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400 troops abandon Saleh

By: Ali Saeed & Shatha Al-Harazi

SANA'A, Nov 20 — More than 400 troops marched through Change Square on Saturday evening shouting "the butcher must stand trial" after defecting from the Yemeni military.

They said they would no longer attack unarmed protesters, it was reported, vowing to support the revolution with their lives.

This latest development came after embattled President Ali Abdullah Saleh declared that he was happy to transfer power to the Republican Guards, under the command of his son Ahmed.

"You will be there even if I leave power. You are the power and you are the safety valve of the revolution and you have immunity against lying propaganda by the apostasy elements..." Saleh said during a field visit speech to the Republican Guard troops on Saturday.

At the same time, an envoy of political opposition parties was supposed to fly to Riyadh to continue talks on the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) power transfer initiative that President Saleh has three times rejected.

The president's information

secretary, Ahmed Al-Sofi told the Yemen Times that GCC talks have made no progress and will remain static until the opposition is ready to guarantee completion of the initiative.

"The opposition rejects to sign on the parts related to the mechanism of the initiative and on its timetable," said Al-Sofi, adding that the ruling party welcomed anything the US, EU or Gulf Country mediators suggest towards ending the crises in Yemen.

To date there are no new indications of agreement between Saleh and the opposition and some believe that Saleh is manipulating the process to make use of any time until the end of his term in 2013.

Youth activists on Twitter started a new #NotoGCCdeal hash tag to express the youth rejection of the political deal that has failed to bring an end to conflict in Yemen. A group on Facebook has also been started for the same reason.

His son, Ahmed Saleh, who is chief commander of the Republican Guards and the Special Forces received his father, the highest chief commander of the armed forces. Saleh also inspected the military training capacity of the center, made a speech to the armed forces and described the defected

army troops as "traitors and little groups led by some mafias".

He accused those who had defected of being "bandits, arms dealers and mercenaries sabotaging the nation" stating for the first time his intention to hand over power to his loyal army.

However, Yemeni political analyst Abdulghani Al-Eryani played down the significance of the speech and the visit. "He just used the same words as usual and it is no different from what he was saying some time ago," Al-Eryani said.

Saleh's speech was delivered at this time to assure his supporters in the ruling General People Congress (GPC) and his loyal army that if he stepped down they would still enjoy power sources, added Al-Eryani.

"It is significant that he has become ready to hand over power and started using his last cards against defected General Ali Mohsen Al-Ahmar," he said.

Last week, Saleh chose new leaders for the military brigades under



Defected troops gathered in Change Square shouting 'the butcher must stand trial'.

the command of defected General Al-Ahmar in the north of the country despite the fact his previous

designations to similar posts were ignored. It is worth mentioning that the

number of soldiers who appeared on Saleh speech at the fourth brigade was obviously small.

UN review pushed back to 28 November

By: Yemen Times Staff

SANA'A, Nov. 20 — The UN Security Council has delayed its review of resolution 2014 by another week, despite continued violence since it was issued on 21 November.

Resolution 2014 had urged President Ali Abdullah Saleh to sign the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) agreement to transfer power and end his 33-year-long rule in Yemen.

UN special envoy to Yemen Jamal Benomar has been in Yemen since November 10, on his sixth

visit to persuade Saleh to leave office. While he says that compromise is possible, Saleh remains in power and his government's crackdown on protesters has continued.

The opposition National Council stated that more than 50 people have been killed since resolution 2014 was issued, including six women and 11 children, while more than 2,000 have been injured.

The UN was set to review progress in resolving the country's 10-month-long uprising after 30 days, but now says the review will not be ready until November 28.

Although it is expected that the ruling General People's Congress will meet with the opposition Joint Meeting Parties in Riyadh this week, it remains unclear whether any agreement will be reached.

Saleh has three times claimed to be ready to sign the GCC deal, only to refuse at the last moment. However, he still claims to support a power transfer deal.

Issuing its resolution last month, the UN also expressed "serious concerns" about the growing humanitarian crisis in Yemen as water, food, fuel and job shortages worsen.

There are an "increasing number of internally displaced persons and refugees in Yemen," the UN's resolution stated. The report added that basic supplies and social services were being interrupted and it was becoming increasingly difficult to access safe drinking water and health care.

But after 10 months of protests, the GCC deal might not be enough to satisfy protesters who have been calling for Saleh to be tried by the International Criminal Court for the deaths of more than 800 protesters.

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Heated debates over reconvened parliament sessions

By: Sadeq Al-Wesabi

The news that parliament's sessions reconvened has provoked controversy among MPs and political activists.

Opposition MPs condemned the development, calling it "an attempt to maneuver the UN Security Council resolution".

Zaid Al-Shami, deputy chairman of the opposition Islah party, speaking from the parliament building, told the Yemen Times that the regime doesn't want to recognize the revolution or protesters' demands.

Criticizing MPs who remain loyal to President Saleh, he said: "Unfortunately, those MPs used to ignore us and insult us. They don't realize that there is a UN Security Council resolution, which compelled them to take responsibility to end Yemen's crises," he said.

Al-Shami added: "They are impotent to make any decisions these days. They actually couldn't make successful decisions before the revolution. The revolution has superseded the government and the parliament."

"This parliament couldn't make any remarkable decisions in its history. It couldn't give Yemenis their rights and couldn't stop the different wars in the country."

"The regime's stubbornness has led us to such a grave situation," he concluded.

For his part, pro-regime MP Senan Al-Aji said it was the MPs' duty to reconvene sessions, and especially during these "critical days".

When asked why sessions of parliament reconvened without the issuing of invitations to opposition MPs to return, he said: "It's not a matter of wedding invitations. Parliament's sessions must continue."

"Parliament must continue its observatory role. We must call on the government to provide Yemenis with different, needed services," said Al-Aji. Speaking about the issues discussed in last Saturday's session, he said simply: "We discussed the general situation in the country."

He confirmed that the number of attendees was more than 165 MPs.

"We will do our best for the sake of Yemenis. The harsh circumstances that Yemen faces make us feel determined to continue our sessions and create solutions," Al-Aji added.

Political analyst Ali Al-Dhubaibi said that the regime is attempting to convince Yemenis and the international community that it is still strong.

"Reconvening parliament at this time is illegal. I think they will not be able to continue to gather and that they will fail."

At the same time, Al-Dhubaibi expected that they will attempt to pass important bills and decisions even when there aren't enough members present for parliamentary sessions. "As usual, they will pass bills without the opposition's approval and without a quorum."

"Those MPs are under pressure. They will maneuver to satisfy their regime and to protect their interests," he said.

Hodeida protestors demand Saleh's prosecution

By: Ghamdan Abu Ali

HODEIDA, Nov. 18 - Thousands of protestors marched in the streets of Hodeida city on Wednesday condemning the attacks against civilians in Taiz and demanding the prosecution of Saleh.

"We refuse any initiative that would give this criminal a way out after he has killed hundreds of unarmed men, women and children," said one of the protestors, who commented that the UN mechanism and the international community should start treating Saleh as a war criminal.

Protests in Hodeida have been held on an almost on daily basis, especially since the locals have been suffering from water and power cuts, which during the summer caused deaths due to heat waves in the coastal city.

The Joint Meeting Parties opposition coalition in the governorate condemned the attack on the women's mosque, which killed female prayers this month in Taiz. The attack was "unprecedented and unacceptable" according to the statement.

Last Monday also saw a women's demonstration with thousands condemning the incident against the women's section at the mosque.



Girls in Hodeida participate in protests to support of Taiz revolutionaries.



Part of a women's protest through the governorate last Monday.

Snipers in besieged northern town

By: Ali Saeed

SAADA, Nov 20 - Besieged by Shiite Houthi rebels for over a month, locals in the northern town of Damaj, home to Salafi school Dar Al-Hadeeth, say that not only are they still cut off from food and medicine supplies, but that snipers are now firing at residents from surrounding mountain ranges.

"The Houthis are now deploy-

ing snipers on the mountains surrounding the Salafi school and they prevent the supply of food and medicine," a student told the Yemen Times.

On Wednesday morning, a student was shot in the back by a Houthi sniper while washing his clothes, according to a source from the Dar Al-Hadeeth School.

Tensions between the two sides commenced one month ago, after

a statement by Imam Yahya Al-Hajoori, the principal of the school, was leaked to the Houthis in which he commended Brigadier General Yahya Mohamed Abdullah Saleh, the president's nephew and chief commander of Yemen's security forces. In the letter, Al-Hajoori also commended Saudi Arabia for fighting Houthis in his area.

The leaked letter led the Houthis to blockade the Sunni school in Damaj. Two Salafi students have been killed and ten others injured since the tension surfaced over one month ago.

"The JMP and defected General Al-Ahmar are working on building this tension, and the Houthis are just tools to take revenge against the Salafists for their positions," one student said.

Local tribal figures have made several efforts to resolve the situation, but all of them came to a dead-end after each side blamed the other for breaching the ceasefire.

A student of the Salafi School said that the Houthis have prevented the Red Cross Society and other humanitarian organizations from entering the area.

"Some households spend two days without food and other fami-



Houthi protesters in Change Square holding pictures of their leaders during a demonstration by the Shiite group in August.

lies have gone from three meals a day to one meal a day," a local citizen said.

"The Houthis are demanding that we surrender our arms and evacuate our military positions, particularly the Al-Baraqa Mountain which overlooks the school," a student of Dar Al-Hadeeth School told the Yemen Times.

Around 1,500 Salafi members met on Wednesday in Al-Buqa' in Eastern Sa'ada to discuss the situation and urge tribesmen to take action to end the blockade.

Mohamed Abd Al-Sallam, a spokesperson for the Houthis, told the Yemen Times that "the area is open for anyone to leave, and if anyone is starving, he or she should get out instead of staying inside the area."

The threat is that the conflict could develop further, into a nationwide sectarian war. Around 69 Salafi students from Damaj were killed in clashes with the Shiite Houthis during the fifth round of war between the Yemeni army and Houthis in 2009.

Pirates sentenced to 10 years in Yemeni jail

By: Malak Shaher

SANA'A, Nov. 20 - Ten pirates were sentenced to 10 years each in jail by a Yemeni criminal court in Al-Mukalla, Hadramout governorate.

The Yemeni Coast Guard (YCG) arrested the pirates on 18 January, according to Shuja'a Al-Deen Al-Mahdi, the head of the operational unit at the YCG.

Al-Mahdi said that the 10 pirates were caught in Yemeni waters, at least 12 miles off Al-Mukalla coast. Usually, pirates attack ships in non-Yemeni regional waters, according to the Coast Guard Authority (CGA).

The Yemeni waters run up to 12 miles from the coast, beyond which are international waters.

Al-Mahdi explained that some pirates "play fishermen" when they feel that they might be caught, however, these pirates did not expect to be caught.

He said that sometimes, pirates

drop their guns if they feel threatened by a ship from the international fleet, and "spread their nets as if they are fishermen".

"But the boat this time was equipped with a Kalashnikov, night vision equipment, a very high frequency device and mobile phones," said Al-Mahdi.

In February, the Penal Court in Al-Mukalla, sentenced 12 Somalis to 13 years in jail for conducting piracy attacks in Yemeni and international waters.

When receiving ransoms from the owners of the confiscated ships, pirates use the money to enhance the technical potentials of their boats, according to CGA.

Since 2007, piracy has become a growing problem for Yemen as captured men cannot be tried in Yemeni courts when arrested in international waters.

Earlier this year, the British navy rescued five Yemeni fishermen from the Indian Ocean, kidnapped three months ago by pirates.

While kidnapped, the fishermen were used as human shields and their vessel had been used as a mother ship to conduct piracy operations.

At least 62 pirates were arrested during 2008 and 2009. While some were tried, others are still awaiting the Yemeni courts' decisions.

Since January 2010, Yemen has refused to try any Somali pirate arrested by the international forces.

Yesterday, a French court tried six alleged pirates after Special Forces arrested them. The French troops captured the men, aged between 21 and 35, who had allegedly hijacked a yacht off the Somali coast in 2008, according to Gulf Today.

The Somali suspects now face life sentences in a French prison if convicted of hijacking, kidnapping and armed robbery.

One of the accused said he also transported qat, a green leaf stimulant used for chewing, which is popular in Somalia, Yemen, Kenya and Ethiopia.

The Latest Buzz

By: Mohammed bin Sallam

▶ A military checkpoint of the Republican Guards in Quhaza, south of the capital Sana'a confiscated around 500 copies of the Yemen Times issue no 1521 on Thursday while on route to be distributed in Aden.

▶ The leader in Yemen's revolution and Nobel Peace Prize winner Tawakul Karman met the UN President of the General Assembly and US ambassador to the UN on Friday to lobby their support for Yemen's revolution.

▶ The Yemeni Students Union launched a campaign to call for classes inside Sana'a University Campus instead of the alternatives created by the university since its facilities were occupied by protestors.

▶ Reuters suspended its correspondent in Yemen Mohammed Sudam, who is also President Saleh's translator, due to conflict of interest concerns. The Yemeni Press Syndicate condemned Reuters' decision and hoped it would reconsider, stating that Sudam has displayed a professional attitude in his reporting throughout his career.

▶ Malnutrition rates have increased significantly among Yemenis according to the World Food Program. WFP stated that at least 50% of Yemeni children suffer from malnutrition and 13% suffer from acute malnutrition.

▶ The regime has forwarded the issue of the attempted assignment against President Saleh on 3 June to the prosecution to follow an investigations.

▶ The number of Somali and Ethiopian refugees to Yemen has significantly increased to reach 12,000 with 545 fleeing unprecedented violence in Africa in the last month.

▶ Armed tribesmen blew up a fuel pipeline on Friday for a second time in recent weeks. Tribes from Al-Tiaman fired on the pipeline in Sirwah in Mareb, setting it on fire.

▶ The General Federation for Labor Unions in Yemen warned of an imminent catastrophe in the labor sector following 10 months without work. It said that unemployment among the workers reached 70% and more than 60% of the organized sector had lost their jobs permanently.

▶ A forensic investigation officer was killed in Mukalla on Saturday after he was shot by unknown armed men.

▶ Aden airport security arrested three of the socialist leaders while they were on their way to Cairo for a conference on Saturday. No explanations have been given and they have not been released yet.

▶ A workshop on dealing with disability was launched in Ibb governorate on Saturday by the local authority in coordination with the Canadian Fund for Local Initiatives.

▶ A course for mosque preachers and religious leaders was organized on Saturday in Mukalla-Hadramout by the Endowment Ministry in order to train them on community mobilization and patriotism.



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Sa'ada governorate between ideological wars, a new government and lack of state control

After nearly six years of armed conflict and continuous uncertainty, the governorate of Sa'ada has finally found peace. Ironically, such a peace comes during a time when the rest of the country is overwhelmed with violence, revolution, and upheaval.

In a time when fuel, electricity, and basic food products are lacking in Yemen, life in Sa'ada seems to be normal and the locals joke that the capital Sana'a is finally getting a taste of its own medicine, the same medicine it served to the northern region for years.

The Houthi Rebellion, based in Sa'ada, are not the enemies of the state of yesteryear and are today respected political players.

In the beginning of the uprising, locals in Sa'ada replaced the state-appointed governor with a prominent rich local figure, Fares Manna, who played an important role during the Houthi wars and the several peace processes that came with the violence.

Manna is a Yemeni businessman who is known for being one of the most prominent arms dealers in the Middle East. In April 2010, the US Treasury Department froze his assets as per Security Council resolution 9904 on grounds of him selling weapons to armed factions in Somalia. In January 2010 he was arrested by the state – despite being a high ranking member of the ruling party – on grounds of spying for Libya but was released after more than four months, ending his strong relationship with the regime.

He was eventually the man who helped orchestrate the peace deal in Sa'ada in 2009 as he was respected by both conflicting parties; the state and the Houthi insurgents.

Today he is also playing the peacemaker role in Sa'ada between the Houthis and the Salafi extremists who have been engaged in an ideological armed conflict several times throughout the years.

In March 2011 after a battle between the Houthis and loyalist tribes, and the fleeing of Sa'ada governor Taha Hajer to Sana'a, the Houthis appointed Manna as their governor. Manna had just resigned from the ruling party and announced his support of the Houthis, hence his new role.

Ahmed Al-Makhtafi interviewed governor Fares Manna for the Yemen Times to discuss the recent developments in the governorate as well as his views on Yemen's political future.



Fares Manna

Your sudden position as governor of Sa'ada is rather controversial and somewhat unofficial – how did it happen?

I came to power in the governorate after getting a unanimous vote from members of the local authority, in addition to the whole community, the army, and security forces. This unanimity came after the popular youth revolution was successful at overthrowing the state appointed governor, making Sa'ada the first liberated state in the current uprising.

As governor I assert that we are a part of the whole country of Yemen, serving the great free and proud Yemeni people and I swear to Allah, trusting in his support to make the Yemeni people's revolution successful soon.

You may say that my position is unofficial but it is a democratically elected position and it can't be more official than that. Local and Arab media have been following our news in Sa'ada governorate. But some of the local media are try-

ing to disparage us and ignore the popular revolution.

How does the relative autonomy in Sa'ada affect the rest of Yemen in your view? Would it seek independence from Yemen or support a federal system later?

The people of the Sa'ada governorate will play their role in leading the rest of Yemen to liberation from this regime. They will prove themselves in the political arena even if they are faced with ignorance. You can say that we consider ourselves as a role model for other governorates to follow.

However, there is no direction towards splitting the country or federalization. You can describe Sa'ada as a governorate ruled by a local authority and in a way this is what the decentralized system in Yemen has officially chosen when it established the Local Administration Ministry in 2001. This means that our local authorities are part of a larger system under one country.

In running the governorate, I abide by the Yemeni constitution in what I feel is reasonable. Otherwise I consider what I believe is in the best interest of the people while maintaining unity under one Yemeni nation.

Another example is the Sa'ada Reconstruction Fund which was organized by the central state through donor aid to rebuild the governorate after six wars and hundreds of thousands of displaced people and destroyed homes.

I can assure you that this fund was used totally for the sake of rebuilding the governorate and not used in any political conflict or otherwise.

But don't you think that the situation in Sa'ada is different considering its proximity to Saudi Arabia?

Our relations with the Saudis are excellent, both politically and in terms of security. Sa'ada's location on the border with Saudi Arabia does have its implications regard-

ing human trafficking or rather Yemenis and Somalis for that matter finding their way to the Saudi border seeking a better life.

However, the news of smuggling fuel and other merchandise across the border is not accurate. We have an understanding with the Saudi border authorities and we try to maintain order in this issue as much as we can.

When you say there is security cooperation, does this include the investigation of the kidnapped and killed Germans in 2009?

In a way, yes. The two girls that were found in May last year were rescued by Saudi Special Forces in cooperation with Yemeni authorities. The bodies of their parents, baby brother, and the British citizen have not been found yet. We are not optimistic that they will be. The Houthis denied responsibility for the kidnapping of nine foreigners in June 2009 as well as the tribes and Al-Qaeda. We don't know who

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really did it.

The investigation and legal procedure is said to be ongoing locally although all of this mess is one that was created by the old regime of Saleh.

Unfortunately we don't have any news on this issue and it seems to be a cold case.

Although you say that the governorate is doing well compared to other regions in the country, there are regular armed conflicts with the Salafis. What can you tell us about this?

The conflict is mostly in the neighboring Al-Jawf governorate and it is mostly over control of the area. The Houthis there are fighting against the Salafis in a sort of ideological war as the two groups do not acknowledge the existence of the other or rather wish to eliminate it.

Each group wants to gain control and hence dominate the governorate in order to play a stronger role politically.

The conflict was based on ideological differences and desires to dominate a certain religious sect in the area.

We had similar problems in Sa'ada with the Zaidi sect in Dammaj Schools who had been suffering

from some minor troubles with the other sects but now the education there is regular and I make sure there is religious freedom in the governorate. As long as the operations are legal then the different factions have nothing to fear.

The disagreement between the Salafis and Houthis in Sa'ada was solved and now they are in agreement and matters are progressing well between them.

This freedom of religion or belief is one of the principles our revolution is based on and is a principle we respect and strongly defend.

What is the aim of the branch of the general revolutionary meeting established recently in Sa'ada governorate?

This meeting aims at promoting freedom by creating popular forums for the expression of opinions and the political activities for the revolution in the Sa'ada governorate. This meeting will make all people hold full responsibility in serving the governorate and the homeland.

The movement of the commercial goods through the borders to and from our neighboring fraternal country is increasing and I consider this as part of the revolution's success.

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Interviews: Week of 03 December 2011 (in Sana'a)

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Request for Proposal

Procurement of Admin & Secretary Training Courses in Seiyun & Tarim Districts for direct project beneficiaries (30 women)

The United Nations Development Programme is hereby inviting institutes to provide proposal for Admin & Secretary Training Courses.

Activities and tasks:

In order to fulfill the main objective of the training, the following is expected to be done:

1. Deliver a training course according to the following specification;

The main subjects of training course:

- a. Computer skills: Word 7, Exile, PowerPoint, Outlook, Internet. Printing- Arabic & English .
- b. Secretary: introduction to Admin and its importance, admin works of the secretary, admin skills (duties of the admin, writing admin letters, time controlling, dealing with telephone, organizing of appointments, preparation of meetings, dealing with visitors) .
- c. English conversation skills for the secretary.

In that respect, UNDP invites your institute to participate in the competitive bidding for the provision of the above mentioned Admin and Secretary courses.

For further details on the RFP and downloading of the documents (TOR), please visit our website at:

<http://www.unqgm.org/Notices/Item.aspx?id=17743>

The deadline for receiving RFPs (Request for Proposal) is on the 30th November 2011. Interested potential institutes should forward their envelopes to the following address:
United Nations Development Programme
"Admin & Secretary Training"
P.O. Box: 551
Off sixty road, near alawqaf complex
Sana'a - Yemen
Attn.: Mr. Hasan Zain Al-Sakkaf
Tel.: +967 1 448605



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YT vision statement



"To make Yemen a good world citizen."

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

OUR
OPINION

Why Yemen's 'hunger revolution' has not happened

If Yemen is a country of 25 million, then 20 million of them don't care if they have electricity or not and the other five million have their own generators. This is why Yemenis have not protested against the power cuts that in some cities, especially the capital Sana'a, see days pass by without electricity.

Had this situation been in any other country around the world heaven and earth would have turned upside down but in Yemen, people adjust and miraculously carry on.

The lack of electricity obviously affects business and education as well. From the dry cleaners who take weeks to clean clothes instead of hours to the carpenter who can't use his electric tools and the computer programmer who can't do any work at all.

Jobs have vanished and millions of dollars lost. Prices of very basic commodities such as bread and yogurt have doubled. Today's inflation is at its highest with prices more than doubling in less than five months.

Yet with all these factors there has been no hunger revolution yet, which is puzzling for anyone who does not understand Yemen.

Today's revolution is a political one. It is driven by political parties using the dissatisfaction of the youth as fuel for protests. The reality is that the protestors, although they believe that by toppling the regime their lives would be better – which is mostly true – they have no idea how or what "better" really means.

Among the banners and chants of protestors there isn't a single one that reads "we want a decent life", "I want a job" or "I want equality" – or even something as simple as "what about me?"

The general outcry is political and this is a huge problem because it empties the revolution of its connection to people's lives and needs. This disconnection will blow up in our faces once the regime is gone because then the protestors will be standing in confusion not knowing what just happened or what their new role is.

If Yemenis had really become fed-up with their living situation they would reflect this in their protests and the normalcy of daily life would be gone. But despite everything, despite power cuts, disconnected education and lost jobs, Yemenis are still going about their lives. They have an amazing ability to adjust and do with the minimal without complaining.

The farmers who make up more than 30 percent of the country's labor have gone back decades in time to what it was like when everything was manual and they cope with it. Housewives have compromised and resorted to physical labor to complete their chores in the absence of vacuum cleaners and electric mixers.

Butchers only cut what they can sell that day and shoppers only buy meat that they can consume immediately because there is no power for fridges. I personally know people who are cooling water in pottery like we used to do before Edison's light bulb.

Even when the prices increased, Yemenis adjusted. They compromised and found means of cutting costs and saving money. The Yemeni collective sanity has not snapped yet and this is why the hunger revolution has not happened so far – and why, after 10 months of uprising, Saleh is still in power.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

SKETCHED OPINION

By Hajjaj



www.mahjoob.com

What's next for Yemen?
Three scenarios for Yemen's future

As the country teeters on the brink of potential civil war, The Majalla proposes three possible scenarios for Yemen's near future. Yemen has endured the least productive uprising of a momentous year in the Arab World, and now is consumed by divisions. Examined here are the stress points of a divided nation, specifically looking at where the cracks will form should President Saleh cling to power, become the victim of a coup, or instigate transition.

By: Andrew Bowen,
Maryam Ishani
and Thomas Alberts
The Majalla

With the world's attention focused on Tunisia, Syria, and Iran, developments in Yemen have made few headlines recently. Yet after 10 months of violent protests, Yemen may be the closest it has been to a peaceful transfer of power after 33 years of President Ali Abdullah Saleh's rule. This potential hand-over of power is a remarkable turnaround following Yemen's summer of discontent.

Back in June, after suffering severe injuries in a bomb attack, Saleh traveled to Saudi Arabia for medical treatment. He stayed away for more than three months, creating some optimism among opposition groups that the President would not return. But Saleh clung on to power from his hospital bed and when he returned to Yemen, he resumed power with increased vigor and combativeness. This resurgence cannot be attributed to him alone, and says a great deal about the relative weakness of opposition forces that did not have sufficient strength or unity to prevent his return.

The opposition's failure comes from both its diversity and its divisions. The main opposition group, Joint Meeting Parties (JMP), is dominated by the Islamist party Al-Islah and the southern Yemeni Socialist Party. Also significant among opposition groups is the Hashid tribal federation, although some observers think their interests are more commercial than political. In the northwest, the Shia Houthis allied themselves with anti-Saleh protesters early in the uprising but later fell out with the Sunni Islah, highlighting another fault line in opposition unity. Then there is Saleh's former comrade and now arch-rival General Ali Mohsen who defected in May, along with the army's First Armored Division, which was under his command. Interspersed within this opposition coalition are a number of special interest groups – from various tribes to Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) – which are seeking their own end goals.

Since March, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has waded into these poisoned waters and has been trying to facilitate President Saleh's exit. Deals have been agreed and on every occasion Saleh has reneged at the last minute. In recent weeks however, UN Special Envoy to Yemen, Jamal Benomar, has been working out a new deal whereby Saleh would resign after transferring power to his deputy – ahead of new presidential elections within three months.

Agreements have previously been very close to conclusion, but the GCC experience cautions that convincing Saleh to leave is not an easy task. The Majalla examines three scenarios for Yemen in the coming months – both the challenges inherent within them and their likelihood.

Stalemate

If President Saleh does not step down soon, Yemen will begin to crack at the seams and outright

civil war would likely result. With a settlement yet to be reached, Saleh continues to watch uncaringly as Yemen burns. During 10 months of violence he has managed to keep the international community holding its collective breath for his imminent departure, with one promise after another that he will step down. On Saturday 5 November he was expected to step down at any moment; today he remains in office.

Drastic shortages of food, water and jobs means an increasingly restless, desperate and volatile population that could be easily radicalized and recruited into irregular armed groups. Instability in Marib means fuel shortages, and residents in the Abyan governorate in South Yemen are preparing for outright war after months of endless fighting between Salafists and Houthis.

Near the capital, the Arhab and Nihm regions of Sana'a governorate have been divided, with the former supporting Saleh and the latter demanding his departure. Their clashes have involved control of the country's largest airport and three times control has changed hands.

While rival political and military factions continue to battle in Yemen's urban centers, fighting endures in the country's rural tribal areas, bringing not just tribal identity but bitter-fought sectarian divisions into the fray. Yemen's northern Houthi Shi'ite rebels have been bogged down in fighting with Salafis, while AQAP have been coordinating attacks in Sa'ada and Al-Jaf against Houthi fighters.

Yemeni tribes, their militias, and sectarian divisions will become more entrenched and the chances of a peaceful transition of power will be slim. Should Saleh's sons and extended family – intimately connected to parts of his government – go after tribal leaders, Yemen's largely peaceful and tribally governed rural areas will become radicalized and defensive. Until now AQAP did not have room to maneuver, but the further destabilization and undermining of the relationship between the capital and tribal authority will create room for Al-Qaeda. As we know by now, Al-Qaeda thrives in violence and instability.

Patience is beginning to wear thin, even among Saleh's friends. Yemeni businessmen are pushing politicians for a power transfer deal – anxious about the economic disaster that Yemen has been forced to delay addressing. This will make it more difficult for Saleh to stay in power, and stalemate will likely lead to civil war.

Coup d'État

In this scenario, the army abandons President Saleh, and either backs another candidate within the government or the Vice President, or joins the breakaway division led by General Mohsen. When it comes to life expectancy for a leader in the Arab world after a coup d'état, President Saleh need look no further than his fellow leader, Muammar Qadhafi, who was dragged alive into a crowd, beaten and shot several times in the head after he stubbornly resisted handing over power. Unlike the voluntary exits of Ben Ali and Mubarak, which led to a certain level of comfort in their post-presidential days, Saleh is un-



President Saleh has three times failed to sign the GCC initiative.

likely to receive the same treatment if he clings to power and is forcefully overthrown by the army.

Saleh has spent his 33 years in power "dancing on the heads of snakes" and this special ritual dance has gained him a number of enemies, as well as friends willing to throw him into the snake pit if necessary. Saleh's use of force against his own people since the start of the uprisings has made this dance even more difficult – as tribes both in the North and the South who supported his rule have broken with him and a division of the army led by Mohsen has caused a split in the army.

If the army were to split from him, Saleh's family fiefdom, largely based in Sana'a, would almost certainly fall. Despite having some support still in the tribes, Saleh, a military man, has always relied on the military to fight his opposition and provide threatening motivation for aid from the West, which relies on him to fight AQAP. Using the anti-terrorism funds, Saleh has lubricated the family fiefdom and its patronage network. Losing his ace of spades would mean the end of Saleh's rule.

It's unclear how the army will go if they break with Saleh, but it would likely choose from within its own ranks and cleanse the Saleh family and senior administration officials that are synonymous with the Saleh regime from both the regime and the army's senior ranks. If Iraq is any historical analogy, Ali Abdullah Saleh should remember the fate of Abd Al-Karim Qassem, who in his own snake dance, failed to hold onto power in 1963, and was subsequently shot in the head.

The chance of the army breaking with him completely is quite low, due to stocking the army with his own family and allies. The possibility of the army and the opposition being able to quickly reconcile after 10 months of bitter fighting is also tricky. Hence, this scenario looks unlikely.

Saleh Resigns

In this scenario, President Saleh steps down and a process of power transfer begins. Saleh has, of course, repeatedly affirmed the GCC deal, only to renege on signing it. Saleh asks to whom he should hand power, this was really only ever a delaying tactic. In recent weeks, however, the UN Special Envoy Jamal Benomar has been negotiating a transfer mechanism. Saleh would hand power to Vice-President Abd Al-Rab Mansur Al-Hadi, the opposition and ruling General People's Congress would form a unity government, and the army would be restructured ahead of new presidential elections within three months. It sounds good on paper, but the plan has huge problems, not least being who exactly will execute it.

Benomar has conducted his shuttle diplomacy between Saleh's General People's Congress and the main opposition grouping, JMP. Yet the

opposition movement is wider than the JMP; for the deal to endure, it must avoid appearing to be a stitch-up between these two rivals. On the other hand, if the process is widened, there is a risk that the power transfer will turn into a multiparty conference and national dialogue of the sort that accompanies constitutional negotiations and reforms. While not a bad thing in itself, this would increase the likelihood of a prolonged period of change and political instability.

Even within the three month window leading to presidential elections, there are considerable problems. The willingness of the General People's Party to negotiate with the opposition is untested, as is the willingness of either or both General Mohsen and loyal army commanders (several of whom are Saleh's blood or tribal relations) to restructure the army. As happened in Libya, anti-government demonstrators are unified by their opposition and less by a positive vision of what would replace the vilified President. For the same reason, they lack leaders who can credibly claim to represent their collective will, whatever that may be.

General Mohsen's mutiny effectively declared his presidential ambitions and his subsequent protection of protesters camped in Sana'a's Change Square has brought him some support. Yet it is far from clear how much support he holds among the disparate assembly of opposition groups or how long this will endure once a political transition begins. More pointedly, it is unclear whether these groups, or who among them, will accept presidential elections as the achievement of 10 months of protest.

The risk in this scenario is that the power vacuum that will open when Saleh steps down cannot be filled easily or comfortably within the three-month window envisaged by the UN. It may have the opposite effect, by spurring competition between groups who until now have been tentative allies against Saleh. In this scenario, the biggest winner will be the General People's Congress.

What next?

None of these scenarios envision that Saleh can continue in power in the longer term and Saleh's own words and action suggest the President recognizes that reality. He acknowledged this in a statement on Tuesday, "I have 33 years of experience in power and I know the difficulties, I know the negatives and positives. The one who clings to power is mad."

The question now for the short term is how Saleh will hand over power: will he be able to secure his and his family's interests as he leaves, or will he lose it all as Yemen moves on from him? In the longer term, Yemen must begin to think about rebuilding a state that has deep scars.

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A peaceful revolution until the end

By: Naji Gazali

This revolution has shown us the bright side of Yemenis in many ways. It has shown us that we are really peaceful people despite the fact that we ranked second after the US in the world for possessing firearms per citizen.

Here are some stats from the Institute of Justice in America, which shows the horrific consequences of the usage of firearms in the US; the most powerful country in the world which has a powerful police force, legal system, court system and laws to combat crimes, yet the findings are shocking. It shows that "in 2005, 11,346 persons were killed by firearm violence and 477,040 persons were victims of a crime committed with a firearm." Most murders in the United States are committed with firearms, especially handguns.

"In 2006, firearms were used in 68 percent of murders, 42 percent of robbery offences and 22 percent

of aggravated assaults nationwide." Weapons data is not collected for forcible rapes.

In Yemen there are 60 million firearms, which, if divided among the population equally, gives us almost three pieces for each citizen. In other words we are armed to our teeth yet we do not have the crimes listed above in the US, which ranked number one. But despite the ongoing slaughter of demonstrators on an almost daily basis, the prospect of civil war in Yemen is very minute if not impossible.

It is indeed redemption of the charter and persona of Yemenis; of being wise and patient and soft-hearted as the prophet PBUH described us long ago. The reason I am mentioning this is because of the continuous violent crackdown on the peaceful demonstrators by the government starting with their massacre on the well-known Friday of Dignity and most recently the massacres in Taiz, Arahah and Kentucky intersection in Sana'a.

The government or most

accurately Saleh's armed forces chose to be outcasts, practicing crimes against their own brothers and sisters and own children.

The revolutionary mass insisted on keeping their revolution peaceful, even if it takes longer and more precious sacrifices are made.

Saleh's crimes and those of his kids and nephews will not be forgotten even if they get away with the guarantees of immunity from the Gulf initiative.

If justice is not achieved in this life due the world's biased attitude toward our revolution, justice will be served regardless – and if not sooner, definitely later!

A heart-rooted belief

By: Abdulghani Muthanna

For several decades the country is being ruled
With little progress but no justice attained
Then people have willed to have an absolute change
Topple the regime, respectfully live, not be assassinated
And never vegetate in the same cul-de-sac range.

But what adds insult into injury:
The regime is still advocated for by many
That can be simply be depicted as either ignorant,
Obstinate, beneficiaries, being promised, or arrogant.

Above all, fearful never me to have a heart-rooted belief
Allah will not leave the peaceful revolutionists high and dry
But sooner or later will replace the severe crisis by real relief
Topple them, dwindle them, and make them agonizingly die.

Picture of the Week



A Yemeni man playing the guitar while riding on a motorcycle in Sana'a.

Photo by Mira Baz

<http://www.mirabaz.com/wordpress/>

Different fingers of one hand

By: Hanan Mohammed
h.dorso22@yahoo.com

Every single organ in our body represents a great message: the heart stands for love, eyes for a clear vision, and hands – which have fingers of differing length and size – stand for beauty. Take a moment to meditate on the differences of the fingers of one hand. If we suppose that they are the same, they are useless, ugly. The reason for this difference is that it has wisdom behind it – but we don't realize it. Viewed nicely, people in this life have different thoughts, ideas, concepts, beliefs and parties, but we still have the beauty of their differences. Unfortunately, these days each person looks at others as enemies, not because they are real

enemies, but because they have different thoughts. What is happening these days in Yemen is the best example of this scenario. The picture that is drawn, of hatred, blood, and killing represents a horrible perspective for each Yemeni. Each person starts to hurt the other in one society. They forget that they are different fingers of one hand: if we hurt one of the fingers, the whole hand will feel the pain.

I would here like to send a warm message with sad tears and a bloody heart...to whisper into all Yemeni ears quietly, lovingly...stop...stop...please...love each other, hug each other, we are all Yemeni. The fingers may be different from each other, but they still help each other. Love each other, feel the pain together. They are of one hand, my beloved Yemen.

Republic of Yemen

Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation
Economic Opportunities Fund (EOF)

Vacancies Announcement

FIELD MOBILIZATION OFFICERS

The Government of Yemen, represented by the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC), has received financing from the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and several co-financiers for the Economic Opportunities Programme (EOP). The Programme aims to improve the economic status of rural women and men through the creation of sustainable private sector-led economic opportunities. The EOP, as well as several future investments, will be managed by a new Economic Opportunities Fund (EOF) which is created as a public-private partnership. It is expected that the EOF will manage investments valued in the range of USD 150 million over the next six years. The EOF now seeks qualified Yemeni candidates for the following positions:

FIELD MOBILIZATION OFFICERS

Number of positions:	6 male and 6 female
Duration:	30 months
Working conditions:	Long-term consultancy, should be available for training outside of contract period if necessary.

Introduction

The MTs primary responsibility will be to ensure that programme activities are implemented smoothly and effectively in the field, that target group members are fully aware of the possibilities which are offered by the programme, that participants are members of the target group and 'elite capture' is minimized, and that target group members get maximum long-term economic benefit from their involvement with the programme. In particular the FMOs will:

- When contracted, undertake information campaigns in their area of operation, providing detailed information to male and female target group members of the possibilities offered by the programme and the mechanisms and procedures for participating;
- Coordinate with the communities, helping them establish formal associations (one per settlement) as necessary and ensuring their full involvement in the design and management of the improved water supply system. Later they will ensure that a sufficient number of individuals are

involved in the installation of any irrigation equipment and trained in its use and maintenance (by the Supply Chain Manager);

- With the support of the Lead Construction/Design Engineer, be closely involved in the organisation of the water management systems in project settlements: identify and analyse in detail existing water management mechanisms and, with support from senior project staff or consultants, identify any changes required by the improved system, either for technical reasons or to increase the equity of the system. Evaluate in-kind contribution from settlements households. Discuss and agree necessary changes with the water users and ensure that they are implemented. Attempt to solve any conflicts arising in water management; Facilitate the negotiation among PA's members with regards to pricing of water and measures to ensure payments and recovery;
- Implement the programme's targeting strategy and ensure that prime beneficiaries of honey and micro enterprise investments are among the poorer entrepreneurial inhabitants. MTs should also systematically monitor participants' socio-economic status and address any issues of 'elite capture', if necessary calling on senior project staff;
- Implement the programme's gender mainstreaming approach and actively work towards increasing participants' understanding and appreciation of women's role in the economy; ensure that as many women as possible are included in producers' groups, that women are trained and actively participate in the management bodies of producer organizations; that micro enterprises suitable for women are given adequate support to ensure that they become commercially viable and real profit-making market-led institutions. They should work to ensure that women's participation is effective and not merely 'token';
- Organise and partly implement training for the producers' groups (coffee, vegetable, honey, and other crop producers) as well as for individual micro- and small entrepreneurs. Training in basic financial management, business planning and marketing will be given by senior programme staff specialised in these subjects. They will be supplemented by external consultants as necessary. MTs will organise the logistics of this training and provide follow up support in these subjects and refer queries to the value chain managers as necessary. FMOs will themselves provide training in group organisation (organising and managing meetings, keeping minutes, planning activities etc.) in group activities and management [water management, collective marketing etc.] as well as in conflict resolution and any technical subject in which they have good knowledge and experience;
- Provide regular follow up with the producers' groups, answering their queries and referring them to experts as necessary; provide any support needed to develop the groups and assist them in becoming self-sufficient and sustainable;
- Identify suitable individuals and groups for micro- and small enterprise activities; support the formation of groups (particularly for loan guarantees) and ensure that beneficiaries and participants have the entrepreneurial and technical skills and talent necessary to give their enterprises a good likelihood of success;
- Closely support potential micro-entrepreneurs in the preparation of feasibility studies and business plans;
- Identify the technical training needs of micro-entrepreneurs and organise appropriate high quality training either through apprenticeships (as locally as possible) or through formal training (to be organised for groups by the capacity building and micro finance managers);
- Ensure that micro-entrepreneurs participate in the business development, basic financial management and other relevant organisational and business training skills alongside the producers' groups members in their

area;

- Follow up regularly on all project participants in their area of operation and provide them with the necessary support, or ensure that this support is made available from other programme sources when they are unable to provide solutions themselves;
- Follow up the performance of project related institutions [field presence of the value chain and other processor representatives, visits of the micro- finance institutions and other finance service providers and any other institution working in the project area on behalf of the project] and report to senior project management;
- Organise annual participatory evaluation meetings at the level of each project area;
- Provide substantive reports on their work biannually, to fulfil the requirements of the M&E system.

Participation in the settlements selection process

The objective of this operation is to provide the Economic Opportunities Fund management team with the detailed and accurate data needed to ensure that programme benefits reach poor settlements. However, given the objectives of the programme, poverty cannot be the sole criterion of selection of a project area, as other factors are also extremely relevant, including current or potential water availability, the amount of cultivated area under coffee, the current and potential role of honey and micro enterprises, and the price of any infrastructure investment. The data provided will allow programme management to approach processors and other concerned parties with information allowing the best possible targeting to ensure both an empowerment of the poor and satisfactory results with respect to supplying the value chain with good produce. This will provide traders and processors with the data needed to assess the suitability of these settlements for their interventions.

Qualifications Required

FMOs agents will be required to carry out a multiplicity of tasks. Their formal qualifications might be in any suitable topic (agronomy with specialisation in coffee or honey, irrigation and water management, business management, social development, rural development etc.); they should either have a BA + a minimum of 7 years' work experience in similar activities, or an MA + 5 years' experience. They should be mature and willing and able to work long hours in remote locations.

They will be selected primarily on their skills and good record of previous experience in the following activities: formation and support to productive and other associations in difficult rural areas, ability to establish good working relations with rural people living in stressful conditions and to solve conflicts, technical competence in any one of the project's activities. Ability to use computers and good communications skills would be an advantage. Ability to work in English would be an advantage.

How to apply

Interested candidates are invited to send their applications (comprising a CV and a cover letter), with the title of the concerned job in the subject heading, to the following email address: eofyemen@yahoo.co.uk. The deadline for receiving applications is two weeks from announcement publication.

Congratulations ..!

We at the Turkish International Schools would like to congratulate our students for being successful in the ministry exams of grade (12) for the academic year 2010 - 2011.

- 30% are over 90s.
- 65% are over 80s.

They have given an excellent account of themselves as students and we wish them a brilliant future.



Staff and administration of Turkish International Schools - Yemen.

Appreciation message from the parents

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Ala'a Abdul-Aleem Al-Suhaili	95.00%
Mazen Hassan Al-Yareemi	94.87%
Ashraf Hisham Sharaf Al-Jumaiy	94.75%
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Yousuf Abdulmalek Al-Gaffari	93.62%
Mahmoud Taha Al-Nuaimi	93.00%
Bushra Emad Al-Taweel	92.50%
Osama Mohammed Al-Basha	92.00%
Ahmed Naji Al-Harazi	90.87%

We would like to express our great gratitude towards the staff and the administration of **Turkish International Schools** for their devotion and dedication in delivering their educational message to our sons and daughters which was reflected on their academic level by achieving higher marks in the ministry exams of grade (12) for the academic year 2010- 2011.

Your great efforts are highly appreciated.

On behalf of the parents

Mr. Hisham Sharaf
MINISTER OF COMMERCE & INDUSTRY.



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YEMEN LNG COMPANY

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POSITION	DEPARTMENT	LOCATION	
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> IST TECHNICAL ASSISTANT	FINANCE-IST OPERATIONS	BALHAF	1 POSITION
> USER SUPPORT ENGINEER	FINANCE-IST OPERATIONS	BALHAF	1 POSITION
> NETWORK AND SYSTEM ENGINEER	FINANCE-IST OPERATIONS	BALHAF	2 POSITIONS
> TELECOM TECHNICIAN	FINANCE-IST OPERATIONS	BALHAF	1 POSITION
> PROCUREMENT OFFICER	CONTRACTS & PROCUREMENT	SANA'A	2 POSITIONS
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Yemen's revolution's civil society



In a time of unprecedented popular movements, Yemen's civil society has its share of the excitement creating a new branch of civil society organizations through networks, coalitions, alliances and initiatives.

Yemen Youth

By: Nadia Al-Sakkaf
& Shatha Al-Harazy

Yemen Youth was founded by Al-Thawra School's youth population in Hodeida in March 2011. It was created after they decided to give a voice to their opinions and dreams for a better Yemen through a neutral route.

It was founded by only three students and soon included 43 members. The group covers news and disseminates information in their governorate on the latest happenings on a political level as well as spreading awareness about human rights and democracy.

"We started a Facebook page whereby we cover the news from all the Change and Freedom Squares around the country," said Shihab Yahya Aesh, one of the group's members. "The purpose is to create a sort of networking or connectivity to feel that Yemen's revolution is one across the entire country."

The group behind the initiative try to stay as impartial as possible. And although they do stand by the revolution they also have reserva-



A member of Yemen Youth in Hodeida's Freedom Square.

tions against Ali Muhsin Al-Ahmar and the Al-Ahmar family in general who support the revolution today.

Yemen Youth coordinates its work with the Yemeni Youth for Change initiative in Hodeidah and

have held protests and events together.

"I am a journalist and among my group there are journalists and activists and we try to convey the truth and spread the word. This is



Yemen Youth protesting in Hodeida against the regime.

how we participate in the revolution," said Aesh.

Husam Al-Houti and Alaa Al-Hadad are also members of the initiative. "We do other community activities such as preserving

the environment and working on youth empowerment. It is beyond politics but because we believe in our role as youth," they said.

In the capital Sana'a there is a similar group of youths who came

together to build a tent in February, called the "Facebook youth tent".

Different from those in the early days of the protest, it presented a small cartoon exhibition to grab the attention of passersby. Facebook activists gathered at the tent to discuss what was going on and started a Facebook group called "The Tent of Facebook Youth".

"When the revolution started in Change Square there were many independent youths who were enthusiastic to boost the revolution but they were afraid that the square was controlled by political parties or Ahmer tribesmen," said Yahsob Aleryani, one of the people who set up the tent. "So we wanted to have a tent in the square that represented the youth of Facebook and at the same time they have a place to gather and discuss whatever they like without the control of any party."

The importance of the Facebook group is to give independent youths a space to exchange ideas freely and follow the revolution updates from all points of view, teaching people to accept a different point of view.

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