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Heritage meets communication

Residents of Sana'a protest over fuel shortages, shut down major roads

Story and photo by
Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, June 11—Protesters set tires on fire and blocked traffic in various parts of Sana'a on Wednesday in protest against fuel shortages and electricity outages.

Several streets, including Al-Adel, Al-Huria, Hayel, and Al-Siteen street, where President Hadi's house is located, were blocked with rocks and burning tires from early morning until the afternoon on Wednesday.

Military and armored vehicles, Special Security Forces and anti-riot forces were deployed in streets and dispersed the crowds of people on Al-Siteen. Gunfire was heard near the Yemen Petroleum Company on Al-Siteen street—apparently an attempt to disperse protesters who gathered in front of the company.

"We took to the streets to stop the movement of traffic completely due to the fuel shortage and electricity outages and we will not leave unless fuel and electricity are made available," said Shadi Abduljabar, a protester from Sana'a.



Throughout the capital piles of burning tires sent plumes of smoke into the air at major intersections, blocking traffic.

Government response

During Wednesday's protest security forces raided the headquarters of Yemen Today, a private TV chan-

nel owned by former President Ali Abdullah Saleh, Dalya Al-Namer, a journalist at the channel told the

Yemen Times.

Ahmed Al-Amri, a technician at the channel told the Yemen Times that soldiers stormed the building and told workers that they had "presidential instructions to shut down the channel."

The channel covers Yemen extensively and on Wednesday was covering the protests. The transmission equipment and other equipment was confiscated, according to Al-Namer.

In the midst of the protests, President Hadi sacked five cabinet ministers, some of whom had been in office since the transitional government was formed in December 2011. The ministers of finance, foreign affairs, information, electricity, and oil and minerals were sacked.

The Yemen Petroleum Company has blamed tribal roadblocks for delays in fuel deliveries. In a statement re-

leased on Wednesday morning, the company said that a large quantity of gas would be distributed to gas stations in the capital "after removing the roadblocks on Marib-Sana'a road and Manakha-Sana'a road," which were allegedly set up by disgruntled tribes.

"The amount of gas coming from Hodeida through Manakha-Sana'a road is over 2.5 million liters, which forms 200 percent of the market needs in the capital city. This amount will be distributed late Wednesday," the statement read.

On Sunday, President Hadi ordered the finance and oil ministries to immediately import fuel to cover the local needs for the next four months, stressing that the fuel shortage should be resolved within one week.

The capital has been struggling with fuel shortages and on Wednesday, as on previous days, long queues of cars waited in front of gas stations. Some queues stretched for

over a kilometer.

"I have been standing in the queue for about 20 hours, waiting for my turn to fill my car with gas. I am afraid that the gas will run out before my turn arrives," said Abdu Rabu Abdulla Al-Qafri, a taxi driver.

"I hate going outside because of congestion. I arrive late to the workplace. When I return home, I am late as well," Mohammed Ahmed

Al-Mahli, a resident in the capital city, said.

Some of the streets blocked by angry protesters had been reopened by Wednesday afternoon. However, by the time the paper was going to print some major roads remained closed. Yemen Today was also still shut down.

Full disclosure: Dalya Al-Namer is the wife of the author.



Tribesmen prevent repairs to sabotaged electricity lines in Marib

■ **Khalid Al-Karimi**

SANA'A, June 10—Tribesmen in Al-Jahm area of Marib governorate on Tuesday blocked the technical engineering team of the Ministry of Electricity and Energy from making repairs to electricity lines in the governorate, Taha Al-Zubair, the media officer for the ministry told the Yemen Times.

"The engineering team arrived in Marib... in order to fix the damage to the electricity lines sustained Monday and early Tuesday, but tribesmen defiantly did not allow them," Al-Zubair said.

On Monday the Ministry of Electricity and Energy said armed tribesmen attacked the electricity pylons, which affected the entire national grid, according to the ministry.

The state-run September 26 website quoted the operations department at the Electricity Ministry as saying that the attacks took place 78 kilometers from Marib Power

Station, "[stopping] the operation of the national grid and [causing] blackouts in all governorates."

"This [act] is a big financial burden on the country. Whatever the tribesmen's demands are, they have no justification in damaging public infrastructure," said Al-Zubair.

Mohammed Al-Jadasi, a local journalist in Marib, said the tribesmen are emboldened by the weakness of the state. "If they knew they would be crushed by the government, they would not dare damage public infrastructure and prevent authorities from fixing the damage," said Al-Jadasi.

He said leading tribal sheikhs in Marib are assisting the government in attempting to persuade the tribesmen to allow the engineering teams to make necessary repairs.

Abshal Abdulla Al-Fatini, a leading tribal sheikh in Marib, told the Yemen Times that attacks on electricity infrastructure are either politically motivated or a means of

putting pressure on the government to provide services.

"Some [tribesmen] resort to attacking public facilities in Marib as a way to draw the government's attention to their demands, which include the provision of electricity. Many areas in Marib have no access to electricity," said Al-Fatini.

Al-Zubair, who has been in touch with the repair teams, told the Yemen Times "they [the tribesmen] want electricity service. The government is not refusing to provide them with electricity, but this cannot happen overnight and attacks on power lines will not solve their issue," said Al-Zubair.

Although sabotage of electricity infrastructure in Marib is commonplace, this latest is one of the most disruptive in recent times.

According to Al-Zubair, security forces were sent to the area to protect engineering teams. "The security forces have started negotiating with the tribesmen in order avoid

clashes," Al-Zubair added.

Al-Jadasi, however, said that there are reports of security forces clashing with local tribesmen. He added that he saw military aircraft flying over the area, and local websites are reporting that warplanes have hit tribal areas in the governorate leaving an unknown number of casualties.

Yemen has faced a security vacuum since the uprising of 2011 which led to the stepping down of the former president, Ali Abudullah Saleh. Tribesmen and other armed groups have capitalized on the fragile security situation and attacks on public institutions and infrastructure have increased.

"Usually the tribesmen attack the electricity and oil pipelines to pressure the government to employ them or release imprisoned relatives," said Al-Jadasi.

The Interior Ministry reported hundreds of incidents of sabotage over the course of 2013.





Qat trade banned in Socotra's capital

■ **Madiha Al-Junaid**

SANA'A, June 10—On Sunday local Socotran authorities banned the qat trade in Hadibo, the capital city of Arkhabeel Socotra governorate, and ordered qat shops to be moved out of the city.

The selling of qat, but not the chewing of it, will no longer be permitted within the city.

Abdullah Al-Shar'aby, the legal affairs manager at the General Environment Protection Authority, said that in previous years there were moves to ban the chewing of qat on parts of the island. However, he said that what makes this latest move different is that "it is an announced law now."

The deputy of Arkhabeel Socotra governorate, Fahd Saleem, told the Yemen Times that at a meeting held at the governorate's operations office it was decided that the selling of qat in the is-

land's capital would be prohibited "as an initial step" towards outlawing the stimulant across the island.

Al-Masdar Online news website stated that qat sellers have expressed anger at the move as they will now have to travel out of the city to conduct business and could lose customers as a result.

According to Mohammed Al-Arqabi, a journalist and activist who has focused extensively on Socotra and its environment, the only way for qat to enter the island is via air, after which it is distributed and sold in local markets.

Saleem said that the authorities are looking to prevent qat from entering the island in the future.

Qat's narcotic properties and its potential side-effects, which are said to include insomnia, depression, dependency and high blood pressure, have made it a highly controversial substance

even in Yemen, where it is widely chewed. Other reasons for the ban on the sale of qat in Hadibo include congestion and overcrowding caused by qat markets and pollution caused by the plastic bags it is sold in. Saleem says that qat markets give Hadibo an "uncivilized look."

Saleem said that complaints from environmental authorities also influenced the decision to ban the trade.

Socotra, which lies off the coast of the Horn of Africa and is Yemen's largest island, is a UNESCO-listed World Heritage Site.

Al-Arqabi said qat markets are often polluted and littered with the plastic bags the leaves are sold in. He said that the trade and consumption of the leaves, which often contain high levels of pesticides, threatens protected areas. Qat plants are widely seen on the island as an invasive, harmful species, Al-Arqabi added.

Two arrested on suspicion of stealing precious jambiyas

■ **Sina Khalid**

SANA'A, June 10—Police in Hodeida said on Tuesday they arrested two individuals accused of stealing highly valuable jambiyas (traditional Yemeni daggers).

The police say the two suspects, who were arrested last week, are "specialized" in the theft of jambiyas.

Jameel Al-Salehi, the manager of the investigations in Hodeida, told the Yemen Times he received 30 reports of jambiya thefts since the beginning of 2014. Such reports, he says, were almost unheard of until recently.

The security authorities followed up on details given to them by the victims of the thefts, said Al-Salehi, which led to the arrest of the two men.

"Eleven jambiyas were returned out of the stolen 30. The search

for the rest continues," said Lieutenant Adel Salem of the Criminal Investigation Department. He added that the two arrested individuals are part of a gang known for stealing precious jambiyas. Members of the gang are said to typically snatch jambiyas off unsuspecting individuals before fleeing on motorbike. Other members of the gang are still at large, according to police.

Salem alleged that the two suspects sold one of the stolen jambiyas, valued at YR2 million (\$9,308), for YR300,000 (\$1,395). Saleh Al-Adhraei, a spare parts trader, had his jambiya stolen on April 16. "I was in my car. Suddenly two people on a motorbike dashed in front of me. One was driving while the other snatched my jambiya."



The distinctive daggers are ubiquitous in Yemen, where they are worn as accessories by men from various tribal backgrounds. The worth of a jambiya is determined in large part by the material used for its handle. Al-Saifani, a type of jambiya made from rhino horns, are the most expensive and can reach many thousands of dollars.

600,000 students begin final exams amid multiple crises

■ **Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki**

SANA'A, June 11—About 600,000 students began exams at 4,846 locations nationwide on Tuesday and Wednesday amid a fuel and energy crisis, repeated Internet cuts, and political turmoil.

According to the Ministry of Education, 30,000 male and female soldiers were appointed to guard the exam centers along with more than 120,000 teachers and supervisors to ensure the success of the examinations process.

Dr. Abdulrazaq Al-Ashwal, the minister of education, told the Yemen Times that the ministry, in coordination with the air force, used helicopters to send question sheets into rural

areas in order to reach these areas faster and avoid road-blocks.

Al-Ashwal said the ministry has taken the difficulties facing students into consideration when setting exam papers.

"I'm a primary school student and I face obstacles because I can't study for exams due to the electricity outages," said Abdulla Mohammed Al-Mahali, a 15-year-old student in Sana'a. "I have a generator but I can't use it due to the current fuel shortage. I'm worried about my results because I've spent more than 15 hours queuing at gas stations."

Abdulla Saleh Al-Qadi, a 22-year-old high school student in Dhamar governorate, faces similar problems. "I expect that

I will either fail in some exams or have low grades because I spent so much time queuing at gas stations to get gas for my father's taxi," he said.

Parents are also concerned that prevailing circumstances may compromise the education of their children. Mujahid Al-Haisi, a resident of Sana'a, said that he wouldn't blame his daughter if she failed her exams given the difficulties she is facing. "My daughter is one of the top students in her school but she couldn't [adequately] study this year because of electricity blackouts," he said.

In addition to conflict, power shortages and intermittent internet connection, many students also face bureaucratic difficulties as the education

system is restructured.

The Education Ministry began implementing a new system of electronic examination cards, which were issued this year. Yahia Mohammed Yahia, director of an examinations center in Dhamar governorate, said that the procedures taken by the ministry would greatly reduce cheating in exams.

However, 5,000 students nationwide were unable to attend exams because incomplete documents prevented them from obtaining examination cards. "Some principals have taken money from some students and promised to give them examination cards," said Al-Ashwal, adding that the matter is being looked into by a ministerial committee.

Military crackdown in Lahj

■ **Nasser Al-Sakkaf**

LAHJ, June 10—Security forces on Tuesday launched a campaign against alleged Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) gunmen in Lahj after Sunday's ambush of the governorate's security manager and his bodyguards.

A bodyguard of Othman Maooda, the Lahj security manager, was killed in Sunday's attack, and Maooda's son was injured. The ambush took place near the security department of Al-Hawata city.

Also on Sunday, gunmen attacked the government compound in Lahj, which consists of the governor's office, local council office and several other public offices.

On Wednesday, one soldier was killed and another injured when unidentified gunmen attacked a security checkpoint in the governorate.

Ali Matir, the secretary general of the governorate, said that heightened

security measures are a response to increased militant activity in Lahj.

According to Bassim Al-Zuraika, the governorate media officer, the appearance of alleged Al-Qaeda gunmen in Al-Hawta is visible through the presence of Al-Qaeda flags and graffiti displaying Al-Qaeda slogans. He speculated that the increased presence of alleged Al-Qaeda affiliates in Lahj is due to the military campaigns against the militant group Abyan and Shabwa governorates, which pushed fighters from those areas into others.

Fuad Mus'ed, an Aden-based journalist, claimed that the security forces are heavily deployed in the governorate, particularly around the government compound and the security department.

He added "sporadic clashes are taking place in Al-Hawta between armed groups and soldiers but we can't ascertain whether these groups are affiliated with Al-Qaeda or not."

LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL TENDER SELECTION OF CONSULTANTS REQUEST FOR EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST (Preparation of two actuarial studies as well as a feasibility study of a proposed integration of GASSP and GCSS)

The General Authority for Social Security and Pensions (GASSP) and the General Corporation for Social Security (GCSS) have made budgetary allocation of fund for the preparation of two actuarial studies and intend to apply part of the fund for the procurement of consultant's services (The actuarial studies are fully funded by the two authorities). GASSP and GCSS also intend to conduct a feasibility study of a proposed integration of GASSP and GCSS into one entity.

GASSP and GCSS now invite eligible consultants to indicate their interest in providing the services. Interested consultants must provide information indicating that they are qualified to perform the services. The information shall be submitted to the Unit of Insurance and Actuarial Studies at the address below and during the office hours. These must include the following:

1. Qualifications in the field of the desired assignment.
2. The technical, financial and administrative status of the consultant.
3. The field of the main job and the years of experience in the desired studies.
4. Previous contracts in performing similar tasks.
5. The qualifications of the main staff.
6. Reference entities to make sure of the implementation of the required assignments.
7. Valid (tax card + insurance card + almsgiving card + license to practice the profession (for local firms)
8. The administrative and organizational structure of the firms, licenses and legal records issued from the countries of interested firms.

The documents of the expressions of interest shall be submitted to the address below **not later than Sunday 20 / July /2014**.

**Republic of Yemen- Sana'a City- Across Saudi Arabia Embassy
General Authority for Social Security and Pensions
Sixth floor- General Administration of Planning and Statistics
Tel: 00967 -1- 242910, Fax: 00967-1-242926
E-mail: actuarialyemen@gmail.com
P.O. Box: 10558**

Only qualified consultants will be informed to submit their technical and financial proposals in accordance with law.

Under the slogan “Corporate Citizenship....Development of the Societies”, organized by Yemeni Business Club

TAIZ HOSTS CORPORATE CITIZENSHIP CONFERENCE

Yemen Times - Taiz Bureau

Under the patronage of His Excellency the Minister of Industry & Trade, Dr. Saad Aldin Bin Taleb, the Business Club organized in Taiz on Saturday June 7, 2014 the Corporate Citizenship Conference. The resonance was huge. Local and regional representatives of leading companies, businessmen and investors attended the conference.

The Deputy of the Ministry of Industry & Trade, Service Sector, Mrs. Ayaad Riadh Abdullah:
“The end of poverty and youth unemployment will provide benefits to society and is considered an essential factor for prosperity in all societies.”



Ministry of Commerce and industry

“Such kind of conferences strengthen the social responsibility towards the private sector, seeing it as an active partner for steady development.”

Deputy of Taiz Governor, Abdulkader Hatem

“The Corporate Citizenship Conference is an excellent initiative to understand the role of companies and enterprises in relation to the development of society.”

Corporate Citizenship can be defined as what the commercial sector provides for society and the wider environment. Commonly the activities of the Corporate Citizenship was seen as charitable work or a kind of investment into the affairs of the society, but the Corporate Citizenship means much more according to the benefits provided through the core local companies and enterprises for the society. The Corporate Citizenship does not refer just to obligations but also to rights, and also refers to the question: how to bring prosperity to the private sector and by this to change its environment. The Corporate Citizenship also handles the responsibility of the companies towards society and is currently focusing on the importance of determining the role of the companies within society. With the increasing importance to integrate the economic, environmental and social concerns within the self assessment of the companies, they acknowledge the conversion into a good «citizenship» for important issues.

The Yemeni Business Club organized the Corporate Citizenship Conference, and its role in the development of society.

These are the outcome of the conference

of citizenship and community responsibility for local and regional companies participating in the conference were reviewed. Dr. Hamoud Al-Bukhaiti from Studies Centre of Consumer and market research reviewed the historical efforts for community responsibility and citizenship for the Yemeni companies. After that the international group (Al-Khair corporation) reviewed their experience by Gamal Omar, Deputy of the chairman of Al-Khair corporation. Then the experience of Yemen LNG reviewed by the relation officer Nashwan Gobary. The experience of Bab Rizq Gameel reviewed by Dr. Moath AL-Farmawi the executive manager of Bab Rizq project. And the representative of Abdu Lateef Gameel. The presence also listened to the experience of Yemen Mobile telecommunication company in the field of social responsibility presented by Amer Haza'a – Executive manager of the company. The private sector initiative with prisoners presented by Prisoner Foundation. At the end of the conference the participants listened to the experience of the Humanitarian Foundation of Hail Saeed Ana'am and his partners in the scope of social development reviewed by Mr. Mohammed Abdul Wase Hail – the executive manager of the Humanitarian foundation of the group.

Hail an open workshop (discussion session) for all participants, the chance was given for company representatives and civil community organizations to interact during the conference and ask the representatives questions who presented real models through which they reviewed their roles in the field of citizenship and social responsibility.



Abdulkader Hatem



Fathi Abdul Wase



Ayaad Riadh Abdullah

Recommendations

The participants in the conference had come out with a number of recommendations, most notably was the work on the establishment of a unit for companies citizenship deals with the issues of social responsibility and companies citizenship, in addition the preparation of a unified guide for companies citizenship in Yemen and an active social community award. The participants also recommended the private sector and the competent authorities to establish specialized funds to sustainable development and the necessity of adopting training and awareness workshops specialized in companies citizenship and social responsibility calling on the media to intensify awareness of social responsibility.

Chairman of Yemeni Business Club

The conference was not a promotional event, but it introduced the experiences and practices of international companies in the field of citizenship and community responsibility that can be of great advantage.

At the end of the ceremony which was attended by a number of members of the local authority and businessmen and businesswomen in the republic and participants from Arab countries honoring those who contribute in making the conference successful.

Closing Honors

At the end of the ceremony which was attended by a number of members of the local authority and businessmen and businesswomen in the republic and participants from Arab countries honoring those who contribute in making the conference successful.

Opening speak by the business club

The conference was started with verses from the Holy Quran. After that the Chairman of the Yemeni Business Club Fathi Abdul Wase delivered the word of the club. Through his talk he welcomed all the guests and thanked the businessmen for their effective interaction with qualitative conference which confirms their keenness and their obligation to embody the concept of corporate citizenship of companies. In the reality of the business and community development. He pointed out that the working papers that are displayed in this conference is not such as to promote, but rather to provide practical examples of the experiences and practices of companies in the field of citizenship. Social responsibility can be used to enrich the contribution of the business sector in developing the communities.

The word of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry

A'ayad Riyadh Abdullah, deputy for services sector at the ministry delivered the word of the ministry of commerce and industry. She ensured the importance of the conference as a strategic axis respect to deepening social responsibility for the private sector as a key partner and actor in sustainable development and poverty reduction and employ youth to serve the community and development at the same time indicating that the basic axis for developing and community will be only through institutional work which meets the needs of the community.

The word of the local authority of the province

Mr. Abdul Kader Hatem province deputy delivered a talk as he thanked the initiative of the Yemeni business club for organizing this qualitative conference and defining the importance of business companies and firms for community development.

Successful models in the field of corporate citizenship

After that many of the experience models in the field





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Illicit antiquities trade threatens Yemen's rich heritage

■ Madiha Al-Junaid

Yemen has an incredibly rich history and beneath its hard-surfaced lands lie the remains of many great civilizations. However, its largely empty and barren landscape provides the opportunity to strike gold—literally in some cases—and poor security infrastructure and legal regulations enable, even encourage, people to become smugglers.

Take, for example, a recent attempt in which a Yemeni man tried to smuggle a set of silver coins dating back to the ancient Himyarite Kingdom, the last kingdom in Yemen before the arrival of Islam, dating from 110 BC to 527 AD. In total, according to the Ministry of Culture, he was carrying 54 ancient artifacts.

It has not been possible to say where specifically in Yemen the coins were first discovered or how they were looted, but the smuggler was likely faced with the opportunity of a great reward at minimal risk.

This particular arrest, the most recent to be revealed by authorities, happened at Sana'a International Airport on April 13. However, it is impossible to say how many more precious pieces of Yemen's rich history have been smuggled out of Yemen and lost to the country.

"The smuggler hid the antiques, which were wrapped in tinfoil, inside the metal handle of his suitcases," said Mujahid Al-Yateem, the deputy minister of culture.

What Al-Yateem is describing is one among hundreds of smuggling attempts that have been thwarted in recent years, according to the airport's customs department.

Mohammed Al-Mahfathi, general manager of customs at Sana'a International Airport, said that eight to ten antiques smugglers have been arrested in the first quarter of 2014 at the airport alone. This is out of 213 arrests for all illicit goods smuggling attempts at the airport during the same period.

Challenging security situation

Lawless areas like Al-Jawf, Marib and Shabwa, Al-Yateem explained, are effectively open for plundering. Much of Yemen's territory is unmonitored by state authorities and local tribesmen have free reign to do with it, and take from it, as they please.

Muhammed Al-Sayyani, the current president of the General Organization of Antiquities and Museums (GOAM) and an employee of the organization since 1987, said that GOAM simply lacks sufficient security personnel to monitor the different sites where antiquities are found. "Since 2011, GOAM has added no more job positions in the security field," he said.

According to Al-Mahfathi, "we have to deal with smuggling in cooperation with the various security forces. We lack [security] at land security points, especially in remote areas."

Despite this lack of security personnel and infrastructure, security forces at airports and accessible land checkpoints are becoming more familiar with the techniques used by smugglers.

Mohammed Al-Shalafi, media and communication manager at the Transportation Ministry, said that lessons learned from previous cases help security personnel adapt and be more alert for future smuggling attempts. Describing some of the methods used by smugglers, Abdulkareem Al-Barakani, deputy general manager of GOAM, said "they use the edges and padding of suitcases, cardboard tubes, or the inside space of souvenir statues [to smuggle items]."

"[Large vehicles] are also used by some smugglers, as was the case in Haradh [a border crossing between Yemen and Saudi Arabia] in 2010 when a bus heading to Saudi Arabia was detected and the driver arrested for having artifacts hidden in the side padding of the bus [interior]," he added. At the beginning of April, around 1,200 workers at the General Authority of Tourism, Antiquities and Museums (GATAM) went on strike, protesting against the management of the GATAM. They demanded a

100 percent raise in their monthly salaries, health insurance, an end to nepotism, and permanent jobs for temporary workers, according to Siraj Al-Naqeeb, secretary general of the Antique Workers Union.

Workers at the GATAM don't have much work to do because of the lack of tourists coming into the country and due to the suspension of archaeological excavations for security reasons. "Workers are back at work now... the strike is not the matter, the reality is that there is no work to do," said Al-Sayyani.

"I hold the government accountable for any theft of antiquities or smuggling if the antique workers at ports [and border crossings] halt their work," said Al-Naqeeb.

Inefficient laws and insufficient funds

Every now and then, citizens discover ancient artifacts by chance—while digging a well or during the construction of a house, for example. They then face a choice: report the discovery to the authorities (the legally required action) or sell the antiquities on the black market in the hopes of potentially fetching a fortune. Since 1997, Yemeni law has criminalized the act of smuggling antiquities in the following terms: "those who smuggle antiques or participate in their being smuggled out of the Republic shall be punished by imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years or a fine of no less than 50,000 YR (\$233), or both."

This is a relatively light penalty, but the government's poor rewards for those who blow the whistle on smuggling does not help matters either.

According to Al-Yateem, the government pays between YR50,000 to 100,000 (\$233 to 465) for antiques citizens turn in to authorities. GOAM officials did not give many details, but said that rewards depend on both the authority's budget and the value of retrieved antiquities.

In contrast, on the black market "prices of artifacts vary, starting from about YR1,000 (\$4.65) up to millions.

Perhaps say YR10 million (\$46,500), as was the case with an ancient gold artifact which was... bought by the president himself," Al-Barakani explained. Al-Sayyani elaborated on the law's ineffectiveness, saying that "in the past, when I participated in drafting these laws, the punishments were considered to be extremely high. However, they are now seen as little amounts of money by smugglers who are encouraged."

"We therefore increased the fines in the third adjustment of the law which hasn't been approved yet and was delayed for three years, and we are applying for a confirmation to a new amended law which will also increase the amount of fines," added Al-Sayyani.

From Al-Barakani's perspective, GOAM does not "buy" antiquities because they are owned collectively by all Yemenis and they belong in national museums. Instead, he prefers the term "acquisition."

"We [at GOAM] claim acquisition of the antiques found by citizens and our valuation committee is the one to specify the equitable price of each antiquity according to the classification criteria for artifacts," said Al-Barakani. "GOAM by law has the right to acquire any antiquity."

However, Al-Sayyani said that the GOAM valuation committee's annual budget is sometimes insufficient considering what locals bring in. "Embarrassingly, we sometimes face the reality that the committee's annual budget, which is about 12 million YR (\$55,800), only covers a couple of the items [antiquities] we receive," said Al-Sayyani.

He added, "I could also say that the budget of the entire organization [GOAM] amounts to little if we keep in mind the different antiquities found by locals that we must buy."

The weak laws against smugglers are not the only obstacles GOAM faces in attempts to curb the illicit antiquities trade. There are also problems in the relationship between the court and GOAM itself. "We face difficulties with the judiciary when a



There have been eight to ten arrests of antiques smugglers at Sana'a International Airport in the first quarter of 2014 alone.

smuggler is arrested and found guilty as we [GOAM] are made to pay the cost of the stolen antiquity," said Al-Sayyani.

Additionally, many Yemeni laws are not applied in practice. Yemeni law prohibits the destruction of antiques and archaeological sites. Therefore, having open sites which people can freely access is legally problematic in itself, Al-Yateem said. Moreover, according to Al-Yateem, the Ministry of Finance does not provide an adequate amount of money to support anti-smuggling operations. "The Culture Ministry's budget for such issues is no more than one percent of the budget for dealing with tribal affairs," Al-Yateem said. He added that the Finance Ministry ignored the important role the Culture Ministry plays in preventing smuggling.

The Yemen Times tried to contact Hameed Al-Atheeb, the general manager of the budget at the Finance

Ministry, but received no response.

Greater awareness needed

For those unaware of the threat and illegality of smuggling, awareness of Yemen's rich history and culture could be the key to curbing the illicit trade.

Al-Sayyani said that smuggling does not take place without the assistance of locals. Some locals, he says, view antiquities as fettered idols or mere pieces of rocks, while others see nothing in them other than economic returns.

According to Al-Barakani, many of Yemen's precious antiques are owned illegally by wealthy Yemenis. "Some homes of those dignitaries have more antiques than a museum, where the items actually belong," he said. "Strict procedures should be applied to get them back to the museums where they are for everyone [to appreciate]."

According to Al-Barakani, awareness also needs to be spread to security personnel at air, land, and sea ports to encourage greater cooperation with other authorities in efforts to prevent smuggling. "Those security personnel should be well trained to discover such crimes, as well as aware of what methods the smugglers use," said Al-Barakani. "We spoke to the Defense Ministry to help us run awareness lectures on the importance of antiquities and ways of detecting smuggled antiquities, but nothing has happened so far."

"The preservation of antiquities and history is a shared social responsibility. Without excellent security capabilities, community cooperation or enough financial assistance we can do nothing," said Al-Yateem.

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OUR OPINION

Egypt taking center stage

This week a new president was elected in Egypt. The controversy around him coming to power has taken back stage now that it is a reality. Over 100 representatives of countries, international and regional organizations attended the start of Abdel Fattah El-Sisi's reign on Sunday. This representation included high level figures such as the Amir of Kuwait and leading Gulf royals. At least four heads of African states attended. Even Iran was invited and sent its president's special envoy to the celebration.

What about Yemen? What was our reaction?

Considering the strong historic relations between Yemen and Egypt and our interest in keeping some of our biggest donors happy (KSA and UAE), I would have thought that Yemen would have been more careful regarding the turn of events in Egypt. However, the reality is that we were not.

President Hadi made a big mistake when he did not send a high level delegation to Egypt. He didn't even send the Minister of Agriculture specifically for the event. The minister was in Egypt on different business and was told that he might as well stay a little longer and attend on behalf of Yemen.

Our foreign minister is in China, continuing his round the world in 80 days trip and we remain oblivious of the fact that the world's patience with Yemen is wearing thin.

The Saudi king has already started an initiative for a Friends of Egypt group, similar to what we have. But for that group he called on establishing a fund of 50 billion dollars. Our eight billion dollars seems almost trivial now.

For Egypt, the World Bank has discussed more than half a billion dollars in soft loans and the IMF has talked about \$4.8 billion. The UAE has started its first phase at more than \$51 million for a wheat production project.

On the day of Sisi's inauguration, the Egyptian government announced it would raise public servant's salaries by 10 percent starting from July 2014.

All these are indicators that there are tremendous efforts to stabilize Egypt under Sisi and, in other words, help him remain in power and become more appealing to his own people and the world in general.

It is very frustrating that this is not clear to Yemen's president and leaders who are ignoring the power shift from the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.

This shift will have a huge effect on the status of this movement in the world and in Yemen in particular. Regardless of the pressure Hadi must have been under in order not to be seen as too enthusiastically embracing Egypt's new regime, he should show that he is interested in remaining part of important international circles of trust.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

Egypt, Syria, Libya ... What is the appeal of phony elections in the Middle East?

Juan Cole
juancole.com
First published June 8

The world has been treated to a whole series of "elections" in the Middle East recently. Iraq had parliamentary elections, Libya's parliament voted for a new prime minister, and Egypt and Syria had presidential elections. This summer, Turkey will have elections.

It would be nice if all these elections signaled a turn in the region to democracy. They don't. Libya's supreme constitutional court declared that the parliament did not have the required quorum of 120 members to elect Maitig. His predecessor, Abdullah al-Thinni, has declined to hand power over to him. Maitig's election was an attempt by Muslim fundamentalists, a plurality in parliament if we count independents, to take over the government so as to enjoy the advantages of incumbency during the parliamentary elections this summer. That they had failed was fairly obvious from the proceedings, and their attempt to soldier on and claim their victory anyway was distasteful to the judges, who are flexing their muscles for the first time on a major case in modern Libyan history. The Muslim fundamentalists clearly thought there was some legitimacy among the public to be had by pretending to have gained the prime ministership by a fair vote instead of admitting that they made a parliamentary coup. Ironically, it is the preliminary court ruling that is the most democratic thing going on in Libya right now. Out on the streets, parliament and prime minister mean little, as elements of the military have rallied to use their munitions to make war on radical militias of the religious Right.

Then we have Syria, where President for Life Bashar al-Assad held jokey elections. His rival was forced to praise him unreservedly. He got 88% of the vote according to his press release. He doesn't control half the country, which is in fierce rebellion against him. But he seems to have needed the fig leaf of a popular electoral victory to hide his brutal and nasty dictatorship and one-party state. It isn't that he doesn't have supporters. The 10% who are Alawi Shiites, the 5% who are Christians, the Druze, Twelver

Shiites, and secular-minded urban Sunni Muslims, the businessmen in Damascus tied to the state—many groups support the Baath government that al-Assad heads, which is why he is still in power (that and his retention of enough of the army to maintain air and artillery superiority). Regional Shiite support from Lebanon's Hizbullah and Iran have also helped save his kebab (you can't say bacon in the Middle East). In the midst of a grinding civil war that has left over 150,000 dead and millions displaced, people actually eagerly went to the polls in Lebanon and in regime-controlled areas of Syria. Some support the regime and want to buck it up. Others have lost faith in the revolution and just want the fighting to stop.

In Egypt, Field Marshall Abdel Fattah El-Sisi nastily suppressed the Muslim Brotherhood, killing hundreds and jailing tens of thousands. Since that party had gotten 53% of the vote for the presidency in 2012, that was an extreme reversal of fortunes, and provoked enormous resentment that in some cases became violent. El-Sisi made a lot of bright promises to Egyptians about security, bread and renewed prosperity, which he would provide by attracting aid and investments from the Gulf oil monarchies (who were very happy to see the populist, revolutionary Muslim Brotherhood crushed). The official Egyptian television stations and newspapers (there are only a couple of independent newspapers left) engaged in an orgy of Sisi-love. He won by an embarrassing 96% against a leftist candidate who had garnered about a fifth of the voters in a 14-man race for the presidency the year before. Sisi's quest for legitimation at the ballot box had a set back when turnout was unexpectedly low; adding a third day of voting, probably an illegal step, only slightly ameliorated the shortfall. Sisi does not have a mandate from the majority of registered Egyptian voters, having roughly 40% of their vote (as opposed to 96% of the ones who actually cast a ballot). Today Sisi will trumpet his popular mandate, but in fact it is rather anemic.

In Iraq, the Bush administration's parliamentary system has produced perpetual gridlock. There is only one plausible prime minister, Nouri Al-Maliki, whose Da'wa (Islamic Mission Party or Islamic Call

Party) got the largest number of seats (but still only a little more than a fourth of them). But the other parties hate Al-Maliki and won't go into coalition with him. In parliamentary systems it is desirable to have a coalition with 51% of the seats, since otherwise you are constantly open to being unseated by a vote of no confidence. Sometimes minority governments are appointed and they can survive for a while, but it isn't a recipe for stability. Al-Maliki in any case hasn't been good with building reconciliation with the Sunni Muslims, and in recent months he is losing bits of Iraq to Al-Qaeda, a very bad sign. It may be months before a majority coalition is announced. In the meantime the country is in gridlock. Yesterday students at a university were taken hostage and the regime lost parts of major Sunni cities like Ramadi and Samarra; residents in Mosul to the north began fleeing the fighting. Many bombs were detonated in Baghdad.

So elections in the Middle East are a dead end in and of themselves. They function as authoritarian plebiscites, adding to the power of the president and fobbing off the public with promises that gradually there will be a turn to real democracy. In 2011 the public got tired of waiting for the real thing. Elites have responded with counter-revolutions. Those may not succeed, either.

I think the young people all see the phony elections for what they are. Some are relatively upright, as with Iraq or Turkey, but are still skewed. In Turkey, the formula used for parliamentary victory is detached from reality and does not resemble the popular vote. In Iraq, the ballots probably weren't tampered with, but the system produces a perpetual hung parliament. In Syria and Egypt elections were about a rhetoric of popularity for dictators. The Millennial youth tried to tell their elders in 2011 that they no longer accepted the phony elections, and did not see them as producing legitimate governments. You could say that the governments don't care. But then why this elaborate sham? It is because the governments do care, and want to be perceived as legitimately elected. Their problem is that it is fairly obvious that mostly they are not; or if they are, as in Baghdad, there was still substantial shenanigans.

FROM THE ARCHIVES

January 23rd, 1994



Dangers of Second Thoughts

One of the most dangerous things that could happen to Yemen today is for our leaders develop serious second thoughts about the need and their commitment to the document and resolutions of the Dialogue Committee. Unfortunately, there are already some signs that there are many second thoughts that are forcing themselves on the leaderships of the three ruling coalition partners.

The Islah is said to hold the greatest reservations regarding what has been accomplished by the Dialogue Committee. Powerful members of President Ali Abdullah Saleh's entourage are also said to be against the deal. Finally, certain leading members of the YSP are also not fully in favor of the agreement.

Then there are society's parasites who reap illegal benefits by breaking the law while the leaders look the other side. There are those who trade in things which find markets only in crisis conditions. Finally, there are those who collect fees from the politicians who feel they need as much support as they can muster, and hence proceed to pay off anybody who is out there and willing to sell his/her allegiance.

I would hope the current leaders of Yemen, men like Ali Abdullah Saleh, Abdulaziz Abdulghani, Dr. Abdul-Karim Al-Iryani, Ali Salim Al-Beedh, Salim Saleh Mohammed, Dr. Yassin Saeed Noman, Haidar Abubakar Al-Attas, Sheikh Abdullah Bin Hussain Al-Ahmar, Sheikh Abdul-Majeed Zindani, Abdul-Wahab Al-Aanisi, and others will see light and will support the agreement fully and without reservation. They are required to stand strongly against any person who tries to cast shadows of doubt on this document., its fairness, and how much it can achieve. We should join hands in forcing the implementation of the resolutions, strictly and fully.

There is a grave and serious danger to Yemen's well-being and peaceful evolution if our leaders develop second thoughts about the deal. They could throw away everything.

It is imperative that they realize that there is no other choice but to go through with the implementation of the various steps and actions called for in the agreement. Please think about what could happen if second-thoughts are allowed to creep in and take hold of us. Even if we are not happy with all aspects of the document, we should all push through with it.

The Publisher
Saleh

We need to do more to protect our children

■ **Saleh Al-Batati**

Yemen must be one of the very few places in the world where children are frightened to go to school because child abductors get away with impunity. The abduction of 12-year-old Salim Saleh Omar, who was kidnapped from his school in Hadhramout, has instilled fear and anxiety in many Yemeni school children. Like a lot of his peers, Omar

is filled with youthful hope and probably has dreams to become an engineer, judge, lawyer or a doctor and to contribute in building the new Yemen. Despite Omar's small, weak body, he walked thirty minutes to reach his school each day, propelled by his eagerness and enthusiasm to learn. It is three months since Omar was abducted by a gang of thugs who are still at large. He has not only been deprived of schooling but has been kept from the love of his parents.

Is this the new Yemen we hoped for? A Yemen where children are kept at home because they do not feel safe at school? Is this the future children desire? What is the point of a government standing idly by and never lifting a finger to protect children from kidnappers?

Such hideous acts compromise the whole edifice of the government and its reputation, from the president all the way down to grass-root officials. Has the Ministry of Human

Rights thought of the disastrous consequences of child abduction and its effects on the psychological well-being of our children? Our Ministry of Education seems to live on another planet. They should have taken serious action to bring children back to school.

Being threatened and kept away from school leaves open to children the influences of crime, violence, and deviation. This is an urgent call to government officials to use necessary means to release Omar and take

concerted action to prevent child abduction.

Non-governmental organizations and human right activists are implored to help liberate Omar. For the sake of children's innocence and dreams, we should not have such a relaxed attitude towards the crime. It is time we see the child's abductors brought to justice.

Saleh Al-Batati is an amateur writer based in Hadramout

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Tribes and AQAP in South Yemen

Nadwa Al-Dawsari
atlanticcouncil.org
First published June 5

In April 2014, the Yemeni government launched an offensive against Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) in the governorates of Abyan and Shabwa in South Yemen. Political actors, Yemeni citizens, intellectuals, and activists across the country supported the offensive and many celebrated it on social media. As of the second week of May 2014, President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi announced that Shabwa and Abyan have been “cleared” of militants, adding that hundreds of them were killed in the offensive.

However, one could attribute the military’s success to negotiated agreements between local tribes and AQAP militants, rather than the military offensive per se. When the military launched the fight against AQAP strongholds in the districts, several tribal meetings took place in the targeted area to announce their position vis-a-vis military operations. The statements published by the tribes of Al-Awaleq,

Al-Kazemi, and Al-Nu’mān reflect major concerns that the offensive will further destabilize their areas. The tribes clearly stated that “they will not support any party to the [government-insurgent] conflict or those who are involved with them,” and that they “reject that their land become a war zone for any conflict.” Not only were the tribes reluctant to show any support for the military, but they also stated that they “don’t want any military presence, be it checkpoints or supply units.”

The tribes have taken a neutral position out of fear that the fight between AQAP and the military could destabilize their areas as it did in Abyan in 2011. Already more than 1,000 families are displaced and living in need of urgent humanitarian aid. The Shabwa area suffers from longstanding conflicts and revenge killings, triggering concern among the tribes that counterterror efforts might exacerbate existing tribal conflicts. To mitigate the danger, southern tribes negotiated a deal with militant members to refrain from fighting the military in return for guaranteeing their safety. Al-Awaleq, one of the largest tribes in South Yemen, signed an agreement

with AQAP representatives stating just that.

Some might interpret the agreement as a reflection of tribal sympathy with AQAP or a means to provide safe haven for the group. The reality is that tribal action is rooted in the larger structural and political context—specifically the Southern grievances. Tribes are reluctant to show support for counterterrorism efforts due to inherent distrust in the Yemeni government. The Nu’mān tribe suggested such distrust when it called upon the Ansar Al-Sharia militant group to leave their area to avoid “a pretext for the Yemeni military to bomb civilians.”

Beyond economic hardships or ideological reasons, the mounting political grievances in the South offer an excellent opportunity for AQAP to thrive. More than two and a half years into the transition process, Southern grievances remained unaddressed. None of the articles in the twenty-point action plan that were aimed at addressing Southern grievances and building trust in the transition process have been implemented. Moreover, government security has used excessive force against peaceful protesters in

the South. Appointments at the local level remain largely determined based on political affiliation and not merit. Corruption at the local level remains endemic.

The Yemeni government has failed to take any genuine steps to improve conditions in the South. More importantly, it has not implemented any real reforms towards improving governance. Reforms could have created hope among local citizens that the government could enact positive change and it would have encouraged many to support the transition. Many of those who took a neutral stance or aided AQAP did so, not because they sympathize with the group, but rather out of hopelessness and frustration with the government. Some protests brought Southern members and supporters together with AQAP fighters to renounce Yemeni military activity in Abyan and Shabwa. The Southern movement is largely secular and non-ideological, but nonetheless, some will join hands with militants to celebrate an AQAP victory against Yemeni forces simply as a defeat of the “occupation forces” of the North.

Many Southerners believe that

both AQAP and corrupt officials—who back up the militants for political gain or simply sell weapons to them for profit—have infiltrated the military. In a statement, Saleh Fareed Al-Awaleq, a prominent tribal sheikh of Al-Awaleq, a parliamentarian, and a Southern movement supporter, described the military offensive as a pointless game, dismissing the government’s claims of killing hundreds of militants. The Hadramout Tribal Alliance questioned the absence of military and security forces when AQAP stormed Seyoun on the eve of May 23, 2014. The statement said, “it has become clear that the power holders who steal the wealth of Hadramout are behind terrorism,” accusing power brokers in Sana’a of corruption and compliance. In a follow up statement, the Alliance accused the leader of the First Regional Command in Hadramout of involvement in aiding AQAP in Seyoun. Many Southerners also believe that senior commanders in the military have tried to obstruct the military offensive and have conspired to assassinate Brigadier Mohammed Al-Sabeih, head of the Southern Command of the Yemeni Army, who leads the of-

fensive against insurgents. Whether or not the allegations are true is debatable, but they certainly resonate with many people in the South and reflect a tremendous lack of trust in and frustration with the counterterror effort, in general, and the central government and power-sharing partners in Sana’a, in particular.

Yemen cannot defeat AQAP through military action alone. Without substantial political reforms, counterterror operations will only raise tensions, aggravate conflicts, and deepen distrust in the government and the transitional process. The debate as to whether the tribes support a war against AQAP is not relevant. Even if all the tribal leaders support the offensive, they cannot change the conditions that led to their members joining the extremist group—and it is certainly understandable that they would not risk their fragile social order for a government they distrust.

Nadwa Al-Dawsari is a Yemeni conflict specialist and civil society activist.

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VoxPop: How do Yemenis view qat?

Ezzaddin Al-Zain and Mohammed Al-Qalisi

In recent months there have been a series of moves, both internationally and in Yemen, against the trade and use of qat, the ubiquitous stimulant leaf favored by many Yemenis, some of whom chew it on a daily basis. The UK outlawed qat this year, joining a growing list of coun-

tries, including the US, where the drug is not tolerated by authorities. Earlier this month the Interior Ministry warned Yemenis against carrying qat when traveling to China after the Chinese government announced that they had banned the substance. Within Yemen, the local government in Socotra, Yemen’s largest Island, just outlawed the selling of qat. Critics of such moves, however, claim that qat’s effects are mild in comparison to other intoxicants and that the leaf has its benefits, which they say include certain health properties and increased alertness. In light of this, the Yemen Times took to the streets to find out what ordinary Yemenis think about the matter.



Amr Mohammed Al-Awadei
Student

It is a bad habit and a factor behind the deterioration of the country. It makes people forget.



Murtadha Al-Alalwi
Private sector employee

Qat is the worst kind of plant. It destroys the body and wastes time and money. I wish the government would intervene to remove qat.



Abdulkhaliq Al-Muraisi (left)
Qat seller

It is a source of income. I know it could hurt one’s health, but necessities have no law.

Kamal Al-Maswari
Driver

Qat gives me energy, but it hurts my pocket.



Um Mohammed (left) and her daughter
House wife

Qat is bad and good. It is good because it gives energy during work. It is bad because it affects the health and wastes time and money.



Sadam Al-Hamadi
Storeowner

It is difficult not to chew in an environment where the majority of the population are chewing.



Mohammed Al-Ajm
Recycler and trash collector

Chewing is a waste of time and money. It also leads to family disintegration. I hope the youth abandon this habit.



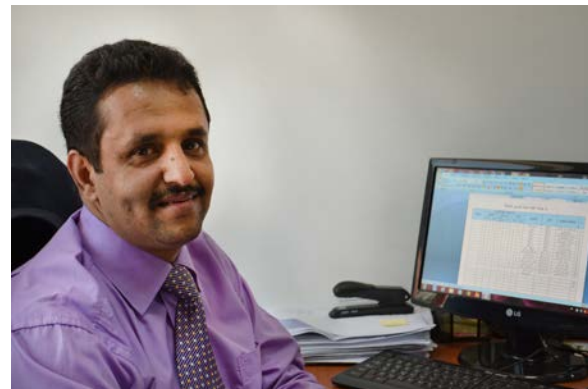
Ayman Al-mtawkel
Second year university student

Even though I like qat, I admit it causes many problems. I think it is impossible to abandon this habit. We have inherited it and it is difficult to quit. However, if a Yemeni leaves to another country where they cannot find qat, they should spend their time on other things instead.



Bilal Al-Faqeh
Security guard

Qat makes me feel comfortable. It also has health benefits, such as treating diabetes. Qat is a financial loss. But it has positives. For example, if I chew I will not hang around on the streets. At the same time, it has negatives. Some addicts sell their clothes to cover the cost of qat.



Mohammed Faya
Head of the Fine Arts Department at the Lebanese University in Yemen

Though I chew daily, I do not chew for too long. For me, qat gives me energy and ends fatigue. Qat does affect the health of some people. For example, they lose their appetite for dinner or it makes them sleepless. But thank God, I feel normal after qat. I can eat and sleep normally.



Saleh Mohammed
Unemployed

Qat is good. It gives a desire for work and protects the body against diabetes.



Aref Al-Sibri
Bus conductor

I cannot work without qat.



Lutf Al-Najar
Porter

Qat is a bad thing. It is a kind of drug.



Nora
Business Studies graduate

Qat is good for boys because it makes them stay at home, instead of loitering on the street. It is not appropriate for girls.



Kenya turns up the heat on Somali refugees

IRIN

First published June 4

As security forces in Kenya continue to round up and detain thousands of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, most of them Somali, an agreement between the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and the Kenyan and Somali governments on the voluntary repatriation of Somali refugees is coming under strain.

In late May, the Somali government pulled out of a meeting with UNHCR and the Kenyan government to formally launch a Tripartite Commission and discuss implementation of the Tripartite Agreement. The agreement, signed in November 2013, outlines the procedures for the gradual and voluntary return of Somali refugees from Kenya, which is currently hosting around 423,000 Somalis holding refugee status.

The scheduled May 27 meeting was to be first of the Tripartite Commission and was expected to produce agreements on a number of joint actions, including the launch of a pilot phase of a voluntary returns programme that has been on hold for several months. The cancellation of the meeting stalls the dialogue on voluntary returns to Somalia where internal security is currently challenged due to a joint military offensive against the Al-Shabaab insurgency by the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) and the Somali National Armed Forces (SNAF) in south-central Somalia. Recent estimates point to around 73,000 people being displaced due to the military offensive, including to some of the areas identified for voluntary refugee returns as part of the pilot phase.

Explaining its decision not to attend the meeting, Somalia cited



Illegal migrants are deported to Mogadishu from Kenya (April 2014)

“the detention and deportation of Somali refugees both documented and undocumented” which it described as contrary to the letter and spirit of both the 1951 Refugee Convention and “more importantly,” the Tripartite Agreement.

Kenya's Commissioner for Refugee Affairs, Harun Komen, responded that Somalia's decision not to attend the meeting was “unfortunate.”

“We are still committed to the Tripartite Agreement and Mogadishu must show it is committed as well,” he told IRIN. He added that most of those repatriated would return to

the Somali region of Jubaland and that if the Somali government failed to move the process forward, “we have options including dealing with the Jubaland administration or doing it with UNHCR.”

UNHCR did not comment directly on Somalia's last-minute withdrawal from the meeting but its representative for Somalia, Alessandra Morelli, noted that “the way forward is to ensure that there is a strong dialogue and discussions on all aspects of returns and reintegration in Somalia. The Tripartite Commission is the most important forum and initiative in place to en-

sure that voluntariness will guide refugee returns and that those wishing to return to Somalia can do so in a safe and dignified manner.”

Arrests and deportations

Since Kenya's Interior Ministry launched Operation Usalama Watch in late March, purportedly as an anti-terrorism operation, more than 4,000 individuals are estimated to have been arrested and detained, most of them ethnic Somalis living in the Nairobi suburb of Eastleigh. A further 2,000 refugees have been sent to Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps while 359 Somalis have

been deported to Somalia by air using chartered commercial airlines flying from Nairobi to Mogadishu since early April.

Usalama Watch follows a spate of attacks involving grenades and firearms in Mombasa and Nairobi in March. Such attacks have continued since the start of the operation, which came soon after the government announced that all urban refugees had to move to the remote Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps, despite a 2013 high court order prohibiting such a move.

According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), at least three of the

recent deportees were registered refugees while many of the others may have had genuine claims to asylum but been unable to apply since Kenya stopped registering urban asylum seekers in December 2012.

Fowzia Hussein Da'ud was among those who had tried and failed to register as an asylum seeker in Nairobi and as a result was considered undocumented. She was detained by Kenyan police for 45 days before being deported to Mogadishu where she spoke to IRIN over the phone. “I am so demoralized that I have been separated from my two kids who are now in Nairobi with relatives. I can't stay here in Mogadishu; this is the place where my husband was killed six years ago,” she said, adding that she would like to move to Uganda but cannot afford to.

HRW has said that the deportations constitute refoulement, a violation of a key principle of international refugee law that forbids the forced return of people to places where they risk persecution or serious harm.

Security concerns trump tough living conditions

Kenya has hosted large numbers of Somali refugees since the collapse of the Mohamed Siad Barre regime in 1991. Around 35,000 of the current caseload live in urban areas outside of refugee camps, while an unknown number of Somalis live in Kenya as undocumented migrants.

Conditions in the Dadaab camps have deteriorated in recent years as insecurity and dwindling donor funding have severely impacted the ability of aid agencies to deliver services, and since the Kenyan authorities placed a moratorium on registrations of new refugees in October 2011.

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Politics of Qat: The Role of a Drug in Ruling Yemen

By Peer Gatter

Book Review and extracts
Nadia Al-Sakkaf

The cover page shows an old man with an apprehensive look in his eyes, half-smiling as he hands you a bunch of qat leaves. In the background there is a wild-eyed teenage boy, cheeks swollen from the qat that fills them, peering into the camera.

This 862 page hard-cover book published

by Reichert Publications is a weapon in all senses of the word. Besides documenting the ever growing role qat plays in Yemen in the life of Yemenis, the book also analyses Yemen's qat policy, the tribal qat economy, and the qat connections of our decision makers.

I had this huge publication lying by my bedside for months before I summoned the courage to pick it up and start reading.

This was not only due to its intimidating size, but probably even more so due to its topic. Qat, and the political and economic schemes around it, was to me as a Yemeni always a well known problem. I just was too afraid to read for myself and acknowledge how I as a citizen am part of a society that enables this culture of qat.

I don't chew Qat and personally I am ardently opposed to it. But I live in a

society where Qat prevails. After years of research, Peer Gatter, the author of this book, published it in 2012, offering to the world an insight into this drug and what it has done to my country. Gatter was working for many years for the World Bank and UNDP in Yemen and is now heading the Integrated Expert Program for Afghanistan of the German Development Cooperation (GIZ-CIM).



PART 1/9

Curse or blessing

The origins of Qat cannot be definitely ascertained. There are some early leads in literature indicating that it came from Turkestan—known today as Central Asia. Other sources claim it came from Ethiopia to Yemen or that it was the other way around. Initially it was said that it was used as a tea by Yemeni Sufis and with time spread to more groups, and its consumption changed into chewing by the eighteenth century instead of drinking. The bottom line is that thanks to Yemenis, today qat is found almost everywhere in the world.

The big changes that led to a spread of qat consumption throughout Yemen occurred in the 1970s because of two reasons: an increase of wealth, particularly during the oil price boom when so many Yemenis worked abroad, and because of the rapid change in the rural economy as farmers moved from cereal farming to cash crops. Qat emerged as the most profitable cash crop, able to support the rapidly growing rural population at income levels previously undreamed of.

At the very basic level, on the supply side it was easy to grow qat and generate more income than usual, and on the demand side with worker remittances it was possible to purchase qat and consume it. Even social change played a role: women too began enjoying qat on a larger scale.

There are at least seven factors that promoted the spread of qat, ironically many of them are positive developments in the society. These factors are: an increase in wealth, lack and raising cost of labor, raising food imports, crop qualities of qat, development of tubewell irrigation, development of transport infrastructure, and the fact that women started chewing more frequently.

The role of qat in contemporary Yemen

Qat has deeply influenced the daily life, culture, politics and even architecture of southern Arabia. With good reason Kennedy (1987) calls it thus a "social institution," whose patterns of use are "surrounded by customs and etiquette."

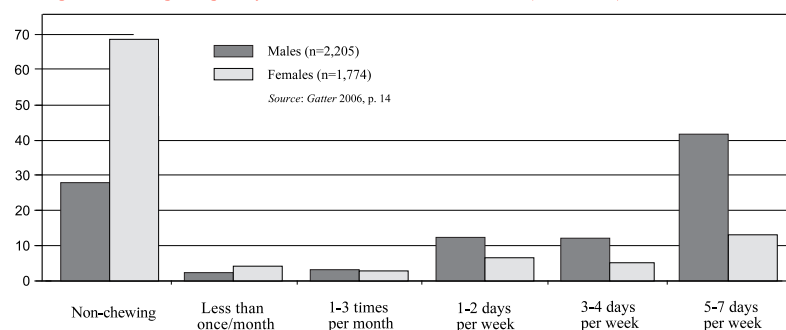
The chewing sessions do not only provide a social framework for en-

tertainment. Besides debates on legal or theological matters, the arrangement of marriages or arbitration of arguments, most of Yemen's business and political negotiation also take place during qat chewing. The participation in chewing sessions as well as the choice of the right chewing companions can therefore be a key to personal success.

In a country-wide survey conducted on behalf of the World Bank, Peer Gatter found that around 72 percent of Yemeni men chew compared to 32.6 percent of women (Gatter 2006 and World Bank 2007).

Reasons for why qat users chew were above all that "it gives strength," followed by "it makes more alert," "helps concentrate," and lastly, simply because "I like it."

Fig. 2: Chewing Frequency of Yemeni Males and Females (in Percent)



Six percent of men and 7.1 percent of women said that it provides relief from depression, while 4.5 percent of men and 7.2 percent of women say it helps them forget. Only a small fraction said it was "good for sex" and good for their health.

On the other hand around one third of men and women who do not chew claimed it was for health reasons; financial reasons followed. Nearly one quarter of the non-chewer Yemenis abstained for religious reasons. While it is not surprising that non chewers considered it a bad habit it was striking that as many as 71.9 percent of Yemeni chewing men and 69.4 percent of chewing women shared the same opinion.

Qat and the rural economy

Yemen's government estimated the value of qat production at YR 280.8 billion in 2009 (1.39 billion). It is grown in an area of 153,513 hectares

producing 173,856 tons of qat (1.13 tons/ha). The value of the country's cereal production was at YR 104.2 billion, in comparison rather low, especially when considering that cereals were grown according to official figures on an area of 677,725 hectares. Official figures on the production value of qat are likely to be a gross underestimate, considering that qat smuggled into Saudi Arabia alone is estimated to generate proceeds of at least \$1 billion.

Farmers like to point out that growing qat is like having a bank account. Whenever they need to withdraw money, farmers irrigate their fields and two to three weeks later they can harvest fresh leaves. As qat—unlike fruit—is not bound to agricultural seasons, the plant can be brought to sprout all year-round if supplementary irrigation is available. Many cultivators do not sell all

their qat leaves at once in order to spread their earnings more equally over the year and to be more flexible in reacting to supply and demand.

The enormous profits generated by the sector also enable qat farmers to take development of areas neglected by the state into their own hands by building roads or water supply networks. This further increases the atavistic of these areas and reinforces the feeling of tribal autonomy in many of Yemen's rural areas where the central government thus has little leverage over the population. As rich qat farmers also push their way into Parliament or into the tribally-dominated Shura Council, the leverage of the qat establishment over government has increased over the past decades.

The number of Yemenis profiting either directly or indirectly from qat cultivation and its trade is not to be underestimated. The Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation estimates that one in every seven Yemenis is employed in producing and distributing qat, making it the second largest source of employment in the country, exceeding even employment in the public sector. It needs to be said that many of those involved in the qat establishment do not have qat as their unique source of income. Many farmers also grow other crops and agricultural laborers tend—depending on the season—to other cultures.

The health impact of qat

In Yemen, malnutrition due to deficiencies of protein and of fresh vegetables, due to excessive spending on qat and to frequent parasite infections, is prevalent. Due to its complex constituents, qat has a wide range of physical effects on the human body. Most of them must be considered negative. Among the negative physical effects of qat are

gastrointestinal and liver disorders, oral anomalies, cardiovascular effects, and disorders of the urinary tract. Maternal health, sexual activity, and male reproductive capacity are also negatively affected by qat.

Alternatively, qat has long played an important role in traditional medicine of Yemen and East Africa. Prior to the importation of modern medicine, qat leaves consumed as tea or ingested by chewing were widely used to treat disorders such as bronchial asthma, headaches, colds, minor body pains, arthritis fevers, hypertension, and depression. Even today qat is used to treat diabetes and headaches. In addition, the adverse health effects of qat chewing have been known for centuries. Traditional remedies to cope with some of the negative effects were developed. These included a series of exercises designed to counteract the "cold" effects.

Traditional remedies however slowly disappear and make way for modern medication or drugs such as Valium, whisky, or laxatives to counteract sleeplessness, headaches or constipation.

In terms of the psychological effects of qat, a variety of stimulating effects has been reported. A considerable number of qat users perceive an increase in mental powers, a greater understanding of personal problems or life in general, and an increase in the flow of ideas. Qat is also said to stimulate imaginative powers and generate creativity. Persons using qat for business sessions state that the positive atmosphere prevailing in these gatherings is generated by the plant, facilitating mutual understanding and thus decision-making.

However, all outcomes of qat sessions need to be carefully reviewed the next day, as decisions taken under the influence of the stimulant may often be unacceptable in the cold light of the morning after.

Many Yemenis also point out that qat chewing elevates them into a spiritual mood in which they feel closer to God. They are able to stay up longer and devote more time to prayers and religious reflections, an argument frequently brought into play when a religious restriction of



Legend of the discovery of qat by the shepherd drawn by cartoonist Adil Hajib for Yemen Bila (Without) Qat in October 1998.

the drug is discussed.

Qat chewing also involves a wide range of negative and unwanted psychological effects. The most widespread is insomnia. Other negative effects include greater nervousness, loss of ambition and frustration, sadness, a feeling of failure, helplessness, fear and perceiving people as evil. Chronic use of the stimulant may result in psychopathic behavior and can lead to profound personality disorders. Women report higher levels of domestic violence after their husbands have chewed. When chewing excessively, users may experience hallucinations. Qat chewers have reported feeling insects crawling on their body, experiencing non-occurring events, misperceiving threats or having supernatural experiences. Over half of the qat chewers frequently experience mild depression.

Some studies have found that qat consumption may induce moderate but persistent psychic dependence. The withdrawal symptoms after prolonged qat use seem to be limited, however, to lethargy, mild depression, slight trembling and recurrent bad dreams.

Moreover, there are a number of indirect effects of qat chewing. One is the elevated incidence of road accidents as qat-induced euphoria may well affect drivers' judgment and lead to an over confidence in

their driving skills. A second risk is smoking as people tend to smoke much more heavily—actively or passively—during qat sessions than at other times.

The biggest indirect risk from qat chewing is, however, from pesticide residues. Pesticides can cause cancer, congenital malformations, inhibition of body immunity, and endocrine disturbances. There have also been reports of pesticide poisoning in Yemen among qat farmers. Farmers use pesticides on a large scale in order to protect the plant from various pests, to ensure healthy foliage, larger leaves and a more attractive leaf coloring. Many farmers believe that these effects are enhanced with greater quantity of pesticides and they may mix several different products, often using substances restricted in other countries such as DDT and Lindane. The time lapse between pesticide application and harvest is often too short so that consumers are fully exposed to the toxic substances. Often harvested and packed qat is sprayed once more with pesticides after having been loaded on a truck out of the belief that this will keep it fresh. A majority of qat consumers do not wash the leaves before chewing, and are thus not only exposed to the residues within the plant, but also to pesticide traces on the surface of the leaves.



Qat smuggling to Europe and North America is on the rise. Authorities believe that part of the proceeds flow to terrorist organizations such as the Islamist Al-Shabab militia of Somalia. Here a seizure of Ethiopian qat by Italian drug enforcement agents at the airport of Rome (July 2007).



Cartoonist Isam Galal portrays some of the detrimental health effects of qat; insomnia and the dangers of chewing during pregnancy (undated, archive of the Al-Aff Cultural Foundation, Sana'a).



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Grammar Instruction in ESL Classrooms

By JAMES M. SUTTON

Now I hope that through the previous three essays the importance of grammar instruction in language classrooms has been firmly established. I hope now to venture off into a different direction as we journey into the classroom in an attempt at finding the best methods available to facilitate the learning of grammar for students. In the previous essays I kept the spectrum of emphasis a bit broad in an attempt to show that the problems that we teachers face in an ESL classroom are a bit universal to all classrooms whether they are native speaking classrooms or ESL classrooms. However, now my experience will take over and I will switch the focus to improving grammatical instruction specifically in ESL classrooms.

In this series of essays, I want to focus your attention on three different types of grammar instruction. These three methods of grammar were clearly stated by Scott Thornbury in his book on teaching grammar. They are: 1) Teaching the rules of grammar 2) Teaching grammar through the use of examples 3) Teaching grammar through texts. These three methods of teaching grammar seem to be the most prominent methods in ESL classrooms. I am sure if we all sat down and had a brainstorming session, we could come up with enough methods to rewrite history; however, I feel by keeping things simple, we will achieve more. Moreover, the three methods will be broken down into sub-methods that will differ from person to person.

One issue that we shall all agree on is where the grammar lesson actually starts. As teachers, we are not in the position to choose what we are going to teach and when we are going to teach it. The books that we teach mainly dictate the path that we are going to choose in the classroom. Therefore, in the case of formal teaching, it is not a matter of what you are going to teach rather how you are going to teach it. The methods applied to teaching will differ from country to country. This is something that every teacher needs to take into account before setting foot in the classroom in any country. If you have many years of teaching experience in the Far East in countries like: Taiwan, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, etc., it will amount to nothing in the way of experience once you set foot in countries in the Middle East. All the experience you gained and all the methods you used will be of little use once the country that you applied those methods in has changed. Therefore, the very beginning of any grammar lesson starts with the understanding of the cultural environment you are teaching in.

Throughout the years I have witnessed many failures in the teaching field due in part to the teacher not being prepared in the way of cultural knowledge be-



fore they entered the classroom. Maybe this is a direct result of the youth of today being too reliant on movies for their source of knowledge of the cultures of the world. When you see a movie like "The Physician" and everybody, including Ibn Sina, speaks English in the film that was supposed to have taken place in the land of ancient Persia, where by the way, nobody spoke English, it can be a bit confusing for people. Or what about the young man who travels to the ancient land of China to learn Kung Fu from a learned Shaolin Master. He prepares nothing before his travels because he knows that when he reaches the Shaolin Mountains that the Master will speak English. Well, to put it in the most simplistic of terms: THE REAL WORLD IS NOT LIKE THAT! If you wish to take a teaching job in China, you should understand that more than 98% of the people in the country probably do not speak English. The same goes for all the countries previously mentioned except maybe Malaysia. Moreover, in the Middle East you will find that the vast majority of the population of the people in this area of the world also does not speak English. This is not a problem so to speak, it is however just a fact of life that a teacher from abroad has to prepare himself for.

Once you have prepared yourself culturally, you are now ready to undertake the actual planning of the lesson. Since it is agreed that any grammar lesson begins with language analysis, you the reader can understand why the previous tirade was necessary. For one, to sit down and prepare a lesson, including language analysis, it is a pre-requisite to have knowledge of the mistakes that the students might fall into. This area will cause many problems for west-

ern teachers because we, although hailing from the leading nations in the world, are also the most monolingual of all people on the face of the earth. This fact causes a sort of lopsided way of teaching. No teacher can analyze any grammar lesson and prepare that lesson for a classroom of students, whose language is not English, without at least a rudimentary knowledge of the language of the country they are teaching in. If one were to do this, they should prepare themselves for extreme failure.

Nothing attracts the attention, love and respect of students more than an above average understanding of their language and customs. Once the students know

that you have a bit of knowledge of their language and customs, they will trust you more, and when they trust you more, the real learning will begin. You will be hard pressed to find a classroom full of uncomfortable students learning anything. Most of the mistakes that are made in the classroom are because of a lack of understanding. When you are in your own country, that lack of understanding generally stems from a generation gap. However, when you are in somebody else's back yard, that lack of understanding more than likely stems from a cultural gap that needs to be closed immediately if one wishes to be successful in the classroom.

By KHALID ZILBERG

Modern English is something of old fashion. The amount of slang, abbreviations, etc. we use has made English go backwards in time. If we look to the 18th and 19th century, we know very little about the dialects spoken. One source we are able to derive our knowledge from about these centuries is called the English Dialect Society (EDS). It had been founded on two basic principles. The first was to collect writing; rural speeches or literature that provides a historical aspect and gives us potential to reconstruct the dialects. If we are able to reconstruct the dialects we would be able to compare the 19th century to our 21st century dialect.

The second reason for creating this institution was to record any lexicon vocabulary that would disappear because of not being used on a regular basis. After reviewing EDS, I noticed a fatal flaw in the records. 75 percent of the publications and lexicon entries were of Northern dialect words and the other 10 percent contained Southwest dialect words. In reality, any publication holds bias.

Modern English has a set of rules that spawned from dialects from England during the Norman Conquest. The Southwest dialect gave the Modern English the universal;

-th (present tense)
-s (non 3rd person singular present tense)
-am (plural)
-second person singular verb (thee dost know)
-do
-have
-ich (I)
-ch
-of

Other dialects contributed rules such as West Midlands gave us

'she', certain pronouns, second person singular verbs (hast seen it and have you seen it?), and the plural am. Lastly, the East Anglia dialect contributed 'that' and 'it', 3rd singular present tense, 'do' and 'have', and 'of'.

In Modern English, we will find that verbs in the present tense can take an -s ending. This is called the Northern Subject Rule. The only exception is if it directly is adjacent to a personal pronoun. An example; people says (or) they think and strongly believes.

The second grammar rule in Modern English is the pronoun exchange. If we look through Middle English texts, pronoun exchanges occurred 50 percent of the time. 'I' would be exchanged for 'me', 'her' for 'she', 'us' for 'we', and 'them' for 'they'. This rule continued and has been active in ME (Modern English). English rules that have been cemented in our language would be relative clauses. 'That', 'what' and 'as' are used as frequent as the usage or adding of 's' on the end of verbs.

The problem with Modern English is that we do not know which rules are innovative or conservative? Meaning, which rules were invented to make the language easier or the opposite which rules were created to make English seem nobler? Secondly, Modern English has been more focused on frequency of usage and occurrence (past, present, or future). Because of these two reasons it is impossible to compare Modern English with the dialects from the 18th or 19th century.

Linguists could not perform frequency or comparative studies between these centuries and Modern English. In conclusion, we see that Modern English has developed a long way from Old English yet at the same time we see similarities such as the ending of (s) on verbs and pronoun exchanges.

A BIT OF GRAMMAR

Idioms

By MICHAEL CHAVIS

Students often have many difficulties in the understanding of idioms. They generally ask the question: "What is an idiom?" Well, let us bring some clarity to the minds of the confused. An idiom is a group of words whose meaning is understood as a complete whole and cannot be understood as separate entities. An example of this can be found in the idiom "cry wolf" in the sentence: "The people refused to believe him because he always cries wolf." For a person to understand this idiom, one would have to understand the story that it originated from, and that is the story of the boy who cried wolf. Once the person reads the story, they will grasp the meaning of what is meant when a person uses this idiom in speech or in writing. However, if you made an attempt at trying to analyze the phrase through its intricacies, you will come away with more confusion than understanding at the end of the day.

For students that might ask the question: "How can I better understand idioms and how and when they are used?" The answer is quite simple. You have to busy yourself with the reading of novels because that is where you will find the usage of idioms the most abundant. Through constant reading of novels and consistent usage of a good dictionary, you should have a fundamental understanding of idioms in no time.

Exercise

Use the idioms in the box to complete the following sentences.

Fixed in his ways	From rags to riches
Get over it	Go for broke
Go out on a limb	Gut feeling

- I could not decide if I should apply for the job, but my friend said, "_____."
- We had hoped that maybe Ahmed would change his opinion about the issue but he is _____.
- Most Indian movies are filled with _____ stories.
- I am going to _____ and say that the economy is going to improve.
- I had a _____ that something bad was going to happen today.
- Saleh was very sad when he lost his job, but his friends advised him to _____.

Answers

- go for broke
- fixed in his ways
- rags to riches
- out on a limb
- gut feeling
- get over it

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<p>١/٢٦٤٢٣١ ١/٠٥٧٤١٥ : ف ١/٠٣٣٧٨١ ١/٤٤١٠٣٦ ١/٤٤٨٥٧٣</p> <p>معهد التأمين المعهد البريطاني للغات والكيمياء معهد أكسيد معهد مالي معهد هورايون</p>	<p>١/٢٦٩٦٧٦-٦٦ ١/٢٧٤٢٨٦-٨٧ ١/٦٠٠٠٠٠ ١/٦٠١٨٨٩ : ف ١/٤٤٩٩٣٦ ١/٥٠٠٠٠٠ ١/٢٨٣٢٨٣</p> <p>مستشفى الثورة مستشفى الجمهوري المستشفى الألماني الحديث المستشفى الاهلي الحديث مستشفى العلوم والتكنولوجيا مستشفى الكويت</p>	<p>١/٠٣٨٩٠١ ١/٢٠٩٤٥١</p> <p>بنك كاك الاسلامي بنك اليمن والكويت للتجارة والانشاءات</p>	<p>١/٤٧٢٩٣٢ ١/٢٣٥٤٢٢ ١/٢٣٦٥١٢ ١/٢٢٠٠٥٠ ١/٤٠٢٣٥٤ ١/٢٠٢٣٠٩/١٠ ١/٢٨٩٥٧٧ ١/٢٦٠٩٠٣ ١/٤٤٤٨٣١ ١/٢٣١٤٦٠ ١/٢٧٢٤٢ ١/٢٧٤٠٠٨ ١/٢٥٠١٠١ ١/٢٥٢٧٣٢ ١/٠٣٧٩١٤ ١/٢٣٣٧٠١ ١/٢٦٠٣٦٥ ١/٢٠٢٣٣٥٧ ١/٤١٨٢٨٩ ١/٢٢١١٩٦</p> <p>وزارة الشباب والرياضة وزارة الصناعة والتجارة وزارة العدل وزارة السياحة وزارة المقربين وزارة النفط والمعادن وزارة شؤون الداخلية وزارة النقل وزارة حقوق الانسان وزارة الاتصالات وتقنية المعلومات وزارة الادارة المحلية وزارة الاعلام وزارة التخطيط والتعاون الدولي وزارة التربية والتعليم وزارة الخارجية وزارة الداخلية وزارة المالية وزارة المواصلا وزارة المياه والبيئة وزارة الكهرباء</p>	<p>١٧٧ ١٧١ ١٩٩ ١١٨ ٩٩١ ١٩٤ ١/٢٥٣٧٠١/٧ ١/٢٠٣٥٤٤/٧ ١/٢٥٠٧٦١/٣ ١/٢٣٢٠٠١/٢ ١/٢٠٣١٣٢/٣ ١/٢٧٢٣٠٦١</p> <p>طوارئ الكهرباء طوارئ المياه طوارئ الشرطة إستعلامات إطفاء دواخل (الممرور) شؤون الداخلية شؤون الخارجية لهجرة تلفزيون تصليح الامهر الإذاعة</p>
<p>١/٠٥٥٥٥٥٥ ١/٢٧٢٩٣٤ ١/٦٠٨٢٧٢ ١/١٢٤٠٩٣ ١/٢٣٨٨٠٩ ١/٢٤٨٣٤٠/١/٢ : فاكس ٤٤٨٣٣٩</p>	<p>١/٤٥٥٥٥٥ ١/٢١٧١٢٦-٦٦ ٢/٢٥٣٤٥٦ ٢/٢٤٣٨٠٠ ١/٥٦٥٦٥٦ ١/٤٤٤٤٤٢ ١/٤٢٧٩٩٣ ١/٢١٣٤٠٠ ١/٤٥٩٧٠-٣ ١/٥٠٠٦٥٧٤ ١/٥٠٠٦٠٣٠ ١/٤٤٠٩٣٢ ١/٤٦٦٤٠/٥/٧ ١/٤٢٣٧٢٥ ١/٤٤٦٧٥٠</p> <p>المملكة المتحدة للتأمين الشركة اليمنية الإسلامية للتأمين شركة أمان الجزيرة للتأمين وإعادة التأمين الشركة اليمنية القطرية للتأمين</p>	<p>١/٥٠٠٦٣٧٢ : ف ١/٢٤٠٩٥٨٠ ١/٢٧٠٧٥١ ١/٥٤٥٩٨٥ ٢/٢٤٥٦٦٥ ١-٤٤٠٢٠٩ ١/٥٨٩٥٨٠ ٢-٢٤٥٦٦٥</p> <p>فرع شيراتون فرع عدن صنعا فرع شيراتون عدن</p>	<p>زايوة (Budget) يورب كار هيرتز لتأجير السيارات</p>	<p>١٧٧ ١٧١ ١٩٩ ١١٨ ٩٩١ ١٩٤ ١/٢٥٣٧٠١/٧ ١/٢٠٣٥٤٤/٧ ١/٢٥٠٧٦١/٣ ١/٢٣٢٠٠١/٢ ١/٢٠٣١٣٢/٣ ١/٢٧٢٣٠٦١</p> <p>طوارئ الكهرباء طوارئ المياه طوارئ الشرطة إستعلامات إطفاء دواخل (الممرور) شؤون الداخلية شؤون الخارجية لهجرة تلفزيون تصليح الامهر الإذاعة</p>
<p>١/٢٦٩٦٧٦-٦٦ ١/٢٧٤٢٨٦-٨٧ ١/٦٠٠٠٠٠ ١/٦٠١٨٨٩ : ف ١/٤٤٩٩٣٦ ١/٥٠٠٠٠٠ ١/٢٨٣٢٨٣</p> <p>مستشفى الثورة مستشفى الجمهوري المستشفى الألماني الحديث المستشفى الاهلي الحديث مستشفى العلوم والتكنولوجيا مستشفى الكويت</p>	<p>١/٤٥٥٥٥٥ ١/٢١٧١٢٦-٦٦ ٢/٢٥٣٤٥٦ ٢/٢٤٣٨٠٠ ١/٥٦٥٦٥٦ ١/٤٤٤٤٤٢ ١/٤٢٧٩٩٣ ١/٢١٣٤٠٠ ١/٤٥٩٧٠-٣ ١/٥٠٠٦٥٧٤ ١/٥٠٠٦٠٣٠ ١/٤٤٠٩٣٢ ١/٤٦٦٤٠/٥/٧ ١/٤٢٣٧٢٥ ١/٤٤٦٧٥٠</p> <p>المملكة المتحدة للتأمين الشركة اليمنية الإسلامية للتأمين شركة أمان الجزيرة للتأمين وإعادة التأمين الشركة اليمنية القطرية للتأمين</p>	<p>١/٥٠٠٦٣٧٢ : ف ١/٢٤٠٩٥٨٠ ١/٢٧٠٧٥١ ١/٥٤٥٩٨٥ ٢/٢٤٥٦٦٥ ١-٤٤٠٢٠٩ ١/٥٨٩٥٨٠ ٢-٢٤٥٦٦٥</p> <p>فرع شيراتون فرع عدن صنعا فرع شيراتون عدن</p>	<p>زايوة (Budget) يورب كار هيرتز لتأجير السيارات</p>	<p>١٧٧ ١٧١ ١٩٩ ١١٨ ٩٩١ ١٩٤ ١/٢٥٣٧٠١/٧ ١/٢٠٣٥٤٤/٧ ١/٢٥٠٧٦١/٣ ١/٢٣٢٠٠١/٢ ١/٢٠٣١٣٢/٣ ١/٢٧٢٣٠٦١</p> <p>طوارئ الكهرباء طوارئ المياه طوارئ الشرطة إستعلامات إطفاء دواخل (الممرور) شؤون الداخلية شؤون الخارجية لهجرة تلفزيون تصليح الامهر الإذاعة</p>
<p>١/٢٦٩٦٧٦-٦٦ ١/٢٧٤٢٨٦-٨٧ ١/٦٠٠٠٠٠ ١/٦٠١٨٨٩ : ف ١/٤٤٩٩٣٦ ١/٥٠٠٠٠٠ ١/٢٨٣٢٨٣</p> <p>مستشفى الثورة مستشفى الجمهوري المستشفى الألماني الحديث المستشفى الاهلي الحديث مستشفى العلوم والتكنولوجيا مستشفى الكويت</p>	<p>١/٤٥٥٥٥٥ ١/٢١٧١٢٦-٦٦ ٢/٢٥٣٤٥٦ ٢/٢٤٣٨٠٠ ١/٥٦٥٦٥٦ ١/٤٤٤٤٤٢ ١/٤٢٧٩٩٣ ١/٢١٣٤٠٠ ١/٤٥٩٧٠-٣ ١/٥٠٠٦٥٧٤ ١/٥٠٠٦٠٣٠ ١/٤٤٠٩٣٢ ١/٤٦٦٤٠/٥/٧ ١/٤٢٣٧٢٥ ١/٤٤٦٧٥٠</p> <p>المملكة المتحدة للتأمين الشركة اليمنية الإسلامية للتأمين شركة أمان الجزيرة للتأمين وإعادة التأمين الشركة اليمنية القطرية للتأمين</p>	<p>١/٥٠٠٦٣٧٢ : ف ١/٢٤٠٩٥٨٠ ١/٢٧٠٧٥١ ١/٥٤٥٩٨٥ ٢/٢٤٥٦٦٥ ١-٤٤٠٢٠٩ ١/٥٨٩٥٨٠ ٢-٢٤٥٦٦٥</p> <p>فرع شيراتون فرع عدن صنعا فرع شيراتون عدن</p>		

[illegible]

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ناتكو الإلكترونيات

The Middle East needs a World Cup. Let Tunisia be the host

Khaled Diab
guardian.com
First published June 05

“Congratulations to Qatar and us for the football victory,” wrote

Jihan al-Khazen in the pan-Arab daily al-Hayat. “Winning the right to host the championship is an honor to all Arabs.”

That was in 2010. Back then, even if they were perplexed as to why tiny Qatar, with little footballing tradition to speak of, had gained this “honor”, many Arabs echoed

al-Khazen’s sentiments. The awarding of the 2022 World Cup sparked widespread enthusiasm that an Arab country had finally joined the major league of world sport. Today, of course, things look different.

Like many people of conscience around the world, I am alarmed

that Qatar is set to host the 2022 World Cup. Far from being a moment of pride, Qatar’s successful bid to organize football’s greatest tournament has trained the international spotlight on the inhumane treatment of south Asian migrant workers in the tiny emirate and the wider Gulf region. And the allegations of bribery, which Qatar denies, have sealed many people’s opinions on the Qatari tournament.

Many Qataris and some other Arabs, however, complain of hypocrisy in the controversy. “Over 20 countries have organized the tournament and they only make this fuss about Qatar,” one Twitter user complained.

Some went even further: “We have to stand assertively against this kind of racist behaviour,” said Kuwaiti politician Ahmad al-Fahad al-Ahmed al-Sabah, who is also the president of the Olympic Council of Asia.

Though I don’t think racism comes into it, at a certain level there do appear to be double standards. After all, there is a long history of the World Cup being unscrupulously abused as a political football—from fascist Italy in 1934 to junta-ruled Argentina in 1978. Even the imminent Brazil World Cup has led to mass street protests over the costs and the treatment of indigenous tribes.

Even before this week’s revelations, though, in Egypt the recent strain in relations over allegations that Qatar bankrolled and supported the despised Muslim Brotherhood has curbed enthusiasm for the tournament. And most people are in any case preoccupied with meatier matters, such as the recent presidential elections and the anointing of its probable latest dictator, Abdel-Fatah al-Sisi.

However, any corruption in the Qatar bid should not deflect from the symbolic importance of staging the tournament in the region. Holding the World Cup in the Middle East is a good thing. It can be an opportunity to honor all those sacrificed for the dream of the Arab Spring, provide relief to a troubled region and promote some inter-Arab cooperation amid the strained relations afflicting the region.

Given how it spearheaded the Arab revolutionary wave and has been a relative trailblazer in

democratic reform, I believe the honor should go to Tunisia. The Eagles of Carthage have qualified for the World Cup four times. However, given the country’s modest means, a few measures would first have to be put in place. This would include the establishment of a regional fund, bankrolled by the rich Gulf states, including even Qatar, to finance the

tournament preparations. Other regional footballing heavyweights such as Egypt, Algeria and Morocco could provide their technical expertise.

This would not only help to raise Tunisia’s prestige and stimulate investment in the country, creating much-needed jobs, it would also promote a deeper sense of shared identity across the region.

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