

Tuesday, 18 February, 2014

Issue No. 1756

News

Interior Ministry investigates escape of 29 inmates from prison Page 2



Feature
Visually impaired
singer aspires to
fame

Page 5



Opinion

Tough times ahead for Yemen's

Page 6

federation

Interview
Yahia Al-Sulaihi:
"We are mistreated
by society [in
general]

Page 8







أصالة وتــواصـل www.sabafon.com

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

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Armed clashes in Hadramout displace hundreds

Mohammed Al-Hassani

SANA'A, Feb.17-Fighting between the military and armed tribesmen in Hadramout has displaced a disputed number of people from Abdulla Ghareeb village in the Ghail bin Yameen area, according to local sources in Al-Shihr.

The media officer for Hadramout governorate, Mohsen Nasser, told the Yemen Times that fewer than 800 people have been displaced as a result of the fighting.

He said the displaced families fled their homes in Abdullah Ghareeb village and headed to the nearby district of Ghail Ba Wazeer. The displaced families are staying in public school buildings, according to Nasser.

Asa'd Jawban, the coordinator of a local intitiative to assist displaced people in Ghail Ba Wazeer told the Yemen Times that that the campaign has registered 827 displaced

On Dec. 20, Hadramout tribes began to clash with the military following the Dec. 2 killing of a tribal sheikh, Sa'ad Bin Hamad Harbish, at a security checkpoint at the entrance to the city of Seyoun. The sheikh refused to stop at the checkpoint when soldiers asked to inspect his convoy's vehicles.

Tribesmen called for the removal of military camps from the area, the replacement of security forces with Hadramout natives and the



Armed tribesmen in Hadramout who have been clashing with military forces since late December say if the government does not stop intimidating the local people, they will escalate the conflict and shut down oil companies operating in Hadramout. "Stopping the extraction of oil is better than being exploited by the oil gang in Sana'a," the federation said in a statement.

employment of Hadramout residents by oil companies operating in the governorate.

Since the breakout of sporadic fighting in December between the

military and Hadramout tribesmen in the Ghail bin Yameen area, eight soldiers have been killed and seven others injured, according to the De-

The tribesman have not revealed the numbers of their dead and wounded.

Saleh Molla, a spokesperson for the Hadramout Tribal Fed-

eration, accused the military of shelling encampments of Bedouin in the area and of intimidating the local population.

The Defense Ministry reported on its website that military planes on Saturday shelled sites in Hadramout. This happened after the tribal federation intercepted an engineering team that was on its way to repair oil pipelines that had been attacked. Armed tribesmen have been attacking the oil pipelines since the beginning of January, the ministry said.

"Hadramout residents are angry about government shelling and the use of military force against them," Molla said. He considers the use of military aircraft "a dangerous escalation of [the situation]."

The Hadramout Tribal Federation released a statement on Saturday, calling on the Gulf Cooperation Countries, the European Union and the United Nations to pressure the Yemeni government to stop "[the unjust attacks] on Hadramout locals."

"We want nothing but to see our demands met. If the government is not responsive, we will escalate our actions and shut down the oil companies [operating] in Hadramout," the statement said.

"Stopping the extraction of oil is better than being exploited by the oil gang in Sana'a. This is a strong step to pressure the authorities into meeting all of the legitimate demands of the residents of Hadramout."

Saleh Abood Al-Omaqi, the secretary general of Hadramout's local council, told the Yemen Times that the government is seriously trying to meet the demands of the people of Hadramout, as ordered by President Hadi.

"The local authorities in the governorate will work with the Ministry of Oil and Minerals' office in Hadramout and all of the oil companies to meet the demands of the people," Al-Omagi said.

He also said that "clear presidential orders were given to activate the role of the security forces in the governorate to improve security and stability."

Interior Ministry unveils new security plan for Sana'a

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, Feb.17-Yemen's Interior Ministry said on Sunday a new security plan has been developed to curb repetitive attacks on security and military locations in Sana a.

According to the plan, Sana'a will be divided into 12 security zones.

Unidentified armed men stormed Sana'a Central Prison on cluding six soldiers, and helping 29 inmates escape.

In a meeting with security officials at the ministry on Sunday, Interior Minister Gen. Abdulgader Qahtan approved the plan for immediate implementation, whereby each security apparatus will be

responsible for certain areas and will be held accountable for any

Currently there are four security apparatuses operating in Yemen.

The ministry also decided to improve the performance of operational control rooms in order to better prepare them to respond to security threats.

Abdulrahman Hanash, deputy minister for police affairs at the Thursday killing eight people, in- . Interior Ministry, told the Yemen Times that the security plan was ready last month but was approved by the ministry on Sunday.

Hanash said that all security zones will cooperate together based on the plan, saying it will enable security apparatuses to better control the entire capital

The ministry in December had another plan to install cameras in Sana'a streets, Hanash said, but the project was not implemented because of a lack of funds.

In a statement on the Interior Ministry's website, all security apparatuses have been ordered to stop cars that have no license plates and those with gunmen onboard, as well as motorcyclists, following the ban decree.

The ministry also required the newly designed security zones to have all forces available, ready to respond to potential attacks.

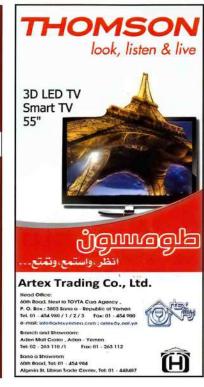
Majed Seraj, a political researcher at the Saba Studies Center, said that after each incident the Interior Ministry takes several formal actions in order to reassure the public.

Skeptics have called the new security plan a "cover for the ministry's failures."

"The Interior Ministry's plans are not going to be implemented and the latest assassinations and attacks on military sites and prisons have just proved it," said Nafe' Al-Wesabi, a resident in Sana'a.

In an attempt to improve the deteriorated security situation, the Supreme Security Committee headed by President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi in early October banned the carrying of arms in main cities and the wearing of military uniform by civilians. Motorcycles have been banned since early December in Sana'a.







Security forces detain 27 for attempted attack on oil refinery

Nasser Al-Sakkaf

ADEN, Feb. 17-Security forces detained 27 armed men accused of attempting to attack an oil refinery in Al-Braiqa district of Aden Saturday, according to the Defense Ministry.

"The military units of the Fourth Military Region in Al-Buraiqa captured six suspected terrorists. Other suspects were captured later the same day," said Sadeq Haid, the security manager for Aden.

"The six suspects were carrying and Aden in particular-we have

weapons and were riding in a Hilux Toyota truck," Haid said. The car was detained after it drove through a routine security checkpoint without stopping, he said.

About one week ago, unidentified armed men attacked the same checkpoint. Two soldiers died in the attack and one was injured. One of the militants died as well.

Abdulrahman Hanash, the deputy interior minister, told the Yemen Times that "in the southern governorates in generalbeen facing two destructive forces, namely the armed Southern Movement supporters and Al-Qaeda operatives."

Aden Oil Refineries Company in Al-Buraiga is the main processor of refined fuels for domestic consumption.

Political analyst Fadhl Al-Rabie said, "Perhaps these suspects came to Aden from Abyan, given [the physical proximity of the two governorates]. Armed militants live in Abyan, outside of state con-

He urged authorities to increase security at the checkpoints and installations located close to the oil facilities because he believe this will help impede their activities. "These armed militants know the economic significance of these oil facilities and intentionally attack them. They want to create additional damage," he said.

Oil facilities are often the target of attacks. The most recent attack wthis month. Production of oil has stopped in Hadramout as a result of that attack.











Feb. 4 bus bombing claims another life

Another soldier has died as a result of injuries sustained from the Feb. 4 bombing of a military bus in the Dar Salm neighborhood of Hiziez, bringing the total number of dead from the bombing to three. Eleven others were wounded in the explosion.

Mohamed Salah Shaiban Ghalab was in critical condition following the attack and passed away on Sunday, according to Taiseer Showba, a colleague who was injured in the bomb-

Of the 11 injured, two remain at the hospital with serious injuries, Showba

Hadi appoints new presidential advisors

President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi issued on Sunday a republican decree appointing three new advisors. They are: head of Islah Party, Mohamed Al-Yadoomi; general secretary of the Nasserite Party, Sultan Al-Atwani; and former interior minister and GPC leader, Dr. Rashad Al-Alimi

Yemen's food security to be discussed in Rome next week

Food security in Yemen will be dis cussed next week during the 32th Regional conference for the Near East which will be held in Rome Feb

Regional and international organizations, representatives of the private sector and the GCC countries will take part in the conference.

About half of Yemen's population (10.5 million people) are food insecure due to political upheavals, armed conflicts, water scarcity and because they are often inaccessible to humanitarian aid organizations, according to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) office in

Yemen's Agriculture Minister Fareed Mujawar and the FAO Yemen representative Salah Al-Haj Hassan will represent Yemen in the confer-

Al-Haj said in a press release circulated by the Yemen FAO office that Yemen's food insecurity will be highlighted in the conference with a focus on the impacts of political unrest on people's livelihoods

Interior Ministry investigates escape of 29 inmates from prison

Ali Ibrahim Al-Moshki

SANA'A, Feb. 16—One person has been arrested in connection with the escape of 29 prisoners following an armed attack on Sana'a Central Prison on Thursday, according to the deputy head of public relations at the Ministry of Interior, Mohammed Hizam.

Hizam told the Yemen Times that the individual was arrested at a hospital in Amran governorate.

Al-Masdar online reported it was one of the escaped prisoners, Mohammed Ali Hiam Al-Awami.

Six soldiers and two passersby were killed and three guards were injured in the attack. None of the attackers was injured or killed, according to Fahmi Jawah, the media officer for the Department of Corrections of the Ministry of the

The interior ministry published the names and photos of 25 of the 29 escapees. Photos of the other four will be forthcoming, according to Col. Mohammed Hizam, deputy head of the Public Relations Department at the Interior Ministry.

President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi visited the prison and the Interior Ministry on Saturday and checked the control rooms-the rooms from which corrections employees monitor activities both inside and outside of the prisons using closed-circuit TV systemsof prisons around Sana'a and other governorates.

"Terrorist attacks like this would not have happened if the security apparatus had been performing at the required level," said President Hadi during a meeting with Interior Ministry security leaders.

Col. Hizam told the Yemen Times that investigations are still underway to identify the assailants and those who facilitated the escapeincluding possible collaboration from within the prison.

"About 50 armed men in 12 vehicles deployed around the prison with...arms including RPGs [rock-et-propelled grenades] and machine guns," Hizam said.

Hizam said that the gunmen attacked the main entrance of the prison with the goal of distracting the guards. Other attackers detonated a bomb-laden car along one of the prison's walls and the power transformer located near the wall, creating a three-meter-wide hole through which the prisoners es-

"Twenty-nine Al-Qaeda prison-ers, among them 18 death row inmates and suspects in terrorist attacks, had been held in a separate section adjacent to the wall [that had been attacked].

Of the inmates who escaped, three were suspects in the attempted assassination of President Hadi in July of last year, according to Hizam. Abdulrahman Mahioob Abdulla Al-Sharabi, Alaa Al-Deen Arif Al-Edrisi and Mohammed Salman Al-Jamei, among the escapees, were among a nine-member ring accused of attempting to assassinate President Hadi using a bomb.

The ring's members in late December received sentences of between two and 10 years from the Specialized Criminal Court, a court tasked with dealing with terrorism

A fact-finding committee established by the Interior Ministry on Saturday gave orders to suspend Colonel Mohammed Al-Kawl, acting head of the central prison.

Although no group has so far claimed responsibility for the attack, Abdulrazaq Al-Jamal, a Sana'a-based analyst conducting research on AQAP (Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula), told that "The initial evidences indicate that Al-Qaeda is responsible because the attack resembles Al-Qaeda's attack on the defense ministry in December," he added. Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility

for the attack on the Ministry of Defense in Sana'a on Dec. 5, 2013

that left 56 soldiers and civilians dead and 215 others wounded.

'The inmates who fled the prison are associated with Al-Qaeda, and Al-Qaeda had carried out such attacks previously."

Similar prison breaks have happened in the past, in which inmates accused of terrorist attacks have escaped.

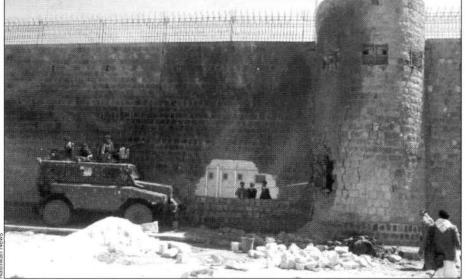
Sixty-three Al-Qaeda affiliates fled from the Central Prison in

the city of Mukalla-Hadramout governorate—on June 22, 2011 through a 35-meter-long tunnel excavated underneath the prison. According to the security forces, two of the escapees were recaptured and three others were killed.

The Ministry of Interior said that about 50 men in 12 vehicles attacked the prison with RPGs and machine guns.

Twenty-three Al-Qaeda members fled from the Political Security Prison in Sana'a in February of 2006, among them Nasser Al-Wuhayshi, a leading AQAP figure and Qasim Al-Raimi, Al-Qaeda's military commander.

The interior ministry on Friday gave orders to all police stations in Sana'a and other governorates to increase vigilance at prisons in order to prevent any further prison breaks or terrorist attacks, according to the ministry's website.



REQUEST FOR EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST

Individual Consultant Project and Contract Management Expert

Country and Beneficiary: Project Name:

[Republic of Yemen -Ministry of Public Works and Highways]

[Second Rural Access Project]

[Project and Contract Management Expert]

Consulting Services: Grant No #:

[Additional Financing Grant for Credit No.4121 YEM] The Government of Yemen has received additional financing in the form of a grant from the International Development Association (IDA) in various currencies towards the cost of the Second Rural Access Project, and intends to apply part of the proceeds of this

grant to hair a highly qualified and experienced project and contract management expert (individual) to support the road sector's management and supervision activities. The main objective of the services is to obtain quality and cost-effective management and supervision of road construction works, so that finally future variation orders and claims will be minimized and confusions eliminated thereby helping the contractor and

The assignment is expected to commence in first half of 2014 and last for maximum eighteen months. Total work input will be ten months, provided in four missions, with breaks between missions which duration will be agreed with the MPWH Deputy Minister for road sector

Tasks and duties

The following tasks are considered necessary for delivery of services:

supervising consultant, as well as the employer in management and execution of projects.

- Assess available capacity in the supervision department of the MPWH Road Sector, including evaluation of qualification and experience of engineers and technicians responsible for road works supervision and contract management. Examination of the current system and procedures in handling claims and contractual disputes will be also covered by assessment;
- Review available project and contract management manuals currently being used and evaluate adequacy of the procedures
- Carry out desk-review and analysis of numerous works contracts in order to get full understanding of them and deficiencies in procedures and compliance with the requirements. Sample documents to be reviewed will be selected in agreement with the Deputy Minister for road sector. In addition and for some of the selected projects, the expert may perform field verification, as agreed with the Deputy Minister for road sector;
- Suggest ways to improve capacity and procedures, covering all elements from procurement initiation to completion of works and contract closure
- Prepare comprehensive program of theoretical and on-the-job training for MPWH supervision department staff on:
 - contract types and conditions of contracts,
 - preparation of works contracts
 - contractual items with potential for claims and disputes,
- ment of contractors and consultants during performance of works and supervision services
- contract management, price adjustment procedures, claims and disputes resulting before, during and after contract execution, common claims situations, claims procedures and pricing of claims,
- claims settlement and arbitration (covering, but not only restricted to amicable settlement/negotiations, resort to adjudication, dispute review expert, final resort to litigation and arbitration, dispute board, purpose of arbitration clause, arbitration institutes, UNCITRAL, appointing authority),
- code of ethics and fighting corruption in contract management;
- Conduct theoretical and on-the-job training for MPWH supervision department staff. Training course will also include group discussions and case studies, where applicable. Training location will be agreed with the Deputy Minister for road sector;
- Prepare comprehensive manual on project and contract management. The manual is required to describe all necessary procedures to ensure proper final product, indicate the best practice, describe most common mistakes and deficiencies during works contracts preparation and implementation, and provide recommendations for rectification. The consultant will detail management of complete process from the side of the client/employer.

Qualification and experience

The expert is required to demonstrate the following:

- University degree (M.Sc. equivalent) in civil engineering/economy/law/business administration with further specialization in procurement management and contract and claims management;
- At least, fifteen years of experience in project and contract management within the construction industry: At least, ten years of experience in contract and claims management within the construction industry;
- Excellent knowledge of English language;

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Excellent knowledge of Arabic language would be a benefit.

The Ministry of Public Works and Highways - Rural Access Program Central Management Office - now invites eligible Individual Consultant to indicate their interest in providing these services. Interested consultants must provide detailed information indicating that they are qualified to perform the services (CV, description of similar assignments, experience in similar conditions, etc.).

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 issued on May 2004 and revised on October 2006 (section V. Selection of Individual

Interested consultants may obtain further information at the address below during office hours, 8:00 to 15:00, Sun-Thu. at the following address: -

Ministry of Public Works and Highways (MPWH) Rural Access Program, Central Management Office (RAPCMO)

Act. Program Director Eng. Mohamed Al Mohaya Hadah St, Hadah Complex, Building No 4 P.O.Box: 16472, Sana'a, Republic of Yemen Phone: 00(967-1)- 264143/246473

Expressions of interest must be delivered to the address above by [6th March, 2014].

Public Funds Prosecutor says it is investigating LNG sales contracts

Ali Saeed

SANA'A, Feb. 17-The Public Funds Prosecutor-tasked with prosecuting cases dealing with the misuse of public funds-says it has begun questioning public officials about Yemen LNG (liquefied natural gas) sales that have seen Yemen's natural gas sold far below market value.

In 2005, a contract was signed with the French oil and gas company Total. In the terms of the deal, officials agreed to sell Yemen LNG at a price of \$1 per million BTUs for 20 years. Also in 2005, officials agreed to sell Yemen LNG for \$3.2 per million BTUs for 20 years to the South Korean Gas Corporation (Kogas).

The global market price at that time was \$12 per million BTUs.

Saba, the official Yemeni government news agency, quoted an unnamed source as saying that the prosecutor's office began questioning officials of the Oil Ministry and Total about the gas contracts two months ago.

The government says it renegotiated prices with Kogas earlier this year, raising the price from \$3.2 to \$14 per million BTUs, retroactive to Jan. 1, 2014.

The government says that negotiations have been underway to bring Total's price in line with the global market price, according to a statement made in January by the media officer of the Ministry of Oil and Minerals, Abdulqawi Al-Odaini.

Officials at the ministry declined to comment. Cabinet spokesperson, Rageh Badi, told the Yemen Times that he has no information on the topic.



Demonstartion in Sana'a in February calls for the cancelation of the gas sales contract.

Mohamed Al-Absi, an investigative journalist who specializes in corruption, told the Yemen Times that there is no questioning of officials regarding the LNG deals.

"[This is just] political maneuvering between the interim president [Abdu Rabo Mansour Hadi] and the former president [Ali Abdulla Saleh]," Al-Absi said.

Saleh stepped down from office after a popular uprising in 2011. Last month, he accused Hadi of failing to bring about hoped-for change.

"If the government had been serious, it would have begun investigations earlier and stopped exporting Yemen's liquid natural gas," said Al-Absi. "Yemen is sorely in need of the gas [itself in order] to generate power."

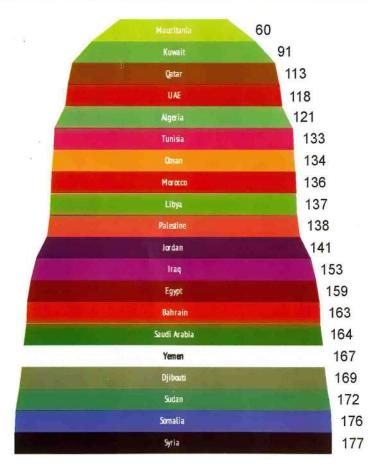
Yemen relies largely on diesel fuel for electricity generation. The government spends \$1.2 billion every year on diesel imports, according to the Ministry of Electricity.

The president accepted the resignation of the Minister of Oil Ahmed Dares in January, a source from the president's office told Saba news agency on Saturday.

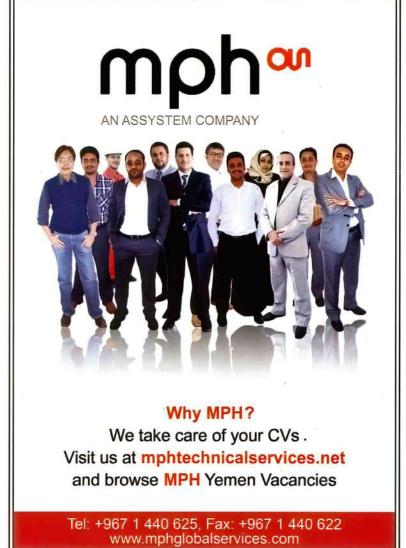
This comes amid an expected cabinet reshuffle promised by Hadi on January 23. The National Dialogue Conference's final document, approved on the same date, extended Hadi's term for one year and authorized him to make changes to the current interim cabinet.

Yemen ranks 167 in press freedom index, media watchdog says

Arab countries ranked by World **Press Freedom Index**



Data source: Reporters Without Borders | Visualized by the Yemen Times



18 February, 2014

Yemen Times Staff

emen ranked 167 on press freedoms and government openness, according to a new report released by Reporters Without Borders.

The 2014 World Press Freedom Index shows that Yemen's ranking improved two spots, from 169 in 2013, in this year's index rating.

To determine how free journalists are to report, the Paris-based press advocacy group analyzed

180 countries based on general criteria such as pluralism, media independence, environment and self-censorship, legislative framework, and infrastructure.

Khalid Al-Hammadi, journalist and founder of the media organization Freedom Foundation for Media Rights, told the Yemen Times that the new ranking does not show improvement in Yemen's media landscape.

"The number of violations [against press freedom] decreased in 2013, but there was a serious

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change in the kind of violations,» Al-Hammadi said, referring to a number of assassinations and kidnappings targeting Yemeni journalists in the past year.

"The [last year] witnessed the killing of one journalist and more than one reporter survived assassination attempts," he said. "There were six other [kidnappings]," he added.

In February 2013, unidentified armed men shot and killed journalist Wajdi Al-Shuaibi in Aden.

A few months later, in May

2013, armed tribesmen kidnapped a group of Yemeni journalists in Marib governorate. They were all released at a later time.

Mohammed Al-Emad, editorin-chief of Al-Hawiya newspaper, survived an assassination attempt in November in Sana'a.

In the past three years, Yemen has been struggling to deal with the unrest sparked by a 2011 popular uprising that forced long-time President Ali Abdulla Saleh to step

Continued on the last page



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Khlood Raihan:

Visually impaired singer aspires to fame



At only 18 years of age, Khlood Raihan has decided to embark on the path of entertainer. The high school senior sings at weddings and is currently taking lessons through the Do It Forum.

Story and photo by Samar Qaed

hile more than 20 young men and women chat and laugh together at the Sana'a Do It Forum, Khlood Raihan sits quietly in a corner, smiling.

The Do It Forum was established six months ago to help young people hone their skills in western song, music and dance and boasts about 50 members. Raihan, 18, is in her final year of high school. She joined the forum three months ago, hoping to improve her singing skills, and benefits from a two-hour-long lesson every weekday afternoon.

Raihan has been visually impaired since birth, but her disability has not kept her from singing. "I adore singing and really began to love it when I was about 12. My family and friends have been very encouraging from the start."

events, including the Sana'a Summer Tourism Festival, the Visually Impaired Festival and the National Songs Festival.

Raihan has performed at many

Singing is not her only love. She's also passionate about acting and acts in plays of the Sana'a Theater Festival every year. One of the plays addressed the situation of the visually impaired in society. "The play about the visually impaired was the best, for me, because I was able to educate people about how to deal with the blind."

Raihan is versatile. In addition to her love for singing and acting, she also likes to knit traditional handbags. She exhibits her handicrafts at the Al-Aman Organization for Blind Women Care (sic). "Everyone around me is strongly encouraging. They do not make me feel different [as a blind woman]."

Raihan has been singing at wedding parties for two years. This started by chance when she attended the wedding of a friend. "I met a singer-Wasifa-and told her that I wanted to sing with her. She welcomed me and since then, we have been singing together at wedding celebrations.

"I am not looking for money when I perform. I just want people to listen to me sing." She is especially fond of the songs of the Arabian Gulf, saying that her audience always requests Allah Allah Ya Sabaya, a song made famous by Myriam

Raihan wants to gain greater recognition and hopes to get some help with her ambitions from the Ministry of Culture. "I receive a lot of encouragement and compliments from the audience, but so far, no one has been able to put me in contact with [the right people at the] ministry.'

Abdulla Abdulhakeem, one of the trainees, is a big fan and supporter of Raihan and describes her as the "pearl of the forum," saying, "Everyone was surprised by her performance, but she still needs encouragement to increase her confidence when she performs.'

Raihan admires songs that touch on humanitarian issues and is preparing a song called, "I am a human," written by Ayman Al-Shihari and set to music by Ibrahim Al-Rawdhi. But she needs professional support as well as financial support to cover recording costs. "I need the support of the ministry as well as support from other Yemeni singers," said Raihan.

Like other visually impaired people, she frequents the centers and associations devoted to supporting them. They provide the blind with at university? Not musical perforaudiocassettes and lessons printed in Braille, a tactile system of raised dots the blind are able to read by running their fingers across a page. What does Raihan want to study

mance, but communications. She explains that she needs to learn how to market herself if she is to achieve her dream of becoming a famous singer.













BUSINESS FOR PEACE AWARD TIMES

Tough times ahead for Yemen's federation

Theodore Karasik English.alarabiya.net First Published Feb. 16

n Feb. 10, 2014, Yemen agreed to create a federation with six regions as President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi struggles to stop the country from falling apart. Ever since the Arab Spring of 2011, ethnic strife, religious disputes, tribalism and Al-Qaeda-linked groups are threatening to tear the country apart. After months of meetings between the March 2013 National Dialogue, a body supported by the GCC and the international community at large, a potential solution may have been found. What Yemen is trying to do is to appease a number of different grievances in the country by forming a federal system. A federal system may provide the necessary structure to end the multiple political, tribal and ethnic differences that are causing instability in the country. But the road ahead is long and in Yemen's already fractured society, the road towards a Yemen federation may be bloody before the situation stabilizes—if it does at all.

President Hadi announced that the country would be become a federation, made up of two federal districts in the south and four districts in the north. The six regions laid out in the plan include four in the north comprising Azal, Saba, Janad and Tahama, and two in the formerly independent south, Aden and Hadramout. Under the plan the northern province of Sa'ada, a bastion of Ansar Allah rebels, also known as Houthis, is part of the Azal region a zone that also includes Sana'a, Amran and Dhamar. The region has no significant natural resources or access to the sea. Sana'a has stronger cultural, social and geographical links with (coastal) Hajja, and Jawf on the border with Saudi Arabia. Notably missing from the announcement by Hadi were how exactly the federal entities would be built, staffed, and what the nature of relations between the core and periphery of the country would be.

What is a federation?

Within political science discourse,

it is important to note that a federation or a federal state is a political entity categorized by a combination of partially self-governing regions under a central (federal) government. There are many federations around the world today; Germany, the Russian Federation, Malaysia, and India to name a few. Even Somalia, Yemen's neighbor, is toying with the possibility of federalism. They feature multi-ethnic attributes. In all cases, violence seemed to breakout over subsidies, long-

political grandstanding.

But at the very least there were regional and federal authorities who could intervene by acting as interlocutors or mediators. In Yemen's case, the basis of power is tribal and federalism may have a tough time taking root in a volatile tribal society which supersedes all forms of governance as defined by federalism.

standing, historical disputes and

In a federation, the self-governing status of the states, as well as the division of power between them and the central government, are typically constitutionally embedded and may not be altered by a unilateral decision by either party, the states or the federal political body in Sana'a itself. Sovereignty is a key concept but not always the norm. In Yemen, sovereignty may be defined in different ways by the federal districts and their constituents.

The major problem in Yemen is

that the new federal units will see themselves as "free" from Sana'a and thus pursue their own agendas. Although some units and their provinces received exactly the "freedom" they have been protesting and fighting for, Yemeni social norms will, at first, take control. Thus, a federal system probably won't increase security as the government's authority over the south and the north will be reduced. In fact, the announcement seems to be a simple declaration, with no real plan to be implemented immediately but instead introduced over time-perhaps up to a year or even more depending on internal political factors. Also, in theory, Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) will have more freedom then ever.

The ensuing chaos

In the wake of the announcement, chaos seemed to ensue. Separatist factions in the south and the Houthis in the north capitalized on the diminished capability of security forces in provinces, coordinating their efforts with other insurgent factions to acquire weapons and expertise and increasingly resorted to prison breaks of over two dozen AQAP members. This included the freeing of notorious convicts such as Hisham Mohammad Assem and Saleh al-Shawish from Sana'a's Central Prison. In other words, the announcement of a federation is creating a security vacuum in the country when Sana'a needs to show that such an announcement means greater stability. This prison break is a horrific signal that the entire concept may be dead on arrival, with AQAP preparing for new more insidious attacks.

The announcement of a federation took many by surprise, including many Yemenis themselves. Is Yemeni federalism really an answer or a tourniquet to the country's myriad problems? Only time

will tell, but at this juncture the idea announced by Hadi seems to be poorly thought out as it gives autonomy without the appropriate federal-level regional institutions in place physically and operationally with vetted staff. There is no focus on the municipal or city-level government where the most danger lies in Yemen. Significantly, power in Yemen comes from the bottom up from its patronage system, and not the top down where the same type of patronage system is weakened by power-hungry actors and greed. Confusion will likely reign and violence will occur between many interest groups. More problems lie ahead in the short term until Sana'a and the National Dialogue establish concrete organizational structureswhich may or may not be acceptable to Yemen's diffuse social milieu.

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Why Salafist-takfiris should worry us

Rami G. Khouri Dailystar.com.lb First Published Feb. 15

everal months ago when I wrote about the looming danger of the growing strength of Salafist-takfiri groups in Iraq and Syria, I focused on the threats that thousands of their fighters, bombers and terrorists posed to those countries and also to other lands where they would travel in due course.

Both the scale and threat of the Salafist-takfiri enterprise in the Middle East are now much more significant, because they control more territory, they can assault many foes across Syria, Lebanon and Iraq as a single operational theater; they have expanded to comprise tens of thousands of adherents; the conditions that brought them to prominence persist; and they have yet to face an enemy that is willing or able to eradicate them.

I wondered months ago whether we would soon see some coordinated action by regional and foreign powers to redress the danger posed by such groups as the Nusra Front, the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria (ISIS), Ahrar al-Sham and many others that were both locally anchored and also pan-Islamic like Al-Qaeda. Some focus on fighting President Bashar Assad's regime, Hezbollah and Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's government in Iraq, while others are content to carve out territory that they can transform into their imagined pure Islamic society. This is an everchanging universe of identities and allegiances among Salafist-takfiri groups that evolve over time, as some merge into larger umbrella coalitions. More recently, some such organizations have also fought each other, especially as some Syria-

based groups have pushed back the aggressive expansion of ISIS.

The frightening thing about the growth of these groups is what they tell us about the condition of societies in the Levant and other Arab countries. Beyond the immediate and real security threat these groups pose to everyone in the region, we should also see them as a frightening symptom of erratic modern Arab statehood. These groups did not just suddenly appear over the past three years as war raged in Syria; rather, they have been incubating for much longer because of the slow deterioration of conditions in Middle Eastern countries over the past quarter century or so.

century or so.

The gradual fraying of state authority in the region has created zones of non-governability or even chaos, which provide the ideal environment for such groups, whether in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Iraq, Somalia, Syria or northern Sinai. As the state retreats from parts of society, the gap is filled either by strong non-state actors such as Hezbollah, Hamas, the Sadrists in Iraq and the Houthis in Yemen, or by Salafisttakfiris who exploit the chaos and impose their own brand of security and order.

The combination of these two phenomena leads to the third development of recent decades, which is the steady deterioration in significance of official borders between countries. In Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Iran, people, money, goods, arms, refugees and ideologies cross frontiers with almost total abandon. Artillery fire across borders, by state armies and non-state armed groups, is now routine. The slow erasure of the reality of state lines reflects a wider problem of the dilution of state sovereignty.

In some countries, non-state groups are stronger than the state

itself, such as Hezbollah's military capabilities in Lebanon. This weakness of central state authority in means that other governments and foreign non-state organizations both can interfere in the country at will, as we see happening across the Levant. Iran, Syria, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Hezbollah and Salafists in northern Lebanon are all actively engaging in the war in Syria, either directly by supplying fighters and arms or indirectly by supporting those who are fighting.

Many of these actors also try to use soft power to shape the culture, identity and political ideology of countries in the Levant, as is happening in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Iraq. Global powers similarly penetrate these countries, and the result is the kind of protracted tensions we have witnessed in Lebanon since the 1970s or in Syria and Iraq in recent years. This sort of thing does not happen in strong states with credible governments.

The Salafist-takfiri groups are only the most recent players in this sad game of weak and contested state-hood. They are also among the most dangerous because they perform beyond the usual realm of state-to-state or state-to-insurgency relations, where conflicts can be mitigated and cease-fires negotiated.

You would think that the tens of thousands of battle-hardened Salafist-takfiri militants, extremists and terrorists who are steadily expanding their reign across Syria, Lebanon and Iraq would prompt some kind of serious coordinated response by local and foreign governments, all targets of these groups. The absence of any such coordinated response is a further cause for concern. We should genuinely worry about the Salafist-takfiris – not only for what they do, but also for what they tell us about ourselves.

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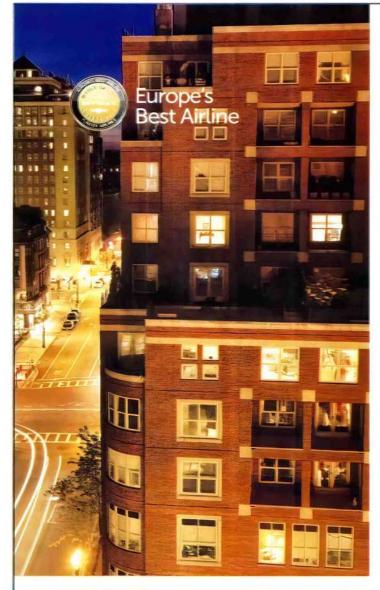
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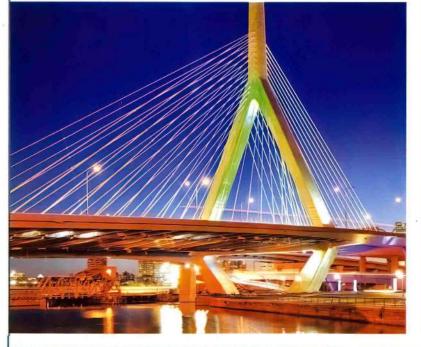
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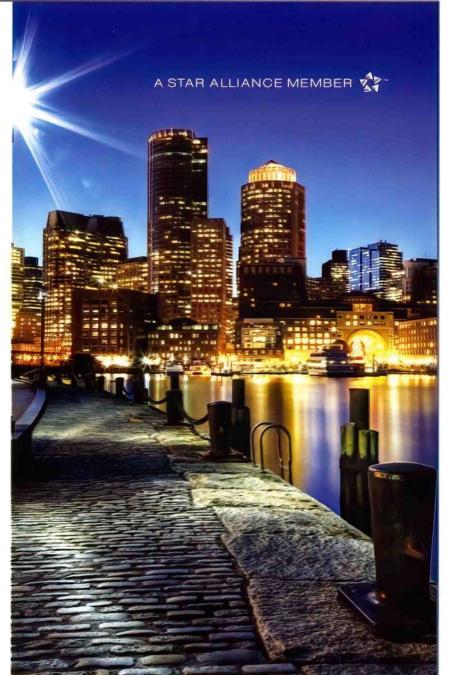






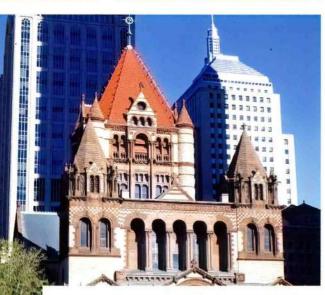


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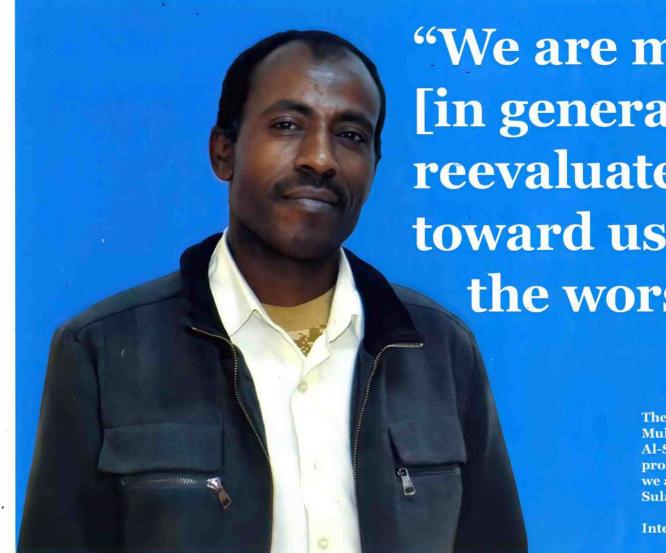
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"We are mistreated by society [in general]...people should reevaluate their attitudes toward us instead of assuming the worst about us."

> Their status in society is reflected in the name they have chosen to go by, the Muhamasheen, or the Marginalized. In an interview with the Yemen Times, Yahia Al-Sulaihi speaks about the stereotypes about the Muhamasheen and political prospects for rights and integration for the community. "Unfortunately, although we are a part of Yemeni society, we did not have any representation at the NDC," Al-Sulaihi said.

Interview and photo by Mohammed Al-Hassani

Are the Muhamasheen concentrated in any particular area?

First, note that our residential areas are called mahwa [which in Arabic means slums or shantytowns that form around a source of water]. However, other groups' residential areas...are called cities or camps. This proves that prejudice still exists [and has been passed down from generation to generation].

Do you have accurate statistics about the number of the marginalized in Yemen?

According to [the estimates of several organizations, including ours], there are about 2.8 million marginalized people in Yemen, but accurate statistics are not available because some of the marginalized people reside in remote areas and we do not have access to them.

were provided to you in the Sawan area of Sana'a by international organizations?

I have official documents that prove that marginalized people received only some of those small homes. The rest were hijacked by powerful people and military commanders. People were coerced into giving up their rights to a home in exchange for a payment of only about ten percent of the house's value. Our organization plans to file a lawsuit with the attorney general against the Capital Secretariat [regarding this issuel.

Some say that you separate yourselves from the community and that, therefore, you have a hand in your marginalization. How do you respond to that accusation?

That is completely unfair. We are not responsible. Society is respon-

In...the past, the Muhamasheen were confined to ghettoes and were not allowed to buy or sell whatever they wanted. They could only work as servants or laborers. The situation has not changed much [today], and the courts do not treat us fairly. The police treat us like us criminals...just because of our dark skin. We are mistreated by society [in general]...people should reevaluate their attitudes toward us instead of assuming the worst about us. We are victims.

It is said that some of you don't What about the houses that let your children go to school. Is this true?

This is not true. Some of our children have not enrolled in schools because the schools have not accepted them. And even if they are accepted, they find it difficult to integrate with other students.

Once, at an elementary school, the teacher was speaking about Abraha al-Ashram [an Ethiopian king] and how he tried to demolish the Ka'aba-prior to the time of the Prophet Mohammed-and said that the Muhamasheen are the descendents of those Ethiopians. I remember all of my classmates looking at me as if I had personally attempted to demolish the Ka'aba. This made me cry, and I ran out of the classroom.

Some of our children feel that they are looked down upon by society. In spite of the fact that there is high illiteracy among the Muhamasheen due to poverty, [because they cannot afford an education], there are hundreds of Muhamasheen students in high schools and universities nationwide.

Do you believe that culture is a more powerful influence on a society's behavior than religion or law?

Backwardness still dominates [Yemen]. For example, I filed a lawsuit... and when the judge called me, he said my name this way: "Yahia Al-Sulaihi Al-Khadim." The last part he added to my name, [which means slave] is an offensive term to describe the Muhamasheen. This is a judge in a court! You can only imagine how ordinary people [sometimes behave toward us].

Let's move on to politics. What is your stance in regard to the taken place in Yemen over the past three years?

I participated in the 2011 youth revolution and established the Yemeni Anti-discrimination Organization at Freedom Square in Taiz governorate. Our organization also had a tent in Sana'a's Change Square. Actually, the number of Muhamasheen who participated in the revolution was limited due to

severe poverty and a lack of awareness. [Ironically] we should have been the first to ignite a revolution due to the injustices and marginalization from which we suffer.

Some say that your people were paid to serve on certain sides during the revolution. Is this true?

I made a statement at the time on a local TV channel, warning the political parties against manipulating this marginalized group and exploiting their poverty. And if the situation of the marginalized continues, it is worrisome that this group could be manipulated by Al-Qaeda or any other group that does not want the best for Yemen.

Regarding the National Dialogue Conference, were you satisfied with your representation?

Unfortunately, although we are a part of Yemeni society, we did not have any representation at the

But I think you did have one political changes that have representative, by the name of Noman Al-Hudaifi.

Yes [and no]. Al-Hudaifi is the head of the National Union of the Marginalized, but he did not enter the dialogue [officially] in the name of the marginalized [because he is politically unaffiliated]. He was on President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi's list [of unaffiliated persons that the president wanted to have participate in the dialogue. The political parties, in particular the General People's Congress and the Islah Party, were supposed to allocate seats to the marginalized. In any event, we appreciate president Hadi for [attempting to include] us. It is the first time in the history of Yemen that the marginalized people have had any political represen-

Which principal NDC outcomes relate to your people?

The major outcome is an article that says that 10 percent of public jobs are to be earmarked for the marginalized group. We hope the committee that will be assigned to draft the constitution will include this article so that our rights are guaranteed.

Do you have a presence in any political parties?

Yes, we do have some people in leadership positions [in some of the political parties], but they are marginalized [weak]. One day, we will stop believing in the parties because they contradict themselves. They call for democracy, justice and equity, but lack principles. The parties just need our votes during elections. Our problem lies with the elite in the society, not the general

For example, Mohammed Al-Qairaei was a member of the Socialist Party. Over time, he rose to become a member of that party's central committee. We consider him a trailblazer who was the first one to bring awareness of our situation to the party and government leadership. Later on he switched allegiances to the General People's Congress, and he is now one of its leading figures. There are many other [examples].

You said your organization has been organizing for rights for three years. What projects have the marginalized benefited from so far?

We have carried out a number of projects. In the health field, for example, we treated 1,200 children in Sawan city. We treated also 1,300 children and pregnant women in the Madbah neighborhood [of Sana'a]. We opened three classrooms to help eliminate illiteracy from among the marginalized in Sana'a. We contributed to the establishment of an illiteracy elimination center in Dhamar governorate. The organization also helped about 120 dropouts return to school in the Al-Ma'fir district of Taiz governorate.

What could be done to encourage the marginalized to attend schools?

The government should provide compulsory education that is 100 percent free of charge. We, as organizations, will cooperate with the government to encourage the marginalized to attend school.

Do you have any representatives in government institutions or ministries?

No, we do not.



A "mahwa," or slum, as the communities of the Muhamasheen are often referred to. The mahwas often form around sources of water so that they have more direct access to the Muhamasheen live in urban and rural areas throughout Yemen. Photo credit: Ali Saeed.



Photo credit: Ali Saeed.



في حوار مع « يمن تايمز»..

الصليحي: هناك مخاوف من استغلال المهمشين من قبل القاعدة أو أية أطراف أخرى لا تريد الخير لليمن

المهمشون ثلاثت ملايين يمني يعيشون في هامش الحياة بمختلف مجالاتها إثر موروث اجتماعي وثقافي تتوارث الأحيال، رغم الحاجة الشديدة لهم بما يقدموني من خدمات باجماع الكل.. لكن أبن موقع الهمشين من الدولة اليمنية المدنية المنشودة، وما أهم ما خرج به مؤتمر الحوار الوطني حيال قضيتهم وحقوقهم المنقوصة.. «المهمشون في الدولة اليمنية الجديدة».. موضوع هذا الحوار الذي تستضيف فيه الصحيفة رئيس المنظمة اليمنية لمناهضة التمييز، وأحد أبناء الفئات المهمشة الأستاذ يحيى الصليحي.. فإلى الحوار..

حوار وتصوير/محمد الحسني

ما هي أبرز تجمعاتكم السكانية؛

أولا الملاحظ أنه حتى تجمعاتنا السكانية تسمى محوى، والمحوى في اللغة العربية تجمع الكلاب.. بينما الفئات الأخرى لو قلنا مثلا اليهود يقال لتجمعاتهم مدن ومخيمات.. يعنى أن الحقد ما يزال موجود ومستمر وقد تم توارثه.

هل هناك إحصائية دقيقة لتعدادكم؟ من خلال الإحصاءات التي قامت بها بعض المنظمات ومنها منظمتنا هناك نحو مليونين وثمانمائة ألف.. ولا توجد إحصائية دقيقة لأنهم يعيشون في مناطق بعيدة لم نستطع الوصول

وماذا عن الوحدات السكنية التي منحت لكم في مدينة سعوان في العاصمة صنعاء كمساعدات من

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أنا لدى وثائق رسمية تثبت أنه تم الصرف لمجموعة بسيطة والبقية لم يصرف لهم بسبب الاستيلاء عليها من قبل نافين وقادة عسكريين، وهناك من أخذت منازلهم وتم إعطاء مبلغ بسيط من المال وتم إجبارهم على أخذه، رغم أنه لا يساوى 10 بالمائة من قيمة المنزل.. نحن في المنظمة عازمون حاليا على رفع قضية إلى النائب العام ضد أمانة العاصمة في الوحدات السكنية التي منحت لنا في سعوان وتم الإستيلاء عليها من قبل نافذين.

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غير منصف.. نحن لا نتحمل مسؤولية.. المسؤولية بتحملها المجتمع، إذا كان في فترة من الفترات كان يحشر المهمشون في أماكن محددة ويمنع عليهم بيع ما يمتلكونه أو شراء ما يريدونه.. وكان عليهم فقط أن يبقوا خداما أو كعمال.. وحتى اليوم لم يتغير الوضع كثيرا بالنسبة لنا، مازال القضاء لا يصفنا، الأمن ينظر إلينا دائما كمجرمين وأصحاب سوابق مهما ظهرت براءتنا.. مادام أنك أسود أنت مجرم.. هكذا للأسف يتم التعامل معنا في الغالب.. لذلك يجب أن يراجع المجتمع ضميره إزاءنا ولا يحمل المسؤولية الضحية، لأننا لا نمتلك الوسائل التي نغير بها وضعنا . تخيل لو قتل الواحد منا نجبر جبراً على أخذ الدية ولا يتم القبض على القاتل والتحقيق معه، فما بالك بالقصاص منه.. نريد من المجتمع أن يتعاملوا معنا كبشر.. أو على الأقل كما

وهل هناك تمايز في التعامل فيما بينكم لأن البعض يتحدث عن أشخاص بينكم يستأثرون بكل شيء كما يمنعون الأطفال من التعليم؟

يتعامل الأوربيون مع حيواناتهم.

هذا غير وارد.. والسبب في عدم التحاق كثير من أطفالنا بالمدارس هو رفض بعض إدارات المدارس تسجيلهم وممارستها التمييز ضدهم، إلى جانب الحالة النفسية التي يعانون منها عندما يدرسون مع زملائهم الطلاب.. وأنا أحدهم.. عندما كنت تلميذا في الصفوف الأولى كان الأستاذ يتحدث عن قصة إبرهه الحبشي ومحاولته هدم الكعبة قبل بعثة النبي محمد، وقال إنه يتبقى من الأحباش الأخدام.. منظر إلي جميع الطلاب وكأنني من

حاول هدم الكعبة.. فخرجت من الفصل والمدرسة وأن أبكى.. وهذا واحد من المواقف المحفورة في ذاكرتي وكثير من ابناء المهمشين اللذين يشعرون بالنظرة الدونية التي ينظر بها المجتمع إليهم.. المهم أنه مع وجود نسب كبيرة من الأميين في شريحتنا بسبب الظروف المعيشية، لأن التعليم الحكومي ليس مجانيا مائة بالمائة، لكن يوجد لدينا المئآت من الطلاب الثانوية والجامعة في محافظات الجمهورية وهناك ايضا معيدين في بعض الكليات.

أتعني أن سلطة ثقافة المجتمع في النظر إليكم قد أزاحت سلطة الدين وسلطة

ثقافة الموروث الاجتماعي المتخلف هو السائد.. وإلى حد اليوم.. مثلا كانّ معى قضية في إحدى المحاكم.. تخيل عندما قام القاضي بمناداتي في الجلسة ُقال يحيى الصليحي الخادمُ.. هذا قَاضيّ محكمة فما بالك بالناس الأميين أو العامة.

انتقل بك إلى محور آخر.. وهو علاقتكم بالسياسة هل أنتم مهتمون بالسياسة؛

أين أنتم من التغييرات السياسية التي حدثت في البلاد في الثلاثة الأعوام

كنبت أحد المشاركين في ثورة الشباب التي انطلقت في العام 2011، وقد أسست منظمتي المنظمة اليّمنية لمناهضة التمييز في ساحة الإعتصام

أنَ الأحزاب السياسية وخاصة المؤتمر الشعبي بمدينة تعز، وكانت لنا خيمة باسم المنظمة أمام العام وحزب الإصلاح تخصص مقاعد للمهمشين... ساحة الجامعة هنا في صنعاء، وصراحة لم نكن المهم أننا نقدر لرئيس الجمهورية عبد ربه منصور كثيرين في الساحات بسبب الفقر المدقع وغياب الوعي لدى كثير من أبناء الفئات المهمشة هو ما هادى تقديرنا، لأنه لأول مرة في تاريخ اليمن القديم والحديث نمثل سياسيا. جعل التحاقنا بعدد قليل في الثورة الشبابية، مع أنه كان من المفترض أن نكون نحن من قيادات

هذه الثورة، باعتبار أننا أكثر من نعاني من الظلم

هناك من تحدث أثناء الثورة عن تجنيد

لكم من قبل طرف على حساب آخر.. هل

أنا قد نبهت حبنها في تصريح لاحدى القنوات

وحذرت الأطراف السياسية من تجنيد أبناء الفئة

المهمشة واستغلال فقرهم.. وحتى في الوقت

الحالي إذا استمر حال المهمشين، كما هو هناك

مخاوفٌ من استغلالهم من قبل تنظيم القاعدة أو

فيما يتعلق بمؤتمر الحوار الوطني.. هل

للأسف... نحن كمكون في المجتمع اليمني لم يكن

لكن كان هناك ممثل واحد لكم هو

نعم.. الحذيفي هو رئيس الإتحاد الوطني

للمهمشين، ولم يدخل الحوار باسم مكون

المهمشين، وإنما دخل فيه ضمن قائمة رئيس

كنتم راضون بحجم تمثيلكم فيم؟

أية أطراف أخرى لا تريد الخير لليمن.

لنا أي ممثلين في مؤتمر الحوار.

نعمان الحذيفي؟

هذا صحيح؟

ما أبرز ما خرجتم به من مؤتمر الحوار حيال قضيتكم!

أبرز ما خرجنا به هو مادة بمنح نسبة 10٪ من الوظائف العامة لأبناء الفئة المهمشة.. ونتمنى من اللجنة المزمع تشكيلها لضياغة الدستور أن تضع هذا الحق كمادة في الدستور حتى نضمن

وهل أنتم متواجدون في الأحزاب؟

نعم.. هناك قيادات لنا لكنها تعانى التهميش أيضا.. وستأتى فترة سنكفر فيها بالأحزاب، لأن ما يتم العامل به داخلها يناقض تماما ما تدعو إليه من الديمقراطية والعدالة والمساواة.. وليست لها مبادئ.. هي فقط تحتاجنا وقت التصويت والانتخابات.. ونُحن مشكلتنا وقضيتنا هي مع النخبة في المجتمع، لأن العامة اعتقد أنه ليس لدينا مشكّلة معهم.. مثلا الأستاذ محمد القيرعي الذى كان عضو الحزب الإشتراكي اليمني وصل فيه في مرحلة من المراحل إلى عضو لجنته المركزية.. وهو بالنسبة لنا أحد قواعد التنوير، لأنه أول من نقل قضية المهمشين إلى طاولات الأحزاب وقيادات الدولة سواء عبر وسائل الإعلام أو عبر موقعه في الحزب، وقد انتقل بعد ذلك إلى حزب المؤتمر الشعبي العام، وهو الأن أحد قياداته..

وغير القيرعي كان هناك أحد المهمشين وصل الى أحد قيادات فرع حزب البعث في محافظة تعز.. وهناك آخرين غيرهما.

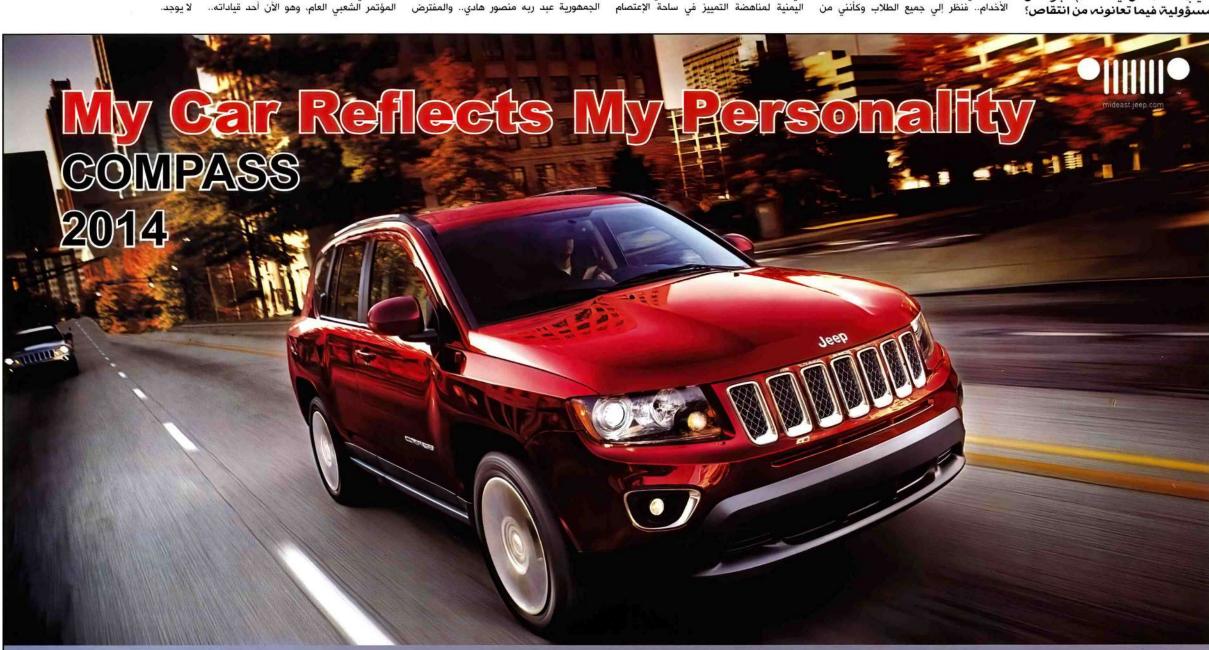
أنت تقول بأن منظمتك تعمل في المحال الحقوقي منذ ثلاثة أعوام.. ما هي المشاريع التي لسبها الممشون؟

هناك عدد من المشاريع قمنا بها، مثلا في الجانب الصحى قمنا بمعالجة نحو 1200 من الأطفال المهمشين في مدينة سعوان، وفي حي مذبح قمنا أيضا بعلاج ما يقرب من 1300 من أطفال وأمهات حوامل.. في جانب التعليم قمنا بفتح ثلاثة فصول محو أمية للمهمشين هنا في صنعاء، أيضا ساهمنا في إنشاء مركز محو أمية في محافظة ذمار، أيضاً قامت المنظمة بحشد نحو 120 من الشباب المتسربين من المدارس من المهمشين في مديرية المعافر بمحافظة تعز وأعادتهم إلى

ما الذي يحتاجه المهمشون لتشجيع التحاقهم بالتعليم؟

أن توفر لنا الحكومة التعليم المجاني مائة بالمائة، ومن ثم تقوم بفرضه إجباريا، وندن كمنظمات سنتعاون معها في الدفع بالمهمشين إلى الإلتحاق بالتعليم بمختلف مستوياته.

في شأن الحكومة.. هل لديكم ممثلون في هيئاتها أو وزاراتها المختلفة أو هناك منكم من يتقلد مناصب فيها؟



- 3 years warranty or 60,000 kms whichever comes first
- Maintenance services and spare parts available in Hodeidah, Aden, Taiz and Ibb
- Emergency services 24/7

Authorized Service Center

Southern Siteen Road, Sana'a, Republic of Yemen Tel: 01 448920-22 ext: 100/108

Fax: 01 448919



الرويشاق للسيارات و المحركات Al Rowaishan Motors



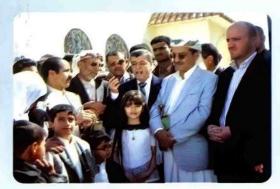
Congratulations

Abdul-Fatah Ali Mohsen Ahmed Jamil

Dar Salm Branch won the House of Dreams in Jawaher Altejari Program 2013



































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

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

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

مشروع الصحة والسكان – مبنى البرامج شارع مازدا حي الحصبة – صنعاء تليفون رقم -9 234576 و23457 فاكس رقم 234572.

لشراء واستلام وثائق المناقصة نظير مبلغ وقدره 50 دولار امريكي لا يرد .

- يقدم العطاء في مظروف مغلق ومختوم بالشمع الأحمر إلى عنوان الجهة المحدد ومكتوب عليه اسم الجهة والمشروع ورقم عملية الشراء، واسم مقدم العطاء، وفي طيه الوثائق التالية:
- ضمان بنكي بنفس نموذج الصيغة المحددة في وثيقة المناقصة بمبلغ مقطوع قدره (2,400) دولار امريكي ، صالح لمدة (120) يوماً من تاريخ فتح المظاريف، أو شيك مقبول الدفع.
 - صورة من شهادة ضريبة المبيعات + البطاقة الضربيية سارية المفعول.
 - صورة من شهادة مزاولة المهنة.

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

- آخر موعد لاستلام العطاءات وفتح المظاريف هو الساعة (11:00) صباحاً من يوم الأربعاء الموافق2014/3/12 م، ولن تقبل العطاءات التي ترد بعد هذا الموعد وسيتم إعادتها بحالتها
- سيتم فتح المظاريف بمقر المشروع الموضح بعاليه بمكتب مدير المشروع بحضور أصحاب العطاءات أو من يمثلهم بتفويض رسمى موقع ومختوم.
- يمكن للراغبين في المشاركة في هذه المناقصة الإطلاع على وثائق المناقصة قبل شرائها خلال أوقات الدوام للفترة المسموح بها لبيع وثائق المناقصة لمدة (30) يوما من تاريخ نشر أول إعلان على العنوان التالي:

وزارة الصحة العامة والسكان مشروع الصحة والسكان – مبنى البرامج حي الحصبة – شارع مازدا - صنعاء تليفون: 234556-1- (967) فاكس: 234572-1- (967) fadhlem@gmail.com

Tender announcement

Emergency Assistance to stabilize Yemeni communities. EASE Program focuses on the providing humanitarian assistance to the displaced people and returnees in the southern provinces of Abyan and Aden. It was Carried out in cooperation between Charitable Society for Social Welfare and Global Communities (GC). The main goal of the program is to meet the emergency needs of IDPs and populations affected by conflict and the increasing levels of malnutrition through a holistic approach consisting of water sanitation, hygiene, living conditions, and providing non-food items.

The project would like to declare the following tenders:

Environmental sanitation hygiene items tender (004 EASE - RFQ -).

Water Treatment Kits tender (005 EASE - RFQ-).

Dear Suppliers/Vendors who wish to engage in this tender communicate with the project management in Sanaa to see tender documents and samples during the period from Tuesday 18 \ 02 \ 2014 to Sunday 23 \ 02 \ 2014, in the official working hours at the following address (Sana'a, Baghdad Street, behind Election Committee.

Telephone number (01 464 398) 771 888 940.

Note: the last date for receiving Tender Envelopes will be on Sunday at 1:30pm.

Rural Growth Programme Terms of Reference Programme Director

Organization Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation

Job Title **Programme Director Duty Station:**

1 year (with possibility of extension, subjected to performance appraisal) Duration

Languages required: Arabic and English. Nationality

Background:

IFAD's Rural Growth Programme (RGP) aims at improving the food security in rural areas and reducing rural poverty. Accordingly, the RGP would stimulate sustainable rural economic growth for women and men in rural communities, and its main interventions would focused on: (i) enhancing the resilience of households and communities; (ii) upgrading the agricultural technologies; (iii) increasing the access to economic opportunities for rural women and men; and (iv) climate-proofing the infrastructure and natural

Geographically, the RGP intervention areas initially will include Dhamar, Al-Dhala, Hodeidah, Lahej and Taiz governorates. The Programme's target group would consist of poor food insecure rural women and men living in selected communities with a specific focus on women and youth. At full development, the RGP is expected to directly reach up around 1.2 million individuals, of whom around 0.8 million from below the poverty line.

The Lead Programme Agency will be the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation. Overall coordination at national level and support for cross-cutting issues will be provided by a National Programme Coordination Unit (NPCU) located in Sana'a and reporting to a National Steering Committee (NSC). At each governorate level, the coordination of programme planning and implementation will be the responsibility of the Programme Management Unit (PMU) reporting to a Governorate Steering Committee (GSC)

The PCU is headed by a Programme Director and supported by associated staff (viz. finance manager, internal auditor, M-E & KM specialists, environment & climate change specialist, energy engineer, training advisor, and secretary).

2. Duties and Responsibilities:

The Programme director would be responsible for all aspects of management of implementation and be directly answerable to the Programme National Board. He/she would be located in Sana'a, but will work closely with the PMU's, line ministries and

The Programme director would be the head of the Programme Coordination Unit (PCU) and would directly supervise and monitor all Programme work, whether in-house or contracted out. He/she would work closely with senior staff from national, Governorate, NGO and private sector agencies, community-based organisations and service providers to ensure that the operations of all involved implementing bodies achieve the Programme goals and objectives.

Within the framework, as described above, he/she will be responsible for the following:

- acting as Secretary to the National Board and ensuring that its directives and guidelines are incorporated into all Programme activities;
- the liaison function, in concert with the line ministries, MoPIC, MOF, MAI, MLA; and with all national or regional level bodies representing farmers, service providers and related interests;
- Oversee the AWPB preparations at governorate level and ensure the consultative and participatory approaches in AWPB
- Facilitate and ensure proper implementation of the outputs and activities of the RGP in accordance with the AWPB.
- Provide leadership and strategic thinking to ensure proper implementation of programme activities. Administer the day-to-day operations, through designated staff, to ensure the effective management and efficient implementation of the programme
- Management of the (PCU) and direct involvement in all personnel selection, appointment and performance matters relating to its staff and other PMUs staff;
- Supervise the PMU's, provide strategic guidance, overall coordination of the work, and follow-up the work ensuring the effective and efficient implementation of the activities at each governorate level;
- Coordination with relevant ministries, national organizations, private sector firms and civil society initiatives as required by the
- Oversee and provide general guidance and support to the national/international experts/consultants experts;
- Organize regular meetings with the PMUs Managers and staff to discuss implementation and supervision of activities and as well as follow-up actions; and assist each PMU with policy dialogue issues and provide relevant technical guidance and
- Coordinate and supervise the preparation of regular progress and annual reports in , The quarterly, six-monthly , and annual progress reports to be submitted to the national board, MAI and donors.
- Build up strategic relationships and develop partnerships with UN agencies, government institutions, bi-lateral and multilateral donors, private sector, civil society organizations, other external development partners and Yemen's national institutions (including the Chambers of Commerce) in support of appropriate programme expansion, where necessary.
- Supervise all staff assignment and consulting agreements of the PCU and PMUs;
- Participate and contribute to the capacity development activities undertaken under the programme;
- providing leadership, guidance, enthusiasm and catalytic input to all levels of Programme participants and activities, whenever appropriate.

3. Competencies:

- Working experience in integrated rural development in the poor area, their development issues and participatory planning and implementation of the sustainable development in the rural area and have good policy analytical capacities
- Ability to work in and lead a multi-disciplinary team and to lead and direct programme financial and technical staff; strategic planning, results-based management and reporting.
- Demonstrates openness to change, and the ability to manage team efforts in varying complex situations.
- Substantial work experiences in development programs and familiarity with development initiatives and stakeholders as related to rural development in Yemen.
- Strong analytical abilities and research sense capacity; Demonstrates strong oral and written communication skills.

Qualifications and Experience:

- At A bachelor's degree in rural development, agriculture, development studies, or a closely related field with a minimum of 15 years of experience. A master degree in lieu of the above with a minimum of 12 years experience or Ph.D. with 10 years experience will be accepted
- Of the above, at least 10 years of working experience in the development programmes/programmes, policy and administrative management, and training,
- Strong knowledge of donor reporting formats, including AWPBs and M&E systems.
- Significant experience in programmes funded by international organizations, and familiar with government procedures.
- Full working knowledge of Arabic and English, including excellent drafting and presentation skills, excellent communication
- He/she would have demonstrated in the chosen career: effective judgement and determination; a consistent track record of increasing responsibility and achievement; real understanding of the principles and practical methodology of community-based rural development; and a high level of inter-personal and entrepreneurial skills.

5. Application Process:

- 1. Interested qualified candidates are encouraged to apply for the above mentioned position by sending a recent detailed CV, along with an application letter clearly mentioning the position applied for in the " email/letter subject line ". The applications and the CVs should be replicated to all of the following email address:
 - a. agriculture@yemen.net.ye
 - b. icoyemen_ifad@yahoo.com
- Only a short-listed candidates will be contacted for the next step of selection process.
- The deadline for the application is 2.3.2014

Qualified female candidates are highly encouraged to apply. All applications will be treated with strictest confidence.



FROM THE AIRWAVES

Article 19 is a weekly awareness program on Radio Yemen Times that tackles some of Yemen's toughest issues: those related to the right to freedom of opinion and expression as defined in Article 19 of the International Declaration of Human Rights.

The program airs on Radio Yemen Times, 91.9 FM, on Wednesdays at 8 p.m. and is rebroadcast on Saturdays at 11 a.m.



الماده 19 هو برنامج توعوي يتحدث عن حق الفرد والجتمع في حرية التعبير عن الرأي التي كُفلت كفاله، كاملة بالنص الصريح بالماده 19 في العهد الدولي للحقوق المدنية والسياسية ، والإعلان العالي لحقوق الإنسان والتي نصت على أنه لكل شخص الحق في حرية الرأي والتعبير ، ويشمل هذا الحق حرية اعتناق الأراء وأذاعتها بأي وسيله، كانت دون تقيد بالحدود الجغرافية.

هذا البرنامج يبث كل أربعاء الساعة 8 مساء و يعاد يوم السبت الساعة 11 صباحا على أثير راديو يمن تايمز 91,9.

Chaos and emergency law

As the country continues down its transitional path, political conflict and strife continue to threaten progress. The question arises: When things go really wrong, what sort of restrictions, if any, is a state entitled to impose? Does a state of emergency invite abuses from officials who have the power to impose restrictions?

Does Yemen have an emergency law?

Ali Al-Dahab: A state of emergency was declared in Yemen during 1994 because the country was at war.

You have said previously that a bill concerning an emergency law had been presented to the parliament?

Al-Dahab: Yes, and according to Yemeni law, parliament should discuss it and respond within a week.

Is there a difference between a state of emergency and the emergency law?

Al-Dahab: The state of emergency is either declared after the law is passed, or it may be declared prior to passage of the law, when the president of Yemen meets with the National Defense Council—comprised of the Minister of Defense, the Chief of Staff, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of the Interior, and the

Khalid Al-Anesi:

The problem in Yemen is that the law is not enforced. And even if it exists, it does not serve the citizenry.

Minister of Foreign Affairs—to decide whether or not to declare a state of emergency.

On the other hand, the emergency law is presented as a bill by the government to the parliament and the latter should decide on it within a week or a certain period of time. If the parliament does not respond to the bill, it is considered to be revoked.

Do you mean that a state of emergency requires an emergency law?

Khalid Al-Anesi: The emergency law addresses an exceptional situation.... This situation may be a war, a [natural] disaster, or an internal conflict that makes the state unable to function normally....

Who is responsible for public awareness of the law?

YOUR TURN

Callers, Facebook followers and citizens on the street have their say:

- Abu Areej said, "Suppressing others' points of view is a community culture. Even during the revolution, we experienced this. For example, the stronger revolutionary groups cracked down on the smaller ones for expressing their thoughts. The Islah Party had joined us in the squares, but now it wants to keep us from freely expressing our opinions.
- Akram Al-Sharjabi said, "We should impose a state of emergency now. I think we should limit nonessential freedoms because they create more problems than they prevent."

Ali Al-Dahab: Awareness begins with schools and the media.

Al-Dahab: Awareness begins with schools and the media.

Would a chaotic situation limit the movement of people and people's use of modern technologies?

Al-Anesi: Sometimes I think we can say that we are experiencing a state of undeclared emergency. The security checkpoints in the streets are part of the state of emergency and are illegal outside a state of emergency.... Telecommunications [restrictions] is an example of the limitation of individual freedom of expression.

Does a community's culture have a big impact on the freedom of opinion?

Al-Anesi: The problem is that people try to change individual behavior instead of trying to change the system. If there are no regulations to govern individual behavior, people can become tyrants. When we reflect on Arab history, we find that those who led revolutions and became rulers turned out to be worse than those against whom they revolted.

Officials use laws to protect their selfinterests under the pretext that national security must be secured. But this is [too often] a matter of imposing restrictions on others.

Al-Anesi: Generally speaking, there is no absolute freedom because absolute freedom [infringes upon] public freedom. But we should realize that a [perfect society] does not appear at the touch of a button, even in democratic societies. When law is absent, crimes occur [without any kind of official curbs].

The problem in Yemen is that the law is not enforced. And even if it exists, it does not serve the citizenry. [Individuals should not be in charge of governing society; governance should be via laws made and enforced by government institutions.]

Al-Dahab: An individual's freedom ends where another's starts. The rulers of a police state resort to detentions and military trials. We do not accept that. We say "no" to restrictions but "yes" to regulations. We call on the state to exercise its constitutional responsibilities, and hold the line on lawbreakers and rebellious groups. The government should control things with an iron fist. We understand the situation which the country is experiencing and we trust the president.

Al-Anesi: Everyone should be careful about this: sometimes chaos [or fear] is created intentionally in order to influence people to swap their freedom for security and stability. What is happening in the Arab Spring countries is the creation of panic. People have discovered the dictatorial systems' connections to extremist groups. People either have to choose security or freedom.

الفوضى وقانون الطوارئ

في الوقت الذي تواصل فيم البلاد المُضي قُدماً نحو التغيير، ما تزال الصراعات السياسية والنزاعات تهدد هذا التقدم. والسؤال الذي يطرح نفسه هو أي نوع من القيود يحق للدولة فرضها عندما تسوء الأمور حقاً؟ هل تسبب حالة الطوارئ سوء إستخدام السلطة من قبل المسؤولين الذين سيكون لهم القدرة على فرض هذه القيود؟

التكنولوجيا الحديثة؟

خالد الانسي: بعض الاحيان نستطيع أن نقول نحن فعلاً نعيش حاله طوارئ غير معلنة، الآن نقاط التفتيش الموجودة في الشوارع هي تمثل جزء من حالة الطوارئ وتقوم بأدوارها مخالفه للقانون وهذا يحصل الان وحتى قبل الثورة كان هناك بعض مظاهر حالة الطوارئ كالرقابة على الاتصالات.

هل الثقافة المجتمعية هي التي تؤثر على حرية الرأي؟

خالد الانسي: مشكلة الناس هي أنهم يبحثون عن تغيير الشخص بشخص آخر وليس تغير منظومه الحكم أو طريقة التعامل

إذا لم تو جد منظومة رقابية تحكم سلوك الشخص سيتحول الى مستبد آخر. عند النظر إلى التاريخ العربي نجد أن من كانوا ثواراً وحكمو تحولوا الى اسوأ ممن كانو قبلهم ومن من ثاروا عليهم.

المسؤولين استخدموا القوانين لحماية مصالحهم الخاصة بدافع أن هناك أمن قومي يجب عدم المساس به وينصب في تقييد حرات الاخرين؟

خالد الانسي: بشكل عام لا يوجد حريه مطلقة لان الحريات المطلقة تتعارض مع الحريات العامة أو

خالد الآنسي:

يجب أن ينتبه الجميع أنه احياناً تخلق حالة من الفوضى تجعل الناس تقبل أن تقايض حريتها مقابل الأمن والاستقرار.

الخاصة، لكن علينا ان ندرك بشكل رئيسي ان الوضع الوردي لن ياتي بضغطة زرحتى في المجتمعات التي يوجد فيها ديمقراطية وحريات. عندما يغيب دور القانون تحدث الجرائم بشكل غير محدود.

والمشكلة باليمن هو غياب تفعيل دور القانون والقانون إن كان موجوداً لا يخدم المواطن وانما لخدمة النخبة السياسية الحاكمه.علينا ان ننتقل من حكم الفرد الى حكم المؤسسة.

علي الذهب: تنتمي حرية الانسان عند ما تبدأ حريات الآخرين. احياناً تلجأ المجموعات الحاكمة للدولة البوليسية إلى ممارسة الاعتقال والمحاكمات العسكريه ونحن لا نقبل بهذا. نحن نقول لا قيود ولكن ضوابط وندعوا الدولة أن تمارس حقها الدستوري في ضبط المخالفين في وكل الجماعات المتمردة التي تسيطر على الأرض بغير القانون. يجب على الدوله ان تضرب بقوه ولكن نحن نراعي وضع يجب على الدوله ان تضرب بقوه ولكن نحن نراعي وضع البلد ورئيس الجمهورية الذي نثق فيه.

خالد الانسي: يجب أن ينتبه الجميع أنه احياناً تخلق حالة من الفوضى تجعل الناس تقبل أن تقايض حريتها مقابل الأمن والاستقرار. وأنا اقول ما يحدث في بلدان الربيع العربي يخلق حالة من الذعر واكتشف الناس ارتباط الانظمة الدكتاتورية بالجماعات المتطرفة والتي تصل لتقول للناس إما الحرية او الأمن. هل هناك قانون طوارئ متبع في اليمن؟

علي الذهب: تم إعلان حالة الطوارئ في البلاد في عام 1994 عندما كانت البلاد في حالة حرب.

قُلت لي مسبقاً انه تم تقديم مقترح بهذا القانون لمجلس النواب اليس كذلك ؟

على الذهب:

يجب على الدوله ان تضرب بقوة ولكن نحن نراعي وضع البلد ورئيس الجمهورية الذى نثق فيه.

علي الذهب: نعم تم تقديم المقترح وعلى المجلس ان يناقشه خلال أسبوع للرد وفقاً للقانون اليمني.

هل هناك فرق بين حالة الطوارى وقانون الطوارى؟؟

علي الذهب: حالة الطوارئ قد يتم إعلانها بعد القانون او قبل التشريع في قضية الاعلان في حالة الطوارى حيث يجتمع رئيس الجمهورية في اليمن مع مجلس الدفاع الوطني المكون من وزير الدفاع ورئيس الاركان ووزير الماليه ووزير الداخليه ووزير الخارجيه لإقرار حالة الطوارى. اما القانون يقدم كمشروع من الحكومه الى مجلس النواب ومجلس النواب يقدم رأية فيه خلال سبعة ايام او خلال فتره محددة واذا لم يرد البرلمان عليه، يعتبر القانون في حكم الملغى.

بمعنى حالات الطواري لا بد لها من قانون؟

خالد الانسي: قانون الطوارئ يأتي لمعالجة وضع استثنائي تمر بها البلدان وقد تكون هذه الظروف حرب اوكوارث او صراع داخلي وحدوث هذه الأشياء يجعل الدوله غير قادره على إستخدام الوسائل العادية وتلجأ الى اعلان حالة الطوارى...

من المسؤول عن توعية المجتمع بالقانون؟

على الذهب: التوعيه تبداء من المدرسة والاعلام

هل يمكن لهذه الحالات المضطربه امنيا في البلد ان تحد من حريه التنقل مثلاً وحرية استخدام

مداخلات هاتفية

- أبو أريح: اتسائل عن بعض الأشياء التي نعيشها مثل منع الرأي الرأي الآخر و هذه ثقافه مجتمعيه عايشها الشباب الذين خرجوا للثورة حيث كان يوجد عدة مكونات للثورة وكانت المكونات العليا للثورة تقمع المكونات الأصغر لقول رأيها. الإصلاح كانوا معنا في الساحه ويمنعونا الآن من قول رأينا بكل حديد.
- اكرم الشرجبي: نحن الأن لا بد أن نفرض حالة الطوارئ و أنا مع تقييد بعض الحريات التي ليس لها داعي والتي أصبحت تسبب لنا مشاكل اكثر من أن تساعدنا.















ون ٢٤-١/٦٠ ١/٦٠٦٠١ باب اليمن ٢٧٤٧٤ (١٠ موبايل: ٢٤-١٠١١٧١٠)

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- in Yemen as business development/ procurement manager of international tenders at oil companies, seeks work in a similar business. 733816219
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- Female, BA in Arabic literature, very good written and spoken French/

- English, seeks work as a babysitter for a foreign family (Aden or Taiz). 737168816
- Ambitious man, holding a BA in English, with two years of experience in administration including secretary, translation and coordination, ready to utilize acquired experience in a suitable position. 770658490
- Bachelor's degree in English language, 2 years experience in teaching, good with computers and Internet. Contact 772663229
- Sanal Venugopal, B. Com graduate, one year work experience in banking industry. 737436520
- Specialized tutor able to give private lessons in Mathematics, Arabic English and Science for grades 4-9. 734680597.
- English-speaking teacher of math, physics, chemistry and biology seeks a job. 735694439
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- Maged Mohammed, Dental Technician with 8 years of experience, also heating and airconditioning diploma, Connect: 773899026 . 700215989

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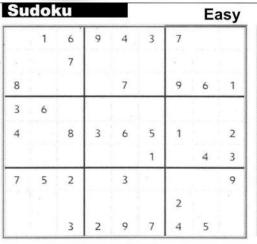
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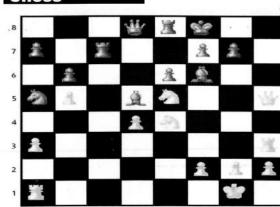


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Electricity problems 177, Emergency Police 199, Fire Brigade 191, Water Problems 171, Telephone enquires 118, Accident (Traffic) 194, Foreign Affairs, 202544/7, Interior Affairs 252701/7, Immigration 250761/3, Inter-City Bus Co. 262111/3, Ministry of Communication 325110/1/2/3, Radio Station 282061, Tourism 254032, TV Station 332001/2, Red Crescent 203131/3, Tel-Yemen 7522202, Y.net 7522227

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Yemen ranks 167 in press freedom index, media watchdog says

Reporters Without Borders acknowledged that since Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi took over the presidency, "Yemen has enjoyed more freedom of expression [...] but a range of armed groups – including those linked to Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, the Houthi rebellion in the north, the secessionist movement in the south, and conservative clerics – have been responsible for an upsurge in threats and violence against the media."

"The political parties also play a role, as most Yemeni media are the mouthpieces of parties, and many journalists are the victims of mistrust or even hostility from the security forces," the media watchdog added.

In such a chaotic landscape, the overall situation for Yemen's media shows promising signs, according to a number of journalists.

Al-Hammadi told the Yemen Times in a previous interview that "the ceiling of press freedom" has been significantly raised following the 2011 revolution.

"It is true today we live in a state of unprofessional chaos because there is no controlling authority [and we lack] effective laws. But I believe that once those are in place and we have a sort of code of ethics, Yemeni media will be heading toward better times," Al-Hammadi said.

Among Arab countries, Sudan (172th), Somalia (176th) and Syria (177th) are ranked lower than Yemen by the media watchdog

One of the countries that faced

the "most significant decline" in press freedom around the world is the U.S., according to Reporters Without Borders. Dropping 13 slots, the U.S. fell from 32nd to 46th in the 2014 World Press Freedom Index.

Without looking at human rights violations in general, Reporters Without Borders said that the index just considered "violations of freedom of information."

"The index should in no way be taken as an indication of the quality of the media in the countries concerned," Reporters Without Borders added about the index methodology.



