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SANA'A, Nov. 3—Dozens of Sana'a University students protested inside the university on Monday morning demanding armed Houthis to evacuate the campus. A press conference was first held at the gate of the university.

Investigations underway on assassination of peace-deal mediator

Al-Mutawakel was assassinated one day after an agreement was reached between the government, political parties, and the Houthis

■ Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, Nov. 3—President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi ordered the formation of a committee on Sunday to investigate the culprits behind the assassination of Mohammed Abdu Al-Malik Al-Mutawakel in the capital. Al-Mutawakel is the head of the liberal Union of Popular Forces Party and has been involved in negotiating a peace deal between the Houthis and the government.

The assassination came one day after a deal was reached.

The committee was formed hours after Al-Mutawakel's assassination. Two assassins on a motorbike shot Al-Mutawakel in the neck on Al-Zira'a Street before fleeing the scene.

The Presidential Office issued a statement on Monday condemning the assassination, saying it was intended to "create chaos in Yemen." The office also promised to hold accountable those behind the attack.

Mohammed Saleh Al-Na'emi, head of the Political Department of the Union of Popular Forces party, told the Yemen Times the victim had no personal enemies and was friendly with many political parties and figures, whatever their political views.

"I was [just with Al-Mutawakel] on Thursday. He was behind [most of the mediation] between the parties, the government, and the Houthis, which resulted in the deal to form a new government," Al-Na'emi said.

Al-Mutawakel is a prominent politician and played a large role in the country's 2011 uprising that led former President Ali Abdullah Saleh to step down.

But Al-Mutawakel, known for reaching across political parties to encourage bipartisan cooperation, drew the ire of his own party and other opposition groups in 2012 when he visited Saleh at his home following the attempted assassina-



"No targeting of academic staff," reads the sign held by a young protester (middle) in front of Sana'a University.

tion on the former president.

In an interview with Adwa'a newspaper in 2012, Al-Mutawakel said "humanity must be a part of a man's life, otherwise that man [is only an] animal. Opposing other people's opinions does not mean opposing the people themselves."

The visit resulted in tensions between him and other parties in the Joint Meetings Parties (JMP), the coalition of opposition parties.

Al-Mutawakel was seen by many as pro-Houthi for supporting their populist demands, according to Dhaif Allah Al-Shami, head of the Houthis' Media Department.

"He supported Houthi demands to change the government and the set-up of popular committees, which he believed would improve security and help to fight Al-Qaeda.

But, he also disagreed with and opposed many of our ideas. He always advised us to avoid conflict with other groups," Al-Shami said.

"We offered to provide him with bodyguards, but he refused. He said he had no problems with any person or group," he added. He said those behind the assassination are trying to hinder the political process. "They assassinated one of Yemen's great men."

Investigations are still underway, according to Mohammed Hizam, the deputy director of the Public Relations Department at the Ministry of Interior.

Hizam said the government has been unable to enforce the ban on motorbikes, passed by presidential decree in December, because of increased instability following the

Houthi takeover of the capital on Sept. 21.

This is not the first assassination attempt on Al-Mutawakel. In 2011, unidentified armed men, also on motorbike, shot at Al-Mutawakel but missed.

Al-Mutawakel was born in Hajja city in the governorate of Hajja in 1942. He was a professor of political science at Sana'a University. He earned a master's degree in media management from the US in 1980. He is the former head of the Tourism Authority and a former minister of trade. In 1989, he co-founded the Unionist Coalition, the former opposition block that consisted of seven political parties. He was a founding member of the JMP in 2003 and became head of the party in 2011.

Electricity outages continue

Three attacks on power lines in Marib since Thursday have caused severe power outages in Sana'a, Ibb, Taiz, Dhamar, and Al-Jawf governorates.

■ Bassam Al-Khameri

SANA'A, Nov. 3—Constant blackouts are continuing in Sana'a and several other governorates following multiple attacks on power lines in Marib governorate.

The state-run Marib Gas Power Station supplies power to Sana'a, Taiz, Ibb, Al-Jawf, and Dhamar governorates. Since Thursday, these governorates have suffered from power outages that have been lasting about 21 hours per day.

Most recently, the power lines in Al-Shabwan area of Marib were attacked on Sunday at about 5:30 PM, "only one hour after a team of engineers fixed it," Marib-based journalist Mohammed Bohaibeh told the Yemen Times.

"Anonymous gunmen shot at the power lines and fled the scene. The perpetrators are allegedly associated with the former President Ali Abdulla Saleh," he added.

The Marib station is now in a critical situation and needs urgent maintenance because of the constant attacks on it, according to Harith Al-Omari, deputy head of the Sana'a Public Electricity Corporation.

Al-Omari told the Yemen Times at 4 PM on Monday that the Marib Gas Power Station was to be repaired again later the same day.

"The teams of engineers will repair the power station on Monday and the station will start operating again," he said.

The electricity lines in Al-Shabwan also sustained attacks on Thursday and Friday, resulting in electricity outages in Sana'a and other governorates.

The constant power cuts have aggravated the already difficult economic situation of Yemenis, resulting in fuel shortages, internet cuts, and poor cellphone coverage.

Several gas stations were shut down on Saturday and Sunday in Sana'a and cars had to queue in long lines in front of the few stations that were open to get gas.

The state-run Yemen Petroleum Company on Sunday announced that the fuel shortage in the capital was a result of the attacks on the Marib Gas Power Station on Thursday and Friday.

Taha Al-Zubair, director of the Public Relations and Media Department at the Ministry of Electricity and Energy, told the Yemen Times that the electricity system is deteriorating day by day.

"Electricity was in a critical condition prior to the attacks and it worsened after these constant attacks," he added.

Power lines from the Marib Gas Power Station were also attacked twice in Al-Jawf governorate in mid-September, during clashes between the Houthis and local tribesmen, allegedly associated with the Islah Party. The perpetrators were never identified.

The instability facing Yemen since the 2011 uprising has resulted in numerous attacks to power lines and electricity towers. While the perpetrators are rarely identified, local tribesmen in Marib with grievances against the government are usually blamed.

According to the Ministry of Electricity and Energy, the Marib Gas Power Station has sustained 64 attacks since 2011.

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Houthis continue storming Islah institutions

■ Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, Nov. 3—Houthis stormed two buildings affiliated with the Islah Party in Sana'a on Sunday, following an attack on the party's headquarters in Ibb governorate on Friday.

On Sunday, Houthis stormed an Islah-owned dormitory near Al-Adel Street in the capital. Houthis allegedly captured three students, and interrogated them at an unknown location. Students were also warned not to participate in any anti-Houthi protests, according to Muhammad Al-Sabri, one of the buildings' supervisors. After a couple of hours, Al-Sabri said, they were released again.

Abdulrazzaq Al-Muayyad, the manager of security in Sana'a, declined to comment on the incident.

Hussein Al-Bukhaiti, a prominent Houthi member and activist, said that he heard that Houthis entered the building but could not provide any further details.

The Yemen Times tried to contact Houthi spokespeople and members of the Houthis' Political Council, but was unable to reach anyone for comment on the alleged kidnapping.

On Sunday, Houthis also stormed the headquarters of the Islah Charitable Association in Sana'a, according to Mohammed Al-Imad, a party member and employee at the association.

While they did not harm anyone inside, they prevented the employees from leaving the building, Al-Imad said. "Houthis took photos of individuals located inside the headquarters, inspected the building, and then left."

Mohammed Al-Bukhaiti, a member of the Houthis' Political Office, told the Yemen Times on Sept. 22 that the Houthis don't storm headquarters and buildings "unless they possess certain information that it contains weapons."

The recent incidents in Sana'a came after a Houthi attack on the Islah Party headquarters in the capital of Ibb governorate on Friday. After hours of clashes, the Houthis gained control over the headquarters.

According to a statement released on Saturday by the party's local branch in Ibb, six Islah members were killed in the fighting.

Ibrahim Al-Badani, a journalist from Ibb, said, "armed men besieged the building and then the clashes broke out. Finally, a mediation committee was formed by tribal leaders to save the security guards, but Houthis breached the agreement and arrested several headquarter employees."

Al-Ba'adani added that Houthis also seized several cars belonging to the headquarters, that they looted on Saturday morning. "Six Islah members are still held captive and there is no information about them," he added.

According to Dhaif Allah Al-Shami, a member of the Houthis' Political Office, the fighting around the Islah Party's headquarter was triggered by Islah members. "Armed men from the headquarter shot at members of Houthi popular committees who were driving in their cars, and two members were killed. This incident forced those members of the popular committees to respond."

When the popular committee stormed the headquarter they discovered various types of weapons located inside, according to Al-Shami.

"Those people from the headquarters who were arrested are prisoners of war and not detainees, because they were arrested while preparing for battle," he said.

The Yemen Times contacted leading figures from the Islah Party, but were refused comment regarding the events in Ibb.



The Islah-owned student dormitories located on Al-Adel Street in Sana'a were stormed by the Houthis on Sunday.

JMP supports new government

■ Khalid Al-Karimi

SANA'A, Nov. 2—Yemeni political parties, including the Joint Meeting Parties (JMPs), signed an agreement on Saturday delegating President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi and Prime Minister Khalid Bahah to form an effective national government.

Earlier, on Oct. 25, the JMP expressed its opposition to existing plans of forming a new government.

In addition to the JMP, the signatories included the General People's Congress (GPC), the Southern Movement, and the Houthis, among others.

"We, the political parties and factions, ask President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi and Prime Minister Khalid Bahah to form an effective national government according to the criteria agreed upon in the document of the Peace and National Partnership Agreement," read the document.

On Oct. 25, the JMP still declared their objection to the distribution of ministry positions, saying that it did not get a fair amount of ministerial positions.

They threatened to not participate in the new government should President Hadi insist on the suggested allocation of ministerial positions.

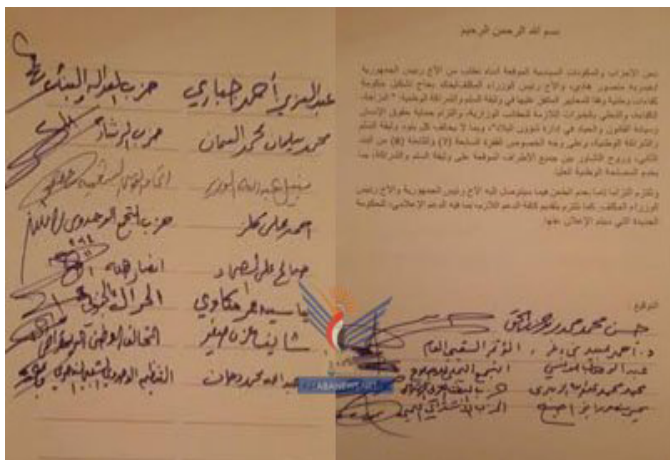
Abdulla Dahan, a member of the Nasserist Party which is also part of the JMP, explained that the JMP reversed its position once they realized that their behavior constituted an obstacle to the formation of a new government.

The National Peace and Partnership Agreement signed between the Houthis, the government, and a range of other political actors on Sept. 21, called for the establishment of a new and "competency-based" government.

"In establishing the new government, the principles of competence, integrity, and national partnership shall be upheld, and broad participation of political constituencies shall be ensured," the agree-

ment read.

By signing the agreement on Saturday, the JMP authorized Hadi and Bahah to freely allocate ministerial positions, independent of party lines. The only requirements to be considered in the appointment of ministers are the specific criteria mentioned in the partnership agreement. These include "integrity, competency, requisite expertise in a field relevant to the ministerial portfolio, commitment to the protection of human rights and the rule of law, and impartiality in the conduct of state affairs."



The JMP previously expressed its opposition to the allocation of ministerial positions, arguing it was not receiving its fair share.

"Authorizing President Hadi and the prime minister is not a matter of escaping our responsibility. However, it is a step to overcome the difficulties that obstruct the formation of a new government," said Dahan.

Abdulhafit Al-Nahari, the deputy head of the GPC's Information Department, agrees that the selection of candidates should be in accordance with the criteria mentioned in the partnership agreement.

Hussein Al-Bukhaiti, a prominent Houthi figure, told the Yemen Times the agreement will hopefully quicken the establishment of an effective government. "If the government is not formed, President Hadi is to be blamed. The matter is in his hand now," Al-Bukhaiti said.

"We are committed to provide the necessary support, including the media support, for the new government which will be declared," read the agreement of the political parties.

Whereabouts of alleged Houthis arrested in Aden unclear

■ Bassam Al-Khameri

SANA'A, Nov. 2—Two days after alleged Houthi members were arrested on Saturday at the entrance to the Aden governorate, their whereabouts and identities remain unclear.

Popular committees in Salah Al-Deen area, located at the western entrance of Aden governorate, stopped a Toyota Hilux truck on Saturday evening transporting between 15 to 20 men, according to Mohammed Herbj, commander of the popular committees in the area.

The men were arrested and held by popular committee members "until an armored vehicle and two military vehicles [from the 4th Military Command] came and took them," Herbj said.

Majed Al-Shuaibi, a journalist and member of the Southern Movement's Media Committee

in Aden, told the Yemen Times that there is conflicting information regarding the whereabouts of the arrested men. As of Monday afternoon, both Herbj and Al-Shuaibi said they heard that both men were still with the 4th Military Command.

"It's said that they are still held by the 4th Military Command but it's impossible to contact the command to make sure," said Al-Shuaibi.

The Yemen Times was unable to contact the 4th Military Command for comment.

Mohammed Al-Hunahi, a lawyer and human rights activist, told the Yemen Times that it is illegal to hold the armed men captive without specifying a particular reason.

According to Herbj, "the men in the Hilux truck were unarmed Houthis who claimed to be soldiers associated with the Central Security Forces and the

Lawdar Brigade [115th Infantry Brigade]."

When the arrested men were asked for information about their military units, they could not provide any, which Herbj said he took as evidence that they were lying.

Mohammed Al-Bukhaiti, a member of the Houthis' Political Office, denied Herbj's suspicions, saying that the men arrested in Aden were "soldiers who had no guns when they were arrested."

In a statement to the independent Al-Ghad Newspaper in Aden on Sunday, a source in the 4th Military Command further complicated the debate surrounding the identities of the arrested men. The source stated, "the arrested men said that they were civilians from northern governorates who came to Aden for personal reasons."

The source added that the

command held no evidence indicating that the armed men are Houthis.

A security source in Aden governorate, who spoke to the Yemen Times on condition of anonymity, told the Yemen Times that several cars were stopped and people arrested since the beginning of the Southern Movement's sit-in on Oct. 14.

The source admitted "we can't confirm that they are Houthis as of now," but said that security forces are on high alert these days, worrying that so-called "spoilers" will spread chaos and unrest in the governorate.

Asked if the Houthis are trying to spread in the south, Al-Bukhaiti simply responded, "Ansar Allah [the Houthis] has the right to spread itself culturally throughout Yemen. Nobody can prevent Yemenis from moving north or south."

AROUND TOWN



A man named Zakaria rides his colorful motorbike on Hadda street in the capital Sana'a. He is wearing Arab kohl under his eyes, which is traditionally made from ithmid stone and dates back millennia in the Middle East and North Africa. Historically, Arab kohl was worn by both men and women, not only for its beautifying effect but also to help cure ailments like eye infections (Photo: Brett Scott).

IN BRIEF

Two alleged AQAP members killed in Rada'a

SANA'A, Nov. 3—A drone strike in Rada'a district of Al-Baida governorate killed two alleged Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) members on Sunday evening.

The governorate's spokesperson for seven districts, including Rada'a district, Nasser Al-Sanei, said "the drone targeted Abu Saleh Al-Abiani and Omar Al-Dhahar, while they were walking in Yaklah village in Qaifa area after the Maghreb [evening] prayer."

Sources near to AQAP asserted that two of their members were killed, He added.

An AQAP source confirmed to the Yemen Times on condition of anonymity that Abu Saleh Al-Abiani and Omar Al-Dhahar were killed in the drone attack.

When the people in Qaifa hear the sound of the drone planes, they immediately switch off their mobile phones, knowing that drones follow mobile phone signals, said Al-Sanei.

Yemen becomes observer to the European Energy Charter Treaty

SANA'A, Nov. 3—The deputy prime minister and minister of electricity, Abdullah Al-Akwa, signed an agreement in Brussels on Monday granting Yemen observer status to the European Energy Charter Treaty.

The European Energy Charter Treaty establishes a framework for international cooperation in the field of energy between European countries and other regions, including the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and North Africa.

During the signing ceremony, the acting prime minister said that this move aims to facilitate Yemen's regional cooperation in matters related to energy, thereby enabling it to enhance the safety of transporting and exchanging energy products and developing agreements and protocols with member states in various fields, according to the state-run Saba News Agency.

The prime minister further indicated that Yemen seeks to enhance its cooperation with member states of the European Energy Charter Treaty in an attempt to improve its use of alternative energies and develop renewable energy sources, Saba reported.

Houthis hand over Suhail Channel

SANA'A, Nov. 3—Houthis handed over the Suhail TV Channel on Monday evening, after having stormed and taken control of it on Sept. 22.

The channel's administration announced on its Facebook page on Monday that the Houthis left the premises, emphasizing its legal right to claim back the equipment that had been stolen by the Houthis.

Walid Al-Moalimi, a broadcaster for the channel, stated that many devices were taken by the Houthis, adding that the channel's administration would hold a press conference in the coming days to provide a detailed account of what happened.

On Monday, Sept. 22, the Houthis stormed the Suhail TV channel, which is affiliated with the Islah Party. At the time, Ali Al-Qahoom, an official spokesperson for the Houthis, told the Yemen Times the Houthis did not break into the channel's premises and did not take any equipment from it. "The crew fled [in fear of being attacked], so Ansar Allah [the Houthis] had to surround and protect it," he said.

Houthis take Jabal Ras from AQAP



Upon hearing that AQAP had taken control of Jabal Ras district, Hodeida governorate, the Houthis sent military vehicles with armed men to the area.

■ Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, Nov. 3—The Houthis took control of Jabal Ras district of Hodeida governorate on Monday morning, shortly after the district fell to Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) on Saturday.

Hashem Al-Azazi, the under-secretary of Hodeida governorate, told the Yemen Times that on Monday "Houthis regained the district after it had been under the control of AQAP for two days." He added that the AQAP militants withdrew and no fighting occurred.

"Twenty military vehicles loaded with armed Houthis left from Hodeida city towards Jabal Ras district on Monday morning," he said.

Dhaifala Al-Shami, a member of the Houthis' Political Office, said "Ansar Allah [the Houthis] sent military vehicles with armed Houthis to the district because there were no security offices and soldiers in the dis-

trict, and AQAP militants controlled it."

Abdulhafeedh Al-Hotami, a journalist in Hodeida city, confirmed this, saying that none of the security offices and checkpoints were manned with soldiers or AQAP fighters, making it easy for the Houthis to spread in Jabal Ras district.

Residents in the district are split in their support for the Houthis, Al-Hotami added.

Jabal Ras, which roughly translates to "top of the mountain," is strategically important because it overlooks many of Hodeida's other districts.

AQAP's brief takeover

On Saturday evening allegedly 30 soldiers and two AQAP militants were killed when AQAP attacked Jabal Ras district, which ended in AQAP taking control of the district from the government.

"The attack resulted in 30 soldiers being killed, three vehicles being taken, and control

of all the facilities in the district being under [AQAP's] control," Al-Azazi said on Saturday night. Five other soldiers were injured, including the district security manager, Abu Hadi.

The Yemen Times tried to contact the district's security office but received no response.

A self-identified AQAP member, who preferred to remain anonymous, said that two of the group's members were killed in the fighting and three others were injured.

AQAP claimed responsibility for the attack, posting on Sunday morning "the attack occurred at 5 PM on Saturday from multiple fronts." They named important checkpoints and areas in the district that they attacked, and concluded that "all areas in the district were taken under our control."

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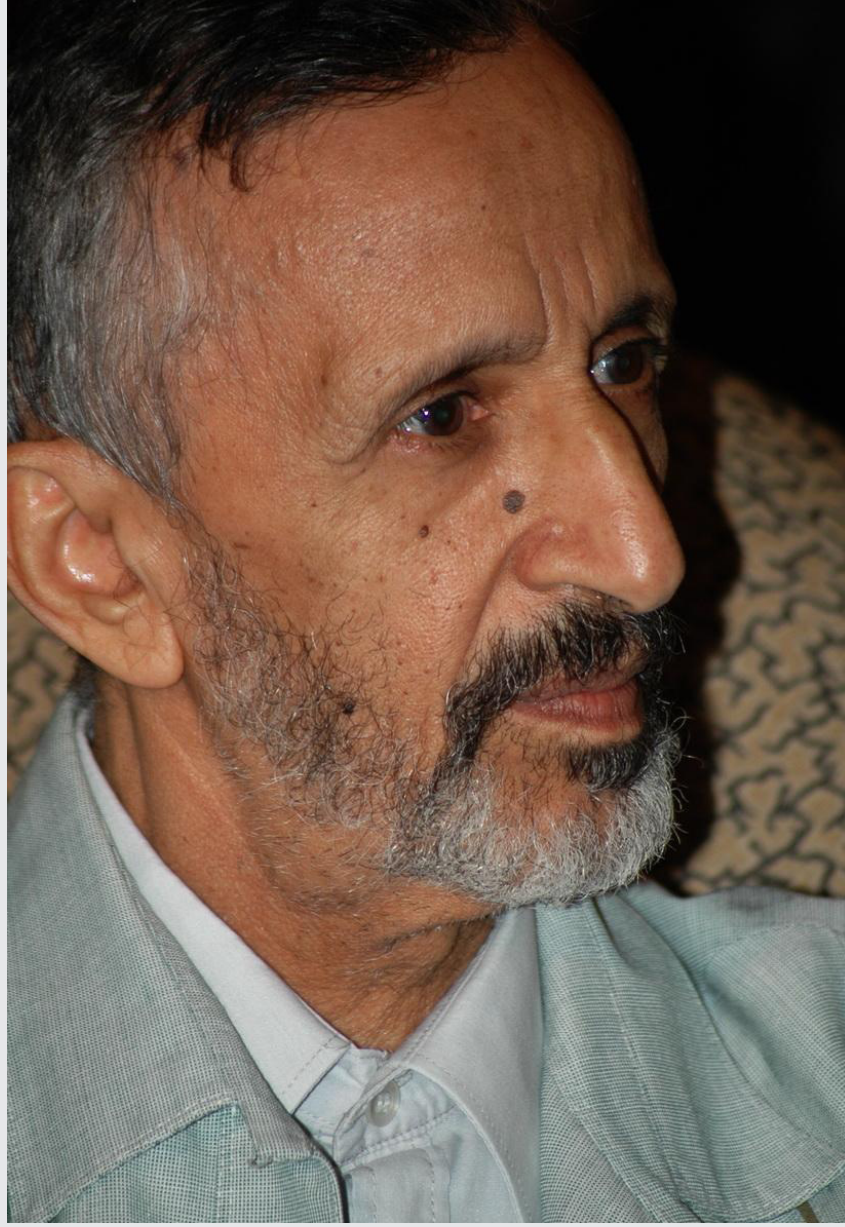
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The West is silent as Libya falls into the abyss

World View: In 2011, there was jubilation at Gaddafi's demise. Not any more: The aftermath of foreign intervention is calamitous and bloody

Patrick Cockburn
independent.co.uk
First published Nov. 2

Remember the time when Libya was being held up by the American, British, French, and Qatari governments as a striking example of benign and successful foreign intervention? It is worth looking again at film of David Cameron grandstanding as liberator in Benghazi in September 2011 as he applauds the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi and tells the crowd that "your city was an example to the world as you threw off a dictator and chose freedom."

Mr. Cameron has not been back to Benghazi, nor is he likely to do so as warring militias reduce Libya to primal anarchy in which nobody is safe. The majority of Libyans are demonstrably worse off today than they were under Gaddafi, notwithstanding his personality cult and authoritarian rule. The slaughter is getting worse by the month and is engulfing the entire country.

"Your friends in Britain and France will stand with you as you build your democracy," pledged Mr. Cameron to the people of Benghazi. Three years later, they are words he evidently wants to forget, since there was almost no reference to Libya, the one military intervention he had previously ordered, when he spoke in the House of Commons justifying British airstrikes against the Islamic State (Isis) in Iraq.

The foreign media has largely ceased to cover Libya because it rightly believes it is too dangerous for journalists to go there. Yet

I remember a moment in the early summer of 2011 on the frontline south of Benghazi when there were more reporters and camera crews present than there were rebel militiamen. Cameramen used to ask fellow foreign journalists to move aside when they were filming so that this did not become too apparent. In reality, Gaddafi's overthrow was very much NATO's doing, with Libyan militiamen mopping up.

Human rights organizations have had a much better record in Libya than the media since the start of the uprising in 2011. They discovered that there was no evidence for

several highly publicized atrocities supposedly carried out by Gaddafi's forces that were used to fuel popular support for the air war in the US, Britain, France, and elsewhere. These included the story of the mass rape of women by Gaddafi's troops that Amnesty International exposed as being without foundation. The uniformed dead bodies of government soldiers were described by rebel spokesmen as being men shot because they were about to defect to the opposition. Video film showed the soldiers still alive as rebel prisoners so it must have been the rebels who had executed them and put the blame on the government.

Foreign governments and media alike have good reason to forget what they said and did in Libya in 2011, because the aftermath of the overthrow of Gaddafi has been so appalling. The extent of the calamity is made clear by two reports on the present state of the country, one by Amnesty International called "Libya: Rule of the gun—abductions, torture, and other militia abuses in western Libya" and a second by Human Rights Watch, focusing on the east of the country, called "Libya: Assassinations may be crimes against humanity."

The latter is a gruesome but fascinating account of what people in Benghazi call "Black Friday," which occurred on Sept. 19 this year, the most deadly day in a three-day assassination spree in the city, in which "the dead included two young activists, members of the security services, an outspoken cleric, and five other civilians." The activists were Tawfiq Bensaud and Sami Elkawafi, two men aged

18 and 19, who had campaigned and demonstrated against militia violence. Among others who died was a prominent cleric, Seikh Nabil Sati, who was murdered, as well as a young man, Abdulrahman Al-Mogherbi, who was kidnapped at the cleric's funeral and later found dead.

Their murders brought to 250 the number of victims of politically motivated killings this year in Benghazi and Derna, the major cities in eastern Libya. This is not counting the far larger number who have died in military operations between the different militias or the battles that have raged in and around Tripoli.

Without the rest of the world paying much attention, a civil war has been raging in western Libya since July 13 between the Libya Dawn coalition of militias, originally based in Misrata, and another militia group centered on Zintan. A largely separate civil war between the forces of retired General Khalifa Haftar and the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries is being fought out in the city. Government has collapsed. Amnesty says that torture has become commonplace with victims being "beaten with plastic tubes, sticks, metal bars or cables, given electric shocks, suspended in stress positions for hours, kept blindfolded, and shackled for days."

It is easy enough to deride the neo-imperial posturing of David Cameron and Nicolas Sarkozy, or to describe the abyss into which Libya has fallen since 2011. The people whom that intervention propelled into power have reduced a country that had been peaceful

The people whom the intervention propelled into power have reduced a country that had been peaceful for more than half a century to a level of violence that is beginning to approach that of Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan."

for more than half a century to a level of violence that is beginning to approach that of Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Whatever Western intentions, the result has been a disaster. In Libya, as in Syria today, Western intervention was supposedly in support of democracy, but was conducted in alliance with the Sunni absolute monarchies of the Gulf who had no such aims.

The temptation is to say that foreign intervention invariably brings catastrophe to the country intervened in. But this is not quite true: US air strikes in defense of

the Syrian Kurds at Kobani and the Iraqi Kurds in their capital Erbil are justifiable and prevent massacres by ISIL (Islamic State). But the drawback is that foreign intervention is always in the interests of the country intervening. These may, for a time, coincide with the real interests of the country where the foreign intervention is taking place, but this seldom lasts very long.

This is the lesson of recent foreign interventions in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and Syria. Most Afghans wanted the Taliban out in 2001 but they did not want the warlords back, something the Americans found acceptable. The US would fight the Taliban, but not confront the movement's sponsors in Pakistan, thereby dooming Afghanistan to endless war. In Iraq in 2003, many Iraqis welcomed the US-led invasion because they wanted the end of Saddam Hussein's rule, but they did not want a foreign occupation. The Americans did not want the fall of Saddam to benefit Iran, so they needed to occupy the country and install their own nominees in power.

In all three cases cited above, the West intervened in somebody else's civil war and tried to dictate who won. There was a pretense that the Taliban, Saddam, Gaddafi, or Assad were demonically evil and without any true supporters. This foreign support may give victory to one party in a civil war, as in Libya, which they could not win by relying on their own strength. In Iraq, the beleaguered Sunni could not fight a US-backed Shia government so it needed to bring in Al-Qaeda. Thus the conditions were created that eventually produced ISIL.

"They discovered that there was no evidence for several highly publicized atrocities supposedly carried out by Gaddafi's forces that were used to fuel popular support for the war in the US, Britain, France and elsewhere."

In Yemen, everything is "aady"

■ Rawan Abdulla

With our attention understandably focused on the monumental political events taking place in Yemen right now, there is often times little room for introspection—something that is absolutely necessary if ordinary people like ourselves are to become empowered in circumstances that seem both disempowering and debilitating.

As a British Yemeni, I have both the benefit and the curse of having an outsider perspective. Although there are many things I adore about Yemen, there is one thing I find curious: When asked why they or someone else are doing something dirty, inappropriate, or sometimes just plain wrong, Yemenis of all ages often respond "aady," which means "it's fine" or "it doesn't matter." Why is he throwing his rubbish out of the car window? "Aady." Why are you pushing into a queue? "Aady." Why, I asked my little cousins, did

they come to open the gate outside without shoes on? "Aady," they replied.

I told them that tomorrow, they could be playing naked outside, and if asked about it, would still respond in the same way. My point, of course, was lost on these little children, but hopefully you understand. If the little things are fine, then the big things are fine. If you double park or you throw your rubbish out onto the street, then soon you will be cheating on an exam, or skimming percent points off the top of public works, and also think it "aady."

The danger is that all actions can be considered "aady" if we say they are, however then we have a barely functioning society, and moreover, one where nobody quite understands why, because the language we use does not factor in the importance of these actions. The language we use to justify becomes the language that masks and disguises. Introspection—the key to change—then becomes difficult; how can we hold ourselves to account for actions we do not think

It may only be a word, but it represents an attitude and a way in which we belittle the importance of reflecting upon our own responsibilities.

matter?

These actions, whether you deem them significant or not, are what leads to the rampant corruption we see in public life, if one puts a microscope to it. It all begins somewhere, and highly corrupt individuals themselves also have to start somewhere. This is why language and the way we speak are important. It may only be a

word, but it represents an attitude and a way in which we belittle the importance of reflecting upon our own responsibilities. However, this self-reflection is the only way we can empower ourselves in such circumstances.

I acknowledge the difficulty of life here in Yemen and understand that sometimes it feels like you must behave in a certain way in order to bear living, but our complaints become less legitimate if we ourselves contribute to what we are complaining about. We need to come to terms with what is happening in Yemen in a way that allows us to engage, contribute, and change our circumstances, perhaps first by pausing and taking a moment to think about how we use the word "aady."

Rawan Abdulla grew up in the UK and is currently doing her LLM in human rights law at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. She has a blog www.poorlittlemuslimgirl.wordpress.com and tweets at @rawanabdulla.



**Embassy of India
Sana'a
Press Release**

Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) is organizing 30th "KNOW INDIA PROGRAMME (KIP)" from 23rd December, 2014 – 12th January, 2015 and 31st "KNOW INDIA PROGRAMME" from 2nd January, 2015 – 22nd January 2015. The partner state for 30th KIP will be Gujarat and for 31st KIP will be Gujarat. The aim of the programme is to familiarize youths of Indian Origin with various subject viz Indian political process, developments in various sectors, education institutes, exposure to Indian media, village life, historical places/monuments and Yoga besides interactions with NGOs and call on higher dignitaries in India.

The programme is open for Persons of Indian Origins (PIOs) who are, (i) in age group of 18-26 years, (ii) graduate or studying for Graduate, (iii) able to converse and read in English and medically fit.

In case selected candidates would be required to purchase his/her return cheapest economy air tickets, **90% amount would be reimbursed** by Indian Embassy, Sana'a after journey is completed. **The candidate will be provided free boarding/lodging with Rs. 100/- pocket expenses every day.**

Details of the programme/application are available in the website www.moia.gov.in or <http://moia.gov.in>

Interested candidates may submit their filled-in applications to Embassy of India, P.O. Box No. 1154, Sana'a by **12th November 2014 for 30th KIP** and by **30th November 2014 for 31st KIP** respectively.

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Sr. Control Technician

Ref. No.: YE14.44 | Location: Yemen, Field | Contract Type: Direct

Responsibilities:

- ▶ Efficient execution of C&I maintenance activities in the field.
- ▶ Supervising the safe and effective execution of necessary replacements and repairing to promptly restore service in the event of failure or malfunction.
- ▶ Assigning and supervising work of Technicians.
- ▶ Executing and monitoring results of preventative maintenance program with emphasis on improving the field's availability and reliability.
- ▶ Scheduling the C&I team activities and provide estimated man hours, materials and tools requirement.
- ▶ Ensuring documentation and reporting requirements on maintenance activities are adhered to.
- ▶ Managing the equipments certification.
- ▶ Carrying out root cause analysis for equipments frequent trips and suggesting improvements/modifications.
- ▶ Preparing permit to work packages including risk assessments / job safety analysis.
- ▶ Driving the HSEQ systems and procedures implementation in areas of influence.

Your Profile:

- ▶ Bachelor degree in Instrumentation or technical diploma in Instrumentation.
- ▶ Minimum 10 years' experience with 5 years in senior instrument technician role.
- ▶ Good knowledge of maintenance practices and ability to perform pneumatic, logic, digital and processor based instruments and troubleshooting.
- ▶ Good knowledge of HMIs, DCSs, SCADA and SIL rated ESDs systems.
- ▶ Good knowledge of Computerized maintenance management system (CMMS) preferably MAXIMO and/or SAP. Familiar Root Cause Analysis software.
- ▶ Fluent English and communication skills.
- ▶ Yemeni National.

Control & Automation Team Leader

Ref. No.: YE14.45 | Location: Yemen, Field | Contract Type: Direct

Responsibilities:

- ▶ Monitoring and leading plant maintenance activities with special focus on controls, instrumentation, and electrical (C&I) engineering to maximize plant availability in order that all planned hydrocarbon targeted volumes are met (quantity & quality).
- ▶ Over sighting of the design, specification, modification and services related to the Integrated Control and Safety System and other control systems as required.
- ▶ Reviewing vendor documentation and critical design documentation produced by contractors.
- ▶ Providing regular communication of system status, schedule issues, quality issues, etc to the company's field supervisor and line management.
- ▶ Providing input on maintenance planning, schedules and intervals for C&I. Participation in preparation of capital and operating budgets. Investigate and redress any variances to ensure effective cost control and review performance.
- ▶ Monitoring and overseeing the implementation of preventive and corrective maintenance programs, and planned shutdowns.
- ▶ Evaluating work methods and procedures used in maintenance repair and engineering, recommends and implements improvements.
- ▶ Monitoring contractor's performance and quality of services to ensure compliance with their contractual obligations. Assist in managing vendor support during maintenance & re-commissioning phase on equipment and machinery.

Your Profile:

- ▶ Bachelor degree in Electronics, Mechatronics, Electrical or equivalent technical diploma.
- ▶ Minimum of 7 years' experience within Oil & Gas/ Petrochemical Industry with 5 years' experience in a supervisory capacity.
- ▶ Working experience on DCS, PLCs, HMIs, Control valves, transmitters, pneumatic, and hydraulic systems, gas metering and analyses.
- ▶ Fluent English and communication skills.
- ▶ Yemeni National.

Corrosion Engineer

Ref. No.: YE14.46 | Location: Yemen, Field | Contract Type: Direct

Responsibilities:

- ▶ Perform site and warehouse materials QA/QC inspections.
- ▶ Control of all NDT inspections within the field including contractor workshops.
- ▶ Provide technical support to the field maintenance staff.
- ▶ Perform routine NDT inspections (MPI and WT).
- ▶ Monitor corrosion within plants & wellhead equipment and pipelines; provide recommendations to minimize corrosion and monitor effectiveness of corrosion control measures utilizing weight loss coupons, electronic probes, and other techniques.
- ▶ Identify and resolve in a cost-effective manner both potential and actual corrosion and scale problems affecting operation and maintenance of Plant. Solicit laboratory, corrosion specialist, and/or vendor involvement with certain technical corrosion problems.
- ▶ Interface with inspection and field maintenance personnel and provide expert advice and front-line technical support to Maintenance and Operations on all corrosion control activities.
- ▶ Perform periodic reviews of corrosion control systems throughout the running plants & fields.
- ▶ Standardize corrosion protection system specifications, inspection strategies & monitoring plans.
- ▶ Review predictive maintenance and inspection requirements and incorporate into the design.

Your Profile:

- ▶ Bachelor degree in Mechanical or related engineering discipline.
- ▶ Minimum of 5 years' experience with 3 years in similar role.
- ▶ Experience in NDT - level 2 – and ISO 9000-2000 expertise with QA/QC experience.
- ▶ Knowledge of Risk Based Inspection (RBI) techniques and ASME / API codes is an advantage.
- ▶ Fluent English and communication skills.
- ▶ Yemeni National.

Mechanical Technician

Ref. No.: YE14.47 | Location: Yemen, Field | Contract Type: Direct

Responsibilities:

- ▶ Supporting and coordinating plant electrical maintenance activities to maximize plant availability so that all planned hydrocarbon targeted volumes are met.
- ▶ Organizing and executing mechanical activities in plant yearly turnarounds within budget and planned time.
- ▶ Preparing and managing mechanical activities Opex & Capex budget to ensure expenses remain in line with Business Plan.
- ▶ Increasing plant reliability & availability through implementation of CMMS, RCM & RBI (Risk Based Inspection) strategies so that business plan objectives are met.
- ▶ Preparing, updating, and reviewing Job Plans, Work Instruments and Procedures for mechanical maintenance so that up-to-date guidance and procedural coverage is available to all concerned.
- ▶ Planning and organizing Training Need Analysis and develop mechanical staff to ensure that their competencies and skills are improved.

Your Profile:

- ▶ Bachelor degree/ Diploma in Mechanical Engineering.
- ▶ Minimum of 5 years' experience with 3 years in technician role.
- ▶ Broad knowledge of maintenance practices and ability to perform mechanical repairs on static equipments (valves, vessels, heat exchangers, etc.) and rotating equipments.
- ▶ Good knowledge of NDT techniques, gas engines and diesel engines technology, power generation and preferably turbo-machinery.
- ▶ Fluent English and communication skills.
- ▶ Yemeni National.

Sr. Plant Production Operator

Ref. No.: YE14.48 | Location: Yemen, Field | Contract Type: Direct

Responsibilities:

- ▶ Responsible for all Plant Facility Operations to the objective of processing the targeted Oil & Gas volumes as per the Company guidelines and directives.
- ▶ Keep the control room log book updated and be always on contact with the Plant Production Supervisor.
- ▶ Make sure that all Oil Processing Facilities are in good operable conditions and full follow up in control is being performed by Plant Operations Group.
- ▶ Make sure that Work within the Plant and Control room is done at a good workmanship with all planned training levels are achieved by all targeted staff.
- ▶ Make sure that processing data are always seen compiled and all equipment control is done using Control Room Equipment and other means as provided in the plant.
- ▶ Supervise Pig Launcher and receiving operations and guides Meter prove adjustment and preparation.
- ▶ Follow up all the work being done within the plant by contractors, consultants or any third party whoever this work is paid by and for the benefit of the company. Makes sure that the safety permit is assigned to the contracted work as per the procedures.
- ▶ Assist the Plant Production Supervision in preparing performance appraisals for his group, indicating the high potential personnel.

Your Profile:

- ▶ Bachelor degree in Chemical/Process Engineering or equivalent.
- ▶ Minimum of 5 years' experience in Oil & Gas Surface Processing Equipment.
- ▶ Fluent English and communication skills.
- ▶ Yemeni National.

Field Production Operator

Ref. No.: YE14.49 | Location: Yemen, Field | Contract Type: Direct

Responsibilities:

- ▶ Collect all data from wellheads, flow lines and field gathering manifolds.
- ▶ Start up and shutdown the ESP (Electrical Submersible Pump) in safe way as procedure which given.
- ▶ Immediately report any observed deviations form required field facilities parameters.
- ▶ Carry out survey and inspection of all Wells, Manifolds and flow lines in his assigned area and reports the condition as per the format provided to him.
- ▶ Immediately report any abnormality in his assigned area.
- ▶ Perform well tests as required and applicable in his assigned area.
- ▶ Compare the casing and tubing pressures with the required readings and bleeds off the excess pressure as per the directions given to him by his supervisors.
- ▶ Collects oil, gas or water samples as required and as per the procedures.
- ▶ Keep good housekeeping the facilities in his assigned area and watch safety requirements all around his assigned area.

Your Profile:

- ▶ Technical diploma or equivalent in Chemical /Petroleum /Process /Instrument.
- ▶ Minimum 5 years' experience in Production Operations in Oil & Gas or Chemical Industry.
- ▶ Fluent English and communication skills.
- ▶ Yemeni National.

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President Hadi: Ineffective and illegitimate?

■ Ali Saeed

On Feb. 21, 2012, Yemenis walked past piles of sandbags and rows of checkpoints set up by warring parties in order to reach their local polling stations. In the one-candidate election 99 percent of Yemenis voted in favor of Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi, the then vice president.

According to the Supreme Election and Referendum Committee, out of 10,243,000 eligible voters, 6,635,000 voted yes. Only 15,000 ticked the box saying "la," for "no." While there were no other candidates to vote for, the fact that so many Yemenis voted in favor of Hadi gave him a degree of legitimacy. People demonstrated their hope that by placing him in office he could end the political and security upheaval that broke out in the wake of the 2011 uprising.

Yemenis thought Hadi would bring about the change they took to the streets, camped out, and saw their friends and family die for.

However, over two-and-a-half years after being sworn in on Feb. 25, the situation in Yemen has deteriorated further. For a long time, Hadi promised and talked about the coming of a modern, civil state, but the reality in Yemen today is becoming increasingly chaotic. After days of bloody fighting, Houthi rebels took control of the capital Sana'a on Sept. 21, and since then have expanded their military presence in several of Yemen's northern governorates.

The disparity between Hadi's words and the reality on the ground has created a sense of frustration and betrayal among people who feel that Hadi failed to protect them from rebel forces or bring the change he promised.

Amidst these developments, on Oct. 26 Hadi appeared on television screens across the nation, shown in a meeting with his advisors, reiterating his determination to establish a modern, civil state.

He blamed the old regime for the problems facing Yemen, saying "they [members of the former regime] suspended the state and its institutions. They are key players in the political regime and the society... they did so to take over and restore their false glory."

The blame, however warranted it might have been, was not followed by an outline of what the president plans to do next. When it came to action, the president said nothing.

Yet, he repeated his call for the Houthis to withdraw their armed men from the capital Sana'a and the other locations they captured between July and the present day.

While his speech was broadcast on TV, the Houthi-supported by Hadi's own military-were busy fighting Sunni tribesmen and allied Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula militants in Al-Baida. Their actions spoke louder than words, signaling their disregard of Hadi's request.

"Hadi represents the eight million people who voted for him," stated Mohamed Jumaiah, a Yemeni columnist and political analyst who writes for the London based Al-Quds and Al-Sharq Al-Awsat newspapers. "He represents a disappointment for them that will not be forgotten. I do not think that history will write that he saved Yemen from war... rather, it will write that he was tackling issues with a trembling hand and a frightened heart."

Um Mohammed, a woman in Hodeida who voted for Hadi, said "I can not understand what is happening. I feel that Hadi has really let us down and betrayed the 2011 uprising."

While many citizens share Um Mohammed's view, others argue Hadi does not deserve such criticism.

Adnan Al-Sayyed, a member of the pro-secessionist Southern Movement, said that "Hadi can not be held accountable for the ongoing situation because influential northern parties have been in control of the system for decades."

"Hadi faces multiple political pressures and no strong political party stands with him," said Al-Sayyed. "They want to hold him responsible for everything, however he is just an interim president."

Is Hadi's term legal?

A new presidential election was supposed to be held in February 2014, but one month prior, in January, the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) extended Hadi's term for another year under the justification that the transition period was not complete.

According to the NDC's final document, Hadi's term is to expire when a new president has been elected in accordance with the new constitution, which is still being drafted. The new constitution is scheduled to be presented for referendum on March 8, 2015, according to the NDC's final document.

However, Abdulazeez Al-Baghdadi, a former legal advisor for the Ministry of Interior, told the Yemen Times that the extension of Hadi's term by the NDC in this form and with no clear timeframe is "a fraud that has no legal basis in constitutional terms."



Photo circulated on facebook pages by Yemeni youth activists mocking President Hadi's managing of the country.

that Hadi's extension is illegitimate, though for a different reason. Al-Asimi's legal opinion is that the NDC did not extend Hadi's term—rather, Hadi extended it himself. There were working groups and proper steps being taken to decide the fate of Hadi's presidency, but he bypassed them, he explained. Instead, the NDC members essentially extended the president's term by voting in approval of the final NDC document, which stated that the president's term was to be extended.

"The NDC and political parties did not extend his term. He is attempting to make a dictator out of himself. He allows US drones to kill Yemeni citizens and asks foreign powers to impose sanction various political individuals and entities," said Al-Asimi. "He will be prosecuted one day for high treason."

In Al-Baghdadi's view, the GCC Initiative basically ended with the signing of the Peace and National Partnership Agreement on Sept. 21, the day the Houthis took control of Sana'a.

The parties who signed the Peace and National Partnership Agreement were the same as those who signed the GCC Initiative, he explained. The new agreement, however, did not talk at all or reference the GCC Initiative.

"Hadi is part of the current government, however the Houthis imposed their authority by force; keeping him in office via his own authority is no longer legal," said

Al-Baghdadi.

The reason Hadi has been able to hold onto his position despite his government essentially being overthrown, in Al-Baghdadi's view, is that the Houthis "do not want what they have done to be perceived as a coup, in order to avoid civil war. So they are seeking to establish a partnership according to the Peace and National Partnership Agreement."

Despite these legal challenges, Hadi continues to act as president. He sends official letters to heads of foreign states and receives foreign delegations visiting Yemen.

"Hadi relies on interpretations provided by the UN Special Envoy to Yemen, Jamal Benomar, in addition to the illusion that the GCC Initiative is still in effect," said Al-Baghdadi.

Of the GCC countries, Saudi Arabia has been a key player in Yemen's politics due to its geographic location along the former's northern border. Recently, the GCC countries called on the UN Security Council (UNSC) to help manage the situation in Yemen.

Ambassadors to the UN from the GCC countries submitted a letter to the UNSC on Oct. 27, warning of Yemen's present security and political situation and its possible consequences for the GCC countries and the world, Al-Arabi Al-Jadeed, a London-based online newspaper reported the next day.

The ambassadors called on the council to place sanctions on individuals and parties derailing Yemen's transition in accordance with UNSC Resolution 2140 (2014).

Al-Baghdadi believes that Saudi Arabia and the United States lost their influence in Yemen after the Houthis took over state institutions on Sept. 21.

"They have no more influence in Yemen because their tools are gone," said Al-Baghdadi.



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Instrument Technician

Ref. No.: YE14.51 | Location: Shabwah | Contract: Direct

Responsibilities:

- ▶ Efficient executing of instrument maintenance activities in the field.
- ▶ Supervising the safe and effective execution of necessary replacements and repairs to promptly restore service in the event of failure or malfunction.
- ▶ Executing and monitoring results of preventative maintenance program with emphasis on improving the field's availability and reliability.
- ▶ Scheduling the instrument team activities and provide estimated man hours, materials and tools requirement.
- ▶ Carrying out root cause analysis for equipments frequent trips and suggest improvements/modifications.
- ▶ Preparing permit to work packages including risk assessments / job safety analysis.

Your Profile:

- ▶ University degree in Instrumentation or technical diploma in instrumentation.
- ▶ Minimum 5 years' experience with 3 years in instrument technician role in oil & gas industry.
- ▶ Good knowledge of instrumentations and SIL rated ESDs systems.
- ▶ Good knowledge of Computerized maintenance management system (CMMS) preferably MAXIMO and/or SAP. Familiar Root Cause Analysis software.
- ▶ PC Literate in MS Office (Excel, Power point, Word, Project).
- ▶ Yemeni National.

Sr. Electrical Technician

Ref. No.: YE14.52 | Location: Yemen, Field | Contract Type: Direct

Responsibilities:

- ▶ Supervising the safe and effective execution of necessary replacements and repairs to promptly restore service in the event of failure or malfunction.

- ▶ Working closely with planners to facilitate optimum use of resources in managing maintenance workload and meeting goals.
- ▶ Executing and monitoring results of preventative maintenance program with emphasis on improving the field's availability and reliability.
- ▶ Carrying out root cause analysis for equipments frequent trips and suggest improvements/modifications.
- ▶ Preparing permit to work packages including risk assessments / job safety analysis.
- ▶ Supervising work on HV, MV and LV system in a safe manner and take all necessary precautions in carrying out jobs.

Your Profile:

- ▶ University degree in Engineering or Diploma in Electrical Technology.
- ▶ Minimum 10 years' experience with 5 years in senior technician role.
- ▶ Broad experience in installation, repairing, testing and maintenance of a wide range of electrical equipments, preferably in an oil & gas or petrochemical industry.
- ▶ Expert knowledge of PLC based Power Management Systems, EX maintenance, UPSs, Transformers, HV/MV Switchgear, MCCs (Including intelligent MCCs), Motors, Generators, SCADA, Protection/ Metering, Cabling.
- ▶ PC Literate in MS Office (Excel, Power point, Word, Project).
- ▶ Yemeni National.

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Slow progress in Saudi-Iranian ties

Esperance Ghanem
al-monitor.com
First published Oct. 29

The Middle East is going through many developments, most notably fluctuations in Saudi-Iranian ties, which affect the future of the countries in the region including that of Lebanon. Over the past few months, positive developments have emerged including the visit to Jeddah in August by Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister Hossein-Amir Abdollahian.

Progress in Saudi-Iranian relations was further emphasized by a meeting between Saudi Foreign Affairs Minister Saud Al-Faisal and his Iranian counterpart Mohammad Javad Zarif at the UN General Assembly in New York in September, which culminated in discussions on the importance of cooperation to combat terrorism and resolve the region's qualms.

Is the Saudi-Iranian relationship still heading toward collaboration in the form of dialogue, to address the existing problems throughout the Middle East, or is the relationship moving toward confrontation, particularly in light of the accusatory discourse among the two countries? For instance, Saudi attacked the Iranian position during talks held in Jeddah with his German counterpart. He said Tehran was "part of the problem in the region, not the solution," and he accused it of "occupying Syria, Iraq," and calling for the withdrawal of "the Iranian occupation forces" in these countries. Iran's response was expressed by its foreign minister, who demanded that Saudi Arabia "withdraw its forces from Bahrain."

Lebanese diplomatic sources that were following up on this concluded that a quantum leap has not been achieved in the Saudi-Iranian relationship. They recalled the 2009-10 experience that had suggested there are indications for an agreement and a resolution between Saudi Arabia and Syria, followed by Iran, and that the two countries

were heading toward dialogue and negotiations. At the time, this was reflected in the Saudi monarch's position, which was expressed during the 2009 Arab Economic Summit in Kuwait, where he called for reconciliation, convergence and the unification of Arab nations against growing challenges and risks.

In 2010, King Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz took the initiative of visiting Damascus and accompanied Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad by plane to Lebanon, where a tripartite meeting was held in the presence of former Lebanese Prime Minister Saad Hariri.

During the meeting, the Saudi monarch stressed the importance of protecting the Arab nations and preventing fragmentation and sectarian infighting, particularly between the Sunnis and Shias. Back then, in response to a request from Saudi Arabia, Hariri visited Damascus twice, where he was hosted by Assad on one of the nights, and with whom he met twice, despite his tense ties with the Assad regime, following Rafik Hariri's assassination.

In 2010, Hariri visited Iran. Yet, this positive development soon met serious setbacks. At the time, it was said that the setbacks were the product of Western advice to Saudi Arabia to not take the reconciliation with the Syrian regime too far, i.e., reach a final agreement. This is in addition to the pressure that Bahrain's opposition movement, backed by Iran, increasingly places on the Hamad Bin Isa Al-Khalifa regime, which is politically and geographically linked to Saudi Arabia. Thus, the Gulf countries sent forces—the so-called Peninsula Shield Force—in support of the Bahraini regime in 2011. As a result, the tension between the two countries resumed.

The same sources based themselves on these facts to reach the latest rapprochement between Saudi Arabia and Iran, and to speak of the possibility of reviving the logic of negotiations between them, in conjunction with the growth of extremist movements, particularly the Islamic State. For



Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Salehi (L) looks past his Turkish counterpart, Ahmet Davutoglu, during the opening of a ministerial meeting in the Saudi Red Sea city of Jeddah, by the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) on May 13, 2013.

negotiations to succeed, it was necessary to embark on practical steps on the ground. In the beginning, these were reflected in Iraq, with the Gulf side insisting on the removal of then-Prime Minister Nouri Al-Maliki and the active engagement of the Sunni component in the Iraqi government and the country's security system. Following the hesitation and tension, due to a strong movement in support of Maliki, the active religious and political authorities took a final decision to reach a consensus over a new prime minister and the formation of a national unity government.

However, in spite of this progress and the positive messages between the two sides on Iraq, the Houthis' unwillingness to take power and the threat posed by Al-Qaeda's growing strength in south Yemen left the door open for compromises.

The Lebanese diplomatic sources concluded that it is necessary to achieve progress in several areas, before a qualitative and lasting shift in the relationship between Saudi Arabia and Iran can be established:

The decision to resolve disputes via peaceful negotiations, and making serious concessions, should be a significant strategic decision. It should not merely be a tactical decision aimed at buying time and improving positions, paving the way for an assault on the other side after an improvement in the balance of power.

An agreement on a lasting solution between the Iranian-backed opposition and the Saudi-backed monarchy in Bahrain.

A comprehensive and fair political solution to the Syrian crisis, in which everyone participates in the authority with criteria agreed upon by all parties, after eliminating ter-

rorism.

As for Lebanon, which is linked to all of these regional balances, it is still suffering from its inability to hold presidential elections as long as Lebanese parties connect the fate of these elections to regional circumstances, and as long as the Christians are not in agreement. The diplomatic sources said Saudi Arabia was not in a hurry to see a Lebanese head of state elected if there was no agreement on a president. Furthermore, Iran is not supporting a specific candidate, as long as the March 8 Alliance—which is close to Tehran—is not able to guarantee the majority needed to elect the president, i.e., 86 of 128 votes. Thus, the Lebanese case remains a card in the hands of Saudi Arabia and Iran and is subject to a tug-of-war as long as a solution is not reached that includes all regional issues.

As for the security situation in

Lebanon, the sources said that the Saudi-Iranian tensions would have no effect as long as the regional and international decision to maintain Lebanon's stability is still present, even though Lebanon is engaged in a war against terrorism and extremism on its territory. It is worth noting the importance of strengthening the approach of negotiations and mutual understanding between Iran and its allies on the one hand, and Saudi Arabia and its allies on the other, to eliminate extremism in the region and restore stability to governments and countries. Saudi-Iranian relations are essential, but are not enough in isolation in light of the presence of regional and international players such as Turkey, which still aspires to impose a balance of power in its favor, and Israel, which can only benefit from feeding grueling conflicts among its neighbors.

Yemen's uncharted political landscape

Charles Schmitz
Middle East Institute
First published Oct. 31

A month after the Houthi conquest of Sana, Yemen's new political landscape remains uncharted.

In Sana'a, the Houthi leadership is trying to coax Yemen's political elite into a coalition government, while south of Sana, Houthi forces are pressing to consolidate their military power on the ground. Both efforts are encountering considerable resistance, but the Houthis may prevail still.

In Sana'a, the Houthi leadership wants Yemen's diverse political elite to restart the political game after the Houthis upset the table. The ability of the Houthi leadership to consolidate its political power depends heavily on its forming a national government. Here the Houthi leadership has its best chance of success, as Yemen's political elite seems gradually to reconcile itself to the Houthi presence, and the international backers appear to view the formation of a government, even under Houthi guns, as critical to Yemen's future. Indeed, the United States, the United Nations, and European backers seem to see the best chance for Yemen in forming a government and

holding the Houthi leadership to the letter of the Peace and National Partnership Agreement, which stipulates, among other things, the withdrawal of militias from the cities. But despite this fact, as well

as that President Hadi appointed a new prime minister and that intense negotiations are under way to form a new government, many political leaders in Sana'a are hesitant to participate in a Houthi-

dominated government. The Islah Party-led opposition coalition of the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP) and southerners are chief among these.

The proposed distribution of

ministries in the new government reflects the new balance of power in Yemen: The Houthis control six ministries, the Southern Movement six, the former ruling party of Ali Abdullah Saleh nine, and the JMP

will name nine ministers. President Hadi controls the four key ministries of defense, foreign affairs, interior, and finance. However, the JMP has yet to accept the invitation to join the new government, and it may well sit out this round of government. Furthermore, the Houthi leadership knows that it needs the support of the southerners to rule Yemen, so it offered all of its ministerial appointments to southerners. But so far, the southerners are disinclined to conclude any agreement with the Houthi leadership. Indeed, when the Southern Movement gathered in Aden on Oct. 14 to celebrate the 52nd anniversary of the launching of the liberation struggle against the British, demonstrators sent Houthi representatives home and burned pictures of the Houthi leader. Thus, any new government will be fraught with internal tensions.

On the military front, the Houthi militia settled into Sana'a, then spread west to Hodeida on the Red Sea coast, east to Marib in the desert, and south to Ibb, Taiz, and Al-Baida in the middle regions between Aden and Sana'a. The Houthi militia met little resistance until it reached Taiz and Ra'ada. In Taiz, Yemen's capital of the middle regions, the mayor convinced the Houthis not to enter the city.

Continued on the back page



Houthi soldiers on patrol in Sana'a.

Chernobyl experience motivates Yemeni herbalist

Story & photo by
Khalid Al-Karimi

As you walk into the clinic on Al-Rowaishan roundabout, there exists something noticeably different. Unlike most clinics, the room is adorned with mirrors and refrigerators.

The fridges are used to store concoctions of the treatments Dr. Sadeq Al-Hamdani prepares, while the mirrors are used by patients to carefully review if the treatments are yielding positive results.

For seventeen years, Al-Hamdani, 39, has been operating a herbal clinic to treat hair loss, baldness, and skin-related diseases in Yemen. All the medications he uses to treat his patients are prepared by him personally.

One would expect the room to be overpowered by the smell of herbs, but such is not the case.

Al-Hamdani's professional journey

"Necessity is the mother of all inventions," recounts Al-Hamdani, talking about what set him down the path to put an end to hair loss. During the eighties, his father was studying for a master's degree in military aviation science in the former Soviet Union.

"It was April 26, 1986. The Chernobyl nuclear power plant exploded, impacting many areas in Russia and in neighboring countries," remembers Al-Hamdani. He was just ten years old at the time.

The explosion had strong economic, physical, and psychological consequences for him and his family. While the increase in cases of thyroid cancer posed a significant health risk, other problems were the full loss of body hair, Al-Hamdani explained.

Two weeks after the disaster, Al-Hamdani and his family returned to Yemen only to realize that the explosion would continue to have debilitating effects on them: All his family members who were in the Soviet Union suffered severe hair loss for several years. After trying a host of treatments, Al-Hamdani started to experiment with natural herbs in search of a radical and effective solution.

After a few years of working as a self-trained herbalist in Yemen, he travelled to Russia in 1999 to major in herbal treatments for dermatological disorders. On graduating in 2004, he returned to Yemen to professionally continue operating the clinic he had started earlier with the help of his family.

Initially Al-Hamdani only provided treatments for hair loss, however gradually came up with solutions for skin-related problems such as acne, freckles, and injury scars.

Herbal cures, concoctions, and competition

Al-Hamdani personally produces the medication he sells himself, using natural herbs. He does not sell or prescribe any medicines imported from outside Yemen or local medical manufacturers.

He imports 30 percent of the herbs from Malaysia, India, and China. The remaining 70 percent are imported from provinces throughout the country, including Socotra. In addition to producing his own medicine, Al-Hamdani produces chemical-free shampoo, cream, and hair oil.

Unable to disclose the exact nature and contents of the herbs in his solutions, Al-Hamdani apologizes, "this is a matter of copyright. If I reveal the details of the treatment, this means I will have squandered all my efforts and money for nothing."

Al-Hamdani's treatment practices were certified by the Majed Centre for Research and Alternative Medicine in Saudi Arabia. According to Al-Hamdani, the center took two years to approve his medication and certify they are effective and free from side effects.

Although Al-Hamdani is not the only herbalist in Yemen, he distinguishes himself by pointing out that "I am the only one who specializes in treating particular diseases with the use of herbs."

"I have spent years studying and experimenting skin and hair related treatments. This is the difference between me and others," he said.

Unlike the Medicines and Healthcare Regulatory Authority (MHRA) in the UK, there is no single authority in Yemen to supervise and regulate the work of herbalists. Al-Hamdani says he has only registered hair oil products with the Yemeni Specifications and Standardizations Authority.

On average Al-Hamdani sees between 40 to 50 cases per month; 30 percent of his patients frequent the clinic regularly, he says.

Al-Hamdani's clinic is open every day, except Fridays. The cost of treatment depends on the case and varies from anywhere between \$50 to \$800, which could last from a month to several years.

"Baldness is a hard condition to treat in just a few months, particularly if it is a genetic case. Other skin diseases such as Alopecia Areata could take long as well," he said.

Patients who frequent Al-Hamdani's clinic use the herbal treatment based on the prescription. They know nothing about the ingredients. Their only concern and hope is to heal.

Thabit Al-Khamisi, 16, is from Haradh of Hajja governorate and

has been suffering from Alopecia Areata for several years. Alopecia Areata is a health condition wherein the body loses hair, mostly from the scalp. After trying several treatments in Hajja, Hodeida and Sana'a, Al-Khamisi didn't see any results.

"I have been getting treatment at this clinic for close to six months now. My hair has started to grow slowly, but this is better than other medications that did not work," said Al-Khamisi.

Speaking about his condition, Al-Khamisi recounted, "when I was a little child, I was healthy. I only started to suffer from the disease six years ago. I am the only one in my family who suffers from this problem."

Similarly, university student Ali Amin Adrees had been suffering from acne for much of his life. After his treatment which lasted two weeks, he gazed at the mirror in the doctor's office, saying, "the improvement is noticeable."

But not all of Al-Hamdani's patients are content with their treatment results.

Among them is Atef Al-Husseini, a bus driver in Sana'a, who has been frequenting Al-Hamdani's clinic for nearly a month to treat freckles, without much success.

Initially, Al-Husseini liked the idea of the herbal treatment. However, now he seems reluctant to carry on. "I'm not seeing much change, and if it continues this way, I will quit going to the doctor," he said. While most skin doctors claim freckles cannot be treated, Dr. Al-Hamdani says otherwise. He is convinced Al-Husseini's case can be treated.

Difficulties in getting recognized

Al-Hamdani feels that despite his dedication to the field, his efforts



With 17 years of experience and motivated by several years of severe hair loss, Al-Hamdani has dedicated his life to treating various medical issues with herbal medicine.

have gone unrecognized by the Yemeni government. "If I were in Saudi Arabia, I would be considered an inventor. When I travelled to Saudi Arabia for research purposes, I was given due respect," the herbalist said.

"The challenges are considerable," he says, referring to the lack of government, financial, and moral support. "Moreover, the natural herb business is not organized or regulated in Yemen," he complains. Doctors treating skin diseases using chemical treatments say herbs are effective, but add that treatment should be based on scientific methods.

Mohammed Al-Buhairi, a dermatologist in Sana'a who is unopposed to herbal treatments, says that "treatment should rely on correct diagnoses. There is no contradiction between modern medical sci-

ence and herbal treatment as long as there is an accurate diagnosis."

However, Yaseen Al-Qubati, another dermatologist, has some reservations. "Herbal treatment can be deceptive and fraudulent. Before experimenting on humans, we should test these herbs in medical labs to see if they work or not," he says.

"Herbal treatment could trigger side effects. Some herbalists claim that they only use natural ingredients, but sometimes they also secretly include chemical substances. This is risky for the health of the patient."

Asked about his plans for staying in Yemen, Al-Hamdani says "if I had started a practice elsewhere, I would find it hard to return home later on, which has always been my intention."

"It's nice that I can be of service to people in my country."



New Division of Horizon Agencies & Commercial Services (HACS) in Aden Free Zone

At the main office of **Aden Free Zone** (Caltex) on Wednesday 22 October 2014, **Dr. Abdul Galil Shaif Al-Shuaiby**, Chairman of Aden Free Zone, has signed a contract with **Mr. Ihab Jaffer Hamed**, proprietor of **Horizon For Import & Export** (a division of **Horizon Agencies & Commercial Services - HACS**).

The purpose of this contract is to provide a warehouse facility to perform different commercial activities like importing oil, gas and electrical equipment and components/parts for the Oil & Gas companies operating in Yemen.

The chairman of Aden Free Zone has mentioned the importance of the role played by the private sector in establishing many industrial, commercial and service projects, since these contribute effectively in providing the Yemenis with employment opportunities and therefore decreasing unemployment which is one of the biggest issues in Yemen.

The Chairman also expressed the willingness of the management of Aden Free Zone to provide all kinds of support and assistance to the various investments that would take place in Aden Free Zone.



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Ali Mohsen's house: A museum with Houthi tour guides

Story by **Nasser Al-Sakkaf**
Photos by **Mohammed Al-Qalisi**

Men, women, and children walk past a heavily fortified checkpoint. They pass about a dozen armed Houthis, who are chewing qat and drinking a local type of soda—boycotting Western brands like Coca Cola and Pepsi, as they say.

Passing a vendor set up on the sidewalk selling Houthi souvenirs and following a second round of security checks, curious visitors enter what has long been an absolute no-go zone for them: General Ali Mohsen's "guest and reception house."

Located in a posh, and heavily guarded area in Hadda neighborhood, and surrounded by Ali Mohsen's six other homes, the building has been opened to the public. Once used by Mohsen to welcome guests, visitors are now greeted by a massive poster displaying the Houthi slogan, draped over the front wall of the house.

General Ali Mohsen Al-Ahmar, known best as Ali Mohsen, is the former commander of the 1st Armored Division, the military unit that fought against the Houthis during several rounds of war that lasted from 2004 to 2010. Ali Mohsen defected from the government

of former President Ali Abdullah Saleh during the 2011 uprising, and served as an advisor to incumbent President Hadi until the Houthis' captured Sana'a on Sept. 21. He is currently said to live in Saudi Arabia, where he sought refuge following the Houthis' ascent to power.

Yemenis, young and old, single, or with friends and family, walk throughout Mohsen's house today as they would a museum, examining the portraits that hang on the walls and the items out on display.

They pose for photos, sitting at Ali Mohsen's desk, his name written on the table. Across the room, a large portrait of President Hadi hangs on the wall, adorned with Houthi stickers plastered on his forehead.

As part of their takeover of Sana'a, the Houthis occupied the area of Hadda which encompasses Mohsen's houses, as well as the palace of Hameed Al-Ahmar, a leading figure in both the Islah Party and powerful Hashid tribal federation.

Hameed's palace and Mohsen's seven homes are all located on the same lot, that also contains a school that teaches Hadiths—the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Mohammed. Although the Houthis closed the school, saying its teachings were extremist, they continue to use the mosque attached to it for prayer.

Riding a white horse

With fortified checkpoints located



Visitors tour the former residence of General Ali Mohsen. Two of Mohsen's seven houses in the neighborhood are currently open to the public free of charge, with the remaining houses scheduled to open in the future.

at all entrances, Mohsen's guest house—as well as one of his second homes—are an efficiently run attempt by the Houthis to show the public how leading figures they oppose live.

Yemeni citizens are free to enter the two houses during the Houthis' working hours, which are normally last from 8-11 AM and then again from 3 PM until sunset, every day.

If there are instructions from Houthi supervisors to prevent certain people from visiting the homes, armed guards follow through immediately.

When the Yemen Times journalists went to visit the area, one Houthi guard denied their entrance, saying that a meeting between high-level Houthi members was taking place in one of Ali Mohsen's houses.

It was only the next day, with permission from a Houthi supervisor in Sana'a who calls himself Abu Yahya, that they were granted access.

Mohsen's guest house was decorated with photos of the president and of Mohsen himself—including a large painting of him on a white horse. Houthi members were positioned in each area of the house, ensuring that visitors were not stealing or damaging items.

While Mohsen's two houses operate smoothly, initially there were problems with visitors damaging items.

"The visitors, during Eid holiday, damaged a number of photos, tables, and chairs, located in the hall, because we didn't effectively regulate the visitors into the homes, but these days we are in control of everything," said a Houthi named Abu Ali.

On the ground floor of Mohsen's second house, there was a giant "muffrage", or room with cushions, that could easily seat upwards of 50 people. A large television was playing a speech by Houthi leader

Abdulmalik Al-Houthi and a guard positioned just outside the room ensured that visitors removed their shoes.

"We are going to convert all these houses to museums for citizens so they can see where their money has been going," said Abu Mohammed, a Houthi member stationed in one of the homes. He said they are currently renovating Mohsen's five other homes and Hameed's palace to be opened soon.

Mohammed Al-Bukhaiti, a member of the Houthis' Political Office, confirmed his claim.

"These houses belong to all Yemenis, and no one else. We freed them from usurpers," said Abu Mohammed, who went by a nickname like all the other Houthis who spoke to the Yemen Times.

"You won't find as many items in the national museum as you will here in Mohsen's house, and so these houses shouldn't be used as homes," he said.

Abu Mohammed added that there exists a hall connecting all of Mohsen's seven houses so that he could move between them without going outside.

Although the Yemen Times was prevented from talking freely to other visitors in the houses, it managed to talk to a few outside the premises.

"I visited Ali Mohsen's house to see what his life was like, similar to most Yemeni people wish to see how their leaders live, especially those who were have been accused of hoarding Yemen's wealth," said Basem Mohammed, a Sana'ani citizen who had just visited the houses.

As Houthi minders guided the Yemen Times around the houses, telling stories about the vast wealth they found inside the other homes still closed to the public, Mohammed

and others listened in awe about "diamonds found in the walls" and stations for gas, propane, and petrol being attached to the homes.

Whether believable or not, the stories seemed to successfully achieve the Houthis' goal of displaying the opulence and decadence of Ali Mohsen's lifestyle.

Reactions of residents

All the residents in the neighborhood are required to pass through checkpoints set up by the Houthis, explained Abu Ali, emphasizing that all citizen are allowed to enter after being inspected.

A resident in the neighborhood, who preferred to remain anonymous, said that it has become normal to pass through the Houthis' checkpoints. "Most of the armed Houthis recognize me and allow me to pass without inspection," he explained.

According to Abu Mohammed, "we don't bother the tenants, because they haven't refused to pay us [for water and electricity]." However he refused to provide any information about where the money that gets collected goes.

"It makes no difference to me whether I pay rent to the Houthis or anyone else, all that matters is that I receive all my basic services," said the resident who spoke to the Yemen Times.

The resident said that during the initial days of the Houthis' takeover of the area there were some problems, saying that they did not know how to behave politely with tenants.

"During the first week, the Houthis didn't realize it was their responsibility to provide us with water, and so during that time some of the tenants had no water in their homes," the resident said.



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Schools in shanties, education system in shambles

■ Nasser Al-Sakkaf

At the beginning of September, Samira Mashoor, the headmaster of Hafsah School in Zabeed district, Hodeida governorate, started the new school year by setting up shanties to use as make-shift classrooms.

The shanties help provide students and teachers some protection from harsh weather conditions, but they are less than ideal: The beating sunlight seeps through the cracks between the wooden slacks, the students have no desks, and sit on what Mashoor optimistically calls "alternative chairs."

"The students sit on rocks, and the lucky student is the one who has a good rock to sit on," she said, a practice that bone specialist Dr. Aref Al-Dhalei explains can lead to have bad effects on the spine, especially for children.

Hafsah School contains four shanties and enrolls 300 girls for primary education, grades one to nine. The school is one-of-a-kind in the village of Al-Qaria—The next closest school is in the center of Zabeed district, about seven kilometers away.

"The girls can't walk to areas located to far away," Mashoor explained, adding that she considers it her duty to tackle rampant

illiteracy among locals in the area, especially girls.

"Out-of-school children are concentrated in rural areas of populous governorates and are more likely to be girls from poor households," reads a World Bank report on Yemen of 2010. "Almost half of such children are in Hodeida, Al-Jawf, Dhamar, Hajjah, and Ibb governorates."

According to the 2014 Situation Analysis of Children in Yemen by the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), "21 percent of children 14-6 years (compulsory school age group) are out of school—representing an estimated 1.14 million children, of whom 69 percent are girls."

The low completion rates for girls causes what UNICEF terms "a reinforcing cycle of inequity," in that there are fewer female teachers—only about 29.5 percent nationwide, most of whom teach in private schools in urban areas.

Mashoor received her bachelors degree in history from Zabeed University in Hodeida, and began her teaching career in 2004 in the governorate's Azzarbya district. In 2006, she became the deputy headmaster of Hafsah School, and was promoted to headmaster a year later. Although Mashoor was teaching at another school at the time, she was instrumental in the creation of Hafsah School in 2005. Mashoor came up with the idea



Headmaster Mashoor helps set up shanties (pictured) each year for Hafsah School's 300 girls. With the nearest school seven kilometers away, many girls in the area do not have the opportunity to study at a school with adequate facilities.

of Hafsah School years before its foundation and collected money from locals to support its construction.

Lacking infrastructure

"We tried several times to contact the Ministry of Education to help build a new school, but there was no response," Mashoor said.

Under orders from the Ministry of Education, construction began near Al-Qaria village about two years ago. Last year, however, construction suddenly stopped and was never resumed. The ministry blamed this on a lack of finances.

According to the under-secretary of the Department of Public Works in the Ministry of Education, Abdulkareem Al-Gindary, "Hafsah School is one of 664 schools in the country that have no buildings, with students studying in shanties, outside in slums, or under trees."

The ministry appears to be unable to come up with solutions for this problem, says Al-Gindary. "financial resources are limited, thus the ministry can't ensure that every child will be able to study inside a building."

The basic right to an education is enshrined in article 54 of the Yemeni constitution, with article

41 guaranteeing equality for all citizens with regards to all rights—meaning that education is for both boys and girls, from any ethnicity or background.

The Public Education Act No. 45 of 1992 expands the role of the state, and states that the schools must be fully equipped to meet the educational requirements of all stages of a child's education, and that schools should be equipped with libraries and other types of educational inputs.

The deteriorating situation in Yemen in recent years has left the Ministry of Education unable to meet these requirements, Al-Gindary said. "There was a plan for the ministry four years ago stipulating that by the beginning of 2015, all public schools would be provided with buildings, but the subsequent crisis

in Yemen has prevented it from being implemented," he said.

"Yemen has a sound legislative basis for education, complemented by numerous education strategy plans and reasonable shares of national public budgetary outlays. This merely serves to emphasize the weak implementation of the national education system and its associated poor quality outcomes, even taking into account external factors such as conflicts and economic malaise that present additional challenges," the UNICEF's 2014 report reads.

Every governorate in Yemen is operating schools that are not equipped with buildings. Al-Gindary explained that even inside the capital Sana'a, some schools hold classes in the homes of private citizens, whereby the government pays

monthly rent to the homeowner. In some cases, financial disputes arise that lead the homeowner to close the school.

"The ministry has a plan to provide all schools with buildings through funding from international organizations. Doing so in villages will be a priority for us, as they are struggling more than the cities," said Al-Gindary, who added he did not know when the actual implementation of the plan would begin.

Abdulkhaleq Saeed, a retired educational advisor—a position above that of headmaster—in Hodeida governorate, said "there is no good planning structure in the Ministry of Education, and schools are distributed inadequately, with schools in some areas having almost no students."

For example, Al-Noor School in Taiz governorate consists of 12 classrooms holding 227 students, according to its headmaster Ayman Abdulghani, however can hold more students.

Abdulghani says that some classes have as little as ten students, after some left for other schools and were not replaced.

"Our government focuses more on cities more than rural areas, and for this reason school shortages usually take place in the villages," said Saeed.

The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) estimated the level of enrolment in Yemen for basic education in 2011-2012 to be 78 percent, a number which has been decreasing since 2010. It also notes poor gender equality, with 0.81 females to every male.

Mashoor remains hopeful, saying "students in all governorates should have access to an education in a positive atmosphere without facing any obstacles, as education is a right for all citizens."

For now, her students will continue to study inside the shanties and sit on stones. Once the school year comes to an end, Mashoor will do what she does every year. "At the end of the year, I collect the wood used to build the shanties and store it inside a room. If I don't, residents of the village will use it as firewood."



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4		6			7		
5			7	3		4	
3	9	8	2	5			
2	4		5			6	
5		9	6		4		
8		2		9	7		
	5	6	3	7	8		
6	3	5					2
2			7			5	

Easy

7			5	4			
1		3		2	8		
4			2	5			
7		3	6	1			
1		5			6		
	2		4		3		
	8	9			5		
9	6		5			4	
5		7					6

Intermediate

9				1			5
	2			8			6
4				7	3		
				2		7	
				6	4		9
		1	6				8
8				5			4
	7		9				1

Difficult

Chess

White plays and wins in the 2nd move

Solutions

Chess: Qb8+

Sudoku

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

Yemen's uncharted political landscape

General Al-Subaihi, commander of the 4th military region that includes the key cities of Taiz and Aden, forcefully stated that the Yemeni military was in charge of security and that he would not allow militias in the area. The Houthis respected Subaihi's assertion of state power in the vicinity.

Outside of Subaihi's regions, the Houthi seem intent on establishing military dominance. However, in contrast to the far north, where the Houthi leadership has deep tribal, political, and religious ties, in these mid-regions of Yemen the Houthis are not particularly welcome. The mid-regions see the Houthis as invaders rather than

liberators. In Hodeida, demonstrators from the Tehama Movement—an indigenous movement arguing for self-rule of the western coast, similar to the southern movement—demanded that the Houthi militias leave, and Houthi security forcibly broke up the demonstrations, causing some loss of life. In the southern mountains, the city of Ibb saw anti-Houthi demonstrations demanding the withdrawal of the Houthi militias, and some military clashes have flared in the area as well.

In the eastern part of the mid-regions near Rada'a, the Houthi militia is encountering the stiffest resistance from Al-Qaeda and local tribes. Al-

Qaeda has long attacked the Houthis on sectarian grounds; for Al-Qaeda, the Houthis are simply Shia heretics. Al-Qaeda killed 50 Houthi supporters in a suicide attack in Sana'a's central square this month, and Al-Qaeda is responsible for the death a few years ago of the father of Abdul-Malik Al-Houthi, the current Houthi leader.

For its part, the Houthi leadership appears intent upon breaking Al-Qaeda even at the cost of heavy loss of life. Houthi fighters supported by factions of local tribes, the Yemeni military, and US drones attacked a major Al-Qaeda stronghold among the Qaifa tribe east of the town of Ra'ada in Al-Manaseh. The Houthis took Al-Manaseh and forced the Al-Dahab tribal leaders allied with Al-Qaeda to flee, but the fight with Al-Qaeda is not over. A bomb-laden truck exploded in Al-Manaseh after the entrance of the Houthis, killing tens of Houthi fighters and the Al-Dahab leader allied with the Houthis.

In the south, the Houthi conquest of Sana'a bolstered hopes for southern secession, but the southern leadership remains divided as ever, so while the chaos the Houthis sowed in the north is a golden opportunity for southern independence, there is no coherent southern leadership to seize the moment. While the southern movement did manage to announce the beginning of a sit-in that would not end until independence was achieved, and though the southern members of parliament convened a meeting in Aden, only slightly more than half attended because reportedly former President Ali Abdullah Saleh put pressure on the southern members of his party, the Motamar [General People's Congress], not to attend. The southern leadership remains so divided that the movement

for independence is unlikely to gain any real traction.

The Houthi face considerable obstacles consolidating their power in the middle regions, western coast, and in the eastern desert because people in these regions tend to see the Houthis as foreigners. To consolidate power in these regions, the Houthis must be able to establish security, stability, and justice, as they did in the north, but in these regions the Houthis do not have the credibility they have in the far north. Without allies in the far south, the Houthi leadership will find the task of rebuilding Yemen's body politic much more difficult. The Houthis and the southern movement were both victims of Saleh's regime, and the Houthi movement appeals to the southerners as such, but the southern movement sees the Houthis as yet another version of the northern regime attempting to gain control over the south and as a result refuses any cooperation.

The Houthi offensive in Sana'a paralyzed the Yemeni state and Sana'a politics. For the Houthi movement to survive its national aspirations, it must restart the state and Sana'a politics. Thus far, the Houthi movement and its allies are having difficulty convincing the rest of Yemen to cooperate. The major determinant of Houthi success will be whether the movement can stabilize the middle regions where the group is facing the greatest resistance. Leaders in Sana'a and outside the country are watching Houthi military fortunes on the ground very closely.

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