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BUSINESS

FOR PEACE

AWARD



Rhetoric vs. Behavior: Houthi rhetoric by the liberal wing of the Houthi movement, including those in the Political Office, is relatively progressive on the subject of women's rights. But the behavior of popular committees towards women on the ground has garnered concerns and criticism, and the group is accused of a number of violations. Pictured above: Houthi women commemorating the 2011 uprising on Siteen Street on Feb. 11. Photo credit: The Yemen Times Read more on page 6.

# Houthis, GPC refuse to hold talks in Riyadh

#### Bassam Al-Khameri

SANA'A, March 4–Both the Houthis and the General People's Congress (GPC) rejected calls by Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi on Tuesday for political talks to be held in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

Hadi called for the change of location during a meeting Tuesday with tribal leaders from the Yafe tribe of Lahj governorate. Hadi had previously called for the talks to be moved to Taiz or Aden, after declaring Sana'a an "occupied city."

"It's impossible for the negotiations to continue in Sana'a and some parties have refused to hold talks in Aden or Taiz. the negotiations must be held in Rivadh," Hadi was reported as saying by sheikhs who attended the meeting. Mohammad Al-Bukhaiti, a member of the Houthi Political Office in Sana'a, told the Yemen Times that the group flatly refuses the move, which he described as "illogical."

Saudi Arabia considers Ansar Allah [the Houthis] a terrorist group, so how can we go there to participate in negotiations?" he asked.

Al-Bukhaiti says that Hadi clearly knew the Houthis would not agree to hold negotiations in Riyadh and that his call was an effort to strengthen support for himself from Saudi Arabia and to show the international community that the Houthis are obstructing the dialogue.

"We participated in the National Dialogue Conference [NDC] in Sana'a and two of our representatives, Ahmed Sharaf Al-Deen and Abdulkarim Jadban, were assassinated. But we didn't demand that the dialogue be moved," Al-Bukhaiti said. "Would Hadi and the other parties agree to hold negotiations in Sa'ada or Tehran?" Al-Bukhaiti said the Houthis were not opposed to moving the talks to a neutral country, if all other parties agree. Earlier in the week, however, he told the Yemen Times that the dialogue "[began] in Sana'a and will end in Sana'a.'

Bukhaiti's claim that the movement was willing to hold talks outside of Yemen.

The GPC also dubbed Hadi's call "illogical," saying it will result in more delays in the negotiations pro-

Abdulmalik Al-Fuhaidi, editorin-chief of the GPC's mouthpiece, Al-Motamar Net, told the Yemen Times the GPC is against holding the negotiations in any place other than Yemen.

"The negotiations should be held in Yemen and not in any other countries. Hadi was the first to object when the political parties wanted to hold the NDC outside Yemen and now he is calling for this. This raises many questions," he added.

on establishing the Transitional National Council that was announced via a "constitutional declaration" on Feb. 6.

According to Al-Fuhaidi, the GPC, the Houthis, and the Islah, Nasserist and Socialist parties resumed negotiations on Monday, under the supervision of UN Special Envoy to Yemen Jamal Benomar.

"We haven't reached an agreement yet because the political parties are focused on new issues, such as moving to Aden or Taiz to hold the talks," he said.

In the opening of Monday's session, which was televised, Benomar said, "I welcome the resumption of negotiations by all political parties in Yemen. Now all parties are here and this will allow us to move forward in the negotiations without delay to reach a political agreement that reassures the Yemenis."







"Hadi's call to move [the talks] to Riyadh is an attempt to obstruct the negotiations. We all know that

Houthi Political Office member Ali Al-Qahoom contradicted Al-

#### **Negotiations resumed?**

It remains unclear whether talks are taking place between the Houthis and other parties at the Movenpick hotel in Sana'a.

Al-Qahoom told the Yemen Times Wednesday evening that the Houthis are not involved in the negotiations at the Movenpick. He said the Houthis are currently focused

Adnan Al-Udaini, deputy head of the Islah Party's Media Department, also told the Yemen Times that these groups are participating. According to Al-Udaini, the latest session, which was held on Monday, was spent discussing a location for

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يطور أداء الحرك

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موبيل أداءً قويّاً

وحماية مييزة

لجموعة أوسع

من السيارات.

لمزيد من المعلومات , يرجى زيارة:

the negotiations. He said no agreement was reached.

The Islah Party welcomes the call by Hadi for talks to be held in Riyadh, Al-Udaini said.

Hatim Abu Hatim, a leading figure within the Nasserist Party, told the Yemen Times that his party supports holding the talks outside Yemen but not in Saudi Arabia.

# **Dual explosions rock Al-Baida**

#### Ali Aboluhom

SANA'A, March 4-Two explosions targeted Houthis Tuesday in the districts of Al-Baida and Al-Zaher in Al-Baida governorate, leaving a total of ten people dead and 15 injured.

The first explosion occurred at 5 p.m. Tuesday in Al-Baida city. Eight people were killed and 12 others were injured when a car exploded at the Youth House, an institution which used to be run by the Ministry of Youth and Sport and is now occupied by Houthis.

Adel Al-Asbahi, security chief of Al-Baida governorate, told the Yemen Times that a car loaded with three AQAP affiliates targeted the Houthis gathered at the Youth House, killing five Houthis and injuring 12 others.

Three AQAP militants were also killed, one in the explosion and two during the clashes that ensued between with the Houthis in the build-

Fahd Al-Taweel, a journalist based in Al-Baida city, agreed with Al-Asbahi's version of events. He clarified that the explosion killed five Houthis and one AQAP suspect at the gate outside the Youth House, and the other two AQAP members "jumped out of the car seconds before the explosion then opened fire on Houthis inside the house, injuring 12 before they were shot dead."

Al-Taweel said Houthi militants have been stationed in the Youth House since they took over the city on Feb. 10, roughly four months after their advance into the governorate.

The house is located inside the Ministry of Youth and Sport's compound in the city, which also includes a sports stadium and other facilities. According to Al-Taweel, the Houthi militants have been using it as an outpost.

#### **Coordinated attack?**

The second attack on Tuesday occurred in Al-Zaher district, which borders Al-Baida to the west. An improvised explosive device (IED) targeted a vehicle carrying Houthis in the district's Al-Humaikani area, killing two and injuring three.

The attack occurred at 9 p.m, according to Saleh Al-Humaikani, a tribesman from the area, four hours after the one in Al-Baida

Yahya Abu Ali, a Houthi militant based in Al-Baida city, said that, "The attack that took place in Al-Zaher makes it clear that Al-Qaeda operatives are holed up in this district and we won't move back until we purge the district from their wrongdoings."

On Feb. 17, the Houthis entered Al-Zaher hours after signing an agreement brokered by the governorate's security chief. The deal, between the Houthis and tribesmen from three districts, including Al-Zaher, allowed the Houthis to enter temporarily to target AQAP members and then to withdraw. However, many residents claim the Houthis have violated the agreement.

Al-Taweel claimed the timing of the attacks was not coincidental and they were "planned by AQAP in a bid to force Houthis out of the governorate, especially after they reneged on the agreement signed between them and tribesmen."

Al-Humaikani denied the Al-Humaikani tribe had any involvement in the attack, but said that the "Houthis will be targeted not only by AQAP but also by tribesmen as long as they still occupy Al-Zaher district, deploying their militants in public institutions, including schools, and



The Youth House in Al-Baida city, occupied by Houthi militants, was targeted by members of AQAP.

on some mountains under the pretext of pursuing AQAP militants."

On Tuesday AQAP claimed responsibility for the attack on the Youth House in Al-Baida city. As of Wednesday evening it appeared they had not claimed responsibility for the attack in Al-Zaher, but their Twitter account was deleted.

"The Houthis, through their ongoing and unjustified presence in Al-Zaher... might prompt tribesmen to side with AQAP to fight the Houthis," Al-Humaikani added.

The Houthis took control of the districts of Dhi Naem and Sharia on Feb. 8. Their advances on both districts came days after violent fighting between Houthis, backed by the army, and tribesmen from those districts who were believed to be backed by AQAP. The fighting left at least 45 dead from both sides and dozens more wounded.

#### 5 March, 2015



# Prominent Houthi member allegedly under house arrest

#### Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, March 3-There are conflicting reports as to whether Saleh Habra, a leading figure in the Houthi movement and the former head of the group's Political Office, is under house arrest.

A senior source inside the Houthis' Media Office, speaking to the Yemen Times on condition of anonymity, said that Habra has been under house arrest in Sa'ada governorate since Monday.

being internally investigated for alleged links with Saudi princes and for being an agent of Saudi Arabia, one of the Houthis' main opponents.

Habra is a prominent member of the Houthi Political Office and served as its head until last August. He was a Houthi representative and Hadi's deputy for the National Dialogue Conference (NDC).

Habra often travels between Sa'ada, where his family lives, and

According to the source, Habra is the capital Sana'a. According to the source, he meets Houthi leader Abdulmalik Al-Houthi regularly to discuss political developments, and met him as recently as a few days before being put under house arrest. The source claimed that the group feared Habra was about to travel to Sana'a then flee to Saudi Arabia, or defect from the group and meet Hadi in the southern city of Aden.

> As a result, the source claims, the group was forced to put Habra under house arrest while they inves-



Habra was a Houthi representative to the NDC and signed the final NDC outcomes document on behalf of the group in January 2014.

# Al-Thawra plagiarizes report, social media mocks Al-Houthi's economic proposals

#### Khalid Al-Karimi

SANA'A, March 3-Following a speech by the leader of the Houthis stating precious stones can be used to save the economy without foreign aid, Houthi-controlled Al-Thawra newspaper—once run by the state plagiarized an old report on stones by Saba News Agency.

The news article, saying that Yemen has 600 types of precious stones, was published by Saba in June of 2007 and republished word-for-word on March 2, 2015, in Al-Thawra newspaper, not citing Saba as the original source and not indicating that the article was writganda," Abas Al-Sayid, the assistant managing editor of Al-Thawra, told the Yemen Times on Tuesday. "This story reminds people of the facts at this time."

Abas said the paper was motivated to publish the article in response to the mocking of Al-Houthi's claims on social media.

"Some have attempted to make a mockery of these facts. The topic is serious, and the purpose behind publishing it is not to improve the image of Abdulmalik Al-Houthi. These precious stones still exist in Yemen, and this is a fact."

He conceded that it was wrong

to promote any agenda or propa- Al-Thawra, who spoke to the Yemen Times on condition of anonymity citing a fear of repercussion from the Houthis, said that, "the purpose of publishing this story after Al-Houthi's speech is an attempt to influence the readership and further ingratiate itself with the Houthis.'

Following Al-Houthi's speech, anti-Houthi local media as well as social media reacted with sarcasm and satire to Al-Houthi's claims that precious stones could boost the country's income and replace foreign assistance.

Azoz Al-Samei, a Yemeni writer in Taiz, posted on his Facebook actigate claims. "The group deployed armed men near Habra's house to monitor him and stop him from leaving in case he attempts to do so," said the source, who was unable to reveal information regarding the credibility of the claims.

However, Hamza Al-Houthi, a member of the Houthi Political Office, denied that Habra is under house arrest. "Saleh Habra is one of the most important leaders in the group, he was the head of the group's Political Office, we will never believe reports that he is an agent of Saudi Arabia," he told the Yemen Times.

"This news tarnishes the reputation of our righteous father Saleh Habra, who contributed greatly in getting the group to its current status... these accusations are not true, they are rumors, his place is safe and



secured among the group.' Repeated calls to Habra on Wednesday from the Yemen Times went un-

answered. Al-Yasser Awadhi, the assistant of the general secretary of the General People's Congress (GPC), wrote on Twitter

lik

that, "Abdulma-Al-Houthi imposed house arrest on Saleh

Habra and placed heavy security ra also signed the final NDC outaround his house preventing him comes document on behalf of the from leaving Sa'ada and accusing



Sources claim Habra is being investigated by the Houthis for being an agent of Saudi Arabia.

> the army. Hab-Houthis in January 2014.



Issuance Date: February 26, 2015 Deadline for Questions: March 03, 2015 at 12 PM EST / 8 PM AST March 17, 2015 at 12 PM EST / 8 PM AST Closing Date: Subject: Maternal and Child Health Integrated Program (MCHIP) -Solicitation No. 001

John Snow Inc. (JSI) is seeking applications for a 4-month Assistance Award, from qualified organizations with the capacity and expertise in conducting research studies to submit applications to support a knowledge, practices and coverage (KPC) household cluster survey that will guide the implementation of maternal, newborn and child health (MNCH) interventions in Yemen. This project will be conducted under the Maternal and Child Health Integrated Program (MCHIP) which awarded a five-year Associate Award (AA) in Yemen funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) . MCHIP-Yemen is led operationally by JSI in partnership with Jhpiego, Save the Children, PATH, and ICF/Macro. MCHIP-Yemen's goal is to reduce maternal and neonatal mortality and morbidity as well as rates of childhood illness and malnutrition, particularly stunting and anemia, across five governorates over five years.

Place of performance is Yemen.

For the purposes of this program, this Request for Applications (RFA) is being issued and consists of this cover letter and the following:

Section A – General Description of Funding Opportunity

Section B – Application Instructions

Section C - Eligibility requirements and Selection Criteria

Section D - Award Administration

Attachment 1 – Summary Budget Template Attachment 2 – Budget notes Attachment 3 – Institutional Capability and Past Performance Table Attachment 4 – Pre-award Assessment Questionnaire Attachment 5 - Certifications Assurances and Other Statements of the Recipient

Attachment 6 - Mandatory Standard Provisions for Non-US. Nongovernmental Organizations

JSI anticipates awarding one (1) sub-award as a result of this solicitation to a responsible application that offers the greatest value to MCHIP, a program funded by U.S. Government.

Subject to funds availability JSI intends to provide up to \$90,000 for this award, to be allocated over the whole period of performance.

behalf of the Houthis, such as the Doha Agreement in 2008, made between the Houthis and former President Ali Abdullah Saleh, to end the fourth round of war between the

Houthis

and

him of being an

agent for Saudi

Habra signed

a number of

agreements on

Arabia.'

ten in 2007.

The publishing of the story came three days after Abdulmalik Al-Houthi delivered a speech on Feb. 26, saying that precious stones can provide a strong boost to Yemen's economy, which can survive without foreign aid. The speech was an attempt to reassure Yemenis that the economy would be fine following the closure of Western and Gulf Cooperation Council embassies in Sana'a.

Several employees at Al-Thawra denied that there was any political agenda behind republishing the report following Al-Houthi's speechseven years after it was written. The article which was published on the front page of the paper on Monday.

"It is not false, and it does not aim

to plagiarize the piece but added that the article itself was accurate. Abdulbasit Al-Nawa, a journalist at Al-Thawra who said he was neutral towards the Houthis, believes the act of plagiarism was an oversight.

"Mistakes like this do happen. In my opinion, the repeated publishing of the report was not intentional, and the newspaper had better publish an erratum to clarify this," he said.

Mohammad Mutair, another journalist at paper, said he was not sure what the motivation behind the re-publishing of the article was. "The purpose is either to glorify Al-Houthi or to remind people of the information because of its importance."

However, another journalist at



Al-Houthi's announcement was mocked on social media. This photo had the following caption: "If you men keep working at it, we will have a budget surplus that rivals the budgets of all the Gulf states combined."

count that financial estimates indicate "Yemen will export millions of stones a day."

Rami Iskander, a journalist based in Hadramout, posted a photo on his Facebook account of several men trying to move a boulder with the caption: "If you men keep working at it, we will have a budget surplus that rivals the budgets of all the Gulf states combined."

Nabil Subei, a writer based in Sana'a, complained on Facebook that the plan put forward by Al-Houthi "[proves] that this man is leading Yemen straight to hell."

The Houthis took over the staterun daily Al-Thawra in mid-December. The paper has since seen a radical pro-Houthi change in editorial policy and regularly prints Houthi speeches and statements in full. Former Minister of Information Nadia Al-Sakkaf [Disclosure: Al-Sakkaf is the former editor-inchief of the Yemen Times] ordered the paper to stop printing on Dec. 23 and told the press that all official media institutions no longer represent the government's views.

Economist Mustfa Nasr, the head of the Sana'a-based Economic Studies Media Center, said that as a developing country, Yemen is in desperate need of foreign aid and assistance.

"It is true that precious stones can help improve the national economy, but this cannot happen over night. The economy should be left to the economists."

Applications will be reviewed by a technical committee that will evaluate the Applications according to criteria provided within. The committee will determine which organization(s) will be funded based on the submitted Applications. MCHIP will use the conclusions and recommendations of the technical evaluation together with an evaluation of the costs to negotiate with the Applicant an Award. Detailed instructions for applications can be found under Section B - Application and Submission Instructions.

Applicants must be local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) registered in Yemen where the proposed project will be implemented. Detailed eligibility requirements can be found in section C2 of this RFA.

The preferred method of distribution of this RFA information is via the internet. This RFA and any future amendments can be downloaded from - http://www.jsi.com/JSIInternet/IntlHealth/contract/contract\_rfp. cfm#RFA-001-MCHIP .

Applications as well as questions regarding this RFA must be received by the respective closing dates and time indicated at the top of this cover letter at the place designated below for receipt of applications. No late applications will be accepted.

Applications must be submitted via email and requested in 2 separate parts (a) technical and (b) cost or business application. Applications shall be submitted with the name and address of the applicant and RFA # (referenced above) inscribed thereon, to:

Victoria Rossi To: Email: yemen\_info@jsi.com

Issuance of this solicitation, or the submission of an Application, does not constitute an award commitment on the part of the United States Government (USG) and/or JSI, nor does it commit the USG and/or JSI to pay for costs incurred in the preparation or submission of an Application. The USG reserves the right not to fund any of the Applications received.

Thank you for your consideration of this initiative. We look forward to your organization's participation.

Sincerely,

/s/

Victoria Rossi Senior Program Officer, MCHIP

John Snow, Inc.



# The legal and political ramifications of declaring Sana'a an "occupied city"

Story by Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki Photo by Brett Scott

he soap opera that is Yemeni politics took another dramatic turn on Feb. 21 when President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi fled house arrest and made his way to Aden, declaring himself the country's sole legitimate ruler. Then on Sunday, March 1, he said that Yemen's capital is an "occupied city."

Later that day, the Nasserist and Islah parties welcomed his latest declaration.

Nasserist leader Hatem Abu Hatem told the Yemen Times that, "Hadi's declaration that Sana'a is an occupied city sends a strong message to the Houthis in hopes that they reconsider the steps they have taken since they toppled Sana'a on Sept. 21."

He added that Hadi is "still the legitimate president of Yemen and we support him. His legitimacy ends when the transitional period ends and a new president is elected."

The president's statement came during a meeting with tribal figures and sheikhs from Al-Jawf, Marib, Shabwa and Al-Baida on Sunday morning. The president said that Sana'a is occupied by Iran's Yemeni followers, the Houthis.

The Houthis, a Zaydi-Shia group traditionally based in Yemen's northern governorate of Sa'ada, began seizing territories in the aftermath of Yemen's 2011 uprising, following the power-vacuum created by the stepping down of former President Ali Abdullah Saleh. This past summer, the group entered Sana'a following an unpopular decision to remove fuel subsidies, and set-up camp and began regular protests. On Sept. 21, the group took over the capital following clashes with state security forces.

The president signed a peaceagreement with the Houthis called the Peace and National Partnership Agreement, which resulted in the formation of a new government. After rejecting the president's initial nomination for prime minister, Khaled Bahah was chosen as the country's new prime minister and established a Cabinet.

That Cabinet, along with the prime minister and the president, resigned on Jan. 21 following the takeover of the Presidential Palace

Pro-Houthi attorney Abdulaziz Al-Baghdadi is the owner of Al-Baghdadi law firm in Sana'a. He says Hadi's declaration is a dangerous one, and wondered if Hadi was under the weather and not in his right mind when he made it.

"Hadi said Yemen is occupied by the Houthis, but the Houthis are Yemenis—not foreign nationals. If we accept this reasoning, it is only logical that we conclude that Hadi was also occupying Sana'a. He is not the legitimate president. The election that brought him to power only granted him two years."

Al-Baghdadi acknowledged that his term was extended by the National Dialogue Conference, but said that since his extra year in power was unsuccessful, that his authority is no longer legitimate.

Hadi also said that he will, "confront the Houthis in order to maintain a unified Yemen." He accused them, along with Iran and former President Saleh, of sabotaging the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Initiative that outlined the coun-

try's political transition.

A high-ranking member of the Islah party, who declined to be publically identified due to the sensitivity of the political situation and citing concerns that he could be disappeared, praised Hadi's announcement. The source said it would result in more international isolation against the Houthis, while allowing formal relations with the outside world to continue in Aden, "where the legitimate president is."

Following Hadi's resignation, Western and Arab embassies shut down and evacuated their staff.

The General People's Congress (GPC), led by former President Saleh, denounced the move. Its spokesperson, Abdulmalik Al-Fohadi, who is also the editor-in-chief of GPC mouthpiece Al-Motamar Net, told the Yemen Times that Hadi's statement amounted to a declaration of war.

"It's a call to the international community to besiege Sana'a and to take action against the Houthis," he said.

Hadi's decaration came after daily protests in numerous governorates, most notably: Sana'a, Taiz, Aden, Hodeida and Dhamar. Sheikhs from southern governorates as well as Marib, Al-Baida and Al-Jawf had also called on the president to declare Sana'a occupied.

Abdulmalik Al-Hasamani, a youth protester in Sana'a, said Hadi met the youth's demands by making the declaration.

"Now the real revolution, the one against the Houthis, has begun. We will kick them out of Sana'a. The state's institutions will be relocated to Aden and the Houthis can be attacked militarily," Al-Hasamani said.



Houthi gunmen, some in military uniform, positioned near a pro-Houthi demonstration in the capital Sana'a in mid-February.

A tribal sheikh from Marib, Saleh Lanjaf, said he and other sheikhs had to make the declaration.

"We are prepared to expel the Houthis from all governorates. We will fight with him until the last man dies." Lanjaf has previously told the Ye-

men Times that there are 30,000 fighters mobilized and ready to fight from Al-Baida, Marib and Al-Jawf.

Legal consequences for being an "occupied city"?

Mohammed Al-Helali is an attorney with the Yemeni human rights group, The National Organization for Defending Rights and Freedoms (HOOD). In his legal opinion, Al-Helali says that Hadi is the legitimate president of the country since withdrawing his resignation last week. Al-Helali said the resignation was invalid since it was made under coercion. Hadi's personal residence and the Presidential Palace were both shelled and he remained under house arrest until fleeing Sana'a for Aden on Feb. 21.

Hadi's resignation was also never accepted by Parliament. Despite initial plans to meet to vote over the issue, a vote was never taken.

Al-Helali says the declaration of Sana'a as an occupied city by Hadi

will usher in new developments.

The international community, he

says, must now deal with Sana'a as a militia-controlled city, and not just a city in crisis that could emerge from crisis through dialogue.

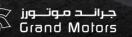
Report

Second, he says, all state institutions, including the treasury, will be moved to Aden. He believes Hadi's declaration will force the international community to impose new sanctions on the Houthis.

The declaration, he claims, will ban governments, organizations and diplomats from dealing with the Houthis as political actors with legitimate demands. The UN Security Council can sanction anyone who cooperates with the Houthis, he said, as a way to diplomatically isolate the group further.







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# **Business Announcement**

WFP

Subject: Invitation for Expression of Interest for the Provision of Assessment and Monitoring Services for WFP programmes in Yemen

The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) in Yemen seeks Expressions of Interest (EOI) from established companies for the provision of assessment and monitoring services of its programmes.

Founded in 1963, the WFP is the United Nations frontline agency in the fight against hunger currently in 74 countries. The WFP pursues a vision of the world in which everv woman, man and child has access at all times to the food needed for an active and healthy life. The mandate of the WFP is to provide emergency and development assistance to eradicate hunger and poverty amongst the poorest and most food-insecure countries and populations.

The WFP has been running programmes in Yemen with its country office in Sana'a and offices in other governorates since 1967. The WFP's current two year project has various programmes reaching 6 million beneficiaries in Yemen covering relief assistance to IDPs, migrants, refugees and malnourished children, pregnant and lactating women, as well as resilience-building activities for the Yemeni population through protective and productive safety nets programmes (unconditional and conditional food/cash transfers with asset-creation activities), stunting-prevention nutrition interventions, and school feeding programmes.

The WFP desires to engage gualified and experienced companies to provide assessment and monitoring services in Yemen for its programmes.

The scope of outsourced works consists of assessment and monitoring activities, but is not limited to the execution of the following services. The WFP is therefore interested in constraints in implementation and make recommendations for improvement;

- · Undertake post-distribution monitoring of WFP activities as per the WFP guidelines and provide contextual feedback on the effectiveness of WFP food or cash assistance to target populations:
- Undertake data collection exercises for other WFP outcome measurements, evaluations and special surveys;
- · Establish and maintain a database containing all FDPs, distribution monitoring and post-distribution monitoring information:

#### **Reporting:**

- · Produce a distribution monitoring report on programme implementation and challenges encountered for each distribution monitoring/site visit;
- · Produce a consolidated monitoring report at the end of each month, quarter, and year; and
- · Perform other related activities as required and requested.

Organizations or firms who have the capacity to provide part and not all of the outline services below are still encouraged to send expressions of interest indicating areas of their strength.

This announcement encourages national and international non-governmental organizations as well as private firms based in and outside Yemen who would be interested in the upcoming tender for outsourcing assessment and monitoring services for the above mentioned WFP programmes in Yemen. Following the deadline for submission of the EOI, WFP may, based on the responses to the Capacity Questionnaire of vour organization submitted and at its absolute discretion, shortlist organizations who will then be invited to bid for the assessment and monitoring services to the locations identified inside Yemen.

إعسلان تجساري

الموضوع: دعوة لإبداء الرغبة لتوفير خدمات التقييم والرصد لبرنامج الأغذية العالمي في اليمن

> يشجع برنامج الأغذية العالمي للأمم المتحدة في اليمن الشركات المهتمة من خلال هذه الدعوة وذلك عن طريق إبداء الرغبة من الشركات التي تم تأسيسها للتقديم فى مجال خدمات التقييم والمراقبة لبرامجها (EOI)

> برنامج الأغذية العالمي هو أكبر منظمة للإغاثة الإنسانية تُعنى بمكافحة الجوع في جميع أنحاء العالم. منذ نشأته في عام 1963, يتبنى البرنامج رؤية تجاة العالم يتمكن من خلالها كل رجل وامرأة وطفل في كُل وقت من الحصول على الغذاء اللازم لحياة نشطة وصحية. ونحن نعمل على تحقيق هذه الرؤية مع وكالات الامم المتحدة الأخرى. وعلى الصعيد العالمي يعمل برنامج الأغذية العالمي في 74 بلدًا. كما يقوم برنامج الأغذية العالمي بتقديم المساعدة في حالات الطوارئ والتنمية للقضاء على الجوع والفقر بين اكثر الدول فقر أو انعداماً للأمن الغذائي والسكان.

> وقد بدأ البرنامج العمل في اليمن من خلال المكتب الاقليمي في صنعاء والمحافظات الأخرى منذ عام 1967. ويقوم البرنامج من خلال مشروعه الحالي القائم لمدة سنتان في عدة برامج مختلفة بلغت حوالي 6 ملايين مستفيد في اليمن والتي تغطى مساعدات الإغاثة إلى النازحين والمهاجرين واللاجئين الذين يعانون من سوء التغذية مثل الأطفال والنساء الحوامل والمرضعات، وكذلك أنشطة بناء القدرة على التكيف لسكان اليمن من خلال برامج شبكات الأمان الواقية ذات الإنتاجية (التحويلات الغذائية / النقدية الغير المشروطة والمشروطة مع أنشطة الآستفادة)، تدخلات التغذية الوقائية من التقزم، وبرامج التغذية المدرسية.

> يرغب برنامج الأغذية العالمي في إشراك الشركات المؤهلة وذوكي الخبرة لتقديم خدمات التقييم والرصد والمراقبة في اليمن لبر امجها

> يتكون نطاق الأعمال من أنشطة التقييم والرصد

والإجراءات والصيغ، والتقييم بانتظام لعملية التقدم الفعلى لأنشطة البرنامج فيما يتعلق بالخطط الأصلية وتحديد مستوى التقدم والمعوقات في عملية التنفيذ وتقديم التوصيات من اجل تحسينها.

- إجراء الرصد لعملية ما بعد التوزيع لانشطة البرنامج وفقا للمبادئ الارشادية للبرنامج وتوفير النتائج النصية على مدى فعالية البرنامج الغذائية أو المساعدات النقدية لاستهداف السكان.
- إجراء عمليات جمع البيانات القياسية للبرنامج الأخري والنتائج والتقييمات والدراسات الاستقصائبة الخاصة؛
- إنشاء والحفاظ على قاعدة بيانات تحتوي على جميع المعلومات نقاط التوزيع الغذائية ورصد معلومات التوزيع وما بعد التوزيع؛

#### التقارير:

- إعداد تقرير مراقبة التوزيع على مستوى تنفيذ البرنامج والتحديات التي تواجهها في كل زيارة من اجلّ رقابة التوزيع والموقع؛
- إعداد تقرير الرصد الموحد في نهاية كل شهر، وربع السنة، والسنة؛ و
- تنفيذ الأنشطة الأخرى ذات الصلة على النحو المطلوب.

ومن خلال هذا الاعلان التجاري يشجع برنامج الأغذية العالمي في اليمن المنظمات المحلية والدولية والشركات الخاصة في اليمن وخارجها التي لديها الرغبة بالمشاركة في العطاء القادم في مجال خدمات التقييم والرصد والمراقبة الخاصة بالبرنامج المذكورة أعلاه وبعد الموعد النهائي لتقديم EOI لبرنامج الأغذية العالمي في اليمن واستنادا إلى الردود على الاستبيان عن قدرات مؤسستكم المقدمة ووفقاً لتقدير ها المطلق والمنظمات المختارة, والتي سيتم بعد ذلك دعوتها لتقديم العطاء في تقديم خدمات التقييم والرصد والمراقبة إلى المواقع التي تم تحديدها داخل اليمن.

organizations with the capacity to:

#### Access:

- · Have a demonstrated ability to negotiate access at the community level throughout the different governorates and districts where support is required;
- · Undertake field missions to all Final Distribution Points (FDPs) as provided by WFP to establish contacts and allow monitoring to take place

#### Assessment:

- · Undertake emergency food needs assessment in areas inaccessible to WFP staff in collaboration with government and/or WFP partners;
- · Undertake food security monitoring, as required;
- · Conduct any other relevant assessment and studies as required;

#### **Monitoring:**

- Prepare a monthly monitoring plan in line with WFP requirements, and adapt the monitoring plan to WFP programme needs and priorities on a regular basis with close consultation with WFP Sub-Offices and Country Office:
- Undertake distribution monitoring/site visits as per monthly monitoring plan, following WFP's monitoring guidelines, procedures, and forms, to regularly assess the physical progress of WFP activities in relation to original plans and identify progress and

Interested companies are encouraged to access the United Nations Global Market (UNGM) www.unam.org or In-Tend (WFP electronic tendering) https://ungm.in-tend. co.uk/wfp/aspx/Home to download Capacity Questionnaire along with Supplier's Registration Form or request for the same by sending the e-mail to the following address: yemen.procurement@wfp.org. The completed Capacity Questionnaire and Supplier's Registration Form including all supporting documentation should be returned to WFP by [13th March, 2015], at [14:00] hrs via the links above.

Completed Supplier Registration Form & Capacity Questionnaire with supporting documentation may also be returned in a sealed envelopes addressed as follows:

#### EOI#YEM15NF016-002

Attn.: Procurement Unit **United Nations World Food Programme** Nowakshot St. P.O. Box: 7181 Sana'a, Yemen

Any enquiries regarding this EOI must be addressed to: yemen.procurement@wfp.org

كما يشجيع البرنامج الشركات المهتمة للدخول الى الموقع الالكتروني الخاص بالسوق العالمي للأمم المتحدة (UNGM) www.ungm.org أو عبر المناقصة الالكترونية .https://ungm.in-tend co.uk/wfp/aspx/Home (WFP) لتنزيل نموذج استبيان مع استمارة تسجيل المورد أو ارسال الطلب لذلك عن طريق الإرسال عبر البريد الإلكتروني إلى العنوان التالي:

yemen.procurement@wfp.org كما بجب أن يعاد ارسال هذا الاستبيان بعد الانتهاء منه مع استمارة تسجيل المورد بما في ذلك جميع الوثائق الداعمة لبرنامج الأغذية العالمي حتى موعد اقصاه (13 مارس 2015)، الوقت (14:00) وذلك عير الروابط المذكورة أعلاه

يمكن إعادة نموذج التسجيل والإستبيان المكتمل مع الوثائق الداعمة في ظرف مغلق ومختم على العنوان التالي:

#### EOI#YEM15NF016-002

عناية: وحدة المشتريات برنامج الأغذية العالمي للأمم المتحدة شارع نواكشوط صندوق بريد: 7181 صنعاء، اليمن

أى استفسار ات بهذا الخصوص يجب أن تكون موجهة إلى البريد الالكتروني: yemen.procurement@wfp.org

# • تولى عملية التقييم للاحتياجات الغذائية الطارية في

- إجراء رصد الأمن الغذائي، حسب الاقتضاء؛
- إجراء أي تقييم ودر اسات أخرى ذات الصلة على النحو المطلوب.

#### رصد:

- إعداد خطة الرصد الشهرية وفقا لمتطلبات برنامج الأغذية العالمي، وتهيئة خطة الرصد بحسب احتياجات البرنامج والأولويات على أسس منتظمة بالتشاور الوثيق مع برنامج الأغذية العالمي و مكاتبه الفر عية و القطرية
- القيام بزيارات رصد التوزيع والمواقع وفقاً لخطة الرصد الشهرية، وذلك باتباع المبادئ الارشادية

والمراقبة، ولكن لا يقتصر على تنفيذ الخدمات التالية. ولذلك يرغب برنامج الأغذية العالمي في المنظمات التي لديها القدرة على:

#### الوصول:

• القدرة على التفاوض والوصول على مستوى المجتمع المحلي في جميع أنحاء المحافظات والمناطق المختلُّفة التَّى تتطلُّب الدعم؛ • إنزال البعثات الميدانية لجميع نقاط التوزيع الغذائية (FDPs)، والتي يتم تزويدها من قبل البر نامج من أجل إقامة قنوات تواصل التي من شأنها المساهمة في عملية الرصد.

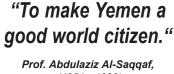
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Opinion



YT vision statement



**Prof. Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf,** (1951 - 1999) Founder of Yemen Times



#### **OUR OPINION**

## With focus on Houthi crimes, don't forget Hadi's past

hese are difficult times. You don't need a magic 8 ball to know that the situation in Yemen is about to get a lot more difficult. In times of crisis, we are asked to put aside many of our values and focus on security and stability. Worst of all, a cloud of amnesia emerges about our past, and those in power today—with the complicity of the media—shape our memory of the past.

As clichéd as it is, we all have baggage. However we feel about Hadi and his legitimacy, we have to be honest about his dodgy past so we can be informed about decisions we will need to make about the future of this country.

If you're going to throw your support behind Hadi because he is the main opposition to a rebel group that kidnaps and tortures with impunity, fine. Being principled doesn't mean strategy goes out with window.

As the country further divides between Houthis, southern secessionists, and military factions—with tribes filling in the holes and Al-Qaeda filling in the cracks—the ex (ex?) president presents the best and perhaps only chance at holding it all together. While he lacks the backing of much of the GPC, he has the other major parties behind him, along with the now defunct Cabinet and the international community.

If Hadi is going to be supported, it must be clear that it is only because the alternatives are worse. It is a temporary measure, and when the time comes Hadi must leave. The man does not deserve to play a role in Yemen's future because of the role he played in its past.

Of course, if he decides to run in future elections and wins, he will be the president of the country, and regardless of his past, will be the legitimate ruler of Yemen. Deserving or not, that's democracy. But if we conspire to hide his past from the public, that is not democracy. Democracy requires vibrant, honest and independent press so that Yemenis can make informed decisions. Because of the deafening silence surrounding Hadi's past, here

are some reminders of who he was and who he is.

Hadi, a southerner, was promoted to minister of defense during the 1994 civil war and led the bloody war against South Yemen. After the one-candidate election stipulated by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) deal that was rejected by the youth movement—the driving force behind the uprising—he was put in charge of a transitional process to address southern grievances following the war. That means: He was put in charge of resolving the very grievances he had a hand in creating.

Right now, the Houthis are saying they will rule for an interim two years before elections will be held. Right now, we have a choice to make from three available options.

We have the Houthis, who chant <sup>\*</sup>Death to America" while driving Yemen into the ground, Saleh, the multi-billionaire 33year autocrat who literally robbed the country of its future, or Hadi, the man who stood quietly by his side while he did it. The youth movement awoke from its slumber following Hadi's resignation on Jan. 22, and they are making an admirable effort to pave the way for a fourth option. As Houthis fill their secret prisons with journalists, protesters and anyone else who criticizes their behavior, that fourth option is looking less possible each passing day.

# A big rethink: Security in the GCC

#### **Michael Stephens** aljazeera.com First published March 2

ne could be forgiven for thinking that the Arab Spring never really occurred in large parts of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Cushioned by plentiful hydrocarbon reserves and healthy government budgets, and (with the exception of Bahrain) populations who largely prefer stability to chaotic political change, the GCC has been able to avoid instability reaching its own territory. In contrast to the horrors of Iraq and Syria and the ongoing problems in Libya, Egypt, and Lebanon, GCC leaders have had it relatively easy.

But since 2011 there has been an increasing realization among GCC members that the United States, so long their guarantor of security, is losing interest in the region. In response, the GCC, and particularly Saudi Arabia, have become increasingly frustrated as their traditional security calculations have been radically shaken, and this frustration has bubbled over into more activist regional policies in Syria, Libya, Egypt, and Bahrain, with not all the Gulf states agreeing on how best these policies should be conducted.

There are a number of serious headaches the GCC states currently must contend with, and for an organization founded primarily as a collective security agreement in response to the Iranian Islamic revolution, its collective resolve is under severe test. With Syria, Iraq, and Yemen proving staging posts for radical Sunni extremism and Iranian meddling, the GCC sees nothing but trouble all around its borders.

#### **Creative thinking**

But there has been very little creative thinking emerging as to how to stabilize the region. Syria's President Bashar Al-Assad must be removed from power, and his Iranian backers made to accept that he is as much a cause for regional misery as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), which must also somehow be destroyed.

Yet what solutions exist to solve these dual and contradictory problems? Outside of a prolonged western military intervention (which is no solution at all), very few.

The biggest worry, however, is the soap opera like saga that has engulfed Yemen, the GCC's troubled southern cousin. Instability in Yemen produces a myriad of security challenges both externally and internally, and, as in Syria and Iraq, contains the double challenge of expanding Iranian influence on one hand, and extremist Sunni Islam on the other.

Zaydi Shia of the Houthi insurgency have taken over the capital of Sana'a, forcing President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi from power, only for the detained president to escape captivity and flee to the southern port city of Aden. The Gulf states consider the Houthi takeover as an illegitimate coup, and their support for the ousted president was confirmed last week when all six states took the decision to move their diplomatic rep-

resentations to Aden in a direct message to the Houthis that their control over the country will be resisted.

Yemen cannot be isolated from the GCC, although the Saudis have taken steps to build a security barrier in the provinces of Jizan and Najran, the Yemen connection to the rest of the Arabian Peninsula is long ingrained. In all the Gulf states, a sizable population of nationals trace their lineage directly to Yemen as close as one or two generations, and the yearly movement of Yemenis north into the Hijaz has existed long before the Al-Saud finally wrested control of the province from the Hashemite dynasty in 1925.

With a new king at the helm in Riyadh, how the GCC reacts to the crisis in Yemen will show just how determined the GCC is to solve security crises in its immediate region—the coming months will be critical. But burned by an unsuccessful military adventure against the Houthis in 2009 the Saudis will be hesitant to cross their southern border again.

More likely will be a UN-led effort which the Saudis will spearhead to try and force the Houthis to relinquish control over the embers of the Yemeni state, but again it is difficult to see how such a reality will come to pass without boots on the ground.

#### Joint military command

The much vaunted new GCC joint military command of 100,000 men may be the beginning of a process that will afford the GCC with better expeditionary capability, and certainly if the current GCC Peninsula Shield force were ready to do the job the Yemen question might be far easier to solve.

But numbers do not equal capacity and to be clear, the GCC may spend tens of billions per year on military purchases, training and skills transfer, but with the exception of the UAE, the Gulf states possess almost no ability to operate in an external and sustained military conflict.

Although the UAE, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain are contributing positively to the international coalition against ISIL, via the use of airpower, the notion that GCC forces would intervene in Iraq or Syria on the ground in the form of stabilizing missions is a long way off.

This year marks a real opportunity for the GCC to begin getting these questions right, and putting in place workable resilient security structures that afford greater operational autonomy and defense capability. The GCC's fear of lessening Western interest in the region is to some extent true, and if the vacuum opened up by less assertive Western power presents an opportunity to Iran, then the GCC has to step up and do more. Money and expensive toys don't buy you regional stability.

Time will tell if the all the money and the tough talk translate into real security solutions for the GCC, but if the Gulf states are to have any influence at all over the direction of a chaotic region beset by war and instability, change has to start now.

Michael Stephens is the Research Fellow for Middle East Studies at the Royal United Services Institute, and head of RUSI Qatar.

## ANALYSIS

# The problem with Iraq's offensive against the Islamic State

#### **IRIN** First published March 2

s the Iraqi army and affiliated militias sweep into northern Iraq to try to re-take the city of Tikrit from the so-called Islamic State (IS), the local civilians are fearful they may be punished for the crimes of the Islamist militants.

A force of around 30,000 made up of army soldiers and governmentbacked Shia militias today moved to

#### who oppose it.

Human rights groups have accused Shia militias of routinely abducting and killing Sunni civilians in recent months.

Many of the militias have long existed in Iraq, but have risen in power and prominence after the Iraqi army retreated and allowed IS to claim nearly a third of the country. Militia members, numbering tens of thousands, often wear military uniforms and are allegedly supported by the government but operate without any

International, told IRIN. "We are concerned that as this military operation gathers pace, obviously there are going to be more abuses."

Fears of a revenge attack are particularly strong in Tikrit after the socalled Speicher massacre. Last summer, IS allegedly killed more than 1,000 predominantly Shia soldiers after it captured the Speicher military base in Tikrit.

"They have accused us of the Speicher massacre which we never committed," Al-Ajeeli said. "We ask

#### crimes.

But Stork argued Abadi had yet to seriously challenge the power of the militias: There have been no confirmed cases of militia leaders being punished by the legal system.

"We welcome those statements by the ayatollah and prime minister and hope they will have the desired effect but so far we haven't seen that," Stork told IRIN. "The government needs to show it is serious by holding some of the commanders to account and bringing them to justice... We need to

Yemenis are tired, scared and hungry. The popular support the Houthis rode into town with after Hadi's badly-managed removal of fuel subsidies has waned. If Yemenis do not want to be ruled by armed rebels, there are few options.

Supporting Hadi is not "good" or "bad." It is a matter of strategy as this point. The uprising did not bring democracy, but a so-called transition-to-democracy.

Recognizing that we don't live in a democracy, we can move forward with our undemocratic options and start the hard fight ahead for a country that runs according to the will of its people.

The Yemeni press, or what's left of it following the Sept. 21 takeover, has obligations to the public beyond covering ceremonies and re-publishing speeches of public figures. Those obligations do not cease with the country's increasingly charged political atmosphere. They increase.

> Ahlam Mohsen and Brett Scott

reclaim the city, 150 kilometers north of the capital Baghdad, which fell to the predominantly Sunni militant group—previously known as ISIL last June.

Ghanim Al-Ajeeli, a Sunni tribal sheikh from the Albu Ajeel village north of Tikrit which has up to 20,000 residents, said he feared being held responsible for the actions of IS.

"We are very concerned by this operation," he told IRIN. "The [Shia] militias will eliminate the entire tribe of Albu Ajeel. They won't leave a single house."

He said his and other families were fleeing to the Tuz district ahead of the assault reaching the area.

Followers of Islam fall under two main sects: Sunni and Shia.

Since taking over swaths of territory in northern and western Iraq in June last year, Sunni IS has routinely brutally attacked Shia civilians, as well as Christians and other ethnic minorities. It has also targeted Sunnis

official oversight.

Joe Stork, deputy Middle East and North Africa director at Human Rights Watch (HRW) said he worried this trend would be aggravated during the assault on Tikrit. "We are very, very concerned on the basis of what has been going in the past few months," he said.

Unless the militias can be brought under control, he added, the military should carry out the offensive alone. A HRW report released last month

documented Shia militias taking revenge on civilians they deemed to have been favorable to IS. In Muqdadiyya area of Diyala province 80 kilometers north of Baghdad, militias allegedly set homes on fire after claiming the area.

"We have documented a pattern of abuses by Shia militias taking the law into their own hands and exacting revenge on Sunni communities. This has been going on throughout the last year," Donatella Rovera, of Amnesty

the central government and local government to intervene immediately to stop... those who are hungry for revenge on innocents."

Both Iraqi President Haidar Al-Abadi, himself a Shia, and senior Shia leader Ayatollah Sistani have made speeches in recent days urging militias to act with restraint and respect civilians.

Referring to the militias as "popular mobilization," Al-Abadi said in a speech last night that he was "proud of our society's cohesion as well as the unity of the army, police and the popular mobilization to expel IS."

Since Iraq's civil strife in 2006-8, politicians on all sides have increased their use of militia-fueled violence to further their political ends.

Shortly after coming to power last summer, Al-Abadi pledged to bring the militias under control and incorporate them into the government security services, also promising to prosecute those who had committed see some deterrent."

Hakim al-Zamili, head of the Iraqi Parliament's security and defense committee and a member of the political party led by Shia cleric Muqtada Al-Sadr, denied there was any lack of discipline among militias.

"The security forces and popular mobilisation are making a great advance in the battle against IS... We assure the people that our security forces and popular mobilization were founded to protect them not to hurt [them]."

"We have educated our fighters to protect innocents' lives and belongings and not to hurt them," he went on. "It's our priority to protect them." But it is no compensation to Ajeeli, who fears potential massacres. "I think they will commit crimes to be written in Iraq's history for hundreds of years."

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# Report



#### Part II

6

# What does the Houthis' rise mean for women?

This is part two of a two-part series on the Houthis and women's rights. Part one, published March 3, looked at how women in Sana'a have been affected since the Houthis' takeover of the capital on Sept. 21. Part two, below, examines the difference between the movement's professed values regarding women and how women are actually being treated, as well as the situation for women in other governorates under Houthi control, such as Sa'ada and Amran.

#### **Fareed Al-Homaid**

omen's role in society can't be separated from men's role, they have one combined role. Woman and man are one entity, there is no difference between them except their sex.'

These are the words of Abdulmalik Al-Houthi, leader of the Houthis, given in a speech commemorating the birthday of Fatima, Prophet Mohammad's daughter, on April 20, 2014.

In numerous speeches, Al-Houthi has portrayed women as a basic element in the process of building the country and improving society. Statements given to the Yemen Times by multiple members of the Houthi Political Office seem to support women's rights and condemn any actions oppressing women.

Two questions are raised: Is the official stance of the Houthis regarding women authentic? And whether or not it is, do their words match their supporters' actions on the ground?

Al-Houthi seems to think there isn't a problem with women's rights in Yemen. Rather, in his view, Zi-

onism of taking advantage of the women's rights movement to create conflict.

"Zionism tends to present women as if they are in an isolated world away from men and then they raise disputes and conflicts between them to make women think that they are oppressed and have to fight to get their rights," he said in the same speech in April.

While Al-Houthi may be trying to avoid the country's clear gender inequality problem, it is not the case that the Houthis have entirely ignored women.

During the National Dialogue Conference, in which nine of the 37 Houthi representatives were women, the group backed a 30 percent quota for women in government. And in the Constitutional Drafting Committee they voted in favor of a law to set a legal age for girls to get married.

"There is a fierce media war in the country. Ansar Allah [the Houthis] are targeted by those who don't want good for the country," says Mohammad Al-Bukhaiti, a member of the Houthi Political Office in Sana'a.

He claims the group is fully supportive of women's rights, and denies allegations made by opponents that claim otherwise. "They come up with lies and make up stories



The Houthis argue women in Sa'ada have all the same freedoms as women in Sana'a, but because of their conservative society women tend to not leave home without a male relative. Many women in Sana'a worry the Houthis will-and have already begun to-impose their values and norms on others.

just to defame Ansar Allah by saying that Ansar Allah are trying to get into people's personal freedoms like banning women from driving or imposing dress codes."

Ammat Al-Mujib Al-Qahoom, a female Houthi representative to the NDC, also says that what has been reported against the Houthis regarding the way they treat women is a part of the media war against the group.

"Women in Sa'ada and in all the governorates controlled by Ansar Allah have their full freedoms to drive cars and to go out with or without a mahram. We are not Salafis. Ansar Allah don't get into peoples' own businesses in general and women's businesses in particu-

lar," she told the Yemen Times. In September of last year, right after the Houthis' control of the capital, a BBC correspondent in Sana'a reported Houthi militants at checkpoints around the city told women not to drive unless a mahram is accompanying them. Local media picked up the story, basing their claims on the BBC article.

Al-Qahoom said that she and other female Houthi politicians who represented the Houthis in the NDC haven't been asked by the leadership of the Houthis to not drive cars or to go out with a mahram. "I and other female Houthi politicians and activists drive our own cars freely and we go out without a mahram. We usually drive our cars to the Political Office of Ansar Allah without facing any objection from the leadership of the Political Office."

Al-Bukhaiti said the Houthis do not-in any official capacity-tell women in the capital or any other governorate to stop driving if they are unaccompanied by a mahram. "Ansar Allah has never asked women to stop driving cars without a mahram, whoever says so is telling a lie. People can judge for themselves. Women drive cars freely in the capital," he said. Al-Bukhaiti did admit, however, "There could be individual practices by some members of the popular committees but that doesn't represent our positive official stance toward women." Indeed, the disparity between the words championed by the movement's spokespeople-its more liberal, lawyerly members-and the armed men acting out its will, appears to be a primary concern to citizens. Arwad Al-Khateeb, a 28-yearold women's rights advocate based in Sana'a, says the Houthis seem to support women politically but on the ground they do not. "The Houthis are trying to present themselves to the society and the world as a civilized power that supports women but in realty their practices on the ground are against women," she said. "They want to impose more restrictions on women," said Al-Khateeb, who works as the programs manager at Tamkeen for Development, an NGO that seeks to enhance development projects in line with human rights. Many Sana'ani women have reported that armed Houthis ordered

them to cover up and not leave home without a mahram. Some say they were threatened with sexual assault, and one women was kidnapped by Houthis for protesting against the group.

When asked about the claims made by women in Sana'a of abuse by the Houthis, Al-Qahoom said "I don't think that what was reported really happened, but if it happened it was the personal practices of some armed Houthi members that don't necessarily represent the official stance of Ansar Allah toward women."

Al-Qahoom questioned the credibility of the female students of Sana'a University who claimed that they were threatened and asked to cover up by the Houthis stationed on the campus. "Maybe these ladies are just lying to defame Ansar Allah," she said.

Al-Khateeb also questions if the official position of the group is authentic, saying that the lacking involvement of women in the group's decision making institutions indicates their real stance regarding women.

For example, she pointed to how women have a limited and nonernorate via imams at mosques, states that wedding parties for women at wedding halls must finish by 7 p.m. No such restriction was placed on males.

A fine of YR100,000 (\$465) and a week imprisonment is to be imposed on operators of wedding halls if they violate the new rule. The same fine is also to be imposed for bringing male musicians to wedding halls for women's parties, even though they have separate rooms to play the music in and never mix with the women. Carrying the same fine, but with ten days of imprisonment for the woman's guardian, women are not permitted to take any video-recording devices inside wedding halls.

Farther from Sana'a, in the Houthis' home governorate of Sa'ada, many claim women's freedoms are more restricted. Some local news outlets, along with considerable public opinion in Sana'a, says that women in Sa'ada rarely go out alone and can not drive cars without a mahram.

However, Political Office member Al-Bukhaiti denied these reports. "Women in Sa'ada have the freedom to go out with or without a mahram. That's true, most women in Sa'ada go out with a mahram but they do this not because Ansar Allah forces them to, they do that by their own choice.

"The conservative nature of the society in Sa'ada and Amran is the reason behind women going out with a mahram," he said.

Even so, many residents in areas that have come under or are at risk of coming under Houthi control worry that this conservatism will be imposed on their society.

For example, just like how following the Houthis' ascent to power in Sa'ada neither women nor men could buy cassettes or CDs, as music was banned from being played publicly and music shops were closed by the Houthis.

Al-Khateeb thinks that women in major cities like the capital or Hodeida-already under Houthi control-or Taiz and Aden, which are not controlled by the group but could be in the future, will not accept living according to rules dictated by an armed group that deal with them as if they are a source of shame that should be kept at home.

"Women in Sa'ada and Amran are of a conservative religious background so they don't oppose or see Houthis practices as violations to their rights. In more open cities like Sana'a, Hodeida, Aden and Taiz, women and society in general will not accept any violations to their personal freedoms," she said. With Houthis violently suppressing protests against their rule, and without a government to support women's rights, it remains to be seen what the future holds for women's rights in Sana'a and other areas under Houthi control. The disparity between the group's official statements and its supporters' actions also remains unclear. However, if the words of an armed Houthi in Sana'a are any indication, Yemeni women have a struggle ahead of them. "The West is trying to damage our society by targeting our women with this rubbish so-called women's rights," a Houthi told the Yemen Times in the capital's Tahrir Square. In his late teens, the armed man would not disclose his name, but said he is from Sa'ada. In his view, the only role for women is to stay at home and look after their husband and children. "Women are only good for housekeeping. We should control and watch them or they will be spoiled," he said. "I really have fears that what women have gained throughout their long fight for their rights in Yemen might be lost," Al-Khateeb said solemnly.



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influential role in the group's Political Office. Furthermore, on the ground, women's participation in Houthi demonstrations and sit ins is often non-existent, or otherwise very limited compared to other parties.

With many locals noting a difference between the groups official statements and its actions on the ground, many worry things will get worse as the group further consolidates its authority.

**Conservatism or oppression?** The Houthis captured Amran governorate, located just northwest of Sana'a, in July after fierce fighting against the 310th Armored Brigade. While there were reports of Houthis occupying schools and a humanitarian crisis in the governorate, little has been said about how women's rights changed following the Houthi takeover.

A decision made by the Houthis on Feb. 7 shines some light on the issue.

Houthi officials met a number of local government authorities, religious scholars and community leaders in Amran governorate to discuss female wedding parties and address what they termed "negative phenomena." The outcome of the meeting was a document stipulating a number of decisions, considered by some as violation to the personal freedoms of women.

One of the decisions, which was forwarded to residents of the gov-



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#### REPORT

# **Instability in Ibb** continues since Houthi control



Pictured: An anti-Houthi protest in lbb city. As protests have increased in the governorate, so have the number of violations against protesters and others opposed to the Houthi takeover of the governorate.

#### Bassam Al-Khameri

bb governorate remains unstable and unpredictable despite having been under the control of the Houthis, also known as Ansar Allah, since October 2014. Activists and residents in the governorate regularly stage protests against the group in protest over violations they claim the Houthis have committed against the local population.

The volatile situation in Ibb is often overshadowed by other events unfolding around the country, despite many reports of protesters being kidnapped in recent weeks. An examination of the situation in Ibb since the Houthis consolidated control suggests the group is regularly and systematically committing abuses against residents.

The Rasd Organization for Freedoms and Rights, a non-profit NGO based in Ibb, documented the amount of civil and human rights in the period stretching from Oct. organization, told the Yemen Times that since the Houthis' takeover of Ibb, the governorate has become increasingly unstable. "Houthis arrest people who protest against them," he said. "After the report was released, I moved to Aden. [The Houthis] have been pursuing me ever since."

The report puts the total number of recorded abuses committed by the Houthis during this period at 740, including murder, death and injury, destruction of homes and the illegal takeover of public institutions.

"Total violations include 37 murders, among them three children and an elderly man, 27 cases of injury and bodily harm, 12 cases of assault against journalists and human rights activists, five total demolitions and 17 partial demolitions of homes, 381 individuals being displaced (comprising 78 families), 49 cases of looting homes, nine cases of taking over public institutions, abuses committed by the Houthis ten cases of stealing cars and robbing local residents three cases of shelling public institutions, and 190 cases of illegal detention of civilians," the report read.

ted by the Houthis occurred in Ibb during this period due to the security vacuum that ensued when the group gained control of the governorate. This figure includes murders of military personnel and civilians, robberies, and the burning of vehicles. According to the report, 30 people were killed as a result of an explosion that took place on Dec. 31, 2014 at the Ibb Cultural Center. Some estimates have put the death toll as high as 49, with the number of injuries reaching 70.

Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) claimed responsibility for the attack.

#### **Provoking conflict?**

The Houthis first established a presence in Ibb on Oct. 15, setting up checkpoints at the entrances of Ibb city, although not encountering any resistance. The next day, clashes broke out between Houthis and armed tribesmen with alleged ties to AQAP in Ibb's Al-Odain district. A statement posted on AQAP's Twitter account seemed to confirm their involvement in the clashes. "The jihadists carried out coordinated attacks on security, military and government centers in the Al-Odain district, temporarily seizing

These clashes ended Oct. 18 after a ceasefire was brokered between the Houthis and local tribesmen by Ibb's governor, Yahia Al-Eryani.

control of the area," it read.

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According to the agreement, all armed factions were to withdraw from the entrances and streets of Ibb city, to be replaced by police and security personnel. Although the agreement temporarily put a stop to clashes, none of its other terms were implemented as Houthi gunmen remain in the city, manning checkpoints and stationed within public institutions, according to an anonymous source within the Ibb Investigations Bureau.

"Security personnel are, for all intents and purposes, absent from the city," he said. "Only traffic police can be seen in the streets. Houthi gunmen have set up checkpoints everywhere and maintain law and order. They even serve judicial functions, such as resolving disputes and acting as intermediaries between parties," he said.

A senior source from the Ibb Security Department, speaking to the Yemen Times on condition of anonymity, said the Houthis are everywhere in the governorate and there is cooperation between the local government and the Houthis, including in the security apparatus as well as the judiciary.

Houthi Political Office members Mohammad Al-Bukhaiti and Ali Al-Qahoom told the Yemen Times they have no information regarding the Houthis relationship with local authorities and they were unable to give contact details of local Houthi representatives to answer questions.

On Nov. 25, Houthi gunmen demolished the home of Ali Al-Bani, a prominent tribal leader and retired army colonel, in the governorate's Al-Odain district.

Local AQAP fighters handed over Al-Odain district to the Houthi popular committees. It was Al-Bani that mediated the Nov. 5 agreement, according to Ibrahim Al-Badani, a journalist based in Ibb city.

"The Houthis accused Al-Bani of affiliation with Al-Qaeda and blew-up his house in the district. The Houthis in Al-Odain are locals of other areas of Ibb and gunmen who came from Sana'a to Ibb in the middle of October," he added. A source within the Houthi Political Office in Sana'a, who spoke on condition of anonymity, confirmed the Houthis exploded Al-Bani's house. "Ansar Allah fighters have never targeted the homes of innocent civilians," he told the Yemen Times. "However, if we receive information verification that the person is an AQAP member or affiliate, then yes, we may destroy their home." Regarding the Rasd Organization's report, the source brushed aside accusations of wrongdoing. "Reports like these are biased and only cover one side of the story," he said. "Why don't they ever mention the good things done by Ansar Allah? In particular fighting AQAP? We've lost many fighters in this struggle, but no one ever mentions this," he added. AQAP members have withdrawn completely from Al-Odain district to other areas such as Al-Sahool.



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Another source from AQAP, speaking to the Yemen Times on condition of anonymity, said their fighters withdrew from Al-Odain district in order to avoid more destruction and killing among civilians.

'The Houthis were preparing to fight us in Al-Odain but then we decided to leave to other areas. This was a tactic because we saw it is better to target them in [hit-and-run] operations," he added.

Since they gained control over Sana'a city on Sept. 21 and signed the Peace and National Partnership Agreement with the government, the Houthis started to spread to other governorates such as Ibb, Al-Baida, Dhamar and Hodeida.

Rashad Al-Sharabi, an indepen-

dent political analyst in Sana'a, said the Houthis have a pattern of repeatedly signing agreements that they do not abide by and that the group has continued this policy in Ibb.

"The Houthis signed the Peace and National Partnership Agreement in Sana'a but they are pursuing their opponents and are controlling everything. The same thing is happening in Ibb," he added.

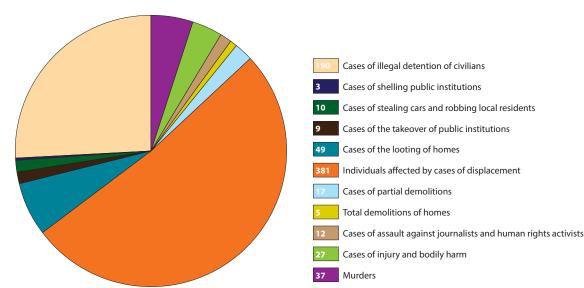
For Abdul Karim Mohammad Ali, a resident in Ibb city who has taken part in weekly demonstrations against the group, it is clear what locals want-whatever agreements are made in Sana'a.

"Our demands are that [the Houthi popular committees] leave Ibb and leave us alone."



15 to Jan. 15. The group released a report documenting its findings in a press conference held in Taiz city on Jan. 27.

Arafat Humran, chairman of the



The report estimated that an additional 119 crimes not commit-

