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لأول مرة في اليمن
خدمة إتصل على حسابي



خدمة إتصل على حسابي ... لجميع مشتركي 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.
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المشغل الأول والأكبر للهاتف النقال في اليمن



In an attempt to combat Yemen's exceedingly high female illiteracy rate the World Food Program launched its School Food Program. A major part of the reason for the low level of female literacy is due to conservative attitudes among parents, who are reluctant to allow their daughters to attend school. The WFP initiative aims to create incentive for parents to send their daughters to school by offering food aid. The initiative aims to distribute food to girls registered at 2,221 schools in various parts of the country. **Read more on page 4.** Photo by Amal Al-Yarisi

Monday attack leaves 1 soldier dead in Abyan

Friday drone strike left 15 dead

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

ABYAN, March 9 — Attacks continued for the fourth day in a row on Monday in Abyan governorate, leaving one soldier dead and three others wounded in Ahwar district.

The attack on Monday follows deadly attacks on Friday, Saturday and clashes on Sunday which resulted in no casualties.

According to Shaker Al-Ghadeer, a soldier with Brigade 111 in Ahwar district of Abyan, three military vehicles traveling from Abyan to Shabwa were attacked on Monday in Ahwar. One of the vehicles was burned in the attack, he said.

On Friday, a drone strike in the governorate left 15 people dead in Al-Mahfad, according to Al-Ghadeer.

On Saturday, two soldiers were

killed and one injured during an attack on Brigade 115 in Lawdar. Two of the militants were killed during the attack and two were arrested.

Brigadier Mohammed Abdulla Shamba, commander of Brigade 115, told the Defense Ministry website that militants attacked the brigade with grenades and explosives, but soldiers were able to fend them off. One of the attackers was a Saudi national, according to the commander, who was killed during the attack.

"Groups of Al-Qaeda affiliates attacked our second battalion. The first was a group of three suicide bombers wearing explosive belts," said Wadhah Al-Dahmali, a soldier from Brigade 115.

None of the would-be suicide bombers was able to detonate his explosives, Al-Dahmali said.

One of the militants died instantly, and the other—shot by a member of the Popular Committee, not by the military—died later in the hospital, according to Al-Dahmali. The fighting lasted

about one hour, he said.

Several attackers were wounded, but they were taken away from the site of the clashes by their confederates, according to Eidah.

Two weeks ago, Mountain Infantry Brigade 115 relocated to Lawdar district from the Shuqra district. It replaced a brigade that was relocated to the Balhaf area of Shabwa governorate to back up forces protecting the Balhaf Liquid Natural Gas Plant.

No group has claimed responsibility for the attack on Brigade 115, though security sources claim it bears the hallmarks of Al-Qaeda. In late February, the group released a video online claiming responsibility for previous attacks on military sites and personnel and threatening to target other locations.

Al-Qaeda suspects are reportedly holding intensive meetings in the governorate, particularly in the Al-Mahfad and Ahwar districts of Abyan.

"Al-Qaeda affiliates have deployed heavily this month.... They

hold regular weekly meetings in Al-Mahfad and other districts," Al-Ghadeer said.

According to Al-Ghadeer, the drone strike on Friday injured an Al-Qaeda leader in the governorate, Jalal Baleedi.

In a video posted on Youtube in October, Baleedi had threatened to storm and attack military locations and to assassinate anyone who assists or provides information to the American government.

Al-Ghadeer said that American and Yemeni warplanes have frequently been seen flying over the governorate in recent weeks due to the heavy presence of Al-Qaeda members in the area.

"It is not known what is happening in Al-Mahfad because of a lack of telecommunications, but Brigade 111 is positioned in Al-Mahfad and Al-Ghadeer may be right," Eidah said.

In late February, Al-Qaeda announced responsibility for the Oct. 18 attack on Brigade 111 that left 12 soldiers dead and nine others wounded.

Veteran security chief removed after 34 years in office

Ali Saeed

SANA'A, March 9 — President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadion Friday removed General Ghaleb Al-Qamish from the head of the Political Security Apparatus. Al-Qamish was dismissed from the intelligence body after 34 years in office.

Hadion appointed Jalal al-Rowishan, the former deputy public relations chief of the National Security Bureau, another intelligence office, to replace Al-Qamish.

Al-Qamish had been running the intelligence service in the north of Yemen since 1980. In 1992, two years after the unification of the country, then-President Ali Abdulla Saleh established the Political Security Apparatus and appointed Al-Qamish to head the organization.

As commander of the Military Police in 1978, Al-Qamish gained fame for his part in foiling an attempted military coup against Saleh led by Nasserites, according to Abdulsalam Mohamed, director of Abaad Strategic Studies Center.

After more than three decades in intelligence Al-Qamish has considerable experience behind him. Mohamed described him as "Yemen's black box. He has information about the Americans, Saudis and Al-Qaeda and all other major files."

But the challenges that Al-Qamish has faced in recent years, and which his replacement will continue to

face, are enormous. Dozens of security officers have been killed over the last three years in systematic nationwide operations carried out by unidentified armed men using motorbikes, according to the Defense Ministry website. The government accuses Al-Qaeda of targeting security officers.

"The new leadership of the apparatus has to put an end to the killing of its officers," said Majed Siraj, a political analyst at the Sheba Strategic Studies Center in an interview with the Yemen Times.

At the moment, Yemen has two intelligence offices: the Political Security Apparatus and the National Security Bureau, both of which fall under the authority of the president.

The final document of the National Dialogue Conference proposed that both offices should be reorganized and their tasks clearly outlined. "The intelligence information channel must be united in order to avoid any conflict between the two apparatuses," said Mohamed.

The document also makes clear that reorganization must be carried out in a way that maintains the requirements for homeland security but does not violate human rights. It recommends that the Parliament and the judicial authorities monitor the performance of the intelligence service.

Human rights activists have

pointed to routine abuses by the Political Security Apparatus, which has its own prisons in Sana'a.

Mohamed Al-Ahmadi, legal coordinator of the Al-Karama Human Rights Organization in Sana'a, alleges that people are held in the prisons without charge and that some of the detainees spend more

than three years in isolated cells with no trial in sight.

According to Al-Ahmadi, detainees are vulnerable to arbitrary disappearance where the authority of the prison denies the existence of the person for one or two months before allowing him to contact his family.

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Presidential decree buys more time for constitutional drafting process

Dares Al-Badani

SANA'A, March 9 — President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi's Saturday decree to establish the Constitutional Drafting Committee stated that the new constitution would replace the constitution adopted in 1991 and amended in 2001 as well as the Gulf Initiative and its implementation mechanism signed on Nov. 12, 2011.

According to the decree, the drafting of the constitution and the constitutional referendum must take place within a year from the date the decree was issued. This means that the new constitution must come into force by March 8, 2015. This overrides a previous requirement laid out in the final document of the National Dialogue conference, which states that the constitution must be drafted and put to referendum within a year from Jan. 25, 2014.

The selection of the committee members was determined by guidelines set by the NDC, such as a minimum of 10 years of experience in relevant fields and no criminal record. According to the decree, southerners and women representatives must also be represented on the committee.

The decree states that "members of the committee must work separately from the executive authority and their work must serve the public interest and aspirations of Yemenis; they are not allowed to receive orders or instructions from any authority, organization or political party."

It stipulates that the committee's head, two deputies including a woman, and the rapporteur are to be selected by the members at its first meeting.

To pass a decree, the committee needs two-thirds quorum. If a certain decision cannot be reached among members, the matter should be referred to the 565-member National Foundation Committee, which is tasked with monitoring the implementation of the NDC outcomes. The Constitutional Drafting Committee can also form groups or sub-committees from its members to carry out specific duties.

The General Secretariat of the NDC will function as the Technical Office of the Constitutional Drafting Committee. It will be tasked with facilitating public consultation on the draft constitution and collecting feedback from the public before the committee begins the task of revision.

When the constitutional draft is finalized, the head of the committee is to present a copy to the president for approval. The committee must also submit a copy to the NFC, which will submit a report and ensure that the draft adheres to the outcomes of the NDC.

After consultations are completed, the Constitutional Drafting Committee would hold a meeting in order to review the public feedback and the comments included in the report of the NFC. The committee would then make requisite changes.

When the constitutional draft is published, the NFC would assign the general secretariat to launch an awareness campaign to explain the constitutional draft and collect further comments from citizens.

The NFC is then required to submit the amended draft of the constitution to the president who would take the necessary steps for approving the draft.

If members of the NFC cannot reach an agreement over the final draft or any constitutional item, the issue is to be presented to the president for a final decision.

Maen Abdulmalik, a member of the Constitutional Drafting Committee, said that it was important that the committee reflected a wide range of different experiences. "There were many criteria for the selection, such as that the members should be of various backgrounds because the constitution does not only need law experts. It needs the politician, the judge and the economist," said Abdulmalik.

Mohammed Al-Amiri, head of Salafi Union Party and a committee member, said that "the political parties are represented in the committee in order to mobilize the public to vote on the new constitution."

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New fighting front between Houthis and northern tribesmen

Nasser Al-Sakkaf

SANA'A, March 9—Armed confrontations between the Houthis and northern tribesmen in the Hamdan district of Sana'a governorate were ongoing Monday night.

Fighting between the feuding sides began on Saturday, leaving an estimated dozens dead and injured.

Hamdan, located about 20 km. outside of Sana'a is a new battle-front between the group of Zaidi Shites and anti-Houthi tribesmen.

Many areas of Amran, Al-Jawf and Sa'ada governorates have been witnessing confrontations between the Houthis and local tribesmen over the past several months.

The fighting has already displaced about 42,000 people since June 2013, according to the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

A Houthi-affiliated website reported on Sunday that Houthi fighters have taken control of many sites in the Hamdan district, including the home of a prominent Islah leader in Hamdan, Qanaf Al-Quhait.

The website also has reported that 15 area tribesmen were captured after they ambushed the Houthis in the Qa'a Al-Monaqab area, killing four Houthis and wounding four others.

In other parts of the country, fighting between Houthis and anti-Houthi tribesmen continues. According to a journalist based in Thula, Ali Al-Madhalaei, Houthi supporters have bombed an Islahi



religious school in the Thula area of Amran governorate.

The government has not taken any action to stop the clashes, Al-Madhalaei said.

During their fight with the powerful tribal Al-Ahmar family in Amran governorate last month, the Houthis captured and held tribesmen who are affiliated with the Hamdan tribe, according to Mohammed Al-Bukhaiti, a well-known Houthi leader and spokesperson.

Al-Bukhaiti said that the captives were released last week. He also said that tribesmen in Hamdan district set up an unofficial checkpoint,

upsetting travelers on the Amran-Sana'a-Mahweet road.

The Yemen Times attempted to contact Sana'a's security manager, but there was no response as of press time.

There are allegations that the Islah Party is backing many of the anti-Houthi tribesmen, claims that the party denies. The deputy head of Islah's media department, Adnan Al-Odaini, said "Islah is not involved in fighting any political party."

"The Islah Party always supports peaceful resolutions of conflicts. It in no way encourages fighting," he added.

Government offers Hadramout Tribal Federation 202 rifles, 20 vehicles and YR 1 billion

Nasser Al-Sakkaf

HADRAMOUT, March,9-The Yemeni government has made an offer to the Hadramout Tribal Federation in hopes of ending continuous clashes between tribesmen and the military.

The government offered 202 rifles and one YR 1 billion (\$4.6 million), as well as 20 cars, in order to end the conflict stemming from the killing of a tribal sheikh from Hadramout, according to Jaman Abu Hamam, a member of the federation's media committee. The federation was established following the death of Sheikh Sa'ad bin Habreesh in December at a checkpoint in Hadramout.

Following the incident, the federation and Hadramout locals called for handing over those responsible and replacing all security commanders in Hadramout with Hadramout locals. They also called for oil companies operating in the governorate to employ more Hadramout residents.

The customary offering for the



The Hadramout Tribal Federation will decide in the next ten days if it will accept the government's offer of 202 rifles, 20 vehicles and YR 1 billion.

killing of a tribal sheikh in Hadramout is 101 rifles, in addition to a varying amount of money and cars, according to Abu Hamam.

The federation will meet and decide whether to accept the offer in the next ten days, he said.

"A sign that the federation will accept is the release of 12 officers

and soldiers by the federation in exchange for five tribesmen," Abu Hamam said.

The situation in Hadramout has stabilized following a tentative agreement mediated by a presidential committee last week. The committee first arrived in Hadramout three months ago.

Court upholds ten-year sentence for Somali pirates

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

ADEN, March 10- The Aden Court of Appeals rejected an appeal by 11 Somali nationals who challenged the ten-year sentence they were given last year by the Primary Port Court, according to Judge Fahim Abdullah Mohsen Al-Hadrami, head of the Appeals Court.

They were convicted of piracy after attempting to hijack a ship in the Gulf of Aden in February 2009.

The prosecution accused the defendants of using arms to hijack the ship, including machineguns and RPGs.

The 11 individuals were captured in 2012 in Yemeni waters, according to Shuja'a Mahdi, the chief of Coast Guard Operations.

"We arrested them and handed them over to the police in Aden, who referred them to the prosecutor," Mahdi said.

People accused of piracy have been handed the death sentence in Yemen, including in 2010 when a Yemeni court sentenced six Somalis to death for piracy.

With a 2,500 kilometer coast-



The Aden Court of Appeals upheld a ten-year sentence against 11 Somali nationals convicted of piracy last year.

line extending from the Red Sea to Arabian Sea, Yemen's coastal guard cannot cover even a fraction of the coast or Yemeni waters.

"Deploying all around this coast requires funds and our operational budget is not adequate," Mahdi said.

"Pirates know the shortcomings

of Yemen's Coast Guard," he said.

Yemen loses more than \$200 million every year due to piracy off the Horn of Africa, according to a statement made by Yemeni foreign minister of affairs, Abu Bakr Al-Qirbi, during the Indian Ocean Rim Association conference held in Gurgaon, India in 2012.



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UN Security Resolution and Yemen's media

The rise of party-affiliated media and UN concern over incitement

Mohammed Al-Hassani

Lack of objective and impartial media is an obstacle for the post-transitional phase, according to a recent resolution passed by the U.N. Security Council.

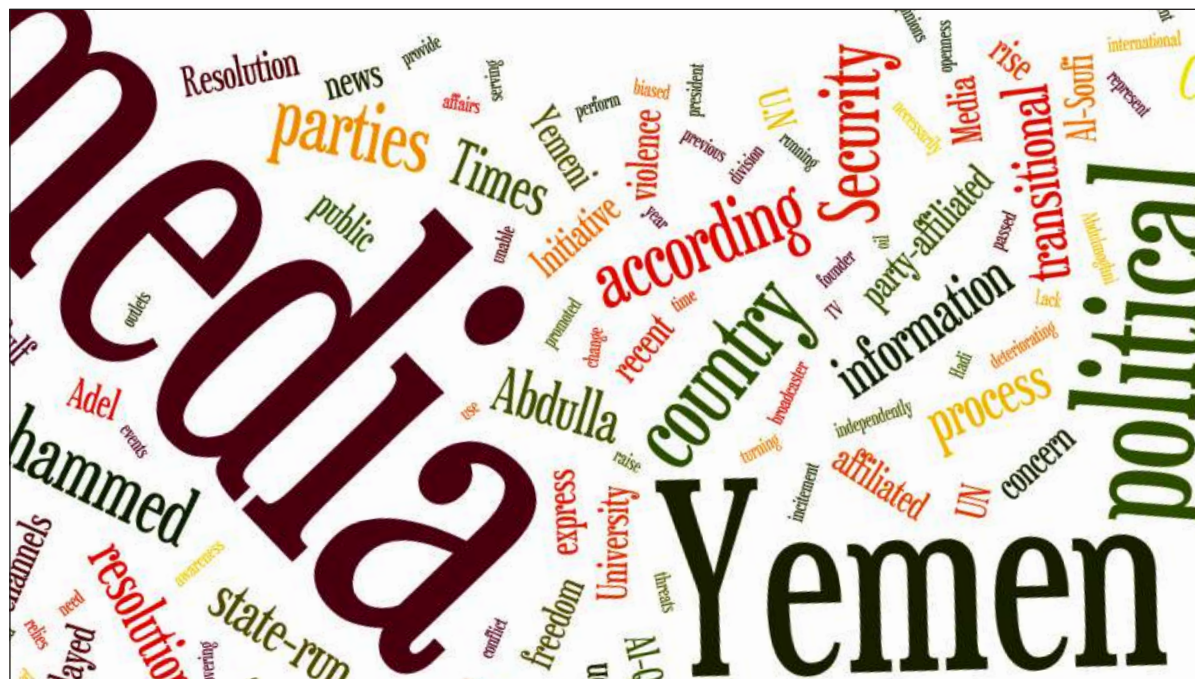
Resolution 2140 "Expresses concern over use of the media to incite violence and frustrate the legitimate aspirations for peaceful change of the people of Yemen."

Much of Yemen's media is owned or controlled by Yemen's various political parties and factions—and despite threats to sanction and issue a travel ban on individuals and groups that obstruct the country's transition, there has been a rise in political party-affiliated media in the country.

In a previous interview with the Yemen Times, the head of the Journalism Department at Sana'a University, Mohammed Al-Qa'ari, said that "Around 85 percent of what is published in political media incites violence and promotes hatred."

"Partisan media has played a negative role in the deteriorating state of Yemen's media. It has played a similar role as the saboteurs of [oil facilities], in terms of the harm caused to society," according to Mohammed Al-Omari, a journalist at the state-run Saba news agency.

"The local media followed the security council session on Yemen that was aired live on Al-Jazeera and on Yemeni state-run TV channels. However, media affiliated with former President Ali Abdullah Saleh and those affiliated with the Southern Movement neglected coverage



of the session," according to Adel Abdulla, a media researcher at the Ain Studies Center.

The resolution said that the transition process required "turning the page from the presidency of Ali Abdullah Saleh."

The former press secretary of Saleh, Ahmed Al-Soufi, told the Yemen Times that the Security Council is interfering in Yemen's internal affairs.

"It imposes a transitional phase outside of the terms of the Gulf Initiative and authorizes Hadi to run the country regardless of the will of Yemenis. The Security Council has gotten involved in an internal conflict."

Al-Soufi said the decision will have catastrophic consequences for press freedom in Yemen and will

be used to shut down newspapers, news channels and websites.

Amal Ali, a media activist, said Yemeni media has been unable to address national issues impartially and independently because many media outlets rely on political parties or groups for funding.

"They cannot perform their duty of serving the public interest because they are mouthpieces of certain individuals, groups and parties," she said.

Abdulbasit Al-Qaedi, the director of the minister of information's office, told the Yemen Times that media promoted division and increased social rifts in society. He called it the "main obstructer" of the Gulf Initiative and the transitional process.


With the government focused on the transition, there has been less


time available for monitoring the press, allowing for more openness, according to Abdulbasit Al-Qaedi, the founder of the media organization, Freedom Foundation.

This has meant that journalists, activists, women—as well as political parties and groups have had more freedom to express themselves, particularly online.

Adel Abdulmoghni, editor-in-chief of Al-Wehdawi newspaper, said that state-run media has improved during the past year—and is now capable of covering events and running opinions that do not necessarily reflect well on the president and the government.

"On the other hand, the private and partisan media sector witnessed significant professional deterioration during 2013 when some





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media [did little more than] express their political views. Media did not contribute to the success of the transitional period at all," he said.

Pro-Saleh media depicted the most recent U.N. resolution as "international military intervention in Yemen," said Mohammed Al-Naqeb, a broadcaster for Al-Saeeda channel.

As the country continues its political transition, the public relies on media to provide accurate information about the process. Sana'a Uni-

versity sociology professor Fuad Al-Salahi said a deliberate attempt to provoke Yemenis with accusations and biased information that serves the interests of political groups is largely what passes for media in Yemen.

"Media is still a mouthpiece of regional, sectarian and tribal power-players. It doesn't represent the country. We need to raise awareness of this issue and to expose those who do not uphold the values of accuracy and objectivity."

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Aid incentives lure girls to school

Story and photos by
Amal Al-Yarisi

S alman Al-Masham village is located in a rugged, mountainous area of Arhab district in Sana'a governorate, about 25 km from the capital. The village's local elementary school, which provides schooling up to grade six, has three classrooms, only one of which is usable.

Of the 102 students registered at Al-Tawon Elementary School, 26 are girls, and most of them are under the age of 13.

Wijdan Mabkhoot is a 12-year-old sixth-grader at the school. Every day she rises at 5 a.m. to fetch water from a spring near her house. She must then complete household chores, such as feeding her family's cattle, before finally heading to school.

"This is my last year of school. I dream of going on to complete secondary school, but there is no

secondary school in my village," Mabkhoot said. "There is a secondary school an hour's walk from my village, but my family will not allow me to go there because it is so far away."

But despite the obstacles standing in the way of furthering her education, Mabkhoot says she is lucky compared to other girls because her family has allowed her to go to school in the first place. Many Yemeni families do not allow their daughters to attend school at all.

Mohammed Yahia Mohsen, the principal of Al-Tawon School, said he is doing his best to encourage girls to register and pursue their studies. However, "once a girl completes sixth grade, she stops. There are no curricula and no teachers to teach secondary school students," he added.

The school has only two teachers, said Mohsen. "It is just another teacher and I. We are unable to open another classroom to accommodate female secondary school

students."

According to Mohsen, many girls have not registered at school because their families consider co-education shameful. He said that the heavy burden of household labor which many girls have to bear often denies them access to education.

Ahmed Abdulla, the head of the Illiteracy Elimination Authority, said that the rate of illiteracy among girls reached 62.1 percent, according to a 2004 census. Illiteracy among boys was 29.8 percent.

According to 2005-2007 statistics of the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, Yemen's rate of adult illiteracy (ages 15 and above) for men stood at 23 percent, while the figure for women was more than double that at 59.5 percent.

According to Abdulla, the rate of illiteracy has shrunk because new schools have been opened in villages that previously had none, and illiteracy elimination centers have helped lower the number of illiterate girls in Yemen.

"We are doing our best to build schools in rural areas, but it is difficult for us build schools in all villages around the country," said Abdulla.

But even when a new school is opened there is no guarantee that parents will allow their daughters to attend. Abdulla said that one solution is to build a classroom in the school that is devoted exclusively to the girls.

However, the problem of educating girls is compounded by a lack of women teachers. "At present, we are struggling with a shortage of female teachers for schools in rural areas. Women do not want to live in remote villages," said Abdulla. Sending male teachers to teach female secondary students, as far as Abdulla is concerned, is far from



To encourage girls to attend school, the World Food Program launched a program to distribute food aid to girls registered at schools in Aden, Hajja, Hodeida, Ibb, Mahweet, Raima, Sana'a and Taiz governorates.



The rate of illiteracy among girls reached 62.1 percent, according to a 2004 census. Illiteracy among boys was 29.8 percent.

ideal because "Yemeni families do not want their daughter to mingle with men."

In order to encourage the enrollment of girls, the World Food Program launched its School Food Program to distribute food aid, including flour and oil, to girls registered at 2,221 schools in Aden, Dhamar, Hajja, Hodeida, Ibb, Mahweet, Raima, Sana'a and Taiz governorates, according to Ahmed Al-Jabrni, a supervisor for the School Food Program.

Several rural areas were targeted in Sana'a governorate, including

Al-Haima, Sanhan, Bilad Al-Roos and Hamdan. The food aid was distributed last Tuesday, according to Al-Jabrni. The second phase of distribution will take place in late March and the third phase in late May.

Al-Jabrni said that because many Yemeni families, especially in rural areas, struggle to make ends meet, the provision of food aid would encourage them to send their daughters to school.

According to Al-Jabrni, the program targets girls who are in second grade or above, and whose

parents have already shown some commitment to educating their children. "We do not target first-graders because some families only enroll their daughters in order to get the food aid, then pull them out of school," said Al-Jabrni.

Hamoud Mohsen Yahia, the sole breadwinner in a family of five boys and ten girls, most of whom still live at home, said that the food aid was a welcome incentive that has helped him to help his daughters attend school. Yahia said that all of his unmarried daughters are in school.



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Summit seeks to resolve Arabs' little cold war

Sharp differences exist within the Middle East, mainly driven by the Syrian conflict, political developments in Egypt and the Palestinian issue

**Mohammad Alrumaihi
Gulfnews.com
First published March 8**

On the 25th of this month there will be an Arab summit in Kuwait, a little more than two weeks from today. It's the 38th meeting to be held at this level since the Arabs decided almost half a century ago to convene such high-level meetings to discuss key issues facing the Arab world.

A few years back, after a long pause, they decided to make the summit an annual event, though not successfully all the time. Kuwait's

hosting of the event this time faces a difficult task — almost impossible in some of its aspects — to bring to an end the little Arab cold war which sprang out of the Arab Spring.

On the one hand the Gulf house, so to speak, is not in good order, and seems almost divided. Publicly, for the first time, the rift between some Gulf states and Qatar is quite a noticeable issue appearing in the daily papers.

Things came to an unprecedented head as Saudi Arabia, UAE and Bahrain withdraw their envoys from Doha last week because of the sharp differences over political developments in Egypt, as Qatar sees it — through Al Jazeera television — as a military codetta. Furthermore Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the UAE are not pleased with the support Qatar is providing to the Muslim Brotherhood movement, viewed by the three nations, as not friendly in the least.

On the other hand Qatar has been hosting Egyptian cleric Yousuf Al Qaradawi for a good number of

years. The cleric publicly interfered in local issues of the UAE, making the authorities so dissatisfied with Doha to the extent that they summoned their ambassador in protest.

Kuwaiti Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shaikh Subah Al Khaled, known for his careful diplomacy, has been shuttling between Cairo and Doha but so far with no tangible results.

A few months back, Kuwait's Emir Shaikh Sabah Al Ahmad used his well-known diplomacy skills to bridge the gap between Riyadh and Doha. A number of meetings at summit level were held but these are yet to yield any results.

The coming summit is also expected to witness a number of absentees as well:

* The Algerians will not show up as they are in middle of preparations for elections in which an ailing President Abdul Aziz Bouteflika is seeking a fourth term.

* Tunisia's interim president is facing demands at home to step down if he wants to contest the pres-

idential elections.

* Egypt so far has a caretaker president who cannot enter into a long-term commitments.

* Yemen is in the same category while Libya has no head of state.

* Lebanon's president, apart from other difficulties he is facing at home, is left with only a few months to step down, while the Sudanese president is being hunted by the International Court of Justice.

These are not the only challenges facing the coming summit.

The Arabs are facing more than protocol weaknesses. The sharply divergent views on the bloody fighting in Syria are one issue, which will separate the gathering between two forces — with the majority supporting the Syrian opposition and the minority backing the regime.

One obvious case is Iraq, which does not hide its staunch support for Damascus. Some reports have stated that there are some Iraqi forces fighting beside the Bashar Al Assad regime.

The Syrians will be represented

by the opposition but the opposition, as it is now, is fragmented and in disarray with millions of Syrians in the diaspora. Geneva 2, the international effort to bring peace, has failed with no obvious alternatives. One expects them to achieve very little at the summit for their cause even though they will be the sole representative of the state of Syria!

Terrorism is quite a new issue facing the coming summit in Kuwait. It is an international and pan-Arab issue as it is almost everywhere in the Arab lands from Egypt to Bahrain and from Algeria to Aden. Terrorists are working to destabilise regimes, engaging governments in combat and depleting precious resources badly needed for development.

In some countries some deep political reforms need to be introduced to quell the spread of terrorism, while others need to step up educational reforms and achieve some sort of social equality.

The odd thing is that the Arab summit meetings started a long time ago to achieve one goal — that is,

to support the Palestinians' cause, but that issue has almost disappeared from the agenda except for a few words here or there in the final statement.

A recent court ruling in Cairo, naming Hamas, the controlling political body in Gaza, as a terrorist group and banning it in Egypt, was the final straw in the long involvement of Palestinians or some of them in internal Arab affairs.

The whole picture is unpleasant. Kuwait has in its hands a volatile political situation, contradicting opinions and hard-to-please members.

These are the acute obstacles facing the coming Arab summit in a few weeks and I am certain that new challenges could come along, taking into consideration the state of uncertainty engulfing the whole region and the world.

Mohammad Alrumaihi is a professor of Political Sociology at Kuwait University.

On International Women's Day: Working to make it right

Let's celebrate International Women's Day by remembering women around the world working towards peace.

**Leymah Gbowee
Aljazeera.com
First published March 8**

Over a hundred years ago, women and men in four countries (Austria, Denmark, Germany and Switzerland) took to the streets to rally for women's economic, social and political rights. Today, we celebrate International Women's Day on March 8 to honour these women and continue to fight for change.

In industrialised and developing countries, women and girls still bear most of the burden of poverty, conflict, disasters and violence. No matter the wealth of a nation, rape and sexual violence occur far too often all over the world.

However, I am an optimist; there is beauty despite the ugliness. The bravery and strength of our mothers, daughters and sisters give me hope. Even when they are the ones that have been raped, abused and battered, they take part in the process of rehabilitation and resolution — from a neighbourhood conflict to an outright war. I am in awe of the ability of women to keep communities and families together even in the midst of wars and crises.

'I was in pain'

I have just returned from the Democratic Republic of the Congo where I travelled with the Nobel Women's Initiative delegation. War and violence have ravaged the nation, especially the women. We listened to stories that would keep you up at night. For too many of the women, each story started with "I was raped; I was in pain; I was upset and distraught..." But in the middle of their

narrative, the beautiful is revealed: "...and then the women came; my sister came; my mother came; a women's association heard and came.... They took me to a doctor; helped me with clothes; talked to me and then I regained strength... and now I am able to at least think about living again."

The beautiful line is how women, despite the ugliness of violence, have an unshakeable sense of sisterhood and solidarity. Regardless of what the world calls DRC, I call it the "Capital of Sisterhood and Solidarity". Their enduring hope compels every one of us to fight for peace.

This is not just the story of DRC. It is the narrative of the Central African Republic, South Sudan, Syria, Libya and other places where war has taken place and terrible wrong has been done. Women feel the urgent sense of building peace because it is with our children and on our backs that violence is fought.

It is possible for women to build peace everywhere. But they have to be meaningfully involved in the entire conflict resolution process. Politicians seeking peace in places like Syria and South Sudan tend to neglect the role women must play. But as I have seen in Liberia, where our nonviolent protests and demonstrations helped to bring an end to the conflict, women must be involved. If any changes are to be made in our societies, mothers, sisters, wives and daughters will be the ones to do it.

This is part of the problem in Syria, where women have been underrepresented in the peace negotiations and excluded from meaningful leadership positions. Many observers recognised that the underrepresentation of women was the failure of the talks and it would go nowhere. For the peace process to be successful, women and civil society deserve the space to be meaningfully involved. You cannot walk or see everything with one eye. Women are one half of the population, and leaving them out of the peace talks in countries like Syria is like trying to see everything with one eye covered.

It won't work.

This International Women's Day, we rally again for women to meaningfully participate in the political process. A hundred years ago, it was unfathomable that women should vote; today, women occupy the highest positions in national government in South America, Europe and Africa. Our struggle today to end conflict is just as achievable.

Working to right the wrong

Although the political sphere is crucial to ending war, let us hold tight

that politics is subordinate to people. When people take the human part out of conflict, and make it all about politics, that is the beginning of the failure. Wars and conflict begin with the human aspect — when communities are feeling marginalised; when there is a sense of exclusion; when there is suppression of hope and oppression of rights. It is people that feel these things, not a political ideology. There is no way you can make peace without people. And leaving women out is leaving out half of the people.

To celebrate International Women's Day, Oxfam America awarded several women the Right the Wrong award for their humanitarian efforts, and I was honoured to be among them. When we reflect on the wrongs in this world on International Women's Day, let us celebrate the women who work to make it right.

Women are rebuilding their families and communities. Let us celebrate these women, and the work they are doing for peace. Let us celebrate the beauty in their strength and make their voices heard. We

need both eyes to see clearly.

Leymah Gbowee is Founder and President, Gbowee Peace Foundation Africa. Gbowee is a peace activist, trained social worker, and women's rights advocate who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011. Her leadership of the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace is chronicled in her memoir, Mighty Be Our Powers, and the documentary, Pray the Devil Back to Hell. She is an Oxfam Global Ambassador and winner of the 2014 Right the Wrong Award.

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Youth activists learn to lobby the system

Ali Abulhoom

Three years have now passed since Yemen's youth ignited the 2011 uprising against former President Ali Abdullah Saleh. Although youth set change in motion, they have ended up with little current political representation or influence.

Youth were involved in the National Dialogue Conference (NDC), but were only granted 40 out of 565 seats. Basim Al-Hakemi, an NDC youth representative, said that the youth did not have the influence they had expected to have on the country's political process.

"Since taking office in 1978, Saleh never invited young people to participate in the government or encouraged them to communicate with decision makers to try to effect change," Al-Hakemi said. "Only the political parties [had that kind of power]."

In an attempt to involve youth in the political process, Mareike Transfeld, head of research at the Yemen Polling Center, launched the Youth Lobby Group Project. The project's goal is to train and support Yemeni youth so that they will be able to monitor the performance



Despite being the driving force behind change, youth say they have had little power on the political scene since the 2011 uprising. The Yemen Polling Center hopes to change that by training youth in lobbying methods.

of the government and other state institutions as well as lobby governmental decision-makers. The center is an independent organization that conducts in-depth studies related to politics and society.

"The idea behind the Youth Lobby Group is that we want Yemeni parliamentarians and other policy makers to be more aware of what the lives of youths in Yemen are like," Transfeld said. "We want

them to really understand what challenges and obstacles they face in their communities."

"This Youth Lobby Group has in the course of the last months received training not only in advocacy and communications skills, but also on the Parliament and its function and structure, so that they can develop into an efficient lobby group. In the future we are hoping to create a network of youth

lobby groups, and with the assistance of the Yemen Polling Center, conduct research about the situation of the Yemeni youth. We want to really understand their situation in terms of education, family situation, employment opportunities, health, leisure activities...etc. and develop effective ideas [for how] to improve their lives."

Transfeld and her colleagues recruited youth from around the nation to participate in the project, setting a couple of basic prerequisites for membership: a college degree and an ability to express oneself clearly. Candidates were also expected to dress presentably and be well groomed.

The center received over 200 applications. They selected 16 members, 13 young men and 3 young women between the ages of 23 and 40. The group was officially established in July 2013, and began attending NDC and Parliamentary sessions.

According to the group's executive director, Abdulkareem Ghanim, their principal task was to observe proceedings at the NDC and in Parliament, and to transform their notes into draft bills in order to facilitate policymaking. Another focus of their activities is to monitor the implementation of NDC outcomes.

Najla Sa'ad, the executive manager for the group, said that they plan to launch an advertising campaign in order to educate citizens about the importance of the federal system and how it could effectively facilitate the modernization of Yemen.

In November 2013, the group visited Germany on a cultural exchange program. The purpose of the visit was for Yemenis to gain familiarity with the workings of German government institutions as well as the roles played by all of Germany's political parties, espe-

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At a research center in Germany. The youth are being trained to monitor the performance of the government and to lobby governmental decision-makers.

cially in terms of nation-building.

Ghanim says that the main difference between Yemeni and German political parties is that the latter work to fulfill urgent social needs such as addressing environmental problems caused by factories.

"However," he said, "parties in Yemen were established to serve the personal goals of those running them. Even average members of the parties do not benefit from their membership."

Sa'ad said that they attended fo-

rum, debates and training workshops which helped them gain a good understanding of the lobbying process and how it might be implemented in Yemen.

"We learned a great deal about Germany's federal system and got a good grasp of the work of the political parties. We will compile a report about what we learned and present it to the government so that it will be able to benefit from our experience," said Rafat Al-Nabhani, communication officer for the Youth Lobby Group.

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Photo by Fatima Al-Azzani

Managing Director of Total E & P Yemen and Total Representative in Yemen Elias Kassis to the Yemen Times:

“We consider Yemen LNG to be a great project for Yemen. We at Total are proud to have strongly contributed to its success.”

Elias Kassis is Managing Director of Total E & P Yemen and Chief Representative of Total Group in Yemen. Kassis started his work in Yemen on September 1, 2013. Before coming to Yemen, he worked as Managing Director of Total E&P Malaysia and Total E&P Iraq. Earlier, he worked as Vice President of Total's Middle East Division and Vice President in the Americas Division.

Since he joined Total in 1991, he has held various positions in the Trading, Gas & Power and Exploration and Production Divisions of Total in France, Venezuela, Qatar and Malaysia. Kassis graduated with an engineering Master's degree from the Institut National Polytechnique de Grenoble and holds a Master's degree in finance from ESSEC Business School.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf interviewed Kassis about the controversial Yemen Liquid Natural Gas contract that has received criticism within Yemen, and also about relevant issues relating to Total's operations in Yemen.

Let's start with the LNG contract that has been in the news recently. Why was the Henry Hub indicator used as the reference for Yemen's LNG contract pricing? How much is it at currently?

Allow me to first explain that LNG projects require a lot of investment to be launched. And LNG projects are not generally financed or launched before long-term sales & purchase agreements are secured with LNG buyers. This was the case for Yemen LNG.

Hence, Yemen LNG strategy before the project was launched—i.e. before 2005—was to secure a long-term sales & purchase agreement and to do that in several markets to balance price risk. One of them was the Asian market because although prices were rather low, the Asian market was a stable one.

In addition to the Asian sales, the prime market that Yemen LNG was seeking was the U.S. market, as were other LNG projects at that time, notably Qatargas 3 and 4 and Nigeria LNG. Why? Because back in 2005, the U.S. gas market was booming, [but] there was not enough of a domestic gas supply. Every analyst and expert was predicting that LNG imports to the U.S. would increase over time; prices were around \$8 per MBTU and were expected to increase.

“The prime market that Yemen LNG was seeking was the U.S. market... because back in 2005, the U.S. gas market was booming.... Every analyst and expert was predicting that LNG imports to the U.S. would increase over time.”

So at that time, the U.S. market was important for Yemen LNG because the upside for Yemen LNG was anticipated to come from there. Unlike in Asia, in the U.S. gas is sold and purchased under a daily reference index, the “Henry Hub index,” which, in a free market, goes up and down depending on demand and offer.

Currently the Henry Hub index is approximately \$4 to \$4.50 per MBTU [1,000 British Thermal Units], after reaching a low of \$2

per MBTU in 2012. Back in 2005, when the contract was signed between Yemen LNG and Total, the Henry Hub index was around \$8 per MBTU. Why such a change? Because of an unexpected game changer in the U.S. which was the emergence of the so called “Shale Gas Boom” or “Shale Gas Revolution.”

Why was the 2009 emergence of American Shale Gas a problem?

Back in 2005, when Yemen LNG concluded three Sales and Purchase Agreements (SPAs) with its buyers Kogas, GDF Suez and Total Gas & Power (TGP) no one—be it analyst, independent expert or the industry itself—expected that domestic gas production in the U.S. would grow so rapidly due to shale gas production.

With this sudden and unexpectedly abundant gas production in the U.S., a bubble was created, and the price of gas in this fluid market decreased to reach today's prices of approximately \$4 per MBTU.

At the same time, Asian gas prices rose from relatively low levels due to a growing demand for energy, driven notably by China. And this rise in demand was even higher after the Fukushima accident in the spring of 2011. **Where are the negotiations on the contract now? Since it is set to end in 2025, are you considering amending the contract?**

Last summer a joint task force which included the Yemeni government and Yemen LNG started a price review of contracts with the three buyers [Kogas, GDF Suez and Total].

Negotiations concluded with Kogas in December of 2013 under the contractual price review clause, reaching an agreement for a sales price representing the current Asian market.

Yemen LNG initiated negotiations with TGP during the summer of 2013, and our understanding is that those negotiations are today at a very advanced stage. Progress has been made and we are confident that Yemen LNG will be able to close the negotiations in the near future in the best interests of both parties.

As it is, in order to compensate for the dramatic downturn of prices in the U.S. market, and in the best interests of Yemen and of Yemen LNG, TGP has been striving to provide some upside margin by diverting as many shipments as possible to the Asian market—which is currently more profitable. In 2013, 80 percent of shipments were diverted, providing higher revenue to the company and the country.

However, TGP still has commitments in the U.S. that need to be fulfilled.

Is it not a conflict of interests in the Liquid Natural Gas business to sell to yourself? Total owns more than one-third of shares in Yemen LNG and yet sells to Total...? Although Total must recuse itself when

it comes to approving Total as a buyer, it could still lobby or put pressure on the other partners to agree.

First of all, we are not selling to ourselves: Total is one of the foreign shareholders in Yemen LNG, with 39.62 percent ownership, but the entity selling gas is Yemen LNG. You are correct that Total is buying LNG through our Gas & Power affiliate but under the terms of our contract, we only purchase 32 percent of the volume produced —2 Mt/y [metric tons per year] delivered for a plant capacity of 6.7 Mt/y—so our interest is clearly that of an investor and there is no conflict of interest.

“Yemen LNG initiated negotiations with TGP during the summer of 2013, and our understanding is that those negotiations are today at a very advanced stage.”

There was never a conflict of interest between Total, as a shareholder of Yemen LNG, and TGP, as a buyer of LNG from Yemen LNG. All of the LNG sales and purchase agreements entered into by Yemen LNG were negotiated on an arm's-length basis and reflect market conditions at the time.

The second point worth noting is that—as explained earlier—in order to develop an LNG project, you need first to secure your outlets over the long term before going to the final investment decision—getting the financing and launching construction of a plant.

In the case of Yemen LNG, we are talking about an investment of \$4.5 billion, so one does not undertake such an expensive project without having first secured long-term sales.

Yemen LNG first secured the Asian market by responding to a call for tenders with Kogas, and the Yemen LNG price obtained was not the cheapest. Then the remaining LNG volumes were tendered by Yemen LNG. A call for tenders was launched, two additional SPAs [Sales and Purchase Agreements] were then signed by Yemen LNG in August 2005 with TGP and GDF Suez, both with deliveries to the U.S. and European markets.

Lastly, the negotiation of the sales and purchase agreement with

Total Gas and Power was managed from the side of Yemen LNG by a commercial task force led by another shareholder. It excluded the participation of anyone originating from Total.

As you correctly mentioned, Total representatives did not take part in the voting on the decision to approve the sales contract at the meeting of the Board of Directors of Yemen LNG. So the negotiation was conducted in a fair and transparent manner and this has been recorded and recognized by all the shareholders of Yemen LNG, including the Yemeni shareholders representing the government. The resulting contract was subjected to considerable scrutiny prior to its approval by the government.

At the end of the day, I would say that Total as an investor/shareholder brought strong credibility to the LNG project, which benefited from Total's internationally-recognized expertise in the LNG industry—we are present in 10 of the most prominent LNG projects in the world. In addition, TGP—a main player on the gas market and one of the buyers of Yemen LNG gas—also provided the project with the credibility to convince other buyers to come on board and hence, allow the project to be launched.

Some inaccurate information has been circulating about Total, mixing together Yemen LNG and Total, although they are different entities. Perhaps this is because Total is Yemen LNG's most visible shareholder.

Let me repeat again that Total and Yemen LNG are separate companies, Total being a shareholder in Yemen LNG with 39.6 percent along other shareholders, notably Yemen's YGC (Yemen Gas Company), and GASSP (General Authority for Social Security and Pensions). Yemen LNG, with the support of a commercial task force from among shareholders, is leading the negotiation as the seller, with the support of each shareholder and the Ministry of Oil and Minerals.

Are there any merits of selling to strong European international oil companies rather than Yemen independently exporting its gas like Qatar does?

I think this is a fair question. When you look at Yemen LNG's commercial strategy, they have sold to diversified markets—Asia, the U.S., and Europe, with diversification of prices—and what happened with the U.S. shale gas boom and the rising demand in Asia proved them right.

As already mentioned based on the LNG purchased from Yemen LNG, Total Gas and Power took on some commitments in the U.S. in terms of re-gasification and delivery but we were able, thanks to our global portfolio of outlets, to re-negotiate part of the shipments due to the U.S. and redirect—divert—these to Asia, thus generating significant benefits for Yemen LNG.

So yes, there are definitely merits to selling LNG to international gas marketers like Total Gas & Power. If you are an LNG producer,

it is much more sensible to do so, thereby balancing your portfolio of buyers between end users and marketers who can offer flexibility and access to upside margins through diversions to prime markets.

You quote Qatar, which is a large LNG producer as well. Total is a shareholder in Qatargas 1 and 2, which is doing exactly the same—both securing some end-user buyers and stable markets, as well as selling to international gas marketers to make the most of the U.S. and European markets.

Diversifying prices is one thing, and diversifying outlets is another. Having one of your shareholders committed—with its international marketing capabilities—and take part of the volume in order to help launch an LNG project is a common picture in the industry.

Why didn't the contract include a revision clause?

As explained earlier, you cannot launch an LNG project without first securing long-term sales and purchase gas contracts. Note that gas contracts and pricing are different from one market to another.

There is no LNG market price index in Asia. Contracts are based on gas price formulas linked to crude oil. In those formulas you find a number of parameters that vary over time, so your gas price depends on when you are negotiating and the visions the buyer and seller have of the price over the life of the contract. In some contracts, you

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find floor prices or caps.

In the U.S., you have an index, and you have a market, meaning that every day you know what the price of gas is in the market—so you do not need a five-year revision clause in contracts that are linked to the Henry Hub index.

In the Asian market, it is typical to look at the behavior of the market every five years and see if

the price formula needs to be reset. However in the U.S. market, this is done daily through the index.

What happens if Yemen goes to an international tribunal using the fact that there was no revision clause in the contract and that the Kogas contract sells at a much higher rate as leverage? Wouldn't the change in regime be considered as “force majeure,” unforeseen and uncontrollable circumstances?

The details of the LNG sale and purchase agreements are confidential and we cannot comment on them. However we would point out that as stated previously, Kogas SPA follows Asian practice with a price review clause, and GDF Suez and TGP SPAs follow Atlantic basin practice with indexation for pricing.

Furthermore, in the world of LNG, the best way to solve price disputes is by negotiation, not by going to arbitration because these are complicated contracts and if the ground for such extreme action is not solid, it could make things even worse for Yemen and affect the reputation of Yemen LNG.

What if new evidence comes out showing that there was corruption on the Yemeni side of this deal and the new Yemeni parliament decides to revoke the deal, claiming there was injustice or iniquity regarding the Yemeni people and the national interest?

As a shareholder of Yemen LNG, what we can say is that the deal was negotiated and approved in a fair manner and with full transparency. All three SPAs were subjected to thorough scrutiny by the board of Yemen LNG, independent consultants, the Ministry of Oil and Minerals, and a parliamentary committee, involving many people. They have looked at every detail—from reserves to marketing issues—to ensure the fairness of the deal for Yemen.

If Yemen were to simply cancel the contract, how would you react?

Yemen LNG is Yemen's greatest industrial achievement. Yemen LNG has commitments to buyers, has commitments to lenders, and has commitments to shareholders—be it the State of Yemen or foreign shareholders. Cancelling the contracts would have a truly adverse effect on Yemen, first, in terms of reputation and image, and also in terms of financial loss.

In my view, Yemen needs to attract investors to further develop its economy. Unilaterally cancelling legal commitments would have a very negative impact on investment in every economic sector, not only in the oil and gas sector. That would be sending the message that the environment in Yemen is not investor-friendly and that investing in Yemen is very risky.

إلياس قسيس، مدير عام شركة توتال يمن للاستكشاف والإنتاج وممثل مجموعة توتال ليمن تايمز:

"هناك معلومات غير دقيقة ضد توتال، ويتم الخلط بين الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال وشركة توتال، وهما جهتان مختلفتان، ربما لأن توتال هي المساهم الأكثر بروزاً."

السيد إلياس قسيس مدير عام شركة توتال يمن للاستكشاف والإنتاج والممثل الأول لمجموعة توتال في اليمن، بدأ قسيس العمل في اليمن في 1 سبتمبر 2013م، وقبل المجيء إلى اليمن، عمل مديراً عاماً لشركة توتال مالايزيا ومديراً عاماً لشركة توتال العراق. كما عمل قبل ذلك نائباً لرئيس دائرة الشرق الأوسط وكذلك نائباً لرئيس دائرة الأمريكيتين في مجموعة توتال. ومنذ التحاقه بالعمل لدى توتال في عام 1991م، تولى عدداً من المهام في دائرة التجارة والغاز والطاقة ودائرة الاستكشاف والإنتاج في مجموعة توتال في كل من فرنسا وفنزويلا وقطر وماليزيا. حصل قسيس على درجة الماجستير في الهندسة من المعهد الوطني للبوليتكنيك بغرنوبل وكذا درجة الماجستير في الشؤون المالية من كلية التجارة (ESSEC). في مقابلة حصرية سألت ناديتة السقاف السيد إلياس عن عقد الغاز المسال المثير للجدل وقضايا أخرى متعلقة بعمل الشركة في اليمن.



Photo by Fatima Al-Azzani

كان هناك فساد من الجانب اليمني في هذه الصفقة وبذلك يقرر البرلمان اليمني إلغاءها بحجة أنها كانت غير منصفة أو أنها كانت ظالمة للشعب اليمني والمصلحة الوطنية؟

باعتبارنا مساهم في الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال، ما يمكننا قوله هو أنه تم التفاوض حول الصفقة والموافقة عليها بشكل عادل وبشفافية كاملة. وقد تم تقديم كل اتفاقيات البيع والشراء الثلاثة لإجراء تدقيق شامل من قبل مجلس إدارة الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال وشركات استشارية مستقلة ووزارة النفط والمعادن ولجنة برلمانية وبالتالي شارك فيها كثير من الأشخاص. وقد نظروا في كل التفاصيل ابتداءً من الأمور المتصلة بالأنشطة إلى التسويق وذلك لضمان أن تكون الصفقة منصفة لليمن.

إذا قامت اليمن ببساطة بإلغاء العقد، ماذا سيكون ردكم؟

إن الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال هي أكبر إنجاز صناعي في اليمن، وعلى الشركة التزامات بالبيع والتزامات تجاه المقرضين والتزامات للمساهمين، سواء كانوا جهات حكومية أو مساهمين أجانب، وإلغاء العقود قد يكون له تأثير عكسي فعلي على اليمن، أولاً بما يتصل بصورة البلد وسمعتها وكذلك من ناحية الخسارة المالية.

وفي رأيي تحتاج اليمن لجذب المستثمرين لتطوير اقتصادها. وإلغاء الالتزامات القانونية من جانب واحد قد يكون له أثر سلبي على الاستثمار في كل القطاعات الاقتصادية، وليس على قطاع النفط والغاز فحسب. وهذا سوف يوجه رسالة بأن البيئة في اليمن ليست مشجعة للمستثمر وأن الاستثمار في اليمن مخاطرة كبيرة.

كيف حصلت الشركة اليمنية للغاز على نسبة 16.7% فقط في مشروع الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال؟ وماذا عن حصّة الهيئة العامة للتأمينات والمعاشات البالغة 5%؟

أظن أن الأمر على العكس تماماً حيث يعتبر هذا إنجاز جيد لليمن. فإذا جمعتي حصص الشركة اليمنية للغاز والهيئة العامة للتأمينات والمعاشات - وهما جهتان حكوميتان - يتبين أن الحكومة اليمنية تملك أكثر من 22 % في المشروع. أضيفي إلى ذلك أن الحكومة اليمنية تتلقى حقوق ملكية وضرائب على المشروع. وبهذا يصبح إجمالي حصة اليمن في هذا المشروع كبيرة. ومن المتوقع أن تحصل اليمن خلال العشرين عاماً القادمة على عوائد تصل إلى 60 مليار دولار تقريباً من المشروع.

يجب أن تأخذي بعين الاعتبار أن الكلفة الإجمالية للمشروع كانت حوالي 4.5 مليار دولار أمريكي، تم تمويلها كلها تقريباً من قبل المساهمين الأجانب، وكانت حصة الشركة اليمنية للغاز "محمولة"، بمعنى أن بقية المساهمين قد وافقوا على تمويل حصتها في الاستثمار. لذا كانت الصفقة جيدة من وجهة نظر الشركة اليمنية للغاز. إننا نعتبر الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال مشروعاً كبيراً لليمن. ونحن في توتال نفتز بأننا قد ساهمنا بشكل كبير في نجاحه، وذلك بالمساعدة في إكمال خطة المشروع وتمويله وإنشائه والآن في استمرار تشغيله بمستويات أداء ممتازة، بفضل العدد الكبير من الموظفين اليمنيين بصفة خاصة. يوفر هذا المشروع عائداً هامة للحكومة اليمنية ومزايا لليمنيين والمجتمعات المجاورة للمشروع.

الخام. وفي تلك الصبغ، تجد معايير متعددة تتنوع مع مرور الوقت، وبالتالي يعتمد سعر الغاز على متى تتفاوض وكذا رؤية البائع والمشتري للسعر طوال عمر العقد. وتجد في بعض العقود مستويات دنيا وعليا للأسعار. وفي الولايات المتحدة، لديك مؤشر، يعني أن لديك سوق تعرفي فيه ما هو سعر الغاز كل يوم وبالتالي لا تحتاج العقود المرتبطة بمؤشر هنري هب إلى فقرة للمراجعة كل خمس سنوات.

في السوق الآسيوية، يعتبر مراجعة سلوك السوق كل خمس سنوات إجراء معتاد من أجل مراجعة السعر إن اقتضى ذلك. ولكن في السوق الأمريكية، يتم هذا بشكل يومي من خلال المؤشر.

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في عالم الغاز الطبيعي المسال، وليس اللجوء للتحكيم لأنها عقود على درجة كبيرة من التعقيد، وإذا لم تكن هذه الإجراءات المتطرفة قائمة على أسس صلبة، فقد تجعل الأمور أسوأ لليمن وتؤثر على سمعة الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال.

ماذا لو ظهر دليل جديد يبين أنه

المسال فقد أضفى ذلك أيضاً مصداقية للمشروع لإقناع بقية المشتريين، وبالتالي المساعدة في بدء المشروع.

هناك معلومات غير دقيقة ضد توتال، ويتم الخلط بين الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال وشركة توتال، وهما جهتان مختلفتان، ربما لأن توتال هي المساهم الأكثر بروزاً.

دعيني أكرر مجدداً بأن توتال والشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال شركتان منفصلتان، حيث أن توتال مساهم في الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال بنسبة 39.6% مع المساهمين الآخرين، ولاسيما المساهمين اليمنيين وهما الشركة اليمنية للغاز والهيئة العامة للتأمينات الاجتماعية والمعاشات. وتقوم الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال بدعم من فريق عمل تجاري من المساهمين بقيادة التفاوض بصفتها البائع، بدعم من كل الشركاء ومن الوزارة.

هل هناك أي مزايا من البيع لشركات نضطية دولية، أوروبية، بدلا عن تصدير اليمن لغازه بنفسه، مثل قطر؟

اعتقد أن هذا سؤال منصف. إذا راجعتي الإستراتيجية التجارية للشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال، ستجدي أنها تبيع لأسواق متنوعة - آسيا وأمريكا وأوروبا. ووقد أثبت تنوع الأسعار - وما حدث مع ازدهار الغاز الصخري الأمريكي وارتفاع الطلب في آسيا صحة هذه الاستراتيجية.

وكما ذكرت آنفاً، بناءً على كمية الغاز الطبيعي المسال التي تشتريها شركة توتال للغاز والطاقة من الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال، تحملت شركة توتال للغاز والطاقة بعض الالتزامات في الولايات المتحدة بما يتعلق بإعادة الغاز من الحالة السائلة إلى الحالة الغازية وشروط التسليم، ولكننا تمكنا بفضل محفظة إنتاجنا العالمية من إعادة التفاوض على جزء من الشحنات المستحقة للسوق الأمريكية وإعادة توجيهها وتحويلها إلى آسيا وبالتالي توليد أرباح هامة للشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال.

وعليه، نعم هناك مزايا بلا ريب من بيع الغاز الطبيعي المسال إلى شركات تسويق دولية للغاز مثل شركة توتال للغاز والطاقة. فإذا كنت منتج للغاز الطبيعي المسال، فإنه من الصواب أن تقومي بتتبع المشتريين والمستهلكين النهائيين الذين يمكنهم توفير مرونة للحصول على هامش ربح مرتفع من خلال تحويل الشحنات إلى الأسواق الرئيسية.

وقد أشرت إلى قطر وهي منتج كبير للغاز الطبيعي المسال وتوتال مساهم في قطرجاز 1 و2 وهي تنفذ نفس استراتيجية الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال من ضمان بعض المشتريين من المستخدمين النهائيين وأسواق مستقرة وكذا البيع إلى مسوقين دوليين للغاز للاستفادة القصوى من الأسواق الأمريكية والأوروبية.

تنوع الأسعار شيء وتنوع القنوات شيء آخر والتزام أحد المساهمين لديك بناءً على قدراته التسويقية الدولية يأخذ جزءاً من الكميات للمساعدة على تدشين مشروع الغاز الطبيعي المسال أمر شائع في الصناعة.

ماذا لم يتضمن العقد فقرة للمراجعة؟

كما أوضحت مسبقاً، لا يمكنك تدشين مشروع الغاز الطبيعي المسال بدون ضمان عقود بيع وشراء طويلة الأجل للغاز في البداية. ومن ثم، فإن عقود وأسعار الغاز مختلفة من سوق إلى آخر.

لا يوجد مؤشر سعري في سوق الغاز الطبيعي المسال في آسيا. وتقوم العقود على صيغ سرية للغاز مرتبطة بالنفط

الأوروبي (الأخرى) حتى إذا لم يكن لها حق التصويت عندما تأتي توتال كمشتري، فإنه يمكنها التأثير أو استخدام الضغط للحصول على موافقة بقية الشركاء.

أولاً، نحن لا نبيع لأنفسنا. توتال هي أحد المساهمين الأجانب في الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال بنسبة 39.62% ولكن الجهة التي تبيع الغاز هي الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال. صحيح أن توتال تشتري الغاز الطبيعي المسال عبر شركتنا التابعة لشركة توتال للغاز والطاقة ولكننا نشترى 32% فقط من الكميات المنتجة بموجب العقد (2 مليون طن سنوياً مع التوصيل في إجمالي قدرة المنشأة 6.7 مليون طن بالغام)، ولذا فإن مصلحتنا واضحة باعتبارنا مستثمر وليس هناك تعارض مصالح.

لم يوجد تعارض مصلحة البتة بين توتال بصفتها مساهم في الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال وشركة توتال للغاز والطاقة بصفتها مشتري للغاز من الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال. ولقد تم التفاوض حول كل اتفاقيات بيع وشراء الغاز التي دخلت فيها الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال بشكل مستقل وهي تعكس ظروف السوق في ذلك الوقت.

والنقطة الثانية التي يجدر ملاحظتها، كما تم التوضيح سابقاً، هي أنه من أجل إنشاء مشروع الغاز الطبيعي المسال، فإنك تحتاج أولاً إلى ضمان بيع لإنتاجك على المدى البعيد، قبل التوجه إلى اتخاذ قرار نهائي بالاستثمار، والحصول على التمويل والبدء في بناء المنشأة.

وفي حالة الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال، نحن نتحدث عن استثمار 4.5 مليار دولار أمريكي، وبالتالي لا يمكنك أن تقدم عليها دون ضمان مبيعات طويلة الأجل.

ولذا عملت الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال منذ البداية على ضمان السوق الآسيوية، وذلك بالرد على دعوة للمناقصة التي أعلنت عنها شركة كوجاز، ولم يكن السعر الذي قدمته الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال أقل سعر. ثم أعلنت الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال عن مناقصة بشأن كميات الغاز المتبقية. وتم إطلاق الدعوة ومن ثم، تم توقيع اتفاقيتين إضافيتين لبيع وشراء الغاز في أغسطس 2005م مع شركة توتال للغاز والطاقة المحدودة وشركة جي دي إف سوير، وكلاهما تنصان على تسليم الغاز إلى السوق الأمريكية والأوروبية.

وأخيراً، قامت الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال بإجراء مفاوضات اتفاقية البيع والشراء مع شركة توتال للغاز والطاقة عبر فريق لبيع تجاري يقوده مساهم آخر واستثنت أي شخص من توتال.

ما ذكرته صحيح بأنه لم يشارك ممثلي توتال في التصويت على قرار الموافقة على عقد البيع في مجلس إدارة الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال. ولذا فقد تم التفاوض بشكل منصف وشفاف وهذا الأمر مسجل ومعروف لدى كل المساهمين في الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال ومن ضمنهم المساهمين النهائيين الذين يمثلون الحكومة. وفوق ذلك، خضع العقد الناتج لتدقيق هام قبل الموافقة عليه من قبل الحكومة.

وفي نهاية الأمر، أود أن أقول بأن توتال بصفتها مستثمر/مساهم قد أضافت مصداقية عالية لمشروع الغاز الطبيعي المسال والذي استفاد من خبرات توتال المعروفة عالمياً في صناعة الغاز الطبيعي المسال - فنحن متواجدون في عشرة من أبرز مشاريع الغاز الطبيعي المسال في العالم - وكون شركة توتال للغاز والطاقة، التي تعتبر لاعب رئيسي في سوق الغاز، أحد المشتريين من الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي

تحفزه الصين بشكل ملحوظ. وقد كان هذا الارتفاع في الطلب أعلى بعد حادثة فوكوشيما في ربيع 2011م.

أين وصلت المفاوضات حول العقد حالياً؟ وحيث أنه سينتهي في عام 2025م، هل تنظرون في تعديله؟

في الصيف الماضي، بدأ فريق عمل يضم الحكومة اليمنية والشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال مراجعة أسعار العقود مع ثلاثة مشترين.

وتم استكمال المفاوضات مع شركة كوجاز في ديسمبر 2013م، بموجب فقرة مراجعة السعر التعاقدية، وتم التوصل إلى اتفاق حول سعر بيع يمثل السوق الآسيوية الحالية.

وقد بدأت الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال التفاوض مع شركة توتال للغاز والطاقة في صيف 2013م. وحسب علمنا، فإن تلك المفاوضات وصلت إلى مرحلة متقدمة جداً اليوم. فقد تم إحراز تقدم في الأمر ونحن على ثقة بأن الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال ستكون قادرة على إنهاء التفاوض في المستقبل القريب ولما فيه المصلحة المثلى لكلا الطرفين.

وفي الوقت الراهن، ومن أجل تعويض هذا الانخفاض المفاجئ في الأسعار في السوق الأمريكية ولما فيه المصلحة العليا لليمن وللشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال، فإن شركة توتال للغاز والطاقة تبذل منذ ذلك الحين قصارى جهدها لتوفير هامش زيادة عبر تحويل أعلى عدد ممكن من الشحنات إلى الأسواق الآسيوية وهي أعلى ربحية حالياً. وفي 2013م، تم تحويل 80% من الشحنات وبالتالي تقديم إيرادات أعلى للشركة ولبلد. ولكن شركة توتال للغاز والطاقة ما يزال عليها التزامات في الولايات المتحدة يتطلب الاستمرار في الإيفاء بها.

السوق الرئيسي الذي كانت تسعى إليه الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال هو السوق الأمريكي... لأنه في عام 2005م، كان سوق الغاز الأمريكي مزدهراً... وكان أي محلل أو خبير يعتبر بأن واردات الولايات المتحدة من الغاز الطبيعي المسال هو السوق الرئيسي الذي كانت تسعى إليه

لأنه في عام 2005م، كان مؤشر هنري هب حالياً 4 إلى 4.5 دولار أمريكي تقريباً لكل مليون وحدة حرارية بريطانية، بعد أن وصل إلى مستوى منخفض يساوي 2 دولار أمريكي لكل مليون وحدة حرارية بريطانية في عام 2012م. وفي عام 2005م، عند توقيع العقد بين الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال وشركة توتال، كان مؤشر هنري هب حوالي 8 دولار أمريكي لكل مليون وحدة حرارية بريطانية. لماذا حدث ذلك التغيير؟ لأن عامل تغير مفاجئ وغير متوقع قد دخل اللعبة في الولايات المتحدة وهو ظهور ما يسمى "بازدهار الغاز الصخري" أو "ثورة الغاز الصخري".

وبسبب هذا الإنتاج المفاجئ والغير متوقع لكميات غزيرة من الغاز في الولايات المتحدة، ظهرت فقاعة في السوق وانخفض سعر الغاز في هذا السوق الغير مستقر ليصبح الآن 4 دولار أمريكي تقريباً لكل مليون وحدة حرارية بريطانية. وفي الوقت نفسه، ارتفعت أسعار السوق الآسيوية من مستويات منخفضة نسبياً نتيجة لزيادة الطلب على الطاقة والذي

لنبدأ من عقد الغاز المسال، لماذا تم استخدام مؤشر هنري هب كمرجع للتسعير في عقد الغاز الطبيعي المسال اليمني؟ وكم يبلغ حالياً؟

دعيني أولاً أوضح بأن مشاريع الغاز الطبيعي المسال تتطلب استثمارات كبيرة. وصفة عامة لا يتم تمويل أو تدشين مشاريع الغاز الطبيعي المسال قبل ضمان اتفاقيات بيع وشراء طويلة الأجل مع مشترين للغاز الطبيعي المسال. وينطبق هذا الحال على مشروع الغاز الطبيعي المسال اليمني.

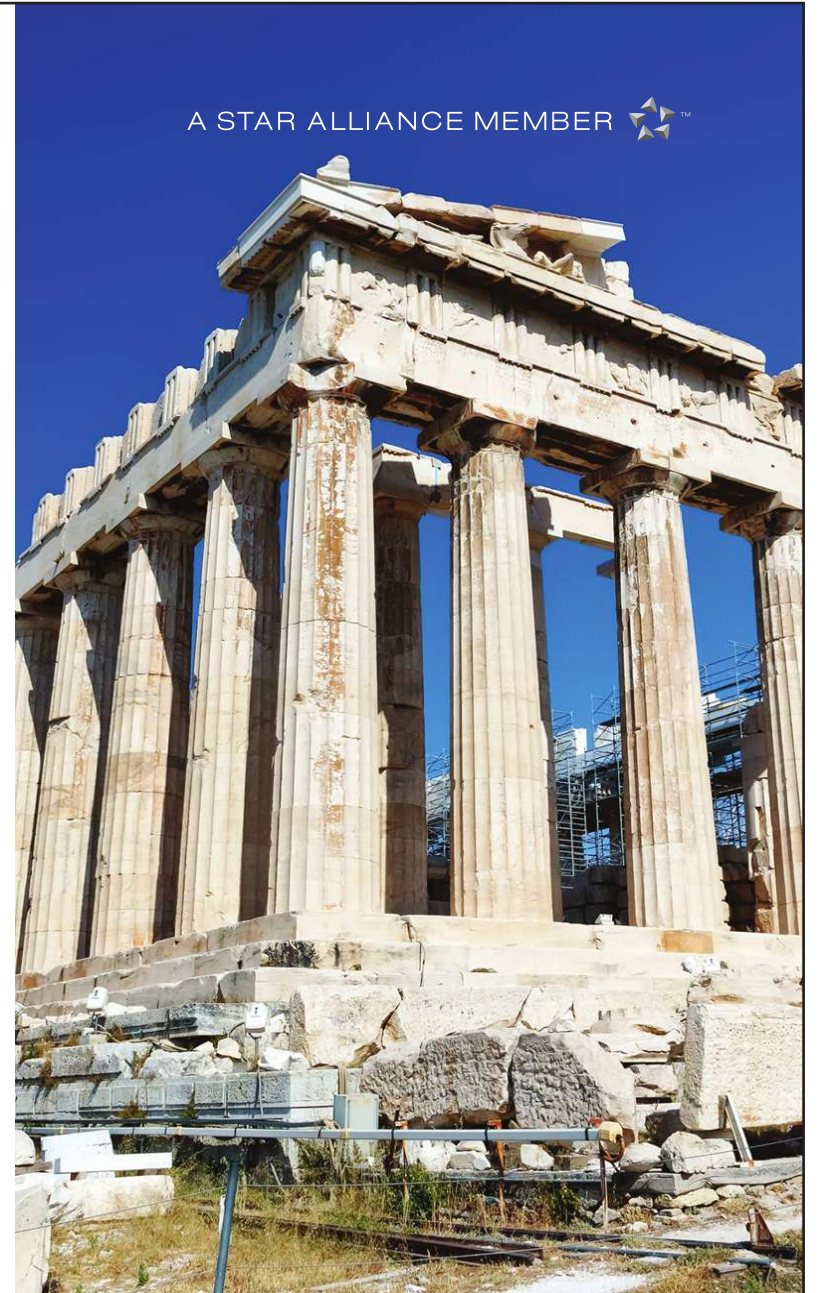
وعليه، فقد كانت استراتيجية الغاز الطبيعي المسال اليمني قبل التدشين (قبل عام 2005م) هي ضمان عقد اتفاقية بيع وشراء طويلة الأجل مع أسواق متعددة من أجل تقليل خطورة تذبذب الأسعار. وكانت السوق الآسيوية أحد تلك الأسواق لأنه رغم أن أسعارها كانت منخفضة نسبياً، إلا أن السوق الآسيوية كانت مستقرة.

بالإضافة إلى مبيعات السوق الآسيوية، فإن السوق الرئيسي الذي كانت تسعى إليه الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال هو السوق الأمريكي والذي كانت تسعى إليه أيضاً مشاريع الغاز الطبيعي المسال الأخرى في ذلك الوقت، لاسيما قطر جاز 3 و4 ومشروع نيجيريا للغاز الطبيعي المسال. لماذا؟ لأنه في عام 2005م، كان سوق الغاز الأمريكي مزدهراً ولم يكن هناك عرض محلي كافٍ للغاز. وكان أي محلل أو خبير يتوقع أن تزيد واردات الولايات المتحدة من الغاز الطبيعي المسال مع مرور الوقت. حيث كانت الأسعار حوالي 8 دولار أمريكي لكل مليون وحدة حرارية بريطانية وكان من المتوقع أن ترتفع.

وبالتالي فقد كانت السوق الأمريكية حينها مهمة بالنسبة لمشروع الغاز الطبيعي المسال و كان من المتوقع أن تأتي أرباح مرفعة منه للمشروع. وهكذا خلافاً للسوق الآسيوية، فإن الغاز في الولايات المتحدة يباع ويشترى بموجب مؤشر مرجعي يومي "مؤشر هنري هب"، والذي يرتفع وينخفض في السوق الحرة بناءً على العرض والطلب. يبلغ مؤشر هنري هب حالياً 4 إلى 4.5 دولار أمريكي تقريباً لكل مليون وحدة حرارية بريطانية، بعد أن وصل إلى مستوى منخفض يساوي 2 دولار أمريكي لكل مليون وحدة حرارية بريطانية في عام 2012م. وفي عام 2005م، عند توقيع العقد بين الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال وشركة توتال، كان مؤشر هنري هب حوالي 8 دولار أمريكي لكل مليون وحدة حرارية بريطانية. لماذا حدث ذلك التغيير؟ لأن عامل تغير مفاجئ وغير متوقع قد دخل اللعبة في الولايات المتحدة وهو ظهور ما يسمى "بازدهار الغاز الصخري" أو "ثورة الغاز الصخري".

لماذا يعد ظهور الغاز الصخري الأمريكي من عام 2009 مشكلة؟ في عام 2005م، عندما أبرمت الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال ثلاث اتفاقيات بيع وشراء مع المشترين وهم شركة كوجاز وشركة جي دي إف سوير وشركة توتال للغاز والطاقة. ولم يتوقع أحد، سواء المحللون أو الخبراء المستقلون في هذا المجال بأن يرتفع إنتاج الغاز المحلي في الولايات المتحدة بسرعة كبيرة نتيجة لإنتاج الغاز الصخري.

وبسبب هذا الإنتاج المفاجئ والغير متوقع لكميات غزيرة من الغاز في الولايات المتحدة، ظهرت فقاعة في السوق وانخفض سعر الغاز في هذا السوق الغير مستقر ليصبح الآن 4 دولار أمريكي تقريباً لكل مليون وحدة حرارية بريطانية. وفي الوقت نفسه، ارتفعت أسعار السوق الآسيوية من مستويات منخفضة نسبياً نتيجة لزيادة الطلب على الطاقة والذي



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Continued from page 8

Managing Director of Total E&P Yemen and Total Group Yemen Representative Elias Kassis speaks to the Yemen Times

How did the Yemen Gas Company end up with only a 16.7 percent share in Yemen LNG? What about the five percent share of the GASSP?

I think that this is actually a rather good achievement for Yemen. If you add the participation of both YGC and GASSP in Yemen LNG, which are both public entities, it shows that the government of Yemen owns about 22% of the company. In addition, the Yemen receives royalties and tax revenues from the project. Thus, the total stake of Yemen in the project is considerable. Over the next 20 years of the project, Yemen is expected to receive approximately \$60 billion in revenues.

Also, you have to keep in mind that the overall cost of the project was in the range of \$4.5 billion, almost entirely financed by foreign shareholders. YGC has been "carried," meaning that the other shareholders agreed to finance its share of the investment. So, from a YGC point of view, the deal did make sense.

We consider Yemen LNG to be a great project for Yemen. We at Total are proud to have strongly contributed to its success, helping this project to mature, to be financed, to be constructed and now, to be up and running with brilliant performance, thanks in particular to its many Yemeni employees. This project is bringing important revenues to the state of Yemen and benefits to its population and neighboring communities.

How can you justify the increase—from \$2.7 to \$5 billion—in recovery debts that Yemen must pay? These debts consume 50 percent of production revenues.

Let me clarify that. There are two different questions here: the cost

of the project, and the recovery of the upfront investment made by the shareholders.

Regarding the cost of the project, \$2.7 billion was a figure that may have been suggested at the very early stages of the project in the 1990s. However it took the founding partners in Yemen LNG quite a few years (a decade) to secure outlets for the gas before being able to launch construction of the plant in 2005. The actual cost of the project was \$4.5 billion.

Yemen LNG benefited from an extremely favorable environment for the construction of the project, which was delivered close to planning and budget in the fall of 2009. Credit must be given to the expertise of the main shareholders, notably Total, during the construction phase. Similar types of projects built at the same time had higher costs. Were we to build the same project today, the cost would be double or triple that price, as construction costs have soared over the past 10 years.

Regarding revenues, as in any project, you have investors who provided the initial capital investment, so it is normal that during the initial phase of the project production, a significant part of the revenues generated by the project be returned to the investors and lenders to reimburse their financing.

But over time, and very soon, when the capital costs of the project are repaid, the share of revenues that the government of Yemen receives will increase significantly. All the revenue-sharing mechanisms for reimbursement and expenses are detailed in the Gas Development Agreement, which governs the relationship between Yemen LNG, its shareholders, and the State of Yemen, and which was approved by Parliament in 1997.

When do you estimate that

“

Yemen needs to attract investors to further develop its economy. Unilaterally cancelling legal commitments would have a very negative impact on investment in every economic sector, not only in the oil and gas sector.

”

capital expenses will be recovered?

The investment, as far as shareholders' contributions are concerned, should be fully recovered by 2018. Shareholders of Yemen LNG receive revenue—only GASSP has invested money in the project and is progressively recovering its investment.

Why is Total so interested in Yemen? You are struggling with a lack of security, which means higher insurance costs; employee continually go out on strike; Total is being viewed negatively because of the media backlash; and even the Yemeni government is not happy.

First, and based on the Code of Conduct of the Total Group, Total E & P Yemen respects the sovereignty of the State of Yemen and does not and will not intervene in its political processes. As a company operating in Yemen, we nevertheless hope that in the best interests of the population of Yemen and its economy, the conclusion of the National Dialogue Conference will lead to restored stability in the country and improve the security situation, which is required to further develop the country's economic activities for the benefit of Yemen and its people.

Total is the international company with the largest presence in Yemen, both in the upstream sector (oil and gas exploration and production) and the gas sector (Yemen

LNG and the Balhaf plant).

We have been present in Yemen for more than 25 years. We believe there is still a lot to do to further [develop and exploit] the country's natural resources in the best interests of the country and its population.

We are a major contributor to the economy and have forged a long-term partnership with Yemen. Yemen is therefore an important country for Total, just as Total is important to Yemen's economy.

The nature of our industry is long-term, so when we enter a country, it is usually for decades. There may be good times and somewhat more difficult times throughout the life of our projects, but we feel a commitment to the State of Yemen and its population and local communities. We maintain an ongoing dialogue with the government, which helps protect our people and assets. In all cases, safety and security are Total's top priorities.

There is new gas exploration being carried out now, and some locations—such as those in Al-Jawf—are very promising. Wouldn't you consider revising the contract in order not to lose future prospects in Yemen? Also, especially in light of the fact that you are already exiting block 10—where your contract ends in 2015—and the fact that the Yemeni government has indicated that it will not renew it with Total, instead handing it over to Safer...?

Every project, every deal, every block is evaluated on its own by the Yemeni authorities and by investors.

In Yemen, we are the operator on Block 10, which is an oil project; we are a shareholder in Yemen LNG, which is a gas project; and we are also very proud to hold interests on

exploration blocks. Unfortunately we are prevented from conducting exploration activities as per our initial plans due to security issues that everyone is aware of.

However, we strongly hope to be able to pursue our activities in the future and contribute to discovering new hydrocarbon reserves for the benefit of the State of Yemen.

Specifically regarding Block 10, the license will expire at the end of 2015 and we are considering the options for the future.

Having Total present in the country since 1987 means it is one of the earliest investors in Yemen. What are the main development and social responsibility projects this company has carried out in Yemen since then? How have you contributed to reducing poverty in Yemen?

Total celebrated its 25th year of uninterrupted presence in Yemen in mid-2012. Through our direct operations in the country and through our share in Yemen LNG, we not only provide revenue for Yemen and its people but have also created, both directly and indirectly, several thousand jobs for Yemeni nationals.

In addition, we have developed and are developing training and talent development initiatives for our employees.

We are implementing socio-economic development programs, public health programs, educational programs and environmental conservation actions that benefit the populations neighboring our industrial sites.

Today, we remain fully committed to working with Yemen and the people of Yemen towards the successful continuation of this exemplary collaboration in the best possible, most responsible way.

British Embassy Sana'a



British Embassy
Sana'a

Vacancies

Two full time positions are now available in the British Embassy, Political Section to fill the positions of Political Officer and Press Officer.

The successful candidates will require proven experience in political work or the media, excellent teamwork and communication skills in English and Arabic, initiative and attention to detail. He/she must also be a self-starter, be proactive and able to deliver a high level of customer service

Working hours will be 35 hours per week. Flexibility in working hours will be required, with time off in lieu for additional hours worked.

Political Officer LE1 (YR 373.000 – YR 466.000 subject to experience)

- Political Reporting and Analysis: both proactive and reactive covering Yemeni political and regional developments, Government of Yemen policies, civil society and human rights, and other related matter.
- Background research on a range of topics
- An ability to identify opportunities for future British Embassy engagement
- Briefing for British Embassy events / meetings
- Some interpretations and translation as required
- Staff management: LE2 Translator / Counter-signing for LE3 Projects & Visits Officer

Press Officer LE2 (YR 268.000 – YR 384.000 subject to experience)

- Design and implementation of a media/ communications strategy for the British Embassy, including social media.
- Monitoring and analysis of Yemeni media (internet, TV, radio, press), including the production of daily press summaries
- Influence mapping
- Day to day responsibility for social media content / monitoring / moderation
- Maintain press contacts and organise interviews / press conferences/ statements in a way which supports delivery of the Embassy media/communications strategy.
- Out of hour's media monitoring / on call for media engagement / social media
- Maintain the press archive

The British Embassy is committed to providing a safe and pleasant working environment. It places high value on its staff and seeks to provide a competitive pay and benefits package, including cover for medical costs.

Interested persons should submit their applications in English, by email only, to Sanaa.cs@fco.gov.uk by 18 March 2014. Applications must include a full CV and evidence of any relevant qualifications, together with a covering letter stating the reasons for applying for this job, and explaining the value the applicant will bring to the position. Appointment will be subject to satisfactory security clearance and references.

Request For Expressions of Interest (EOI) No. 1/C/QCB/IWRM SB/WSSP

Country and Beneficiary: Republic of Yemen - Ministry of Water & Environment
National Water Resources Authority-Sana'a Branch (NWRA- SB)
Water Sector Support project (WSSP)

CONSULTING SERVICES: Geophysical & Hydrogeological Investigation of the Tawilah Group Aquifer System in the Southeastern and Southwestern Groundwater Zones of the Sana'a Basin

Grant No: (IDA Grant No.H449 RY).

The Government of Yemen has received a grant from the International Development Association (IDA) and intends to apply part of the proceeds of this grant to hire a qualified consulting firm under the contract for **Geophysical & Hydrogeological Investigation of the Tawilah Group Aquifer System in the Southeastern and Southwestern Groundwater Zones of the Sana'a Basin**

The main objective of the study is to assess the capacity of the aquifers storage 400 m below the surface in the southern, SW and SE parts of the Sana'a Basin. In particular, the services will include a preparation of a conceptual model of the volcanic aquifer and Tawilah Group Aquifer System that allows for a pre-feasibility assessment of its exploitation and provides the information gaps needed for a full feasibility assessment to establish well fields for future Sana'a City water supply. A series of studies, surveys, and data analysis will be conducted to build up the basic information for that conceptual model. This series includes analysis of available information, hydrogeological assessment, aquifer characterization, wells inventory, geophysical, hydrochemical, isotopic analysis, and ...etc. the time frame for the whole assignment is defined to be six months.

The Ministry of Water & Environment- Water Sector Support project(WSSP)-National Water Resources Authority-Sana'a Branch(NWRA- SB) –Project Management Unit(PMU) now invites eligible consultants to indicate their interest in providing the services. Interested consultants must provide information indicating that they are qualified to perform the services (brochures, description of similar assignments, experience in similar conditions, availability of appropriate skills among staff, etc.). Consultants may associate to enhance their qualifications.

A consultant will be selected in accordance with the procedures set out in the World Bank's *Guidelines: Selection and Employment of Consultants by World Bank Borrowers*, January 2011

Interested consultants may obtain further information at the address below

Water Sector Support project (WSSP)
National Water Resources Authority-Sana'a Branch (NWRA- SB)
Project Management Unit(PMU)
Mujahed str. , behind Samsung Agent beginning of Arwa Rd.
Tel: 00 967 01 – 504377
Fax: 00 967 01 – 504021
E-mail: nwrasb@hotmail.com, saldubby@gmail.com, asas777046308@gmail.com

from 8:30 am to 14:30 pm during official working days (Sunday to Thursday).

Expressions of interest must be delivered to the address below by 11:00 am at March 27, 2014

National Water Resources Authority-Sana'a Branch (NWRA- SB)
Project Management Unit (PMU)
Mujahed str. , behind Samsung Agent beginning of Arwa Rd.
Tel: 00 967 01 – 504377
Fax: 00 967 01 – 504021
E-mail: nwrasb@hotmail.com, saldubby@gmail.com, asas777046308@gmail.com



Theater as change agent

Mohammed Al-Khayat

Theater is a cornerstone of culture and has enjoyed great popularity throughout history and around the world. Theater has played an effective role in mobilizing Yemenis, particularly during the youth uprising in 2011. Theater attracted different segments of society to the country's revolutionary squares.

"The role of theater is very meaningful in the political process. It is effective at educating society and examining various political [and social] issues," said Minister of Youth and Sports Muamar Al-Eryani. "The ministry supports many different activities in general, and theater in particular. Plays [that tackle social issues] should give the audience an opportunity to express their opinion, react to the subject matter, and generate solutions."

But, audience turnout has been low, which to Eryani suggests a need to make the public more aware of theater and its relevance to their daily lives. Civil society organizations are helping with this effort and some even have their own performance troupes.

"Political theater has become a prerequisite for the transitional process in Yemen as well as for discussing the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) outcomes," said Ashwaq Anbr, the manager of the Popular Theater for Peaceful Transfer at the International Relief and Development Organization.

"Theater is the best way to get a message across to people and also to engage them in the political process, especially in rural areas where illiteracy is high."

These organizations are not

standing idle. They are actively working to strengthen the role of theater in politics.

"The organization I am working for has launched a variety of initiatives in this area. Our latest is our Interactive Traditional Theater which has raised awareness about the NDC outcomes and encouraged women's participation in the political process," said Anbar.

Anbar's group, with its focus on informing women, has carried out performances in many rural areas of different governorates. According to the NDC outcomes, women are to fill 30 percent of positions in the new government.

"Theatrical performances should... be promoted via TV, radio and newspapers," Anbar said.

A lack of financial and cultural support for theater is a big hurdle, according to Abdulhakeem Al-Haj, the general manager of the Cultural Center and former general manager of the Traditional Theatre.

"Playwrights should persevere with their writing and not be discouraged by low attendance. The secret to success is persistence. One day, people will realize the importance of theater in society," Al-Haj said.

University student Ibrahim Salah said he seldom watches plays because he does not hear about performances and he does not believe they are advertised properly.

"Political theater can be an important and effective way to raise awareness in society. The people, the government and civil society organizations should work together to develop this art so that it reaches a high level of quality."

While some people blame weak support from the government for the lack of theatre's popularity,

sociology professor Abdulkareem Nasser said that most people are focused on meeting their basic needs, and do not have much money to put on theatre tickets. Especially when they can head to an internet café

and entertain themselves at little cost.

The finger of blame can also be point towards one of Yemen's main villains: qat.

"[The habit of afternoon] qat

chewing weakens theater culture because the majority of theatrical works are screened in the afternoon. This directly contributes to [society's] neglect of the theater," Nasser said.

He suggested that the government establish theaters in all governorates and sponsor regular performances. He also urged the government to encourage talented youth to enter the field.

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Coffee Break



Sudoku

		6	7		2	3	4	
8		7		3				6
	1				4		5	
	3		4		9			7
	9	8	6			5	2	
6				3		8		
	2		3				7	
7				2		4		
	8	4	5			6	3	

Easy

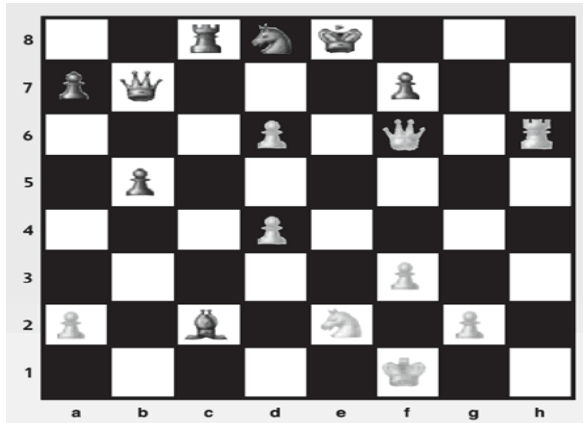
		9	7				3	
		5	9			7		1
		4	2					8
8				4	3		2	
	1			6				4
	5		1					7
7					9	6		
9		3			7	8		
	2				1	4		

Intermediate

			9				5	
2		8				9		
	1			2			4	
			3		4			8
		9		5		7		
4			7		2			
	3			7			1	
		1				4		7
					3			

Difficult

Chess



White plays and wins in the 3rd move

Solutions

6	8	7	2	1	5	9	4	3
1	4	9	6	3	8	5	7	2
5	1	9	6	2	7	4	3	8
4	6	1	2	8	1	9	5	7
7	2	4	9	5	1	6	8	3
3	5	8	1	9	2	7	4	6
8	9	5	7	6	4	3	2	1
9	4	7	2	8	5	1	6	3
1	4	6	5	8	9	7	2	3
2	5	8	1	7	6	4	3	9

Sudoku



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وبما يتصل بوجه خاص القطاع 10، سوف تنتهي رخصة الامتياز بنهاية العام 2015م ونحن ننظر في خيارات للمستقبل. وجود توتال في اليمن منذ عام 1987م يعني أنها من أوائل المستثمرين في اليمن. ما هي مشاريع التنمية والمستويات الاجتماعية الرئيسية التي نفذتها هذه الشركة في اليمن منذ ذلك الحين؟ وكيف تساهمون في خفض مستوى الفقر في اليمن؟ لقد احتفت توتال بمرور 25 عاماً من تواجدها المتواصل في اليمن في منتصف 2012م. من خلال عملياتنا المباشرة في البلد ومن خلال مشاركتنا في مشروع الغاز الطبيعي المسال،



مشاريعنا ولكن لدينا مسؤوليات تجاه الحكومة اليمنية والشعب اليمني والمجتمعات المحلية. ونحن نبقي على حوار جاري مع الحكومة والذي يساعد على حماية موظفينا وأصولنا. ففي كل الأحوال، تظل الأمن والسلامة على رأس أولويات توتال.

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كل مشروع وكل اتفاق وكل قطاع يتم تقييمه على حدة من قبل السلطات اليمنية والمستثمرين.

في اليمن، نحن نشغل القطاع 10 وهو مشروع نفط، ونساهم في الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال وهو مشروع غاز، كما أننا نعتز جداً بحصولنا على حصص في قطاعات استكشافية - ولكننا للأسف نواجه معوقات تحول دون تنفيذ الأنشطة الاستكشافية حسب خططنا الأولية وذلك بسبب الإشكاليات الأمنية التي يعرفها الجميع.

ورغم ذلك، نتمنى أن تتمكن من مواصلة انشطتنا في المستقبل والإسهام في اكتشاف احتياطات نفطية وغازية لما فيه مصلحة اليمن.

التأسيسية؛ وماذا لو رفضت اليمن دفعها؟

سيتم تغطية الاستثمار بما يخص مشاركة المساهمين بشكل كامل في 2018م. للغاز الطبيعي المسال لا يدفعون ولكنهم يتلقون إيرادات، ما عدا الهيئة العامة للتأمينات والمعاشات التي استثمرت مبلغ في المشروع وتسترد استثمارها بشكل تدريجي.

لماذا توتال مهتمة جداً باليمن، بالرغم من أنكم تعاونون من عدم توفر الأمن وهذا يعني ارتفاع التأمين وهناك اضطرابات متكررة من قبل العمال وينظر إليكم بشكل سلبي بسبب التناول الإعلامي وحتى الحكومة اليمنية ليست راضية عنكم؟

أولاً وبناءً على مدونة السلوك الخاصة بمجموعة توتال، فإن شركة توتال يمن للاستكشاف والإنتاج تحترم سيادة الدولة اليمنية ولا تتدخل ولن تتدخل في الشؤون السياسية. ومع ذلك، كوننا شركة تعمل في اليمن ولما فيه المصلحة العليا لليمنيين ولإقتصاد اليمن، فإننا نأمل أن تؤدي نتائج مؤتمر الحوار الوطني إلى استعادة استقرار البلد وتحسن الظروف الأمنية المطلوبة لتطوير الأنشطة الاقتصادية في البلد لما فيه مصلحة اليمن وشعبه.

وتوتال لديها أكبر تواجد في الشركات العالمية في اليمن سواء في قطاع الاستخراج (استكشاف وإنتاج النفط والغاز) وقطاع الغاز (مشروع الغاز الطبيعي المسال ومشاة بلحاف).

نحن نتواجد في اليمن منذ 25 عاماً ونحن على ثقة بأنه ما يزال هناك الكثير يمكن عمله في اليمن من أجل بلورة الموارد الطبيعية للبلد لما فيه المصلحة المثلى لليمن وشعبه. نحن مساهم رئيسي في الاقتصاد وقد كوّنّا شراكة طويلة المدى مع اليمن. وعليه، فاليمن بلد هام لتوتال، تماماً كاهمية توتال لاقتصاد اليمن.

إن طبيعة صناعتنا هي العمل على المدى الطويل ولذلك عندما ندخل أي بلد، فإن ذلك يكون غالباً لعدة عقود. قد يكون هناك أوقات جيدة ونوعاً ما أوقات أكثر صعوبة خلال مراحل

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في نفس الفترة بتكاليف أعلى. وإذا جئنا اليوم لبناء نفس المشروع، ستكون الكلفة ضعفين أو ثلاثة أضعاف حيث أن تكاليف الإنشاء قد ارتفعت خلال العشرة الأعوام الماضية. وبالنسبة للإيرادات، فمثل أي مشروع آخر، لديك مستثمرين دفعوا رأسمال المشروع وبالتالي من الطبيعي أن يؤول جزء من الإيرادات التي يحصل عليها المشروع للمستثمرين والمقرضين خلال المرحلة الأولى من إنتاج المشروع وذلك لاسترداد مبالغ التمويل. ولكن مع مرور الوقت، عند استرداد التكاليف التأسيسية للمشروع وسيتم ذلك قريباً جداً، سوف ترتفع حصة الحكومة اليمنية بشكل ملحوظ. وكل آليات المشاركة بالعائدات واسترداد النفقات مفصلة في اتفاقية تطوير الغاز التي تحكم العلاقة بين الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال والمساهمين فيها والحكومة اليمنية والتي صادق عليها البرلمان في عام 1997م.

متى نتوقع أن يتم تغطية النفقات

كيف يمكن أن تبرز زيادة ديون استرداد الاستثمار التي ينبغي على اليمن دفعها من 2.7 إلى حوالي 5 مليار دولار والتي تذهب إليها 50٪ من عوائد الإنتاج؟ دعيني أوضح الأمر. لدينا هنا مسألتان مختلفتان، كلفة المشروع واسترداد كلفة الاستثمار المقدمة من المساهمين. بالنسبة لكلفة المشروع، تم اقتراح الرقم 2.7 مليار دولار في مراحل مبكرة جداً من المشروع، في التسعينات. ولكن استغرق الأمر من الشركاء المؤسسين لمشروع الغاز الطبيعي المسال عدة سنوات (عقد من الزمن) لضمان أسواق للغاز قبل البدء ببناء المنشأة في عام 2005م. وكانت الكلفة الفعلية للمشروع 4.5 مليار دولار.

كما استفادت الشركة اليمنية للغاز الطبيعي المسال من وجود بيئة إيجابية لإنشاء المشروع وإنجازه بشكل قريب للخطة والميزانية في خريف عام 2009م. وهذا يعود أيضاً إلى خبرات المساهمين الرئيسيين وخصوصاً توتال، خلال مرحلة الإنشاء. وقد أنشئت مشاريع مشابهة

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