



Deferment at a high cost United Nations policies toward the FSO Safer crisis

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Deferment at a high cost: United Nations policies toward the FSO Safer crisis

Case Study

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The researcher thanks Dr. Khaled Al-Yamani, former Yemeni Minister of Foreign Affairs, who reviewed this paper

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We are a research institution concerned with studying Yemeni affairs and the regional and international influences on it. Through interpreting history, analysing the present, and predicting the future, in the aim of positive participating for better future of Yemen



Abstract

FSO Safer is a floating oil tank, its structures have been corroded, and its operating systems have been disrupted as a result of not being subjected to periodic maintenance since 2015. Holding over a million barrels of oil, this tank has transformed into a looming threat to the environment, marine life in the Red Sea region, coastal areas and the international trade route.

Recognizing the urgency of the matter, the United Nations has stepped in to address this crisis. Their policies and actions have garnered significant global attention, rallying political and financial resources toward resolving the issue. However, there have been criticisms that the budget allocated for the intervention was exaggerated, potentially leveraging the severity of the potential consequences to pressure the international community into action.

Ultimately, while the United Nations managed to avert an immediate catastrophe and remove the immediate threat, a lasting solution to prevent such dangers from arising again remains elusive.

4

Introduction:

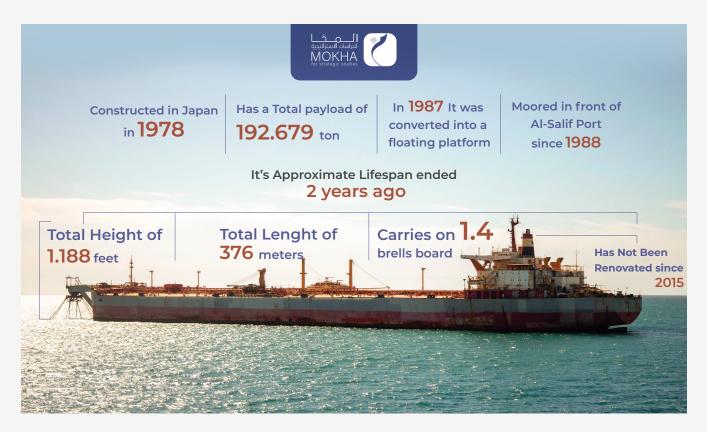
On Friday, August 11, 2023, the United Nations announced the completion of the transfer of an oil load estimated at 1.14 million barrels, from the floating oil tanker "Safer", which is moored off the port of Ras Issa for oil export in Hodeidah, on the Red Sea, to another tanker, called "Yemen", and that vessel's original name was Nautica. The cost of this operation amounted to about \$148 million. It was launched on Tuesday, corresponding to July 25, 2023, and, at the time, Antonio Guterres, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, had said: "The United Nations has begun the process of defusing what may be the largest time bomb in the world."⁽¹⁾

The international community widely embraced the operation's success. Anthony Blinken, the U.S. Secretary of State, commended the unloading of the Safer oil, labeling it as a potent model for future global coordination to preclude crises proactively. Notable entities, like the European Union mission in Yemen, along with Britain, the Netherlands, France, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, Kuwait, Jordan, the Arab Parliament and the Gulf Cooperation Council, extended their accolades for the successful oil transfer from the Floating Storage and Offloading unit (FSO) Safer. ⁽²⁾

In his own statement, Abd al-Salam Hameed, Yemen's Minister of Transport, asserted, "With the successful completion of the unloading process from the Safer floating tank, which accounted for over 1.1 million barrels, the United Nations has realized a significant milestone in safeguarding Yemeni territorial waters. This achievement stands as a collaborative effort between the legitimate government, its specialized institutions and the international community." He emphasized that the unloading operation not only shielded Yemen's territorial integrity but also averted the haunting specter that had plagued Yemenis, the region and even the global stage. ⁽³⁾ The objective of this paper is to both present and assess the United Nations' adopted policies concerning the ailing tanker, elucidating the organization's approach to addressing this critical issue.

Safer tanker:

The Safer floating tank, originally built in Japan in 1976 as an oil tanker under the name Esso Japan, has undergone significant transformations over the years. Weighing a total of 192,679 tons and stretching 376 meters (1,233.5 feet) in length with a towering height of 1,188 feet(4), this massive vessel has seen a change in purpose and ownership.



In 1987, the ship's role shifted as it was converted into a floating oil platform. Acquired by the Safer Company for Oil Production and Exploration Operations(5), it was rebranded as Safer. Since 1988, it has remained anchored 8 kilometers (5 miles) northwest of Ras Issa port in Hodeidah, located along the Red Sea. Ranked as the third-largest floating oil reservoir globally, the Safer boasts an impressive storage capacity of 3 million barrels of crude oil. This reservoir receives oil from extraction fields in Ma'rib Governorate, via a 438-kilometer (272-mile) pipeline. Here, the crude oil is stored, and the facility is outfitted with the necessary equipment for transferring oil to other cargo ships for exportation.

Despite its intended lifespan, which suggests disposal about 20 years ago, the Safer continues to exist. This is despite the fact that it hasn't undergone regular maintenance since the Houthi group took control of Hodeidah's port in 2015. Since that point, no oil has been transported to the vessel. Presently, it holds approximately 1.14 million tons of Ma'rib Light Oil.

According to international reports, the structural integrity of the Safer has been compromised, with damage to its walls and disruptions in its operating systems. The passage of time has rendered it a ticking time bomb and a significant environmental and strategic hazard. The potential for oil leakage, or even explosions due to the presence of flammable gases within its tanks, underscores the urgency.

Catastrophic repercussions:

Numerous reports and studies have consistently underscored the potential for dire consequences arising from any oil leakage or explosion aboard the tanker. The ramifications of such an event would be truly catastrophic, rippling through various aspects of the environment and human lives. The marine ecosystem within the Red Sea would bear the brunt of this catastrophe, with its destruction being a grim inevitability. Such an incident would result in the annihilation of marine



life, a vital component of the sea's delicate balance. The fallout wouldn't stop there — millions of individuals residing in the vicinity would find themselves subjected to severe air pollution, exacerbating health concerns on a massive scale.

7

Coastal communities, which are intricately linked to the sea's resources, would face devastating losses. The abrupt disruption in the fishing sector would cause irrevocable harm, rendering hundreds of thousands of workers bereft of their livelihoods overnight. The recovery of fish stocks, an intricate and slow process, would stretch over an agonizing span of more than 25 years.⁽⁶⁾

The far-reaching impact is not bound by borders — six nations along the Red Sea's coastline would find their populations' health and well-being compromised. The aftermath of such a disaster would taint the very essentials of life — air, food and water — with pollutants. The estimated cost of cleansing seawater and shorelines post-spill is a staggering \$20 billion, a testament to the magnitude of the impending



damage. Comparatively, the catastrophe resulting from the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill in the Gulf of Alaska pales in comparison. The enormous Safer vessel contains more than four times the tonnage of the Exxon Valdez.⁽⁷⁾

UN intervention:

Amid the ongoing conflict that has persisted since March 2015, growing concerns emerged regarding the imminent perils faced by the Safer tanker and its surrounding environment. The potential consequences of any mishap would far exceed the capacity of the war-ravaged Yemeni state to manage. Recognizing the gravity of the situation, the United Nations' intervention became imperative.

The United Nations responded by dispatching a team of experts tasked with evaluating the state of the reservoir and initiating preliminary repairs. In August 2019, the mission was set to commence from Djibouti, having secured agreements from all involved parties, including the Houthi group. Regrettably, the mission was abruptly called off when the Houthis withdrew their consent on the eve of the team's departure.⁽⁸⁾

Reports then circulated, indicating that seawater had breached the Safer tanker's hull, reaching the engine room and gravely imperiling the vessel. In response, the United Nations swiftly intensified its efforts to address this critical development, which had brought the ship perilously close to sinking. A temporary solution was implemented to contain the leak at that time. However, the intransigence of the Houthi group persisted, as they transformed the tanker into a bargaining tool against both the legitimate government and the international community.

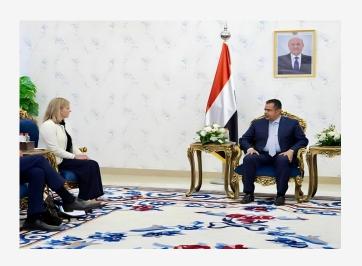
International pressure:

International efforts have intensified to put pressure on the Houthi group to allow the tanker to be inspected, repaired and the oil unloaded from it. In July 2020, the U.S. State Department called on the Houthis to cooperate with the UN envoy to Yemen, Martin Griffiths, and to allow the United Nations to maintain the Safer reservoir. In a tweet on Twitter, the ministry said that the Houthis alone will bear the humanitarian costs if an oil leak occurs from the tanker⁽⁹⁾. During a session of the United Na-



tions Security Council on the Yemeni crisis, the former U.S. representative to the United Nations, Kelly Craft, held the Houthi group responsible stating, "If a leak occurs, or worse, if an explosion occurs, the Houthis will bear full responsibility for any disaster because of their efforts to use the tanker as a bargaining chip to increase political and economic influence".⁽¹⁰⁾

The European Union has warned of a potential humanitarian, economic and environmental catastrophe in Yemen and the Red Sea, as a result, and that the Safer could cause a major disruption in global maritime trade, which passes through the Bab al-Mandab Strait. The countries bordering the Red Sea, such as Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Su-



dan, demanded urgent action from the Security Council to avert this disaster. The permanent representative of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations warned the UN Security Council that an "oil slick" was seen 50 kilometers (31 miles) west of the Safer.⁽¹²⁾

The Netherlands emerged as a pivotal player in the negotiations involving Yemeni parties. On March 1, 2022, the Dutch ambassador embarked on a visit to Sana'a and Al-Hodeidah, regions that Houthi group control. The ambassador's purpose was to advocate for an urgent resolution to the imminent threat posed by the Safer oil tanker, which could unleash a catastrophic oil spill with dire consequences for Yemen's inhabitants, their livelihoods and the fragile Red Sea ecosystem⁽¹³⁾. As part of his engagement, he participated in discussions alongside the United Nations Mission in Hodeidah and the port of Ras Isa — adjacent to the docking point of the Safer tanker — to present the proposal to the Houthi group.

In line with these efforts, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Trade and International Cooperation, Lesje Schrenmacher, visited Aden on September 15, 2022. During her visit, a meeting was convened under the chairmanship of Yemeni Prime Minister Maeen Abdulmalik. The meeting involved the presence of David Grizzly, the Resident Coordinator for Executive Activities and the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator for Yemen. The meeting aimed to discuss the status of the Safer oil reservoir, as well as the efforts exerted to initiate the implementation of the first phase of the United Nations' plan to empty and maintain it in order to avoid a global environmental catastrophe.⁽¹⁴⁾

The Security Council — more than once — called on the Houthis to allow international inspectors to inspect the reservoir "without delay", and urged the members of the Security Council to "facilitate safe and unconditional access for United Nations experts, so that they can conduct an impartial and comprehensive assessment, in addition to an initial maintenance mission, without delay".⁽¹⁵⁾

In July 2020, at the invitation of Britain, the Security Council held a session via videoconference in which it discussed the situation of the Safer tanker, and the council expressed its deep concern about the increasing risk of the tanker disintegrating, which could cause an environmental, economic and humanitarian catastrophe for Yemen and its neighbors⁽¹⁶⁾.

Signing a framework agreement with the Houthis:

The United Nations continued discussions with the Houthis about a document that defines the scope of work assigned to the proposed mission, the nature of its activity and its tasks, and, on November 21, 2022, the United Nations received a letter from the Houthis indicating their formal approval of the scope of work, and, in light of this approval, the United Nations became in a position that enables it to initiate the logistical preparations for the mission, including the use of donor funds to secure the recruitment of technical experts and the purchase of the necessary equipment. The Yemeni government expressed its full support for the proposed technical mission⁽¹⁷⁾.

On March 8, 2022, the Houthi group signed an agreement with the United Nations allowing the oil to be unloaded from the Safer oil tanker. The agreement included the commitment of the United Nations to provide and supply an alternative floating tanker equivalent to the Safer⁽¹⁸⁾ tanker, suitable for export, within a period of 18 months, with the Houthis not incurring any financial obligations, and that they be committed to providing all facilities for the success of the project.⁽¹⁹⁾

Developing a plan and budget:

Accordingly, the United Nations has prepared a two-track plan: In the first, a longterm replacement ship for the floating tank Safer is installed, and in the second, an emergency operation is carried out by an international marine salvage company to transfer oil from aboard the Safer to a safe temporary ship. After that, the Safer tanker is towed to a yard and sold for recycling⁽²⁰⁾.

The budget was distributed as shown in the following table:

Table No. 1. Items of the budget for the implementation of the plan prepared by the United Nations:

Activity (emergency phase, 18 months)	Amount in USD
Preparatory activities: due diligence and law firm	2,150,000
Salvage operation	35,000,000
De-mucking of FSO SAFER	5,000,000
VLCC 15 years old 200 DWT (lea se)	13, 687,500
Insurance machinery and hull	1,944,000
Insurance crude cargo	1,680,000
Crew and Maintenance of VLCC	12,915,000
Contingency	2,000,000
UN direct staffing and operational costs	2, 936,534
UNDP management support 3%	2,319,391
Total	79,632,425
Activity (FSO conversion)	
Purchase of vessel for conversion	20,000,000
Conversion costs	
Conversion costs	35,000,000
Purchase riser and mooring system, assess pipeline and PLEM	35,000,000 11,000,000
Purchase riser and mooring system, assess pipeline	
Purchase riser and mooring system, assess pipeline and PLEM	11,000,000
Purchase riser and mooring system, assess pipeline and PLEM Install new mooring system and riser	11,000,000 9,500,000
Purchase riser and mooring system, assess pipeline and PLEM Install new mooring system and riser Tow new FSO to location	11,000,000 9,500,000 6,500,000
Purchase riser and mooring system, assess pipeline and PLEM Install new mooring system and riser Tow new FSO to location Subtotal 1	11,000,000 9,500,000 6,500,000 82,000,000
Purchase riser and mooring system, assess pipeline and PLEM Install new mooring system and riser Tow new FSO to location Subtotal 1 UNDP management fee 3%	11,000,000 9,500,000 6,500,000 82,000,000 2,460,000
Purchase riser and mooring system, assess pipeline and PLEM Install new mooring system and riser Tow new FSO to location Subtotal 1 UNDP management fee 3% Subtotal 2	11,000,000 9,500,000 6,500,000 82,000,000 2,460,000 84,460,000

Source: United Nations, Yemen, Safer floating oil tanker: operational plan (link: https://cutt.us/JB36U)

As the table above shows, the budget was in the range of the equivalent of \$144 million, "but soon the due amounts increased with the high costs of VLCCs, and due to other factors, so that the budget for the current emergency phase reached \$129 million, while it requires the second phase is \$19 million, bringing the total cost to \$148 million".⁽²¹⁾

At first glance, the allocated budget might appear sizable and possibly inflated. A substantial portion of the elevated cost is attributed to the extensive advisory and technical groundwork that both precedes and accompanies the oil transportation process. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has outlined a segment of this cost, which is justified by what it terms as essential global technical expertise required to execute the project. This encompasses several facets, including a marine management consulting firm, legal expertise specialized in maritime matters, insurance brokerage services, acquisition of suitable vessels and experts well-versed in handling oil spill incidents.

To facilitate the pumping process, collaboration has been established with a salvage company, which entails the engagement of numerous professionals, notably those with proficiency in marine oil spills, maritime legal affairs, insurance intermediation and ship brokering. Furthermore, a chemist will be engaged to meticulously monitor the gas levels within the tanks during the pumping procedure, a crucial measure aimed at mitigating the potential risk of explosions.

Parallel to these arrangements, the United Nations is set to leverage high-caliber expertise hailing from the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Environment Programme and the International Maritime Organization to monitor operations closely and bolster Yemeni efforts. In the event of any unforeseen accidents, a comprehensive support network will be in place, drawing on contributions from the World Food Program, the United Nations Population Administration, the United Nations Department of Safety and Security and the United Nations Mission in Support of the Al-Hudaydah Agreement. This front will extend both expertise and practical assistance on the ground to ensure the operation's success and address any contingencies effectively⁽²²⁾.

Funds collection process:

To provide the required budget, the United Nations organized crowdfunding campaigns. It called on countries, the private sector and people to donate and collect the necessary funds. In April 2022, the United States, the United Nations, and the Netherlands participated in launching an intensive awareness campaign on the issue of the Safer tanker. In addition to its political role, the Netherlands played a major role in fundraising, where it jointly organized, with the United Nations, a fundraising conference, on May 11, 2022, in which the funding countries made a pledge to pay \$33 million.

On September 22, 2022, the Netherlands, the United States and Germany hosted a side event, on the sidelines of the week of high-level discussions at the United Nations General Assembly, through which they were able to bridge the financing gap for the emergency operation in the plan developed by the United Nations. The hosts were the largest donors backing the UN-led plan, with the Netherlands providing €15m, Germany €12m and the US \$10m, followed by Saudi Arabia with \$10m and the UK with \$7.5m. The co-hosts pledged to make efforts to raise the necessary funds to complete the process⁽²³⁾.

In the end, the United Nations was able to raise about \$121 million, from 23 countries, the European Union, the private sector and the public through crowdfunding. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs also provided funding for this operation. There was still a need for about \$20 million⁽²⁴⁾.



Table No. 2. Entities that made donations for the Safer reservoir:

Source: Data collected from various sources.

New ship purchase:

Upon securing the necessary financial resources, the UNDP took significant steps to address the crisis. On March 10, 2023, an agreement was reached between the UNDP and EURONAV, resulting in the acquisition of a tanker, named Nautica, for a sum of \$55 million(25). This payment facilitated the ship's journey to a Chinese port for essential modifications to be executed. Although Nautica is a sizable vessel, it is of smaller dimensions when compared to the Safer. Post-purchase, the ship's designation was changed to Yemen, symbolizing its new mission.

Prior to that, the UNDP had previously engaged in a contract with the Dutch Maritime Rescue Company (SMIT Salvage), entrusted with overseeing the stability of the Safer reservoir. This commitment led the company to successfully reach the Safer reservoir on May 30, 2023. Following this achievement, UNDP further extended its collaboration with SMIT Salvage, entrusting them with the critical task of transferring oil from the Safer tanker to the newly acquired Nautica, now renamed Yemen.



Signing the transfer of ownership to the Houthis:

In order to streamline the subsequent stages of the operation, an agreement was reached between the United Nations and the Houthi group. This agreement entailed the transfer of ownership of the replacement vessel, Nautica, to the Houthis. This preliminary step was undertaken to pave the way for the continued journey of Nautica toward Safer⁽²⁶⁾.

The Yemeni News Agency Saba, which is under the control of the Houthis, said: The United Nations Resident Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs in Yemen, William David Gresley, signed an agreement with the director of the Safer company, who was appointed by the Houthi group, Idris Al-Shami, on July 17, for the Transfer of Ownership of the Nautica Replacement Vessel. This was during a press conference held on the same ship.



On the other hand, the Safer Company for Exploration and Production Operations, affiliated with the legitimate government, warned on July 26, in a statement, "all official and unofficial parties, domestically and internationally, against dealing with any party or entity that impersonates a representative of the Safer Company," stressing, "Whoever deals with these entities will bear full legal responsibility, and the consequences of dealing with representatives who lack the legitimate capacity to speak on behalf of the company."⁽²⁷⁾

Legitimate government cooperation:

The legitimate government displayed a willingness to extend several concessions, strategically fostering the United Nations' mission success. Among these concessions, there was flexibility in discussing the distribution of proceeds from the oil sales linked to the tanker. Notably, the government communicated its acceptance of various scenarios, including the option of channeling these revenues into the account designated for the Hodeidah port's income, aligning with the provisions outlined in the "Stockholm Agreement". Additionally, the government expressed openness to allocating these funds toward economic and humanitarian initiatives within areas under Houthi control.

Furthermore, the legitimate government facilitated the United Nations' engagement with the Houthi group. This was evident in the government's decision to overlook the formal signing of a framework agreement with the Houthis and a subsequent accord pertaining to the ownership transfer of the new reservoir to them. This approach was adopted despite the exception noted in the statement issued by the state-owned Safer Company for Exploration and Production Operations, as mentioned earlier.

All these concessions were made by the legitimate government in order to not enable the Houthi group to have any pretext that would impede the course of dealing with the dilapidated reservoir crisis. However, the Safer reservoir crisis demonstrated the high cost of the conflict in Yemen and the level of devastating risks it entails, as it entailed an unprecedented threat to the marine and human environment and represented a serious threat to the lives and livelihoods of millions of Yemenis, as well as the rest of the region's population. On the other hand, the crisis showed the irresponsibility of the behavior of the Houthi group, as they referred to the Safer reservoir as a means of bargaining and blackmailing the legitimate government and the international community, and they were only concerned with achieving material and political gains and imaginary victories.

Policy evaluation:

The United Nations' response to the Safer crisis underscored its pivotal role in addressing an impending catastrophe. Its intervention proved decisive in harnessing global capabilities and collaborative efforts. As aptly stated by United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, it successfully defused what could have been the world's largest ticking time bomb, spared Yemen and the region catastrophic and horrific repercussions and provided, as U.S. Secretary of State Anthony Blinken said, "a strong model



of international coordination and cooperation to prevent crises before they occur". However, the United Nations' policies toward this crisis were marred by a number of negative aspects, including:

1. Neglecting cheaper alternatives:

With the emergence of the tanker crisis, the United Nations could have pressed for the least expensive alternative, represented in transferring the oil to a truck and selling it; this was the natural and least expensive alternative. While acknowledging that the position of the Houthis was frustrating, the policies of the United Nations and the international community were more flexible, especially in the first phase in which the Safer crisis emerged, although they had many means of pressure to force the Houthis to proceed with this alternative, especially in light of the high flexibility that characterized the position of the legitimate government with regard to the status of the tanker and the disposal of the proceeds from the sale of the oil that falls on it.

2. Focusing on mitigating the severity of the crisis, not ending it:

It is clear that the UN focused on defusing the ticking time bomb of the dilapidated Safer reservoir and preventing the worst-case scenario of an oil spill or an explosion in the reservoir, and this was achieved in part by transferring the oil to the new floating reservoir in the Yemen vessel. However, this does not mean that the problem has ended, as the danger still exists, and the matter is nothing more than the transfer of oil from a dilapidated tank to another that is less worn out, so the survival of the new tanker with the quantities of oil on it represents a new ticking time bomb, as it is possible that it will be exposed to new risks from multiple sources. What could cause catastrophic repercussions comparable to those represented by the Safer reservoir, as it is likely to be exposed to the risks of leakage or explosion due to:

a. War developments:

The precarious positioning of the tanker within an active conflict zone renders it susceptible to potential fire projectiles, both accidental and intentional. The latter scenario holds particular concern, especially should a significant military shift occur, favoring the legitimate government's forces. Reports have highlighted the Houthis' past threats to target the tanker as government forces, supported by the Arab Coalition, approached the city of Hodeidah in 2018. The new tanker, Nautica, also faces the risk of encountering naval mines, explosive devices or objects propelled by the sea's currents. This concern arises from numerous reports indicating the Houthis' deployment of sea mines during the ongoing conflict.

b. Risk of obsolescence:

The absence of a comprehensive and enduring solution from the United Nations has perpetuated the crisis surrounding the Safer reservoir. Beyond that, there looms the possibility that the new vessel, Nautica, could face faster deterioration compared to its predecessor. This projection is grounded in information indicating that Nautica has only five years of useful life remaining, exacerbated by the region's high salinity and the challenging climatic conditions inherent to its permanent mooring location⁽²⁸⁾.

Excessive financial allocation:

The cost of transporting oil from the Safer tanker required an amount close to \$148 million, which is undoubtedly an amount that does not compare to the extent of the damage that would have resulted from the scenario of an oil leak or a tanker explosion, but this cost is marked by an apparent overestimation. Several factors contribute to this financial excess, including the United Nations' propensity to adopt a cautious approach toward such matters, the involvement of numerous subsidiary organizations in the process, the adoption of disproportionately stringent preventive measures to counteract possible oil spills, and the preparedness protocols in the eventuality of such an occurrence.

However, all of this does not require all this cost, nor does it negate the suspicion of exploiting the suffering of the Yemeni people and blackmailing the international community to collect funds under the pretext of the catastrophic repercussions that could result from an oil spill, nor does it negate the suspicion of corruption and wasteful expenditure of those resources.

Actions to be taken:

The United Nations and international mediators must continue to work on an urgent track in which the United Nations leads international efforts to pressure the Yemeni parties to agree on a formula that guarantees the sale of the oil on the new Yemen vessel and the disbursement of its revenues for the benefit of the war-affected Yemeni people.

In the medium term, the success in dealing with the Safer crisis will be used as a catalyst for negotiating the path of oil re-export, within the framework of a broader political settlement, the benefits of which the Yemenis will see and a breakthrough in the humanitarian crisis they are currently suffering.

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