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# YEMEN TIMES

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## 52<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the September 26 Revolution



Photo from Faisal Al-Harazi collection of Yemeni old photos



Clashes between Imamate supporters and republicans in Sana'a in the 1960s.

### ■ Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

**SANA'A, Sept. 24**—This Friday will mark the 52nd anniversary of the September 26, 1962 revolution which toppled the Imamate. In addition to the usual celebration, the Houthis will publicly rejoice their recent victory over the government, which many fear marks the return of the Imamate.

Houthi leader Abdulmalik Al-Houthi called on his supporters to pray on Airport Road on Friday to celebrate their victory against the government.

On Sunday, the Houthis took control of Sana'a. Although they signed a deal with the government, thousands of armed Houthis remain in the capital. The rebel group continue to man checkpoints and remain in front of key government buildings without disruption from the military.

"We do not know whether to celebrate the September 26 Revolution which toppled the Imam's regime, or cry because the grandsons of the imams regained control over the state," journalist Mused Al-Salimi told the Yemen Times.

While Ali Al-Qahoom, a spokesperson for the Houthis, said that "the republic will continue" and the Houthis "will not return to the Imamate's regime," some citizens in Sana'a and around the country fear that this is exactly what will happen.

"We have abolished the revolution which rose against us. Now we are in control of the situation, we

celebrate returning to power," said Abdullah Hussein, a Houthi supporter in Sana'a.

The celebration for the September 26 Revolution will take place in Tahrir Square on Friday evening. Titled "Lighting the Torch," the celebration is to feature hundreds of men in military marches, in addition to hundreds of girl scouts.

The September 26 Revolution

started in 1962 against the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of Yemen, formed in 1918 and known colloquially as "the Imamate." A war erupted between supporters of the Imamate, sometimes referred to as royalists, and those who sought a republican system of governance. The war lasted until 1970, when republican forces took control of the country.

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## The Houthis storm Suhail TV channel stormed by Houthi

### ■ Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

**SANA'A, Sept. 24**—Armed Houthis broke into the office of the Suhail TV channel, which is affiliated with the Islah Party, on Monday, stopping the channel's broadcast indefinitely and allegedly robbing equipment.

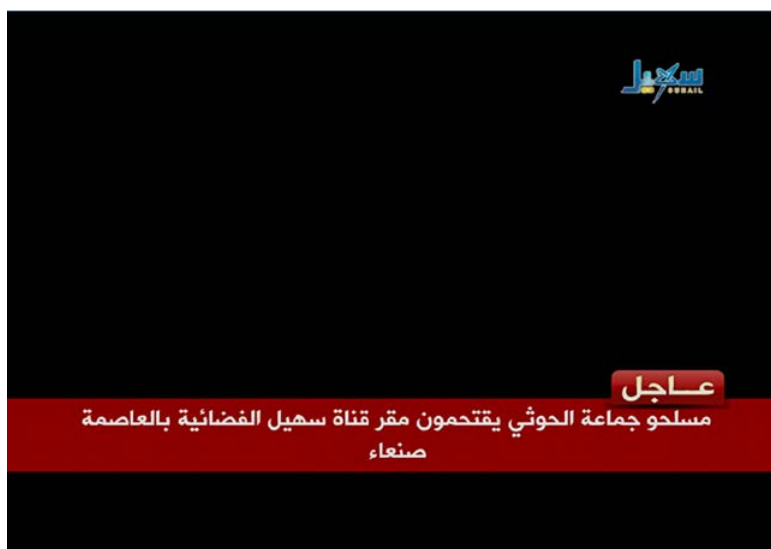
The TV channel, owned by prominent Islah Party member and Yemeni businessman Hamid Abdullah Bin Hussein Al-Ahmar, aired breaking news during the take over, saying "broadcasting will stop, Houthis have ransacked and robbed the equipment completely."

On Tuesday afternoon, the channel issued a statement saying, "the Houthis' armed men refused to allow the Yemeni Journalists Syndicate and Human rights activists to enter the channel in order to assess the damage."

Ali Al-Qahoom, an official spokesperson of the Houthis, told the Yemen Times the Houthis did not ransack the channel and did not take any equipment from it. He said, "the crew fled [in fear of being attacked], so Ansar Allah [the Houthis] had to surround and protect it."

"Islah members took all their equipment a few days earlier fearing our armed men. There is only one mixer and a few computers; we have no use for such equipment," Al-Qahoom said.

A source from the TV channel, who asked not to be named for fear of repercussions by the Houthis, confirmed that Houthis broke into



"Urgent: Armed Houthi militants break into the headquarters of the Suhail satellite TV channel in Sana'a."

the channel and that the crew had previously removed most of the equipment for fear of it being stolen. "There was only a few devices and they took them," he added.

Anees Mansour, the editor in chief of the Aden Al-Ghad newspaper and website, told the Yemen Times "such actions will harm the Houthis' reputation. [The Houthis] also confirm that these actions are taken for revenge and grudges against the previous ruling parties."

"Everybody expected that the Houthis will speak the language of forgiveness, but they spoke that of hate and the poisons of sectarianism and discrimination. Closing

down Suhail TV channel, breaking into Islah headquarters and the homes of everyone who opposed the Houthis is the evidence of that," according to Anees.

The closure of the channel came after the Houthis gained control of many government institutions in the capital, on Sunday evening. The Houthis also broke into the state TV headquarters in Al-Jiraf area near the Airport Street and stopped the broadcast of the three channels inside, Yemen TV, Saba News Agency, and Al-Eman TV.

Zaid Al-Shami, the head of the Islah Party in parliament, confirmed to the Yemen Times "Ansar Allah [the Houthis] contacted us and said

they will bring back everything they took, which is a positive thing."

He indicated that "any group thinking it would rule Yemen by itself is mistaken. Yemen is a country for all, no group will seize all power for itself."

Ali Al-Bukhaiti, a member of the Houthis' Political Office who has been prominent in media coverage of recent developments, in a turn of events criticized the Houthis for breaking into the station.

"I strongly condemn and denounce the breaking into Suhail TV channel, and I will do everything within my power to rectify the situation and apologize to the workers and the media professionals and technicians and restore the channel to what it used to be," Al-Bukhaiti said on his Facebook account.

Al-Bukhaiti continued, "I know for sure that what happened and did not happen with the knowledge of the leaders of the group, and indeed the situation is being corrected, I only wish that it happens as soon as possible because this case is about the freedom of the media no matter the differences between us."

Suhail TV channel is an Arabic language Yemeni TV channel that began broadcasting in 2009. The channel has a main office in Sana'a, from which it broadcasts most of its shows. The channel also has reporters in all Yemeni governorates. Its office was shelled, burned, and ransacked on June 2, 2011 for its coverage of the anti-Saleh protests during the 2011 uprising.

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# Supreme Security Committee welcomes agreement

Story by **Khalid Al-Karimi**  
Photos by **Brett Scott**

**SANA'A, Sept. 24**—On Tuesday the Supreme Security Committee welcomed the Peace and National Partnership Agreement signed between the Houthis and government in the capital on Sunday.

"The Supreme Security Committee upholds this agreement that depends on the outcomes of the National Dialogue Conference which all the national political factions and groups agreed to," the state-run Saba News Agency quoted an unnamed source in the committee as saying on Tuesday.

Established in 2011, the Supreme Security Committee is the highest security authority in the country and is headed by President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi.

Mohsen Khasroof, a retired military expert in Sana'a, said the Supreme Security Committee had no choice but to welcome the agreement. He asked rhetorically, "what will the committee do if it does not approve of the agreement?"

Likewise, a senior source at the Interior Ministry told the Yemen Times that the Supreme Security Committee has no other options but to welcome the agreement and accept the presence of the armed men.

"In 2011, the Supreme Security Committee was able to resolve tensions," the source said, referring to fighting that broke out in the capital during the 2011 uprising. "The warring sides at the time committed to the orders of the Supreme Security Committee."

"The Houthi gunmen will continue to be in the streets indefinitely," he added.

The source said it is possible that the Houthis and the committee could reach an understanding and evacuate the armed men. Otherwise, he said, "if the Supreme Security Committee daringly wants to remove the Houthis' armed men, there will be clashes."

The committee called on the military and security forces to adhere to their workplaces to maintain stability and security in the country. In many areas of the capital, this amounts to armed Houthis manning checkpoints while soldiers and security forces stand nearby.

Also on Monday, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon called for the implementation of the newly-agreed peace deal in Yemen which strives to end violence that has killed hundreds and displaced thousands in the last two weeks.

He demanded "the return of all government institutions to the control of the legitimate authorities."



"The Houthi gunmen will continue to be in the streets indefinitely," a source in the Interior Ministry told the Yemen Times. The Supreme Security Committee has no other choice but to welcome the agreement, a retired military expert said.

## Houthi presence prompts popular committees in the south

■ **Khalid Al-Karimi**

**SANA'A, Sept. 23**—The fighting between the Houthis and the government in Sana'a during the weekend prompted the Southern Movement to establish several popular committees in the southern governorates.

The move by the Southern Movement to defend cities and villages in the south against a potential threat comes in response to the Houthis' recent takeover of the capital Sana'a, according to one of the movement's founders, Abdullah Rashid.

"The Southern Movement set up these committees to prepare for any imminent violence. They are available in all southern gover-

norates," said Nasser Al-Khubaji, a Southern Movement leader, also heading the popular committee in Radfan city in Lahj governorate.

"The purpose of these committees is to maintain security and stability. The members of the committees are not necessarily heavily armed. They could be civilians who guide people and manage the areas," Al-Khubaji added.

Colonel Mohammed Musaed of the Aden Security Department said there is no need for such committees. "The government is strong in Aden, and people do not need any popular committees," he said, adding, "the military and security forces are able to defend the public institutions and peoples' possessions."

Mohammed Saleh Tamah, another Southern Movement leader in Aden, said "the southerners are closely watching what is taking place in the north. This has made them seriously think of their situation. So, we have established popular committees to take control of the security situation in the southern governorates," said Tamah.

Tamah is confident that the south will not see similar strife, like in the north. "The south has no partisan conflicts or tribal disputes like Sana'a," he said.

Sara Al-Dubaei, an Aden resident, questioned the ability of popular committees to control the security situation in the south. "Each neighborhood has a group

of young unarmed youth. These youths appoint among themselves a leader to protect civilians against cities and shops. Crimes could occur despite their presence," she argued.

According to Rashid, the Southern Movement leadership will establish the National Southern Council (NSC) in case the government in Sana'a collapses. "This council will perform the role of the state. The south will be organized, and north-like conflicts will not occur," Rashid added.

The Southern Movement was established in 2007 and developed into a secessionist movement calling for southern independence.

## Drone crashes in Shabwa

■ **Ali Abulohoom**

**SANA'A, Sept. 23**—A drone crashed into a mountain in Shabwa governorate, southeast of Sana'a, on Tuesday morning, eyewitnesses told the Yemen Times.

The drone crashed in the mountains of Al-Saha village, according to eyewitness Mohsen Salem, 22. The drone, Salem said, had been hovering over the village on and off for the preceding ten days.

Abdullah Al-Bahri, director of Baihan district, Shabwa, said the drone was targeting suspected Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) militants.

"No deaths were reported as a result of the crash," Al-Bahri said. "Shortly after the incident, two other drones could be seen hovering over the same area."

The crash came 12 days after an

earlier strike had killed five AQAP suspects in Baihan district.

"The crash was the first of its kind in Shabwa governorate, but I don't think it will be the last. Shabwa, particularly Baihan district, is a mountainous area and drones hover at a low altitude," Al-Bahri said.

Investigations into the causes of the crash are yet to begin, he added. Though this is the first recorded drone crash in Shabwa governorate, it is not the first crash in Yemen. According to local and international reports, two similar incidents have occurred in Yemen previously. The first drone crash reportedly happened in Abyan governorate in 2011, and the second one in Mahra governorate, in 2014. Both drones crashed into mountains while reportedly targeting alleged AQAP members.

## Lower gas and diesel prices issued

■ **Bassam Al-Khameri**

**SANA'A, Sept. 24**—Lower gas and diesel prices, in line with the Peace and National Partnership Agreement, went into effect on Wednesday.

"From Wednesday onwards, gas and diesel will be sold for YR3,000 (\$13.95) per 20 liters as stated in the Peace and National Partnership Agreement," an anonymous source at the YPC was quoted as saying by the state-run Saba News Agency on Tuesday.

The source said that the company has taken the necessary measures to ensure that gas and diesel are provided to all gas stations nationwide for the agreed upon price.

The Yemen Times contacted the Public Relations Department and Commercial Affairs Department

at the YPC but there was no response.

A majority of political groups and parties in Yemen, barring the Nasserist Unionist People's Organization, signed the agreement late Sunday to put a halt to the violence in the capital. The agreement included reducing the prices of diesel and gas from YR3,900 (\$18) and YR4,000 (\$18.60) to YR3,000 (\$13.95) per 20 liters.

Public and private transport operators and the public in the capital welcomed the recent 25 percent decrease in fuel prices.

Mohammed Aziz, a Sana'a-based taxi driver, said that it's the best news for the day, adding that such decision comes for the good of the people.

"Taxi drivers can't afford to pay YR4,000 (\$18.60) to get 20 liters of gas. I failed to meet the finan-

cial obligations I have to my family because of the increase in fuel prices," he added.

Despite the decrease in fuel prices, Omar Ayoub, a bus driver in Sana'a, said that he will maintain the same transportation fees.

"We will not decrease the transportation fees because we still pay YR3,000 (\$13.95) for 20 liters of gas. We would have decreased the prices only if fuel prices were decreased to YR2,500 (\$11.63)," he added.

Nasser Abdullah Hassan, an employee at the gas station, explained that the station never pays the company when receiving gas and diesel, but only after it has sold the oil products to customers. He added that teams from the YPC visited them late Tuesday and gauged the quantity of gas and diesel they have. For these quantities,

he said, the gas station only pays YR3,000 (\$13.95) per 20 liters, so "the decree didn't affect us negatively."

Mustafa Nasr, the head of the Studies and Economic Media Center, said that the government resorted to such a decision due to the pressure of ongoing organized protests by the Houthi group in the capital for more than a month.

"The increase in fuel prices was unreasonable and was even higher than the international market price. However, it's a good step to reduce the fuel prices in such a volatile situation," he added.

The government on July 30 lifted fuel subsidies. At the time, the government defended its move by saying it lifted fuel subsidies to maintain the value of the national currency and help decrease the state deficit.

## Deadly car bomb in Sa'ada

■ **Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki**

**SANA'A, Sept. 24**—Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) claimed responsibility for a car bomb attack that took place on Monday in Al-Baq area of Kitaf district, Sa'ada governorate.

According to Ali Al-Faqih, a soldier stationed in Sa'ada, more than 50 Houthis were killed in the blast.

However, a senior Houthi official told the Yemen Times on condition of anonymity that "the explosion caused the death of four and injured six others."

According to him, "we did not officially disclose the number of casualties because we do not want to hamper the celebrations in the capital."

AQAP posted a statement on

their website, through a link on their twitter handle "Akbar Ansar Al-Sharia," claiming "dozens of Houthis were injured or killed in a suicide bomb attack in Sa'ada which was carried out by one of our followers on Monday evening."

The Houthi official told the Yemen Times that the car bomb exploded in front of a house in Al-Baq area and admitted that "a number of Houthis" were gathered in the house, which was partially destroyed by the bombing.

AQAP has made its opposition to the Houthis clear, having on multiple occasions gone as far as killing military and security personnel with the justification that they were supporters of the Houthis.

# Houthis celebrate in Tahrir Square



Men in military uniform, many of whom appear to be under 18 and are allegedly Houthi members, guard Tahrir Square during an event held on September 23 to celebrate the group's victory over the government and hear a speech by Abdulmalik Al-Houthi.

Photos by **Brett Scott**

Words by **Bassam**

**Al-Khamiri**

**A**fter the Houthis gained control of Sana'a on Sunday, armed members of the group spread widely in the

capital. The rebel group established several unofficial checkpoints.

The Houthis were able to gain control over the capital within a few days after clashes broke out. The group was peaceful for almost one month after establishing tents in and around the capital beginning on August 18. Clashes broke out between the government and the Houthis on September 16, lasting until September 21.

The Yemen Times has witness dozens of armed Houthi members in the capital, who appear to be under the age of 18.

A report by UNICEF titled "Situation analysis of children in Yemen 2014" makes note of the Houthis' previous use of child soldiers, saying, "pro-government tribal militias and the Houthi group, otherwise referred to by themselves as 'Ansar



Houthis who appear to be under 18 holding weapons in front of the headquarters of the Supreme Command, which is in charge of running the military nationwide.



Armed Houthis, including a man carrying a rocket-propelled grenade, in front of the Defense Ministry's Morale Guidance Department. Soldiers guarding the ministry could be seen chewing qat with members of the Houthis.



Two soldiers on a tank chewing qat in front of the headquarters of the Supreme Command. The building was surrounded by Houthis, with many members sitting in military vehicles marked with the group's slogan.



Houthi supporters, young and old alike, chant the group's "death to America" slogan in Tahrir Square.



An armed Houthi checks a car in an unofficial checkpoint run by the group on Al-Zubairi Street of Sana'a. Another armed Houthi at the checkpoint told the Yemen Times that they are regulating traffic to protect the city. A nearby soldier watched on seemingly at ease, saying the military and the Houthis are now one. The Houthis blocked all streets leading to Tahrir Square in anticipation of any attacks.



# Poaching puts turtles at risk of extinction

■ Madiha Al-Junaid

For years, threats to endangered turtles have made headlines in Yemeni newspapers. Yet, the issue continues to be widely ignored by the Yemeni government and civil society.

Although the cabinet has declared several areas in Yemen to be natural reserves, and the Yemeni government has ratified the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) in 1997, turtles along Yemen's shores continue to be exposed to severe threats.

In 2013, the state-run newspaper October 14 summarized those threats as including poaching, hunting, trafficking, the destruction of turtles' nesting places, and the exhumation of turtles' nests.

The article cited the "pollution of the marine environment through petroleum oils, chemicals, plastic and radioactive material poured to the seas and oceans," as yet another

source of threat.

For more than 100 million years, sea turtles have inhabited the world's oceans. Having survived a great number of dangers throughout that time, nearly all species of sea turtle are now classified as "endangered."

Just like the Yemeni October 14 newspaper, the international World Wildlife Organization (WWF) blames human activity for having tipped the scales against the survival of these ancient mariners.

The WWF adds climate change as an important source of threat, impacting turtle nesting sites. "It alters sand temperatures, which then impacts the sex of hatchlings," the WWF states on its website.

In Yemen, as elsewhere, initiatives have been taken to mitigate existing risks to sea turtles.

At Yemeni shores it is especially those turtles living in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden that need to be protected. They include the green turtle, the hawksbill turtle, the loggerhead turtle, the olive ridley tur-

tle, and the leathery turtle.

All those turtles can be found along the shores of Lahj, Hadramout, Aden, and Socotra governorates in Yemen. While some coastal areas in these governorates are natural reserves, others are not and continue to pose severe risks to turtles' survival.

Socotra is one of Yemen's best known natural reserves. Yet, as Socotra's Deputy Governor Fahd Saleem admits, the protection of the island's biodiversity is not always easy. Indeed, he describes the implementation of clear protection measures as a "major challenge."

## Marine pollution and hunting around Socotra

The pollution of Socotra's waters is a large reason behind turtles' endangerment.

"Plastic waste, including bags and bottles, are affecting marine life—especially the turtles," said Saleem.

Sea turtles usually feed on seaweed and other marine creatures such as jellyfish. Tragically, many can be found dead on Socotra's shores "after choking on plastic bags, which they mistake for jellyfish," according to Saleem.

While turtles are mostly at sea, they come ashore during nesting season. It is around that time of the year that sea turtles face "ferocious attacks, often being killed before laying their eggs," according to October 14 newspaper.

In spite of a number of awareness raising campaigns emphasizing that sea turtles need to be protected, sea turtles remain an attractive prey for hunters in Yemen.

The UNDP's Socotra Governance and Biodiversity campaign describes Socotra as one of the most important nesting sites of loggerhead turtles in the region. Yet many female turtles that come on land, starting in May, are captured and slaughtered while trying to lay their eggs. Socotrans then eat their meat



and drink their oil, believed to have special healing powers.

One of the tales told among the islanders describes a man who is suffering from a heart disease that doctors declared to be incurable. It was only when his friends advised him to drink turtle oil for one month that he was cured.

In Socotra a number of government and civil society initiatives are trying to protect turtles against local hunting practices. The custom of eating turtle meat has decreased since 1997, upon the interference of the government's Environment Office and various environmental organizations.

## The legal protection of sea turtles in Yemen

Although turtles no longer constitute a popular and accepted dish in Socotra, Abdullah Al-Shar'aby at the General Environment Protection Authority (EPA) reports that the hunting and killing of turtles continues in Yemen.

"These things happen and are being reported by the local councils at the coastal areas," said Al-Shar'aby, adding that the EPA receives frequent reports of killed turtles, especially turtles of the Red Sea.

Al-Shar'aby could not provide statistics for the number of killed turtles in Socotra, but he says that the figure is considerable.

"The solutions provided are temporary. For example, EPA employees are sent to the reported area to develop statistics registering the number of dead turtles and destroyed eggs, and distributing guards to secure the area," said Al-Shar'aby.

According to Al-Shar'aby both national and international laws ensure the protection of endangered species in Yemen.

All sea turtle species are listed under Appendix I in CITES, which includes species that face a very high risk of extinction.

Although CITES is legally binding on the signing parties it does not take the place of national laws. Instead, it provides a framework to be respected by each signing state,

which has to adopt its own domestic legislation to ensure that CITES is implemented at the national level.

In Yemen it is "article 11 and 12 of the national law designed in 1995 to protect the environment that criminalizes any harm done to endangered species," said Al-Shar'aby.

Violations against this law are punished by at least 10 years imprisonment or a monetary fine, he explains. The fine has recently been increased from YR50,000 (\$233) to YR 5,000,000 (\$23,256), "because with time, the relative value of [the Yemeni Riyal] has declined," Al-Shar'aby adds.

The enforcement of environmental laws in Yemen is often difficult. Still, many turtle carapaces are found around the island at the end of the nesting season, while hunters continue to try their luck, penetrating into protected areas in Socotra.

According to a UNDP news release, some hunters drive their car very slowly at night along the beach, while others enter protected areas by boat or on foot.

In Socotra, government authorities are supported by a number of local groups and civil society organizations.

While Saleem welcomes existing support systems, he describes them as insufficient: "We need an integrated system not only for turtles but the entire wild life."

Currently, "our procedures are so simple and traditional," he complains, pointing out that a limited budget forces the Socotra governorate to rely primarily on awareness raising campaigns. "We merely urge locals to follow traditional [and turtle-friendly] ways of fishing for example," he said.

Omar Qambeen, president of the Fish Federation in Hadramout governorate, explains that traditional ways of fishing, such as using fishing rods, are less harmful to turtles than the use of modern fishing nets, which often entangle and harm sea turtles.

In his opinion, many more reforms should be undertaken, including the definition and moni-

toring of specific sectors and the development of an interactive communication system to observe these locations.

## Government and civil society initiatives

In 1998, the first initiative of monitoring and protecting turtles on Socotra was supported by UNDP's Socotra biodiversity project which was conducted in collaboration with the EPA.

Socotra's Albahan beach, where most turtles lay their eggs, was declared protected turtle area. Monitoring and night patrolling were organized to guard nesting turtles.

The governorate of Socotra cooperates with a number of civil society organizations to protect sea turtles.

In Qidama area, for example, Socotrans and the local security office are working closely together. "We agreed to establish a local organization that specializes in protecting the location against any abusers. It is called the 'Association of Qidama Residents'".

Projects implemented by the EPA are also included in the plans of those interested in a protected and sustainable environment.

In the past, the government ran a project that was concerned with the protection and maintenance of land and coastal reserves.

Amongst others, "it specified where the turtles lay eggs and assigned locals, who received monthly salaries, to guard nesting areas. The project lasted from 2000 to 2005," explained Al-Shar'aby. Although the program no longer exists, the guards continue to work in Socotra and elsewhere as contractors for the EPA.

Although Al-Shar'aby emphasizes the importance of awareness raising campaigns in the protection of sea turtles, he argues that Socotran islanders already appear to be more conscious on biodiversity protection than Yemenis in Hadramout or other coastal areas.

He links this awareness to the existence of eco-tourism on Socotra and the number of natural reserves.



A UNDP car loaded with carapaces of killed sea turtles on Socotra Island. Although the islanders' custom of eating turtle meat has decreased in recent years, turtles continue to constitute an attractive prey for Socotran hunters.



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It is likely that turtles swim with the current in winter, when it flows anti-clockwise in the Arabian Sea and the northwest parts of the Indian Ocean. Turtles then swim along the coast of India, Pakistan, Oman, Yemen and Somalia and return to India. In summer, the surface current is reversed and flows clockwise.

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(1951 - 1999)  
Founder of Yemen Times**OUR OPINION****Getting through to the president****N**o matter how I try, I can't find any explanation for recent events other than the country went through a coup in three days.

President Hadi met with the parliament and Shura Council, as well as the National Authority for Monitoring the Implementation of NDC outcomes, and told us that everything will be fine—we just have to have faith in him and in the transition.

I can't help but feel betrayed, because to have an armed political group take over state institutions and cause the deaths of over 200 and injuries of around 500 is not OK.

It is not OK for armed groups to ransack any citizen's home—no matter who—and bomb it just because they hate the person and blame him for atrocities against them. There should have been a legal procedure for this and it should have been transparent. Is this not what we are demanding? A civil, modern state?

President Hadi admitted that he knows that we as citizens feel resentful and accuse him of letting us down. Yes, we do. He asked us to blindly stand behind him, promising that the state will regain its sovereign status and control the city in a few days. I don't believe this. I have seen how well the state regained its control over Amran and Sa'ada before this—it didn't!

If Hadi wants us to believe him he has to let us in on the master plan. Supposedly even the decision makers, such as members of parliament, the Shura Council, and the National Authority for Monitoring the Implementation of NDC outcomes have no clue what is going on.

Yemenis have lost faith in Hadi, in the political transition, and in the support of the international community for Yemen's stability.

It will take a miracle for Hadi to win back the popularity he once had, and another to win back the state's control over the capital.

Let's hope that Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula does not take advantage of the chaotic situation today and make life in Yemen much more complicated than it already is.

**Nadia Al-Sakkaf**

# The price of abandoning Yemen

**Ibrahim Sharqieh**  
nytimes.com  
First published Sept. 22**I**n 2011, Yemenis rejoiced at the toppling of their dictatorial president, Ali Abdullah Saleh, who had ruled for 33 years. It was the third successful revolution of the Arab Spring, following the overthrow of dictators in Tunisia and Egypt. But, as elsewhere, reconciliation did not follow revolution.

Over the weekend, after a weeks-long siege of Sana, the capital, rebels suddenly ousted Yemen's prime minister and captured the Defense Ministry, the government television station and the central bank. On Sunday, President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi signed an agreement dictated by the rebels, known as the Houthis, and facilitated by a United Nations envoy.

The agreement calls for a new prime minister, a plan to devolve power from the capital and a reduction in fuel prices—a major issue that the rebels had seized on to justify their protests. At the same time, however, the Houthis refused to sign the security clauses of the agreement that called for the withdrawal of their forces from

Sana'a and several other areas they had seized.

**What pushed Yemen to this point?**

After Mr. Saleh was overthrown, the new transitional government acknowledged the past mistreatment of the Houthis, and officially apologized for the six wars Mr. Saleh waged against them between 2004 and 2010. But it did not address all of the historical grievances of the Houthis, who pressed on with their insurgency.

Many Yemenis believe that the Houthis are acting as agents of Iran, which backs them. To legitimize their rebellion, the Houthis had to come up with popular proposals to address rising energy prices and incompetence in the government. It was the poor performance of Yemen's transitional government that allowed them to succeed.

President Hadi, and his government—including Prime Minister Mohammed Salem Basindwa, who just stepped down—failed miserably to deliver basic services, spur economic development and, most important, create jobs. Unemployment was one of the main drivers of the revolt against Mr. Saleh.

The international community

**"The West must be prepared to negotiate with a stronger Iran in the next round of talks over Iran's nuclear program."**

should have supported Yemen to ensure its successful transition to stability and development. Instead, the international community largely turned its back on Yemen as it sank further into poverty, chaos, and extremism. The United States concentrated almost solely on counterterrorism, continuing its drone strikes on Al-Qaeda militants. Saudi Arabia turned its attention to other parts of the region, ignoring the potential chaos on its southern border.

The United States is unlikely to take action: Fighting the terrorist group the Islamic State takes precedence over challenging Iran's growing influence in the region. Houthis are enemies of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, and the rebels' coming to power in Sana'a will provide a de facto assurance to

America with respect to Al-Qaeda. The recent statement by Secretary of State John Kerry that even Iran has a role in fighting the Islamic State suggests that America will prioritize accommodation with Iran and the Houthis in Yemen over a peaceful and inclusive movement toward a stable democracy.

Sadly for Yemenis, the rebellion has not only undermined the political gains of the Arab Spring but also created deep divisions in Yemeni society. The Houthis have merely promoted the gun as the ultimate source of power. The fall of Sana'a gives additional support to other counter-revolutionary movements in the region. Having fought Mr. Saleh for years, the Houthis recently made an alliance with the former dictator against a common adversary: General Ali Mohsen Al-Ahmar, an adviser to Mr. Hadi who is affiliated with the Islamist Islah Party. On Sunday, Tawakkol Karman, who shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 and is a prominent figure in Islah, which is affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, wrote on her Facebook page: "Twelve Houthis stormed my home and seized it, after the signing of the peace and partnership agreement!"

Finally, the rebellion has given

Iran the upper hand in its rivalry with Saudi Arabia on the Arabian Peninsula. The West must be prepared to negotiate with a stronger Iran in the next round of talks over Iran's nuclear program. The quick collapse of the military units that Americans helped finance over the last decade, for the Saleh and Hadi governments, points to the weaknesses in America's approach to combating terrorism.

To prevent further chaos in Yemen, there is no alternative to putting the peaceful and inclusive transition process back on track. Power does not translate to legitimacy: The Houthis will need the participation of other parties, particularly their opponent Islah, to govern.

The Houthis have demanded the implementation of a plan that would devolve power from Sana'a. That would be a step forward. Yet the Houthis should note that one of the plan's major recommendations is to disarm Yemen's various militias, and begin with themselves. Only then can the hope and promise of the Arab Spring in Yemen be revived.

*Ibrahim Sharqieh is the deputy director of the Brookings Doha Center.*

## Desperately seeking in Libya: Outside mediation

**Jason Pack**  
middleeasteye.net  
First published Sept. 23**A**fter the demise of the Qaddafi regime in 2011, questions loomed concerning how the various military, political, and tribal factions which banded together to overthrow Qaddafi could co-exist with one another. During the fighting, most towns were cut-off from either the rebel or the Qaddafi government. As such they formed municipal councils and began to administer their own affairs.

In the wake of Qaddafi's ouster and a recent militia war during the summer of 2014, two rival governments have emerged. And yet, the local municipal councils rarely coordinate with either "government."

Despite their reluctance to take orders from either power center, Libya's many city-states are being forced to choose sides among two alliance groups that claim to be Libya's legitimate government. Vying for power in Libya's political free market, Libya's two major blocs have deliberately pursued a policy of polarization and differentiation as each attempts to monopolize Libya's vast hydrocarbon resources.

On one side of the conflict is the Islamist alliance—made up of a wide spectrum of views ranging from the moderate Muslim Brotherhood to the extremist faction of Ansar Al-Sharia [unaffiliated to the group with the same name in Yemen], which many think responsible for killing US Ambassador to Libya, Chris Stevens. As a result of generous military and media support from Qatar in the 2011 Libyan uprisings, the Islamists were able to build the single largest militia bloc, the Misratan-led Libyan Central Shield.

Despite possessing this military juggernaut, they lost ground in June's election for the house of representatives (HoR). Their superior firepower and human resources, in conjunction with a more cohesive political alliance between their internal factions, has allowed them to take control of Libya's two largest cities—Tripoli and Benghazi—and challenge the power vested in the newly formed HoR. Along with Qatar, the Islamists receive significant support from Turkey and Sudan in the form of weapons and logistical support. Without a democratic mandate, however, the Islamists lack the international political legitimacy and economic resources to be the sole authority in Libya. Nonetheless, the pseudo-government that they have established is far better organized than that of their rivals.

Conversely, the non-Islamist alliance is composed of a range of factions that share very little outside of a common enemy. Despite their differences, the house of representatives, Khalifa Haftar's Operation Dignity, and Cyrenaica's Federalists all agree to work together to retain control over the Central Bank and most of the country's oil terminals. Yet this marriage of convenience could unravel at a moment's notice. Last week, they failed to approve Prime Minister's Abdullah Al-Thinni's first attempt to form a cabinet. This is a sign that internal tensions between the Federalists and the National Forces Alliance (a liberal nationalist political party which won Libya's 2012 parliamentary elections) are near the breaking point. As such, Libya's democratically elected

and sovereign government is far less functional than its opponents and far more removed from the developments that are affecting the majority of Libya's population scattered throughout the country. Western countries continue to make the mistake of considering only the house of representatives as Libya's sovereign government. Furthermore, we have fallen back on our knee-jerk response of supporting would be autocrats who claim to be fighting jihadists.

Rather than attempting to mediate the yawning gaps between Libya's factions, the international community in general, and the US in specific, has so far only chosen to talk with the representatives of the HoR, the non-Islamist alliance. New talks have been announced for September 29 but it is unclear if they will even happen let alone succeed in bridging any gaps. An American olive branch to the moderate wing of the Misratan alliance could be very useful at present.

Attempts to cut the Islamists out of last week's Madrid Conference may provoke them into leveraging their superior military might to paralyze the Central Bank and the National Oil Corporation. This can be accomplished by holding managerial personnel hostage, appointing parallel decision makers, or curtailing the day-to-day functionality of either institution. At present, they have appointed their own oil minister and moved to impose him directly upon the ministry.

The house of representatives-led bloc barely controls any territory in Libya. It is hanging on for dear life in Tobruk and Beida—Libya's fourth and seventh most populous cities. Yes, it boasts the support of the international community and

conservative Arab powers. But its belief that this will be paramount in regaining the territory it has lost to the Islamists is delusional. In fact, the opposite appears to be the case.

The supreme irony is that the airstrikes led by the United Arab Emirates and Egypt against Misrata's weapon depots last month forged a more cohesive Islamist alliance in Libya. Hence, what was once a fragmented and ill-coordinated collection of Misratan militias and their moderate and extremist Islamist allies was pushed to become a coherent force to overcome the airstrikes and tempt Libya's local communities to align with it.

The situation in Libya affects the economy and security of whole Mediterranean basin. Arab and regional powers also have a vested interest in the outcome of Libya's current quagmire. Since the ouster of the Muslim Brotherhood president Mohamed Morsi in Egypt last year, President Abdul Fatah Al-Sisi and his backers in Saudi Arabia and the UAE have embarked on a campaign to stop what they see as an existential threat to their authority posed by Islamist groups like the Muslim Brotherhood. These conservative Arab regimes no longer trust that their traditional alliance with the US is enough to protect their regional interests and keep emerging Islamist actors in check. On the other hand, Libya would be an extremely precious asset for the Muslim Brotherhood, as it would give the organization a means to bankroll their activity in the region and plan a re-entry into the Egyptian political sphere.

Sadly, it is the short-term thinking of foreign and domestic factions, in combination with a

prevailing zero-sum logic, which feeds into the present chaotic situation. The Islamists refuse to recognize the democratic mandate of the House of Representatives, fearing the possibility of being sidelined from the political process. Conversely, the anti-Islamist alliance prefers to rely on foreign powers to establish security rather than attempting to make peace with their Libyan brethren who they decry as terrorists. Western policymakers have not used the carrots and sticks they possess to nudge the anti-Islamist alliance towards genuine compromise.

It will be interesting to see if Monday's agreement by all foreign and domestic parties to stop the violence facilitates a peaceful end to the conflict. Ultimately, a grand dialogue where all foreign and domestic stakeholders are given a seat at the table is the only viable solution for both a short-term détente and long-term peace and prosperity in Libya. America must stop passing the buck on Libya. Obama was wrong to classify the Libya intervention as his greatest foreign policy regret. Intervening was the right course of action because it was requested by the Libyan people and the Arab League. Now, that Western actors have wisely promised to avoid any kind of military intervention, the Libyan majority are now waiting for outside mediators to step in where traditional tribal methods have failed.

*Jason Pack is a researcher of Middle Eastern history at Cambridge University, president of Libya-Analysis.com, and lead author of Libya's Faustian Bargains: Breaking the Appeasement Cycle—published in May 2014 by the Atlantic Council.***YEMEN TIMES**

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# Same story, different narratives

How the state, the Houthis, and the international press covered the Houthis' seige on the capital

■ Khalid Al-Karimi

After a month of protests and being camped inside and on the outskirts of the capital, the Houthis attacked and broke into the state-run TV headquarters in Al-Jiraf neighborhood, putting the three channels operating in the compound temporarily out of service—two of them stopped broadcasts for days.

The state-run channels, Saba News Agency, Yemen TV, and Al-Iman TV, were an important part of the Houthis' plan to take Sana'a—and it is no wonder, considering the channels were adamantly opposed to the group.

Like the country's political entities, media outlets in Yemen vary immensely. Most media institutions are mouthpieces for parties or militant groups and do not show a commitment to the neutral reporting of facts.

The narrative of events over the past month as portrayed by the Houthi-run Al-Masira TV channel, based in Lebanon, and the state-run media differ greatly. The dearth of media coverage of the recent events made these two competing news sources ever more important, undoubtedly playing a role in how outsiders viewed the conflict.

On September 19 the headquarters of the Yemen TV channel in Al-Jiraf neighborhood sustained attacks by armed Houthis. The attack left much of the equipment with considerable damage.

Later on, Mohammed Abdul-



The Houthi-run Al-Masira TV channel showed soldiers firing live rounds on protesters in front of the cabinet on September 9, while state-run media portrayed the event entirely differently.

salam, a spokesperson for the Houthis, said in a statement that the Houthis were responding to attacks by the military brigade stationed near the headquarters of

Yemen TV channel. "We blame the Yemen official TV channel for being biased when covering the ongoing issues in Yemen. It has been a mouthpiece of parties

that clearly are engaged in military conflicts in many governorates... We hope they would call for unity, peace, and reconciliation, not provocation, accusation, or distortion," Abdulsalam said.

Prior to the Houthi takeover of Sana'a on Sunday, the pro-Houthi media hailed what was taking place as "a new revolution," while the state-run media referred to the Houthis as a militant group seeking to undermine Yemen's political transition.

Statements made by the government and the Houthis reveal a clear contradiction: Following the killing of unarmed protesters by government forces near the cabinet headquarters on September 9, Houthi spokesperson Abdulsalam and the Supreme Security Committee both released a statement on the incident.

"The people have proved through their peaceful revolution their peaceful endeavor to exert pressure on the authority to respond to right and fair demands," said Abdulsalam in his statement on September 9.

The Supreme Security Committee said in a statement that the Houthi militant group attempted to break into the cabinet headquarters, denying that the soldiers used live ammunition.

Indeed, the state-run media aired a statement by the Supreme Security Committee which read, "attempting to break into the cabinet headquarters resulted in the deaths of a number of the cabinet and the Sana'a radio station headquarters' guards."

This narrative later proved to be false, with Human Rights Watch and other rights groups concluding that the government used unnecessary lethal force against unarmed protesters.

The media outlets associated to both sides aired and published different narratives.

In the afternoon of September 9, Al-Masira TV channel aired live protests of the Houthi demonstrators near the cabinet, telling the viewers that a "people's revolution is ongoing."

It further screened footage in which the soldiers were shooting live ammunition at the protesters.

"There is no neutral press in the entire Arab world, not only in Ye-

men. Given the state-run media does not give thorough coverage of the activities of the other side. Moreover, the Houthi-run Al-Masira TV channel promotes the agenda of the Houthis. It works to spread the propaganda of those funding it," said Jamal Ez Al-Deen, the deputy head of the state-run Yemen TV channel.

"We do not fully cover all their antagonistic activities in Al-Subaha or Hizyaz and some areas. Still, we

Houthi-run Al-Masira broadcast the Houthis' celebration of victory over the state. The Houthis announced on that night that they "celebrate the success of the revolution," while Yemen TV toned down its anti-Houthi rhetoric, saying only that it was a "celebration of signing the partnership agreement."

Contrary to the state and Houthi coverage of recent events, international reporting has portrayed the political developments in Yemen's



In contrast to its portrayal of the Houthis before and during fighting in Sana'a, as the Houthis celebrated their victory with fireworks on Monday, Yemen TV simply said the group was "celebrating the signing of the Peace and National Partnership Agreement."

host Houthi representatives in the shows," Al-Daen added in a seeming attempt to defend the work of Al-Yemen channel.

Noor Al-Deen Ismael, the manager of Al-Masira, criticized the state-run media for their biased coverage of events, particularly the Houthi killings near the cabinet.

"At least the facts should be reported without distortion. They should not lie or fabricate events," said Ismael.

According to him, the government media does take heed of the people's voices, falsely describing them as rebels and imamate supporters. "These are claims to mislead the people," Ismael said.

On Monday, Sana'a's sky was illuminated by fireworks. Both the state-run Yemen TV channel and

capital as overtly sectarian in nature.

For example, following the September 9 cabinet killings Al-Jazeera spoke of those killed as being "Shia Houthi" activists and protesters.

The BBC did the same, describing those killed as "Shia protesters."

This is problematic because many protesters self-identified as members of the ruling General People's Congress and not all were Shia. Furthermore, not all were protesters—an ambulance driver was killed by a stray bullet.

The emphasis of actors' religious affiliation in a primarily political power struggle runs the risk of further increasing the difficulty of truly understanding complex political events in Yemen's capital.



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# 1962 revolution rectified by 2011 uprising

## ■ Ali Abulohoom

Based on the Quranic verse, "do obey Allah and those who rule you," some religious scholars in Yemen and elsewhere demand that Muslims stay submissive to their political heads, no matter how tyrannical they may be. Muslims would be reimbursed for the oppression faced on judgment day, they argue.

The successive Imams who had ruled Yemen for almost 1,000 years until September 1962 benefitted from this dogma, continuously bequeathing the rule over the Imamate to their successors.

According to Yahia Al-Saiaghi,

62, one of the revolutionaries who participated in the 1962 revolution against the Imamate, many used to deem imams to be God's rightful caliphs.

Initially, not everyone was convinced of the importance of the revolution against the Imamate era, believing to be religiously bound to obey the imam.

"Although Yemen faced a great number of chronic problems in the fields of health, education, and development, including a lack of electricity and clean water, Yemenis were convinced that their problems were an unavoidable part of their destiny and that rulers were appointed by God," he said.

The Egyptian revolution led by

Jamal Abdel Nasser and other military officers in 1952, which eventually overthrew Egypt's monarchy, triggered a wave of similar revolutions in the Arab world, including Yemen.

Mohammed Sobaih, a 66-year-old retired officer and a military analyst, remembers how Yemeni people became involved in the revolution. He said that before 1962 there were some Yemeni officers who received their education in Egypt and other countries. Upon their return to Yemen, they formed a coalition named "the free officers" and began to promote the overthrow of the imam.

Initial calls to topple the imam proved futile, as it was said to be a coup against "God's will."

In 1962, Yemeni officers asked Abdel Nasser to send troops to Yemen to free the country from its undemocratic rule. Shortly after, the founder of Arab nationalism sent 60,000 Egyptian troops to Yemen, according to Sobaih.

"The Yemeni officers and militants, with the help of the Egyptian troops, succeeded in removing the imam from power, turning a monarchy which lasted for one thousand years into a republican and democratic system," said Sobaih.

"The imam kept on telling the people that democracy was taboo and religiously forbidden," he added.

Inspired by the 1962 revolution in North Yemen, one year later southerners launched the uprising against the South's occupation by the British.

Abdullah Al-Salal, the first president of the republican North Yemen, announced six major goals of the revolution which he aimed to meet:

The first goal was freedom from tyranny, colonialism and its remnants, and the establishment of a republican system. The first goal also called for the removal of differences and privileges between Yemenis.

The second goal was the building of a strong national army to protect the country and guard the revolution and its achievements.

The third one called for an improvement in people's economic, social, political, and cultural standards, while the fourth goal was the establishment of a democratic, cooperative, and fair society whose regulations derived from the true spirit of Islam.

The fifth point in Al-Salal's plan called for national unity within the framework of comprehensive Arab unity and the sixth goal was compliance with the United Nations Charter and adherence to the principle

of positive neutrality and non-alignment, promoting the value of peaceful co-existence among nations.

Two of these goals—the improvement of living standards and the establishment of a national independent army, free of partisan and individual allegiances have not been achieved, says Mohammed Al-Asbahi, the head of the Department of History at Taiz University.

The Yemeni army does not owe allegiance to its country, but to their leaders and tribal figures, he said. In addition, "half of the Yemeni population, lives below the poverty line, are illiterate, and do not have access to health care."

The goal of peaceful co-existence within Yemen and the compliance with international conventions has equally been violated by the people and Yemeni governments, said Al-Asbahi, pointing to the violation of human rights during wars and political disputes.

"The historical events that Yemen has witnessed since 1962 made the revolutions' goals unattainable," explained Al-Asbahi. These events included the assassination of two presidents, and civil wars in the 1970s, 1980s and in 1994.

In spite of these difficulties, Al-Asbahi said, a semi-democracy has been achieved through the establishment of political parties, including the most prominent one, the General People Congress (GPC) which was established in 1981.

The unification of the south and the north of Yemen, which indicates a move toward Arab unification, can be considered another goal that was achieved, according to Al-Asbahi.

In 2011, Yemenis took to the street once more in an attempt to peacefully topple the regime of Ali Abdullah Saleh, who maintained his hold on power for decades.

Many parallels can be drawn between the 1962 revolution and the 2011 uprising. Both took place in the context of broader regional changes, and both called for the establishment of democracy, the end of corruption, and improved living standards.

Just like in 1962, some religious scholars in 2011 opposed the uprising, calling on Muslims to "obey Allah and those who rule you." And just like in 1962, President Saleh tried to take advantage of those Islamic tenets.

Basem Hakimi, a participant in the 2011 revolution and a member of the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) argues that the goals of the 2011 uprising can be seen as an attempt to rectify and complete the goals of the 1962 revolution.

The republican system Yemen has enjoyed since 1962 had been deformed by former President Saleh, who clung to power for 33 years, he asserted. In calling for "real" democracy, the implementation of short presidential tenures was emphasized in the 2011 uprising.

Given the establishment of the Southern Movement in 2007, which calls for the independence of Yemen's south, and the Houthis' control of regions in the north, the demand for Yemeni unity was brought back on the table in 2011.

While many Yemenis were hopeful by the end of 2011 that this time their "revolution" would bring about real change and improve their social, political, and economic situation, three years later much of this optimism has evaporated. Indeed, Houthi supporters launched a "corrective" revolt on August 18, which they themselves refer to as yet another "popular revolution." It remains to be seen whether revolutionary goals are going to be successfully implemented this time.



Imam Ahmed Hameed Al-Deen, against whom the revolution erupted. He ruled Yemen between 1948-1962.



Jamal Abdel Naser, Egyptian president, along with Yemeni President Al-Salal greeting the people in Bab Al-Yemen (Sana'a's old gate) in 1964.



A photo of the Yemeni revolutionaries. In the middle is Abdullaah Al-Salal, the first Yemeni president after the revolution.



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# Terrorism and the economy in Tunisia

**Moez Labidi**  
 atlanticcouncil.org  
 First published Sept. 22

Over the past two years, Tunisia has been plagued by terrorist attacks, characterized by car bombs and targeted political assassinations. In the wake of increased terrorist threats, economic recovery—largely overshadowed by the electoral process—remains in jeopardy. With persistently weak demand for Tunisian exports to Europe, the government's hesitation to undertake the structural reforms, and excessive wage and subsidies bills, the Tunisian economy still suffers a lack of robust growth.

The Tunisian economy is particularly sensitive to security threats. Unlike its North African neighbor Algeria, which experienced terrorist threats throughout the 1990s, Tunisia does not have oil and gas revenue or large sums of foreign exchange reserves to shield the economy from exogenous shocks. The country is in dire need of developing its up-market products to improve qualitative or non-price competitiveness. This edge could limit the Tunisian economy's vulnerability to the instability of tourism receipts and to put an end to the chronic current account deficit, which reached 5.3 percent during first half of 2014 (as compared to 4.4 percent during the same period in 2013).

**Terrorism and economy: The transmission channels**  
 In a country plagued by macroeco-

nomic instability and socioeconomic inequality, the imminent threat of terrorist incursions has taken a toll on growth. For a country already trapped in a very low growth rate, averaging 2-3 percent a year, security threats pose too great an economic consequence that the country cannot afford during this phase of its transition. Security threats, specifically terrorism attacks, may impair Tunisia's main transmission channels: Tourism, foreign direct investment (FDI), and social spending.

The tourism sector faces the highest risk of negative impact from terrorist threats. First, the rise in terrorism often causes a drop in tourist bookings, which consequently leads to the drop in tourism revenues, known as the income effect. As a pillar of the Tunisian economy, tourism contributes directly to social development and provides a source of foreign currency. Tourism revenues cover more than 50 percent of the country's trade deficit and employs 12 percent of the labor force, largely contributing to economic prosperity.

The insecurity generated by the terrorist acts increases the risk of stifling innovation in the tourism sector and the widespread use of all-inclusive travel packages. As a result, other supporting sectors, like food and beverage, transportation, crafts, and archaeological sites will not profit from the benefits of tourist arrivals. Known as the quality effect, its negative impact could destabilize the sector further, not to mention other macroeconomic

knock-on effects.

In terms of investment, FDI flows are closely linked to terrorist acts. First, terrorism—or any security-related instability—raises the cost of doing business (primarily due to expensive security measures) and reduces the return on FDI. The increased costs, as a direct impact of weak security, drives the outflow and reduction of FDI as risk-averse investors decide against participating in an insecure market. The latest figures published by Tunisian authorities show a sharp decline in foreign investment inflows recorded in the first half of 2014, a fall of 26.2 percent compared to the same period of 2013.

Second, the decline in FDI negatively affects foreign exchange reserves, threatening the Central Bank of Tunisia's ability to meet market demand for foreign currency. A shortfall in foreign currency liquidity puts direct downward pressure on the Tunisian dinar to depreciate with respect to the US dollar and the Euro. The increased "country risk" from the terrorist threat sends insurance premiums soaring. In the past three years, the top three rating agencies have downgraded Tunisia, citing the rise in terrorist attacks and political instability: Moody's cut Tunisia's sovereign rating to Baa3 from Baa3, Fitch cut it from BBB- to BB-, and Standard & Poor's lowered it from BB to B. The downgrades have resulted in a net decline in FDI and a net increase in prices of imported goods, which could feed into inflationary pressures and lead investors and consumers to delay their

purchasing decisions.

Third, terrorism directly affects government expenditure on more productive social programs—such as education, infrastructure, and social welfare—as it diverts funds to maintaining security. The effect on growth creates a feed-forward cycle that could in fact contribute to insecurity and weak economic growth. As government investment declines, slow growth leads to rising unemployment and poverty. As social needs approach desperation, so too does the inclination to turn to violence. Slow growth also results in a decline in tax revenues, which further prohibits government spending on advanced equipment to fight terrorist groups, and so on.

Overall, the rise in terrorism could weaken the morale of the main economic agents (consumer and investor), and contribute to the deterioration of the business climate. Terrorist attacks generate uncertainty and promote all forms of speculative behavior, leading investors and households to postpone their long-term projects. The lack of electoral transparency and the delay of the New Investment Code has already frozen Tunisian investors in a wait-and-see attitude, feeding the decline in domestic investment and economic growth. Consumers would feel similar pressures, particularly regarding purchases of durable goods and real estate.

**Options for exit strategies**  
 To reverse this destructive trend in Tunisia, the government must consider a number of measures on both

the economic and security fronts. Among them, border security is an imperative to prevent the movement of militants and arms into and out of the country. To monitor the border effectively, Tunisia's military needs modern equipment, such as helicopters or surveillance aircraft, a sophisticated control system for the airport, improved monitoring systems for the ports, and border inspection posts. Such equipment would also have dual use purposes in improving the effectiveness of anti-terrorism operations in Tunisia's interior.

Border security would also tackle the effects of a parallel black-market economy. Cross-border trafficking, smuggling, and other criminal activity not only leads to increased insecurity, it also draws labor away from the formal economy and produces stress on production and growth. Terrorist groups also benefit from the flourishing of an economy outside the law (estimated at around 40 percent of GDP) to finance their operations.

As the Tunisian National Constitutional Assembly debates draft counterterrorism legislation, it must also consider the tradeoff between freedom and security. Police need the appropriate leeway to investigate and apprehend terrorist suspects while exercising restraint and maintaining the public trust. Restrictions on freedom, if taken too far, could result in political instability, which in turn could negatively affect economic growth.

Lastly, Tunisia must coordinate with international partners. The quality and efficacy of domestic

policy against terrorism remains dependent on the willingness of Tunisian authorities to coordinate, not only with its Libyan and Algerian neighbors, but also with its US and European partners. With support from the Algerian army and the assistance package from the United States promised to Tunisian President Moncef Marzouki during his visit to United States in August 2014, Tunisia could maintain an effective environment to counter terrorism.

On the economic front, the government must prioritize tax and subsidy reform to reduce the fiscal deficit and mobilize the necessary finances to mitigate the economic factors that lead toward terrorism. Education reform could also help institutionalize a culture of tolerance and help students adapt to the requirements of the working environment. Such reform would lead to a drop in unemployment, which may limit the potential pool of terrorist recruits.

Between improved security and growth-driven economic policies, the Tunisian government could effectively counter the terrorist threat—a long-term strategy that the government can ill-afford to postpone.

*Moez Labidi is a Tunisian economist and a nonresident fellow with the Atlantic Council's Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East. Published on Atlantic Council's MENASource Blog. Republished with permission from Atlantic Council.*

# Yemen deal brings little solace

**IRIN**  
 First published Sept. 23

With northern rebels claiming the capital Sana'a and Al-Qaeda militants increasing their attacks in the south, Yemen's security crisis is likely to continue, experts believe. While a new agreement between the Houthis rebels and the government may have temporarily reduced fears of all-out civil war, the country's political, security, and economic crises are unlikely to ease, leading NGOs to fear increasing humanitarian needs.

The Arab world's poorest country has been beset by insecurity since a 2011 uprising that eventually unseated long-time president Ali Abdullah Saleh. The Houthis, based in the north along the Saudi Arabian border, have historically pursued claims for greater autonomy but of late have made an explosive entry into the national political sphere, while the southern-based Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) have been resurgent in recent months.

Houthi fighters, who between 2004 and 2010 fought the Saleh regime in what was, in effect, a civil war in the north of the country, have this year won successive military victories against tribal and Sunni Islamist militias in the province of Amran, which separates Sana'a from the Houthi heartland, Sa'ada, and most recently in resource rich Al-Jawf and Marib.

Since August 18, Houthi supporters have been flooding into Sana'a following a speech by their leader, Abdulmalek Al-Houthi, calling for the government to stand down and a reversal of a decision to reduce fuel subsidies, which led to a spike in prices by up to 95 per cent. Fighting with tribal and Sunni Islamist militias reached the capital a month later, with President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi, Saleh's successor, appearing unable to control his capital.

On September 21, in a deal welcomed by foreign powers, representatives of the government and the country's political establishment signed an agreement with the Houthis. The agreement was initially aimed at removing Houthi encampments set up in the center and outskirts of the city, and later came to call for the group to remove its militias from Sana'a and neighboring provinces. The Houthis agreed to the main body of the deal, which would see fuel prices brought down and give the Houthis a bigger role in selecting a new government. However, they refused at the last minute to sign one part of the deal outlining plans for successive withdrawals and disarmament, leaving it unclear if and when their forces will pull back from the capital.

While the agreement has calmed fears of an all-out civil war after several days of violence, it leaves a highly efficient and heavily armed militia in control of Sana'a. Likewise the peace deal has not addressed fighting between the Houthis and rival militias in the northern provinces of Marib and Al-Jawf—a situation that has humanitarian consequences.

"In the short term, continued fighting in Al-Jawf and Marib means more families displaced, schools occupied, and children dragged into fighting," Julien Harneis, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) representative in Yemen, told IRIN.

**Fertile ground for Al-Qaeda**

For the beleaguered government, the knock-on effects of the turmoil in Sana'a for their fight against AQAP in the south of the country could be significant. In recent months the group, the virulent local franchise of the extremist organization, has been stepping up its activities and rhetoric, with at least 20 people killed in attacks on military outposts by the group in August.

Earlier this year the military launched a major campaign against AQAP, but it has struggled to make gains; the offensive has not been



Houthi rebels chant slogans in the compound of the army's First Armored Division in Sanaa, Yemen, on Sept. 22, 2014.

able to significantly weaken the group, which has even expanded its presence in the eastern province of Hadramout.

There are also fears that the Houthis' power play could encourage the Sunni Islam AQAP to increase violence in Sana'a as they seek to fight back against the Shia group.

In mid-September a regional leader of Ansar Al-Sharia, an AQAP offshoot which does much of its work on the ground, announced that the group was increasing its presence in Sana'a in preparation for a fight with the Houthis.

Government officials say the standoff and fighting with the Houthi rebels distracted the military—which is both weak and divided—from the fight. "I think the Salafists and Al-Qaeda will use the opportunity to strengthen their presence in Sana'a;

that would be logical for them," said a senior government official. "Al-Qaeda are attacking the army and the PSO [intelligence agency]... This is a good environment for Al-Qaeda."

Ibrahim Sharqieh, a Yemen and conflict resolution expert at the Brookings Institution in Doha, thinks the dynamics of the country's crises are getting more complex and harder to solve.

"We are currently generating a number of new causes and deeper crises in Yemen, which changes the context," he said. "Conflict escalation where mistrust is very deep and the partners are escalating would change the relationships from collegiate to more adversarial which would change the dynamics in Yemen, which would make it difficult to resolve."

**A worsening humanitarian situation**

Further violence will only worsen already severe humanitarian needs. In 2011 the economy contracted 10.5 percent, according to the International Monetary Fund, pushing unemployment and poverty levels up to above 50 percent, where they have remained stubbornly stuck ever since. As such, pre-existing humanitarian needs have worsened; child malnutrition levels are among the highest in the world.

"In short, if the current crisis continues, there are short-term humanitarian problems and long-term development ones," UNICEF's Harneis said. In the short term, he added, the government's slow progress on addressing humanitarian needs must be addressed.

"The crisis is also slowing down

the government's work on the many reforms that Yemen needs," he said. "For example, the government's Social Welfare Fund [SWF] provides a small allowance to most of the 60 percent of the population living below the poverty line. It is a proven tool that helps families put food on the table and keep their children at school. However, many of Yemen's poorest are not yet covered by the SWF."

"We are working with the government and World Bank to extend the coverage of the Fund but with the current crisis it is difficult to keep the spotlight on this vital issue. That said, government is trying its best," said Harneis.

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## Writing, the Neglected skill

By RABAB AYASH

**W**riting, reading, listening and speaking are language skills that need to be developed by all language learners to master a language. All these skills in combination make the main block of language learning. Writing is essential and vital mean in every aspect of our life. Unfortunately, this area is not being given the due importance. Many believe that writing skill is less important than all the other skills; therefore, they give it none of their time. Thinking that writing is the skill of writers and authors and that it is not a skill to be developed by common people. Many learners neglect this skill and do not tend to do efforts to master it, for that reason, I chose the title of "writing the neglected skill" to this article.

We need to write from time to time. Many of our daily communications and works are accomplished through written communication and good writing skills allow you to communicate your message with clarity and ease to a larger number of audience than through face-to-face or telephone conversations. Your messages may not be fully understood in face to face communication. Written communication makes our life clearer for we normally do it with complete conscience and attention, unlike face to face communication, we can reread written communication and rewrite it if we find the message is not clear. Therefore, we need to have a good writing skill to achieve our career and life goals.



In our workplace, we might be asked to write a report to a boss, to construct a plan to improve a sector in a company or simply to write our own resignation paper. We need to write in our daily life activities as well. An excellent CV with no mistakes in it might be the first step to get a new job and we

will not be able to write a good CV unless we own the basics of writing skill. We need to message our friends via facebook, twitter and the other social medias. We may like to communicate our new ideas online via blogs. All that guide us to an end that writing is not a secondary skill as many thinks. In short, writing is a weapon that all need to get to know the right way to use it to win and survive the battle of life. The good news that I want to tell you at the end of this article is that writing skill is just like any other skill meaning it can be learnt. It is time to start learning how to write...!!

### GRAMMAR POINT

#### Verbs + Preposition (Of)

By MKATIE CUMA

**Accuse** \suspect somebody of  
She **accused** me **of** being selfish.  
Three students were suspected of cheating in the examination.

**Approve of**  
His parents don't **approve of** what he does, but they can't stop him.

**Die of** (an illness)  
"What did he **die of**?" "A heart attack."

**Consist of**  
We had an enormous meal. It **consisted of** seven courses.

## Laugh and learn

- A: I'm in a big trouble!  
B: Why is that?  
A: I saw a mouse in my house!  
B: Oh, well, all you need to do is use a trap.  
A: I don't have one.  
B: Well then, buy one.  
A: Can't afford one.  
B: I can give you mine if you want.  
A: That sounds good.  
B: All you need to do is just use some cheese in order to make the mouse come to the trap.  
A: I don't have any cheese.  
B: Okay then, take a piece of bread and put a bit of oil in it and put it in the trap.  
A: I don't have oil.  
B: Well, then put only a small piece of bread.  
A: I don't have bread.  
B: Then what is the mouse doing at your house?!



Pixar Animation Studios

### Study Idioms

**"Acid Test"**  
Meaning - Acid test proves the effectiveness of something.

#### Examples:

- I practiced hard at the dance sessions but the acid test will come when the master will assess our solo performances.
- I have studied for the exam but we cannot know the acid test of it till I get my paper back with a high marks.

**"Cut the ground from under feet"**  
Meaning - When you cut the ground from under someone's feet, you do something which weakens their position.

#### Examples:

- When team India hit more than 350 runs in the ODI, they cut the ground from under the opponent's feet.
- He cuts the ground from under the boss feet, he becomes the boss instead.

Source : <http://careerride.com>

## What To Say? To Congratulate Mom and Dad to Be

By SHAIMA'A ANKAMAH

**I**n this part of our educational page, we will try to provide you with some expressions that you need in your personal life for we know that these expressions are not taking into account when studying in schools, colleges and even institutes. Having no idea about "What To Say?" in a specific occasion puts many people in embarrassing situations. In our life, occasions are tracking one after the other. From giving birth to dying, we encounter many occasions in which we need to know how to convey our true feelings toward things happening around us. Because we are foreign learners of English and our knowledge of the language is deficient, we find ourselves in many situations unable to express ourselves for we do not have the right expressions to use.

To be in the safe side, we tend to give you some expressions you may need to use for congratulating and wishing or consolations. Getting pregnant is one of the most wonderful news for many people who dream to be a mother and a father.

To congratulate and support a mother and a father to be, you can use one of these expressions:

- Being pregnant means that you can put your feet up and watch TV while your husband does the dishes. Congratulations, enjoy every moment of it.
- Congratulations Mom to Be! We are really excited and happy to hear the good news. We are sure you are going to be an excellent Mom!
- Congratulations on Your Happy News! You'll have your arms around your little one before you know it! Congratulations! This is really great News. May God bless you as you approach the exciting event of your life.
- Congratulations on your pregnancy, we hope that the birth goes smoothly and your baby brings you much joy and happiness.
- Having a baby is one of the most wonderful, exiting, awesome, life changing events of

your life. Congratulations dear, I am sure you will be an excellent Mom.

- Congratulations on your upcoming bundle of joy.
- Your pregnancy is the second best news of the year. The first best news of the year will happen after nine months when the baby arrives. Congratulations.
- Welcome to the beginning of the end of your freedom for the rest of your life. Congratulations on your pregnancy.
- You have just been fired from your job of being just a woman. Congratulations for being accepted as an intern for the next nine months in your new job of being a mother.
- To be a woman is one thing. But to be a mother, is a whole new level. Congratulations for taking your first steps towards discovering a new dimension of life.
- Congratulations for getting pregnant. At least now you will have something to blame your weight gain.

### Selected Stories with life lessons

## The horse and the goat

**T**here was a farmer who had a horse and a goat. One day, the horse became ill. The farmer called the veterinarian, who said: "Well, your horse has a virus. He must take this medicine for three days. I'll come back on the 3rd day and if he's not better, we're going to have to put him down."

Nearby, the goat listened closely to their conversation. The next day, they gave him the medicine and left. The goat approached the horse and said: "Be strong, my friend. Get up or else they're going to put you to sleep!"

On the second day, they gave him the medicine and left. The goat came back and said: "Come on buddy, get up or else you're going to die! Come on, I'll help you get up. Let's go! One, two, three."

On the third day, they came to give him the medicine and the vet

said: "Unfortunately, we're going to have to put him down tomorrow. Otherwise, the virus might spread and infect the other horses." After they left, the goat approached the horse and said: "Listen pal, it's now or never! Get up, come on! Have courage! Come on! Get up! Get up! That's it, slowly! Great! Come on, one, two, three... Good, good. Now faster, come on..... Fantastic! Run, run more! Yes! Yay! Yes! You did it, you're a champion!!"

All of a sudden, the owner came back, saw the horse running in the field and began shouting: "It's a miracle! My horse is cured. We must have a grand party. Let's kill the goat."

**The Lesson:** This often happens in the workplace & life in general. Nobody truly knows which employee or people actually deserves the merit of success and are in fact contributing towards success, or who's



actually contributing the necessary support to make things happen. Be grateful.

**Remember**  
LEARNING TO LIVE WITHOUT RECOGNITION IS A SKILL:

If anyone ever tells you that your work is unprofessional, remember

- Amateurs built the Ark [which saved all the species]
- And professionals built the Titanic [all died tragically]

## Learn through Hadith

What we love must be parallel to what Allah loves. Prophet (pbuh) said:

"The strongest bond of faith is loyalty for the sake of Allah and opposition for His sake, love for the sake of Allah and enmity for His sake"  
(At-Tabarani)

"Oh Allah guide our hearts to love whatever You love .. amen."  
Love you all for the sake of Allah ...!!



## Vox Pop: A return to the Imamate?

■ Mohammed Al-Qalisi

Following the Houthis' recent victory in Sana'a, which saw the resignation of the prime minister, the seizure of a state-television channel, the take-over of a number of key military and security facilities, and a peace deal that met the Houthis' demands, the Yemen Times took to the streets to find out what people think is next.

Given the 52nd anniversary of the September 26 Revolution, which led to the fall of the Imamate, is on Friday, the Yemen Times asked people whether they think the Houthis want to re-establish the Imamate.



▲ AAZEM AL-RASAS, 30, entrepreneur and owner of Home Interior Designs

The Houthis' demands are legitimate, but for them to carry out their demands by force means they are not speaking for the people.

▲ AISHA AL-MADANI, 39, Housewife

The Houthis came to rescue the people. I do not think they want to take us back to the Imamate age, but in reality no one knows what's coming. No matter what, we will not allow the Imamate to return.



▲ ABDALLAH GALAB, 37, government employee

I do not think the Houthis will return Yemen to the pre-September 26 Revolution. The people are more cultured and [politically] aware now, it is difficult to go back, erase history and re-establish an Imamate. Non-democratic rule is immoral.



▲ MOHAMMAD AL-SAEEDI, 27, nurse at the Saudi-Yemeni Hospital. A Houthi supporter, but not a Houthi himself

I do not think they want a return to the pre-September 26, 1962 era. They want a new system—a republican system. The Houthis are only interested in making sure popular demands are met.



▲ ABDULWAHAB AL-HASHASH, 18, soldier in the republican guard

Houthis entered Sana'a gradually and took over military camps. This means that they are trying to send us back to the way things were before the 26 September Revolution. Even if they have not yet accomplished that goal, they gradually will.



▲ WADDHAH GALAB, 33, employee at the oil services company Obex-Yemen, Houthi member


I do not think they will re-establish an Imamate, but I think we will have a system similar to the Iranian republic.



▲ BAKEEL ABDULLAH, 28, GPC member and doctor's assistant


Yemen cannot be brought back to the pre-September 26 era. Back then those who opposed the revolution were few, today there are many more who oppose Houthis' revolution.





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Control Valves



Marine & Truck Loading Arms & Systems



Allen-Bradley



Frank W Murphy



Fluid Control Fittings/Pumps/Invalves/Manifolds



Tank gauging & Inventory system



Power, Desalination & Central Sewerage Electrovalves



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