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# **Inside:**



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# UN refugee agency: funding crisis challenges Yemen's refugees and internally displaced persons

By: Khaled Al-Hilaly

SANA'A, July 11—Head of the UN-HCR Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, Ambassador Peter Woolcott, visited Yemen from July 5 to July 10 to observe the situation of refugees and internally displaced persons in the country, an especially important visit since the UN refugee agency is in the midst of a funding crisis.

He met Yemeni government officials and UNHCR's partners from UN agencies, local NGOs, and local community leaders, including refugee leaders.

"We are dealing with something like 170 thousand refugees and 330 thousand IDPs," he said. "These are very large numbers from any standpoint."

He referred to the serious issues facing refugees, which range from food, health, and education to community relations and security, adding that the timing is not easy since it comes in the aftermath of the global financial down-

He praised the generosity of the Yemeni government and the Yemeni people for receiving refugees in Yemen. "I know Yemen has a long history with Somalia, but nevertheless, the way you allow them to seek refuge in your country is an example to many in the world," he said.

The UNHCR estimates 330,000 people have been affected by the conflict between the Houthis and government forces since 2004, including those

"Although the ceasefire is holding, the situation remains fragile and the needs of both IDPs and returnees are extensive," according to the UNHCR's press release on the occasion.

To gain a firsthand understanding of the situation of refugees and IDPs in Yemen, Woolcott visited Kharaz camp, which hosts some 14,000 refugees, mainly Somalis, and Basateen urban area, where 40,000 people live, including approximately 15,000 refugees.

He discussed his visit to the refuges in the isolated Kharaz camp, located one hundred fifty kilometers from Aden, pointing out the hard situations they live in there.

"This isolation leads them to focus very much on resettlement in another country as a solution," he stated.

But he believes that for many, resettlement is only a dream because of the small number of refugees who are able to start new lives in countries outside Somalia.

"Some one thousand are resettled from Yemen each year, but the number of refugees is 130,000," he said. "They are very dependent on essentially the handouts and generosity of the donor community and UNHCR.'

In Basateen, Woolcott found a different attitude from what he had seen in Kharaz. People in Basateen want go back to Somalia at some point. He said that they recognize that this may not be possible for many years, so in the meantime they want to improve themselves and their families by focusing on self-reliance, education, and fitting into

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Workers from a Yemeni non-governmental organisation hand out food before transporting newly arrived Somalis and Ethiopians to the Mayfa'a reception

the local community.

"They have chosen a much more positive viewpoint," he explained.

"The UNHCR is not only improving the living conditions for refugees but also can benefit the Yemeni population," said Claire Bourgeois, UNHCR Representative in Yemen.

She gave examples programs that are needed to improve vocational training, enroll more students in schools, build new classrooms in Basateen, and equip a new health center in the area, but without additional funding, these projects cannot take place.

Since early 2009, the refugee population in Yemen has increased, mainly due to higher numbers of new arrivals from the Horn of Africa. In 2009, 78,000 people from northeastern Africa arrived on Yemeni shores, double the number of arrivals in 2008. About 17,000 people have arrived so far this year, according to UNHCR statistics

Only Somalis are granted asylum upon their arrival in Yemen. Other nationalities, the majority Ethiopians, are subject to imprisonment or deportation.

Bourgeois said that the UNHCR entinues to work with the Vemeni



government to find a solution. They try to identify the non-Somalis who are seeking asylum and separate them from those who are looking for economic opportunities, or are simply using Yemen as a transit to Gulf countries.

"Already there is some room for opportunity for the UNHCR, along with the National Sub-Community of Refugees, to visit detention centers," she said. "It creates an opportunity for the non-Somalis who are detained for illegal entry to seek asylum."

"The government has agreed not to deport them until their status is determined," she added.

Yemen has no local legislation for refugees. But the decrees signed by President Saleh in February this year gave the UNHCR the opportunity to work with the Yemeni government to draft refugee legislation, according to

She added that legislation for refu-







gees in Yemeni is one of the highest pri-"A certain amount will be covered orities of the UN refugee agency. It is very important that the legislation will need to be met by the donor tion and the process be in place, and that the resources are present, accord-

ing to Bourgeois. "The integration solution for refugees is not accepted by the government of Yemen today," said Bourgeois. "So, we are trying to help them improve their living conditions by themselves to be able to work, to acquire some skills, some expertise, and to open some micro businesses and to be part of the econo-

my in Yemen.' The UN refugee agency (UNHCR) said that its efforts to facilitate longterm solutions for the displaced persons and refugees in Yemen are severely hindered by the current funding crisis.

Appealing to all donors from the region and beyond, UNHCR Yemen appealed in February 2010 for USD 39.1 million. Afterwards, this figure was revised to be USD 52.1 million to cover the needs of both refugees and internally displaced persons in 2010. So far the Yemen Appeal remains funded at just 44 percent of overall needs.

by the UNHCR, but a significant porcommunity in extra funding," said Woolcott.

In the north, for the great majority of IDPs who either live in camps or in the surrounding areas, the main focus is to go back to their homes. "What they need is security," said Woolcott.

"Today we estimate that about 30 percent of IDPs have returned," said Bourgeois.

"I was impressed when I visited Mazraq camp at the number of women who are looking to involve themselves in literacy courses to learn to read and write or to learn to use sewing machines," he said.

"The international community needs to do more," he said, adding that not only refugees and IDPs benefit from livelihood programs that teach them new skills but also Yemenis in those communities should gain from these development programs.

"Humanitarian assistance needs to be linked quite closely with development assistance," he explained.









# TIMES

# Head of Yemeni parliament "not authorized to work" in Saudi Arabia

By: Khaled Al-Hilaly

SANA'A, July 11 — Yahya Al-Ra'ee, head of the Yemeni Parliament said in the Wednesday session that the Saudi Embassy in Sana'a stamped his diplomatic passport with the phrase "not authorized to work" a few years ago when he applied for a Umrah visa.

Al-Ra'ee revealed this in a session devoted to discussing the situation of Yemeni communities in the Gulf states with a focus on the sponsorship system. Foreign Minister, Abu Bakr Al-Qirbi, attended the session and promised to discuss the issue with the Saudi Foreign Ministry.

Al-Qirbi described the sponsorship system in Gulf countries as incompatible with all international and humanitarian norms. He added that the sponsorship system is a big problem that needs solution, pointing out that there is a committee formed to discuss it.

A number of members of parliament called on the Saudi Embassy

not to put such a phrase on passports, at least for prominent figures and members of parliament.

Yemen Parliament Watch reported that Ali Al-Amrani, member of parliament for the General People's Congress (GPC), said that the sponsorship system is "a new slavery".

He said that ten years have passed since the signing of the Jeddah Convention between Yemen and Saudi Arabia in which the sponsorship system was supposed to be ended.

Al-Amrani thanked Saudi Arabia for receiving Yemeni migrant workers but demanded an improvement in the way the Saudi government deals with Yemenis living in their country.

Yemenis are one of the largest groups among the Arab expatriate population in Gulf countries. Saudi Arabia is the main recipient of Yemeni expatriates.

In recent years, the very high level of immigration to Gulf Cooperation Countries (GCC) has led to restrictive work policies. One of these is the

sponsoring system - kafala - which is applied to Yemenis in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries.

Human rights groups including Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International criticize the sponsorship system.

Under this system, a Saudi employer - an enterprise or an individual – has absolute control over his employee. Workers enter the country under the sponsorship of specific employers, and remain beholden to those employers throughout their stay in the country.

They are prevented from changing their job or leaving the country without the permission of their sponsors, who usually holds their passports. This system makes the immigrant worker live at the mercy of his employer. It facilitates exploitation and the abuse of workers' rights by employers. Workers can be forced them to do jobs other than what they were hired for, or to accept less money than was initially agreed upon.

# Increased blackouts after fires at Mukalla and Aden power stations

By: Mahmoud Assamiee

SANA'A, July 11 — The capital of Hadramout governorate has suffered a power outage lasting 18 hours from early last Sunday morning after a fire hit the power station in the city's district of Al-Rayyan.

People in the very hot province - where temperatures reach 44 degrees Celsius in the summer months - have organized marches protesting the repeated blackouts due to the fire that damaged the station, according to news website Al-Rai.

Director of Hadramout Coast Electricity, Abdul-Qader Ba-Sala'ah, said the fire was immense and broke out at 2:30 a.m. in the sixth generator and then spread to the whole sta-

In a radio program broadcast last Monday morning by Mukalla Radio, he affirmed that the reasons behind the fire are still unknown. He indicated that they were doing their best to reorganize the station and they took necessary measures to control the situation, which has become very difficult.

Ba-Sala'ah asked the people of Mukalla to be patient as the incident was not intentional and to cooperate with them to endure the current situation until the station is repaired.

According to Al-Rai, security sources in Mukalla said they have arrested ten engineers working at the station to interrogate them on the incident and its vague circumstances.

Hadramout government's official website reported that the Minister of Electricity, Awadh Al-Suqarti, has said that there was a technical team on its way to find out the reasons be-

hind the fire outbreak in some of the station's generators.

The team will do urgent repairs to overcome the electricity shortfall in power generation resulting from the accident

"Engineers of the Dutch company manufacturer of the generator will arrive in Al-Mukalla to contribute in the rehabilitation of the station," said Al-Sugatri

Yemen Times also learnt from its sources in Aden governorate that another fire hit Al-Huswah Power Station, in Aden on Thursday. The power station generates nearly 130 megawatts of electricity.

The fire resulted in repeated blackouts sometimes lasting hours each day.

"Some areas surrounding Shiekh Othman district in Aden city witness electricity cuts for 12 hours these days," an Aden-based journalist told the Yemen Times.

The source said that the people are very angry and many spend their nights outside their houses because of the high temperatures and intense humidity in the coastal city.

The source added that electricity shortage in the hot city has affected even patients who have appliances helping them in respiration or to assist against other diseases.

Some patients have traveled to Sana'a to undergo surgery instead of using hospitals in Aden, she said, fearing the problems resulting from repeated blackouts in the hospitals there.

Three years ago, several patients died in summer in Aden hospitals when the electricity was cut off, as the air conditioning and life support

machines stopped.

The Ministry of Electricity and Energy's spokesperson, Muhareb Abu Ghanem, told the Yemen Times that the reasons behind the fire at the power station in Al-Huswah are still unknown.

#### Price of electricity increased

The Ministry of Electricity and Energy has imposed a new increase in electricity prices. The new increase appeared in this month's bills. Media sources said that the increase in the price of electricity was estimated at 50 percent.

Abu Ghanem refuted this: "The new increase does not exceed 25 percent," he told the Yemen Times. "This new increase is imposed because of the increase in diesel prices and the increased rate of the US dollar against the Yemeni rial."

But the source in Aden said last month their house's power bill was YR 2000 and the price increased in this month to YR 7,000. However, she admitted that they used the air conditioning more than in the past month because of the increasing temperature.

Yemen depends on an electricity output of 1,641 megawatts, 341 megawatts of which are generated by the newly constructed Marib gas station. The other stations are old and nearly exhausted, with the exception of private sector stations that generate 200 megawatts.

All these stations are using diesel as fuel costing the country's budget more than USD 1.5 million every day, according to the Ministry of Electricity.

# Protests in the southern governorates

By: Mohammad Bin Sallam

SANA'A, July 11 – Thousands of people have protested in a number of southern governorates last Thursday in response to two people being killed and five injured when security forces suppressed a protest on Wednesday in Aden.

The biggest protest on Thursday was in Lab'os in Yafe', Lahj governorate. The protesters held up the photos of the people who were killed and detained due to their connection in one way or another to the Southern Movement.

They demanded the state investigate the attack against the Political Security building in Aden last month in which 13 were killed and another 8 were injured.

Protesters in Radfan in Al-Dhale' governorate condemned stopping people at check points and harming them. They said that this is against their morals and Islamic principles.

Security forces in Lahj continued their campaign of arrests against activists in the Southern Movement or anyone with suspected relations to them. Last Friday, the security forces arrested a bread peddler and a group of young people "although they have no connection to the movement," according to locals.

Squad No.33 in Lahj governorate shelled villages in Mana'a Mountain, Al-Musaimeer district last Saturday. The shelling which caused people to panic, but did not cause casualties, is said to have been made by mistake, according to military sources.

Governor and Sheiks of Al-Dhale' hold meeting

Last Saturday, a meeting was held by Al-Dhale's governor, Ali Qasem Taleb, and Sheiks to discuss the role the committees formed by the government play in ending the on-going problems in the south.

Taleb said that the committees sent from Sana'a are not doing their job. He added that Al-Dhale' governorate is suffering from unlawful and intended acts by the security forces.

He accused some - without mentioning their names - of killing people. Taleb referred indirectly to the officer Al-Subaihi and another man who were killed in an ambush last month in Al-Azareq, Al-Dhale' governorate. He said that the security forces portrayed the people of Al-Dhale' as people who block roads and attack people, whereas they are peaceful people.

He called on the government and opposition parties not to use violence when they disagree with each other.

The General Director of Al-Sho'eb district in Al-Dhale', Yahya Abdulla Al-Maflehi, said that the violent acts in Al-Dhale' must be stopped otherwise things will get even worse. He stressed that if the Southern Movement issue is not solved by President Saleh, it will not ever be solved.

He called on the government to remove check points and the newly established military positions, especially those around the houses in Al-Dhale' center. Al-Maflahi explained

that the people in Al-Dhale' do not want war. They just need peace and development such as water and electricity in their houses.

In the meeting, participants discussed the two people injured on May 25. One of the people in the meeting said that one of the injured people is from Al-Dhale' and the other is from

He claimed that one was moved to a hospital in Jordan a week after the attack while the other is said to have been injured in the pelvic region and is still in a local hospital.

Two former presidents of the south, Ali Naser Mohammad and Haidar Abu Baker Al-Attas, said that the government overacts sometimes by using force to end protests in the south.

"The intense reaction of the government reveal that it cannot deal with such protests except in the language of violence," said the two presidents in a joint statement last Thursday.

They condemned what happened last Wednesday when security forces prevented people from burying the body of the young man who was killed two weeks ago in one of the protests.

The two said that they are against this cruel way of dealing with protesters. They also demanded that detainees be released and that people be allowed to bury the dead.

They concluded that the best way to solve the country's problems is by a national dialogue with people in the south to know their demands.

# Electricity bills increase by 50 percent

By: Sadeq Al-Wesabi

SANA'A, July 11— The Yemeni Public Electricity Corporation has increased the rate of electricity for domestic consumption by 50 percent.

People were surprised, especially in Hodeida and Aden governorates, when their electricity bills this month were higher than ever.

The members of parliament refused to discuss this increase in their session last Monday because of the absence of the prime minister from the session. The parliament approved the formation of a five-member committee to discuss the increase.

"This increase is too much for most Yemenis," said parliamentarian Ali Al-Ansi. "It is caused by bad management and the mismanagement of natural gas. These two reasons have led the General Electricity Corporation further into debt. The government always resorts to imposing extra expenses on citizens instead of improving management."

"We were expecting a decrease in our electricity bills because we use the electricity so much," Abdurraqeeb Al-Ghurbani from the Hodeida governorate told the Yemen Times, explaining that the inhabitants of Yemen's hotter governorates, where air conditioning is more common, expected cheaper rates from the government

Most people have criticized this sudden increase and called on the government to revoke its decision.

"People in Hodeida are poor and this will affect them negatively," Abdurraqueb said.

Frequent blackouts in all governorates have heightened criticism of the recent increase

Because the weather is very hot in Hodeida these days, many people

have already spent money on generators due to the power cuts, according to Abdurraqueb.

The local council in the Seera district in the Aden governorate has called on all Aden residents to wear red badges against the electricity rate increase. The council also asked people not to pay the new electricity bills. The head of the local council held the parliament responsible for what he called an "illegal increase."

The Islah Party in Aden called for the increase to be revoked and demanded all people to reject it through peaceful protests.

Many people in Aden demonstrated last Monday and Tuesday against the increase, complaining that the government doesn't care about the people of Aden.

Over the last months, the prices of food, petrol and diesel have increased in Yemen.

# Shura committee warns against difficult conditions in prisons

By: Ismail Al-Ghabri

SANA'A, July 11— The Rights, Freedoms, and Civil Society Organizations Committee of the Shura Council delivered a report to the Shura Council Presidium last month regarding the state of the penal system, and called for better conditions for prisoners, and an improving of the judicial system.

The report noted that the latest adjustments adopted by the Ministry of Justice in this regard did not pay much attention to the status of prisons in Yemen in terms of reforming prison management, improving living conditions, securing food and health services, and solving the problem of overcrowded and disorganized prisons.

The Shura committee described the reforms so far carried out by the Ministry of Justice as inadequate in remedying the current problems faced by prisoners.

The committee called on concerned government authorities to help prisoners and lessen their suffering and not to neglect their issues as with these steps the real fundamentals of justice will be realized.

The Prisons Authority, the report emphasized, should have a five year

plan defining its comprehensive strategy in improving conditions for prisoners.

The report highlighted the roles and contributions of different ministries, starting with Ministry of Social Affairs, whose role should be to establish special jails for juveniles, and to avoid their imprisonment in general prisons. In addition, the ministry should be responsible for securing social insurance for the families of prisoners.

The Shura Committee recommended that female prisoners should receive special care and that their cases should be treated as urgent due to the social implications and susceptibility that women face as prisoners.

The report asserted that the Ministry of Health should employ medical teams, both male and female, to provide health care for prisoners. The teams should supply medication and pharmaceuticals to prisons, and coordinate with prison administrations to provide surgical operations for prisoners when the situation demands

The Ministry of Vocational training should organize well-equipped workshops in a way that assists in the rehabilitation of prisoners.

The Ministry of Culture, like-

wise, should establish libraries, and promote readings about combating crime in society.

The Shura Committee, moreover, called on local councils in the governorates to set up special administrations for prisoners to coordinate with the central prisons authority to provide the necessary services and to create linkages with other government bodies.

The committee recommends that the Ministry of Justice should incorporate essential adjustments on penalty regulations so as to secure the rights of prosecuted persons during investigations and trial procedures and ensure that temporary prisons are separated from general prisons in all governorates.

The report requested the Ministry of Guidance and Endowment to employ guidance teams to supervise religious awareness among prisoners and called on the Ministry of Interior to adopt a special nutrition program in prisons and insure a proper supply of food to prisoners.

The committee concluded its report by urging all relevant government bodies to carry out the recommendations in the report in order to handle the critical situation of prisons in all governorates of the country.

# Water and gold prices on the rise

By: Ismail Al-Ghabri

SANA'A, July 11 – The price of water purchased through trucks for domestic use and gold have increased significantly in the last two weeks.

on June 30 karat gold jewelry sold in Sana'a cost more than YR 8,500 after it was 7,300 just a month ago, an of increase 14 percent.

Additionally, water truck prices have increased dramatically in Sana'a. A 5,200 litre water truck now sells for YR 2,000 when recently it was only YR 1,500.

"Everything is expensive now. Even water which is a basic commodity has become too expensive and many times we have to live without water for days. Living becomes hard," said Ahmad Hasan a local resident of Sana'a city.

The reasons behind the increase in prices are external according to mer-

Mohammad Al-Adashi, a water truck owner, said that he used to sell for less money but now he cannot as the well owners increased the water prices to compensate for the international increase in fuel prices. Abu Ahmad, a well owner said the increase in price is linked to the degraded value of the Yemeni Riyal compared to the US dollar.

Similarly, Yemeni gold merchants said that the reason behind the increase in gold price is the decrease in the international and Arab stock market's interests.

"In addition to the global price hikes, there is an increasing demand for gold these days as it is the wedding season. This causes the prices to further increase," said Mohammad Ahmad, a young man to be married

Hind Mohammad, a young women from Sana'a who is going to be married this month said that she was shocked by the gold prices. "I am getting married soon and I came to buy gold but the new prices made my options limited."

Ameen Al-Sa'adi, a gold merchant said that no one can change the local gold prices as it is linked to the global prices. None of the gold sellers can manipulate the local prices for he would be discovered as everyone in the market is buying and selling.

Mohammad Ma'aotha, another gold seller said that the increased prices have put off a lot of customers who either turn to silver or decide to buy gold after the season is over.

"I made a tour in the market to buy gold for my daughter who is going to get married this week. But it seems I will not buy gold for it is expensive. I did not even buy a gram of gold but I may buy her silver instead," said Abu Imad, a resident in Sana'a who is preparing for his daughter's wed-

# In Brief

# Somali refugees attend vocational train-

A training course on the rehabilitation of Somali refugees was held on Sunday in

Sana'a. It was organized by the Refugees Rehabilitation Administration of the Islah Social and Charitable Society in cooperation with the UNHCR and the Technical and Vocational Education Ministry.

#### VACANCY ANNOUNCEMENT

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) invites Yemeni Nationals to apply for the Following position with its "Early Recovery Programme"



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Type of Contract: 1 year renewable -SB /4
Duty Station: Seiyun, Hadramout, Yemen

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- Prepare and follow-up on payments and other expenses;
- Compile financial statement for contributions received;
- Prepare necessary requests with required supporting documents and other documents Maintain proper records on contributions and monitor deadlines and expenditures and inform
- Familiarize him/herself with various contracting modalities and pertinent entitlements
- Process entitlements (daily subsistence allowance, remuneration) and follow-up on contracts of the project staff and national/international consultants (extensions, renewals etc), and maintain various personnel records and files;
- Perform the tasks of office supplies requisition including the preparation of equipment specifications, collection of bids and preparation of purchase orders;

  Maintain appropriate inventory records of office material and equipment and prepare the
- corresponding reports: Assist in the logistics preparation and implementation of training, workshops, meetings and other awareness activities (exhibitions, fairs...) pertaining to the Programme;
- Assist the Project Manager in drafting financial, progress and donor reports Prepare correspondence and offer documents as required on general administrative or specialized
- tasks, maintain a log on incoming/outgoing correspondence Undertake other office duties which may be requested by the project coordinator or UNDP

- University degree in accounting, financial management, business administration or other relevant areas; Good Knowledge of accounting and budget handling; Around 6 to 7 years of work experiences in related field Solid computers skills (MS Word, Excel, Access and PowerPoint);
- Fluency in both written and spoken English and Arabic required

Monthly Salary for this post is approximately \$1551

Only Online Applications will be accepted

For further details on the job description and online application, please visit our website at <a href="http://jobs.undp.org">http://jobs.undp.org</a>
Response will only be made to short listed candidates
The deadline for receiving applications is July 27, 2010

# **Announcing positions for** a youth project

#### **Positions include:**

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Community Coordinator (CC) – coordinates the implementation and monitoring of community activities for Promoting Youth for Civic Engagement project.

Sports Coordinator (SC) - coordinates the implementation and monitoring of sports activities for Promoting Youth for Civic Engagement project.

To view the full position descriptions and apply online, navigate to www.yemenjobs.org. Alternatively please submit a cover letter (to include statement of interest), a resume/C.V., a reference letter, and a letter of commitment that specifically states an interest in working with the project "Promoting Youth Civic Engagement" to apply@ yemenjobs.org.

Deadline for application is Thursday, July 15, 2010.

□ من يرَّغب في تطوير وتحسين حياته الشخصية ( الحياة هي أكبر مشروع).

Note: Only short-listed candidates will be contacted for informational meetings.

The course is part of the vocational training project implemented by the society and the UNHCR to motivate refugees to join vocational institutes.

Head of the society, Motahar al-Haidari, highlighted the importance of the course in improving refugees living standards through training in some vocations and crafts.

## HCT approved 499 tenders in 2008 and

The Higher Committee for Tenders (HCT) approved 499 tenders in 2008 and 2009 totaling YR 334.1 billion, according to a report from the committee.

The report showed that the number of tenders approved during these two years increased by 32 percent. In 2006 and 2007, 308 tenders were approved totaling YR 154.8 billion.

The report said that the committee had finalized revisions for an executive bylaw in the law on tenders No. 23/2007 and set up a website for the committee.

#### Death sentence handed down to two Al-Qaeda affiliates in Yemen

The Specialized Penal Court in Sana'a sentenced on Wednesday two Yemenis to death after convicting them of having links with Al-Qaeda and forming an armed gang in Marib governorate.

They were also convicted of killing officers, soldiers and a civilian as well as fighting the authorities and looting military vehicles in 2009.

The trial of Mansour Saleh Daleel, 18, and Mubarak Al-Shabwani, 23, opened in mid-June. Daleel and Al-Shabwani were arrested in December last year.

In the first hearing, the prosecution said the suspects had weapons including explosives and communication equipment to carry out their attacks. The prosecution also said that policemen were killed whilst hunting the two and when the two committed attacks against security forces.

After reviewing the arguments, evidence and confessions of the two suspects, the court convicted them of having ties with Al-Qaeda and committing crimes.

#### 11 people die in Yemen

Four people including a child died of diarrhea last week in Lahj governorate and 127 others were afflicted.

Meanwhile, seven children died of an epidemic in Hajja governorate last week and 200 others were afflicted, medical sources in Hajja have said. The sources attributed the cause of death to cerebral malaria, a result of mosquitoes spreading in the area. The sources called on local authorities in Hajja governorate to swiftly tackle this dangerous epidemic.

#### ADEN Five playing fields ready in Aden for 20th **Gulf Football Championship**

Aden youths and sports office has announced that five playing fields based on FIFA standards are ready for the 20th Gulf Football Championship.

Director of the office, Jamal al-Yamani, told Saba News Agency that the five playing fields are ready and all technical and construction work completed at a cost of YR 1 billion. Each playing fields has an audience capacity of 5,000.

Al-Yamani added that 80 percent the technical and construction work at the Talal playing field was complete and it would have a capacity of 10,000 spectators. The total cost of the project is YR 1 billion.

He said that work on the 22nd international stadium were ongoing and scheduled for completion in October at a cost of YR 4.4 billion.

#### Overload behind power outages in Aden, official says

The General Manager of Al-Huswa power

station in Aden, Mohsen Thabit, said on Thursday that a failure in one of the circuits' keys linking the station with the Al-Mansoura station caused power outages in some parts of the governorate.

Speaking to Saba News Agency, Thabit explained that the failure was caused by high consumption of 580 ampere that overstepped the natural voltage of the station, estimated at 33 kilovolts. Technicians at the station were forced to cut electricity to large parts of the governorate in order to replace the damaged parts.

He said that the station is currently being tested at high voltages so as to restore the power supply and reconnect keys in the station

On Wednesday a local official in Al-Dhale' governorate held separatist elements responsible for power outages in the governorate for the fifth successive

The Ministry of Defense website reported that the electricity grid was being deliberately targeted causing the power cuts and damage to the citizens' interests.

#### **DHAMAR**

#### Syrian delegation briefed on agricultural activity

A delegation from the Syrian Peasants Union is currently visiting Yemen. On Thursday they got acquainted with the agricultural cooperative market's activity in Mabar city, Dhamar governorate.

The delegation was briefed during the visit on services provided by the cooperative market in field of marketing vegetables and other agricultural projects to the various governorates of the country.

The delegation noted the marketing activity of the market, and the efforts being exerted to expand the volume of agricultural products exchanged between Yemen and Syria so as to enhance the agricultural and economic activity between the two

The Syrian delegation also visited the water barrage at Alhajarh village in Jahran district, which has recently been established with funding from the Fish and Agricultural Encouragement Fund. After which they became acquainted with activities of the highland agricultural cooperative association.

During the visit, the delegation was accompanied by agricultural officials and the local council's secretary general in the

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#### **HADRAMOUT** Security services raid terrorist cell in

The Ministry of Interior has revealed that security services raided a house where members of an Al-Qaeda cell were hiding in Fuh, west of the city of Mukalla in Hadramout.

Security personnel found an explosives belt ready for use, grenades, a laptop, a number of SIM cards, video tapes, and scraps of paper which the terrorists did not manage to burn.

The Ministry said that four armed crews surrounded a house where the suspects were hiding. Those inside the house belonging to a 40 year old al-Qaeda member included a Saudi national. The Al-Qaeda members refused to sur-

render and began shooting and throwing grenades at security forces besieging the house. Two security personnel were killed and two terrorists were wounded. Security forces arrested the two wound-

ed while two other terrorists, including the Saudi, managed to escape.

The security forces are currently pursuing the escapees. The Ministry of Interior confirmed that it will pursue the members of Al-Qaeda, will lie in wait for them and foil all terrorist plots of Al-Qaeda and its elements which target Yemen and its in-





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- Work with Senior Staff Reservoir Engineering in preparing the reporting requirements to the government and partners.
- Actively participate in technical meetings with partners and government. representatives as required
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- 12. Be able to travel internationally and to the Operating sites up to a few times

reserves recovery

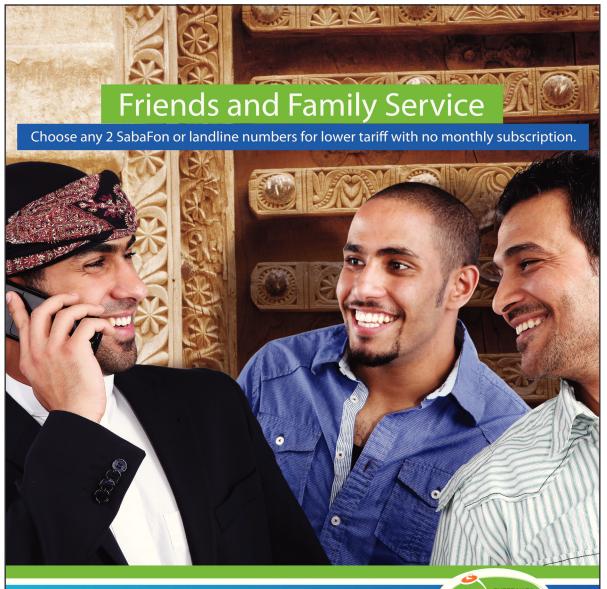
- <u> Minimum Requirements:</u> Minimum of 2 years of related reservoir engineering experience is preferred.
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# The untold story of slavery in Yemen - Part 2

A number of human rights activists have discovered that despite being in the 21t century there are still men and women known as slaves in some regions of Yemen. Some were poor, some were not, some were more educated than the others, but all of them had one thing in common: they were not born free.

By: Omar Al-Omqi

#### 'One of my masters struck me with his gun' Zolaikha cannot forget the

painful events of her life. "I was a slave for Bani Hamoud and Akkash," she said. "We were six men

and two women, Saeed, Masoud, Obaid, Jathem, Radief, Mohammad Mabrouk, were the males, Obaidah and Zolaikha were the females: they are all dead except for me."

She added, "They tortured me since I was a child, they tortured me until I had enough of it and escaped. I'm a free woman, they didn't look for me and neither did I."

Zolaikha was severely enslaved to Hamood and Akkash.

"No one will ever know how much they tortured me," she

She continued sharing her story: "One of my masters struck me with his gun and cracked open my skull... Another time, another one struck me with the zomra [sizable stick] on my back."

Nowadays, she lives in Al-Ma'ras, Hodeida, and all she cares about is her granddaughter Shahd.

"This is my granddaughter. Her mother died, and her father ran away from slavery to Saudi Arabia to work and left her with me," she explained.

When we asked her if she was afraid that her granddaughter might also be trapped by slavery, she answered, "Yes I do fear for her. What happened to me could happen to her, and when I pass away, who's going to take care of her?"

She leaned towards her granddaughter, giving her a hug and a kiss.

#### 'Tell the president that we need something to eat'

Like the other slaves that we met when researching this article, Sagheera doesn't know her date of birth and cannot even guess her age.



tortured when she was The village where Qannaf was a slave for a quarter of a century

currently in Al-Ma'ras, Al-Zahra district, Hodeida governorate.

After six decades of hard work for her masters, they kicked her out of the place where she had lived for her entire agonizing life.

Because of her age, she was not able to do what her masters asked, and she could not endure the heat in the fields. This made her a burden for the family she had served her entire life, so they kicked her out.

She feels unsatisfied with her situation, and she wants to ask the government to provide her daily meals: "I don't want land, I just need something to eat, my son."

Sagheera headed to the directorate, and she asked for the help of someone there to present her request to the government to add her name to the Social

"I go there every day with my papers," she said. She does this every day without giving up. She answered in anger and raised

her voice when we asked her if she had received any money from the

"I go there every day, and I swear I Masdar newspaper in Arabic

She looks like she is in her eighties. haven't gotten anything from them but She is from Bani Mosawa and lives YR 100," she said. "I've been gathering their papers for ten years in my hut. They promise me every time I go there, but they lie."

> What this old woman hopes for is YR 3,000 as help from the government for the poor every month, but it seems to be hard to get for the ex-

> "I have one son and three daughters, and they are all married. Please, when you go back to Sana'a, tell the president that we are poor, that we need something to eat, and that we need social service payments to be given to the elderly," she requested.

> Oannaf bin Syiara is calling on the president to free his sister and says: "He must do us a favor and free all other male and female slaves."

> At the beginning of my speech with Qannaf, I looked as if I was stupid, because I was unable to understand his fast speech. However, after a while, I was able to understand most of what he said, which can be described as a mixed dialect of Hajja and Hodeida.

> This report was first published in Al-

## Part of the interview with Qannaf

#### Do you have brothers and sisters?

I have two brothers and one sister. Also, I have two other half brothers.

#### Where are they?

My elder brother, Fahad, is a slave of Humood Jubran, and Faisal is a slave of Ahmed Sheikh, but my sister, Sha'eah, is a slave of Ibn Mohammed Sagheer.

#### How about you?

I received my freedom two years ago.

#### How did you get it?

After Sheikh Adulrahman Ahmed Suhail bought me, he freed me as an act of atonement for the manslaughter of a man in a car accident.

#### From whom did he buy you?

From my ex-master Hamdy Mohammad Sageer Jubran, who inherited me after he and his brothers split their father's inheritance.

## Were you happy when he sold you?

Yes, that was what I was hoping for.

Because my ex-master Hamdy treated me badly and beat me harshly.

#### Why did he sell you?

Yahya Ali convinced Hamdy to sell me.

How much was your cost? YR 500,000

#### Where did that happen?

At the office of legal representative Mohammed Ali Alwan, with the seller, the buyer, the intermediary and some sheikhs present.

#### What happened next?

We went to the court and approved the document. Then my ex-master received the money and the intermediary took his share of YR 100,000, and gave me YR 20,000. Nobody knew that he gave me YR 20,000, but my ex-master didn't give me anything.

#### Did you receive your emancipation document? Yes, but the attorney general Abdullah Ala'alafi took it

from me.

After the press talked about my case, the sons of Sheikh Ahmed Suhail came and asked me to come with them to Sana'a.

## Did you know why?

They said I had to testify before the attorney general.

## Did you agree?

Yes, they gave me YR 10,000 and asked me not to expose the truth of what happened and what is still happening in our village.



Qannaf and Al-Masdar reporter Al-Omqi

#### Did you accept it?

Yes, I promised them, and I'm a man of my word.

## What happened when you met the attorney gener-

Nothing, he just took the emancipation document from me and never gave it back to me. Then he heard my statement, which the sons of Suhail told me to say.

I don't know... (Pause)

#### What are you thinking now?

I think of that yellow paper. Without it I have nothing that proves that I became free man.

#### Are you afraid of becoming a slave again?

To be honest, I'm afraid of it. I'm afraid that my master might come and force me to come back to his house. I'm afraid that some people might come and take me by force and sell me in the market.

# But everyone knows you are a free man, don't

That's right, but nobody will stand beside you and defend you. Everyone will give up on you.

#### But there are police stations, aren't there?

(Laughs) You can tell them about the hundreds of male and female slaves.

## You are saying that they are slaves, but you are a

What proves that I'm free? I have three kids and I'm afraid that they might become slaves. I am afraid of the masters who might kidnap them and make them

## What is the solution?

I want the president to call the attorney general and tell him to give me my charter. I want to sleep instead of thinking of this piece of paper all night. I want the president to free my sister, or to free all the male and female slaves in my village.

## Yemeni artist exhibits in New York **T**/~

'emeni artist Ibi Ibrahim exhibited a collection of medium prints titled "Social Codes of Islam" at the WORK Gallery Art Market on June 25, only one day after his solo exhibit "We are Black & White" premiered at the Cocoa Bar and Gallery in New

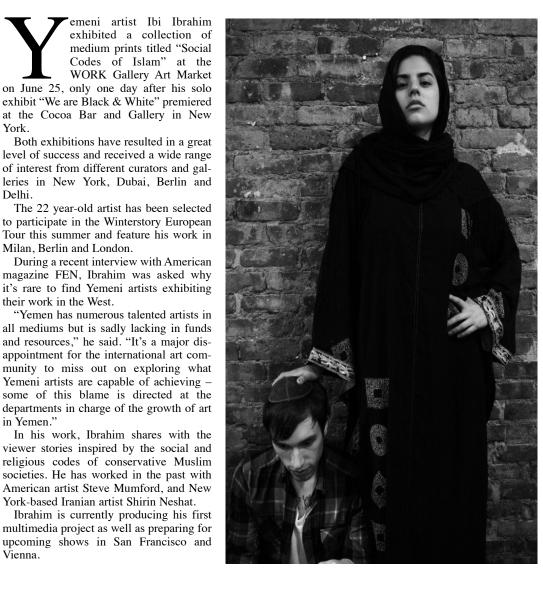
Both exhibitions have resulted in a great level of success and received a wide range of interest from different curators and galleries in New York, Dubai, Berlin and The 22 year-old artist has been selected

Tour this summer and feature his work in Milan, Berlin and London. During a recent interview with American magazine FEN, Ibrahim was asked why it's rare to find Yemeni artists exhibiting

their work in the West. "Yemen has numerous talented artists in all mediums but is sadly lacking in funds and resources," he said. "It's a major disappointment for the international art community to miss out on exploring what Yemeni artists are capable of achieving some of this blame is directed at the departments in charge of the growth of art in Yemen."

In his work, Ibrahim shares with the viewer stories inspired by the social and religious codes of conservative Muslim societies. He has worked in the past with American artist Steve Mumford, and New York-based Iranian artist Shirin Neshat.

Ibrahim is currently producing his first multimedia project as well as preparing for upcoming shows in San Francisco and Vienna.







# Stories from Real Life

# Polygamy and its effects on family and children

By: Nawal Zayd For the Yemen Times

#### He married 12 women because of the shock of his first

aderi Mohammad, a 50 year old government employee, currently unmarried, has two daughters and six sons. In his early life, Qaderi was a successful man in his studies and work. After his graduation from police college, his father decided Qaderi should marry.

On the wedding day, the bride came to his house in tears and very scared. All the attendants were wondering about her state. When Qaderi came to receive his bride, her crying and fear only increased.

The day after, Qaderi told his family that his bride was not a virgin. So he went to her family to ask them about it and his wife confessed every thing she done in the past. After hearing all of her story, he was deeply shocked.

He decided to keep her in his house for a month and then he divorced her. Over that month his mental health deteriorated into a psychological complex of hatred towards women.

He had decided to revenge himself against women. Over a period of time his mental state did not improve, and eventually he could no longer work successfully and he lost his job. He could only think of marrying another woman to exact his revenge. He was drinking so much that he became violent towards his own family.

After his marriage to a second woman, he began beating her violently and doubting her honor. Under the constant violence, she only remained with him for two years, during which time she gave birth to a daughter, Safa'a. He took the baby from her and gave it to his sister to take care of after he divorced the baby's mother.

When Safa'a turned ten years old, Qaderi started hitting her and locking her inside the house because of his suspicions about her. He then married a third woman, and started beating her so violently that she often bled.

After his third wife gave birth to a son, he divorced her and married a fourth and started beating her like the previous wives. She gave him three sons and was patient with him only for the sake of her children.

But he continued beating her and threatening her with divorce even as she was crying and appealing to him not to divorce her. Four years later, he married a fifth woman and put her in the same house with his fourth wife. He was beating them together and banned them from



leaving the house.

After a time, the fifth wife gave birth to daughter and then a son after which Qaderi divorced both his wives. He took their children from them while they still very young, some of them still suckling.

He was leaving the children with his neighbors to take care of and sometimes forcing his daughter Safa'a to leave school to look after her brothers and sister. He then married again, his sixth wife. As he did with the previous ones, he beat her despite the fact she was taking care of his children.

She gave him a son. As he continued to beat and torture her, and even refuse to give her food, she left him and returned to her family. After she left him, he divorced her and took her child from her. He remained single for a period of time and then married a seventh wife only to divorce her after a month.

He then married an eighth and then a ninth time, beating both wives and finally divorcing them both at the same time a year later. Now he turned to other governorates, praying on poor families to marry their daughters, seducing the families with money. He got financial support from military leaders and his father who was quite rich.

He married a tenth wife, and as usual beat her and then later divorced her. After another period of time he traveled to another governorate and married his eleventh wife. This woman loved him and his children and was always trying to please him by any means possible. But because of his fixed psychological complex against women he still beat and tortured her until he eventually divorced her.

Then he married the twelfth and final wife. She was the youngest of all his wives when he married them. She was very kind to him and loved him and his children. But still he always beat her, though not as much as his previous wives. He himself also loved her and was trying to forget the past to keep her.

She gave him a son and lived with him for seven years.

She was taking care of him and his children after his eldest daughter Safa'a married a cousin to be close to her father's house and take care of her brothers. His last wife Ibtisam was also very happy with him despite his bad treatment of her, as she loved him so much.

After a long time, she traveled to see her family in Taiz governorate. When she came back to her husband's house, her son was four years old. He went to his father and told him that his mother returned to Sana'a alone and was speaking to a man. At that moment Qaderi lost control of himself because he trusted in his son. He started doubting his wife and thought she was deceiving him. He started beating her more viciously until she aborted the child she was carrying

She went to his brother's house and asked his family to calm him down. But he insisted on her leaving and took her child and threatened that if she did not leave as soon as possible, he would kill her.

She went to Qaderi's uncle's house to hide herself and try to kidnap her son from the street. But when he discovered what she was planning, he called her family and told them to come and take her. Her family came and took her while she was still suffering from being separated from her son. A week later, he divorced her and forced her to leave her son with him.

He remained divorced for two years and then went to Taiz and took Ibtisam back and accepted her because she loved him and her son. They remained married for a year and then he divorced her again, and took back her son.

Eventually, he decided to live alone and ordered his sons to take care of their youngest brother that remained. He went directly from the house to a mosque leaving his sons and everything behind him. He no longer wants to see

any woman on earth.

His daughter Sa'afa has become a mother. She takes care of her children and her brothers and her sister Maram. Maram lives with her uncle's daughters. She goes to school but always suffers from not having her mother's kindness as her mother has died.

The sons, however, live deprived of kindness of from either their mothers or their father. As their father left them to his relatives and their mothers married other men, they are trying to find work here and there to live and pay for schools.

From time to time, the sons go to see their mothers. Every one of them found a husband after they were forced to leave their sons to suffer with their psychologically sick father.

## He married four women to fulfill his lust but ignored his children

ussein Ali, 50, is a government employee. He is married and has 25 children, most of them female. He married the first wife who gave him nine daughters and a son. He was suffering to cover his family's expenses.

At a later time, he married a second wife who gave birth to four sons. After a short time, he married a third who gave him three sons and a daughter. As his income improved, he was able to provide for all his children and their needs and was fair to all his wives and distributed his time between them.

After a period of time, his work was expanded and he become an important member in his profession, a dignitary. He was traveling abroad and spending months away of his family. His care for them started decreasing and he rarely

saw them. He was working to provide them with all they needed.

After some time, he decided to marry a fourth time. He searched for his next wife until he found her in a government office working as an employee there. He married her and decided to make his life with her a quiet one away of the problems of his children and other wives.

He considered the fourth wife the sole source of his happiness which took him away from everything that troubled him. He gradually started distancing himself from his children and first three wives and was asking about less frequently. He went to them one day every week and gave them money, saw them for but a while and then returned to his last wife.

In time, his sons started enquiring about the absence of their father, and each of them started living in a separate world. Every one of them behaved only the way he wanted and thought what he did was the right thing. Eventually, some of the sons went astray following their desires.

Each of the first three wives talked to the father. They asked him to follow his sons and try to make them feel his love and kindness and stay with them as they had before. He shouted at them, «I do not want a headache, every one of you is responsible for her own children.»

However, each of his first three wives were unable to fulfill the job of the father. Each one of them lived in conflict with their children, especially with the teenagers.

As for the daughters, the elder ones have married as marriage was the best way for them to fill the gap of their father's absence.

The father Hussein has become occupied only with his last wife and her son, taking care of them and forgetting the rest of his children and his duty towards them. Unfortunately, he thinks that giving them money, food and other needs is enough.

# He wanted to divorce his third wife because she could not bare children

heikh Naser Mohammad, 60, married and had twenty sons and ten daughters. He was a farmer in his vast lands.

Sheikh Naser grew up in a very rich family and he inherited great lands from his father and grandfathers. All of his lands were agricultural and most of his crop was qat, the tree that brought him great wealth.

When he grew up, he decided to marry from a rich family that was equal to his own. He thought if he married a poorer woman, she would inherit his wealth. After marriage, the wife gave him sons and daughters and after some time, he married a second woman. She was also from a rich family and gave him children too.

A time later, he married a third wife, but she was not able to bear children and lived with him for a very long time and then died. He wanted to divorce her such that she could not inherit his wealth. He wanted to betray their marital life fearful of that loss of inheritance, but death was faster than his decision.

After that, he married a forth woman and had more children with her and then he married the fifth and had yet more children. When his daughters grew up and suitors started to come and ask for their hands in marriage, he decided to partner them to rich men so that they would not direct their eyes to his money. But none were rich enough.

Grooms were always coming to engage them but to no avail, and eventually all the daughters became spinsters. Then no one dared to come again asking for the hand of one of his daughters because of their father's arrogance. All of the sons, however, got married.

Finally Sheikh Naser died leaving all of his wealth to his children. Then differences started between the sons and problems and clashes soon occurred. Every one them wanted to take over his father's wealth.

After the death of the father, suitors started coming back to ask for the sisters' hands in marriage, but the brothers, like their father refused them to protect the family's wealth. The daughters eventually asserted themselves and chose their own lives.

The sons started to hate each other as envy spread between them. Every one of them started to live separately with his own family, without asking about the others and the family became scattered. All brotherly feelings in them died and the family became renowned for their arrogance, pride and selfishness.

# My journey to the heart of Islam - Part 1/5

What is life like in a madrasa and why are young western women drawn to a life of strict religious discipline?

By: Rachel Aspden

n the ancient cemetery of the desert town of Tarim, in south Yemen, a crowd of young women shrouded in black nylon are kneeling around a red

"Bismillahi r-rahmani r-rahim," they mutter, hands cupped in supplication, shuffling under the midday sun. "Al hamdu lillahi rabbi l-alamin." They are reciting Qur'anic prayers for the soul of a saint and scholar who, 600 years ago, used to conduct miraculous conversations with the dead from the minaret of the mud-built town mosque.

The chanting is led by a birdlike old lady lost in her black robes: a «hababa», holy woman, who traces her ancestry back to the Prophet Muhammad. Behind the hababa, the girls stumble



Rachel Aspden was asked politely but firmly to cover up. Photograph: Ralph Gobits

over the unfamiliar Arabic and begin to fidget. They surreptitiously check mobiles for a rare bar of reception or pull Polo mints from Warehouse bags hidden under their robes. Most

have never been to Yemen before, understand little Arabic and have never worn a veil. Some have been Muslim for only a few months. But they have come to learn «pure» Islam, and are eager to do it properly.

Yemen is one of the poorest countries in the world, and one of the most conservative. Beyond the centres of the largest cities, life is still governed by tribal loyalties and an austere Saudi-influenced interpretation of Islam. But Islamic schools in Tarim are attracting increasing numbers of young western Muslims in search of an answer to the question: how do I live as a real Muslim in the west? I have followed them to find out what could draw young British women of my own age to a remote valley in the Yemeni desert – and what ideas they will bring back to the UK.

"Men! Watch out, girls – men!" An urgent whisper runs through the group and they hurriedly pull down an extra veil to conceal the only visible part of their bodies, their eyes. Through a grey gauze mist, they watch as, 25 metres away, an old man in a heavy green turban limps past to pray at another grave. At the cemetery gates, a

bus waits to take the girls back to the madrasa, the traditional Islamic school for women, where they are studying. As they climb aboard, hurrying past the male driver with averted eyes, I fall behind. The cemetery paths, baked in the midday sun, have burned the soles of my bare feet.

"That's nothing compared with what hellfire's going to be like," a heavy-set girl from Luton says flatly, and hauls herself on to the bus.

I first hear about Tarim on a cold December night in west London, where one of its three highest-ranking scholars is addressing a hall packed on one side with young men in tracksuits, jeans and prayer caps, and, on the other, with young women in colourful head-scarves. When the robed and turbaned scholar steps out on to the stage, both sides unite in a jostling sea of cameraphones. It looks less like a religious gathering than a music festival.

"It is my right to say," Habib Ali begins in Arabic, his voice rising then falling to a persuasive whisper, "while I am here in Britain, that the role the government played in the Iraq war was a crime. But does that justify the killing of innocent people here?"

Since 2001, Habib Ali, with his fellow Tarimi scholars Habib Umar and Habib Kadhem, has travelled increasingly widely through Muslim communities in Europe and the US. To western governments, they offer an Islamically credible argument against violence and militancy; to their audiences, they represent an unbroken line of charismatic Yemeni scholars that stretches back over a thousand years. After the talk I hear Muslim friends describing Tarim as a «place of miracles», where the faith and manners of the time of the Prophet are preserved. I am intrigued and, with their help, manage to persuade Dar al-Zahra, the Habibs' madrasa for women, to admit a non-Muslim visitor.

Source: The Guardian



للدمن صنعاء.. وإن طال النفر.. من ١ حتى ٣١ يوليو ٢٠١٠م



# فرقة المسرة للإنتناد الديني - تريم

بقيادة رئيس الفرقة/ محمد حداد سقاف الكاف الأحد ٢٠١٠/٧/١١م الساعة ٦ - ٨ مساءً الاثنين ٢٠١٠/٧/١٢م الساعة ٤ - ١٠ مساءً وذلك في حديقة السبعين



# صباحية شعرية لكل من الشاعرين:

السعودي د. سعد المشاوي واليمني / طلال بالخير الاثنين ٢٠١٠/٧/١٢ م الساعة ١٠ - ١١,٣٠ صباحاً وذلك في بيت الثقافة - شارع القصر



# حفلةمشتركة للفنان المنشد/ أمين حاميم والشاعر السعودي الدكتور/سعد المشاوي

الثلاثاء ٢٠١٠/٧/١٣ م الساعة ٤ - ١٠ مساء وذلك في حديقة السبعين



حفلات الغناء والطرب

للفنان / حسين محب والفنان / سند علي حمود الاثنين ١٠ / ٧ / ٢٠١٠ م الساعة ٤ – ١٠ مساء وذلك في حديقة السبعين



## Words of Wisdom



Many countries hold elections. Even when these are not rigged, they tend to cement the old patron-clientele relations in a new grab. The reason is that the people in power use their connections (and state funds, media, bureaucracy, etc.) to achieve the election results they want. The result that they create docile parliaments. Elections thus end up enabling those in power to hold on

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



# **OUR OPINION**

# Yemeni opposition heading "south"

aving opposition parties is a sign of a healthy democracy. But this is true if -and only ifopposition parties are actually opposition, in the sense that they have a different mandate for the country and want to advocate for a different way of rul-

The Yemeni opposition, however, is really not that different from the ruling party itself. Sometimes it feels as if the opposition today is a creation of the ruling party.

Moreover, there are two kinds of political opposition: one inside the country and one trying to influence the country from outside. Most of the opposition abroad is made up of exiled politicians or those who ran for their lives after matters turned ugly for them.

The inside opposition is made up of political parties who are learning to play on various fronts in order to survive. Often within the same opposition party, such as the Islah party, there are several schools of thought. They have what are known as wings, and sometimes these contradict each other to the point that the party becomes paralyzed.

Moreover, the mandate of the opposition parties reads almost identical to that of the ruling party. In essence, everyone is supposedly looking for democracy, development and freedoms. Or so they claim.

But then the opposition parties lack details. It is as if they have no concrete idea what to do when things get real, and are leaving it up to chance, instead of planning and sharing their plans with the people.

My problem with the Yemeni opposition is that I don't feel it is genuine at all. In fact, I am greatly concerned that they are opportunistic parties looking to overthrow the corrupt system and sit in its place.

I believe that the opposition is competing with the ruling party for power, not for the country's reform.

In the 2006 presidential elections, I voted for the late Faisal bin Shamlan, then candidate of the opposition parties coalition, because I wanted change. Now that I think about it, I am not sure whether a) my vote really mattered, or b) if he won, he would have been any dif-

My biggest fear is that the opposition parties are teaming up with anyone who shows resistance to the state, even if they are rebellion groups. This does not sound right to me. It just shows lack of good judgment.

Now they claim that they are defending the southern issue and the Southern Movement trying to the break southern states away from the united Yemen. Even if it means that they are just trying to promote political minorities, their heading south, for me, is their heading

If there is one conclusion I have drawn from all these years of witnessing and almost becoming involved with opposition parties is that they are useless.

If we are to make change, I think we should start all over, with new parties and new mandates that really touch on what the people need, in a transparent way that involves the people and empowers them to be part of change.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

# Welcome to smart bombs

By: Ramzy Baroud Khaleej Times

luster bombs are in the news again, thanks to a recent report from Amnesty International. The human rights agency has confirmed that 35 women and children were killed following the latest US attacks on an alleged al-Qaeda hideout in Yemen.

Initially, there were attempts to bury the story, and Yemen officially denied that civilians were killed as a result of the December 17 attack in southern Yemen. However, it has been impossible to conceal what is now considered the largest loss of life in one single US attack in the country. If the civilian casualties were indeed a miscalculation on the part of the US military, there should no longer be any doubt about the fact that cluster munitions are far too dangerous a weapon to be utilised in war. And they certainly have no place whatsoever in civilian areas. The human casualties are too large to justify. Yemen is not alone. Gaza, Lebanon and Afghanistan are also stark examples of the untold loss and suffering caused by cluster bombs.

Meanwhile, the unrepentant Israeli army will not consider dropping the use of cluster bombs

in civilian areas altogether. Instead it is pondering ways to make them 'safer'. The Jerusalem Post reported on July 2 that the army "has carried out a series of tests with a bomblet that has a specially designed self-destruct mechanism which dramatically reduces the amount of unexploded ordnance.' During the Israeli onslaught in Lebanon in 2006, Israel fired millions of bomblets. Aside from the immediate devastation and causalities, unexploded ordnance continues to victimise Lebanon's civilians, most of whom are children. Dozens of lives have been lost since the end of this war.

In Gaza, the same terrible scenario was repeated between 2008 and 2009. Unlike Lebanon, however, trapped Palestinians in Gaza had nowhere to go. Now Israel is anticipating another war with the Lebanese resistance. In preparation for this, an Israeli PR campaign is already underway. It seeks to convince public opinion that Israel is doing its utmost to avoid civilian casualties. "Ahead of a potential new conflict with Hezbollah, the IDF has decided to evaluate the M85 bomblet manufactured by the Israeli Military Industries," reports the Jerusalem Post. Of course, Israel's friends will be pleased by the initial successes of the Israeli army testing.

Under pressure to ratify the

agreement, these countries are only too eager to offer a 'safer' version of current cluster bomb models. This would help not only to maintain the huge profits generated from this morally abhorrent business, it would also hopefully quell growing criticism by civil society and other world governments.

In December 2008, the United States, Russia and China, among others, sent a terrible message to the rest of the world. They refused to take part in the historic signing of the treaty that banned the production and use of cluster bombs. In a world that is plagued by

war, military occupation and terrorism, the involvement of the great military powers in signing and ratifying the agreement would have signaled - if only symbolically — the willingness of these countries to spare civilians' unjustifiable deaths and the lasting scars of war. Fortunately, the refusal didn't completely impede an international agreement. The incessant activism of many conscientious individuals and organisations came to fruition on December 3 and 4 in Oslo, Norway, when ninety-three countries signed a treaty banning the weapon.

Not surprisingly, the US, Russia, China, Israel, India and Pakistan a group that includes the biggest makers and users of the weapon neither attended the Ireland negotiations of May 2008, and nor did they show any interest in signing the agreement in Oslo.

Most countries that have signed the accords are not involved in any active military conflict. They are also not in any way benefiting from the lucrative cluster munition industry

But without the involvement of the major producers and active users of the weapon, the Oslo ceremony remained largely symbolic. However, there is nothing symbolic about the pain and bitter losses experienced by the many victims of cluster bombs.

According to the group Handicap International, a third of clusterbomb victims are children.

Equally alarming, 98 per cent of the weapon's overall victims are civilians. The group estimates that about 100,000 people have been maimed or killed by cluster bombs around the world since 1965.

Unlike conventional weapons, cluster bomblets survive for many years, luring little children with their attractive appearance. Children often mistake the bomblets for candy or toys.

Recently, some encouraging emerged from the Netherlands. Maxime Verhagen. Minister of Foreign Affairs, urged his country's House Representative to ratify the Convention, which bans the production, possessions and use of such munitions. The ban leaves no room for any misguided interpretations and does not care for the Israeli army's experimentations. In his speech, Verhagen claimed, "Cluster munitions are unreliable and imprecise, and their use poses a grave danger to the civilian population...Years after a conflict has ended, people - especially children can fall victim to unexploded submunition from cluster bombs."

To date, the agreement has been signed by 106 countries and ratified by 36 - and will enter into force on August 1, despite the fact that the big players refuse to take part. The Netherlands' push is certainly a step in the right direction. But much more remains to be

The onus is also on civil societies in countries that are yet to ratify the agreement or sign it in the first place. "All that is necessary for evil to triumph is for good men (and women) to do nothing." This holds as true the issue of cluster bombs, as in any other where human rights are violated and ignored.

Ramzy Baroud is a distinguished Arab American commentator and author, most recently, of 'My father was a freedom fighter' published by Pluto Press

# Yemen: The old, new problem

**Al-Ahram Weekly Editorial** 

undits warned this week of the dangers of Yemen turning into another Afghanistan after reports suggest Al-Qaeda is regrouping in the troubled country following blows against it elsewhere. The warnings intensified as a Yemeni intelligence headquarters in Aden was bombed this week, carrying the fingerprints of Al-Qaeda. In the London-based daily Asharq Al-Awsat Tariq Al-Homayed wrote in 'Yemen: the next battlefield' that a large number of militants have begun to gather in Yemen from all over the world, including America, Europe, Africa and, of course, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, amongst other countries, "after Yemen received a number of painful security and financial blows in Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Afghanistan."

According to Al-Homayed Yemen's problem can be seen in the "complexity and inter-relationship of its internal issues, which of course is something that Al-Qaeda desires as it allows the organisation to operate in the region once more".

All of this, Al-Homayed argues, means that Yemen represents a genuine battlefield against Al-Qaeda, and may even replace Afghanistan [in this regard] which is what the Americans currently believe.

The grand battle in confronting Al-Qaeda in Yemen, Al-Homayed wrote, would be in persuading Sanaa of the necessity of putting forward real solutions to block Al-Qaeda's path, "for the threat is not just in what Al-Qaeda is doing, but also in the extent of its infiltration and the level of its deployment."

Also in Asharq Al-Awsat, Ali Ibrahim wrote, "it is clear nowadays that Yemen is one of the new but old hot spots in the region with its political, economic and security problems."

Ibrahim quoted observers con-

cerned with Yemeni affairs as saying that the root cause of the problem in Yemen is economic. This is represented in the low standard of living, high level of poverty and unemployment and a weak infrastructure, creating an ideal environment for instability, extremism and local tribal and regional battles over limited resources, Ibrahim wrote.

However, Ibrahim stressed that there can be no development or investment without political stability and without a strong state that can reassure investors and busi-

Ibrahim called on the international community "to be more generous with regards to its aid and to be more persistent in getting the Yemeni government to present a clear and transparent programme of its targets, policies and implementation. This is what is happening throughout the world."

Ibrahim warns that discussing matters and providing analyses might be easy while the reality is difficult and full of complexities. "But is there a choice? People should ask themselves: will the region and the world be able to bear another failed state like Somalia?" Ibrahim concluded. Speaking of Somalia, Arab pundits expressed rage at reports that two football fans were killed by an extremist group in Somalia who warned against following the World Cup matches because they were religiously forbidden.

Mohamed Diab, in Asharq Al-Awsat, wrote that a small group of Somali people had gathered in secret near the capital Mogadishu to watch a World Cup football match, and that two of those caught watching the game were put to death while the rest were imprisoned. "An extremist group who call themselves Hizb Al-Islam [party of Islam] were responsible for this. This group, which has ignored the violent Somali pirates, has turned its weapons against those who watch the World Cup," Diab wrote.

Despite the killings, Diab wrote, Muslims have not heard "any of the voices that preach Islam 24 hours a day on satellite television channels come out and condemn the act of these criminals who claim to be acting in the name of Islam, when in reality Islam condemns their actions.'

According to Diab, "the strange media silence" surrounding this terrible crime only "strengthens the climate of insanity". Diab argues that true Islamic scholars who care about the image of Islam are required, at this critical stage more than at any other time, to firmly stand up against those who distort the image of Islam in the eyes of the world and who propagate a wrong message about Islam rather than dedicate themselves to peripheral issues.

"Our preachers must rearrange their priorities surrounding religious discourse, and I think there is nothing more important than improving the image of our great faith which has been tarnished by the actions of criminals and extremists," Diab wrote.

Gamil Al-Thiyabi, in Al-Hayat newspaper, seriously asked if entertainment is forbidden in Islam. "Is the Islamic world in need of more extremists to hijack Islam and turn the life of its people into hell in accordance with their criminal beliefs, and all for the sake of a piece of leather [football]?" Al-Thiyabi wondered. Al-Thiyabi wrote that Somalia is ruled by a "fragile", "weak" and "a nearly dead" government which does not control but small parts of the country whereas Islamic groups rule the rest of the country. Al-Thiyabi warned that these fatwas and their consequences vis-à-vis hijacking Islam proves that the Islamic world is living a crisis that does not end with forbidding football.

A deeper problem lies in the existence of superficial extremist minds which are trying to control the minds of simple people in the name of religion and fake fatwas amidst the silence of Islamic institutions and governments, Al-Thiyabi wrote.

Reports that Israel will "ease" the blockade imposed on Gaza was also the focus of Arab pundits, most of whom considered the move as a ploy by the Israeli side to escape international condemnation following its deadly attack on the Freedom Flotilla. In its editorial, the United Arab Emirates daily

Al-Bayan described Israel's announcement to ease the Gaza blockade as "a trick". "After a long road of rejection of and confrontation with the international community, which demands the total lifting of the Gaza siege, Netanyahu's government invented a trick to ease the siege on Israel, not Gaza," it wrote. Al-Bayan wrote that the

Israeli move also has

other targets that include "obstructing moves to establish an international probe into the Israeli attack on the flotilla and at the same time stopping future Gaza-bound aid convoys or at least use it as a pretext to use violence against them." The Syrian

Teshreen newspaper agreed. In its editorial it described the move as "a manoeuvre", calling on Arabs and Palestinians "to be on the alert" and "to understand the motives behind it". Teshreen also suggested that, "Arabs should impose a comprehensive mechanism whereby they pressure Israel into lifting the siege on Gaza and take advantage of international and Islamic support represented in the two brotherly countries Iran and Turkey."



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## 12 July, 2010

# Can emerging markets save the world economy?

By: Mohamed A. El-Erian and Michael Spence

ver the past two years, industrial countries have experienced bouts of severe financial instability. Currently, they are wrestling with widening sovereign-debt problems and high unemployment. Yet emerging economies, once considered much more vulnerable, have been remarkably resilient. With growth returning to pre-2008 breakout levels, the performance of China India and Brazil is an important engine of expansion for today's global economy.

High growth and financial stability in emerging economies are helping to facilitate the massive adjustment facing industrial countries. But that growth has significant longer-term implications. If the current pattern is sustained, the global economy will be permanently transformed. Specifically, not much more than a decade is needed for the share of global GDP generated by developing economies to pass the 50%

mark when measured in market prices. So it is important to know whether this breakout growth phase is sustainable. The answer comes in two parts. One depends on emerging economies' ability to manage their own success; the other relates to the extent to which the global economy can accommodate this success. The answer to the first question is reassuring; the answer to the second is not.

While still able to exploit the scope for catch-up growth, emerging economies must undertake continuous, rapid, and at times difficult structural change, along with a parallel process of reform and institution building. In recent years, the systemically important countries have established an impressive track record of adapting pragmatically and flexibly. This is likely to continue.

With government policy remaining on course, we should expect a gradual strengthening of endogenous domestic growth drivers in emerging economies, anchored by an expanding middle class. Combined with higher trade among them, the future of emerging econo-

mies is one of reduced dependence on industrial-country demand, though not a complete decoupling.

Distribution as well as growth matter. Emerging economies still need to manage better their growing domestic tensions, which reflect rising income inequality and uneven access to basic services. A failure on this front would derail their strengthening domestic and regional growth dynamics. This is better understood today, with distributional aspects of growth strategy being firmly placed on emerging countries policy agendas.

While emerging economies can deal with the economic slowdown in industrial countries, the financial-sector transmission mechanism is more challenging. Today's low interest-rate environment is causing a flood of financial flows to emerging economies, raising the risk of inflation and asset bubbles. The hiccups in Western banks have served to disrupt the availability of trade credits, and, if amplified, could destabilize local banks.

These risks are real. Fortunately,

several emerging economies continue to have cushions and shock absorbers. Having entered the 2008-2009 crisis with sound initial conditions (including large international reserves, budget and balance-of-payments surpluses, and highly capitalized banks), they are nowhere near exhausting their fiscal and financial flexibility - and hence their capacity to respond to future shocks.

Overall, emerging economies are well placed to continue to navigate successfully a world rendered unstable by crises in industrial countries. Yet, again, the decoupling is not complete. A favorable outcome also requires industrial countries' ability and willingness to accommodate the growing size and prominence of emerging economies. The risks here are significant, pointing to a wide range of potential problems.

The flow of knowledge, finance, and technology that underpins sustained high growth rates in emerging economies is closely linked to an open, rulebased, and globalized economy. Yet this global construct comes under pressure in an environment in which advanced countries have stubbornly high unemployment and bouts of financial volatility. The location of growth in the global economy comes to be seen as a zero-sum game, leading to suboptimal reactions.

As a result, the continued openness of industrial-country markets cannot be taken for granted. Political and policy narratives are becoming more domestic and narrow, while the international agenda and the pursuit of collective common global interests are having greater difficulty being heard.

These challenges will grow in the years ahead. And then there is the issue of global institutions and governance.

Managing a growing and increasingly complex set of transnational connections is an even bigger challenge in a multi-speed world that is being turned upside down. Such a world requires better global governance, as well as overdue institutional reforms that give emerging economies proper voice and representation in international institu-

In the absence of such changes, the www.project-syndicate.org

global economy may bounce from one crisis to another without a firm hand on the rudder to establish an overall sense of direction. The result is what economists call "Nash equilibria," or a series of suboptimal and only quasi-cooperative outcomes.

Where does all this leave us?

Emerging economies will be called on to play an even larger role in a multispeed global economy characterized by protracted rehabilitation of overextended balance sheets in industrial countries. Left to their own devices, they are up to the task. But they do not operate in a vacuum. Emerging economies' ability to provide the growth lubrication that facilitates adjustment in industrial countries is also a function of the latter countries' willingness to accommodate tectonic shifts in the operation and governance of the global economy. Let us hope that these global issues receive the attention they re-

# Can the euro be saved?

By: Joseph E. Stiglitz

he Greek financial crisis has put the very survival of the euro at stake. At the euro's creation, many worried about its long-run viability. When everything went well, these worries were forgotten. But the question of how adjustments would be made if part of the eurozone were hit by a strong adverse shock lingered. Fixing the exchange rate and delegating monetary policy to the European Central Bank eliminated two primary means by which national governments stimulate their economies to avoid recession. What could replace them?

The Nobel Laureate Robert Mundell laid out the conditions under which a single currency could work. Europe didn't meet those conditions at the time; it still doesn't. The removal of legal barriers to the movement of workers created a single labor market, but linguistic and cultural differences make American-style labor mobility unachievable.

Moreover, Europe has no way of helping those countries facing severe problems. Consider Spain, which has an unemployment rate of 20% – and more than 40% among young people. It had a fiscal surplus before the crisis; after the crisis, its deficit increased to more than 11% of GDP. But, under European Union rules, Spain must now cut its spending, which will likely exacerbate unemployment. As its economy slows, the improvement in its fiscal position may be minimal.

Some hoped that the Greek tragedy

would convince policymakers that the euro cannot succeed without greater cooperation (including fiscal assistance). But Germany (and its Constitutional Court), partly following popular opinion, has opposed giving Greece the help that

To many, both in and outside of Greece, this stance was peculiar: billions had been spent saving big banks, but evidently saving a country of eleven million people was taboo! It was not even clear that the help Greece needed should be labeled a bailout: while the funds given to financial institutions like AIG were unlikely to be recouped, a loan to Greece at a reasonable interest rate would likely be repaid.

A series of half-offers and vague promises, intended to calm the market, failed. Just as the United States had cobbled together assistance for Mexico 15 years ago by combining help from the International Monetary Fund and the G-7, so, too, the EU put together an assistance program with the IMF. The question was, what conditions would be imposed on Greece? How big would be the adverse impact?

For the EU's smaller countries, the lesson is clear: if they do not reduce their budget deficits, there is a high risk of a speculative attack, with little hope for adequate assistance from their neighbors, at least not without painful and counterproductive pro-cyclical budgetary restraints. As European countries take these measures, their economies are likely to weaken - with unhappy consequences for the global recovery.

It may be useful to see the euro's prob-

lems from a global perspective. The US has complained about China's current-account (trade) surpluses; but, as a percentage of GDP, Germany's surplus is even greater. Assume that the euro was set so that trade in the eurozone as a whole was roughly in balance. In that case, Germany's surplus means that the rest of Europe is in deficit. And the fact that these countries are importing more than they are exporting contributes to their weak

The US has been complaining about China's refusal to allow its exchange rate to appreciate relative to the dollar. But the euro system means that Germany's exchange rate cannot increase relative to other eurozone members. If the exchange rate did increase, Germany would find it more difficult to export, and its economic model, based on strong exports, would face a challenge. At the same time, the rest of Europe would export more, GDP would increase, and unemployment would decrease.

Germany (like China) views its high savings and export prowess as virtues, not vices. But John Maynard Keynes pointed out that surpluses lead to weak global aggregate demand - countries running surpluses exert a "negative externality" on their trading partners. Indeed, Keynes believed that it was surplus countries, far more than deficit countries, that posed a threat to global prosperity; he went so far as to recommend a tax on surplus coun-

The social and economic consequences of the current arrangements should be unacceptable. Those countries whose deficits have soared as a result of the global recession should not be forced into a death spiral - as Argentina was a decade

One proposed solution is for these countries to engineer the equivalent of a devaluation – a uniform decrease in wages. This, I believe, is unachievable, and its distributive consequences are unacceptable. The social tensions would be enormous. It is a fantasy.

There is a second solution: the exit of Germany from the eurozone or the division of the eurozone into two sub-regions. The euro was an interesting experiment, but, like the almost-forgotten exchangerate mechanism (ERM) that preceded it and fell apart when speculators attacked the British pound in 1992, it lacks the institutional support required to make it

There is a third solution, which Europe may come to realize is the most promising for all: implement the institutional reforms, including the necessary fiscal framework, that should have been made when the euro was launched.

It is not too late for Europe to implement these reforms and thus live up to the ideals, based on solidarity, that underlay the euro's creation. But if Europe cannot do so, then perhaps it is better to admit failure and move on than to extract a high price in unemployment and human suffering in the name of a flawed economic

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# **Jobless recoveries** and manic policies

By: Raghuram Rajan

onetary and fiscal policies in the United States, both in this recession and the recession of 2001, have been among the most accommodating in the industrial world. As I write, Congress is working on yet another "jobs' bill. Indeed, John Taylor of Stanford University attributes the recent financial crisis to excessively stimulatory monetary policy towards the end of Alan Greenspan's tenure as head of the US Federal Reserve.

Why is US policy so accommodating? A central reason is that the nature of US economic recoveries has changed. From 1960 until 1991, US recoveries were typically rapid. From the trough of recessions, recovery to prerecession output levels took less than two quarters on average, and employment recovered within eight months.

But the recoveries from the recessions of 1991 and 2001 were different. For example, in 2001, it took just one quarter for output to recover, but 38 months for jobs to come back. The current recovery appears to be similarly slow in creating jobs.

Some economists argue that, unlike past recoveries, when workers who were temporarily laid off were rehired, job losses starting in 1991 were more permanent. Unemployed workers had to find jobs in new industries, which took more time and training.

Others suggest that the Internet has made it easier for firms to hire quickly. So, rather than hire in panic at the first sign of a recovery for fear that they will be unable to do so later and lose sales, firms would rather make sure that the recovery is well established before adding workers.

Regardless of the true explanation, the US is singularly unprepared for jobless recoveries. Typically, unemployment benefits last only six months. Moreover, because health-care benefits are often tied to jobs, an unemployed worker also risks losing access to affordable health care.

Short-duration benefits may have been appropriate when recoveries were fast and jobs plentiful, because the fear of losing benefits before finding a job may have given workers an incentive to look harder. But, with few jobs being created, a positive incentive has turned into a source of great anxiety. Even those who have jobs fear that they could lose them and be cast adrift.

Politicians ignore popular anxiety at their peril. President George H.W. Bush is widely believed to have lost his re-election bid, despite winning a popular war in Iraq, because he seemed out of touch with public hardship following the 1991 recession. That lesson has been fully internalized. Economic recovery is all about jobs, not output, and politicians are willing to push for economic stimulus, both fiscal (tax cuts or government spending) and monetary (lower short-term interest rates), until jobs start reappearing.

In theory, this is what democracy is all about - policy responding to the

needs of the people. In practice, though, public pressure to do something quickly enables politicians to run roughshod over the usual checks and balances on government policy making.

Long-term spending and tax policies are enacted under the shadow of an emergency, with the party that happens to be in power at the time of the downturn getting to push its pet agenda. Much of what is enacted as stimulus has little immediate effect on job creation, but does have an adverse long-term effect on government finances. For example, the 2009 stimulus package enacted by the Obama administration had many billions of dollars devoted to cancer research, though such research employs few people directly and is spent over a long time horizon – far beyond that of even a prolonged recovery.

Equally deleterious to economic health is the recent vogue of cutting interest rates to near zero and holding them there for a sustained period. It is far from clear that near-zero short-term interest rates (as compared to just low interest rates) have much additional effect in encouraging firms to create jobs when powerful economic forces make them reluctant to hire. But prolonged near-zero rates can foster the wrong kinds of activities.

For example, households and investment managers, reluctant to keep money in safe money-market funds, instead seek to invest in securities with longer maturities and higher credit risk, so long as they offer extra yield. Likewise, money fleeing low US interest rates (and, more generally, industrial countries) has pushed up emerging-market equity and real-estate prices, setting them up for a fall (as we witnessed recently with the flight to safety following Europe's financial turmoil).

Moreover, even if corporations in the US are not hiring, corporations elsewhere are. Brazil's unemployment rate, for example, is at lows not seen for decades. If the Fed were to accept the responsibilities of its de facto role as the world's central banker, it would have to admit that its policy rates are not conducive to stable world growth.

Policy would still be accommodative if the Fed maintained low interest rates rather than the zero level that was appropriate for a panic. And this would give savers less of an incentive to search for yield, thus avoiding financial instability.

Politicians will not sit quietly, however, if the Fed attempts to raise rates. Their thinking – and the Fed's – follows the misguided calculus that if low rates are good for jobs, ultra-low rates must be even better.

Emerging studies on the risk-taking and asset-price inflation engendered by ultra-low policy rates will eventually convince Fed policymakers to change their stance. But, if politicians are to become less anxious about jobs, perhaps we need to start discussing whether jobless recoveries are here to stay, and whether the US safety net, devised for a different era, needs to be modified.

www.project-syndicate.org

# **Keynes and social democracy today**

By: Robert Skidelsky

or decades, Keynesianism was associated with social democratic big-government policies. But John Maynard Keynes's relationship with social democracy is complex. Although he was an architect of core components of social democratic policy - particularly its emphasis on maintaining full employment – he did not subscribe to other key social democratic objectives, such as public ownership or massive expansion of the welfare state.

In The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, Keynes ends by summarizing the strengths and weaknesses of the capitalist system. On one hand, capitalism offers the best safeguard of individual freedom, choice, and entrepreneurial initiative. On the other hand, unregulated markets fail to achieve two central goals of any civilized society: "The outstanding faults of the economic society in which we live are its failure to provide for full employment and its arbitrary and inequitable distribution of wealth and incomes." This suggested an active role for government, which dovetailed with important strands of left-wing thought.

Until The General Theory was published in 1936, social democrats did not know how to go about achieving full employment. Their policies were directed at depriving capitalists of the ownership of the means of production. How this was to produce full employment was never worked out.

There was an idea, originally derived from Ricardo and Marx, that the capitalist class needed a "reserve army of the unemployed" to maintain its profit share. If profits were eliminated, the need for that reserve army would disappear. Labor would be paid what it was worth, and everyone willing to work would be able to find a job.

But, apart from the political impossibility of nationalizing the whole economy peacefully, this approach suffered from the fatal flaw of ignoring the role of aggregate demand. It assumed that demand would always be sufficient if profits were eliminated.

Keynes demonstrated that the main cause of bouts of heavy and prolonged unemployment was not worker encroachment on profits, but the fluctuating prospects of private investment in an uncertain world. Nearly all unemployment in a cyclical downturn was the result of the failure of investment

Thus, the important thing was not to nationalize the capital stock, but to socialize investment. Industry could be safely left in private hands, provided the state guaranteed enough spending power in the economy to maintain a full-employment level of investment. This could be achieved by monetary and fiscal policy: low interest rates and large state investment programs.

In short, Keynes aimed to achieve a key social democratic objective without changing the ownership of industry. Nevertheless, he did think that redistribution would help secure full employment. A greater tendency to consume would "serve to increase at the same time the inducement to invest." And the low interest rates needed to maintain full employment would lead in time to the "euthanasia of the rentier" - of those

who live off the rents of capital. Moderate re-distribution was the more politically radical implication of Keynes's economic theory, but the measures outlined above were also the limits of state intervention for him. As long as "the state is able to determine the aggregate amount of resources devoted to augmenting the instruments [i.e., the capital base] and the basic reward to those who own them," there is no "obvious case" for further involvement. The public was never to substitute for the private, but merely to complement it.

Today, ideas about full employment and equality remain at the heart of social democracy. But the political struggle needs to be conducted along new battle lines. Whereas the front used to run between government and the owners of the means of production - the industrialists, the rentiers – now, it runs between governments and finance. Such measures as the efforts by the European Parliament to regulate the derivatives market or the British government's ban on short selling in the wake of the financial crisis or the demand to caps bankers' bonuses are contemporary expressions of the wish to reduce the power of financial speculation to damage the

economy. The new focus on the need to tame the power of finance is largely a consequence of globalization. Capital moves across borders more freely and more quickly than goods or people do. Yet, while large global firms habitually use their high concentration of financial resources to press for further de-regulation ("or we will go somewhere else"), the crisis has turned their size into a liability.

Being too big to fail simply means being too big. Keynes saw that "it is the financial markets' precariousness which

creates no small part of our contemporary problem of securing sufficient investment." That rings truer today more than 70 years later - than in his own day. Rather than securing investment for productive sectors of the economy, the financial industry has become adept at securing investment in itself.

This, once again, calls for an activist government policy. Yet, as Keynes would have argued, it is important that the expansion of government involvement is informed by sound economics rather than political ideology, social democratic or otherwise.

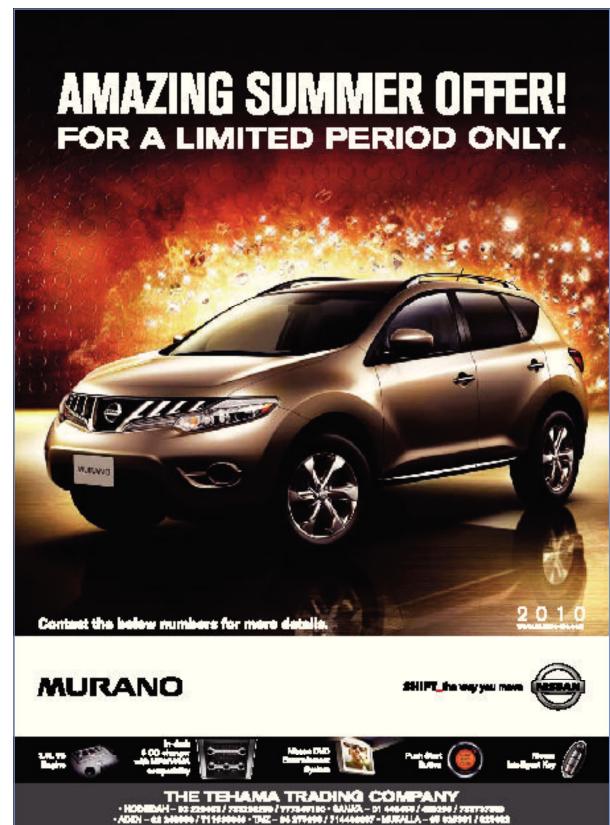
State intervention needs to bridge gaps that the private sector cannot reasonably be expected to do on its own. The current crisis has shown with utmost clarity that private markets are unable to self-regulate: domestic regulation is therefore a key area in which government has a role to play. Similarly, time-inconsistency issues prevent large international firms from compartmentalizing their markets. Re-erecting barriers to capital flows in the form of international taxes, thereby cordoning off crises before they turn global, is therefore another task for government.

Keynes's main contribution to social democracy, however, does not lie in the specifics of policy, but in his insistence that the state as ultimate protector of the public good has a duty to supplement and regulate market forces. If we need markets to stop the state from behaving badly, we need the state to stop markets from behaving badly. Nowadays, that means stopping financial markets from behaving badly. That means limiting their power, and their profits.

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# Syrian cinema

# Thumbing it's nose at the censor

Politically explosive films and television series from Syria are storming the Arab market. Now the film "The Long Night" – the first Syrian feature film to highlight the fate of political prisoners - has become ensnared in the censorship process. It is nevertheless reaching its audience via satellite television - even in Syria. Susanne Schanda reports



"Sensitive political subject": although the censors were full of praise for "The Long Night", they passed it on to a higher authority for consideration.

our men in blue prison gear with unkempt grey hair and stubble sit in their cell drinking tea. The light is crepuscular, the plaster is peeling off the walls. They have been behind bars for 20 years for criticising the regime. Karim is the oldest, he stays lying down on his metal bed and has his tea brought to him. He is resigned to his fate. Then the heavy iron door swings open, and out of all the men it is Karim who is ordered to pack his things and go with the guards. He is being released.

The opening scenes of "The Long Night" are almost wordless, and there is no music to break the silence. We watch as Karim washes himself, as the guards shave him and cut his hair. Then suddenly he's out on the street. in a shirt and suit, a leather bag in his hand – he sniffs the air, and takes in his surroundings with amazement.

Syria's best-known filmmakers, does not focus on prison conditions or the arbitrary nature of detentions. It deals instead with members of the released prisoner's family, who have come to an arrangement with the regime and made their compromises. The unexpected release of Karim throws their lives into confusion, and triggers recriminations and feelings of remorse.

"I am concerned with the human drama, the film does not operate with political slogans," says Haitham Hakki in an interview with Qantara.de in Damascus. He wrote the screenplay himself. Once this was approved by the censors, the film could be made in Syria with Syrian actors, under the supervision of star director Hatem Ali.

But the film required further authorisation before it could go on general release in Syrian cinemas. "The censors were full of praise for the film, but because of the sensitive political subject they passed it on to a higher authority for consideration. That was about six months ago. I've heard nothing since," says the author.



"The censors can't shut down the universe": Syrian scriptwriter and filmmaker Haitham Hakki.

Nevertheless, in an era of globalised satellite television, the long arm of the

censor is actually not that long at The film by Haitham Hakki, one of all: "It's only a matter of time before Syrian audiences will also be able to see the film," says Haitham Hakki, who produced the film for the Saudi production company Orbit. "Orbit will soon be broadcasting the film on a cable broadcaster. Then we'll sell it on to other television stations, and it'll soon be broadcast everywhere, even in Syria. The censors can't shut down the universe." "The Long Night" has already been shown at numerous film festivals and honoured with prizes, for example in Cairo, Delhi and Taormina.

#### Close to the taboo zones

Haitham Hakki is a decidedly political filmmaker. Has he ever been sent to prison for his views? He waves his hand in negation: "No, but I know many families who have suffered similar tragedies." He is unimpressed by films that propagate a direct political message, and says that in any case, it would not be possible to make such a film in Syria.

Some Arab critics have accused him of taking a clear-cut stance against the government in "The Long Night". Hakki, who describes himself as a social democrat, says: "That doesn't interest me. My social dramas are always political, even if they're not explicitly about politics. If you want to instigate change, you draw back the veil on society's failings. That is political in itself.'

Ten years ago, the censorship process in Syria was considerably more stringent than it is today. When the new government of Bashar al-Assad came to power following the death of his father Hafez al-Assad in the year 2000, the change ushered in a period of liberalisation. But what became known as the Damascus Spring was short-lived. Artists, writers and filmmakers have now learned how to cir-



"Then suddenly he's out on the street": "The Long Night" deals with members of the released prisoner's family, who have come to an arrangement with the regime and made their compromises.

cumvent censorship and express criticism without calling a spade a spade. Haitham Hakki explains that there are red lines that are not to be crossed, but it's not always clear where they have been drawn. Sometimes a decision can depend on the mood or the character of the official responsible at the time. Generally in the Arab world, the three main taboos apply: sex, religion and politics. "But it's not possible to make any film without at least touching upon these issues," says Hakki. "I always manoeuvre in very close proximity to these taboo zones and continually try and broaden their acceptance."

#### New stimuli from the Syrian film and television industry

Just like Egypt, Syria also has its fair share of cheap and cheerful soap operas, but the nation also has a proud tradition of television series that weave more challenging subjects into their storylines such as social problems and modern Syrian history; or Arab issues such as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the situation in Iraq – an approach that is popular with audiences.

Since 1980, the 61-year-old director, scriptwriter and producer Haitham Hakki has made numerous political and socially explosive feature films and television series. He has often had to wait years for permission to screen them. For example, for the 23-part series "Khan al-Harir" ("Silk Market") by the writer Nihad Siris, directed by Hakki. The censorship authorities withheld the screenplay for two years, until permission to go ahead with filming eventually came in 1996.

The story of love and trade in the souq of Aleppo highlights the negative impact of the Syrian-Egyptian union of 1958-61. 'The government didn't like that," Hakki suspects. "But in the end, authorities even allowed the series to go out dur-

ing the most advantageous period for broadcasts - the fasting month of Ramadan. It was a huge success and was later shown again several times."

After "Khan al-Harir" came increasing numbers of Syrian television series and films that were huge hits bevond national borders across the Arab world. This success posed a threat to the Egyptian film industry, which had dominated the market up to that point. "We brought a cinematographic perspective to the series, filmed with just one camera at locations outside the studio, and chose brazen subjects," Hakki explains the strategy. Previously, television series production had been restricted to the studio. "It looked like filmed theatre and bored people," he says.

#### Financial boost from liberal Arab satellite broadcasters

Apart from the inspiration and courage of Syrian filmmakers, the emergence of satellite broadcasters in the Gulf States from the mid-1990s also played a key role in enhancing the popularity of Syrian series. It meant more money had now come into play.

MBC, Rotana and Orbit are the bestknown Arab media concerns investing



Increasing numbers of Syrian television series and films are huge hits beyond national borders across the Arab world. Pictured: star director Hatem Ali.

robustly in feature films and series. "Previously, when there were only local broadcasters in each individual country, we had to sell each series to around 20 foreign broadcasters to recoup the money we'd invested. Now the lion's share of the financing comes from the media concerns in the Gulf, which are owned by Saudi princes or businesspeople," says Hakki.

As for what influence or even censorship is exerted on the part of the investors, this is extremely small. Hakki concedes that there were initially some problems with the Kingdom's strict moral codes, but now that most of the broadcasters have relocated abroad, companies run by Saudis are the most liberal in the Arab world. "Those who invest large amounts of money want to see profit, and ideological questions are of secondary importance," he says

So, the fact that the censor's knife no longer reaches the controversial objects of desire looks to be less a case of political intention, and more a side effect of competition between satellite broadcasters in a realm where the sky's the limit. "'The Long Night' is the best example of that," confirms Haitham Hakki.

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## VACANCY ANNOUNCEMENT

The Securic Governance and Biodiversity Project (SGBP) invites Young Nationals to apply for the following position:

UNDP-YEMEN

Emironmental Legal Advisor – National (ELAN) **Duty Station** Sociatra (50 %), Sarra/a (50 %)

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This past is whith the Component 4 of the origing "Streighesing Socials Policy and Regulatory transmist for Unincreasing Businessity" properties by The Goton Environmental Facility (GEF), United Nation Development Program (UNIOP) and the Government of Yemen. The promisition is the goal of creating a socialisable and well-governed path of development for the Socials architecture that ensures the conservation globally important businessity.

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## Only Online Applications will be accepted

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**Environment / Health 12** 12 July, 2010

# Farmers star in short films to save groundwater

In Yemen's capital governorate of Sana'a, 2 million inhabitants clean, wash, cook, and drink from the Sana'a Water Basin. But some of the governorate's biggest water consumers are its farmers who use the groundwater to irrigate

Since 2006, the Sana'a Water Basin Project supported by the World Bank has sought to address water scarcity in the rural areas around the capital, by encouraging the creation of water user associations, reinforcing water dams, and promoting water-saving irrigation.

Winning the farmers' trust has, by all accounts, been a challenge but, at the National Water Resources Authority's Sana'a branch, a small team of five has been complimenting its awareness activities with short films in which they cast

By: Alice Hackman

'ameed Al-Qaradi's delight at having become an impromptu actor is blatant from the twinkle in his eye. As he says his lines in a recent Yemeni-produced short film about illegal well drilling, the 40 year-old Yemeni farmer from Bani Hoshaish, on the outskirts of Sana'a, appears to fight back the urge to grin.

Al-Qaradi, who says that every year the

water drops several dozen meters in the local wells, plays a farmer who spots an illegal well being drilled with his son on the way to school. He complains and





Farmer Hameed Al-Qaradi (right) pretends to discover an illegal well drilling site.

walks on. But in school, his son is taught about Yemen's 2002 Water Law prohibiting random well drilling. He tells the teacher what he saw.

Soon his entire class in out in the land protesting against the drilling. Two girls hold up a placard that reads "Groundwater is our present and our future." The truck driver and farmer responsible look guilty. "What have you left for me and for those after me?" asks a little girl with green eyes.

"Random well drilling is a big cause of groundwater depletion and it is our collective responsibility to stop it," reads the final shot. "To inform about illegal well drilling, ring the free number 173."

According to Engineer Abdulkhaleg Al-Wan, public awareness specialist in the public awareness department at the Sana'a branch of the National Water Resources Authority, the groundwater around the capital is depleting fast. The first layer of the basin from 30 to 70 meters deep has run dry. Most of the second layer from 70 to 300 meters deep is depleted, and the third which reaches 900 meters is heading fast towards deple-

In Bani Hoshaish, where acting farmer Al-Oaradi is from some famers are already extracting water from a depth of 800 meters. The water that they extract is so hot that they have to transfer it to basins for cooling off for half a day. Even after that, the water is so rich in iron that it is only suitable for some crops such as qat, says Al-Wan.

To contribute to tackling the problem, the 27-year-old wrote the scenario and supervised the realization of the short film on illegal wells to tell the farmers of the Sana'a Water Basin about Yemen's

Since 2002 a water law has defined specific conditions for well drilling in

**4**11

To watch the video clip on illegal well drilling and other short films produced in Sana'a about water, go to: http://bit.ly/apU0eT For online debate on water management and more videos, join:

http://bit.ly/9HHE6s

Yemen, but water users' knowledge about the law remains limited. Even members of the security forces at checkpoints around the capital governorate do not know the law, he says.

According to the law, the owner of a drilling truck needs two permissions to drill a well, one for his truck and another for the planned well. But the trucks have continued to make their way past checkpoints in the capital governorate without these. To inform rotating security staff at these checkpoints of the permissions required by law, the Sana'a Basin Water Management Project recently produced 20 metal boards listing necessary permissions for drilling machines to be let

> To promote the idea of water as common, transboundary property, NWRA has further held workshops with selected members of the local water user associations about the water law. according to Al-Wan. The next obstacle

will be to ensure that punishments - up to 2 years in prison and a fine - are delivered to those who violate the law. For the moment, authorities that should be implementing this law are, in Al-Wan's own words, "not so cooperative."

In 2006, explains Al-Wan, NWRA paid eight to ten soldiers in armored vehicles to accompany them on field visits and enforce the law in places where illegal well drilling had been reported. But after about six months, the

water authority discovered that the soldiers it had hired were in fact helping the owners of the drills to move illegally from district to district behind its back.

From then on, NWRA instead limited itself to verifying claims of illegal drilling and sending on official letters to the Ministry of Interior and Security Office for them to follow up. The engineer, however, says that in only 10 percent of the cases does the government's security actually stop unauthorized drilling.

## Farmer to farmer

The film about illegal drilling is but one in a series produced by NWRA to support its Sana'a Water Basin Project to encourage farmers, the main water users, to be more strategic with their use of

Al-Qaradi also starred in a two-minute comparison between flood irrigation and modern drip irrigation, as the clever farmer who irrigates his fields of cabbages without wasting water or tiring out an entire family, simply by turning on a

Both films are posted on the Water Channel, an online platform for waterrelated videos launched in 2009 at the World Water Forum in Turkey. Although the website's text is currently only in English, there are plans to translate it into Arabic, Lenneke Knoop from the § Water Channel wrote to the Yemen ≥ Times.

But in Yemen, where only an estimated 1 to 2 percent of the population subscribe to the Internet, even a website in Arabic would not reach the average

Instead, NWRA has started showing its films in the meeting halls of the Sana'a Basin water user associations. It has also been lobbying to get its films onto the most effective medium for raising awareness in the area according to a 2005 survey: television.

## Making it on air

The film about illegal wells may soon make it to television, according to Adnan Al-Matari who worked on the film's montage at NWRA. All the television channel wants is their logo on the clip's final shot for them to air it.

The clip would be the second to make it onto television after another documen-



As well as films, the public awareness unit at NWRA's branch has produced cartoon booklets for water users, including farmers and school children.

tary produced by the same team on integrated water resource management was recently aired on the national satellite channel about four times. Although Al-Wan says that the time was not very suitable in the middle of the day, he calls it a "good beginning."

Persuading a television channel to show educational clips or documentaries is not always easy, according to Al-Wan, but perfectionism also sometimes gets in the way. If, for example, the authority wants to air a short film about the sinking water level in an aquifer, those involved will be so eager for the depletion figures be accurate that, in the end, the film will never be shown.

"They want to be professional, but then they [the films] stay on desktops and laptops," he says.

#### **Changing habits**

Perhaps the best measure of the success of awareness activities for the Sana'a Water Basin Project is the number of farmers who have abandoned the traditional flood irrigation for the watersaving poplar and drop irrigation methods in the

From 2006 to 2008, farmers in 500 out of

24,000 hectares of irrigated agriculture in the Sana'a Basin adopted modern irrigation of their land. Now in over 1,687 hectares, farmers are using drip and poplar irrigation and in 3,190 hectares water distribution has been improved to prevent water loss by evaporation, according to Al-Wan.

Under the project, farmers only pay 25 percent of the network and pump costs for the new system and 10 percent of the installation in labor, by helping

out themselves. Farmers are told that within 2 to 3 years they will make back the expense by selling their increased produce. Short term rewards are focused on rather than more abstract concepts such as "There will be no water for your children.'

Still progress is slow. Al-Qaradi says that his friends loved the film on the benefits of modern irrigation techniques, but that until now most of them still use flood irrigation.

For now, Al-Wan considers it a great achievement that the people who live off the groundwater of the Sana'a Water Basin have stopped considering the aquifer as a never-ending sea.



Farmer Adel Bajaj from Bani Hoshaish, Sana'a, stars as the head of an enlightened water user association in NWRA's 2007 "Water: Between a problem and a solution."

In the eighties and nineties, he says, the Ministry of Agriculture told people that the groundwater would dry up in 10 to 20 years' time. When it didn't, it seriously undermined their credibility.

Now, says Al-Wan, awareness focuses on tangible evidence such as the fact that the water levels inside the wells has dropped. One day, he and his team tell farmers, the water will dry up, but only God knows when.



Outside the Yemeni capital, these three illegal wells were photographed only a few hundred meters apart. Of about 14,000 wells in the Sana'a Basin, 100 to 150 are estimated to be illegal.



Engineer Abdulkhaleq Al-Wan, from the public awareness department at NWRA's Sana'a office, talks to school children from rural Sana'a about





This weekly column is to disseminate health information to the readers in Yemen and outside. Dr. Siva is currently working at Aden Refinery Company Hospital. Life style diseases and cancer prevention are his special interests. Complementary medicine and naturopathy are his

# Your health in pregnancy - I



Ansam and Ali visited me last week in my hospital. As you know, Ansam is pregnant since three months and wanted to know about what she should eat, during her pregnancy.

#### What should you eat in pregnancy?

A healthy diet is an important part of a healthy lifestyle at any time, but particularly if you are pregnant or are planning a pregnancy. Eating healthily during pregnancy will help your baby develop and grow and will help keep you fit and well. You don't need to go on a special diet, but make sure that you eat a variety of different foods every day in order to get the right balance of nutrients that you and your baby need. You should also avoid certain foods to be on the safe side.

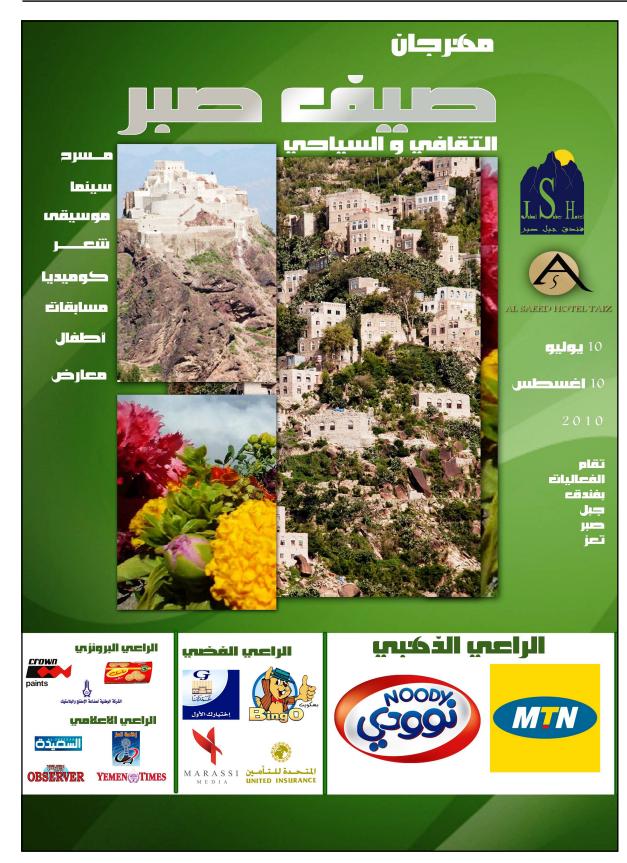
There's no need to 'eat for two' when you are pregnant. It's the quality not quantity that's important. With a few exceptions you can continue to eat the foods you enjoy. Eating healthily often means just changing the amounts of different foods that you eat rather than cutting out all your

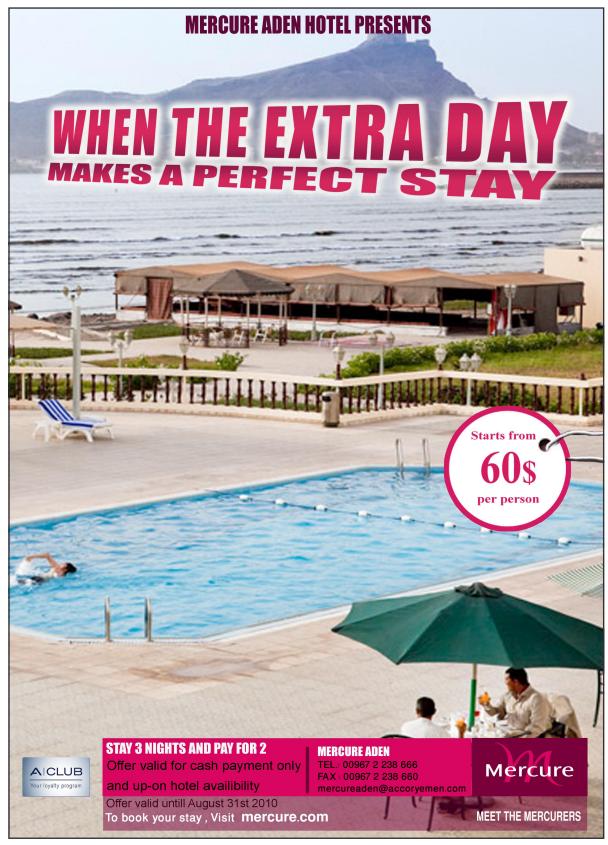
You should know the mixture of different foods you need in your diet and the proportions you should eat them in.

- Eat plenty of fruits and vegetables as these provide the vitamins and minerals, as well as fiber which helps digestion and prevents constipation. Eat them lightly cooked in little water or raw to get the most out of them. Frozen, tinned and dried fruit and vegetables are good too.
- · Starchy foods like bread, potatoes, rice, pasta, chapattis, and breakfast cereals are an important part of any diet and should, with vegetables, form the main part of any meal. They are satisfying, without containing too many calories, and are an important source of vitamins and fiber.
- Try eating whole meal bread and wholegrain cereals when you can. Lean meat, fish, poultry, eggs, cheese, beans and pulses are all good sources of nutrients. Eat some every day.
- Dairy foods like milk, cheese and yoghurt are important as they contain calcium and other nutrients needed for your baby's development. Choose low-fat varieties of dairy products, for example semi-skimmed or skimmed milk, low-fat yoghurt and half-fat hard cheese.
- Choose low-fat varieties wherever possible.
- Try to cut down on sugar and sugary foods like sweets, biscuits and cakes and sugary drinks like cola. Sugar contains calories without providing any other nutrients the body needs. It also adds to the risk of tooth decay.
- Cut down on fat and fatty foods as well. Most of us eat far more fat than we need. Fat is very high in calories and too much can cause excess weight gain and increase the risk of heart disease and it can contribute to being overweight. Avoid fried foods, trim the fat off meat, use spreads sparingly and
- go easy on foods like pastry, chocolate and chips which contain a lot of fat.
- · Limit coffee, tea and colas. Too much caffeine will affect your baby's birth weight.
- Eat lots of green, leafy vegetables, lean meat, dried fruit and nuts which contain iron. If you are short of iron you're likely to get very tired and may suffer from anemia.

Citrus fruit, tomatoes, broccoli, blackcurrants and potatoes are good

- sources of vitamin C, which you will help your system to absorb Eat fish with edible bones like sardines, bread, nuts and green veg-
- etables are rich in calcium, which is vital for making bones and
- Margarine, oily fish (sardines, bhaga) contain vitamin D to keep your bones healthy and to provide your baby with vitamin D to last during the first few months of life. The best source of vitamin D is summer sunlight, but make sure that you wear a high protection sun block when you are in the sunlight, and never burn. If you have dark skin, or always cover your skin, you may be particularly at risk of vitamin D deficiency.
- You need extra folic acid from the time you start trying to conceive until the 12th week of pregnancy. This can help prevent birth defects, which are known as neural tube defects, such as 'spina-bifida'. You can get folic acid from green, leafy vegetables like sabanah, but don't overcook them as this destroys the vitamin. Some breakfast cereals and breads have had folic acid added to them, so look at the label. Regardless of what you eat, always take a 400 microgram (0.4 milligram) folic acid tablet every day.









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# Preventing harassment and creating a violence-free workplace

Human beings are complicated and difficult to understand, or at least they are until you study them and anticipate their behavior. This is why there are a number of professionals who have set off on a journey to understand and make the best of human behavior. Yemen Times interviewed Frema Engel, a renowned expert on workplace violence and harassment, and conflict resolution.

#### Interview by Nadia Al-Sakkaf

rema Engel has been helping business leaders create engaged and respectful work environments for over 25 years. She is recognized as a pioneer and expert in this field. Long before workplace trauma and violence was acknowledged by the World Health Organization, Engel was speaking publicly about its impact on work environments and initiating programs to deal with it.

Engel is the author of Taming the Beast: Getting Violence Out of the Workplace, now in its second edition. She has a Master's degree in Social Work from McGill University. She has been a lecturer at McGill University and the University of Montreal on workplace issues. Before specializing in building safer and more respectful workplaces, Engel worked with victims of sexual assault and family violence. In all she has over 30 years of experience in these fields.

What made you interested in human behavior, and in particular, sexual and workplace violence prevention? Since I was a child I was drawn to people who were excluded and treated differently. When I became an adult I looked at all the violence around me and thought that this is one place I could make a difference. I became a professional social worker and started working with women who experienced psychological, physical and sexual violence

Early in my career, in the mid-seventies, I started the first sexual assault counseling program in a Montreal hospital. Over time it occurred to me that instead of just working with people who have already been victimized, I



could do something to prevent these situations. So after years of helping just about every type of business deal with the aftermath of shooting rampages, sexual harassment, bullying and other types of violence, I realized that many tragedies could have been prevented. Now I advise business leaders on how to resolve conflicts, deal with bullying/harassment, and heal fractured or underperforming departments. My program focuses on helping create engaged and respectful work environments.

#### Is dealing with violence in the workplace recognized globally or would you see it as an emerging discipline?

Workplace violence is recognized as a global problem by the World Health Organization. One part of the problem is that many countries, including North America, are multicultural societies. People come to the workplace with different backgrounds and different family values. Their ways of thinking and of how problems are solved, their beliefs, perceptions and communication styles are different. In essence, the workplace is a microcosm of the world around us.

Through my work I deal with people from diverse cultures, religions and

**4**1]

To order a copy of Engel's book: "Taming the Beast: Getting Violence Out of the Workplace" go to www.fremaengel.com, and order it from Amazon.com.

backgrounds. However, human nature is the same anywhere. People suffer from violence all over the world.

Sexual harassment is a global issue. Although I was one of the earliest professionals who specialized in violence in the workplace there are now many people working diligently on this issue. Workplace violence is increasingly recognized in North America as a problem. The recent legislation in Ontario, Bill 168 (Violence and Harassment in the Workplace) is an example of government intervention with a goal of making our workplaces safer.

This legislation rightfully places assaults, harassment and violence in the workplace as an occupational health and safety issue. The bill stipulates new obligations and responsibilities on employers who need to understand the law, perform risk assessments for violence and create measures to respond to those risks.

One would hope that bringing together skilled people and giving them a clear mandate and guidance would lead to great results. But the reality is that workplace conflict, harassment, bullying and violence often bewilder the leadership, demotivate employees and leave clients complaining about poor service.

They also have to update or write new policies with respect to harassment and violence, and have a procedure to handle domestic violence spilling over into the workplace. A part of the employers' responsibility according to this bill is to train employees about the new programs and train managers in how to implement the measures and deal with incidents of harassment and violence.

This is an example of increasing legislation in different countries. As well, there is a lot of work being done by the World Health Organization on violence in the workplace globally.

#### What do you mean by violence in the workplace and is it always physical?

Violence can be understood differently according to which culture you come from. It ranges from verbal abuse, threats, intimidation and harassment to criminal acts of physical and sexual assault, robbery and attempted murder.

Let's say that there is a continuum of behaviors and actions that would be defined as violence. It begins with rudeness or incivility and at the other

vility and at the othe extreme there is murder or terrorism.

Most jurisdictions define violence as an act of physical force by a person in a workplace that causes or could cause physical injury to the worker, or an attempt to exercise physical force, or a statement or behaviour that one reasonably interprets as a threat of assault. Like someone walking into a place with a gun, it is an action but also a threat of physical violence.

Harassment or bullying is engaging in a course of vexatious (i.e., annoying or disturbing) comments or conduct against a worker in a workplace that is known or ought reasonably to be known to be unwelcome. For example, sexual advances, racist comments, etc.

Moreover, Ontario's legislation includes domestic violence as violence in the workplace when domestic violence impacts on the workplace. For example, if two work colleagues began a personal relationship and later their relationship problems spill over into the workplace. For example, there was a case where a nurse was murdered by her ex-partner who was a doctor in the same hospital.

In most cases women are the victims of domestic violence, but not always. Another example of domestic violence in the workplace is a woman who was receiving constant and threatening phone calls at work from her ex-husband, and threats to send compromising photos of her to her bosses.

Women are blamed in so many cultures for bringing it upon themselves.

What do you say to this?



Frema Engel

This is simply a way for men to find an excuse to explain their abusive and violent behaviour. The oldest defense in the world is to say that women bring it on themselves through dressing inappropriately, looking in an inviting way or staying out late. In fact much of the violence, certainly domestic or family violence has nothing to do with how women behave. It has to do with the power that men try to exercise over women or children and the violence they use as a way to control, dominate, intimidate or terrorize. Women do not stand up to them because they have no recourse, it may be condoned by the government, no place to go, no job to go to, no family or social supports... or they are simply too afraid to try to defend themselves.

As long as some men continue to view women as their property we don't have a chance in achieving equality.

This claim that women bring violence on themselves is untrue and a very convenient way to excuse some men's behaviors. Certainly children do not do things to bring violence upon themselves. We must stop allowing this kind of discussion. Not all men are violent. However, there is an element of the male population that dominates women and believe that they are superior. There are also men who continue to view women as their property. This perpetuates the control and power issue. Until people understand that life is sacred, that no one else has a right to hurt, dominate or control others, the violence will continue. Laws against domestic, violence against children and workplace violence, strict law enforcement against perpetrators of violence, leading by example from those people we admire and our leaders, and speaking out against violence can help things to change. Women and children need to know that they are protected, that no one has a right to abuse them and that there will be safe haven for them if they are abused, and punishment for the aggressor. Until we help men and women better understand this and we believe in equality and respect each other, this violence will never go away.

As long as some men continue to view women as their property we don't have a chance in achieving equality.



# What are the characteristics of a typical harasser and are there early warning signs?

The harasser or bully is usually someone who does not know limits and does not respect boundaries. It is someone who has learned to get his or her way through intimidation or threats. It often begins with one incident, a put-down comment, not necessarily sexual. It could be like saying: You are stupid. When he or she is not stopped, they just continue

If it is a bully boss he or she will continue putting the target person down, and make demands on that person that they would not demand from others. Usually a bully identifies a target and picks on one person all the time. However, I have been involved in situations where the bully has intimidated a group of people.

The first step of bullying or harassment is always verbal. Saying things like 'you are stupid', swearing at the person, or demeaning the person in public so as to make the target feel more humiliated.

Most bullying occurs behind closed doors or out of range of witnesses. As the person who is the target becomes intimidated and begins to lose self-confidence, the bully becomes more daring and harassment increases in frequency

and intensity.

In the workplace, a bully gains power by frightening or terrorizing people. If nobody stops the behavior of the bullies in the workplace and as people become more afraid of them, the bullies gain more control and end up terrorizing more and more people. In essence they become workplace terrorists.

I rather call the harassed person a target rather than a victim because I don't like the word victim, as it gives the impression of total powerlessness. This is not fair because you become powerless because of the continued attacks and were not like that at the beginning. When bullying happens continuously it results in a gradual chipping away of the person's psyche.

Bullies will single out or target people whom they perceive are weaker than them. I know many people in many situations, not necessarily women – men too, who have been very senior in their organizations and yet they have been bullied by others higher than them in power.

The key in bullying or harassment is displayed by the harasser holding power over the bullied individual. There is also what we call collegial violence, which is between people in the same level in the workplace. Sometimes it is a form of mobbing, where a group of individuals gang up against a single person. For example, it can be old colleagues ganging up against a newcomer whom they perceive as different.

The new person may not fit in racially, opinion-wise or culturally, so the group decides to reject him or her. They start excluding the person from the activities of the group, and drive the target into isolation.

#### What are the most common complaints you have encountered in your 25 years of experience?

The most common complaint from people who experience bullying or harassment and even some other forms of violence has been that there was nobody to help them or that there was no one they could turn to for advice.

I am usually called into organizations or situations when there is a real danger, or a complex situation that is difficult to resolve and is a potential danger. I get called in when there are a number of complaints and the organization needs an outsider's view, or the management says we can't handle it or through a call from a labor union.

When I come into an organization which has a problem, the first thing I need to do is understand what is going on, therefore I do an assessment or diagnosis to find out what goes on within the department in difficulty. A lot of my work involves trying to help make things better for everyone. I don't like to say 'this is the bad person, fire him / her.' Often people will respond when told they must change their behavior. But sometimes I have to recommend termination when I conclude that the harasser is dangerous or will not cooperate. But even then we work out a way that the person leaves the company without feeling bitter to make sure that he or she will not cause trouble after they are fired.

The problems people have with each other most often involve a conflict of some sort, often it has gotten out of hand. The complaints will be about a way of being treated, and usually there is a history and if you get people to sit down and talk this out and come to an understanding and an agreement about how we are going to deal with each other in the workplace, then it becomes a doable thing no matter how bad the situation was.

Also, before I leave the workplace I try to have a code of conduct introduced, where people work together

#### The Workplace Harmony Quiz By Frema Engel (www.fremaengel.com)

Rate your organization as an "engaged and

respectful workplace"	
2. Does conflict ever interfere with productivity in your workplace?	YES / NO
3. Do employees ever refuse to work together because they do not get along?	YES / NO
4. Do employees' personal problems cause disruption for others?	YES / NO
5. Is anger ever an issue with your employees?	YES / NO
6. Do you work with difficult or disruptive people who drive you crazy?	YES / NO
7. Do employees ever complain about clients being hostile or angry?	YES / NO
8. Do people complain about bullying or harassment?	YES / NO
9. Do people grumble about the same problems over and over again?	YES / NO
10. Are people stressed out, frustrated or overwhelmed at work?	YES / NO

If you answered <u>"YES" to more than 5 questions</u>, or if a situation has lasted more than one month, please contact Frema Engel to discuss how to stop these nightmarish situations from creating chaos at work. If you answered <u>"NO" to all of these questions</u>, congratulations! You work in an exceptional environment. Your ability to manage people's behavior and difficult challenges is outstanding.

to define how they should treat each other

# Why should managers take this issue seriously?

It is not easy to be a manager. Complaints, conflicts, difficult people and underperformers are a few of the thornier problems managers have to contend with. Combining talented people with a good product or service should result in a great place to work and a business' economic success. But too often employees lose their motivation and many organizations are underachievers because of workplace conflict, bullying, harassment and violence.

If employers or supervisors do not deal with conflict in the workplace, the problems increase and the bullies continue to harass others and the bullying spreads. Managers have the ability when provided with the tools and training to create a productive violence-free working environment where employees perform better and are happier.

## But is prevention really possible?

train people who are managers how to identify harassment and when a conflict needs to be dealt with. And to take care of problems as soon as they become aware of them. What do you do when two people come and say they don't want to work with each other?

You can sense conflict or the potential for conflict in an organization if you have a language of disrespect, negative attitudes expressed either verbally or subtly through action, the sabotaging of colleagues' work, spreading rumors and other manifestations of a toxic environment.

I'll give you an example from my work: Two people were vying for the same job but only one in the end gets promoted. So the other thinks he or she should have gotten it and a lot of resentment happens as a consequence. If the management deals with this resentment wisely a lot of conflict will be prevented. If not, the relations between the two worsen over time, affecting more and more people and creating a "hostile" or "toxic" environment. The end result? People spend more time on trying to protect themselves and less time on their work. Over time, the rising stress levels will result in stress-related illnesses, absences from work, etc.

# Do you remember if there is any incident that shocked you?

Over the years I encountered many problematic situations that I had to deal with and I would say this is my worst case, but then I would come across a new case that was even worse.

Unfortunately we live in a world where violence is rampant. It is discouraging at times. Look at the state of the world and the many people in many countries who live with violence daily, and people who show no respect for life. We are not doing a good job at providing a legacy for the next generation. Not just in North America, but all over the world. We have not learnt from history and it keeps repeating itself. But when I look back on my career, from where it all began, I see a lot of progress being made in our workplaces. Increasingly people are speaking out against bullying, harassment and workplace violence. They want to work in safe environments. They want to be treated with respect. They are wanting to collaborate and do their best. This is where I think we are heading in our workplaces - building respectful, collaborative work cultures where we can focus on our jobs knowing we are safe and respected.

## Why worry about workplace violence?

Workplace violence has become an alarming phenomenon worldwide. Health workers are among those particularly at risk. The negative consequences on individuals and organizations result in decreasing quality of care, increasing occupational hazards and higher costs:

- almost 25 percent of all violent incidents at work are in the health sector.
- more than 50 percent of health care workers have experienced violent incidents at work
- psychological violence is more frequent than physical violence
- 40 70 percent of the victims re-
- port significant stress symptoms
   stress and violence account for approximately 30 percent of the overall costs of ill-health

tion, International Council of Nurses, World Health Organization and Public Services have jointly developed a set of guidelines as a basic reference tool for the development of policies against violence at work. They are intended to support all those responsible for safety in the workplace, be it governments, employers, workers, trade unions, professional bodies or members of the public. The tool will guide you through the complexity of issues to be considered when developing anti-violence strategies for all work-settings in the health sector.

The International Labor Organiza-

Source: "Framework Guidelines for Addressing Workplace Violence in the Health Sector", ILO/ICN/WHO/PSI Joint Program, Geneva, 2002 ۰۰ أن تدعــوكم

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# So you think you have seen Yemen?

# Online photo album to counter stereotypes about Yemen abroad



The group's profile picture



**Hamam Demt** 



Socotra Island

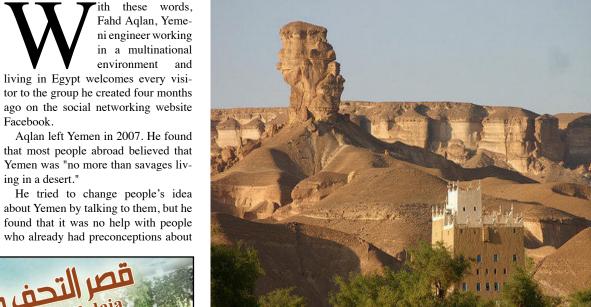


"It's about Yemen, the origin of civilizations...

Where beauty was born and grew up... The country combined nice people and charming nature.

This group is open for everyone to upload their pictures and share them with others in this community.

Let's discover the hidden beauty of home.'



Wadi Hadramout

Yemen from the media. He tried to think creatively.

He started to do what in business is called a SWOT analysis to evaluate the strong points he could focus on in promoting his country, Aqlan told the Yemen Times.

The 32-year-old Yemeni squeezed his mind and came up with an idea to defend his homeland's image and change these negative preconceptions. He found that, above all, Yemen is famous for its "beautiful nature and civilization."

The four-month-old group "So you think you have seen Yemen" on Facebook had a 1,000 photos by Monday afternoon. People who want to contribute send photos to Aqlan and he posts the

best on the group's page. The group was originally called "Yemen... the Story over the land," but it did not attract people as expected. Aqlan changed the name to "So you think you have seen Yemen," which he described as "more exciting" so that more people would respond.

The photos show nature in Yemen in all its beauty and color: blue or golden seas, yellow and brown mountains, and green plains. The people of Yemen are

also represented at weddings and in traditional dress. All manner of photographs from Yemen are present in the

But photos are not the only way

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to show the beauty of Yemen. In the group, there are videos too. They show

the real magnificent nature of Yemen. The group is open for everybody to participate in and send photos of Yemen, but with certain conditions. The photos, for example, must tell a story



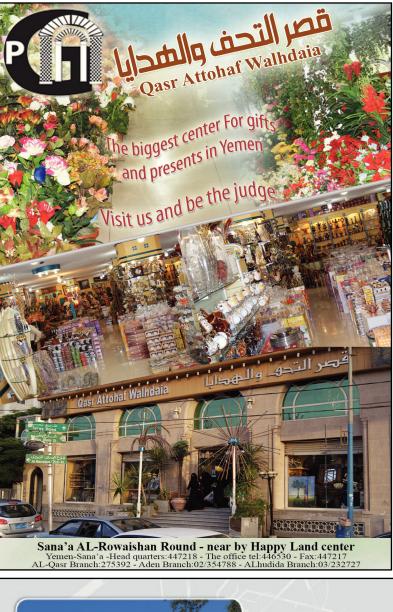
Dar Al-Hajjar

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php?gid=102503199787214

If you want see or participate in the http://www.facebook.com/group.

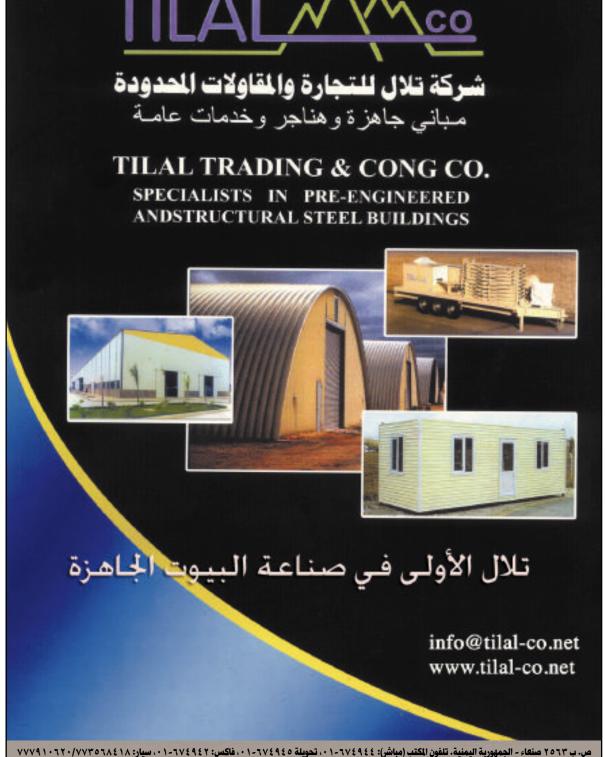
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