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# اتصل على حسابي

لأول مرة في اليمن  
خدمة إتصل على حسابي



خدمة إتصل على حسابي ... لجميع مستخدمي الدفع المسبق

- استخدام الخدمة : إطلب 9\* يليه رقم الموبايل المطلوب ثم إتصال.
- الخدمة متاحة لجميع خطوط الدفع المسبق ضمن شبكة سبافون ولا تحتاج إلى تفعيل.
- إمكانية الإتصال حتى بدون رصيد بالنسبة للمتصل، لكن يشترط توفر رصيد كاف لدى الطرف الآخر حتى تتم المكالمة.
- استقبال المكالمات : عند ورود المكالمات سيظهر رقم المتصل على شاشة الموبايل وعند الرد سيستمع المتلقي إلى رسالة صوتية تطلب منه قبول المكالمات على حسابه بالضغط على الرقم 1 أو رفضها بالضغط على الرقم 2 وفي حال كانت المكالمات من رقم موجود في قائمة السماح، سيظهر رقم المتصل على شاشة الموبايل وعند الرد سيتم استقبال المكالمات مباشرة دون إنتظار موافقة الطرف الآخر.
- لإدارة الخدمة من قبل المتلقي، أرسل الامر المطلوب إلى 999 .

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Hundreds of thousands of Yemenis took to the streets on Tuesday to commemorate the 3rd year anniversary of Yemen's Arab Spring. Injured youth, the families of those who died during the uprising, and Nobel Prize laureate Tawakkol Karman amongst those gathered. Karman called for disarmament of all armed groups in the country over a period of six months, as well as for more support for injured youth from the uprising. See more on Page 2.  
Photo by Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

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## Constitutional Drafting Committee to be established in coming days

Mohammed Al-Hassani

SANA'A, Feb. 12—President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi is expected to announce names of representatives for the Constitutional Drafting Technical Committee either this week or early next week, according to Yasser Al-Ruaini, the deputy secretary general of the now-concluded National Dialogue Conference (NDC).

Al-Ruaini told the Yemen Times that once the committee is formed, it will begin drafting Yemen's new constitution according to the timetable outlined in the NDC Outcomes Document.

According to the document, the new constitution should be completed and put to referendum by January 2015.

Judge Abdulmonam Al-Eryani, the head of the media and electoral awareness sector for the Supreme Commission for Elections and Referendum (SCER), said SCER is still waiting for the drafting committee to be established before moving ahead with their planning.

"A referendum for the new con-

stitution will take place using the new electronic electoral system if it is ready in time," Al-Eryani said. "If not, we will use the old electoral register."

SCER has been working to prepare the new electronic electoral system ever since the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP) and the General People's Congress (GPC) agreed last year to replace the old electoral register.

The new electronic system is expected to do away with many of the problems with manual voter registration, including forged names and data, Al-Eryani said.

The NDC's State Building Working Group decided in August that a committee comprised of between 31 and 51 members would be tasked with drafting the constitution in compliance with the NDC's outcomes.

Before the constitution is put to a referendum, it will also have to be approved by President Hadi.

Members of the constitutional committee should be Yemeni nationals with a college degree in the field of law, political science or

humanities with a minimum of 10-years of experience in their field. Members must also pass a character test, according to guidelines that were set by the NDC.

Many believe the Southern governorates may pose the biggest threat to the approval of the constitution.

In February of 2011, when President Hadi was elected in a one-candidate referendum, armed Southerners attacked electoral committee centers in Aden, Al-Dhale and Lahj governorates, shutting down the facilities.

Adel Al-Sharjabi, a sociology professor at Sana'a University, expects the drafting of the constitution to go smoothly but the referendum to

face speed bumps.

"I expect that a Southern Movement faction will reject holding a referendum because it refused the NDC outcomes," he said.

Balqis Al-Lahbi, a rights activist and former NDC member, doubts the Drafting Committee will be comprised of 30 percent women, which was a stipulated quota put forth by the NDC.

Out of 22 members, there were only two women in the Regions Defining Committee, though political components agreed on a 30 percent quota for women in any government formation.

"If there is no international pressure, this quota will only be words [on paper]," Al-Lahbi said.

## Military to deploy in Arhab

Nasser Al-Sakkaf

SANA'A, Feb. 12—Yemen's military forces began on Tuesday to deploy to areas and checkpoints previously controlled by pro-Houthi tribesmen and their opponents in Arhab district near Sana'a, according to the state-run Saba News Agency.

After about 45 days of bloody clashes, the two warring parties signed a cease-fire agreement on Saturday in the presence of a Presidential Committee assigned to resolve the conflict.

Both sides agreed to end clashes and to remove unofficial checkpoints and barricades from the Sana'a-

Sa'ada road.

According to local reports, the Presidential Committee in Arhab is currently supervising the implementation of the agreement.

Mabrook Qosaila, an anti-Houthi figure in Arhab, told the Yemen

Times that they began to implement the agreement after sheikhs representing both parties signed the document on Saturday.

"The tribal fighters have been replaced with soldiers from Brigade 62, which was positioned in the Al-Sama area near Arhab," Qosaila said.

The two parties, on Tuesday and Wednesday, evacuated 24

*"Although the truce mentioned the release of all hostages by both sides, dozens are still being held captive."*

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locations that they had occupied during the clashes, according to Qosaila.

"Sporadic shooting is still underway in the area but all-out clashes have stopped completely between the two parties," said Qosaila. "The Sana'a-Sa'ada road now is clear after one Houthi checkpoint and two manned by the other party were removed."

Although the truce called for the release of all hostages, dozens are still being held captive on both sides, including Sheikh Ahmed Al-Essami—who was captured by the Houthis.

The clashes between Arhab tribesmen and the Houthis have forced residents to flee the area.

Sheikh Abduljaleel Sinan told

the Yemen Times that, "the situation is stable in the area, and people feel secure now. Hundreds of displaced people returned to Arhab this week."

Sinan said the clashes stopped after the sheikhs who signed the agreement pledged to compensate locals affected by clashes.

Abdulqader Hilal, the mayor of Sana'a and a member of the Presidential Committee, posted on his Facebook page on Wednesday that, "The situation in Arhab is calm and stable."

The clashes between the tribesmen of Arhab and the Houthis began in early January after Arhab tribesmen blocked the Sana'a-Sa'ada road in reaction to the siege imposed by the Houthis on Dammaj.

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# Yemenis commemorate 3rd anniversary of 2011 uprising

Story and photo by  
**Ali Ibrahim AL-Moshki**

SANA'A, Feb. 12—Hundreds of thousands of Yemenis on Tuesday celebrated the third anniversary of the 2011 uprising that led former President Ali Abdulla Saleh to step down.

Yemenis gathered at squares in governorates around the country. Tens of thousands gathered on Al-Siteen Street in the capital, Sana'a. The Supreme Coordinating Committee of the Youth Revolution organized a festival to mark the occasion.

Those who participated in the uprising, including the injured and the families of those who were killed, took part. They called on the government to release the youth of the uprising who were still being detained, and to provide appropriate and adequate medical treatment for the injured as soon as possible.

Jamal Al-Dhafiri, the deputy head of the General Council of Revolutionary Detainees, read a letter that was written by Ibrahim Al-Hamadi, one of the detainees. Al-Hamadi said he and his companions were reliving the hardships of the uprising every day. They went a hunger strike on Feb. 1 and say they will continue until they are set free.

Tawakkol Karman, the Nobel



**"We should transfer the power of armed groups to the government. The government should be strong so that the guilty cannot escape punishment. The government [should be strong so that it is] respected," Nobel Prize laureate Tawakkol Karman told a crowd on the 3rd anniversary of the 2011 uprising.**

Peace laureate, delivered a speech to the crowd.

"We should transfer the power of armed groups to the government. The government should be strong so that the guilty cannot es-

cape punishment. The government [should be strong so that it is] respected."

Karman called for disarmament of all the armed groups in the country over a period of six months. She

also called for the issuing of a decree to restore looted public funds and a decree to finalize the military restructuring stipulated in the Gulf Cooperation Council Initiative.

Fuad Al-Himairi, a member of

the Youth Revolution Organizing Committee, delivered a speech insisting that the revolution continues. Before ending the festival, the committee released a statement, saying, "The most important phase of the revolution is building state institutions that are capable of guaranteeing freedom and dignity as well as having comprehensive and sustainable development."

Taiz and Ibb governorates also witnessed celebratory crowds. In Taiz, a car was given to one of the demonstrators who had been injured during the uprising as a tribute to his struggle.

Karman led a march to the office of the attorney general on Tuesday,

where she and the youth called for his resignation, demanding he be replaced by someone with "more integrity."

The Houthis and the Revolution Salvation Front—headed by Ahmed Saif Hashid, a member of parliament—organized another march. That march called for the consensus government to be removed and to be replaced with a more efficient government.

A third march was organized by those injured during the uprising. They marched to the Cabinet, calling for immediate medical treatment as well as government support of the families of those who died during the 2011 uprising.

## Saudi requests 29 Saudi nationals from Yemen

**Those returned accused of Al-Qaeda ties**

**Nasser Al-Sakkaf**

SANA'A, Feb. 11—Yemen handed 29 Saudi nationals over to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia this week, according to the Ministry of Defense on Tuesday.

Yemeni authorities said the Saudis were Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) suspects arrested during cooperative counterterrorism operations between the kingdom and Yemen, according to a source the Defense Ministry.

Abdulrazaq Al-Jamal, a Sana'a-based analyst conducting research on Al-Qaeda affairs, told the Yemen Times that Yemen provided fertile ground for militant groups, "particularly during this ongoing insecurity in the country, the remote rural areas allow militants to be active."

"The armed militants come to Yemen from different countries, not only from Saudi Arabia. They come to Yemen because they feel secure," he added.

Yemen is the hub of AQAP, which has been active in Yemen since 2009.

Saeed Al-Jamhi, head of Al-Jamhi Studies Center, said, "Yemen has so far handed over a lot of terror suspects in the last year, but the exact number is not available."

In early December, 12 armed men attacked Yemen's Defense Ministry and killed 56 civilians and security personnel in addition to injuring 217 others. A Defense Ministry investigation claimed that the majority of those involved in the attack were Saudi nationals.

Three Saudis were tried on Dec. 12, according to the Ministry of Defense website, all accused of being part of an armed gang affiliated with Al-Qaeda.

The ministry identified them as Nawaf Aidh Mohammed Al-Qahtani, Anas Abdullah Mohammed Al-Subaih and Mashal Fahd Abdullah Al-Sand.

The Saudi suspects, Yemen's Defense Ministry said, "entered the country illegally at the Al-Bugh'a border crossing with fake Yemeni IDs. They were arrested at a military checkpoint at the entrance of Amran city, four months ago."

## Reactions to six-region configuration

**Houthis call the set-up a recipe for more conflict**

**Ali Saeed**

SANA'A, Feb 12- The Yemeni Socialist Party [YSP] and Ansar Allah—the political wing of the Houthis, voiced their objection to Yemen's new six-region set-up on Tuesday which was approved by the Regions Defining Committee on Monday.

The political office and the general secretary of the YSP said in a statement published on Tuesday that the map "does not offer a real solution for the Southern Issue. [It simply] reintroduces past tensions and conflicts from the south's days as a colony when it was divided into protectorates."

South Yemen was a British colony until 1967. After the end of British rule, South Yemen became a social-

ist state. The country was divided into an Eastern and Western protectorate, as well as Aden colony.

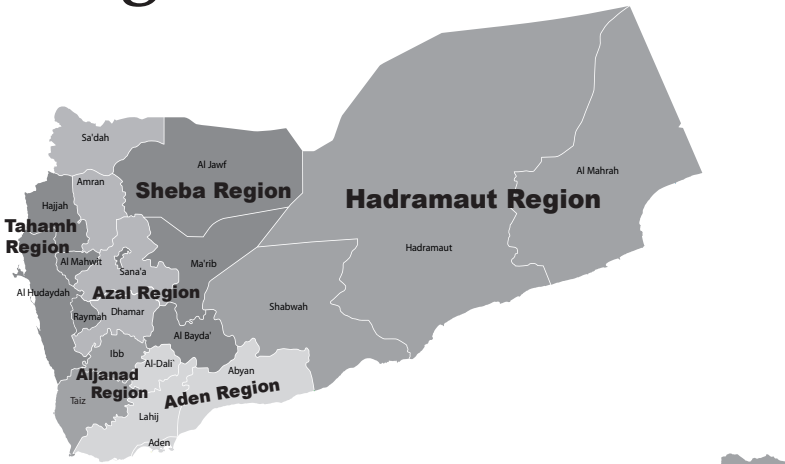
The new six-region map divides the south into two regions. Hadramout, Shabwa, Al-Mahra and Socotra constitute one region and Aden, Lahj, Al-Dhale and Abyan constitute the other.

The party said it is "committed to a two-region solution for the Southern Issue, one in the south and one in the north."

Regions Defining Committee member Dr. Maeen Abdulmalik told the Yemen Times that despite their reservations, the YSP signed the final report, though the Houthis did not.

Abdulmalik said the objection would not affect the vote because a majority voted in favor of the six-region configuration.

"We refuse this decision because it was made hastily and it will have negative consequences for Yemen for centuries," said Ali Al-Emad, a



**"We refuse this decision because it was made hastily and it will have negative consequences for Yemen for centuries," said Ali Al-Emad, a Houthi leader.**

Houthi leader.

He said that the decision of the Regions Defining Committee was supposed to be overseen by technocrats in order to determine the social and economic compatibility of

the regions.

"This form of division will probably cause internal conflicts in the future because it was decided on a sectarian and tribal basis," said Al-Emad.

## Civil society organizations come together to sign code of conduct

**Emphasis was on independence of groups**

**Nasser Al-Sakkaf**

SANA'A, Feb. 9—Roughly 150 civil society organizations from five governorates signed a code of conduct to regulate their work. This took place during a conference held last week and was organized by the Humanitarian Forum Ye-

men a local non-government organization.

Civil society organizations are non-government organizations that aim to serve the public.

Singed by civil society organizations in Sana'a, Hadramout, Hodeida, Taiz and Aden, the code of conduct stressed the importance of these organizations' independence from political parties or tribal groups.

There are about 12,000 civil society organizations around the country. 8,000 are officially regis-

tered at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor, according to the forum.

Jameel Al-Sabaei, a member of the General Youth Union-Yemen and one of the code of conduct signatories, said, "the civil society organizations which signed this code of conduct are committed to abide by it. So far, only 150 organizations signed this code of conduct, and there are no obligatory procedures to implement it. All regulations rely on [honor code]."

Rawhi Afahgani, a represen-

tative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), said during the conference that there was room for improvement for both government institutions and civil society organizations. Afahgani said the government was not dealing transparently with the civil society organizations.

The government signed a cooperation document with civil society organizations in September, a move that Afahgani counted as positive progress between the two sides.

## Two killed in attack on security checkpoint in Aden

**Nasser Al-Sakkaf**

SANA'A, Feb. 10—Two soldiers were killed and another injured when unidentified armed men attacked a security checkpoint at the entrance of Al-Buraia district of Aden governorate on Monday, according to local officials.

Sadeq Haid, the security manager of Aden governorate, told the Yemen Times that one of the militants was killed during the attack, but declined to elaborate on the identity of the attackers.

Aden oil refineries are located in

this district and the security checkpoint has been under attack several times recently. An attack last month on the same checkpoint did not result in any casualties, Haid said.

So far no one has claimed responsibility for the attack.

Abdu Al-Matari, a Southern Movement leading figure, denied that the Southern Movement played any role in the attack.

Essam Al-Shaeri, the head of the Aden-based Sah Foundation for Defending Rights and Freedoms, told the Yemen Times that "the checkpoint is at the main entrance of Al-

Buraia district where oil refineries are located."

Aden Oil Refineries Company in Al-Buraia is the main supplier of refined fuels for local consumption.

Al-Shaeri said this checkpoint was established two years ago.

"The purpose was to prevent oil smuggling from Al-Buraia," he said, adding that the recent attacks are likely after the oil facilities.

Fadhl Al-Rubaiee, the head of Madar Research for Studies based in Aden, said authorities should increase security at the checkpoints and installations located close to

the oil facilities.

"Armed militants have been attacking oil facilities in many governorates," said Al-Rubaiee. "This should be a warning for the security forces in Aden to take further precautions [to protect the installations]."

In another incident, the Hadramout Tribes Federation claimed responsibility for Friday's attack on Petromasila Company in Hadramout on Friday, according to the Ministry of Interior website. The incident left two soldiers dead and five others injured.

**Nasser Al-Sakkaf**

SANA'A, Feb. 11—The Higher Education and Scientific Research Ministry decided on Monday to put an end to new Yemeni government scholarships to private Malaysian universities due to the private universities' poor educational quality and high costs, the ministry said. It has also decided to withdraw financial support from students at any level (graduate or undergraduate) if their academic performance has been less than excellent.

Ahmed Al-Rabei, director of scholarships at the ministry, told the Yemen Times that, in Malaysia, a private university education is inferior to a public university education, and in addition, the tuition and fees of private universities are triple those of public universities. The cost of attending a public Malaysian university is approximately \$1,500 per year, while the cost of an education at a private university is about \$4,500.

There are about 9,000 Yemeni students studying in Malaysia—nearly 4,000 of them in private universities. The new rule applies to incoming students. Current students studying at private universities in Malaysia will be permitted to finish their education, but the ministry will only cover \$1,500 per year in tuition fees, plus a stipend.

"Private Malaysian universities are for-profit institutions. Their

agents in Yemen sign up students without any kind of admissions requirements. After students enroll at a private university, they start asking the Yemeni government to pay their full tuition and fees—\$4,500. However, the ministry will only pay \$1,500 per student per year for tuition and fees plus a monthly stipend of \$300. The government is under no obligation to pay the additional cost of a private university," said Rabei.

In August of 2013, a committee was sent to Malaysia to address Yemeni students' issues. Al-Rabei said they were able to resolve the issues of Yemeni students studying at public universities. However, some problems of private university students remain unresolved. Some of those students have been accumulating debt for as many as six years.

Ewadh Ali, a student at the International Islamic University, a public university, said, "Some students choose private universities because their programs are not very demanding. [The year that] I started at the university, the majority of the other new Yemeni students soon transferred to private universities."

Yemeni students in Malaysia held several protests in 2013, calling for an increase in their monthly payments. Students say current stipends barely cover living expenses. Their protests have so far been unsuccessful.

# Uprising resulted in more school dropouts

Story and photos by  
Ali Abulohoom

**O**sama Mofleh, 11, sat down on the pavement of Hadda roundabout dripping with sweat after spending hours moving from one car to another to sell his goods. More than 20 travel-size packages of napkins filled a big plastic bag that he held on to with his hands, tanned dark by the sun.

For three years now, Mofleh—a third grade drop-out—has woken up every day and headed to Hadda Street for work. He and his eight-person family live in a makeshift shack located near Siteen Street.

Mofleh's family moved from Arhab district, almost 10 miles north of Sana'a, to the capital when his father was killed in clashes between the third brigade and locals who were with 2011 uprising against the former president.

"Like many families in my district, my mother decided to move to Sana'a to look for a job in order to survive," said Mofleh. "I had nothing to do but to sell napkin pockets at this roundabout."

Mofleh was forced to drop out from school in third grade to help support his family. His two brothers also sell goods at a roundabout.

"I hope someday to resume my schooling along with my siblings," he said.

Abduallah Al-Ziadi, the media director at the Ministry of Defense told the Yemen Times that although the ministry was tasked with analyzing and addressing the dropout rate, it has been able to do so properly because there have been no technical instructions on how to conduct surveys or to systematically gather information. It has also failed to provide the committee with sufficient transportation fees

to make it to all of Yemen's governorates, he said.

The survey was conducted in heavily populated governorates, including Sana'a, Hodeidah, Raima, Hajja, Taiz, Ibb, Sa'ada and Abyan, according to Al-Ziadi.

"The dropout rate is a long-term predicament in Yemen because of poverty and illiteracy, but the phenomenon has increased since the 2011 uprising as a result of the security unrest. Many schools have to regularly shut down and irregular attendance contributes to the dropout rate," said Al-Ziadi.

The economic crisis following the uprising has also been a main factor behind the increasing rate, he said.

Al-Ziadi believes the main reason behind the increased dropout rate is the government's distraction over the uprising the past three years, leading to the negligence of the education and development sector.

"There were four schools under construction in Sa'ada, Abyan and other governorates, but construction has been suspended because the political stakeholders do not have the time or energy to devote to it," Al-Ziadi said.

Ali Al-Shami, 42, a teacher at Al-Ershad School in Ibb governorate said attention to schools has taken a hit since the uprising. The government has stopped sending monitors to districts and villages to assess performance, he said.

"This year, we do not have enough teachers. The Ministry of Education did not provide enough funding and takes no notice of how schools are functioning," Al-Shami said.

There were between 600 and 700 students enrolled before the uprising began in February 2011, he said. There are fewer than 400 students currently enrolled at Al-



The committee established by the Ministry of Education to quantify the number of school dropouts was not provided enough transportation money to make it to all of Yemen's governorates. One school in Sana'a reported losing 2000 of 4000 students in the past 3 years.

Ershad school.

Further in the north, particularly in Sa'ada and Amran governorates, tens of thousands of people have been displaced as confrontations between Houthis and Salafis and Houthis and Al-Ahmar family loyalists have broken out.

Yahia Al-Jomari, 32, a teacher at Omar Bin Al-Khatib School in Amran said the educational process has been paralyzed since tensions began in the area and many other schools have been closed down due to the large displacement of students as well as teachers.

"More than 5,000 students in

many districts rocked by fighting in Amran and Sa'ada have been deprived of their education. Despite the truce declared between [the conflicting parties], the locals remain skeptical and expect each party to break the truce," Al-Jomari said.

Waleed Amer, the director of Taleem Education Organization, says his NGO has helped the government to address the dropout rate by conducting comprehensive surveys and finding solutions to problems.

"We have carried out a survey in Sana'a governorate and soon we will send our team to conduct surveys

in all governorates," Amer said.

"The figure was very terrifying. More than 20,000 students in 50 schools have dropped out due to the economic situation following the 2011 uprising," he said.

Bin Abi Taleb School in Sana'a had 4,000 students prior to the uprising. That number now hovers around 2000, according to Ahmed Al-Ward, a teacher at the public school.

"When I asked some parents why they stopped sending their children to the school, they all said that they could no longer afford educational expenses such as uniforms and al-

lowances after the deterioration of the economy," Al-Ward said.

Morshed Saeed, 54, a local from Al-Hasaba district in Sana'a said he was forced to withdraw his children from school so they could help him earn money.

"I lost my job as a cleaner in a private company following the uprising [when the company started having economic troubles.] They told me I was unessential and I found myself on the street, without a job," Saeed said.

His children now wander around Sana'a selling CDs, perfumes and other products.

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# “The revolution is the pen, the revolution is the change”

Bushra Al-Maqtari, a leading revolutionary figure from Taiz's Freedom Square, was one of those who first took to the streets in protest against the regime of former president Ali Abdulla Saleh. Al-Maqtari has written for several newspapers in Yemen. She also wrote a short story collection called “The Furthest Ends of Pain” in 2004. Moreover, a novel of hers, “Behind the Sun” was published in 2012. Al-Maqtari has won many local awards, and also international ones, such as the Project on Middle East Democracy Prize and the 2013 UNESCO Prize for Peace Education.

Samar Qaed

This interview was conducted in early February.



Photo courtesy of Bushra Al-Maqtari

**You were among the first who called for removal of former President Saleh's regime in 2011. At the time, the youth saw the sky as the limit. Do you think the revolutionary goals have been realized?**

I think the youth revolution...has not realized its goals because it was manipulated by [those who pushed for the] Gulf Initiative. We are still suffering from the consequences of this initiative.

**Do you think it was an international conspiracy that altered the course of the revolution in another direction?**

Yes, the revolution was turned into a political crisis among different parties. Unfortunately, the political process and the national dialogue have not tried to change the [culture of corruption]...corruption [still exists]; it has just been recycled and has taken on different appearances.

**Speaking as one of the Taiz revolutionaries, which specific goals have not yet materialized?**

Unfortunately, we have social contradictions that date back more than 33 years. Today, we are still experiencing these regional and sectarian contradictions as well as internal strife. All these contradictions contributed to derailing the revolution. [I think it will take time in Yemen to get rid of the corrupt politicians who are still in power because our revolution was unaccompanied by a cultural and attitudinal revolution that might have changed tribal thinking and also the thinking of politicians.]

It is my conviction that all the revolutions [of the Arab spring] which were manipulated will find their way again and experience a resurgence.

**What does February 11 mean to you?**

I consider it [the date of] a popular uprising, but it came after 33 years of injustice, repression and continuous wars. Even if this [uprising] was manipulated or [otherwise] hindered, it is still has power that will inspire the current and the coming generations. We still

have momentum. We will not allow frustration to steal hope from us. The revolution will continue in different ways.

**Now Freedom Square in Taiz is almost empty and youth hold their celebrations in other parts of the city. Does this mean the revolutionary youth have lost their passion?**

The revolution is greater than the [physical places where events took place]. What happened is that the squares in different governorates emptied out because of disillusionment...and so, the squares lost their symbolic power. The squares have become battlegrounds for personal and partisan retaliation. The revolution is not limited to places. The revolution is the pen. The revolution is the change.

**Two years after electing Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi president, the revolutionary detainees have not yet been set free. Why are the [other, free] youth revolutionaries silent?**

Unfortunately, this is a sad situation, with real heroes like Maher Al-Maqtari [no relation to Bushra Al-Maqtari—Editor] still behind bars. He has been imprisoned for three years. [No one expected] the revolution to end in such a terrible situation. The consensus government has taken no concrete action in regard to these detainees who [were prepared to sacrifice their lives in order to] effect change. However, we will take to the streets again on February 11, 2014. We will try again to make change happen. The injured revolutionaries will be in the front rows.

**Could you talk a little bit about the suffering of the victims of the revolution in Taiz?**

Their suffering is inexcusable. Three of them, including Abdulrahman Al-Kamali, died under very inhumane circumstances because of government negligence as well as the negligence of the Fund for Injured Revolutionaries. There are many...whose living conditions are miserable, such as Bassam Al-Ahli. This situation is painful for all revolutionaries, and makes us all question why that had to happen.

**Do you think the revolution has reflected positively or negatively on Taiz?**

Though many negatives emerged along with the revolution—such as the carrying of weapons and sheikhs' interventions—the revolution is still [overall] positive for us.

**The youth in the squares call themselves independent, but it sometimes appears that some of them act based on partisan affiliation. What do you have to say about this contradiction?**

The youth who have partisan affiliations were among those who first camped in the square with the independent youth. There was no rift between the two because the independent youth also had partisan roots.

Sometimes, there were some differences between the youth and their leadership, but we continued in the square until the end.

**As a prominent member of the Yemen Socialist Party, how do you evaluate its performance in the government or in politics in general?**

I am always critical of the party. The biggest mistake the party made was at the National Dialogue Conference [NDC] when it presented its vision for the shape of the state and approved the third article of the constitution that states that Islamic Sharia will be the source of all legislation. The party approved this article without consulting with all of its members. It did not take the youths' view into account. However, I count the party balanced and clear in this present phase. [I think it is] better than any other party.

**Some ask where Dr. Yaseen Saeed Noman, the secretary general of the party, is at this difficult moment in Yemen...?**

Dr. Yaseen Saeed Noman is the [senior] statesman for this [transitional] period. He did his best to create a feeling among people that the NDC would help them realize their aspirations. But I objected to [his leadership] from the very beginning of the Dialogue because his premises were incorrect and because of that, I believed that the outcomes would also be wrong. Unfortunately, we are accustomed to relying on a particular individual. Presumably, we will find other individuals—a new trend of politicians and educated individuals who are able to build a national program for the country. I hold Dr. Noman in high esteem, and I wish him a speedy recovery. He is receiving treatment in Britain.

**After dividing power among the political parties and establishing the consensus government, people felt that the squares [city plazas that were the political epicenters of the 2011 revolution] only served political interests. What do you think?**

I largely agree with this. If we look at the consensus government, we find that some managed to obtain a decision-making role position through [their work in the] squares, particularly those from Change Square in Sana'a. Regretfully, none of these people has effected real change through the ministries they are running. The reconciliation government has turned [out to be a government of] political quotas. I think the prime minister, Mohammed Salem Basindawa, is the most ineffective minister in the history of Yemen. The country needs a technocratic government to make effective change. But this did not happen.

**Women have contributed to the changes. Can we say that women's role in politics has grown?**

There has been a partial change. A woman was previously unable to have her voice heard. But now she can make decision-makers listen to her. However, women were manipulated politically during the revolution and also afterward, by the parties. Still, we cannot judge the situation of women unless we see the woman-related texts in the

constitution and see the results. There was a negative phenomenon that took place, namely, the slandering of some activists as well as some accusations of blasphemy. However, the positive thing is that people sympathize with women, and so, women's influence expands.

**Are you thinking of starting a political party or running for local or parliamentary elections?**

We need women and youth to be in the parliament in order to be present as the real voice of change. But the general situation is corrupt and I personally do not have any ambition to run for office. Currently, as a member of the socialist party, I hope I can create change inside it and help it be as it once was, close to the ordinary people.

**You wrote a short story collection in 2004. It was pure literature. However, critics say your last novel, “Behind the Sun,” was lined with politics. Has politics taken you**

**away from literature?**

No, I am still a writer of literature. However, politics obliges the writer to adopt a particular stance. My novel, “Behind the Sun,” was a unique experience because it was about events of which people have not spoken, such as the 1994 war and the [special] prisons for political prisoners. [This novel was written during a time when an atmosphere of politics dominated everything.] A writer cannot put the current political situation aside and just ignore it.

**In an article of yours about youth suffering during the Life March [Dec. 20, 2011], you wrote, “God did not see us.” This made religious groups lash out at you. How did you respond to and deal with their reactions?**

At the beginning, I was astonished [by the reaction] and could not believe that I had been accused of heresy. A friend of mine called, telling me that imams were giving sermons in the mosques that were calling me an apostate. After

a week an edict was even issued, declaring me a heretic. My house was besieged.

I took the situation in stride and I said it was normal for a writer to be criticized. However, [I must say that] they took my writing out of context, and misconstrued it, saying to people that I had spoken badly of God. However, the thing that made them turn against me and accuse me of heresy is the fact that my article depicted the real situation of the revolution. I criticized the presence of fanatical religious movements in the squares, who aborted the revolution and made people leave the squares. [Of course] they did not like that article. At that time, I had to take some measures to keep myself safe.

**What are your plans for the future?**

I hope to continue writing. And I hope my voice will continue to represent the majority of youth. I also have an idea to document the youth revolution in a book, but I think this idea will take me some time to complete.



## 2014 GLOBAL KOREA SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM (Master & Ph.D Degree Programs)

### 3 SCHOLARSHIPS TO KOREA

The objective of the Korean Government Scholarship Program for Master & Ph.D degree is to provide Yemeni students with an opportunity to conduct advanced studies at higher educational institutions in Korea in order to promote international exchanges in education and mutual friendship between Yemen and Korea.

**Qualifications:** Prospective applicants must meet the following qualification criteria;

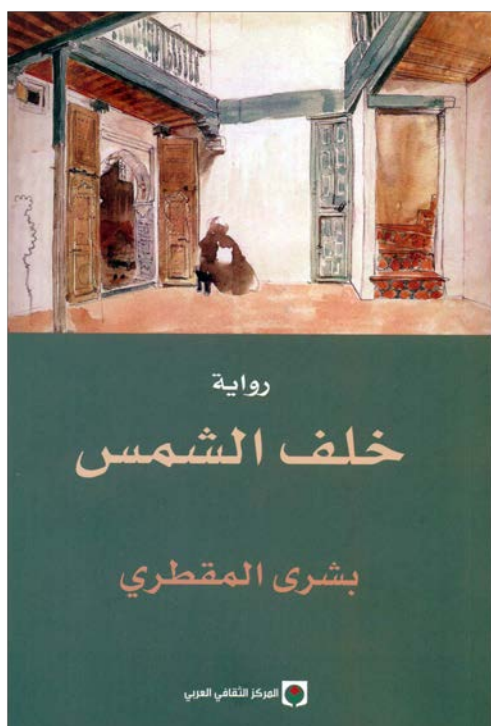
- (1) Must be a citizen of Yemen to which scholarships are offered, which is also applied to his/her parents
- (2) Should be under 40 years of age as of 1<sup>st</sup> September 2014. (Should be born after 1<sup>st</sup> September 1974.)
- (3) Must hold a Bachelor's or Master's degree as of 31<sup>st</sup> August 2014.
- (4) Must hold a grade point average (G.P.A.) of at least 2.64 on a 4.0 scale, 2.80 on a 4.3 scale, 2.91 on a 4.5 scale, or grades/marks/score of 80% or higher from the previously attended institution.

✘ **NOT Eligible:** Those who have ever enrolled at any Korean university as a regular or an exchange student. (For exceptions, please read the program guideline.)

**Application Period:** 10<sup>th</sup> February 2014 – 27<sup>th</sup> February 2014

**Application Process:**

- More details and an application form can be downloaded online from following website: [WWW.STUDYINKOREA.GO.KR](http://WWW.STUDYINKOREA.GO.KR).
- A completed application form along with other required documents should be submitted in a sealed envelope to the Embassy of the Republic of Korea by no later than 4:30pm, 27<sup>th</sup> February 2014.
- The Embassy of the Republic of Korea  
Address: P.O. Box 5005, House No.4 (off Iran St), Sana'a, Yemen / ☎ 01-431-801-4



The cover of Bushra Al-Maqtari's 2012 novel, *Behind the Sun*, which covers previously taboo political topics.

الأديبة والقيادية في ثورة الشباب بشري المقطري لـ "يمن تايمز":

## باسندوة أفضل رئيس وزراء مر على اليمن

بشري المقطري إحدى القيادات الثورية في ساحة الحرية بمدينة تعز، وهي من أوائل الثوار الذين دعت للخروج ضد نظام الرئيس السابق علي عبدالله صالح، عملت بشري في مجال الكتابة الأدبية والصحفية من خلال العديد من الصحف اليمنية، أبرزها ملحق الثقافية التابع لصحيفة الجمهورية، ولها مجموعة قصصية اسمها "أقاصي الوجد" في 2004، ورواية أدبية أخرى حملت عنوان "خلف الشمس" في 2012، حازت بشري على العديد من الجوائز المحلية والعالمية من أهمها جائزة فرانسواز جيرو للسلام والتفاهم العالمي، وجائزة المدافعين عن الديمقراطية والحريات و حقوق المرأة في الشرق الأوسط 2013.

حوار/ سمر قائد



نحتاج ان يترشحوا الشباب أو المرأة في مجالس النواب لكي يظهرها كصوت تغيير حقيقي، لكن الوضع العام فاسد ولا يوجد لدي طموح في ذلك، لكن حالياً كوني عضوة في الحزب الاشتراكي اتمنى ان أقود التغيير داخل حزبي وان يعود الى سياقه الحقيقي كما كان سابقاً بأنه كان قريب من الإنسان اليمني البسيط.

بشري المقطري الأديبة بكتابتها الرائعة.. كتبتني فيما مضى في 2004 مجموعة قصصية "أقاصي الوجد" وكانت ادبية خالصة لكن روايتك الاخيرة "خلف الشمس" وصفها النقاد بانها معجونة بالسياسة، هل

السياسة أخذت بعيداً عن الأدب؟ لا، مازلت كاتبة أدبية وبكل يوم أكتب ما أراه، ولا أرى ان السياسي يأخذ محل الأديب، لكن الفعل السياسي يضطر الكاتب ان يتخذ موقف ما حول ارتباط كتابته بمواقفه، ورواية خلف الشمس كانت بالنسبة لي تجربة ادبية فريدة، لأنها كانت كتابة عن أحداث مسكوت عنها في ذاكرة الناس مثل حرب 94 والسجون السياسية وكانت كتابة الرواية فعلاً مشحونة بالجو سياسي، لكن لا يستطيع الكاتب ان يبعد الموقف السياسي الحاضر بقوة.

في مسيرة الحياة كنت كتبتني مقال فيه معاناة الشباب من تلك المسيرة وجاء فيه "والله الذي لا يرانا" فأثارت هذه الجملة ردة فعل كبيره خصوصاً من التيارات الدينية.. كيف تلتقي بشري المقطري الدعوات التكفيرية، وكيف تعاملت معها؟

تفاجأت ولم أصدق انه تم تكفيرني في البداية، و اتصل بي زميل يخبرني ان الجوامع تكفرتني في خطبها، وبعد اسبوع صدرت فتوى تكفرتني وتم محاصرة منزلي، انا تقبلت الأمر، لأنه بذلك الوقت من الطبيعي ان يتعرض الكاتب للنقد، وهم للأسف اجتازوا بعض النصوص وجعلوها مفهومة للناس بأنني تعديت على الخالق، لكن الحقيقة التي جعلتهم يثورون ضدي وبهموني بالتكفير هي مقالتني عن واقع الثورة التي لم تعجبهم لأنني انتقدت وجود التيارات الدينية المتشددة في الساحات والتي اجهضت الثورة وأبعدت الناس عن الساحات بسببها، و حاولت بتلك الفترة ان اخذ احتياطات أمنية لسلامتي.

ما الذي تنوي بشري المقطري عمله مستقبلاً؟

أتمنى ان أظل في الكتابة، وأن يظل صوتي يمثل صوت الكثير من الشباب، وهناك أفكار واردة من ضمنها توثيق الثورة الشبابية بكتاب، ولكن هذه الفكرة مستقبلية والوقت ربما الان بعيد عن تنفيذها.

تمربه اليمن؟ د. ياسين يعتبر رجل المرحلة، حاول قدر استطاعته ان يخلق لدى الناس ان الحوار الوطني سيقدم الكثير من الأمال، رغم انني من بداية الحوار عارضته لان مقدماته كانت خاطئة فأكيد المخزجات ستكون خاطئة، ونحن للأسف نبقي نعول على شخص ما، والمفروض ان نجد أشخاصاً آخرين بعيداً عن د. ياسين، تيار جديد من المثقفين و السياسيين قادرين ان يتبنوا مشروع وطني للبلد ولا تتخندق خلف شخص مع احترامي لوزن الدكتور ياسين، وهو حالياً يتعالج في بريطانيا نتمنى له الشفاء.

بعد تقاسم السلطة بين الأحزاب و تكوين حكومة وفاق وطني شعر الناس ان شباب الثورة في الساحات كانوا مجرد غطاء لمصالح سياسية كيف ترددي على هذا؟

اتفق بشكل كبير مع هذا، فعندما نقيم مثلاً حكومة الوفاق الوطني نلاحظ ان البعض وصل الى مراكز القرار من خلال الساحات خصوصاً من ساحة صنعاء، وللأسف لم يقدم هؤلاء أي تغيير حقيقي من خلال وزارتهم، لأن حكومة الوفاق الوطني تحولت الى محاصصة سياسية، ويجاول الوزراء فيها ان يعملوا احلال ضد اعضاء خصومهم في الوزارات ويعطوا تلك الاماكن لأصدقاء حزبهم، وبعائقي رئيس الوزراء باسندوة هو أفضل رئيس وزراء مر على اليمن، والبلد كان بحاجة الي حكومة تكنوقراط قادرة على دفع التغيير، ولكن لم يحدث ذلك.

ساهمت النساء في صناعة التغيير فهل يمكن القول ان المرأة اليمنية اليوم سياسياً أفضل من السابق، أم انه تم استخدامها لأغراض سياسية والآن هي مهمشة إلى حين يأتي دور آخر لها؟

يوجد تغيير جزئي، بحيث ان المرأة التي كانت بعيدة عن ايصال صوتها للشارع ولصناع القرار أصبحت تتحدث، لكن المرأة كذلك استغلت سياسياً سواء من الثورة أو الطرف الآخر، لكن لا نستطيع ان نحكم على وضع تغيير المرأة الا بعد ان نرى نصوصاً تخص حقوق المرأة في الدستور ونرى النتائج، وكان هناك ظاهرة سلبية مثل التشهير بالنشطات والتكفير لكن في المقابل الشيء الايجابي ان هناك متعاطفين مع المرأة وبانها أصبحت أكثر حضوراً.

المبادرة الخليجية نقلت التغيير في اليمن من العمل الثوري إلى العمل السياسي، وانتي انتقدتي هذا الوضع، فهل تفكرين في تكوين حزب أو الترشح في الانتخابات البرلمانية أو المحلية؟

هل ترين ان الثورة انعكست سلباً أم إيجابياً على تعز؟ الثورة مهما ترافقت معها ظواهر سلبية مثل انتشار حمل السلاح و تسلط المشايخ في تعز وكانت من قبل غير موجودة إلا إنها تبقى ايجاباً بالنسبة لنا.

ينتقد البعض ان الكثير من الشباب الثورة أصبحوا دائمين السفر من دولة إلى أخرى بمشاركة مؤتمرات وندوات ونيل جوائز.. وهذا انعكس على وجودهم الفعلي داخل الوطن.. فهل هذا يعد من نتائج ثورتكم؟ هناك للأسف من شباب الثورة يعتقد بانهم مستحقون سياسياً وأن لهم الحق في تولي مناصب بعيداً عن معايير النزاهة والكفاءة وتم إفساد أفكار هؤلاء الشباب وفق هذه العقلية، وأرى ان سفريات الثوار شيء ايجابي باحتكاكهم مع تجارب الآخرين من الدول الأخرى، لكن يجب ان تنعكس هذه التجارب بداخل البلد وينقلها إلى الساحات اليمنية، ولكن البعض تحول إلى متنقل خارجي دون ان يقدم شيء مفيد داخل الساحات.

أنتم كشباب ساحات حزبيين تعلنوا أحياناً انكم ضد حزبكم.. وأحياناً أخرى بانكم مستقلين هل هناك عدم تفهم بينكم كشباب ساحات وقيادات الأحزاب التي تنتمون إليها؟ الشباب المتحزب كانوا هم من طلائع الشباب الذين خرجوا الى الساحات بجانب المستقلين، ولم يظهر خلاف بين الطرفين لان الشباب المستقل اصلاً ليس مستقلين بالشكل الكامل فديهم خلفية حزبية معينة، كانت يوجد نقاط اختلاف أحياناً بين الشباب وأحياناً مع القيادات، لكننا بالآخر استمرينا في الساحة.

كونك عضوة بارزة في الحزب الاشتراكي، كيف تقيمي عمل الحزب اليوم سواء من خلال وزياراته في الحكومة أو نشاطه السياسي حالياً؟

دائماً أمارس نقد علي الحزب، وكان أكبر خطأ وقع به الحزب انه قدم رؤيته حول شكل تكوين الدولة في الحوار الوطني وأقر المادة الثالثة من الدستور، وهو أن الشريعة الإسلامية مصدر جميع التشريعات، هو أقر هذه المادة دون استشارة الأعضاء و شباب الحزب، للأسف أي قرار يتخذ في الحزب يتم دون إشراك الشباب، وهذا التجاوز بمشاركة رأي الشباب يحدث في جميع الأحزاب للأسف، لكن أرى انه أكثر حزب وضوحاً وتوازناً في هذه المرحلة.

يتساءل الكثير ابن الأمين العام للحزب الاشتراكي د. ياسين سعيد نعمان في هذا الوقت الصعب التي

ثقافية لكي تغير العقلية القبلية اليمنية والعقلية السياسية القائمة، ولدي قناعة ان كل الثورات التي تم الالتفاف عليها ستعود مساراتها وصحتها من جديد.

ماذا يعني 11 فبراير لبشري المقطري؟

اعتبرها صحوه شعب، لكنها متأخرة بعد 33 سنة من الظلم والقهر و من الحروب المستمرة، 11 فبراير حتى لو أخطأ أو تم الالتفاف على مساره، لكنه ما يزال هو الجدوى التي ستحرك الجيل الحالي والقادم، ونحن مازلنا بنفس الرزق، حتى لو كان الإحباط موجوداً، لكن هناك الأمل ان الثورة ستستمر وفق سياقات أخرى.

فيما مضى كانت تشهد ساحة الحرية في تعز زخماً جماهيرياً، لكنها الآن شبه فارغة، واحتفالات شباب الثورة تتم في أماكن أخرى فهل فقد شباب تعز الثورة الحقيقية؟

الثورة أكبر من الساحات، و الذي حصل ان الساحات في أماكن متعددة بالمحافظات صارت فارغة بسبب خلق أوهام متعددة في نفوس الشباب جعلتها تفرغ الساحات من مضمونها، وأصبحت الساحات والميدانية الثورية إلى أماكن للإقتتال وتصفية الصراعات الشخصية والحزبية، والثورة تتجاوز الأماكن لأنها القلم والتغيير.

بعد مضي حوالي سنتين على انتخاب الرئيس هادي لا يزال محتقلو الثورة الشبابية خلف القضبان لماذا كل هذا الصمت من شباب الثورة وقياداتها؟ للأسف هذا الواقع محزن جداً، قضية المعتقل ماهر لا يزال حتى الآن 3 سنوات في السجن، وهذا بسبب بقاء الابطال الحقيقيين خلف القضبان، وهؤلاء للأسف لم يتوقعوا ان تصل الثورة الى هذا المأزق الخطير، وحكومة الوفاق لم تعمل شيء حقيقي تجاه هؤلاء الأشخاص الذين قدموا المستحيل من أجل التغيير، لكن نحن سننزل في 11 فبراير 2014 للساحة وسوف نحاول ان نعيد التغيير من جديد وسيكون في مقدمة الصفوف جرحى الثورة.

نريد ان ننقل معاناة أسر الشهداء و الجرحى في تعز؟

معاناتهم محزنة وموجعة، لم يحدث في ثورات الربيع العربي ان يموت ثلاثة من الجرحى في ظروف لا إنسانية سيئة منهم الكمالي والعامري بسبب الإهمال من حكومة الوفاق ومن صندوق رعاية الجرحى، وهناك العديد من الجرحى حالتهم مزرية ومنهم عميد الجرحى بسام الأكلبي، وهذا بسبب لأي تأثير نكره يجعله يتساءل لماذا وصل الوضع الى هذا الحد.

تحويل الثورة الى أزمة سياسية ما بين أطراف متعددة، وللأسف ان المسار السياسي وما تحول عليه من المبادرة الخليجية والحوار الوطني، لم يسعى الى تغيير منظومة الفساد وإنما تم تدوير الفساد بأشكال وقفزات جديدة.

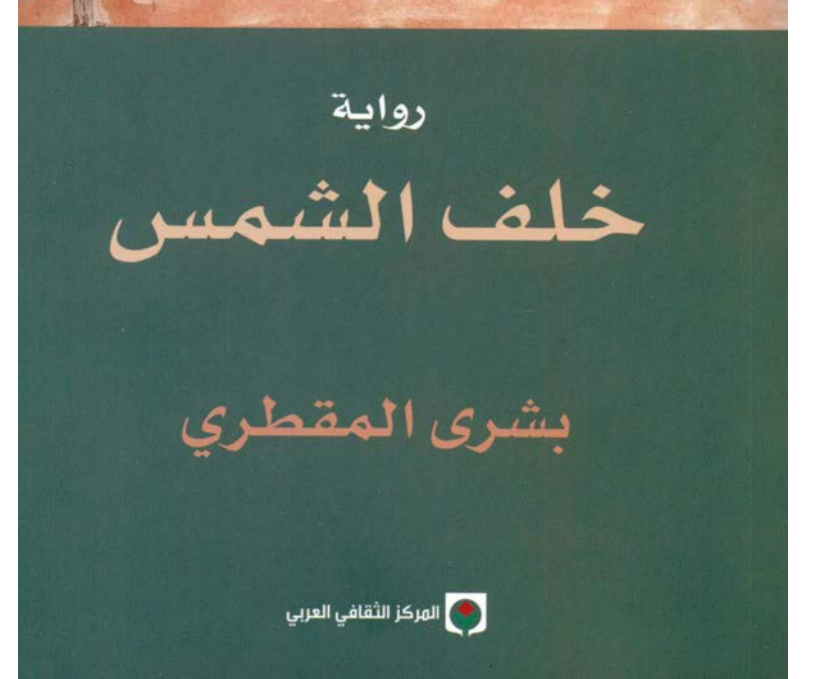
ماذا تبقى من الأهداف التي كانت بشري وشباب الثورة في تعز ياملوا ان يصلوا لها في ذلك الوقت؟

للأسف لدينا تناقضات اجتماعية تمتد لأكثر من ثلاثة وثلاثين سنة ونحن الان نعيشها بتناقضاتها الجهوية والمناطقية والحروب الداخلية الدائرة، كل هذه التناقضات اسهمت في عرقلة الثورة، لكن اتوقع انه سيكون باليمن وقت كافي لإزاحة مراكز النفوذ الفاسدة، لأنه ثورة التغيير في اليمن لم يكن بجانيها ثورة

بشري المقطري من أوائل القيادات التي دعت للخروج ضد النظام السابق في 2011، وكان الشباب حينها لديهم غايات تعانق عنان السماء.. هل تعتقد بشري ان أهداف الثورة بعد هذا الوقت تحققت؟ أنا باعتقادي ان الثورة اليمنية التي خرج من أجلها الشباب لم تحقق أهدافها سواء في تعز أو في كل الساحات اليمنية، لأنه تم الالتفاف على الثورة من خلال المبادرة الخليجية، وماترتب عليها من تداعيات خطيرة، مازلنا لحد الان نعاني منها.

هل تشعر ان هناك تآمر دولي على الثورة الشبابية قام بأخذها لمسار آخر؟

نعم تم الالتفاف على الثورة من خلال



غلاف رواية «خلف الشمس» لبشري المقطري والتي تتحدث عن مواضيع سياسية مسكوت عنها وان كانت تعيش في ذاكرة الناس.

نهني ونبارك للأخ العزيز/ **أكرم عبدالرحمن السقاف** بمناسبة إرتزاقه المولود الجديد والذي أسماه **عمرو**

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## OUR OPINION

### Yemen's 2011 Arab Spring: Unfinished Business

As Yemen marked the third year since its Arab Spring uprising on February 11, I realized that we should have started our uprising years before 2011. Political pluralism manifested itself in Yemen through its opposition parties, we had a relatively good civil society presence and we had many activists who took to the streets demanding all kinds of rights.

For example, all the way back in 2007, the area between the Cabinet building and the former premises of the Information Ministry was renamed "Freedoms Square" by those who held protests and sit-ins there—years before Tunisia even thought of a revolution and years before the sit-ins in Egypt's Tahrir Square.

But it is what it is, and for some reason we had to wait for the Arab Spring to take place to get us into action. When the spark was lit, Tunisia and Egypt decided their fate in weeks while it took Yemen months of popular and political struggle before we found a solution. And that too, was different a different process. Instead of toppling the regime, we made a deal and by the end of around one year of protests, we signed an agreement—making everyone king.

This transition deal, known as the Gulf Cooperation Council Initiative, required power to be shared by both the former regime and the former opposition, creating a void of political opposition. In such transitional scenarios, strong civil society and independent media are supposed to fill the void left by the opposition and truly represent the public's best interest.

However, this didn't happen. Unfortunately, most of today's media is playing a negative role. Not only do they not represent the public's best interest, but they also create chaos, instigate hatred and spread fear and anxiety in the country.

Not to mention that most Yemeni politicians are extremely selfish and far too dense to learn from the past. A quick look at recent history would show anyone with eyes how propaganda and capitalizing on others' failure instead of building one's success is bound to backfire. Alas, there is no cure for stupidity.

Stupid politicians and a lack of independent media and civil society is a very dangerous combination. As it is, we are already living through a very fragile transition, surrounded by poverty, armed militia, thugs and terrorists.

We can't afford to have those in charge of steering the country through this transition committed to their personal, short-sighted interests. We can always complete the unfinished business of 2011, but at what cost?

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

# The NSA's secret role in the U.S. assassination program

Jeremy Seahill and  
Glenn Greenwald  
Firstlook.org  
First Published Feb. 10

The National Security Agency is using complex analysis of electronic surveillance, rather than human intelligence, as the primary method to locate targets for lethal drone strikes – an unreliable tactic that results in the deaths of innocent or unidentified people.

According to a former drone operator for the military's Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) who also worked with the NSA, the agency often identifies targets based on controversial metadata analysis and cell-phone tracking technologies. Rather than confirming a target's identity with operatives or informants on the ground, the CIA or the U.S. military then orders a strike based on the activity and location of the mobile phone a person is believed to be using.

The drone operator, who agreed to discuss the top-secret programs on the condition of anonymity, was a member of JSOC's High Value Targeting task force, which is charged with identifying, capturing or killing terrorist suspects in Yemen, Somalia, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

His account is bolstered by top-secret NSA documents previously provided by whistleblower Edward Snowden. It is also supported by a former drone sensor operator with the U.S. Air Force, Brandon Bryant, who has become an outspoken critic of the lethal operations in which he was directly involved in Iraq, Afghanistan and Yemen.

In one tactic, the NSA "geolocates" the SIM card or handset of a suspected terrorist's mobile phone, enabling the CIA and U.S. military to conduct night raids and drone strikes to kill or capture the individual in possession of the device.

The former JSOC drone operator is adamant that the technology has been responsible for taking out terrorists and networks of people facilitating improvised explosive device attacks against U.S. forces in Afghanistan. But he also states that innocent people have "absolutely" been killed as a result of the NSA's increasing reliance on the surveillance tactic.

One problem, he explains, is that targets are increasingly aware of the NSA's reliance on geolocating, and have moved to thwart the tactic. Some have as many as 16 different SIM cards associated with their identity within the High Value Target system. Others, unaware that their mobile phone is being targeted, lend their phone, with the SIM card in it, to friends, children, spouses and family members.

Some top Taliban leaders, knowing of the NSA's targeting method, have purposely and randomly distributed SIM cards among their units in order to elude their trackers. "They would do things like go to meetings, take all their SIM cards out, put them in a bag, mix them up, and everybody gets a different SIM card when they leave," the former drone operator says. "That's how they confuse us."

As a result, even when the agency correctly identifies and targets a SIM card belonging to a terror suspect, the phone may actually be carried by someone else, who is then killed in a strike. According to the former drone operator, the geolocation cells at the NSA that run the tracking program – known as Geo Cell – sometimes facilitate strikes with-

out knowing whether the individual in possession of a tracked cell phone or SIM card is in fact the intended target of the strike.

"Once the bomb lands or a night raid happens, you know that phone is there," he says. "But we don't know who's behind it, who's holding it. It's of course assumed that the phone belongs to a human being who is nefarious and considered an 'unlawful enemy combatant.' This is where it gets very shady."

The former drone operator also says that he personally participated in drone strikes where the identity of the target was known, but other unknown people nearby were also killed.

*It's really like we're targeting a cell phone. We're not going after people – we're going after their phones, in the hopes that the person on the other end of that missile is the bad guy.*

"They might have been terrorists," he says. "Or they could have been family members who have nothing to do with the target's activities."

What's more, he adds, the NSA often locates drone targets by analyzing the activity of a SIM card, rather than the actual content of the calls. Based on his experience, he has come to believe that the drone program amounts to little more than death by unreliable metadata.

"People get hung up that there's a targeted list of people," he says. "It's really like we're targeting a cell phone. We're not going after people – we're going after their phones, in the hopes that the person on the other end of that missile is the bad guy."

The Obama administration has repeatedly insisted that its operations kill terrorists with the utmost precision.

In his speech at the National Defense University last May, President Obama declared that "before any strike is taken, there must be near-certainty that no civilians will be killed or injured – the highest standard we can set." He added that, "by narrowly targeting our action against those who want to kill us and not the people they hide among, we are choosing the course of action least likely to result in the loss of innocent life."

But the increased reliance on phone tracking and other fallible surveillance tactics suggests that the opposite is true. The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, which uses a conservative methodology to track drone strikes, estimates that at least 273 civilians in Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia have been killed by unmanned aerial assaults under the Obama administration. A recent study conducted by a U.S. military adviser found that, during a single year in Afghanistan – where the majority of drone

strikes have taken place – unmanned vehicles were 10 times more likely than conventional aircraft to cause civilian casualties.

The NSA declined to respond to questions for this article. Caitlin Hayden, a spokesperson for the National Security Council, also refused to discuss "the type of operational detail that, in our view, should not be published."

In describing the administration's policy on targeted killings, Hayden would not say whether strikes are ever ordered without the use of human intelligence. She emphasized that "our assessments are not based on a single piece of information. We gather and scrutinize information from a variety of sources and methods before we draw conclusions."

Hayden felt free, however, to note the role that human intelligence plays after a deadly strike occurs. "After any use of targeted lethal force, when there are indications that civilian deaths may have occurred, intelligence analysts draw on a large body of information – including human intelligence, signals intelligence, media reports, and surveillance footage – to help us make informed determinations about whether civilians were in fact killed or injured."

The government does not appear to apply the same standard of care in selecting whom to target for assassination. The former JSOC drone operator estimates that the overwhelming majority of high-value target operations he worked on in Afghanistan relied on signals intelligence, known as SIGINT, based on the NSA's phone-tracking technology.

"Everything they turned into a kinetic strike or a night raid was almost 90 percent that," he says. "You could tell, because you'd go back to the mission reports and it will say 'this mission was triggered by SIGINT,' which means it was triggered by a geolocation cell."

In July, the Washington Post relied exclusively on former senior U.S. intelligence officials and anonymous sources to herald the NSA's claims about its effectiveness at geolocating terror suspects.

Within the NSA, the paper reported, "A motto quickly caught on at Geo Cell: 'We Track 'Em, You Whack 'Em.'"

But the Post article included virtually no skepticism about the NSA's claims, and no discussion at all about how the unreliability of the agency's targeting methods results in the killing of innocents.

*Within the NSA, the paper reported, "A motto quickly caught on at Geo Cell: 'We Track 'Em, You Whack 'Em.'"*

In fact, as the former JSOC drone operator recounts, tracking people by metadata and then killing them by SIM card is inherently flawed. The NSA "will develop a pattern," he says, "where they understand that this is what this person's voice sounds like, this is who his

friends are, this is who his commander is, this is who his subordinates are. And they put them into a matrix. But it's not always correct. There's a lot of human error in that."

The JSOC operator's account is supported by another insider who was directly involved in the drone program. Brandon Bryant spent six years as a "stick monkey" – a drone sensor operator who controls the "eyes" of the U.S. military's unmanned aerial vehicles. By the time he left the Air Force in 2011, Bryant's squadron, which included a small crew of veteran drone operators, had been credited with killing 1,626 "enemies" in action.

Bryant says he has come forward because he is tormented by the loss of civilian life he believes that he and his squadron may have caused. Today he is committed to informing the public about lethal flaws in the U.S. drone program.

*They'd get rid of the SIM card and they'd get a new phone, or they'd put the SIM card in the new phone.*

Bryant describes the program as highly compartmentalized: Drone operators taking shots at targets on the ground have little idea where the intelligence is coming from.

"I don't know who we worked with," Bryant says. "We were never privy to that sort of information. If the NSA did work with us, like, I have no clue."

During the course of his career, Bryant says, many targets of U.S. drone strikes evolved their tactics, particularly in the handling of cell phones. "They've gotten really smart now and they don't make the same mistakes as they used to," he says. "They'd get rid of the SIM card and they'd get a new phone, or they'd put the SIM card in the new phone."

As the former JSOC drone operator describes – and as classified documents obtained from Snowden confirm – the NSA doesn't just locate the cell phones of terror suspects by intercepting communications from cell phone towers and Internet service providers. The agency also equips drones and other aircraft with devices known as "virtual base-tower transceivers" – creating, in effect, a fake cell phone tower that can force a targeted person's device to lock onto the NSA's receiver without their knowledge.

That, in turn, allows the military to track the cell phone to within 30 feet of its actual location, feeding the real-time data to teams of drone operators who conduct missile strikes or facilitate night raids.

The NSA geolocation system used by JSOC is known by the code name GILGAMESH. Under the program, a specially constructed device is attached to the drone. As the drone circles, the device locates the SIM card or handset that the military believes is used by the target.

Continued on page 7

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CONTINUING FROM PAGE 6

## The NSA's secret role in the U.S. assassination program

Relying on this method, says the former JSOC drone operator, means that the "wrong people" could be killed due to metadata errors, particularly in Yemen, Pakistan and Somalia. "We don't have people on the ground – we don't have the same forces, informants, or information coming in from those areas – as we do where we have a strong foothold, like we do in Afghanistan. I would say that it's even more likely that mistakes are made in places such as Yemen or Somalia, and especially Pakistan."

As of May 2013, according to the former drone operator, President Obama had cleared 16 people in Yemen and five in Somalia for targeting in strikes. Before a strike is green-lit, he says, there must be at least two sources of intelligence. The problem is that both of those sources often involve NSA-supplied data, rather than human intelligence (HUMINT).

As the former drone operator explains, the process of tracking and ultimately killing a targeted person is known within the military as F3: Find, Fix, Finish. "Since there's almost zero HUMINT operations in Yemen – at least involving JSOC – every one of their strikes relies on signals and imagery for confirmation: signals being the cell phone lock, which is the 'find' and imagery being the 'unblinking eye' which is the 'fix.'" The "finish" is the strike itself.

"JSOC acknowledges that it would be completely helpless without the NSA conducting mass surveillance on an industrial level," the former drone operator says. "That is what creates those baseball cards you hear about," featuring potential targets for drone strikes or raids.

President Obama signs authorizations for "hits" that remain valid for 60 days. If a target cannot be located within that period, it must be reviewed and renewed. According to the former drone operator, it can take 18 months or longer to move from intelligence gathering to getting approval to actually carrying out a strike in Yemen. "What that tells me," he says, "is that commanders, once given the authorization needed to strike, are more likely to strike when they see an opportunity – even if there's a high chance of civilians being killed, too – because in their mind they might never get the chance to strike that target again."

While drones are not the only method used to kill targets, they have become so prolific that they are now a standard part of U.S. military culture. Remotely piloted Reaper and Predator vehicles are often given nicknames. Among those used in Afghanistan, says the former JSOC drone operator, were "Lightning" and "Sky Raider."

The latter drone, he adds, was also referred to as "Sky Raper," for a simple reason – "because it killed a lot of people." When operators were assigned to "Sky Raper," he adds, it meant that "somebody was going to die. It was always set to the most high-priority missions."

In addition to the GILGAMESH system used by JSOC, the CIA uses a similar NSA platform known as SHENANIGANS. The operation – previously undisclosed – utilizes a pod on aircraft that vacuums up massive amounts of data from any wireless routers, computers, smart phones or other electronic devices that are within range.

One top-secret NSA document provided by Snowden is written by a SHENANIGANS operator who documents his March 2012 deployment to Oman, where the CIA has established a drone base. The operator describes how, from almost four miles in the air, he searched for communications devices believed to be used by Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula in neighboring Yemen. The mission was code named VICTORYDANCE.

"The VICTORYDANCE mission was a great experience," the operator writes. "It was truly a joint interagency effort between CIA and NSA. Flights and targets were coordinated with both CIAers and NSAers. The mission lasted 6 months, during which 43 flights were flown."

VICTORYDANCE, he adds, "mapped the Wi-Fi fingerprint of nearly every major town in Yemen."

*The NSA has played an increasingly central role in drone killings over the past five years.*

The NSA has played an increasingly central role in drone killings over the past five years. In one top-secret NSA document from 2010, the head of the agency's Strategic Planning and Policy Division of the Counterterrorism Mission Management Center recounts the history of the NSA's involvement in Yemen. Shortly before President Obama took office, the document reveals, the agency began to "shift analytic resources to focus on Yemen."

In 2008, the NSA had only three analysts dedicated to Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula in Yemen. By the fall of 2009, it had 45 analysts, and the agency was producing "high quality" signal intelligence for the CIA and JSOC.

In December 2009, utilizing the NSA's metadata collection programs, the Obama administration dramatically escalated U.S. drone and cruise missile strikes in Yemen.

The first strike in the country known to be authorized by Obama targeted an alleged Al-Qaeda camp in the southern village of al-Majala.

*The first strike in the country known to be authorized by Obama targeted an alleged Al-Qaeda camp in the southern village of al-Majala.*

The strike, which included the use of cluster bombs, resulted in the deaths of 14 women and 21 children. It is not clear whether the strike was based on metadata collection; the White House has never publicly explained the strike or the source of the faulty intelligence that led to the civilian fatalities.

Another top-secret NSA document confirms that the agency "played a key supporting role" in the drone strike in September 2011 that killed U.S. citizen Anwar al-Awlaki, as well as another American, Samir Khan. According to the 2013 Congressional Budget Justification, "The CIA tracked [Awlaki] for three weeks before a joint operation with the U.S. military killed"

the two Americans in Yemen, along with two other people.

When Brandon Bryant left his Air Force squadron in April 2011, the unit was aiding JSOC in its hunt for the American-born cleric. The CIA took the lead in the hunt for Awlaki after JSOC tried and failed to kill him in the spring of 2011.

According to Bryant, the NSA's expanded role in Yemen has only added to what he sees as the risk of fatal errors already evident in CIA operations. "They're very non-discriminate with how they do things, as far as you can see their actions over in Pakistan and the devastation that they've had there," Bryant says about the CIA. "It feels like they tried to bring those same tactics they used over in Pakistan down to Yemen. It's a repeat of tactical thinking, instead of intelligent thinking."

Those within the system understand that the government's targeting tactics are fundamentally flawed. According to the former JSOC drone operator, instructors who oversee GILGAMESH training emphasize: "This isn't a science. This is an art. It's kind of a way of saying that it's not perfect."

Yet the tracking "pods" mounted on the bottom of drones have facilitated thousands of "capture or kill" operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia and Pakistan since September 11. One top-secret NSA document provided by Snowden notes that by 2009, "for the first time in the history of the U.S. Air Force, more pilots were trained to fly drones ... than conventional fighter aircraft," leading to a "tipping point" in U.S. military combat behavior in resorting to air strikes in areas of undeclared wars, such as Yemen and Pakistan.

The document continues: "Did you ever think you would see the day when the U.S. would be conducting combat operations in a country equipped with nuclear weapons without a boot on the ground or a pilot in the air?"

Even NSA operatives seem to recognize how profoundly the agency's tracking technology deviates from standard operating methods of war.

One NSA document from 2005 poses this question: "What resembles 'LITTLE BOY' (one of the atomic bombs dropped on Japan during World War II) and as LITTLE BOY did, represents the dawn of a new era (at least in SIGINT and precision geolocation)?"

Its reply: "If you answered a pod mounted on an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) that is currently flying in support of the Global War on Terrorism, you would be correct."

Another document boasts that geolocation technology has "cued and compressed numerous 'kill chains' (i.e. all of the steps taken to find, track, target, and engage the enemy), resulting in untold numbers of enemy killed and captured in Afghanistan as well as the saving of U.S. and Coalition lives."

The former JSOC drone operator, however, remains highly disturbed by the unreliability of such methods. Like other whistleblowers, including Edward Snowden and Chelsea Manning, he says that his efforts to alert his superiors to the problems were brushed off. "The system continues to work because, like most things in the military, the people who use it trust it unconditionally," he says.

When he would raise objections about intelligence that was "rushed" or "inaccurate" or "out-right wrong," he adds, "the most common response I would get was 'JSOC wouldn't spend millions and millions of dollars, and man hours, to go after someone if they weren't certain that they were the right person.' There is a saying at the NSA: 'SIGINT never lies.' It may be true that SIGINT never lies, but it's subject to human error."

The government's assassination program is actually constructed, he adds, to avoid self-correction. "They make rushed decisions and are often wrong in their assessments. They jump to conclusions and there is no going back to correct mistakes." Because there is an ever-increasing demand for more targets to be added to the kill list, he says, the mentality is "just keep feeding the beast."

For Bryant, the killing of Awlaki – followed two weeks later by the killing of his 16-year-old son, Abdulrahman al Awlaki, also an American citizen – motivated him to speak out. Last October, Bryant appeared before a panel of experts at the United Nations – including the UN's special rapporteur on human rights and counterterrorism, Ben Emmerson, who is currently conducting an investigation into civilians killed by drone strikes.

Dressed in hiking boots and brown cargo pants, Bryant called for "independent investigations" into the Obama administration's drone program. "At the end of our pledge of allegiance, we say 'with liberty and justice for all,'" he told the panel. "I believe that should be applied to not only American citizens, but everyone that we interact with as well, to put them on an equal level and to treat them with respect."

Unlike those who oversee the drone program, Bryant also took personal responsibility for his actions in the killing of Awlaki. "I was a drone operator for six years, active duty for six years in the U.S. Air Force, and I was party to the violations of constitutional rights of an American citizen who should have been tried under a jury," he

said. "And because I violated that constitutional right, I became an enemy of the American people."

Bryant later told The Intercept, "I had to get out because we were told that the president wanted Awlaki dead. And I wanted him dead. I was told that he was a traitor to our country... I didn't really understand that our Constitution covers people, American citizens, who have betrayed our country. They still deserve a trial."

The killing of Awlaki and his son still haunt Bryant. The younger Awlaki, Abdulrahman, had run away from home to try to find his dad, whom he had not seen in three years. But his father was killed before Abdulrahman could locate him. Abdulrahman was then killed in a separate strike two weeks later as he ate dinner with his teenage cousin and some friends. The White House has never explained the strike.

*He honestly seems like a kid who missed his dad and went there to go see his dad.*

"I don't think there's any day that goes by when I don't think about those two, to be honest," Bryant says. "The kid doesn't seem like someone who would be a suicide

bomber or want to die or something like that. He honestly seems like a kid who missed his dad and went there to go see his dad."

Last May, President Obama acknowledged that "the necessary secrecy" involved in lethal strikes "can end up shielding our government from the public scrutiny that a troop deployment invites. It can also lead a president and his team to view drone strikes as a cure-all for terrorism."

But that, says the former JSOC operator, is precisely what has happened. Given how much the government now relies on drone strikes – and given how many of those strikes are now dependent on metadata rather than human intelligence – the operator warns that political officials may view the geolocation program as more dependable than it really is.

"I don't know whether or not President Obama would be comfortable approving the drone strikes if he knew the potential for mistakes that are there," he says. "All he knows is what he's told."

Whether or not Obama is fully aware of the errors built into the program of targeted assassination, he and his top advisors have repeatedly made clear that the president himself directly oversees the drone operation and takes full responsibility for it. Obama once reportedly told his aides that it "turns out I'm really good at killing people."

The president added, "Didn't know that was gonna be a strong suit of mine."

Ryan Devereaux contributed to this article.

### وزارة الصحة العامة والسكان مشروع الصحة والسكان – منحة رقم (H640-RY) مناقصة عامة رقم (35)

يسر وزارة الصحة العامة والسكان - مشروع الصحة والسكان أن يعلن عن رغبته في إنزال المناقصة العامة رقم (35) لسنة 2014 م لشراء و توريد مطبوعات احصائية للبرنامج الوطني للتحصين الموسع والتي سيتم تمويلها من هيئة التنمية الدولية (IDA)

وعلى الراغبين المشاركة في هذه المناقصة التقدم بطلباتهم الخطية خلال أوقات الدوام الرسمي إلى العنوان التالي:

مشروع الصحة والسكان – مبنى البرامج  
شارع مازدا حي الحصبة – صنعاء  
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- لشراء واستلام وثائق المناقصة نظير مبلغ وقدره 50 دولار امريكي لا يرد .
- يقدم العطاء في مظروف مغلق ومختوم بالشمع الأحمر إلى عنوان الجهة المحدد ومكتوب عليه اسم الجهة والمشروع ورقم عملية الشراء، واسم مقدم العطاء، وفي طيه الوثائق التالية:
- ضمان بنكي بنفس نموذج الصيغة المحددة في وثيقة المناقصة بمبلغ مقطوع قدره (2,400) دولار امريكي ، صالح لمدة (120) يوماً من تاريخ فتح المظاريف، أو شيك مقبول الدفع.
- صورة من شهادة ضريبة المبيعات + البطاقة الضريبية سارية المفعول.
- صورة من شهادة مزاوله المهنة.

تستثنى الشركات الأجنبية من تقديم الشهادات والبطاقات المشار إليها آنفاً ويكتفى بتقديم الوثائق القانونية المؤهلة الصادرة من البلدان التي تنتمي إليها تلك الشركات

- آخر موعد لاستلام العطاءات وفتح المظاريف هو الساعة (11:00) صباحاً من يوم الأربعاء الموافق 2014/3/12 م، ولن تقبل العطاءات التي ترد بعد هذا الموعد وسيتم إعادتها بحالتها المسلمة إلى أصحابها.
- سيتم فتح المظاريف بمقر المشروع الموضح بعاليه بمكتب مدير المشروع بحضور أصحاب العطاءات أو من يمثلهم بتفويض رسمي موقع ومختوم.
- يمكن للراغبين في المشاركة في هذه المناقصة الإطلاع على وثائق المناقصة قبل شرائها خلال أوقات الدوام للفترة المسموح بها لبيع وثائق المناقصة لمدة (30) يوماً من تاريخ نشر أول إعلان على العنوان التالي:

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WIDEN YOUR WORLD





## Yemeni Diaspora: South Shields, a home away from home

Story and photo by Daniel Johnson

There is another sky,  
Ever serene and fair,  
And there is another sunshine,  
Though it be darkness there;  
—There Is Another Sky,  
Emily Dickinson

A cursory glance at a map of the Yemeni diaspora throws up certain themes. From the Swahili coast to Singapore, Yemenis enjoy settling in hot climates in the lush tropical countryside. There is one place on the Yemeni Diaspora map of the world which bucks that desire in the most dramatic way imaginable.

South Shields, a small former industrial backwater famous for fish and chips and alcohol fuelled violence, has been home to one of Britain's oldest Muslim communities – the Yemeni Muslim community – since the late Victorian era. Nestled among the smoke blackened chimneys and ship yards, cheek by jowl with the rickety, sclerotic locals, this unlikely Arab colony established itself so successfully that it is now an unquestioned and accepted part of the area's cultural identity.



The Al Azhar Mosque in South Shields, where Muhammed Ali once stopped by to have his marriage blessed by the local imam.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, travelling from Aden on British ships powered by Arab sweat, the Yemenis landed at South Shields and took a shine to the cold, dark sulphur spewing hovel. Young, single and healthy, it wasn't long before they married local lasses and changed the genetic makeup of the area forever. In fact they spread their genes so successfully that to this day a considerable number of

South Shields residents (nicknamed "Sand Dancers" by inhabitants of rival towns and cities) with no apparent links to the Yemeni community bear names like Kevin Hassan and Jacqueline Abdul.

The nascent community experienced teething problems in the form of Britain's first ever race riots. Despite the sacrifices of 400 South Shields Yemenis who were killed serving on British ships dur-

ing the First World War, in 1919 and 1930 economic pressures turned local opinion against newcomers, and Yemenis bore the brunt of anti-immigrant violence. Such extreme hostility however was the exception rather than the rule, and the Yemeni community prospered, numbering several thousand by the 1930s.

Although South Shields' Yemeni Community has never produced its own pop or sports star (unlike Birmingham and Sheffield, which produced UB40's Norman Hassan and Boxer "Prince" Naseem Hamed, respectively), it has had its very own 15 minutes of fame courtesy of the greatest sporting hero of all time. In 1977 the South Shields Yemeni Community played host at their ground breaking Al Azhar Mosque (one of the first purpose built mosques in the UK) to boxing superstar Muhammad Ali. Ali, who was touring the region at the time promoting various charitable causes, popped into the mosque to have his marriage to actress and model Veronica Porsche "blessed" by local Yemeni Imam Abdul Ali. Lining the streets to greet Ali (who arrived in an open top bus led by a marching jazz band!) were thousands of locals and members of the national media. Inside the mosque

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delegates of the Yemeni community welcomed Ali, who was dressed in a dazzling white suit, and joined in a congregational du'aa (an invocation of blessing) for Ali, his wife and daughter.

Despite the ready availability in local stores of qat and malawah bread, since the 1970s the decline of heavy industry in Northern England has driven many Yemenis to other parts of the UK and back to Yemen. Al Azhar Mosque continues to serve the shrunken Yemeni community and still maintains a distinctly Yemeni flavour, but most of the worshippers are of Bangladeshi or other Asian stock.

Most of the Yemenis may have followed the example of earlier Arab immigrants - 4th century Iraqi

Roman soldiers stationed in South Shields – and returned to their sunnier motherland, but over 100 years of largely successful integration and coexistence have left an indelible mark on the area.

Several hundred Yemeni families, including first generation immigrants, still call South Shields their home, and the Yemeni legacy lives on in the distinctly non-European hair, eyes and noses of many a local Englishman. So long as there remain Arabic speaking Muslims of Yemeni descent, Al-Azhar Mosque and the Arabic school, South Shields - an otherwise bland and mono-cultural provincial town – can still boast to be home to one of Western Europe's most successful and longstanding Muslim communities.

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