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# Handover Ceremony of the First 200 Prizes of the Dream Card Grand Draw Offer

Sabafon hands over its first 200 monthly prizes on phase two of the Dream Card Grand Draw Offer



**Congratulations to Mr. Mohammed Haza'a Qaid Aqlan, Winner of the 2014 BMW (X3)!**



SabaFon, the first GSM operator in Yemen, held on Sunday, May 11th, 2014, a hand over ceremony of its first 200 monthly prizes to the winners. The ceremony was attended by media personnel as well as SabaFon's managers and employees. The winner of the grand prize, a BMW X3 2014, Mr. Mohammed Haz'a Qaid Aqlan, from Ibb Province, was very pleased with his prize and expressed his gratitude



for the company's transparency and work towards its loyal customers.

Similarly, winners of 3 Gold bars, 21carat, were extremely happy with the hearty welcome of SabaFon and the precious prizes. Mr. Ali Mabrouk Ali Tri mentioned that he had not expected to win the Gold bar, conveying appreciation to SabaFon.



Other valuable gifts were also handed over to the rest of the winners, including SAMSUNG Galaxy Notes, Duos handsets, and SAMSUNG 43" screens.

Mr. Mohamad Al-SHAMI, Strategy and Business Development Senior Manager, congratulated the winners and stated that this event comes as the first in a series of monthly draw events, where SabaFon has increased the number of winners from 15 to 200 a month (comparing current offer with phase1, which was conducted in

2013), marking this as the biggest telecom offer in the Yemeni market.

Al-SHAMI also stressed the fact that there will be new winners next month, where all customers can participate in the offer by recharging their prepaid lines with 80 unit cards. Postpaid subscribers can also join the offer by recharging their line with 80 unit cards to pay their bills, wishing all customers best of luck in the months to come!



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24  
Special Edition: Unity Day

## Southern Movement activists stage demonstrations decrying unity



This year saw the emergence of a six-region federal system which aims for greater devolution of power in the country. Supporters of Southern independence, however, remain skeptical.

Story and photo by  
Fuad Mused

ADEN, May 21—Thousands of Southern Movement (Hirak) supporters and local residents took to the streets in the southern port city of Aden on Wednesday to mark the anniversary of former President of South Yemen Ali Salem Al-Beidh's 1994 declaration of Southern secession, which led to a brief war between the North and the South, two nations that had been unified only four years earlier.

During the peaceful demonstration held on Al-Muala Street in the heart of Aden, Southern Movement leaders delivered speeches to impassioned crowds that came in from surrounding governorates in-

cluding Al-Dhale, Lahj and Abyan. Both leaders and demonstrators alike called for the return of a separate North and South Yemen. The event served as a stark contrast to the parades planned in Sana'a for Thursday to celebrate the two nations' unity in 1990.

"The so-called Yemeni unity that was declared on May 22, 1990 is over," read a statement by the organizers of the demonstration.

One of the organizers, Ali Eida, said the event took weeks of coordination and described it as one of the largest that has ever taken place in the South. He said there was a lot of momentum to "revive this day."

"This huge rally sends a message to the international community that the people of the South want to se-



Supporters of secession from Aden and neighboring governorates rallied in Aden's Al-Muala Square.

## Fierce clashes between army and Houthi rebels in Amran

■ Madiha Al-Junaid

SANA'A, May 20—Military forces and allied tribesmen battled Houthi militants on Tuesday and Wednesday at the Al-Jumaima garrison in Amran governorate, just north of Sana'a. Tension in the area remains high after the violence left at least 13 soldiers and an unknown number of Houthi fighters dead.

The garrison, which is located on a strategic hill, is manned by troops from the 310th Armored Brigade.

International media outlets cited differing figures for the Houthi fatalities. A Tuesday report by Al-Jazeera cited local officials as saying that as many as 30 Houthi fighters had been killed.

But a source in the governorate's security department said "we can't

identify how many dead or injured Houthis there are since they [the Houthis] collect their bodies."

Mohammed Nabhan, a security manager for various NGOs in Amran, said that 13 soldiers were killed and 11 injured. He added that on Tuesday afternoon a Houthi sniper killed a soldier.

Attempts to mediate a ceasefire have been unsuccessful.

"The Houthis attacked first with a mortar—which killed up to five soldiers—and then they broke into the site in vehicles... before the army forced them to withdraw," said Mohammed Hizam, deputy head of the Public Relations Department at the Interior Ministry.

Yahya Tawwaf, the governorate's public relations manager, said the attack came at about 3a.m. He said the garrison was able to call on

backup from another military base nearby.

A representative of the Houthis, Mohammed Al-Bukhaiti, told the Yemen Times that the attack was in response to previous provocations by the army and the killing of Houthis.

He did not specify the killings, but Amran witnessed bloody clashes between the military and allied tribes and Houthi fighters in recent months.

On March 22, fighting broke out after armed Houthis tried to enter Amran city but were prevented from doing so by government troops.

According to Hizam, Houthis took over a security zone on the Hajja-Amran border two months ago, resulting in the death of two soldiers. He said that security forc-

es were unprepared to fight back at the time and were forced to retreat.

Referring to the troops of the 310th Armored Brigade, Al-Bukhaiti said "we don't think of them as [legitimate] military forces but as militants loyal to Ali Mohsin [a security adviser to President ]."

The security source said that Houthi militants have been mobilizing in Amran over the last three months and have sought to take over the hilltop garrison because of its strategic importance.

Tawwaf said that Houthi gunmen have been heading from their stronghold of Sa'da governorate to Amran.

Neither the Defense Ministry website nor the state-run Saba News Agency carried reports on the latest clashes in Amran.

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cede in a peaceful manner," said Eida.

Security officials say they took a new approach to maintain the peace at the rally and only deployed traffic police instead of other security forces. The press officer for the Security Administration in Aden, Col. Mohamed Musaed, justified this decision saying that placing police and security forces in the street would only invite confrontation with protestors. However, Musaed said security forces were "on high alert in case of an emergency."

While the day proceeded without reports of violence, Eida did threaten that if peaceful protests were not recognized by decision makers, he and others could "go forward with an armed struggle."

Former President Al-Beidh, who served as the vice president of the united Yemen until the civil war in 1994, addressed demonstrators in a pre-recorded speech broadcast on

Aden Live, a TV station known to support secession. The TV episode was broadcast from Beirut, Lebanon, the city where Al-Beidh currently lives.

In his address, which aired on Tuesday night as well as Wednesday morning, Al-Beidh said, "we renew our call to the occupying regime [the central government] to enter in negotiations under the supervision of the Arab League and the international community to go back to the legal and geographic status of the two states prior to May 22, 1990 to avoid more bloodshed."

The Southern Movement was formed in 2007 and has repeatedly renewed calls for secession. The Movement, which has many factions within it, has participated as its own political entity during Yemen's political transition, including during reconciliatory talks held at the National Dialogue Conference (NDC).

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## Ministry of Interior equates sabotage with "terrorism"

■ Ali Saeed

SANA'A, May 21—The Ministry of Interior released a statement on Monday warning that the sabotage of electricity and oil infrastructure and blocking of fuel tankers would be considered "direct support for AQAP [Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula] and terrorism."

The day after the ministry's statement, Saleh Nasser Al-Radmani was arrested by police in Marib on for allegedly sabotaging the oil pipeline in the governorate, the ministry website reported on Tuesday.

Five other suspects were also arrested over the last two months, according to Interior Minister Abdo Al-Tarib, who briefed the parliament last Sunday on security developments in the country.

Al-Tarib said that only 25 percent of suspects accused of sabotaging

electricity cables and oil pipes have been arrested. The rest are still at large.

"These suspects are often arrested by police in cities or at airports as they are attempting to flee the country," said Mohamed Hizam, deputy director of the Public Relations Department at the Ministry of Interior.

"The police then hand them over to the prosecution after investigations," said Hizam.

Cutting off electricity wires, blowing up oil pipes and blocking fuel tankers are already capital crimes, according to Abdulazeez Al-Bagh-dadi, a Sana'a-based lawyer.

He explained that the death sentence can be taken in some extreme cases. He said there is no need to classify these crimes as "terrorism" as they are already included in the country's criminal code.

The Ministry of Interior and

other Yemeni ministries are not authorized to issue laws, but they can propose a law and present it to Parliament for endorsement.

Al-Tarib said during his Parliament briefing that his ministry is in urgent need of a "terrorism law." There is currently no law in place under which a suspect can be prosecuted for belonging to a "terror group."

Sabotage of electricity cables and oil pipelines has been a growing problem for Yemen since 2010. The sabotage of oil pipelines is of particular concern to the government because oil makes up the bulk of Yemen's exports.

Of the 1.42 million barrels of crude oil slated for export in March, only 396,000 reached the market. Shipments were delayed until April due to the sabotage of pipelines, according to a March report by the Central Bank of Yemen.

## 21,000 IDPs in Shabwa in need of urgent aid



A government offensive which began at the end of April has driven thousands from their homes. The state has so far failed to provide sorely-needed aid.

■ Sina Khalid

SANA'A, May 21—Head of the government-run Displaced Relief Committee in Shabwa, Saeed Mohammed Al-Marnom, said that over 21,000 people have left their homes due to violence in the governorate and are in need of urgent humanitarian aid.

The government has yet to provide assistance to the internally displaced people (IDPs), relying instead on NGOs.

Al-Marnom told the Yemen Times that the committee has opened bank accounts to receive donations for the IDPs. "Some businessmen, organizations, and companies have provided financial donations but we still need more support due to the large number of IDPs," he said.

Al-Marnom said that some displaced people currently live in public schools and at the Health Institute compound in Ataq, the capital of Shabwa. Other displaced people left to Hadramout, also taking refuge in schools, while some families left to calmer districts of Shabwa and are living with rela-

tives.

The government promised to contribute money from the operational budgets of public offices in the governorate, as well as from optional contributions from public employees, according to Al-Marnom.

Abdulwasea Al-Wasei, director of the Charitable Society for Social Welfare (CSSW), said that the IDPs bring water from mosques to the schools where they live. "We coordinated with the government-run Water and Sanitation Corporation to provide water for the IDPs and they are currently working on this," said Al-Marnom.

"Some agencies, such as the Executive Unit for IDPs, World Food Program, and Red Crescent have provided aid for the IDPs but we are still in need of support," he added.

Khalid Al-Ashmali, who fled the fighting, told the Yemen Times that his 30 relatives and family members were displaced from Azan, a city in Mayfa'a district of Shabwa. He said that they have been receiving confusing reports of the fighting in the region.

Al-Wasei said the CSSW distributed 700 food packages to the displaced people and it will distribute tents, mattresses, and kitchen tools on Sunday. "We have made an inventory of all the affected areas. Every day the number of IDPs is increasing. Days ago, the number of displaced families was 1,000. Now there are 5,000 displaced families," said Al-Wasei.

Even though the number of IDPs is increasing rapidly, Al-Wasei said "the response to the humanitarian needs is still weak."

Zaid Al-Alaya'a, a media assistant at the U.N. Refugee Agency (UNHCR), told the Yemen Times the agency provided about 400 displaced families with blankets, mattresses and kitchen tools.

Speaking to the Yemen Times, CSSW manager Nasser Murei said that the majority of displaced persons have not been offered aid so far.

The government offensive against alleged Al-Qaeda militants in Shabwa began on April 29. Tight restrictions on media coverage mean that reliable information on the conflict is hard to come by.

### Clarification

The Yemen Times would like to clarify that Lt. Fathia Al-Hammadi a member of the female forces did not speak on the record to The Yemen Times and therefore we apologize for quoting her for our news published on May 15, 2014 under the title "Women's unit prepares for potentially more active role in counterterrorism."

## British citizen convicted of antiquities smuggling

SANA'A, May 21—The Public Funds Court in Sana'a on Wednesday convicted a British man of attempting to smuggle Yemeni antiquities, the state-run Saba News Agency reported.

The British citizen was arrested at Sana'a International Airport on Jan. 13 with 16 artifacts

hidden in secret compartments in his suitcase.

He was ordered by the judge to pay YR1 million [\$4,651] to the state and YR100,000 [\$465] to cover legal costs of the General Antiquities Authority [GAA]. The judge also ruled in favor of deporting the man, according to Saba.



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# The Al-Sabeen bombing two years later: Have the victims been let down?

■ Sadeq Al-Wesabi

**T**wo years after the Al-Sabeen suicide bombing that claimed over 100 lives, the horrific scenes of charred and dismembered bodies still remain etched in the memory of Yemenis, and big questions still linger. Has the government delivered on its pledge to compensate victims and their families? Is this promise enough? Have the perpetrators been brought to justice? And what has the government done to tackle the root causes of such violence?

Unity Day in 2012 passed as a very somber occasion after a suicide bomber blew himself up on Al-Sabeen street, a major thoroughfare in Sana'a, as soldiers rehearsed the day before a parade to celebrate Unity Day on May 22 took place.

The day after the attack, which Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) later claimed responsibility for, speeches were delivered on Unity Day to commemorate those soldiers that died. It served as a contrast to the typical jubilant song and dance.

The attack evoked widespread sympathy for the soldiers who were killed and wounded. Calls to bring the perpetrators to trial and for compensation for the victims' families rose in volume.

Lieutenant Col. Mahdi Al-Jarbani, who narrowly escaped death, still recalls details of that fateful day.

"I was completely stunned by the scenes of shattered skulls and scattered body parts of my soldiers," said Al-Jarbani, who was commander of the battalion that was

targeted.

Asked if the victims and families of the victims have received promised compensation, he said, "Absolutely yes. The commander of the Special Security Forces [formerly Central Security] General Fadhil Al-Qawsi has allocated YR 1,400,000 [around \$6,500] for each martyr. Their families were offered salaries for life. The injured were also sent abroad for treatment."

Al-Jarbani denied reports claiming that Special Security Forces have not done enough for victims.

"On the contrary, our gates are open to the families of the victims, and we have been in constant contact with them," Al-Jarbani said.

However, human rights activists are critical of what they claim is government inaction over the bigger issues at stake.

"Unfortunately, this heinous crime was dealt with as if it was a minor incident," said Noor Al-Deen Al-Azazi, human rights activist and chairman of Yemeni Center for Civil Rights.

Al-Azazi says the financial compensation for the families is valueless.

"The government always focuses on temporary solutions. It has to tackle the roots of terrorism instead of offering solutions that always exacerbate the problems," she said.

Following the bombing, media outlets, especially those affiliated with political and religious groups, started waging a media war and exchanging accusations and blame.

According to Al-Azazi, the incident was capitalized on by political parties who sought to settle scores with each other.



Over 100 soldiers were killed by a suicide bomber who attacked a rehearsal for a Unity Day parade in 2012.

The Yemen Times visited the Special Security Camps, where soldiers and officers said they wanted justice for their fallen comrades and that means taking on AQAP.

"This incident made us more united to fight terrorism," said Major Soroor Al-Shatabi of the Special Security Forces. "The blood of those who have been killed will not be spilled in vain. We will not rest until killers are brought to justice."

Last October, the Court of First Instance sentenced five Al-Qaeda militants to two-10 years in jail for

plotting the suicide bombing. The ruling sparked a heated debate, with many describing the sentences as lenient.

Faisal Al-Majeedi, a lawyer who deals with human rights and terrorism-related cases, pointed to political interference in the case.

"The political side was strongly present in this critical case," he said. "That resulted in the denial of the rights of those who have been killed and injured."

Al-Majeedi doesn't rule out the possibility that the perpetrators re-

ceived insider help.

"How can a bomber penetrate the battalion without knowledge of the commanders?" he asked.

In Yemen, many similar attacks have occurred without much progress being made to bring suspects to court.

"All indicators suggest that this case will remain [largely unknown]," said Al-Majeedi.

Critics say that for all the Special Security Force's claims of large sums of money paid out to the families, falls short of expectations.

"Such compensation doesn't alleviate the suffering of our family," said Hajeb Hizam, whose brother died in the attack. "At least, they should have granted a piece of land or a house to us, but they underestimate the sacrifice of my brother."

Over the last two years, Yemen has witnessed numerous attacks on security forces, assassinations of military officers and fierce clashes in the North and South. All the while, the trust that many Yemenis place in the government's ability to deliver justice appears to be waning.



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## OUR OPINION

### United in fate, and that's about it

This year, we celebrate Yemen's unity in anticipation of a different future but also with uncertainty and confusion. We have to confront all the things Yemen is and will be. Yemen as a federal nation. Yemen as a country struggling with a political transition. Yemen as a country whose economy and security are falling apart.

We have seen, on the part of the president, some frantic attempts to give us some reason to believe in unity. The crack down on extremist groups across the country, very visible at times, has shown that despite controversy surrounding such moves, there are some signs of success.

However, what we as Yemenis realize today more than ever is that our unity does not come from the past, nor does it come from what is celebrated as united historical and cultural backgrounds. Unity is not rooted in the fact that we speak the same language and mostly share the same religion and cultural norms. It is about the future. Yemen's real unity is found in our fate.

As people who live in this land, we realize that we are in this together. It does not matter if we are from the South or the North because the security situation affects us all. It does not matter where we live or what sect we belong to or what gender we are when it comes to the economy and the cost of living. Wealth and social status do not matter when it comes to political rights and democracy or the development of the country in general.

Our unity is very much about the future and less about the past. We are all in the same boat and must work together to sail through the storm. It does not make a difference whether you are in the bottom deck or have a cabin with a view, if we sink, we all sink together.

This notion of unity is unfortunately not understood or endorsed by policy makers. Like a broken record, they keep telling us ad nauseam how we used to have great kingdoms and how we kicked out occupiers together and so on. Yemenis do not have a united national identity. We belong to a tribe or a political party more than we belong to the country or the flag. Singing to the same patriotic tune will not help. In fact, it frustrates and alienates many Yemenis who harbor deep grievances against the state and the flag.

Our true and tangible affiliation is to our future—a common dream that is derived from our mutual suffering as people who live in the same geographical location and are faced with similar circumstances. Our unity comes from our joint dreams for a better future for our children.

That is what we should invest in, not the remnants of the past—a past which we have failed to learn from.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

# Unifying hearts and minds

■ **Walid Al-Saqqaf**

As Yemenis, we have all the right to feel proud of what we have achieved when marking the 24th anniversary of the May 22 unification of South and North Yemen. However, we also need to acknowledge that the period following unification was marred with injustice, corruption, and poor governance, which resulted in upheaval and a feeling of injustice and discrimination by certain parts of society.

When the 2011 youth revolution

swept the country following the Arab Spring, hope was renewed for the dream of a united, progressive, and democratic Yemen. The Yemeni youth dared to challenge the status quo that had systematically favored cronies and loyalists over other members of society.

When the National Dialogue Conference concluded in early 2014, it marked a new nation-building stage with an opportunity to start with a clean slate. However, no matter how hard we try to write the new chapter, we can't do so unless we reduce divisions among us as citizens. It might well

be that we can't reduce divisions to zero, but we need to achieve a minimum threshold that would prevent internal animosities and conflicts from stalling progress. This is why I believe this anniversary is an opportunity to unify hearts and minds almost two and half decades after the land was unified.

Winston Churchill once said, "When there is no enemy within, the enemies outside cannot hurt you." I find this quote particularly salient in Yemen when seeing the recent incidents involving attacks on oil pipelines, power grids, and other vital infrastructure

installations. Those incidents show that there are certainly some elements within the Yemeni society that are not with the majority's consensus in the need to move forward with the transition.

Al-Qaeda in Yemen cannot be sustained without the support of local groups. We need to ask why those Yemenis are supporting this destabilizing force? What is it that they are gaining? While I do not have answers or a recipe to get Yemen out of this conundrum, what I can emphasize is the need to bring some sort of unified stance in support of the public

good.

I know some may think that unifying hearts and minds is easier said than done and is not guaranteed to produce any solutions to the grave security and economic issues facing the nation. I do not claim that it is easy. My main intention here is to help reflect on the need to understand why divisions happen in society. Those divisions appear to be fed by the ongoing grievances over injustice, poverty, and unequal opportunity.

Walid Al-Saqqaf is a media researcher

## Reflections on Yemen's Unity

■ **Abdulla Nasher**

As Unity Day approaches and in order to help Yemen move forward, Yemenis should reflect on what has been accomplished over the last 24 years, and consider what has gone wrong since the country united. Today, the country and its people are in deep crisis. The economy has been severely hit, while the judicial system, security apparatus and other services like education, health and electricity are either in a feeble state or non-existent in most parts of the country. Poverty is on the rise and corruption is expanding with no limits—these two factors are directly related to each other.

To millions of Yemenis, especially those who were living in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (P.D.R.Y.), as South Yemen used to be known, unity was a very precious and desired dream. Now, 24 years later, many of them are not happy about the outcome. This should be alarming and a cause of concern to the people, but more so to the leaders and policy makers who should conduct thorough analyses and investigations in order to find out the reasons why the dream turned into a nightmare. Most of the negative developments that have occurred since 1990 were addressed during the recent National Dialogue Conference (NDC), and many potential solutions were suggested.

Let us look back to the year 1989, when the leaders of what used to be Yemen Arab Republic (Y.A.R.), or North Yemen, and P.D.R.Y., without any proper planning, preparation or future insight hurriedly cooked up a unity plan. This ended up dividing the country's institutions between the two ruling parties at the time. Reuniting a country that had been divided for centuries should have required a more detailed and thorough plan, drawing from

our own history and that of others.

Yemen is familiar with federalism, dating back to ancient civilizations, from the days of Sheba and the Himyarite Kingdoms. During the 1950s, the British created the Federation of South Arabia in order to unite a number of emirates and sultanates. An Aden colony joined the federation at a later date. This type of unity was dismantled after the war of independence, when the PDRY was born in 1967.

This abandoned example of federalism in the South was copied by our brothers in the Gulf Arab Trucial States, who used it in the 1970s to establish the United Arab Emirates. Today, it is considered to be a model of federation. Such a model should have been copied in the unity of 1990 between South and North Yemen.

It is never too late, and we still can do it if we keep in mind our troubled recent past. The civil war of 1994 came at a tremendous cost to Yemen, both in terms of lives and resources, and it created fissures in the hearts of many citizens, mostly in the South of the country. Over the past 24 years, government and opposition parties have failed to build key institutions such as the legislature, judiciary and military. Instead, we have seen rampant corruption and abuse of office by some political elites.

This resulted in the spread of injustice and great suffering for the people of the South, which led to the rise of the Hirak in 2007.

What is urgently needed now is the prioritization of the outcomes and resolutions of the NDC. A special focus should be on the most urgent needs of the citizens of Yemen, including decent education, jobs that afford a dignified life, universal health care and security.

Dr. Abdulla Nasher is a former Yemeni minister of health

## Arabia Felix at the cross roads

■ **Annelies Glander**

Born in Austria into a Western family, my curiosity to see beyond the wrought iron fences of an overprotected childhood prompted me to learn other languages as quickly as possible so as to be in a position to travel abroad on my own and get to know other parts of the world. Thirty years ago, I first arrived in Sana'a and very soon afterwards I fell in love with the country.

I have been going to Yemen once a year ever since—it became my second home. I was given a "proper" name in Arabic by women who considered me a sister. At university and in discussions with academics and journalists I was thrilled to be referred to as a "Yemenologist." When unification materialized I felt a deep sense of excitement, and I was convinced that Yemenis would find a solution to whatever problem.

Alas, since the summer of 2011, I am no longer able to visit the country because it is considered too dangerous. But thanks to my multiple contacts and so many wonderful friends, I keep being fully informed of events and developments.

When the Arab spring started I had, while still in Yemen, joined the protest marches in Sana'a, proud to see the impressive discipline of the crowds marching unarmed but with electrifying enthusiasm. People assuring each other that poverty would be alleviated, corruption dealt with, and the economy revived. When the political dialogue started I once more admired the ingenuity of the Yemeni organizers. When I received the news of Yemen becoming a federal republic consisting of provinces with partly independent discretionary powers I rejoiced, thinking that the dialogue had

successfully united political parties and tribal representatives.

For two years, Yemenis of all different social classes had shown admirable patience, goodwill and trust. In the many years of partly living in the country I was always fascinated by the ability of people to adapt in dire situations. This is obvious when one observes children playing in the street with a toy made from waste. And as for the allegedly helpless, exploited Yemeni women? I could submit a long list of women running households entirely as they see fit while also holding down jobs chosen by them.

With months gone by, filled with alarming news of kidnappings and assassinations, I start wondering whether my judgment was misguided; whether I was overly optimistic. Could it be that Yemen is on the path to an endless bloody conflict? I refuse to believe that Yemen should not have a better, a brighter future.

It is worth remembering that throughout Yemen's history, its people have united to keep invaders at bay or drive occupiers out. Rome had to withdraw her mighty armies, and the Ottoman sultans, impressively victorious elsewhere, twice lost hope attempting to subdue the population. The British, fabulously experienced in colonial rule, ultimately failed to preserve their protectorate in Yemen.

May I send a special address to all of you, dear friends in Yemen, to get together on Unity Day, to combine your bright ideas and undertake practical steps to deal with the deplorable status quo and to get Arabia Felix back on the right path!

Annelies Glander is a professor at Vienna University and a member of the Austro-Yemeni Society board

## Unification of new hopes and aspirations

■ **Samira bin Daair**

This Unity Day will be like any other, with ceremonies, speeches and military parades. Of course, commemorating the event is a national duty that serves to remind people of that fateful day when the Yemeni dream was formalized—a dream that started long before the

papers were signed and that filled the hearts of Yemenis from all walks of life.

A couple of years after unification I returned to Yemen full of hope for the country's future. When the first elections took place after unification I, like all Yemenis, had a sense of euphoria. We felt we were embarking on a new and exciting experience.

What shall I say about the

present? A lot of water has run under the bridge since unification. The story is familiar enough to everyone, although each of us may give our own interpretation a different color. But what will make this particular Unity Day special? Is it special because it is the first Unity Day in the post dialogue phase? Perhaps the importance of this year's event will be the unified voice of the citizenry

calling for greater political will to dissolve differences, improve people's lives and put conflicting personal interests aside for the sake of the nation.

It is the shared aspirations and feelings that should unite us. Each time we hear labels like 'LDC' (least developed country) and "failed state" we should feel collective pain. But feelings alone will not get us there—we need action. We need concerted

efforts to earn us the title of "the New Yemen."

We are not there yet, but then again, social change is not a single event, as the idea of the "Arab Spring" often implies. Rather, it is a process that unfolds through time and may need to go through many summers and winters before the real spring arrives.

Samira bin Daair is a author and development specialist

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# A fragile unity after 24 years

■ **Ibrahim Qatabi**

I was 11-years-old on May 22, 1990 when North and South Yemen announced their unification, forming the Republic of Yemen. At that time, I was living in my family's village, Taleb, located in central Yemen [formerly part of North Yemen]. Taleb belongs to the district of Rada'a and is a short distance from the former border. Many villages and towns across the country, North and South, did not have electricity—still a major problem today—but some homes had generators which were used sparingly for a few hours during the night. On that day, we had our generator running all day to celebrate the momentous occasion. Our family and friends gathered from all over the village to sit in front of the television to witness the long-awaited announcement and ceremony of Yemen's unification. The day was filled with love and excitement. Like overjoyed parents, you couldn't help but smile with pride for the newborn nation.

However, 24 years later, the country's unity is at a precarious crossroads. Only with new leadership, a true partnership, inclusive participation, and political will, can we overcome our challenges. Yemen's unity should involve equality and fairness of representation for its people and not just a consolidation of land. Opportunity, equal rights, and the ability to prosper should be important goals included in any unification. While it's a work in progress, sharing of power and distribution of wealth are the main pillars needed to build and sustain it.

The old regime, led by Ali Abdulla Saleh, was one of the most corrupt systems of governance in the world. Still not one former official has been held accountable for previous crimes and brought

to justice. On the contrary, the remnants of the former regime are making attempts to gain power because of the current government's failures to address and deliver a fundamental demand from the people: accountability and justice.

Indeed, one of the biggest threats to Yemen's future is the lack of accountability for Yemen's past. Yemenis (both abroad and within Yemen) are losing trust in the current transitional "unity" government because the transitional justice and the recovery of stolen assets laws still have not been passed and are far from being implemented, despite the outcome of the National Dialogue Conference (NDC). Is this disregard an indication the new government is reverting back to the "old" regime's practices and leading the country in the opposite direction of the people's expectations and demands for change?

Since relocating back to the U.S. in late 1997, I have visited Yemen numerous times and remained closely connected to the country's affairs on a daily basis. My most recent and notable two visits were during the beginning of the 2011 uprising and during the last days of the NDC deliberations in December of 2013.

During these visits, I met and spoke with many people from many different social and intellectual backgrounds. What's most exciting today is the major generational change that is underway. Given the fact that more than two-thirds of the Yemeni population is under the age of 30, there has to be a special focus on youth and women because they are the engine which will drive and push Yemen forward and ensure that great generational transformation is possible. Decision-making must become decentralized and representative of the multiple stakeholders involved. Such in-

clusion will be pivotal in reducing and eliminating the outdated environment that breeds today's extremism and violence. That's the true representation of unity and prosperity that all Yemenis need today.

The 2011 revolution was successful in dismantling and putting an end to the authoritarian regime. Fundamentally transformative and innovative initiatives where education is a key priority (and not a liability as some officials may seem to think) are necessary today. Since the revolution, politics in Yemen received vast focus and attention, but not enough attention has been paid to its economy. Despite it being the time now to focus on building a true democratic government, the economy is what urgently needs immediate focus and undivided attention. Infrastructure development programs like building roads, dams (to store water and to aid agriculture), high-speed Internet and telecommunications, efficient and renewable energy and electricity are essential components to Yemen's future and necessary elements for it to prosper. We must aim to create resilient urban cities. We need to restructure existing institutions and build strong, transparent, and accountable ones instead - with equal opportunity and access for all.

To date, the unity government has failed to gain the trust of many citizens and has yet to undergo any meaningful reform to meet the people's demands. While it keeps borrowing billions of dollars on behalf of its citizens, it has failed to deliver basic services such as securing and sustaining electricity and preventing gas pipes from ongoing attacks - a clear indication of negligence and poor planning. The government has not taken steps to implement the agreed upon 20 points to address the southern issue and con-

tinues to violate public trust by appointing unqualified individuals for public offices (based on affiliations and not on merit). The current process is hijacked by political parties and partners, creating a threat to the new social contract. Instead of focusing on the greater good for the nation and its citizens, competition over power grip continues. These failures and issues serve as a platform for separatists to continue their call for secession. This includes the Houthis not handing in their militia's heavy weapons and engaging peacefully in the political process, but rather creating more instability, divisions and fights over power.

Undoubtedly, Yemen is a country of great potential—the 2011 peaceful revolution presented a new opportunity for the nation, which we cannot afford to lose. The people of Yemen need to ignore the skeptics, the pessimists, and the snake charmers and understand that transition takes time. It is up to them to keep the pressure on to ensure progress and accountable political reform.

Great revolutions that lead to greater prosperity and stability have gone through tragic moments and difficult stages and Yemen's situation is no different. There cannot be anymore days of excuses. Action must be taken now to ensure the creation of an enabling environment that leads to unity and success.

*Ibrahim Qatabi is a legal worker with the Center for Constitutional Rights and served as a lead advisor on the U.N. Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Post-2015 Development Agenda. During the 2011 Yemeni uprising, Mr. Qatabi co-founded the Yemeni American Coalition for Change with the aim of supporting change in Yemen. He is an active member of the Yemeni American community. All views are his own.*

FROM THE ARCHIVES:  
MARCH 6, 1994

## As the Spectre of Civil War in Yemen Looms in the Air

### The Current Leadership's Long Overdue Goodbye!

■ **Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf**  
Chief Editor, the Yemen Times

The confusion persists, and so does the agony. Most Yemenis are troubled by what damage the politicians could do to the country. Even as the Jordanian and Omani military delegations have succeeded in disengaging the Northern and Southern armies apart, at several potential clash points, the two armies continue their stand off and ready to pull the trigger. Amram, Dhamar, Marib/Shabwah, Hareeb, Mukairas, Qatabah and Kiresh/Anad represented potential military confrontation points. Clashes have actually taken place in Harf Sufian, Knowlan, Moodiya, Lowder, Maraqishah and Zinjubar.

Involved are four armies: The regular army loyal to president Ali Abdulla Saleh and his brothers and cousins, the southern army loyal to the YSP leadership, especially the Yafa/Dhalah forces, the rag tag contingents of what remains of the Ali Nasser Mohammed army, and the tribal-Mujahideen clusters that pledge allegiance to Sheikh Abdulla Bin Hussain Al-Ahmar and his partner, Sheikh Abdul-Majeed Zindani, and others.

All these forces have been involved in the recent clashes in which some 200 Yemenis were killed or injured. More casualties are expected as heavier gear is expected to be brought into play by the military on both sides.

The Dialogue Committee is, by now, unable to do much that is meaningful. The resignation of Sheikh Mujahid Abu Shawarib and Sheikh Sinan Abu Luhum a few days ago, disgusted by the attitude of both sides, has further weakened the committee.

Whatever hope there is for a peaceful co-existence now hinges on the expanded military committee. It has achieved some results, but not enough.

So, who can intervene to make our politicians see light?

A respected diplomat in Sana'a told me, "Do not count on anybody risking their prestige to help you reconcile. After what you have done to King Hussain, nobody will touch you!"

Is there a sufficiently strong internal force to help bring the various Yemeni war-lords and warring factions together? None. This sad situation is the result of the abuse of authority of those in charge. "You cannot trust them and they have no respect for their word," stated one senior Yemeni opposition official. "I was in a meeting with a top official, and he would look me straight in the eye and tell me all kinds of lies and give promises he does not intend to keep. He knew that I knew he was lying. But he was still doing it relying on my good nature and on his ability to intimidate me into keeping quiet."

The current leadership - PGC, YSP and Islah - have all got to go. They will go one way or the other, but one wishes they do care enough for Yemen to leave peacefully. There can be agreement that those who relinquish power peacefully would be absolved of all their crimes.

# Will Yemenis stand behind federalism?

■ **Ezzaddin Al-Zain**

As Yemen's 17-member Constitutional Drafting Committee is busy preparing the first draft of Yemen's new constitution, many questions remain about the way a new state structure will be enshrined in the legal document. A Regional Committee has recommended—based on outcomes of the National Dialogue Conference—that Yemen become a federal state divided into six semi-autonomous regions. It is argued that this is the best option to preserve the nation's unity despite strong opposition in the South. Do citizens in Sana'a think this is the best option for their nation? Yemen Times asked: What does the future hold and what do you think about a federal system?



**Abdulrahman Sakher**  
Shop Owner

Dividing Yemen into regions is an attempt to divide Yemen to serve certain external interests. However, Yemen could serve as a model in the region provided unity is maintained.



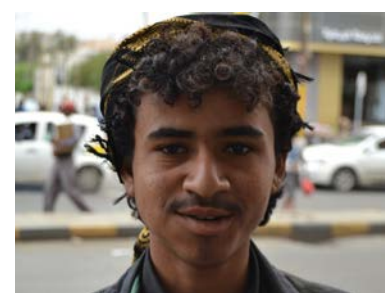
**Ali Saleh**  
Sana'a resident

I know nothing about regions, but I've heard it's the only way out for Yemen.



**Abdu Al-Hamadi**  
Traffic police officer

I don't think federalism will be suitable for Yemen because it will divide Yemen even more.



**Fuad Ghaleb**  
Municipality worker

We all should be proud of Unity Day. I think Yemen will be better with federalism.



**Ahmed** (left)  
School student

We don't think this generation will make Yemen a better country, but we hope Yemen will witness prosperity.



**Haider Abas**  
Street vendor

I hear some people say that Ahmed Ali Saleh, the son of the former president, will run in a presidential election. If he is elected, Yemen will be okay, God willing. I will vote for him. I think federalism could be a solution if society is educated about it.



**Hani Al-Mulsi**  
Shoemaker

Federalism is a good solution if the nation's wealth is divided equally between regions. I believe Yemen will be better without external interference.



**Hend Nasiri**  
Human rights activist

I'm not optimistic about the current situation, but I think it will be better in 50 years. Federalism is the best solution for Yemen.



**Hanan Ahmed**  
Private sector employee

I think federalism is a viable option provided we have strong leadership that can divide national wealth equally because some regions are wealthier than others.



**Afrah Yahia**  
College student

I hope the situation will get better. I support federalism because it's the only way out for Yemen.



**Nawar Al-Aghbari**  
Businessman

Yemen will be better with federalism. The international community wants the situation in Yemen to stabilize as this serves its interests.





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# The 'sale' of unification is hard to buy

■ Ahlam Mohsen

**O**n Thursday, Yemen will mark 24 years of unification following the merger of North and South Yemen in 1990.

Around the world, milestones such as a country's day of independence, civil war anniversaries and celebrations of revolutions are commemorated as public holidays and marked by marches and parades—both somber and festive—barbecues and days off school. In Yemen, these events hold a significance beyond cementing a national history and memory.

The commemoration of Yemen's recent anniversary of the beginning of the country's 1994 Civil War was—according to one's regional or political affiliations—either a day to remember a bump on the road to unification, or an opportunity to denounce the North for over two decades of injustice and to publically demonstrate the South's desire to return to self-rule.

Grievances include the dismissal of thousands of Southern military and security officers from their positions following the war, theft of land and oil resources and unequal treatment of Northerners and Southerners.

"Unity does not exist anymore. It ended in 1994," Abdo Al-Ma'tari, the spokesperson of the Southern Movement, told the Yemen Times. "It's an anniversary for the [North]. For us, this anniversary is nothing."

A country with so many tensions and uncertainties over its future can hardly be expected to have manufactured a single, dominant narrative about its national history.

Whether it's Civil War or Unity Day, these historic commemorations are not simply days to remember the past, but a show of political will influenced by current events. These days also serve to re-shape the government's narrative about the country's past. Beyond remembrance, Southern secessionists mark these days with an outcome in mind.

President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi will no doubt use the day to hail the success of unification. After all, keeping the North and South united despite tribal conflicts, a Houthi rebel movement in the North, a growing Southern secessionist movement, threats from Al-Qaeda militants, foreign intervention in the form of drone strikes, countless assassinations, bombings, a youth uprising, the removal of the country's 33-year ruler and the deepening economic crisis is no

**A country with so many tensions and uncertainties over its future can hardly be expected to have manufactured a single, dominant narrative about its national history.**

small achievement. Good or bad, 24 years of unification is remarkable.

But for many Southerners, who will use the anniversary of unification to amplify calls for secession, the nearly quarter-century that has passed since South Yemen traded in independence for unity has been a time of imposed economic and political might. As Yemen prepares to experiment with a new federal structure as per the outcomes of the country's National Dialogue Conference (NDC), Yemen can learn

from its mistakes during unification's implementation.

Victories can be deceiving. The North has achieved victory after victory against the South, and not just militarily.

Following unification and the merging of two very different political systems, the two sides were supposed to determine and implement the "best administrative practices" from the two governments.

As Stephen W. Day outlines in his book, "Regionalism and Rebellion in Yemen: A Troubled National Union," it was often power that determined which administrative practices were chosen.

With no mechanism to decide whether Northern or Southern practices were better, decisions were postponed, except by certain ministries that were forced to make early decisions out of necessity. Day uses the country's Ministry of Finance as an example.

The Ministry of Finance was responsible for dispersing the salaries of all state employees, among other crucial tasks. As a close friend of President Ali Abdullah Saleh, who became unified Yemen's first leader in 1990, the finance minister decided to use former North Yemen's financial practices, completely eliminating the financial institutions of the former South.

South Yemen was the Arab region's only Marxist state. Masking the decision in the language of the Cold War era, Saleh and his allies framed the outcome as a victory of capitalism over communism.

However, as Day points out, South Yemen's financial and accounting institutions—with strong pre-audit and post-audit mechanisms to monitor the disbursement of public funds—were remnants of British colonial rule, which lasted for over 100 years.

The East German advisors who were invited by the South to consult on its financial institutions praised the South's practices as better than their own.

Keeping this history in mind, the division of power and responsibilities between the central government and the six federal regions—recommended by a committee appointed by the president—has not yet been decided. As the Constitutional Drafting Committee secretly determines these divisions, which will ultimately be put to referendum, Yemen should consider the importance of negotiation and decision-making when preparing its social contract.

Despite determining, and therefore "winning" the battle between the former North and South regarding the financial and accounting

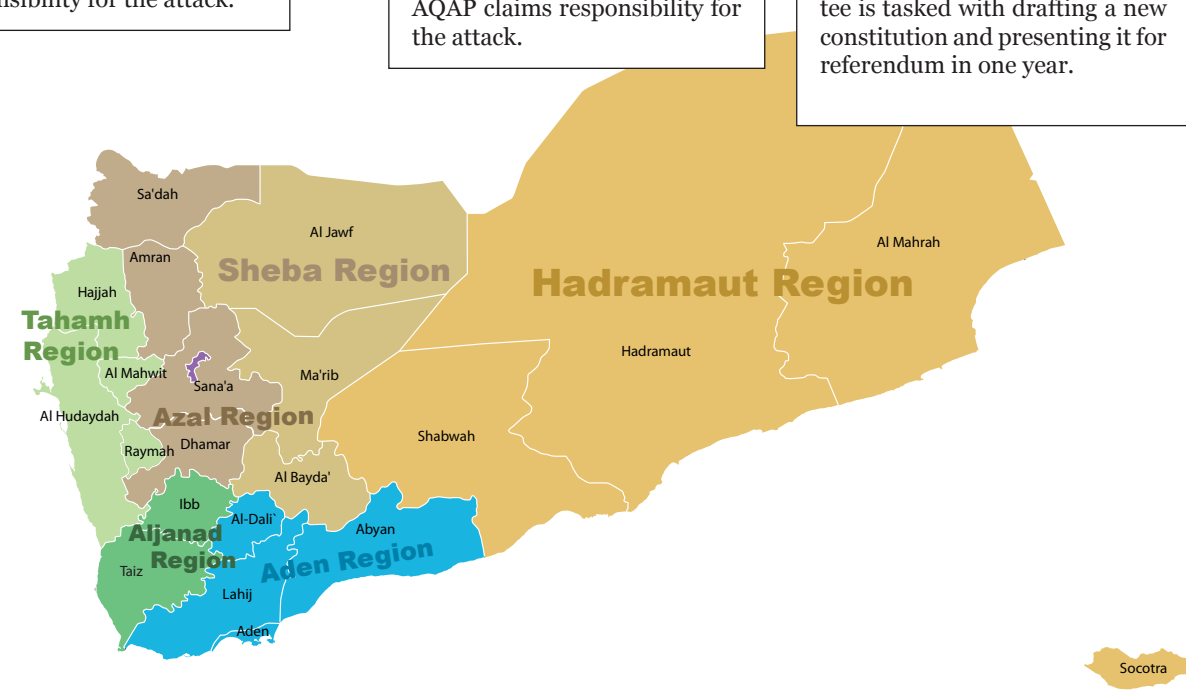
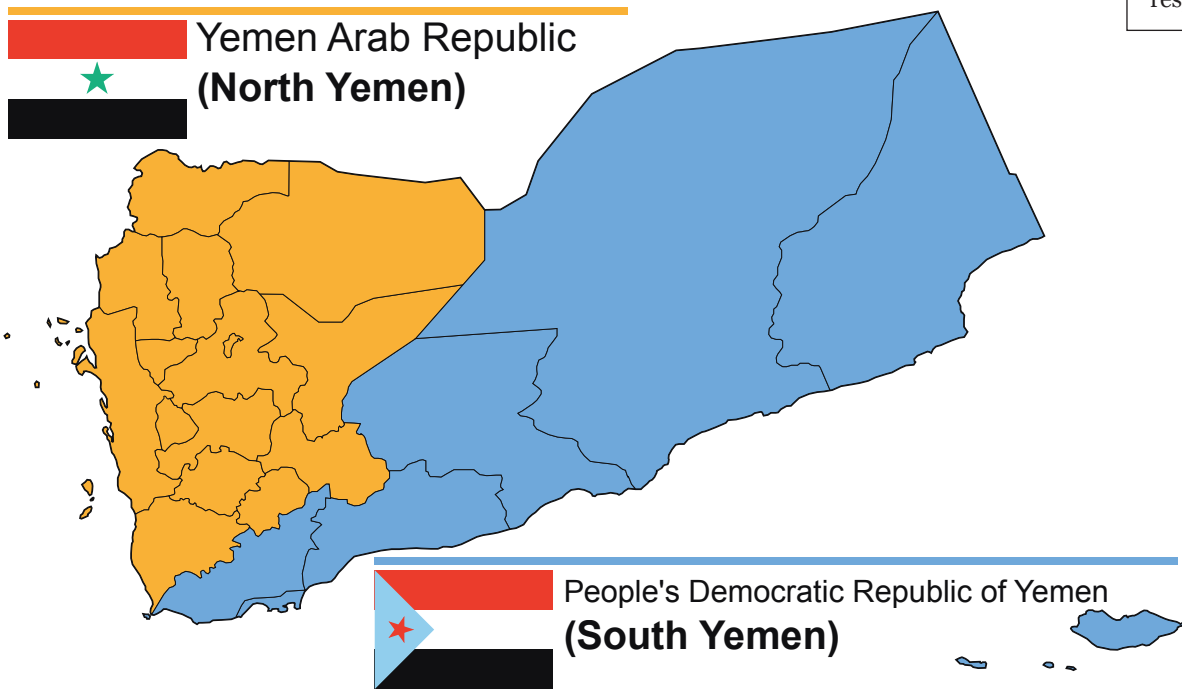
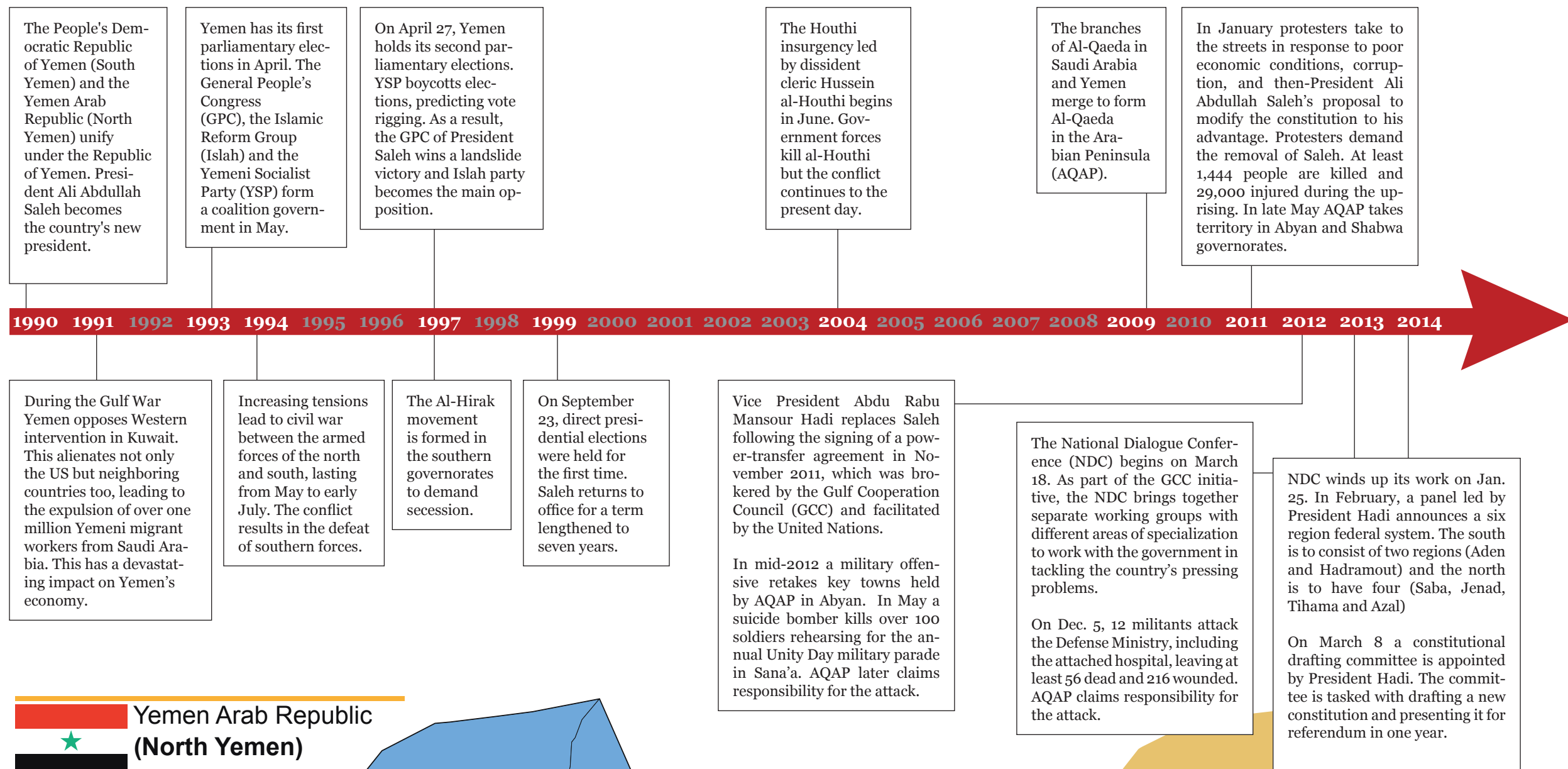
practices adopted by the Ministry of Finance, that victory has been an empty and painful one for Yemen.

Overwhelmed with corruption and a small number of elite-power players with nearly all the country's wealth concentrated in their hands—could Yemen have prevented at least some of the theft of its wealth through the adoption of the South's financial and accounting practices? Could it have meant—even marginally—that the country's wealth would have been more evenly distributed?

Whether military or political, victories can be the foundation for continued resentments, wars, memories and injustices—real or perceived—that can haunt and change a country's political, cultural and economic trajectory for decades and longer.

Regional and international backers of different political groups and realpolitik on the ground will likely shape negotiations and determine which political compromises are made. But if Yemen does not address the grievances and needs of its marginalized, a negotiated political outcome may be no solution at all in the long run. Twenty-four years after unification, having failed to meet the needs of Southerners, Yemen is still trying to sell unification to the country.

## Unity Timeline



Divided Yemen prior to May 22, 1990 (left), and the six-region federation announced in February (right)





# Football in Abyan helps heal trauma of war



Football offers the opportunity for people affected by conflict to leave their troubles on the sidelines. Here displaced youths in Hajja governorate enjoy the beautiful game.

## ■ Ali Abulohoom

**S**aeed Mansour, 22-year-old center back player for Khanfar, a football team in Abyan governorate founded in 1943, says that the sport helps him “forget the pain and grief of war.” His family fled to Aden but Mansour remains in Abyan, which in recent weeks has been the scene of a military offensive against alleged Al-Qaeda militants that has seen thousands displaced from their homes.

Despite the suffering Mansour has experienced since his family fled in early 2013, he is delirious with excitement as his team, for

which he has played since 2010, won the the third division tournament in Abyan and moved up to the second division of the Yemeni Football Association rankings.

He has his eyes set on the next goal—entry into the first division—which would enable the team to compete against teams from other governorates (divisions one and two are restricted to teams within the same governorates).

“When I play football I feel as if I am not in the field but flying in the sky forgetting bad experiences that myself and the whole town have gone through,” said Mansour.

Mansour visits his family in Aden every once in a while but has cho-

sen not to stay there because of his commitment to the team in Abyan.

“To be honest, I told my family that I could not stay in Aden as I was committed to my team,” he said.

For Mansour, football is more than just a game—it’s a means of existence. His club provides him not only with companionship but with a roof over his head.

There are over 15 local teams in Abyan competing with each other in the third and second divisions.

Fahman team is the only one from Abayan which has a place in the first division for the upcoming season, while Khanfar moved into the second grade along with three

others.

The local league in Abyan was not suspended when violence rocked many districts of the governorate, including Zinjibar, the capital of the governorate. The governorate has witnessed intermittent conflict between the Yemeni army and alleged Al-Qaeda militants since 2012.

Ahmed Saleh Qaid, the manager of the sport department in Abyan, said that football in Abayn means a lot to locals, especially young people who spend hours playing every day.

Yahia Bajhaber, 45, a local from Zinjibar, said that he regularly takes his child to watch Abyan’s Hasan club play.

Saleh Tameem, 37, is a supporter of Al-Aeen team, which recently won the third division tournament and moved into the second division. “I come to see my favorite team every day whether during their training or during the competitive matches. As I see the players excitedly passing the ball to each other, I feel as if I am playing and I forget my pain.”

Tameem says he lost his mother in a drone strike targeting alleged militants on the outskirts of Zinjibar in late 2013.

“Since my mother was killed, I have passed through deep grief, particularly when the rest of my family moved to Aden following my mother’s death. I refused to leave my city and prefer to stay supporting my team. Football makes life continue,” said Tameem.

Fahman, the team of Modia district, is one of the most popular in Abyan, and it’s supporters are thrilled that their team will be competing in the YFA first division held in various parts of the country.

Mohammed Yafee, who plays left wing for Fahman, was about

to move to Aden but then chose to stay with his family, friends, and team, turning down an offer to play for Adeni club Al-Telal.

“I know a lot of the team’s fans who see football as a way of forgetting their agony. Many have lost their relatives and others fled

to neighboring governorates like Aden, Shabwa, and Lahj.”

Khanfar’s deputy manager, Shamsan Fadaq, said “the people in war stricken-areas feel depressed but football makes life go on. They gather from everywhere to fill the stadiums and support their teams.”

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# مرحباً عيد الوحدة

نتقدم

بأحر التهاني وأطيب التبريكات

لفخامة الأخ المشير الركن

## عَبْدَ رَبِّهِ مَنْصُورَ هَادِي

رئيس الجمهورية

وإلى كافة أبناء شعبنا اليمني العظيم

بمناسبة الذكرى الـ 24

لتحقيق الوحدة اليمنية المباركة

في الـ 22 من مايو



العيد الوطني الرابع والعشرون  
22 مايو

محمد عبدالله مقبل العامري  
رئيس مجلس الإدارة

عصام أحمد علوي السكاف  
المدير العام

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H.E. Field Marshal

**Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi**

President of the Republic

And to all our great Yemeni people

On the occasion of the  
Unity Day on 22<sup>th</sup> May

**Many Happy Returns**

Mohammed Abdullah Al-Ameri  
Chairman

Esam Ahmed Al-Sakkaf  
General Manager

البنك الأهلي اليمني  
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22 May







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مدير عام شركة توتال يمن للاستكشاف والإنتاج  
إلياس قسيس  
وكافة موظفي الشركة



العيد الوطني الرابع والعشرون  
22 مايو

تتقدم المؤسسة العامة للاتصالات السلكية واللاسلكية  
بأحر التهاني وأطيب التبريكات  
لفخامة المشير الركن

**عبدربه منصور هادي**  
رئيس الجمهورية

وإلى كافة أبناء شعبنا اليمني العظيم  
بمناسبة العيد الرابع والعشرين من الوحدة المباركة  
الـ 22 من مايو.

أعاده الله علينا وعليكم بالخير واليمن والبركات

د/ أحمد عبيد بن دغر / م/ صادق محمد مصلح  
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On the occasion of National Day on 22<sup>nd</sup> May

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Director Genera

Dr. Ahmed Bin Daghr

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تلفون: ٠١/٦٠٦٠٢٤، ٠١/٦٠٦٠٧٣، ٠١/٦٠٦٠٧٤، ٠١/٢٩٧٤٧٤، موبایل: ٧٧٦٠٦٠٢٤

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سنوات في مراجعة وادارة الحسابات، قدرة التعامل مع الاظمة المحاسبية الالكترونية، اجادة الإنجليزية، حاصل على شهادة ايزو. 733913209

ماجستير محاسبة - 8 سنوات خبرة في (الحسابات - المراجعة - الرقابة) أخرجها رئيس قسم المراجعة - اجادة اللغة الإنجليزية ( كتابة - محادثة ) - اجادة استخدام الحاسوب - اجادة البرامج المحاسبية ( خاصة يمن سوفت) - دورات عديدة في العلوم المالية والمصرفية والإدارية. 714796729 - 737299730

وظائف شائعة

المركز الكندي للتدريب

بكالوريوس محاسبة، خبرة 10

772663229

بكالوريوس محاسبه وادارة أعمال ودبلوم لغة إنجليزية، خبرة طويلة في إدارة الحسابات والمراسلات التجارية باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في اليمن والسعودية، مستعد للعمل فوراً، جوال: 715608677

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

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

بكالوريوس محاسبة، خبرة 10

بكالوريوس محاسبة، خبرة في الحسابات والمراجعة لمدة 8 سنوات، دبلوم كمبيوتر، الاصدار السادس من يمن سوفت وكذلك نظام الأونكس، 770705472، 733079882

مهندس مدني، خبرة سنتين، لغة انجليزية ممتازة. 777055889

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

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

بكالوريوس - لغة انجليزية - دبلوم كمبيوتر - خبرة مراسلات تجارية سنتين. يرغب العمل في الفترة الصباحية. 733778849

هندية الأصل حاصلة على دبلوم انجليزي وسكرتارية بتقدير ممتاز لديها خبرة في الجرافيكس والترجمة والمراسلات التجارية، لديها خبرة في ادارة التسويق والمبيعات، تريد العمل في تعز. 736653489

يوسف علي الرازقي - مهندس تقنية معلومات وحاسوب 771293966

معتز عبداللطيف حداد - مهندس تقنية معلومات وحاسوب 733984178

### ارزاق مهم

## IMPORTANT Numbers

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وزارة الصناعة والتجارة	١٩٩	طوارئ الشرطة	١٩٩
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وزارة شؤون الداخلية	١٧٢٥٧٦١/٣	الشؤون الخارجية	١٧٢٥٧٦١/٣
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وزارة حقوق الانسان	١٧٢٣٣١/٣	التلفزيون	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
وزارة الاتصالات وتقنية المعلومات	١٧٢٣٣١/٣	الصليب الاحمر	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
وزارة الإدارة المحلية	١٧٢٣٣١/٣	الإذاعة	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
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وزارة التخطيط والتعاون الدولي	١٧٢٣٣١/٣		
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وزارة الاشغال العامة والطرق	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
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وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
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بنك التضامن الإسلامي	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
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بنك العربي	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
بنك التسليف الزراعي	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
بنك المركزي	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
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بنك اليمن للإنشاء والتعمير	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
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### تأجير سيارات

يوناييتد بنك لميند	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
بنك كالك الاسلامي	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
بنك اليمن والكويت للتجارة والانشاءات	١٧٢٣٣١/٣

### مراكز تدريب وتعليم الكمبيوتر

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### البريد السريع

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UPS	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
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### شحن وتوصيل

M&M Logistics & Aviation Services	١٧٢٣٣١/٣
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### كلمات متقاطعة

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افقي

- لقب محمد عبدالوهاب
- عندهم - ممثل سوري (م)
- اداة استعمل - ينسب الي احدى الدول الاسيوية (م) - اداة استعمل (م)
- ارجهم - متشابهان - ضاع منه الوعد
- ماركة سيارة - من علوم اللغة العربية
- نسترخي - ماركة مفااتيح
- استلمت - جانتكما (م) - للنفي
- مشروب طاقه - صاحب احدي المعن - نعم بالروسي (م)
- جمع المقصف (م) - اغير وايدل (م)
- اوقاتي - المعرفة
- حرف اجنبي - تعلمه (م)
- بين الثاء والحاء - طقته - اداة استعمل (م)
- من الحواس الخمس - تتحمل - هلاك
- انفالكما - يصيغها (م)
- وحدة قياس - ممثلة مصرية معتزلة (م)

عمودي

- لقب المغني الراحل مايكل جاسون - متشابهة
- مطرب لبناني كبير - تذكر الاسياب (م)
- اسم حقيقي لثلاثة يسرا - اغنية ل كوكب الشرق (م)
- متشابهان - نغفو عنهما
- عكس يضعف (م) - ترتفع
- ضمير الغائبون - تعب
- من السلم الموسيقي - لترجع
- وحدة قياس (م) - الاماكن المعفورة
- عكس صفا (م) - رجوع
- نومي (م) - رمل
- من الورد - من الأقمشة - «و» بالإنجليزي (م)
- في فمي - المعجم
- الخداق (م) - الكون
- مطربة مصرية (م)

### الكلمة المفقودة

ال ض غ و ط

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## استراحة العدد

### النجمة

عجائب وغرائب

بعد الياباني شينغيتشي ايزومي صاحب أطول فترة خدمة في التاريخ، فقد بدأ في رعاية الحيوانات في مدينة توكوشيما اليابانية العام 1872 ويوظيفة جر الحمولات، وكزراع في مصنع قصب السكر. وتعاد في العام 1970 أي بعد 98 عاما عن عمر يناهز ال 105 اعوام

### حكمة العدد

التواضع يورث المحبة والقناعة تورث الراحة

### نكتة العدد

المرض: هل هناك طريقة لطالة العمر؟ الطبيب: تزوج المريضة، هل سيساعدني ذلك؟ الطبيب: لا، ولكن فكرة العمر الطويل لن تراودك مجددا

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## Drone strike success in Yemen may actually be failure

**Danya Greenfield and Adam Simpson**  
atlanticcouncil.org  
First published May 19

On May 9, the Obama administration extended Yemen's national emergency status-declaring "certain members of the government of Yemen and others" an "unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States." This statement and the recent spate of U.S. drone strikes in Yemen should prompt some questioning about deteriorating security in that country and the effectiveness of current U.S. strategy for defeating terror networks and Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).

Since the current counterterrorism campaign began in Yemen's hinterlands on April 19, drone strikes killed between 46 and 79 alleged militants in the Abyan, Shabwa, and Al-Baidha provinces.

While reports indicate that some mid-level AQAP members died in the attacks, DNA testing on the remains has confirmed that the two primary targets of the operation, Nasir Al-Wuhayshi and Ibrahim Al-Siri, were not among them. Given lack of verifiable information, it remains unclear how many civilians were killed during the total operation; the Yemeni government confirmed three, however, there may be far more, and as many as 10,000 civilians have been displaced during the operations.

Observers may cheer from afar when the body count of extremists is rising, but given the lack of transparency and disclosure, it is hard to know if the drone strikes are actually achieving U.S. security goals. To

begin with, the recent uptick in the number of drone strikes and civilian deaths calls into question the very premise of President Obama's speech outlining his counterterrorism policy at the National Defense University in May 2013—that a drone strike would only be deployed when the target presents an imminent danger to U.S. lives, where they cannot be captured by local security forces, and where there is near certainty that civilians will not

be hit. Recent reports indicate that this threshold is not being upheld, and without the increased disclosure that the president pledged in his speech, there is no way to know if the attacks are even hitting the right targets. The December 2013 attack that hit a wedding convoy and killed more than a dozen civilians was a devastating and poignant reminder of this fact; one that even U.S. government agencies are struggling to explain.

Assessing the effectiveness of the current approach should begin by reviewing the outcome of the 2012 Abyan campaign, supported by the United States, in which the Yemeni military partnered with newly established Popular Committees comprised of local tribesmen who fought on the frontlines to push out AQAP strongholds and its affiliate, Ansar Al-Sharia. After months of pumeling, AQAP suffered significant losses during that summer and was forced to move camp, but they survived and regenerated in different areas over the past two years. There is little reason to believe this pattern will change this time around. No matter how many rank-and-file are killed, new recruits always emerge, and the drone strikes are not limited to top-tier leadership. Wide swaths of ungoverned territory provide new bases of operation for AQAP to regroup, and disgruntled tribes—frustrated with the ineffectiveness of the central government and lack of resources in their communities—are frequently co-opted to provide safe haven.

This short-term approach will not make Americans or Yemenis safer in the long-term or lead to the defeat of AQAP and its affiliates in Yemen. At present, the Yemeni military lacks the capacity to do more than displace AQAP, and this is where the United States should place its investment. President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi claims that as many as seventy percent of AQAP are foreigners, but this is likely an exaggeration made in an effort to dehumanize and dismiss domestic insurgents. While foreigners may in fact play a prominent role, the underlying issue is that Yemen lacks a security infrastructure to effectively police its interior and its borders, and recruitment to extremist groups is not difficult in a country with 30-40 percent unemployment, more than half the population food insecure, 10 million people malnourished, and a complete absence of government services in many communities.

In short, if the United States intends to defeat AQAP and other Al-Qaeda affiliates that threaten U.S. interests in the Gulf region and potentially even the homeland, it will have to commit to Yemen's security and development beyond what seems to be an increasingly short-sighted focus on terrorist groups. Such an approach should take into consideration the breadth of Yemen's security problems; the biggest destabilizing security factors con-

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and the resulting clashes led to sabotaged oil pipelines. In an effort to reconcile with the tribe, the central government announced the formation of a committee to investigate the incident. Just days later, a U.S. drone strike killed as many as six members of the same tribe, throwing mediation efforts in question.

Hadi's alignment with the U.S. counterterrorism campaign and drone program complicates the government's ability to successfully pursue and navigate peacemaking processes with frustrated and disgruntled populations seeking whatever leverage they can muster. Perhaps more importantly, Hadi's open arms approach to U.S. military engagement is undermining his legitimacy in the eyes of his people by appearing lax with Yemeni sovereignty. For Hadi as well as the United States, this continues to demonstrate a nearsighted cost-benefit analysis.

The United States can support Yemen's fight against terrorism, but it can do so more effectively by committing to a long-term strategy that takes a comprehensive look at what is causing extremist networks to flourish. It can focus on capacity building and education for Yemeni military forces rather than targeted killings and a sustained investment in helping Yemen's economy survive and grow. Without this fundamental shift, the United States and Yemen will face the prospect of waging the same battle over and over again, but never win the war.

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