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Dairy factory bombing kills 29 in Hodeida

■ Bassam Al-Khameri

SANA'A, March 31—Investigations are ongoing to identify the source of an explosion at a dairy factory in Hodeida governorate early Wednesday that killed 29 employees and injured 25.

A source in the Hodeida Security Department, speaking to the Yemen Times on condition of anonymity, said investigations are at an early phase and remained inconclusive as of Wednesday afternoon.

“Warplanes from the Saudi-led bombing campaign have only targeted military installations, but civilians are known to have been hit, as happened near Sana'a International Airport on the first day of airstrikes, so anything is possible,” the source said. “Everything will become clear as investigations proceed, there is a difference between shells from warplanes and tanks.”

The number of civilians killed in the blast rose from 25 in the morning as several employees suffered life-threatening injuries and could not be saved. Abdulrahman Jar Al-



Hundreds of nightshift workers were in the factory at the time it was bombed, causing the high number of casualties.

lah, director of the Ministry of Public Health and Population's office in Hodeida, confirmed the number of casualties and said 18 of the survivors were seriously injured.

According to Basim Al-Jenani, a freelance journalist based in Hodeida, the explosion occurred at about 12 a.m. while hundreds of nightshift employees were inside

the factory. He said investigations have been hampered by heavy bombing in the area by Saudi-led forces under Operation Decisive Storm.

“It is difficult to verify information because the factory is in the Kilo Seven Area, one kilometer from the Coastal Defense Camp and about 300 meters from the Ho-

deida Airbase, and it is also near the 67th and 33rd Air Brigade camps,” all of which have been under attack since Tuesday.

The factory is owned by Thabet Brothers Group and employs about 3,000 workers.

Mohammed Al-Bukhaiti, a member of the Houthi Political Office in Sana'a, denied his group's involvement and said forces fighting on their behalf were incapable of causing the level of damage seen at the factory.

“We use anti-aircraft weapons to prevent these airstrikes and everyone knows that Saudi-led warplanes target these facilities. The administration of the factory has said they were targeted by an air raid, not shelled by a tank as people have claimed,” he said.

A source in Thabet Brothers Group's marketing department, speaking Wednesday evening on condition of anonymity, said the company's board of directors have refused to comment or release any information on the matter, but that a press statement will soon be made.

Coalition strikes demolish military infrastructure

■ Ali Ibrahim Al-Mohski

SANA'A, March 31—Saudi-led airstrikes targeted a military storage facility on Monday in the Faj Attan area of the capital, causing massive explosions as gas containers and artillery being stored there set off a chain reaction.

The storage facility, which is operated by the state-run Yemen Economic Corporation and houses an armory as well as military food supplies and a kitchen, could still be seen burning in the early hours of Tuesday morning.

The Yemen Times was prevented from visiting the scene of the explosion, but guards stationed nearby claimed 20 culinary staff members were injured in the blast with no deaths reported.

According to one of the guards, Mahmoud Al-Samwai, the armory at Faj Attan is one of the largest in the country. He said none of its contents remained intact, which has



The strike on a military storage facility and arms depot at Faj Attan on Monday night caused multiple explosions.

been confirmed by Abu Salman, a Houthi official working in Supplies Division of the army.

Yemen's air defense systems have proven incapable of deterring Sau-

di-led airstrikes since they began nearly a week ago. The country's largest airbases in Sana'a, Lahj, Mukalla, and Shabwa governorates have all been attacked, with the no-

table exception of Al-Rayan Airbase in Mukalla.

According to Jamal Al-Qeiz, who heads the Security Department in the Ministry of Defense, Faj Attan did not contain modern weapon systems as most had been destroyed during the opening phases of Operation Decisive Storm.

There were nonetheless large volumes of medium and heavy weaponry, including anti-aircraft artillery and missiles, according to Al-Qeiz, all of which was destroyed in an attack.

Al-Qeiz said that the entirety of Yemen's air fleet was destroyed by Sunday, three days after airstrikes began, when the last of four Sukhoi fighter jets was targeted in an attack.

Yemen's anti-aircraft defenses have also been rendered obsolete, and what little remains is incapable of deterring further attacks, according to Al-Qeiz. “We can not bring down a single warplane, when we hit back we try to force them to fly at

a high altitude, that's all we can do,” he said. “I'm sorry to say that the national air force is no more.”

Anti-aircraft artillery being used includes 12.7mm, 14.5mm, 18mm, and 37mm artillery, all of which are incapable of hitting coalition war-

planes and present a danger to civilians on the ground. “We've seen our projectiles falling to the ground and causing damage, which shouldn't be the case. It may have something to do with poor storage or faulty use,” said Al-Qeiz.

Coalition forces strike Abyan from the sea

■ Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, March 31—Houthi officials said on Tuesday that they are ready for a ground war following Monday's bombing of Houthi and military convoys in Abyan by naval vessels off the southern coast.

According to a senior source within the Port Authority of Aden, who spoke to the Yemen Times on the condition of anonymity, Egyptian and Saudi battleships positioned in the Gulf of Aden began the assault on Monday morning.

Houthi forces and allied military units loyal to former President Ali Abdullah Saleh, which have taken control of the cities of Shuqra and Lawdar and have begun entering the capital Zinjibar, were near

Aden's eastern border when their convoys came under attack.

The naval assault was the first of its kind since the Saudi-led Operation Decisive Storm began late on Wednesday last week.

According to the source, the ships positioned themselves off Abyan's coast near the city of Shuqra, east of the capital Zinjibar. The convoys were travelling along a main road connecting Abyan with Aden when the shelling began.

According to Shaker Al-Ghadir, an officer in the 111th Infantry Brigade stationed in Abyan, most of the convoy was destroyed in the attack.

“The Egyptian marine forces shelled the convoy as it was heading to Aden, it included 270 indi-

viduals with their full hardware. Most of them were killed and the rest escaped,” he said.

The charred remains of soldiers remain scattered amongst the carnage, according to Al-Ghadir, who said stray dogs could be seen feeding on their remains with first response teams unable to reach the scene.

Mohammad Al-Maslami, a leader in the Southern Movement, estimated the number of soldiers to be between 400 and 600. Battleships shelled their convoys as they advanced from Zinjibar in the areas of Al-Arish and Al-Alam area, which straddle the border of Abyan and Aden, he said.

Houthi sources declined to comment on the number of dead.

Continued on page 2



Large number of prisoners freed as a result of fighting

■ Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, March 30—Up to 1,800 prisoners from the central prison of Sa'ada governorate are thought to have been released on Sunday, one day after air strikes damaged the building and led to a mass prison escape.

On Saturday evening air strikes from the Saudi-led Operation Decisive Storm hit the central prison, located in Sa'ada city, causing "serious damage" and allowing 130 prisoners to escape, a security source in Sa'ada told the Yemen Times.

It remains unclear whether the prison was intentionally targeted as many camps and military sites are located in the city. The army in Kahlan camp in Sa'ada city was also targeted around the same time on Saturday, and has been targeted several times both before and since.

According to the security source, who spoke on condition of anonymity, five central prison guards aged between 25 and 30 were killed in the blast.

Mohammad Al-Bukhaiti, a member of the Houthi Political Office in Sana'a, said a committee was formed on Sunday by the Houthis and Sa'ada Governor Mohammad Al-Razehi. The committee is composed of the governor's office, the local council, members from the judicial system and Houthi representatives.

Charged with investigating the breakout and handling the remaining prisoners, the committee decided to release the majority of the remaining prisoners later that day. Only those who were imprisoned for serious crimes, such as murder, were kept imprisoned, according to Al-



Around 130 prisoners escaped from Sa'ada Central Prison after it was bombed by coalition forces. Fearing more bombs will hit the prison, a reported 1,800 additional prisoners were released on condition they return to serve their sentences once the situation stabilizes.

Bukhaiti.

Colonel Mohammad Abdulrab, director of internal affairs in the Ministry of Interior's Prisons Authority headquarters in Sana'a, confirmed around 130 prisoners escaped Saturday. He also confirmed that a large number of prisoners were released on Sunday by the committee, but he said there is conflicting news regarding the exact number and that it will take weeks before it can be verified.

International news agencies Al-Arabiya and Al-Jazeera, along with many local media outlets, reported that a total of about 1,800 prisoners were released, although none named a source. The Yemen Times was unable to verify this

claim.

Al-Bukhaiti, who said the prisoners were released out of concern the prison would be bombed again, clarified that each prisoner was signed for by a guarantor and is to finish carrying out their sentence once the situation permits it.

This is not the first time the country's recent instability has resulted in a large number of prisoners escaping.

On March 19, two weeks before the breakout from the central prison in Sa'ada city, 570 prisoners escaped from the central prison in Aden governorate. The breakout came as a result of clashes between Special Security Forces (SSF) and

local popular committees.

Much of the SSF remains loyal to Abdulhafez Mohammad Al-Saqqaf, the commander of the SSF in Aden, who himself is loyal to former President Ali Abdullah Saleh. The commander refused to obey beleaguered President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi's order to be replaced, and is engaged in fighting with popular committees who are allied with Hadi against the Houthis and Saleh.

The prison guards, who belong to the SSF, fled the prison when fighting broke out nearby between southern popular committee fighters and the SSF, Abdulrab said. After the guards fled, 570 prisoners were able to escape.

Decisive Storm arrives in Ibb, killing 14 and injuring dozens

■ Khalid Al-Karimi

SANA'A, March 31—Saudi-led coalition forces raided Ibb governorate on Tuesday, leaving at least 14 dead and 32 injured, according to local security sources. The airstrikes were the first recorded in the governorate since the air offensive began.

Mohammad Al-Shami, the security chief of Ibb governorate, told the Yemen Times that the strikes occurred in Yarim district, which borders Dhamar governorate. The 14 people killed and 32 injured were all civilians, and "the victims were either sleeping or working," he said.

While it appears mostly civilians were hit, local sources reported some of the casualties were Houthi militants.

"The strikes killed at least 14 civilians and militants in about four strikes in different locations in Kitab and Yarim city [of Yarim district]," said Abdulqawi Al-Moshki, a resident and eyewitness in Yarim city, who said the strikes occurred between 2 and 3:30 in the morning.

Zayid Nasser, a member of a Houthi popular committee in Yarim, told the Yemen Times that three members belonging to the group were killed in the air raids, all at one checkpoint in Yarim city.

The city, located near the border of Dhamar, is strategically important as it is positioned at the junction that links the governorates of Ibb, Dhamar, and Al-Dhale.

Calling the raids "an aggressive act," Nasser said mostly innocent civilians are paying the price. "This crime is indescribable and has made everyone depressed. Civilians did not expect that they would be a target," he said. "Saudi Arabia has destroyed Syria and it is destroying Yemen."

Commencing what the Saudi-led coalition has dubbed Operation Decisive Storm, fighter planes

have been targeting military installations around the country since around midnight March 25. While mostly hitting targets affiliated with the Houthis and military forces loyal to former President Ali Abdullah Saleh, a number of residential areas, public institutions, and private businesses have also been bombed.

An eyewitness to the strike on the checkpoint in Yarim city, local shop owner Ahmed Al-Wajih said a gas tanker positioned at a Houthi checkpoint in the city was hit, causing a massive explosion.

"Because of the fire, the night turned to day. The vehicles and militants that were at the checkpoint were burned, and the fire reached nearby houses. Six houses sustained damage because of the fire and people were crying out to be rescued," he said.

Unlike the strike in Yarim city, Yahya Al-Jalal, who owns a shop selling spare car parts in the Kitab area of Yarim district, said there were no Houthi militants in the vicinity of the strike.

A witness to the bombing, which he described as "resounding and violent," Al-Jalal said the strike first hit two gas tankers which were stopped near a gas station in Kitab. When the tankers exploded, "all those who were at the scene during the strike were killed." He estimated the number of deaths to be six.

Despite the airstrikes, security chief Al-Shami claimed Ibb remains stable and that security forces, in cooperation with Houthi popular committees, are maintaining order in the governorate.

The Houthis seized Ibb in the middle of October last year, with little resistance from locals or military forces. However, periodic fighting has occurred with alleged Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) militants in multiple locations in Ibb, including Yarim district.

Deadly bombings strike private cement company in Lahj

■ Fareed Al-Homaid

SANA'A, March 31—At least ten people were killed and thirteen injured in suspected airstrikes Monday evening on the National Cement Company (NCC) located in the Wadi Sa'an area of Musaymir district, Lahj governorate.

Nine employees on a bus preparing to leave work and at least one truck driver working for a wholesaler were killed instantly, Ali Al-Ahdal, the marketing manager and spokesperson of the NCC said Wednesday morning. Two truck drivers remain missing, he added.

While early reports suggest the bombing could have been artillery from Houthi or Southern Movement militias operating in the area, Al-Ahdal said it was most likely an airstrike.

"Some of the workers in the factory heard aircrafts in the sky seconds before the bombings," he said. "The severe damage and the completely burned bodies of the victims indicates that it was an air strike."

A source from within the company, speaking to the Yemen Times on condition of anonymity, said rumors of the company hosting Houthi militants began two weeks ago. According to the source, it was a group belonging to the Southern Movement that began spreading the rumor.

"Two days before the [Monday] attack, armed men who presented themselves as Southern Movement members insisted on entering the company to check that there were no Houthis or weapons inside," the source said. "Three of them were let

in to check, they found no weapons or Houthis."

Dismissing these claims as attempts to defame the Southern Movement, Radfan Al-Dubais, the spokesperson for protesters in Aden's Al-Arood Square, denied the movement was responsible for any violent activities against the NCC or any other private or public institutions.

"The Southern Movement is a peaceful movement that seeks justice for all. The Southern Movement feels sorry for what happened and we sympathize with the families of the victims. We strongly condemn this bloody attack on the NCC," Al-Dubais said.

Mohammad Al-Bukhaiti, a member of the Houthi Political Office in Sana'a, also denied responsibility and claimed the NCC was hit by air strikes from the Saudi-led Operation Decisive Storm.

"The massive damage to the NCC indicates that it's an air strike," Al-Bukhaiti said. "The weapons that Ansar Allah [the Houthis] and the Southern Movement or any other armed group on the ground have can't cause this amount of damage."

Southern Movement leader Mohammed Al-Muslami made similar claims, saying his fighters would be unable to cause such damage with the light weaponry they use while condemning attacks on civilians and businesses.

Al-Bukhaiti claimed the Houthis have not and will not use the NCC or any private or public institutions for shelter or weapons storage. "We strongly condemn the brutal attack



With both the Houthis and southern popular committees denying responsibility for the bombing of the cement factory, which left at least ten civilians dead, all evidence points toward the Saudi-led coalition forces.

on the NCC and all the attacks and bombings on the country's infrastructure by the Saudi-led coalition," he added.

According to NCC spokesman Al-Ahdal, the company is a private business free from political affiliation. "The company serves the country and the residents of Lahj governorate, more than 60 percent

of the employees are Lahji people," he said.

Muna Luqman, manager of the Media and Contract Department in the Hayal Saeed Anam (HSA) Group, a multi-billion dollar conglomerate, said the NCC is owned by the HSA and other partners from Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and the US.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Coalition forces strike Abyan from the sea

Mohammad Al-Bukhaiti, member of the Houthi Political Office in Sana'a, called the shelling "an indication of a coming land war in which Egypt will play a major role."

The Houthis "are ready for war" should ground troops arrive, said Al-Bukhaiti, who claims their fighters are awaiting orders from the group's leader, Abdulmalik Al-Houthi, who "is still waiting for Saudi Arabia to reconsider its actions."

Ahmad Asiri, spokesperson for Saudi-led coalition forces, said during a press conference on Saturday that naval forces have taken up positions along Yemen's coast and will attempt to impose a naval blockade.

Yemen's coast spans over 2,500 km, but Asiri claims coalition fleets have established a presence at major points of arrival including the ports of Aden, Hodeida, Mukalla, Mocha, Al-Salif, and Nashtoun.

Currently, Egyptian and Saudi naval forces are securing the Gulf of Aden and Bab Al-Mandeb and are on standby to shell Aden, Asiri said, adding that there are thousands of sol-

diers on the ships ready to enter southern Yemen.

The siege appears to involve only Egypt and Saudi Arabia. While the former is providing four ships, it remains unclear how many Saudi vessels are involved.

While no battleships appear to have targeted Aden, fighting rages on in the city as southern popular committees and military units loyal to Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi compete for control with the Houthis and their allies.

Hundreds are thought to have died in Aden in the past week, but official sources in the governorate have little idea of the exact number as ongoing clashes make recovering the bodies difficult.

"There are hundreds of dead bodies from both sides thrown in the streets," Mohammad Musaed, the assistant security chief of Aden, told the Yemen Times Wednesday afternoon. "The Houthis are occupying the south, they are killing the sons of the south, they must go back to Sana'a before they are all killed."

Musaed confirmed that the airport, while still closed, is now controlled by southern popular committees and soldiers loyal to Hadi.

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Civilians caught in Operation Decisive Storm

Story and photos by
Ali Abuluhom

Monday's airstrike on Mazraq IDP camp in Hajjah governorate, which left at least 40 people dead and hundreds more injured, brought international attention to the plight of civilians casualties of the war. Less covered was the bombing of a busy market in Kitaf district of Sa'ada governorate last Friday, thought to have killed 15 civilians, or the multiple other bombings on civilian targets in governorates around the country.

Four days after Saudi-led airstrikes began, its organizers claimed success as air power and every military airbase available to Houthi forces was said to be destroyed. Yet, Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi and his Saudi supporters called for a continuation of airstrikes until the Houthis and their allies surrender, while accusations that civilians are being killed in the campaign have met with silence and denial.

According to UNICEF, as of Wednesday at least 62 children have been killed and 30 injured throughout Yemen since the war started six days earlier around midnight on March 25. Fighting continues to engulf Aden and other governorates in the south, as air raids continue throughout the country.

The addition of a Saudi-led coalition of international actors to a localized conflict involving an array of groups has left citizens confused about who the enemy is and where the dangers are coming from.

Mohammad Al-Wesabi, 45, lives with his family in the Hezyaz area of Sanhan district, just north of the capital Sana'a. Shortly after midnight on Sunday, houses in his neighborhood were rocked by a strong explosion, different than the airstrikes and anti-aircraft artillery residents throughout the capital have become accustomed to in recent days.

Al-Wesabi emerged in the morning to find a crowd gathered in a local brickyard, less than two hundred meters from his house. Standing around a large crater in the ground, he and his neighbors discovered the source of the explosion was a mere stone's throw from their homes.

Sadeq Al-Ezzi*, 25, an accountant working for NATCO electronics in Hezyaz, said merchandise in his company warehouse, several hundred meters from the blast, was found destroyed the next day. Shattered windows and pockmarked houses nearest the explosion, evacuated days earlier, testify to the blast's destructive power. No civilians were injured in the strike.

The Reserve Forces base next to



With few confirmed facts available, residents are left to speculate about the source of shelling. The sizeable crater, above, appears to be caused by an air to surface missile. Some residents wonder if the Houthis caused the damage in order to inflame residents against the Saudi-led coalition conducting the airstrikes.

Al-Wesabi's neighborhood was the likely target of the airstrike, and the sizeable crater would appear to be caused by an air to surface missile. However, with the rapid pace of developments in Yemen over recent weeks and months, and with rumors and rampant misinformation, citizens have a hard time discerning enemy from foe and working out where threats are coming from.

In the absence of identifiable shrapnel, Al-Ezzi says he and other residents remain divided on what may have caused the explosion. Those at the scene did not rule out the possibility that the Reserve Forces stationed next door—many of whom once belonged to Ali Abdullah Saleh's elite Republican Guard—purposely fired a missile into the brickyard, part of efforts to stir resentment towards the Saudi-led coalition.

With little confirmation coming from either side regarding strikes and artillery fire, residents are left with speculation in absence of facts.

"If the Houthis and Saleh's forces prove incapable of preventing the airstrikes with the weapons they have, they might find ways to ensure civilians direct their anger at the foreign intervention instead of them-

selves. So it's possible they target civilian areas," said Al-Ezzi.

Human shields?

Many in Sana'a have questioned the effectiveness of anti-aircraft guns against planes flying so high they remain unseen by the naked eye. Despite unverified reports to the contrary, no coalition jet is known to have been shot down in the capital or anywhere else in the country. Yahya Ashraf, deputy director of the Police Academy Research Department, which offers military and security analysis, believes the anti-aircraft weaponry now available to Houthi forces is incapable of hitting coalition warplanes.

While effective weaponry may still be available, something Ashraf could not speculate further on, he believes the continued use of low-range Soviet, American and German guns currently heard throughout the capital is "pointless."

Jamal Al-Qeiz, head of the Security Department in the Ministry of Defense, confirmed that available air defenses are unable to hit planes at a high altitude, but said they were being used to prevent fighter jets from moving in closer during attacks.

The use of ineffective weapon-

ry may have more to do with the Houthis' public image than actual defense, as Ashraf suggests, but they constitute a real danger to people living in their vicinity. Although coalition strikes appear to have been targeting large military installations thus far, concerns have risen since the guns began appearing more frequently in civilian areas.

Mohammad Abdullah*, 44, lives in the Safia neighborhood of Sana'a. According to Abdullah, anti-aircraft weaponry have been positioned amongst houses in his area since last Thursday, a day after airstrikes first began in the capital.

"Whenever a wave of airstrikes begin, we hear gunfire from our area and it's terrifying, especially for women and children," he said, adding that complaints from residents are met with accusations of being unpatriotic and betraying the national cause.

Speaking at a press conference in Riyadh on Sunday, Ahmed Aseri of the Saudi Defense Ministry warned civilians to avoid soldiers and military installations, while accusing Houthi forces of using residential areas as shields. "Houthi militias set up anti-aircraft guns on the rooftops of residential buildings in an at-

tempt to draw coalition forces into bombing them," he said.

Nasser Al-Homaid*, 36, a local from the Bait Baws area in Sana'a, says Houthis have been firing artillery from rooftops in his neighborhood. Al-Homaid says anti-aircraft artillery are positioned above houses using cranes, a process he witnessed on Saturday.

"Nobody can object to such actions. Nobody dares, they could be harmed," he said.

Bassam Mohsen*, 22, a resident of Al-Khair neighborhood in the capital's Al-Sabaen area, says Houthis mobilize their artillery at night, which makes it difficult to know when guns are positioned nearby.

Monitoring or resisting the use of heavy artillery in residential areas is also made difficult due to local collaboration, says Mohsen. "In our neighborhood there are lots of political and tribal figures with close ties to the former president, who are willing to assist the Houthis because of their alliance with military units loyal to Ali Abdullah Saleh."

As Saudi-led airstrikes claim growing numbers of civilians, and Houthi and military forces draw the battle closer to their homes, many of those with the means to do so have

decided to leave the capital.

If the airstrikes continue for much longer, Al-Homaid is planning to take his family to his ancestral village in Amran governorate, bordering Sana'a to the north. But leaving is not an option for everyone. In spite of the dangers, Al-Wesabi says he won't be relocating his family to a safer area. He doesn't have anywhere else to go, he says, and can't afford to rent a new property.

As it goes in war, a lack of accountability means personal losses go uncompensated. The home of Yasser Zaid, 55, was severely damaged by Sunday's explosion in Hezyaz. Zaid said he is grateful for the safety of his family, who had moved to another part of the city just a day earlier, but wonders how long it will take before he can repair his home.

Others, like Hassan Al-Sharafi, 32, have fewer options. His home near Al-Dailmi Airbase in Sana'a has been destroyed following repeated attacks. He and his family of seven narrowly survived, but are now homeless and have been taken in by neighbors.

**Names of local residents who spoke critically of the Houthis have been changed for their safety.*



Remains of furniture left after the explosion hit this house near the yard in Hezyaz area.



People gathered to see the effect of the explosion.



YT vision statement
"To make Yemen a good world citizen."

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



OUR OPINION

Attacked from all sides

Between the Saudi-led airstrikes, Houthi artillery, street battles between competing militias in Aden, and the steady advance southward by the Saleh-backed Houthis, bodies are piling up and hospitals are quickly running out of supplies to treat the injured. While the physical violence is overwhelming, another frightening reality is the extremely polarizing rhetoric being waged by all sides, a legacy that could be here to stay even if the bombs stop falling from the sky. The detentions, disappearances, assassinations and attacks on the press pre-Operation Decisive Storm were horrifying enough, but things are now escalating.

Both Hadi and the Saleh-allied Houthis have waged a full-on war against media in Yemen. Before the Saudi-led coalition began the strikes, the Houthis would enter media institutions on the pre-text of "monitoring" them for corruption, before taking control over editorial policy and filling pages with pro-Houthi propaganda. Today, there are no pretenses needed. The Houthis have declared that the Saudi-led assault on Yemen means there can be no criticism of them. You're either with them or against them, and they are openly referring to anyone who criticizes them—even those opposed to the strikes—as traitors. Both sides have shown a flagrant disregard for civilian life. Both are willing to take the country down a blood-soaked road to hell to stay in power, and through threats and sheer force, both sides are trying to use the media they don't already control to peddle their propaganda.

The losers are, and always have been, the Yemeni people. Poor, tired and seemingly powerless to stop Yemen's descent into chaos, it is their bodies piling up on the streets of Aden, in bombed out dairy factories in Hodeida, and they will bear the brunt of the violence still to come, with talks of a possible ground invasion by the coalition. Even IDP camps, hosting some of the country's most vulnerable, aren't safe from strikes. While families of the 40 killed on Monday bury their dead, Saudi's hapless defense minister is still waiting for confirmation from the government that the site was actually a camp. Buddy, it's been confirmed. Might be a good idea to do that before you drop the bombs.

The day airstrikes began in Yemen, on March 26, the Houthis stormed and shut down four media outlets. Al-Saeeda channel was also stormed, but the Houthis allowed it to remain open on the condition it did not publish anything the Houthis deemed incendiary towards the group.

The move came hours after three channels affiliated with the Houthis were shut down.

Egypt-based NileSat and Saudi-based Arabsat, two satellite communication companies, stopped broadcasts of the Yemeni state-run channels currently under Houthi control. Hadi first requested the broadcasts be shut down in January, and put a new request through on Thursday.

Yemenis do not have to choose between the Saudi-led coalition or the Houthis. The challenge, once we've buried our dead and can leave our homes for more than a few hours at a time, will be to redistribute power so that individuals and militias can't bring an entire country down with them.

Ahlam Mohsen

Saudi Arabia's high-stakes gamble

Thomas W. Lippman
Middle East Institute
First published March 27

With its bold and public intervention in Yemen's civil war, Saudi Arabia has cast off a half-century of caution and restraint in regional security affairs.

For decades the Kingdom's preferred instruments of foreign policy were diplomacy, cash, and religion. The Saudis spent billions on weapons and military facilities, but their armed forces made only cameo appearances in the region's many conflicts. They have generally avoided deployments that might spark opposition at home or politicize the armed forces. Even in the 1960s when Yemen was the battleground for a proxy war between Saudi Arabia and Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt, the Saudis did not send their own troops. While Saudi Arabia is modestly participating in the coalition waging an air campaign in Iraq against the Islamic State (ISIL), the campaign is under the leadership of the United States and the Saudis have maintained a low profile.

Still, there have been signs for some time that the Saudis have decided to use their own muscle to protect their interests and reduce their long-standing security dependence on the United States. Over the past six years, more or less in parallel with the US military drawdown in the area, the Saudis have undertaken smaller-scale military campaigns in neighboring coun-

"It is not entirely clear what [Saudi Arabia] hopes to achieve, but there can be little doubt that they have a much larger objective..."

tries, beginning with a 2009 air war against Yemen's Houthi rebels who, the Saudis said, had crossed their border and were instigated by Iran. Then came the movement of Saudi troops into Bahrain to shore up the regime there during the Arab Spring uprisings, followed by the anti-ISIL action in Iraq and the conspicuous movement of Saudi troops to the Iraqi border. None of those actions approached the new Yemen intervention in scope or ambition, and none of them carried the same risks.

This time the Saudis took the lead in assembling a ten-nation military coalition in an urgent effort to prevent those same Houthis from seizing control of all of Yemen, and in winning political support for the campaign from the United States and from the Arab League. And they took the extraordinary step

of announcing the start of the campaign at a news conference by the Kingdom's ambassador to the United States, Adel Al-Jubeir.

The ambassador said his country acted to protect the "legitimate government" of Yemen, led by President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi. The Saudis were committed to him because they had engineered his assumption of the presidency in place of his predecessor, Ali Abdullah Saleh, whose long autocratic rule crumbled in the Arab Spring. The Houthis, who are mostly Zaydi Shia and who are apparently allied with residual supporters of Saleh, "will not be allowed to take over the country," Jubeir said.

Hadi had first fled the capital, Sana'a, after the Houthis seized it, and then Aden, on the southern coast, as the Houthis advanced toward it. He was reported on Thursday to have arrived in Riyadh. For better or worse, the Saudis own this one. It is not entirely clear what they hope to achieve, but there can be little doubt that they have a much larger objective than the restoration of Hadi's government. They want to cut off the accelerating spread of Iranian influence across the region.

In the Saudi embassy's official statement announcing the air campaign, and in Al-Jubeir's remarks, the words "Iran" and "Shia" were never uttered. But given the Saudis' well-known concerns about Iran—their Shia rival for regional dominance—and the Iranians' increasingly visible support for the Houthis, and the fact that the Saudis as-

sembled an all-Sunni Muslim coalition to intervene, the Iran factor is evident. According to the knowledgeable security analyst Bruce Riedel, "[I]n Riyadh's estimate the Iranian gains are the biggest successes for their Persian rivals since the shah's fall. The Saudis also fear the Iranians with Iraqi help may try to stoke tensions and violence in Bahrain next."

Saudi Arabia's decision to act "did not come lightly" and was taken only after extensive discussion, according to Al-Jubeir. It represents the first big test on the world stage for King Salman bin Abdul Aziz, who ascended to the Saudi throne in January. The decision to intervene was undoubtedly his, but preliminary reports from Riyadh say he acted after a vigorous policy argument in which the defense minister, his 34-year-old son Prince Mohammed, prevailed

over the veteran foreign minister, Prince Saud Al-Faisal.

It is understandable if Prince Saud was reluctant, because the list of things that could go wrong for the Saudis is daunting. They could simply fail, enabling the Houthis to take full control of a vital neighbor. That would be a spectacular embarrassment, and it can't be ruled out because the Saudi armed forces have minimal combat experience. Images of civilian casualties in Sana'a could provoke a domestic backlash. The air campaign could have the negative effect of strengthening Riyadh's deadly enemy, Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), which is deeply entrenched in Yemen but has been challenged by the Houthis. And by its nature a bombing campaign will inflict physical damage on a country that is already desperately poor, increasing the chance that Saudi Arabia will confront a failed state across its porous southern border.

In fact, whoever emerges on top in Yemen, if anyone ever does, will gain a prize of dubious value. Yemen is the poorest country in the region and getting poorer as its population grows and oil revenue dwindles. It is also running out of water, and much of the water it does have is squandered on the production of the narcotic leaf qat, which has no nutritional content. Yemen also has a long tradition of tribal autonomy and resistance to central government control. The Saudis' long-term interests might be better served by letting the Houthis take over the country and try to run it.

"The Saudis' long-term interests might be better served by letting the Houthis take over the country and try to run it."

The Yemen crisis isn't about Yemen. It's about Saudi Arabia and its desire for regional power

Mend Mariwany
Muftah.org
First published March 30

On Thursday, March 26, Saudi Arabia launched a military campaign in Yemen, after fighters and army units allied with the Houthi movement threatened to overrun the southern port of Aden, as reported by The New York Times.

Saudi Arabia insists the Houthis, who adhere to the Zaydi branch of Shia Islam, are proxies of Iran and part of an Iranian plan to destabilize the region. Indeed, since the Arab Spring in 2011, Iran has stepped up its regional role, backing predominantly Shia factions in regional conflicts, including Lebanon's Hezbollah, Syria's Bashar Al-Assad, and the Iraqi military in its fight against the Islamic State in Iraq and Levante (ISIL).

For Saudi Arabia and its allies, Iran's involvement in regional affairs is unacceptable. They fear the Iranians will ignite Shia revolts across the region and destabilize the Middle East even further.

However, as the Saudi military continues its assault on Yemen, it is becoming increasingly evident that the greatest threat to the region is not coming from Iran, but from Saudi Arabia, which has also been involved in various proxy wars. While these have mostly been aimed at curbing Iranian influence, Saudi Arabia's approach to the region is single-mindedly driven by a desire to increase its regional hegemony.

The Saudi attack in Yemen is backed by an allied force, including ten mostly Sunni-majority regional states (Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, UAE, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Sudan, Pakistan, and Turkey), and has support from the United States. A few days after airstrikes began, ousted Yemeni President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi fled to Saudi Arabia from his refuge in Aden.

Hadi, who was leading Yemen's transitional government until being ousted by the Houthis in January, was the only candidate in presidential elections held in February 2012, following the overthrow of former Saudi-backed dictator Ali Abdullah Saleh. During Hadi's rule,

"It is becoming increasingly evident that the greatest threat to the region is not coming from Iran, but from Saudi Arabia..."

the Houthis repeatedly demanded greater representation in the Yemeni Parliament. The Houthi movement has had other, more long standing grievances with Yemen's central government, dating back to the early 2000s.

Frustrated by the government's failure to address their demands, the Houthis staged a takeover of Sana'a in September 2014.

Recently, the rebels managed to advance to Aden, where they engaged in several clashes with pro-Hadi factions. Claiming "to protect and defend the legitimate government [of Hadi]," Saudi Arabia sent in warplanes, bombing key-Houthi held positions. A potential Saudi-led ground invasion has also received support from regional states and the United States.

If Saudi Arabia is genuinely concerned about regional stability, though, why has it remained largely inactive over the very real threats from ISIL, and multiple crises in Libya, Syria, and Iraq? These conflicts are arguably more destabilizing to the Middle East than Yemen's Houthi movement, and could have benefitted from a joint Arab intervention.

In reality, Saudi's "concerns" over Yemen, as with many other issues in the region, are not actually about Yemen or its stability, but rather about Saudi Arabia's own hegemonic power and desire to overshadow Iran. Yemeni political and human

rights activist Baraa Shiban emphasized this in an interview with Free Speech Radio News, saying:

"It's just a ground for a proxy war between Iran and Saudi Arabia... And instead of having that fight in the lands of either Iran or the Saudis, the battlefield is Yemen now. And actually there are many people questioning the benefits of supporting either side because simply they feel that they are fighting a fight that doesn't belong to us and then results of it will either work for the benefit of the Iranians or the Saudis. Yemen will lose either way."

Saudi Arabia and its coalition partners are likely to continue bombing Yemen, until Saudi achieves its goal—to circumscribe Iranian influence in the country and assert itself over Yemen.

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Head of Abad think tank:

Saudi-led airstrikes necessary

Abdulsalam Mohammed is the head of the Abad Center for Strategic Studies in Sana'a. In October, the center released a report, predicting that the Houthis would invade the south. This month, that prediction came true. The Houthis are currently engaged in a number of fronts in the south, seeking to expand their control.

Mohammed, who supports the strikes in Yemen, said the move was necessary to maintain the security of the region. He claims that the Houthi takeover has prompted Saudi Arabia to re-examine its role in the country by helping to build institutions, instead of relying on its ties to individuals, families or tribes.

In an interview with the Yemen Times, Mohammed answers a number of questions about where he thinks the country is heading.



Interview by
Khalid Al-Karimi

The Saudi-led coalition is targeting Houthi military locations in several areas of the country. Is this part of the solution or an exacerbation of the political crisis in Yemen?

I think the Saudi-led coalition became a necessity when the sovereignty of the state was lost to an armed militia. Yemen posed a threat to regional and international security given its geopolitical position. The country would not be just a source of worry, but also a source of violence and destruction to the region. Many factors pushed the Gulf countries to interfere, including maintaining their national security. The Gulf has realized that their foe, Iran, has gained the upper hand in the country through the Houthis, who made use of Saleh's [friendliness] towards them. Therefore, I think Saudi Arabia felt that it was a [mistake] on their part that they formed such alliances with individuals in the past, and it is taking responsibility for that and taking responsibility for Yemen. It is true that the Saudis' priority is to maintain the security of the gulf region, but they also say they will support building participatory democratic systems in Yemen. From now on, they will not support Yemen through individuals, families or oppressive regimes. This goodwill has a motive. Yemen, through its numerous rounds of conflicts, has

posed a threat to the region, and Saudi Arabia has to support a political system that will be stable, independent and sovereign.

Saudi Arabia does not have a history of supporting democratic movements in Yemen. It is a monarchy; do you really think they would allow Yemen to have a democracy on their border, let alone help the country establish such a system?

Saudi Arabia has historically worked through ruling parties and families in Yemen, and as the kingdom can see, this has not benefited Yemen. If Saudi Arabia wants a stable country as its southern neighbor, it has no option but to support a system that will mitigate the suffering of its people, end corruption, and build the economy. If it returns to its old policies, the conflicts will continue. This is not in the benefit of Saudi Arabia.

In line with the big military loss of the Houthis, do you expect Iran's possible intervention?

Iran has no chance of any direct military intervention because it has been facing a very tough economic situation. If it takes direct military action, the West will seize the opportunity to attack it. That is, Iran will get bogged down in troubles that could threaten its security. At the same time, I am not saying Iran will be silent towards what is

happening to the Houthis. It will support the Houthis financially and through the media, and will attempt to provide some military and logistical support. To their dismay, the coalition forces have controlled the air and marine routes.

Air strikes alone can not defeat the Houthis. Do you expect the coalition to send ground troops?

The leadership of the coalition forces says if ground forces are needed, they will send them. However, I think that in order for this operation to be successful, there should be aerial and marine assistance for a national Yemeni military on the ground. Yemenis are sensitive about foreign intervention. For the first time in Yemeni history, however, the majority of Yemenis support this intervention in order to combat the armed militants that have taken over their state. Anyway, I do not think sending ground troops is a good idea. Restructuring the military and deploying them is better.

You say the majority of Yemenis support the strikes. What do you base that claim on?

If the Houthis had the popularity, they could mobilize protests in governorates against the strikes.

People can be both against the airstrikes and against the Houthis.

Yes, that's true.

The Houthis remain defiant, despite the significant damage done to their military capabilities. Following the strikes, what strengths do the Houthis have left?

Houthi rhetoric about their strength and resistance is highly exaggerated and arrogant. They are just postponing the inevitable, which is their end. If they were earnest about maintaining security and Yemeni unity, they could have transitioned into a political party. The group gained many advantages through the NDC outcomes.

In a speech delivered in Aden before fleeing, Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi said he will hoist the Yemeni flag on Maran Mountain of Sa'ada instead of the Iranian flag. What sort of support is Hadi betting on?

Hadi is betting on regional powers but also the Yemeni people. Hadi wants to send a clear message that not only is he going to defend Sana'a and Aden, but he's going on the offensive and taking

the Houthi stronghold of Sa'ada. That's his target. That is, Hadi wants to say "we will attack." He became more bold in his speech after feeling secure with regards to regional support. However, after Hadi's words the Houthi militants pushed towards the south, and they were about to take control of Aden. Then the intervention of the coalition forces came. Now the attacks against Houthi and Ali Saleh sites are among the means which could make Hadi reach Maran.

Targeting two mosques in the capital city weeks ago created a dangerous precedent. In your view, what is the purpose of this heinous crime at this critical time?

I believe that the terrorist explosions in the capital of two mosques is a matter of targeting integrated social fabric that has remained united after all events since 2011 in order to avoid the country plunging into a civil strife. So the explosions targeted the fabrics of the society and aimed at giving a rise to the sectarian conflicts. This crime will remain an unforgettable wound and pain among Yemenis. I do not

think it was only a terrorist group which plotted this act. Instead, I think there was international intelligence support in order to trigger the sectarian conflict in Yemen and lead the country to a civil war just it is happening in Iraq.

Finally, the war has broken out, is it possible the negotiating table will bring Yemeni factions together again?

I think the majority of the political factions still adhere to the national dialogue, and have not opted for a war. The Houthis and Saleh only reneged on the NDC outcomes. The political parties have not entered a war. Now the dialogue is open, but the political equations have changed. The Houthi group will not be accepted to be part of authority with its current structure. It should put weapons aside, apologize to Yemenis for its violence and transform to a political party. This will not happen unless the group has wise people inside it. And these wise people can form a national political party based on pluralism and democracy, not on sectarianism or the force of weapons. Otherwise, the Houthi group will disintegrate.

YEMEN TIMES Radio

التأسيس

"راديو يمن تايمز" هو أول إذاعة مجتمعية في صنعاء، حيث بدأ العمل في هذا المشروع في بداية 2012، والذي كان تأسيسه من أهم رؤى مؤسس يمن تايمز الراحل، البروفيسور عبد العزيز السقاف. ولذلك سعت الأستاذة / نادية السقاف رئيس تحرير صحيفة يمن تايمز إلى تحقيق فكرة المؤسس الراحل، من خلال تأسيس راديو يمن تايمز بمشاركة الكثير من المتطوعين والداعمين ومن أمن بأهمية الإعلام المستقل ودور الإذاعات المجتمعية.

وتعد إذاعة يمن تايمز جزء من مشروع أصواتنا، وهو برنامج دولي يدعم تأسيس الإذاعات المجتمعية في دول الربيع العربي. حيث يتمحور هذا البرنامج حول العرب الذين سعوا لأن تكون أصواتهم المستقلة مسموعة، بعيداً عن الاحتكارات الحكومية، أو التجارية، بحيث تكون نقطة انطلاق جديدة لكل من يريد الخوض في تجربة الإذاعات المجتمعية المستقلة.

أهدافنا

يعمل "راديو يمن تايمز" على طرح وجهات نظر جديدة وموضوعات هامة للجمهور اليمني ويعايش قضايا المواطنين الذين يجيدون اللغة الانجليزية والعربية والأميين بشكل مباشر. ويسعى أيضا لإيجاد فضاءات جديدة لحرية الرأي والتعبير في اليمن عامة وفي العاصمة صنعاء خاصة ليكون راديو يمن تايمز «صوت من لا صوت لهم» وليعزز مفاهيم الديمقراطية وحرية الرأي والتعبير من خلال دوراته البرمجية المتنوعة التي تعالج قضايا المرأة والطفل وحقوق الإنسان وتدافع عن الحريات بواسطة إعلامها الهادف وبرامجها المتعددة والتي تخاطب بشفافية وموضوعية كل مستمعها وتتسم بروح شبابية وإيجابية واضحة لكل من يتابعها سواء سكان صنعاء أو اليمن.

رؤيتنا

للإعلام دور كبير ومهم في الدعوة للتغيير السلمي فهو ركيزة من ركائز التغيير نحو الأفضل. ولكن الصراعات السياسية اعتادت أن تفرض أجنداتها على المؤسسات الإعلامية مما يخلق أثراً سلبياً واضحاً على طابع استقلال الإعلام وأثر بشكل مباشر على معايير أساسية مثل الحيادية والموضوعية.

وهنا تسعى "إذاعة يمن تايمز" لتعزز من دور مؤسستها الإعلامية المستقلة لتصل إلى كل من لا تصل إليه عبر صحيفتها لتكون من الإذاعات الرائدة في اليمن التي جعلت من الحياد والاستقلال سياسة خاصة لها مواصلة بذلك سمعتها الحسنة التي استطاعت أن تفرضها من خلال سياسة الصحيفة على الرغم من عدم وجود قوانين منظمة لعمل الإذاعات الخاصة في اليمن.

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معاهد

٠١/٤٤٥٤٨٢/٣/٤	معهد يالي
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٠١/٥٥٧٤١٥	المعهد البريطاني للغات والكمبيوتر
٠١/٥٢٧٨٧١	معهد اكسيد
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٠١/٤٤٨٥٧٣	معهد هورايزن

شركات التأمين

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مدارس

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٧٣٣٤٥٥٦٤٥	موبايل: ٧٣٣٤٥٥٦٤٥
٠١/٤١٤٠٢٦	مدرسة رينبو
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سفرات

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٤٤٦٣٥٠		مركز أعمال الصقر
٠١-٤٤١١٥٨/٥٩/٦٠		العلمية للسفرات والسياحة
٠١/٢٧٢٨٩٥-٦		وكالات سفرات اليمن

مطاعم

٩١٦٧٦٢	١٠٠٩٢٥٠٥-١٠٠٥٧٣٦٦٢	مطعم ومخازنة الشيباني (باسم محمد عبده الشيباني)
٤١٧٣٩١		مطعم منابو الياباني
٤٣١٩٩٩		فطيرتي

٠٤/٤١١٩٨٨	إب
٠٥/٣٠٢٦٤١	المكلا
٠٥/٢٠٢٢٢٦	شبهه
٠٥/٤٠٧٢١٩	سيئون
٧٧٧٧٨٨٦٦٠	بلحاف
٠٥/٦٦٠٤٩٨	سقطري
٠١/٤١٦٧٥١	UPS
٠١-٤٤١٠٩٦٧/٧/٨	DHL

شحن وتوصيل

٠٩٦٧١٤٣١٣٣٩	مركز الندى للخدمات العامة
٤٣١٣٤٠	فاكس: ٤٣١٣٤٠
alnada2@yemen.net.ye	
٠١/٥٣١٢٢١	M&M Logistics & Aviation Services
٥٣١٢٣١-	
٠١/٢٦٧٩٢٩	العالمية للشحن - صنعاء

مستشفيات

٠١/٢٤٦٩٦٧-٦٦	مستشفى الثورة
٠١/٢٧٤٢٨٦-٨٧	مستشفى الجمهوري
٠١/٦٠٠٠٠٠	المستشفى الالمني الحديث
٠١/٦٠١٨٨٩	ف: ٠١/٦٠١٨٨٩
٠١/٤٤٤٩٣٦	المستشفى الاهلي الحديث
٠١/٥٠٠٠٠٠	مستشفى العلوم والتكنولوجيا
٠١/٢٨٣٢٨٢	مستشفى الكويت

شركات طيران

٠١/٤٥٥٥٤٥	طيران اليمنية
٠١/٢١٧١٢٦	فرع تعز: ٠١/٢١٧١٢٦
٢/٢٥٢٤٥٦	فرع عدن: ٢/٢٥٢٤٥٦
٣/٢٠١٤٧٤	فرع الحديدة: ٣/٢٠١٤٧٤
٠١/٥٦٥٦٥٦	٠١/٢٥٠٨٠٠
٠١/٤٤٤٤٤٤	السعيدة
٠١/٤٢٧٩٩٣	الإماراتية
٠١/٢١٣٤٠٠	الإثيوبية
٠١/٤٤٥٩٧٠-٣	الألمانية (لوفتهانزا)
٠١/٥٠٦٥٧٤	التركية
٠١/٥٠٦٠٣٠	السعودية
٠١/٤٤٠٩٢٢	القطرية
٠١/٤٤٦٠٦٤/٥/٧	طيران الخليج
٠١/٤٤٧٧٢٥	طيران الأردنية - صنعاء
٠١/٤٤٦٧٥٠	طيران الاتحاد
	طيران دبي

فنادق

٠١/٢١٢٥٤٤-٦٦	فندق ميركيور صنعاء
٢/٣٢٨٦٦٦	عدن
٠١/٤١٨٥٤٥/٧	فندق شمر
٠١/٥٤٦٦٦٦	فندق موفمبيك
٠١/٥٤٦٠٠٠	ف: ٠١/٥٤٦٠٠٠
٠١/٤٣٢٠٢٠/٣٠/٤٠	فندق لازوردي

٠١/٣٣٢٧٠١	وزارة الداخلية
٠١/٢٦٠٢٦٥	وزارة المالية
٠١/٢٠٢٢٢٥٧	وزارة المواصلات
٠١/٤١٨٢٨٩	وزارة المياه والبيئة
٠١/٣٢٦١٩٦	وزارة الكهرباء

البنوك

٠١/٢٦٠٨٢٣	بنك اليمن والخليج
٠١/٢٦٠٨٢٤	عدن: ٠٢/٢٧٠٣٤٧/٨/٩
٠٢/٢٣٧٨٢٤	ف: ٠٢/٢٣٧٨٢٤
٠١/٢٠٣٢٧١	بنك التضامن الإسلامي
٠١/٢٧٧٢٢٤	البنك التجاري
٠١/٢٧٧٢٩١	ف: ٠١/٢٧٧٢٩١
٠١/٥٣٨٣٦٦-٧٧	مصرف اليمن البحرين الشامل - الستين الغربي
٠١/٤٠٧٠٣٠	بنك اليمن الدولي
٠١/٢٧٦٥٨٥/٢	البنك العربي
٠١/٥٦٣٨١٣	بنك التسليف الزراعي
٠١/٢٧٤٣١٤	البنك المركزي
٠١/٤٤٩٧٣١	بنك الامل
٠١/٥١٧٥٤٤	البنك القطري الدولي
٠١/٢٧١٦٠١	بنك اليمنى للانشاء والتعمير
٠١/٢٨٦٥٠٦	بنك سبا الإسلامي
٠١/٢٧٤٣٧١	بنك كاليون
٠١/٤٠٧٥٤٠	يوناييتد بنك لميتد
٠١/٥٣٨٩٠١	بنك كاك الإسلامي
٠١/٢٠٩٤٥١	بنك اليمن والكويت للتجارة والانشاءات

تأجير سيارات

٠١/٥٠٦٣٧٢	زاوية (Budget)
٠١/٣٤٠٩٥٨	ف: ٠١/٣٤٠٩٥٨
٠١/٢٧٠٧٥١	يورب كار
٠١/٥٤٥٩٨٥	فرع شيرتون
٢/٢٤٥٦٢٥	فرع عدن
٠١-٤٤٠٣٠٩	صنعاء
٠١/٥٨٩٥٤٥	فرع شيراتون
٢-٢٤٥٦٢٥	عدن

مراكز تدريب وتعليم الكمبيوتر

٠١/٤٤٥٥١٨/٧	NIIT لتعليم الكمبيوتر
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البريد السريع

٠١/٤٤٠١٧٠	صنعاء
٢/٢٤٥٦٢٦	عدن
٢/٢٦٦٩٧٥	الحديدة
٠٤/٢٠٥٧٨٠	تعز



١٧٧	طوارئ الكهرباء
١٧١	طوارئ المياه
١٩٩	طوارئ الشرطة
١١٨	الإستعلامات
١٩١	الإطفاء
١٩٤	حوادث (المرور)
٠١/٢٥٢٧٠١/٧	الشؤون الداخلية
٠١/٢٠٢٥٤٤/٧	الشؤون الخارجية
٠١/٢٥٠٧٦١/٣	الهجرة
٠١/٣٣٢٠٠١/٢	التلفزيون
٠١/٢٠٣١٣١/٣	الصليب الاحمر
٠١/٢٧٢٠٦١	الإذاعة

الوزارات

٠١/٢٩٠٢٠٠	رئاسة الجمهورية
٠١/٤٩٠٨٠٠	رئاسة الوزراء
٠١/٥٤٥١٢٢	وزارة الأشغال العامة والطرق
٠١/٢٧٤٤٣٩	وزارة الأوقاف والإرشاد
٠١/٥٣٥٠٣١	وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي
٠١/٢٦٨٥٨٣	وزارة الثروة السمكية
٠١/٢٧٤٦٤٠	وزارة الثقافة
٠١/٢٩٤٥٧٩	وزارة الخدمة المدنية والتأمينات
٠١/٢٧٦٤٠٤	وزارة الدفاع
٠١/٢٨٢٩٦٣	وزارة الزراعة والري
٠١/٢٦٢٨٠٩	وزارة الشؤون الاجتماعية والعمل
٠١/٤٠٢٢١٣	وزارة الشؤون القانونية
٠١/٢٥٢٢١١	وزارة الصحة العامة والسكان
٠١/٤٧٢٩١٣	وزارة الشباب والرياضة
٠١/٢٣٥٤٢٣	وزارة الصناعة والتجارة
٠١/٢٣٦٥١٢	وزارة العدل
٠١/٢٣٠٠٥٠	وزارة السياحة
٠١/٤٠٢٢٥٤	وزارة المغتربين
٠١/٢٠٢٣٠٩/١٠	وزارة النفط والمعادن
٠١/٢٨٩٥٧٧	وزارة شؤون الداخلية
٠١/٢٦٠٩٠٣	وزارة النقل
٠١/٤٤٤٨٣١	وزارة حقوق الانسان
٠١/٣٣١٤٦٠	وزارة الاتصالات وتقنية المعلومات
٠١/٢٢٧٢٤٢	وزارة الادارة المحلية
٠١/٢٧٤٠٠٨	وزارة الاعلام
٠١/٢٥٠١٠١	وزارة التخطيط والتعاون الدولي
٠١/٢٥٢٧٢٢	وزارة التربية والتعليم
٠١/٥٣٧٩١٤	وزارة الخارجية

Saudi-led Yemen intervention threatens protracted, sectarian war



Soldiers and Houthi fighters inspect the damage caused by airstrikes on the airport of Yemen's northwestern city of Sa'ada, a Houthi stronghold near the border with Saudi Arabia, March 30, 2015.

Adam Baron

america.aljazeera.com
First published March 30

Yemen has lately become a hot topic of rampant strategic pontification, as pundits rush to make bold sweeping statements that seek to explain the turbulence in this conflict-wracked nation as simply another front in a region-wide strategic context. But reality—as most who follow Yemen would attest—is far more complicated.

Last September, the Houthis—a Zaydi Shia rebel group—took effective control of Sana'a, the Yemeni capital, riding on a wave of popular discontent over the transitional government of President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi. That government had been installed under a UN-backed deal mediated by the

Saudi-led Gulf Cooperation Council to end the Arab Spring-inspired uprising against the country's long-time leader, Ali Abdullah Saleh. The Houthis quickly inked a deal with Hadi and other political factions, but tensions soon emerged. By the start of March, the government had resigned, while Hadi—after escaping house arrest by the Houthis in Sana'a—fled to Aden and declared it Yemen's temporary capital. UN-mediated talks continued in search of a political settlement, while the Houthis moved to consolidate power. The power vacuum resulting from the steady collapse of Yemen's political order had already proved a boon to extremist groups such as Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), and deepened an economic and humanitarian crisis that had already left half of the country's population food-insecure.

Any hope of an early resolution

to the crisis among Yemen's rival factions has been quashed by the Saudi-led anti-Houthi military offensive—euphemistically named Decisive Storm. Five nights into the air barrage, a return to calm seems as far away as ever, while the outcome of the Saudi-led intervention remains uncertain.

That's because while the Arab League countries waging the air campaign portray the Houthi rebellion as a product of Iranian meddling, Yemen's conflict remains in essence a local struggle for political power. It was spurred by the deterioration of central government control before Saleh's exit and then exacerbated by his successor's inability to consolidate power—all of which created a perfect opening for the Houthis, whose complaints about corruption and widespread pernicious foreign influence seemed to resonate with more Yemenis than

Yemeni soldiers and tribal fighters into the field on the side of the Shia Houthis, underscoring the fact that the roots of this conflict are not purely sectarian. Still, the conflict certainly has a sectarian tinge. The Houthi movement is rooted in the revival of Zaydism, a heterodox Shia sect found almost exclusively in the Yemeni highlands. And many of the Houthis' Sunni opponents have framed their conflicts in religious terms.

The Saudi-led intervention has exacerbated the sectarian dimension. Politicians in the region have painted Yemen as a battleground between Sunni and Shia powers. Western observers have cast it as a proxy battle between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Regardless of their veracity, such framings risk becoming self-fulfilling prophecies: Since the start of military action, the profusion of charged language—most obviously

ever. The Houthi campaign, until the middle of last year, was largely a turf war against tribal opponents in the highlands of northern Yemen—a conflict in which Hadi and the central government alternately played mediator and disinterested observer. More recently, however, as the Houthis grew stronger, they began directly challenging Hadi and his backers—with the support of their ally of convenience, former President Saleh. Houthis forged the partnership with Saleh more than a year ago, fueled by their mutual distaste for the Islah Party, a Yemeni faction that includes the bulk of the country's Muslim Brotherhood.

It's worth noting that Saleh's support has put swaths of Sunni

the application to the Houthis of a laundry list of sectarian derogative terms for Shia—has been nearly impossible to ignore. The likely trajectory of the conflict in coming days remains unclear. In addition to inflicting civilian casualties, terrifying Sana'a residents, and effectively cutting off Yemen off from the outside world, the airstrikes have annihilated much of the combat capability of Yemeni military. A number of key branches in the Yemeni armed forces, including the air force, had fallen under the control of the Houthis and their allies, and have become targets. The cost of their air campaign to the coalition is low, but so is the probability of it dislodging the Houthis. While some coalition partners have raised the prospect of a ground incursion, an invading force facing battle-hardened Houthi fighters on their own rugged turf would likely find the going tough.

The conflict is already escalating Yemen's preexisting humanitarian crisis. The war had effectively shut down the impoverished nation's economy, while many fear that a naval blockade could prevent food and medical supplies reaching those in need. All sides ostensibly agree that the conflict will be ended through a negotiated settlement. But it's uncertain whether the coalition's campaign will accelerate a process to that conclusion. Political sources in Sana'a say that a deal had been in

the making as Decisive Storm was launched. The airstrikes appear to have softened Saleh's stance. On Saturday the former president called for an end to the strikes and offered an agreement in which his relatives would refrain from running in coming elections. But the Houthis have dug in—defiantly rejecting the idea that they will be bombed into submission—while Hadi, empowered by the groundswell of foreign support, has expressed unprecedented confidence. In a combative speech at Saturday's Arab League summit in Sharm Al-Sheikh in Egypt, he condemned the Houthis as “stooges of Iran” and demanded their surrender. Tough talk, but on the ground, Hadi's supporters have yet to make progress even in securing the southern port of Aden, and he seems set to stay in the Saudi capital, Riyadh, for some time.

The alternative to an agreement, most Yemenis fear, is an extended civil war. The power vacuum could very well accelerate the country's fragmentation, while further enhancing the prospects for groups such as AQAP. A prolonged conflict would be a disaster, not just for Yemen, but for the region as a whole. It would be an overly pessimistic assessment to say the situation has reached the point of no return. But even if it hasn't now, if the current trends hold Yemen will very soon fall into the abyss of a protracted conflict that threatens its survival as a state.

Yemen's Saleh proves to be a survivor

Bruce Riedel

al-monitor.com
First published March 29

In the dangerous game of Yemeni politics, Field Marshal Ali Abdullah Saleh is the ultimate survivor. The Saudi-led air campaign is the fourth time the Saudis have tried to engineer his removal from Yemeni politics. Saleh has survived isolation, sanctions, civil war and assassins. Now he has built an alliance with his former foes, the Houthis, to oust his former deputy from the country.

Saleh, 73, is a Zaydi Shia who joined the Yemeni army as a corporal in 1958. He attended the Yemeni military college and fought alongside the Egyptians against the Saudi-backed Zaydi royalists in the 1960s. He became president of North Yemen in 1978 after his predecessor died in an assassination arranged by the then-leader of

South Yemen. The South Yemeni communist leader had sent an emissary to visit his northern counterpart with a briefcase allegedly containing a secret letter. Instead, it had a bomb inside that exploded, killing the messenger and Saleh's predecessor.

It was widely assumed that Saleh would not last six months. Instead, Saleh survived several coup attempts before securing the unification of North and South Yemen in 1990, when the Soviet Union could no longer afford to keep the communists in power in Aden. Saleh gained much popular support for the unification.

Later that year, Saleh sided with Saddam Hussein and Iraq when it invaded Kuwait. Yemen was Saddam's only supporter in the UN Security Council. The Saudis believed he had a secret deal with Saddam to restore Yemeni rule over governorates lost by Yemen to the kingdom in a 1934 war between

the two countries. Working closely with President George H.W. Bush, Saudi Arabia's King Fahd sought to isolate Saleh to punish him for his pro-Iraqi sentiments.

Riyadh evicted almost a million Yemeni guest workers and their families from Saudi Arabia in retaliation for Yemen's tilt toward Baghdad. The Saudis hoped this would precipitate a coup against Saleh. He survived.

In 1994, the Saudis backed an effort by the former Marxists in south Yemen to regain independence. The Saudis sent weapons and money to the southern separatists. Saleh crushed the secessionists in a brief bloody civil war and regained control of Aden. Riyadh was thwarted again.

After Al-Qaeda attacked the destroyer USS Cole in Aden's harbor in 2000, Saleh claimed that a US plan to seize the city had been thwarted. Then he promised to defeat Al-Qaeda. President George

W. Bush hailed him as a partner in the war on terrorism.

After the Arab Spring came to Yemen in early 2011, Saleh faced popular demands to give up the presidency. He was the target of an assassination attempt in a mosque in June 2011 in which he was badly wounded. After recuperation in hospitals in Saudi Arabia and the United States, Saleh reluctantly turned over power to Vice President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi in a Saudi-arranged political agreement in 2012 that granted Saleh lifetime immunity from prosecution.

Behind the scenes, Saleh made a deal with the Zaydi Houthi movement to work against Hadi and the Saudis. Saleh had fought the Houthis for years before 2010 and had killed their first leader, but the Houthis welcomed his support, especially as Saleh still has considerable backing in the former Republican Guard and other key army

units and in the air force.

Saleh is also grooming his son to be Yemen's next leader. Ahmed Ali, 42, is a key player in turning the military against Hadi. Hadi made him ambassador to the United Arab Emirates to get him out of the country, but it didn't work. Many Yemenis believe the two Salehs have been more important in the Houthis' successes than the Iranians. Without Saleh, it is unlikely the Houthis could have taken control of the capital.

The United Nations imposed sanctions on Saleh, including a travel ban and assets freeze for working with the Houthis against Hadi in November 2014. The Saudis were instrumental in getting the sanctions passed. The UN experts report also accused Saleh of working with Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula to arrange assassinations of Hadi supporters.

Saleh is Saudi Arabia's bête noire. The royal family has want-

ed him gone for two-and-a-half decades. His home village and stronghold was bombed this week by the Royal Saudi Air Force. Saleh famously said that ruling fractious Yemen is like dancing on the heads of snakes. He is the consummate snake dancer.

Saleh is still dancing. On the night of March 28, in a televised address on Houthi-controlled media, he appealed for an end to the “barbaric” air attacks and for there to be a cease-fire and elections. He promised that neither he nor his son would be a candidate for president but also ruled out Hadi's return. By coming out publicly, Saleh seems to be trying to play the role of senior statesman. There are rumors that Ahmed Ali Saleh has been in Riyadh trying to broker a deal. Saleh bears huge responsibility for the disaster his country and its neighbors now confront, a failing state turning into a quagmire. But the survivor still wants to play.

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