues, a renewed concern in the wake of the Middle East North Africa uprisings. Saudi Arabia has already taken steps to proscribe its citizens from engaging in militant activities outside the country. In addition, Saudi Arabia is eager to secure this pact because Saudi ruling elites face a threat from the country's Shi'a population, which has been exacerbated by the Syrian conflict and Bahraini uprisings. However, Saudi desires to bind the GCC member states through the security pact are being thwarted by Kuwait, the only

member state that has not ratified it. Although Kuwait's interior minister signed the agreement in November 2012, parliament has to approve it before it can be ratified. Kuwait has the most vibrant, democratic environment among GCC countries, allowing its parliamentarians, and civil society groups, to resist the security agreement. This means that the GCC might be prevented from performing a basic function: an enhanced and integrated security architecture between member

This raises problems for Saudi Arabia, not only because it wants to use the GCC to manage regional dissent, but also because Kuwait's reasons for resisting the agreement will likely resonate with Qatar. Kuwait's concern is that the agreement, besides providing for cooperation between states to crush internal dissent, allows a member state to request another to extradite the latter's citizens if the former regards them as acting against its security interests. Besides the potential for grave human rights' violations, this aspect of the agreement has direct bearing on the dispute between Qatar and Saudi Arabia: Saudi Arabia accuses the Qatari government of meddling in its internal security affairs and giving refuge to members of the Muslim Brotherhood – which Saudi Arabia regards as a terrorist organization such as the prominent cleric Yusuf al-Qaradawi, an outspoken critic of the Saudi government.

Saudi Arabia and Qatar: A history of disputes

Tensions between Qatar and Saudi Arabia must, therefore, be seen alongside other regional disagreements. The two states are the most prominent actors within the GCC, and their disputes are likely to cause other fault lines within the region to widen quite rapidly.

Although the current Qatar-Saudi Arabia dispute stems from different positions the two states have taken in relation to opposition groups throughout the region in the context of the MENA uprisings, tensions between them date back to 1913, when Abdul Aziz, the founder of the Saudi state, occupied then

CEO

annexed Qatar. It was only under British pressure that Saudi Arabia recognized Qatar's borders. These tensions have not faded, as was evident from a remark made last year by Prince Bandar bin Sultan - former Saudi ambassador to the USA and head of Saudi General Intelligence agency – that Qatar is not a proper country, and is 'nothing but 300 people and a TV channel'.

Over the last twenty years, when Saudi Arabia did not have to deal with Iraq as a contender for regional hegemony, it has treated Qatar as a constant source of irritation. In 1992, for example, Saudi Arabia sent forces into Qatar and seized the al-Khafous border post. A few years later, in 1995, the Qatari government alleged that Saudi Arabia was fomenting a coup in alliance with a local clan. It is this context of mutual hostility that provides a backdrop to their more recent disagreements.

That Qatar, as a riposte, might harbor plans to split Saudi Arabia was revealed in a leaked phone conversation that allegedly took place in January 2011 between Qatar's then foreign and prime minister, Hammad bin Jassim, and Libyan leader Qadhafi. Jassim allegedly claimed that Saudi Arabia would unravel at his hands, and, after the king's death, would be partitioned, with Qatar seizing the eastern province of Qatif.

In light of this brief history, it is clear that Saudi-Qatari tensions are not simply a matter of foreign policy differences. Each country believes it has reason to assume that the other is fundamentally hostile, thus posing a national security threat. When national security means regime security, as it does here, disagreements are bound to get personal and induce major strategic shifts in regional alliances, unless the leaders can de-escalate tensions and build trust. One opportunity for doing so presented itself in their joint opposition to Syria's Assad regime. However, given the wrangling for control in Syrian opposition ranks, the opportunity was lost.

Continued on the back page

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The right to life is inviolable

Mirjam Gehrke

First published March 27

mnesty International sees progress in worldwide efforts to scrap the death penalty. But on closer examination, the rights group's latest report offers little to be pleased about, writes DW's Mirjam Gehrke.

I would like to be pleased about Amnesty International's (AI) key message on death penalty statistics, which is: over the last year, the worldwide trend continued toward abolishing the death penalty. But there are also the more than 500 death sentences for members of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptnot reflected in those figures. Even if the sentences in Egypt are not carried out, they are a major setback in the fight against the death penalty, not only in Egypt, but worldwide.

But now, back to the statistics. No doubt: it is good that there weren't any executions in Europe and Asia in 2013. It is encouraging that many countries in West Africa are planning constitutional and legislative reforms to abolish the death penalty. It is heartening that the executions in Pakistan have been postponed and that in Singapore no one on death row was killed.

But this is only half the story! One cannot ignore the fact that Amnesty could not provide any figures for executions carried out in China last year. In Beijing, this information is treated as a state secret.

Serious estimates are next to impossible, but an educated guess by Amnesty puts the number at several thousand. That is more than the rest of the world combined!

Still, Chinese President Xi Jinping is not likely to hear any criticism on his current tour around Europe. At the last EU-China summit in November, Europe's two top officials, Jose Manuel Barroso and Herman Van Rompuy, did not even raise the issue of human rights. Remember that the European Union was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012! These are not laurels on which to rest - this is an obligation.

Democracy excludes the death And a further reminder: The number

of documented executions last year increased by 15 percent compared to 2012. "The death penalty belongs to the authoritarian state, to the terror state and to dictatorship. It does not belong to liberal democracy,' Thomas Dehler, a former German justice minister, once said.

Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen, which lead the death penalty statistics, certainly aren't liberal democracies. In these countries human rights are trampled. Oil and arms deals with these countries have done little to influence this fact.

And the US is also still part of this inglorious society. The US is therefore an inglorious exception among western democracies and on the entire American continent. The fact that by now 18 federal states in the US have abolished the death penalty and that the number of executions decreased doesn't change the perception. The deterrent effect of the death penalty has been proven a myth, least of all in places like Iraq There, too, the government has justified the death penalty with the necessity to prevent attacks on the civilian population by armed groups. The security situation in Iraq makes a mockery of this argument.. And US crime statistics also do not withstand this scrutiny.

Democracy and the death penalty are mutually exclusive. State-sanctioned killing contradicts the right to life. When the state becomes the arbitrator over life and death the issue is no longer about justice but about Old Testament revenge: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Besides the Universal Declaration of Human Rights there are four international treaties calling for the abolition of the death penalty. The right to life cannot be an internal affair of nation states. I won't really be happy until Amnesty no longer has to publish death penalty statistics.

Mirjam Gehrke is a journalist at Deutsche Welle

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Smartcard plan to attack Egypt's fuel crisis

IRIN First published March 31

uel subsidies in Egypt account for 22 percent of the state's annual budget, taking funds away from other sectors like health and education. The government believes an ambitious five-year scheme, starting with a fuel smartcard roll-out, will reduce and rationalize fuel consumption, circumvent widespread corruption and phase out fuel subsidies.

Estimates for fuel subsidies for this year amount to the equivalent of US\$20.1 billion.

"We pay for fuel subsidies about seven times more than what we spend on health and three times more than on education," said Haithem Trabeek, a senior strategic and business planning manager with E-Finance, a company owned by the Ministry of Finance and selected by the government to run a new smartcard system that is part of a plan to reform fuel subsidy payments. The cards are initially being used to monitor the distribution of subsidised fuel to help identify fraud and corruption - something that analysts say is a widespread problem in the subsidy scheme, which is meant to help the poorest in society.

Energy subsidies are currently applied to every Egyptian, regardless of their income. Because everyone gets cheap fuel, and the rich consume more of it, the poorest are effectively left out.

"I have a good salary and benefit from subsidies like someone who earns one dollar per day," said Trabeek. "In fact, I'm subsidized more"

Tarek H. Selim, professor of Business Economics and Strategy, says the generalized entitlement to open-ended energy subsidies makes the current system dysfunctional.

"Fuel subsidies should be tailored to the poor. However, it's wealthy car owners who benefit much more from subsidies," Selim told IRIN. According to Minister of Planning Ashraf El-Araby, 80 percent of the energy subsidies are spent on the

Nevertheless, the fuel subsidies do keep costs down for the poor, especially in the food production and transport sectors, and the government is aware that any dramatic reductions risk provoking inflation and social unrest similar to Egypt's 1977 "bread riots" when, under World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) pressure, the government tried unsuccessfully to reduce food subsidies. In recent years, the government has been pushing subsidy reforms in a bid to agree a loan with the IMF.

Phased cuts

Since the start of the year, the government has gradually been implementing the smartcard system as part of its plan to phase out energy subsidies within five years.

"The great benefit of our smartcard project is it will enable the government to tailor policies, to apply subsidies in a more targeted way," Trabeek told IRIN.

"Rechannelling energy subsidies can have a real impact on people's lives"

Subsidized fuel is particularly important for the country's one-infourliving in poverty. Fuel shortages over the past 12 months have hit farmers seeking to irrigate and harvest their crops, bakers making the country's heavily subsidised bread, and even ambulances seeking to reach the sick.

التأسيس

New database

In an attempt to tackle a fuel crisis which left long queues at petrol stations, hit food production and left many supermarket shelves bare, the ministries of finance and petroleum launched the smartcard project in January 2013.

To achieve the goal of reducing fuel subsidies, the smartcard project aims to create a database that provides accurate information regarding the country's supply and consumption of petroleum products.

Since 2008-09 Egypt has been a net oil importer, and Selim says without a reduction in energy subsidies, it could become a net importer of natural gas as early as 2020.

Last month, former Minister of Petroleum Osama Kamal said annual black market revenues from the smuggling of petroleum products, such as diesel, were equivalent to \$4.3 billion.

Smartcard implementation

The first phase of the smartcard project, which was completed in June 2013, targeted petrol stations and large customers to monitor fuel quotas obtained from supplies stored at depots.

Trabeek says each depot is equipped with the card system which records all data related to the vehicle owner, including fuel purchase amount, and gives the government a good sense of where the fuel is being transported and sold.

"We installed 15,000 points of sale at fuel stations to register and record operations; we trained around 20,000 workers on how to use the new electronic system," Trabeek told IRIN.

The second phase of the project



Queues for fuel in Egypt.

aims to move a step further down the distribution chain and target consumers at the pumps. This is currently being rolled out. In February, the finance and petroleum ministries announced that 1.3 million car owners had been registered in the scheme; one million of them had received fuel smartcards.

Around 400 fuel stations are currently functioning with the electronic system for fuel distribution, Finance Ministry sources said.

"It's a smart idea." said independent energy analyst Sherif Elhelwa. "You can control how much fuel goes in and out. You're leaving no room for the black market."

The smartcards are a datacollection tool, but in future phases, the authorities plan to build on the scheme, and the information collected on subsidized fuel use, to start rationing.

Poor messaging

Islam El Gamal, E-Finance's marketing manager, says the government has not put enough effort into communications and transparency: "Most Egyptians struggle to understand the idea of a smartcard, and that it will benefit the national economy. People think the fuel price will rise, with nothing in exchange."

Trabeek also hinted at lack of trust in the government. "Egyptians don't see promises kept. Many of them don't recognize the value of the new system so they may just ignore it altogether," he said. For

the time being the smartcards are voluntary, but officials say they will soon be compulsory.

"We need to create an environment where people are taught about fuel efficiency, what smartcards are, how we use them and why," Elhelwa said, "It will take time for Egyptians to become familiar with this."

Registering online to receive smartcards is a limitation, he added. According to the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), Egypt counted 35.95 million Internet users in June 2013 - a small number for a country with a population of over 80 million. Moreover, nearly half of Egyptians are illiterate.

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راديو يمن تايمز

اغنا

يعمل "راديويمن تايمز" على طرح وجهات نظر جديدة وموضوعات هامة للجمهور اليمني ويعايش قضايا المواطنين الذين يجيدون اللغة الانجليزية والعربية والأميين بشكل مباشر.

ويسعى أيضا لإيجاد فضاءات جديدة لحرية الرأي والتعبير في اليمن عامة وفي العاصمة صنعاء خاصة ليكون راديو يمن تايمز «صوت من لا صوت لهم» وليعزز مفاهيم الديمقراطية وحرية الرأي والتعبير من خلال دوراته البرامجية المتنوعة التي تعالج قضايا المرأة والطفل وحقوق الإنسان وتدافع عن الحريات بواسطة إعلامها الهادف وبرامجها المتعددة والتي تخاطب بشفافية وموضوعية كل مستمعيها وتتسم بروح شبابية وإيجابية واضحة لكل من يتابعها سواء سكان صنعاء أو اليمن.

رؤىتنا

للإعلام دور كبير ومهم في الدعوة للتغيير السلمي فهو ركيزة من ركائز التغيير نحو الأفضل, ولكن الصراعات السياسية اعتادت أن تفرض أجنداتها على المؤسسات الإعلامية مما يخلق أثراً سلبيا واضحاً على طابع استقلال الإعلام و أثّر بشكل مباشر على معايير أساسية مثل الحيادية والموضوعية.

وهنا تسعى "إذاعة يمن تايمز" لتعزز من دور مؤسستها الاعلامية المستقلة لتصل إلى كل من لا تصل إليه عبر صحيفتها لتكون من الإذاعات الرائدة في اليمن التي جعلت من الحياد والإستقلال سياسة خاصة لها مواصلة بذلك سمعتها الحسنة التي استطاعت أن تفرضها من خلال سياسة الصحيفة على الرغم من عدم وجود قوانين منظمة لعمل الإذاعات الخاصة في اليمن.

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Analysis 1 April, 2014

US-EU: Do not forget about Arab democracy

Danya Greenfield and **Amy Hawthorne** First published March 26

BUSINESS

AWARD

Rusraine and sia dominated EU-US Summit in Brussels today, followed by the original top priority items of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) and surveillance by the National Security Agency. But missing from the agenda was another issue that needs high-level transatlantic attention: the worrisome situation in the Arab transitioning countries, namely, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen. While these countries may not seem to present an immediate crisis, the failure of successful democratic transitions there will have a direct, negative impact on European and US interests. The only way they can achieve lasting security and stability—what ultimately matters the most to Europe and the United States—is through the development of democratic systems.

Admittedly, it is a difficult moment for the United States and Europe to rededicate themselves to this goal. After spending a week talking with EU and European officials in Brussels, Rome, Paris and London, it was abundantly clear to us that European policymakers are just as distressed and feel just as resigned to the troubled fate of the countries as their US counterparts. On both sides of the Atlantic, there is also a consensus regarding the current status of these countries: Tunisia is moving along on the right track, but its gains are still tenuous; Libya is a security nightmare and lacks institutions, interlocutors, and indigenous plans to stem the country's deteriorating security; Egypt is witnessing a dangerous authoritarian retrenchment; persistent violence in Yemen threatens even the modest gains from its National Dialogue process.

The only way they can achieve lasting security and stability-what ultimately matters the most to Europe and the United States—is through the development of democratic systems.

Given its geographic proximity, Europe has no choice but to engage closely with these countries to address security threats emanating from them-including illegal migration, smuggling, weapons trafficking, and extremist activity. Sitting far away on the other side of the Atlantic, the United States feels it has a bit more breathing room than Europe. But because of the continuing geopolitical importance of the Middle East and of transnational jihadi threats, critical US interests still hang in the balance, even with America's increasing energy self-reliance. In the immediate wake of the Arab uprisings the United States and Europe had expressed a newfound acknowledgement that security and democratic development are indeed inextricably linked, yet the difficulty of democratization in the region in the past three years has caused many to question this conclusion now. This would be a mistake; we should not need to learn the lesson twice in fewer than five years that governments that fail to respond to the needs of their citizens or develop inclusive institutions become breeding ground for instability and discontent that spills over borders.

At the same time, the US and European response to the transitions should not be only about mitigating dangers. The strategic EU-US partnership, as affirmed prior to the summit, is fundamentally based on shared values including "a commitment to uphold the fundamental rights and freedoms of our citizens, belief in open and accountable government and in a fair and effective market economy." To date, the US and EU have failed to leverage effectively their unique values-centered strategic partnership to support the difficult process of change from authoritarianism to democratic governance in these Arab countries. To the extent that they have offered help, the United States and EU have been far more focused on economic support, and far less on building democratic institutions and defending basic freedoms. While getting the economic piece of puzzle right is essential for the success of these countries, this cannot be pursued divorced from establishing responsive, inclusive political systems that uphold the rule of law and respects the rights of all its citizens.

The reality is that over the past three years, the United States and its European allies have not even attempted serious close transatlantic cooperation on this goal, sometimes appearing to shrink further away from robust support for transatlantic values when democratization is most threatened. At the last US-EU summit, in November 2011, the joint statement mentioned "historic opportunity for successful democratic reform in the Arab world" and pledged that Washington and Brussels would "support the democratic transitions underway" in the region. But even then, the commitment was modest in proportion to the importance of the historic opportunity. Due to the turbulence in the transitioning countries and to their own political and bureaucratic obstacles, the United States and Europe have had difficulty delivering even on their original promises. The flagship Deauville Partnership, launched by the G-8 in May 2011, was meant to encourage donor assistance for the Arab countries in transition, but it was never conceived as a lasting platform for coordinated strategic action, and it prioritized economic issues at the expense of needed multilateral attention to po-

Faced with the rising influence of wealthy Gulf donors and with eroding confidence that the United States and Europe have something of value to offer, there is great deal of hand-wringing and resignation about waning leverage to encourage political, security, and economic reforms across the Arab countries in transition. In part, the reduced influence is due to collective bureaucratic fatigue after three tumultuous and disappointing years and to insufficient financial resources, as well as to difficult conditions in the transitioning countries. But it is also due to the absence of political will on the US and European side, and growing doubts about prospects for and the importance of democracy to our strategic interests. A central problem is that we have not prioritized successful democratic outcomes in these countries, and thus we have not been able to put in place the diplomatic strategies, policies, and programs to advance such an objective.

Better donor coordination is a piece of the puzzle, but is not the lynchpin. What is needed is a strategic transatlantic dialogue that honestly probes some of the deeper questions facing these countries' transition processes and the US and European role. On Egypt, we should be asking, how are we going to relate to the actual Egypt that is emerging, a country with a military-backed authoritarian system and a growing Islamist insurgency, and how will we avoid repeating our acknowledged mistakes in downplaying repression during the Mubarak era?

On Tunisia, we should ask whether we are truly doing all we can to help this fragile democratic process stay on track, reward Tunisia for its progress thus far, and showcase its consensus-oriented approach as an example for the region? On Libya, the key question is how to leverage US, EU, European, and UN resources to support an inclusive national dialogue, prioritize adherence to a political roadmap, and help the institution-building that is inextricably linked to solving Libya's security problems. On Yemen, we should ask how we can ensure that proceeding full-steam ahead with constitutionwriting and elections does not break the country apart and what role the international community should play in addressing Southern grievances and other demands for greater autonomy.

Economic support, while not the silver-bullet solution to troubled transitions that some US and Eu-

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On Yemen, we should ask how we can ensure that proceeding full-steam ahead with constitution-writing and elections does not break the country apart and what role the international community should play in addressing Southern grievances and other demands for greater autonomy.

ropean officials seem to hope these days, remains important. Thus high-level transatlantic dialogue on the transitions should also take a hard look at the complexity of

technical assistance that the US and Europe alone can offer and that Gulf countries cannot, and whether our aid programs have been effective in addressing the priority issue of creating jobs for young Arabs. The international financial institutions play a critical role, but macro-level reforms are only one part of the equation and EU and US and other bilateral programs should continue in parallel. A serious transatlantic dialogue would move beyond information-sharing and on-the-ground collaboration to identify areas where a more strategic level of coordination would amplify impact.

Safeguarding Ukraine and confronting a newly aggressive Russia rightly will take center stage in the transatlantic relationship for the foreseeable future. But the United States and Europe cannot afford to let the Arab transitions, and our joint response, fall any further down years, we may find ourselves confronting far more acute political and security crises in the region, ones that compare with the geopolitical nightmare underway in Ukraine.

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تستوعب لأكثر من ٤٥٠ شخص

💠 مسبح، ساونا ونادي صحي

* خدمة الأنترنت اللاسلكي في

مركز رجال الأعمال

* موقف مجانى للسيارات

الغرف والبهو مجاناً



BUSINESS FOR PEACE AWARD

UNDP Youth Economic Empowerment Project

Women painters fight unemployment, challenge gender stereotypes



The 3x6 initiative has introduced painting as a way for youth to generate income. The project considers economic empowerment, particularly for women, to be a vital part of the country's economic recovery.



Painting is seen as men's work in Yemen, but social norms have proven to be an advantage to the women. While male painters require a male to be present in the home during the work, women can work in the home without male escorts—which would be necessary to protect the reputations of the female members of the household.

Story and photos by Kawkab Al-Thaibani

t the far corner of the Seventh of July girls' school, 17 young women in blue jackets diligently paint the walls. These young women are engaged in a two-month hands-on job skills and small business training program.

"We enjoy our work. We really like painting," says one of the girls.

The 3x6 approach has introduced painting as a way for the young women and men who participate to generate an income, which they are encouraged to save as start-up capital for their own small businesses—so that they can generate a sustainable income.

In Yemen, as in many Arab countries, women and men are usually separated socially and contact between the sexes is formal and closely monitored. Painting work inside a home is not a straightforward process, because a male painter must be accompanied at all times by a male family member.

It is quite unusual for women to work as painters because culturally, it is not considered to be a female profession.

This project provides young people with professional training and also

sufficient start-up to launch a business. The project sees economic empowerment as a vital part of the country's economic recovery in the current political transitional period.

The young women in the painting program are glad to have a daily income because it makes a huge difference in their lives. The 2011 revolution had a strongly negative effect on the incomes of all Yemenis, and women have been the most severely affected. Oxfam International's recent report, "Still Waiting for Change: Making the political transition work for women in Yemen," found that four out of five women participating in the study felt that their living conditions had deteriorated dramatically following the uprising

Yemeni women not only face poor living conditions; Yemen is rated the lowest (130) in the Annual Gender Gap Report which measures disparities between men and women for many critical areas, one of which is economic participation and opportunity. Yemeni women have an extra burden to carry when it comes to earning a living.

However, social norms may sometimes be used to the advantage of young women. "I told some of my colleagues that I thought they would be so comfortable having a woman

paint their house that they would not even think of taking a day off to stay home—as they would if a man were to come to their home," said Abbas Al-Falah. Al-Falah is the painting trainer, and he has 22 years of experience in painting.

A student at the Seventh of July school agreed with what Al-Falah had to say, saying, "my mother told us she wished that we could paint, but this was just a little dream. But seeing these women paint, well, it was the first time that we had seen [women do] anything like it. Now, we believe we can learn how to paint, too."

The school community was initially hesitant about, and even skeptical of, the women's ability to do a good painting job. "We were surprised to see all of these beautifully painted walls," commented a young student

One of the participants is 18 years old and divorced. "I am delighted to learn this new skill so I can take good care of my three-year-old daughter," she said. She was forced into marriage when she was only 14, and divorced four years later. Her family's poverty compelled her to work to support her child.

Not surprisingly, rumors and suspicion surround the trainees

picion surround the trainees.
"I do not think women can do this

job, it is for men—they are too delicate," said one of the female teachers, who asked not to be identified.

In addition, some of the trainees themselves were unhappy with what they felt was a strike against tradition. One of the participants says that she will not pursue painting as a profession, but will use what she has learned to beautify her house and benefit her extended family.

The sight of women working as house painters is not a common one in Yemen, and regardless of whether they will be able to prove themselves in this profession, they have already achieved some success in breaking down a conservative stereotype of what constitutes women's work.

"It was hard to convince people by just talking, but when people see the women hard at work, it's a different story," says Shafiah Al-Siraji, the principal of the school.

Some women believe they can do any work just as well as men can. Intisar Al-Hubaishi, 24, plans to take on painting as her profession, without accepting any limitations on her career.

"I will not stand out in the street to market myself but I will [advertise my services] in a more appropriate way," she adds. She believes women have the potential to improve this profession. Al-Hubaishi, hopes to change the common perceptions of "men-only jobs" and thinks that women will be in high demand as painters.

Although some people are still hesitant about the idea of women taking up painting as a livelihood, there are others who think they will make it. "I know they will find work, especially now that they have proven themselves at the school," says Principal Al-Siraji.

"It is the first time that people have seen women painting walls to earn a living," says Al-Siraji, "but it supports [my belief] that women can adapt to any situation. Actions speak louder than words."

Along with painting, the young male and female participants all receive regular basic business and life-skills training to help develop and support their future business projects. During the current income-generating phase of the program, one-third of each participant's earnings are deposited into a savings account. In phase 2 of the project, the project triples their savings via a grant for feasible business ideas and provides technical support and mentoring to newly-created small businesses.

Some of the young women have already identified business projects—not necessarily painting—and are consulting with their trainers on

how to make their ideas a marketable reality.

One will open a small library and office supply shop in her suburban neighborhood. Another plans to open a French fry stand near a community park where no competition currently exists.

Having learned how to paint is still very useful to them on a personal and professional level. Some say that even if they do not work as professional painters, they will use their new skills at home. "Even after I start my own business project, I will not drop painting; it is a good way to make money. I have acquired a valuable skill, so why should I waste it?" says one of the participants.

All of the young women joined the program with the goal of improving their living conditions through jobs training in order to secure a sustainable income.

Thanks to their determination, a new understanding and a momentum seems to have developed. Take, for example, the following words of one of the girls at the Seventh of July school.

"In the beginning we just laughed, saying, 'hah! they think they can work like men' but then we saw the beautiful work they do. Really, now I believe that there is no difference between men and women"







Jordan's rich culture and history

he Royal Jordanian air- nological advancement. line organized a free tour of Jordan for a number of Yemeni travel agency representatives in mid-March.Jordan has a rich history because of its geographical location that connects many trading roads from the west to the east.

Jordan was important during the Roman, Byzantine, the Crusade and the Islamic eras. Once you arrive in Jordan, you sense the spirit of the past. Traces of ancient civilizations are still standing and include Al Batra city, the Dead Sea, the Jordan Valley and Rum Valley. There are many other landmarks that reflect the modern history of the country, including luxurious hotels, shopping centers and art exhibitions in Amman city.

Jordan has a rich history of culture mixed with modernization and tech-

The visitor to this country realizes the keenness of the government, represented by Tourism Promotion Authority, to maintain the country's archaeological sites and to explore other historical sites. The visitor also realizes the keenness of the government to keep the visitor safe and sound so they enjoy being in Jordan without any obstacles.

Amman used to be called Amon in the past. Amman is famous for towers, fortified castles with different shapes and numerous stories. These archaeological sites can be seen in Amman's mountainous area. These sites have been standing since the ancient civilizations of Babylonian and Persia.

When the Islamic conquests reached the city, it was re-named Amman instead of Amon.

In March of 1921, Prince Abdulla Al-Hashimi established the Emirate of Transjordan. In 1946, the Jordanian Kingdom gained independence and Amman became the capital.

Among the significant sites in Amman are Umayyad Palace that dates back to 730, as well as the Temple of Hercules and a Byzantine church that is believed to built in the seventh cen-

Madaba City

Madaba is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) south-west of Amman. It is an ancient city that has several archaeological and tourist sites including the Map of Madaba mosaic and the Archeological Music Garden, as well as many Byzantine churches such as the Saint Mary Church.





Nebo Mount

It's believed that the Nebo Mount is a place where Moses was granted a view of the holy land and it is also said that he was buried there. It's the most tranquil holy place in Jordon to which the ancient Christians made pilgrimage.

The first church was constructed in the area during the 4th century. The Nebo Mount also include several graves covered with mosaic as well as a museum comprising of several ancient pieces such as the Brazen Serpent and

a modern cross coiled around another cross made of steel which stands for the stick of Moses. The late Pope John Paul visited the mountain in 2000.

Jerash

Jerash city is ranked second on the list of the best archaeological sites in Jordon after Petra. The city prospered during the Roman era and was known as Gerasa. In addition to its Greco-Roman style, Jerash still maintains its Arabic style to date.





Representatives of Yemeni travel agencies sauntering among the remnant of Jerash city.



The Royal Automobiles Museum.



A mosaics workshop in Madaba city.



One of the Dead Sea resorts.



The serpentine cross sculpture



Nebo Mount.





Mosaic pieces on display in Madaba city.



The entrance arch to the ruins of Jerash city.



Representatives of Yemeni travel agencies in a memorial photo.







The Madaba Mosaic map on the floor of Saint George's church.



The Roman Theater.



The headquarters of Royal Jordanian airlines in Amman.



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

Social media and freedom of expression

The Article 19 radio show this week discussed freedom of expression and its relation to social media. **Marwan Al-Mekhlafi**, who directs and broadcasts political satires, **Ali Ahmed Al-Qubati**, a youth activist and member of the Supreme Authority for Achieving the Revolution's Aims, **Hisham Al-Ziadi**, a journalist and broadcaster, and **Mohammed Al-Gharbani**, an activist and a member of the local dialogue committee in Dhamar governorate discussed these issues.

How important is it to express yourself during revolutionary times?

Al-Qubati: We are benefiting from social media, and using social networks such as Facebook to communicate with each other and to express ourselves. We have benefited from the Egyptian revolution, learning from Egyptian youth and communicating with each other through social media.

Do you think it is ever acceptable to use pseudonyms on Facebook?

Al-Ziadi: Many people use pseudonyms on Facebook, what really matters if what one is saying is constructive or not. People only respond to constructive criticism.

To what extent is Article 19 practically applied?

Al-Mekhlafi: Generally speaking, articles that guarantee freedom of expression in Arab countries exist only in laws but are not applied. If you criticize someone very important, you will probably be punished.

Al-Ziadi:

Even in Islam, it isn't permissible to conclude that people are not Muslims because of their ideas.

Al-Qubati: The 2011 revolution opened space for youth to express themselves, however, some used this expanded of freedom to put shackles on others.

Will I be accused of being a non-Muslim if I presented any new idea?

Al-Mekhlafi: There are no limits on thinking and all ideas are negotiable, even people's relation with Allah. We know that the prophets asked Allah many questions and weren't punished for it. However, we are punished whenever we speak about a religious idea that is potentially subversive. It is important that we convince the entire society of the right to think freely.

Al-Ziadi: Article 42 of Yemeni law states that all people have the right to contribute to political, social, economic and cultural life and that the state guarantees freedom of thought and expression within the law. Even in Islam, it isn't permissible to conclude that people are not Muslims because of their ideas.

CALLERS

Saeed Rawih: No one has the right to blaspheme others. Who is he to accuse others of blasphemy? I am against such a thing. In the end, there is a God who will judge. It is a big offence to call others disbelievers or hypocrites. Do those who blaspheme others apply the legislations of God?

Al-Qubati:

To repress the freedom of speech is to repress a basic right in life.

Al-Mekhlafi: We benefited from the 2011 revolution because we were able to write and speak freely.

Do you think those who were assassinated were the victims of their subversive beliefs and expressions?

Al-Gharbani: More often the assassinations are politically motivated because those assassinated were playing a large part in the political and security sectors. These assassinations are retaliations.

Are you open to criticism and if so, how do you deal with it?

Al-Gharbani: If it is a clear matter of freedom of expression, I am flexible. However, if this criticism intends to defame and slander, I think it is better to block such expressions.

Do you think it is possible Yemenis will be able to harness the freedom of expression to get their views across and to demonstrate for particular rights or issues?

Al-Mikhlafi:

I think there are restrictions when it comes to religion, traditions and customs. But I think there are no restrictions on politics.

Al-Mekhlafi: Yes, it is possible. During the revolution, there were silent protests where protesters put tape on their mouths. They wanted to convey the restrictions imposed on the freedom of expression. They also attended protests while handcuffed to convey the point that freedom is repressed.

Final words:

Al-Qubati: When we talk about the freedom of expression of thought and opinion, we talk about a basic right in one's life. A person could express their thoughts in a number of ways—such as writing, drawing, or other means. To repress the freedom of speech is to repress a basic right in life.

I want to say that religion is not owned by anyone. Give your opinion about the wrong thing you see and let people judge instead of accusing others of blasphemy or killing them.

Marwan Al-Mekhlafi: I think there are restrictions when it comes to religion, traditions and customs. But I think there are no restrictions on politics.

حرية الراي والتعبير عبر الاعلام الاجتماعي

ناقش برنامج المادة 19 هذا الأسبوع موضوع حرية الكتابة والتعبير عن الرأي من خلال الإعلام الاجتماعي وكيف أصبحت مساحة للتعبير عن الرأي والوسائل التي استخدمها الشباب للتعبير عن رأيهم بكل حرية. استضاف البرنامج هروان المخلافي، مخرج ومقدم برامج سياسية ساخرة وعلي احمد القباطي ناشط شبابي وعضو الهيئة العليا لتحقيق أهداف الثورة والإعلامي والصحفي هشام الزيادي والناشط والمدرب وعضو لجنة الحوار المحلية في محافظة ذمار محمد الغرباني

المخالافي:

توجد حدود في الدين وحدود في العادات والتقاليد ولكن لا توجد حدود في السياسة.

سبب اغتيالهم هو قول رأيهم بحرية؟

الغرباني: غالباً ما تكون الاغتيالات الحاصلة اغتيالات سياسية لان المستمدفين فيها لهم دخل في العمل السياسي والمجال الأمني وهذه عبارة عن تصفية الحسابات. من الممكن أن تكشف للرأي العام حقائق موجعه نحن لم نكتشفها بعد عن واقع البلاد بشكل حقيقي.

هل من المكن ان تتقبل انتقاد ورأي من قبل صاحب اسم مستعار وكيف يمكن ان تتعامل معها؟

الغرباني: إذا كانت حرية التعبير منهجية وواضحة وحقيقية، أنا أتعامل مع هذه الآراء بشكل مرن جداً الى ابعد حد لكن إذا كانت لمجرد التشويه والإساءة فما أسهل الحظر في مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي.

هل من المكن الوصول بالوعي للمواطن اليمني ان يلبس لباس معين او يقوم بصفة معينة للتعبير عن حقهم او الاحتجاج لقضية معينة؟

المخالافي: نعم من الممكن لأنه قد حصل أيام الثورة احتجاج بلغة صامتة كانوا يحطون لواصق على افواههم وهذه يدل على تكميم الأفواه وقمع الحريات. وكان بعض الأوقات يقومون بأعمال معينه كمسيرة وهم مقيدون بالقيود وهذه يدل على قمع الحريات

الغرباني:

من الممكن أن تكشف للرأي العام حقائق موجعه نحن لم نكتشفها بعد عن واقع البلاد بشكل حقيقه.

كلمة أخيرة للبرنامج

القباطي: عندما نتحدث عن حريات الرأي والتعبير نتحدث عن الحق في الحياة وقد يكون بالكتابة وبالرسم وبالقول وبألف شكل من الأشكال وهذه وسائل من خلالها يوصل الناس رأيهم، وقمع حريات التعبير هو قمع حريات الحياة. وأقول ان الدين ليس ملكاً لأحد والفكرة الخاطئة و الشيء الذي ترينه خاطئ بدل من تقومين بتكفير أو قتل من قالها هذا الرأي، أعطي الرأي الصحيح او الفكرة الصحيحة ودع الحكم للناس.

المخالافي: من وجهة نظري توجد حدود في الدين وحدود في العادات والتقاليد ولكن لا توجد حدود في السياسة.

مداخلات هاتفية

سعيد راوح: لا يمكن لأي أحد أن يكفر الآخر من هو كي يكفر الآخر وأنا ضد هذه المسألة قلباً وقالبا. في الأخير يوجد إله يحكم الكل، والتكفير أو اتهام الأخرين بالنفاق جريمة كبرى. وهل من يكفر الآخرين مطبق لشرع الله؟ هل من المهم ان تكون الصورة واضحة اثناء التعبير او القيام بعمل ثوري في الساحات؟

القباطي: يوجد أكثر من وسيلة للتعبير ومنها وسائل الإعلام ومنها القنوات والصحف الأهلية وكذلك ابتكر الشباب وسائل عديده منها الفيس بوك للتواصل الاجتماعي واستفاد الشباب من تجربة المصربين.

هل يمكن ان تتقبل الإنتقاد من شخص ذو اسم مستعار على الفيسبوك؟

الزيادي: تنتشر الأسماء المستعارة في شبكات التواصل الاجتماعي والغرض من الانتقاد هل هو انتقاد بناء؟ ولأي شخص ان يستقبل الانتقاد لتصحيح الأخطاء التي يمكن أن يكون واقع فيها.

قىاطى:

ق<mark>مع</mark> حريات التعبير هو قمع حريات الحياة

ما مدى تطبيق المادة 19 على ارض الواقع؟

الخَلافي: بشكل عام الذي يحصل في تطبيق مواد الرأي والتعبير في العالم العربي أن حرية الرأي موجودة في الدساتير وغير مطبقة في الواقع ولكن من يقول كلمة ضد الناس المهمين قد يتعرض للعقاب.

القباطي: عام 2011 والثورة الشعبية أوجدت مساحات كبيرة للشباب والتعبير ولكن البعض اوجد لنفسه القداسة ومن موجبها يتطلع لفرض القيود ويعطي لنفسه الحق انه صاحب الصلاحيات.

زیادي:

الإسلام لم يبح التكفير فعندما تقوم بتكفير شخص أما أنت كافر او هو.

هل من المكن أن يقوم البعض بتكفيري إذا طرحت أي فك ة ؟

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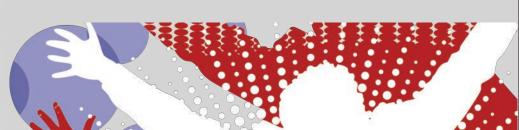
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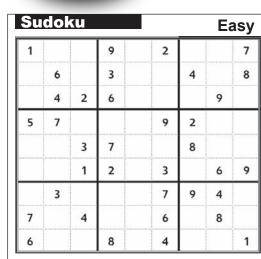
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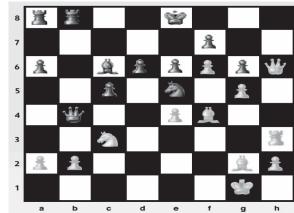
Coffee Break



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Continued from page 6

Saudi-Qatari tensions and implications for the Persian Gulf

Differences between Qatar and Saudi Arabia have plagued the process of building a strong Syrian opposition, and with President Bashar al-Assad more firmly in control than a year ago, the larger set of differences between Saudi Arabia and Qatar have become more pronounced. With no rapprochement in sight, Saudi Arabia is threatening Qatar's expulsion from the GCC, and the formation of a GCC union with only four members (excluding Qatar and Oman)

Qatar between three poles of power With the very existence of the GCC

threatened, the possibility of Saudi Arabia and Qatar instigating regime change and secessionist movements in each other's territory, and a rising Iran, the Persian Gulf is likely to see a change in the balance of power. Iran's ascendancy is contributing to a Saudi desire to consolidate its strength in what it views as a zero-sum game with Iran. In its belligerent attitude towards Qatar, Saudi Arabia is neglecting some basic strategic calculations. The Persian Gulf region has three poles of power, two of which (Iran and Saudi Arabia) are in the region, and the third (USA) is outside. By alienating Qatar, Saudi Arabia is not

only giving the emirate reason to ally with Iran, but could also cause the USA to prefer Qatar as a military partner in the Gulf.

While, as has been acknowledged by some influential Saudi politicians, US-Saudi relations are likely to experience a downgrade due to projected shale gas production in the USA, the Middle East will continue to be important for the USA for military reasons. With Qatar housing the US Central Command at its Al Udeid Air Base, it is more of a military asset to USA than Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia's value as a US military ally is complicated by its own policies. The Saudi dual strategy of offering military support to the USA, while exporting Muslim militancy on the other hand, has already backfired for both countries. For the USA, it led to the 911 catastrophe, and subsequent exhaustive and expensive wars, while for Saudi Arabia it gave rise to massive internal and regional security threats.

Qatar, with a smaller and less disaffected population, represents a safer bet as a military ally for the USA. Furthermore, while Saudi Arabia portrays itself as the 'protector of the two holy sites (in Makkah and Madinah)', Qatar has no such pretensions to any religious leadership in the Muslim world. This leaves Qatar (and the USA) less prone to the attack that it is acting hypocritically. Qatar has also managed the Islamic form of republicanism championed by the Muslim Brotherhood much better than Saudi Arabia has. By supporting it in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia (instead of treating it as a threat), Qatar reduced the chances of a republican critique of its monarchical form of Islam, and made itself indispensable as a supporter of Islamic populism. Whether the Muslim Brotherhood is in or out of power, it knows that it can count on

Qatari support, helping to maintain an image of Qatar among some in the Middle East as a state supporting people's struggles. Such strategic gains make Qatar a better ally for the USA than Saudi Arabia, both militarily and diplomatically, especially in light of recent US demands for democratic reforms to regimes across the region. This is not to suggest that the USA will necessarily make a choice between Qatar and Saudi Arabia; it will prefer both countries in its stable. However, in a context where Saudi Arabia is increasingly charting a path independent from the USA on a number of issues, the USA might see Qatar as more reliable and predictable.

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Another calculation that Saudi Arabia seems to have ignored is that Qatar might now find more reason for rebuilding and deepening an alliance with Iran. Qatari-Iranian disagreement over Syria notwithstanding, the two countries had good relations before the Syrian uprising began. And, with warmer relations between Iran and Qatar, there is a greater possibility that the Syrian crisis could end in some sort of power-sharing deal between the Assad regime and Muslim Brotherhood element in the opposition. Iran has always been keen on differentiating the Muslim Brotherhood type of Islamic republicanism from the Saudi Wahhabi Islam that discriminates against Shi'as. In Qatar, Iran can find a strategic partner with which it has less serious ideological problems. Qatar and Iran also share the world's largest gas field, the South Pars/North Dome gas field (across the Persian Gulf), giving the two countries strategic economic reasons to strengthen relations. Indeed, they have been contemplating the establishment of a free trade zone between them. Further, Qatar's Shi'a population remains significantly happier

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than Saudi Arabia's. While not partners in the highest echelons of power, Qatari Shi'as are sufficiently integrated, economically and culturally, to not view their Qatari identity as a misfortune. In Qatar's case, then, Iran does not feel the need to speak on behalf of an oppressed Shi'a population as it does with Saudi Arabia, an issue that plagues Iran-Saudi relations. Instead, Iranian and Qatari ethnic and sectarian differences present these countries with an opportunity to appear more liberal and friendly than Saudi Arabia.

As tensions increase in Qatar-Saudi relations, the very nature of the GCC is under threat. Furthermore, these tensions could potentially will lead to a realignment of regional forces in the Persian Gulf, and in the Middle East as a whole. Saudi Arabia, in building a bloc behind itself (composed of UAE

and Bahrain), is pursuing its anti-Qatar policy at its own expense - giving reasons to Qatar, Iran and the USA to align more closely with each other and with smaller Gulf states like Kuwait and Oman. The just concluded Arab League summit provide no signs that these divisions might be minimized, and it is clear that both Qatar and Saudi Arabia have decided to stubbornly maintain their positions and not compromise. Given this, US president Barack Obama's upcoming trip to Saudi Arabia carries immense significance, and could indicate what direction USA will take in responding to this clash, which could see one of these protagonists adjusting its position.

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