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on the occasion of Golden Anniversary for

26th September Revolution

On Behalf of

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Chairman of the Supervisory Board
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Abdulrahman Hayel Saeed

Vice Chairman of the Supervisory Board
of HSA Group



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نتقدم بخالص التهاني وأطيب التبريكات الى

الأستاذ / عبد الرؤوف حسنك العزني

ولذلك بمناسبة زفاف نجليه

شهاب بن هيثم

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وبالرفاه والبنين

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رئيس الجمهورية اليمنية

بمناسبة
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عنهم /
محمد أحمد بن سميط
المدير العام التنفيذي

مها نبني اليمن



Prominent Political Security officer assassinated in Sana'a

Ahmed Dawood

SANA'A, Sept. 25 – Adding to the recent string of assassinations throughout Yemen, anonymous armed men assassinated Brigadier General Abdullah Al-Ashwal, an officer in the Political Security Office, late Monday in the Al-Safia area of the capital city.

Colonel Mohammed Al-Shaif said anonymous men called Al-

Ashwal when he was performing the Al-Isha prayer. He immediately left the mosque, and as he left, he was shot in the head and in other parts of his body. He died immediately.

According to a source who spoke with the Associated Press, Al-Ashwal "is the most senior official to be assassinated in the capital Sana'a."

Al-Shaif said security apparatuses rushed to the scene and quickly

started investigating the killing. One of the witnesses, a street vendor, said he saw armed men on a motorbike in masks shooting at Al-Ashwal. The witness said the masked men fled as soon as they finished shooting.

Al-Ashwal was one of the most prominent officers in the Political Security Office in Sana'a. During the past decade, he is credited with foiling several attempted terrorist

attacks.

Al-Shaif said it was Al-Ashwal who discovered the 2005 plot to bomb the U.N. building in Sana'a, and ever since, he has been receiving death threats on a regular basis.

This is the fourth assassination of its kind over the past month. Militants linked with Al-Qaeda have been largely suspected of involvement in the assassinations.



Brigadier General Abdullah Al-Ashwal was assassinated Monday night in Sana'a.

Demands for military's removal from Sana'a University continue



Sana'a University students have been protesting the removal of a military presence on the campus. Muaas Al-Janad, a soldier, said military is there to protect the students.



Ashraf Al-Muraqab

SANA'A, Sept. 24 — Dozens of students at Sana'a University are still continuing their protests against what they call "militarization of the university."

By militarization, students are referring to the presence of soldiers of the First Armored Division (FAD), which is loyal to General Ali Mohsen Al-Ahmar, on the university campus.

Majed Al-Shuaibi, a student in the Mass Communication College at Sana'a University, said many students continue protesting to evacu-

ate the soldiers from the university. Al-Shuaibi said the students would never accept the university being taken over and changed into military barracks.

Students staged a demonstration Sunday condemning the presence of FAD soldiers on the university campus. Protestors chanted slogans calling for the university to avoid involving itself in any political conflict because it is an educational place and should remain unbiased.

A large number of FAD soldiers deployed to Sana'a University, located near Sana'a's Change Square, and took over some of the colleges,

turning them into sleeping barracks.

Abdulrazaq Al-Azazi, a youth activist at the university, said there are weapons and military vehicles linked to FAD all around the university, which bothers all the students.

He called for President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi and the reconciliation government to remove soldiers from the university and return it to a military-free zone.

Some reports suggest the relationship between soldiers and university students has turned violent, with soldiers abusing protesting students.

FAD soldiers beat al-Azazi, Al-Shuaibi, Hani Al-Jonaid and Hashim Al-Abara during the protest, they reported.

Al-Azazi said students won't give up and will hold several protests. He said the protest wouldn't end until the removal of all soldiers and military semblances from the university.

Muaad Al-Janad, a soldier affiliated with FAD, said they are present at the university to protect the students and also the protestors who are at Sana'a's Change Square.

Al-Janad denied the presence of military barracks and weapons

inside the university. Moreover, he denied attacking students during the protest.

"It's impossible for the soldiers who protected the revolution to attack students," he said.

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Half of Yemenis have inadequate access to food

Mohammed Al-Samei

SANA'A, Sept. 24 — Amid international warnings regarding the spread of hunger in Yemen, a new report suggests millions of Yemenis are living below the country's poverty line.

On Monday, the International Oxfam Organization published a report indicating that in the past twelve months, four out of five Yemeni women are experiencing a situation worse than before the 2011 political uprising.

Many men have sold their land and animals and taken their children out of school to work for money—resorting to any means

necessary to provide the basic necessities to their families.

“The majority of fathers coerce their daughters into early marriages in addition to sending their sons to Saudi Arabia smuggling qat,” the report said.

Another recent report by the Social and Economic Development Researches Center suggests that half of Yemen is without enough food, and unemployment fluctuates from 50 to 60 percent.

The leader of the family, the report indicated, is unable to provide food or school essentials—let alone the daily expenses necessary to provide support.

“It is obligatory that some fami-

lies resort to taking their children out of schools in order to search for work to help the family leader cover the home requirements. This makes a dangerous challenge for the family and students as well as augmenting social and economic burdens on the country.”

Naveed Hussein, a representative of the U.N. Refugee Agency, called on the international community to provide immediate aid for Yemen, warning against any delay. The delay, he said, will cause threats not only to the region but also to the entire international security and peace apparatus.

“Humanitarian aid for Yemen is important and emergent to pre-

vent instability and the creation of further of tensions in the region,” Hussein told the Middle East News Agency in Brussels, asserting the importance of the unique geopolitical position of Yemen. Yemen has been facing several humanitarian, political and economic challenges, resulting in the current desperate situation of people, Hussein said.

With a population totaling 25 million, Yemen is the third most impoverished country in the world, according to Hussein.

More than 7.5 million people in Yemen suffer from food insecurity and malnourishment. In some areas, the level of malnourishment reaches that of Somalia, he said.

Revolutionary torch relocated from Tahrir Square to Parade Venue



The celebration for Sept. 26 was moved to a new location in part for security reasons.

5 governorates to celebrate World Tourism Day

Amira Nasser

SANA'A, Sept. 24 – On Thursday, Yemen will celebrate World Tourism Day in five governorates: Sana'a, Taiz, Aden, Ibb and Sae'on-Hadramout.

This year's theme is “Tourism and Sustainable Energy: Powering Sustainable Development.” The occasion will focus on investing in sustainable energy and how this is useful for humankind.

Ahmed Al-Beel, general manager of programs and the activities at the Ministry of Tourism, said, for the five governorates participating in World Tourism Day, each governorate will hold workshops to discuss the targets and goals necessary to increase the amount of tourism Yemen sees each year.



Helal, the minister of tourism and other relevant people working in the tourism sector.

Sadeq Salah, head of the tourism office in Taiz, said there would be a workshop to discuss the axes of World Tourism Day in Taiz, with the coordination of local authorities and the private sector. He said there is good interaction with the private sector in supporting tourism in Taiz.

“There will be a 30 percent discount for Taiz's hotels, and the local authorities will try to make the entrance to parks for free on Sept. 27,” he said.

He said Taiz witnessed a change in tourism because of efforts made by Governor Shawqi Hayel and the people around him to create healthy conditions to recover tourism in the governorate.

“Yemen can have a bright future

of tourism if the tourism elements are cared for,” he said.

Saleh Al-Ameri, head of the tourism office in Sae'on-Hadramout, said tourism in Yemen is totally asleep. He said all hotels in the district are empty, and he said he was certain that improved security is the basic element for a tourism revival in the country.

“What kind of tourism is it when tourists are surrounded by security cars?” he said.

Abdullah Al-Kooli, head of the tourism office in Hodeidah, said the use of sustainable energy in the country would largely improve the tourism sector as well as other

economical fields.

He said hotels should pay one to two million for this electricity. However, if there is another cheap source of energy, the support will be reflected in the prices of hotel rooms, thus encouraging more people to go into hotels, he said.

Al-Kooli said it is predictable to start executing the alternative sources of energy in the near future, meaning the next three to five years.

Workshops will be held tomorrow in Aden and Ibb as well to negotiate the three axes of World Tourism Day and how to invest in and develop the tourism sector.

Armed tribesmen in Al-Jawf prevent new governor's entrance to government space

Ahmed Dawood

AL-JAWF, Sept. 25 – Armed men in Al-Jawf governorate prevented newly appointed Governor Mohammed Salem Bin Abood from entering a government compound Monday.

Sheikh Hassan Abu Hadra, head of Bakil's Youth Forum, said clashes broke out Monday between the governor's security guards and armed men. The men have been occupying the compound for more than one year.

Despite weapons clashes, nobody was injured in the dispute.

Abu Hadra said Al-Jawf is currently suffering from a security vacuum and sectarian conflict. He said the security issues arose after military forces left the governorate last year. Moreover, the governorate lacks health and educational services, causing anger among citizens.

Governor Bin Abood told the Yemen Times that several armed tribesmen incited the clash with his security guards. He said it occurred inside the government compound and that the tribesmen were angered because they

thought the security guards intended to remove them from inside the compound.

“I'm ready to meet any illegal rights of each one, but I won't allow breaking the law,” Bin Abood said. “The local authority is the supreme authority in Al-Jawf.”

Concerning the deteriorating situation in the governorate, Bin Abood said leadership in the governorate is determined to bring improved security to Al-Jawf, and appointing Brigadier General Mohammed Al-Odaini as the security chief of Al-Jawf is the first step in doing so. Bin Abood said his primary focus right now for the region is stability.

Bin Abood said preparations are being made to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the 26 September revolution, which marks the beginning of achieving stability in Al-Jawf.

Al-Jawf has been suffering from sectarian conflict for more than a year between the Houthis and Islah tribesmen. The conflict spread to many areas throughout the governorate, but tribal mediation has intervened and stopped it.

Samar Qaed

SANA'A, Sept. 25 — The Interior Ministry, in coordination with the Carnivals Committee and Capital City Security, created a security plan specific to the preparations for the 50th anniversary of the 26 September revolution.

As part of that plan, for the first time, the Parade Venue of the Ministry of Defense held the celebrations instead Tahrir Square—also known as Change Square. Loyalists of the General People's Congress (GPC) have been camping out in the square for more than a year, and they refuse to evacuate the square.

On Sunday, the GPC declared the square would be evacuated; however, those living in tents in the square remain steadfast due to rifts concerning the financial sums pledged to protestors in an attempt to move them out of their tents and out of the square.

The state-run Saba news agen-

cy said the security plan included guarding the carnival location as well as safeguarding all the participants, be they youth, military, or security and political figures who plan to attend the 26 September revolution ceremony.

The security plan asserted the importance of organization, cooperation and coordination between the all the security departments to guarantee the plan would be perfectly implementation.

“Rehearsals for lighting the revolution torch were secured Sunday in the Parade Venue by twelve military vehicles from the Central Security Forces, one Walking Battalion and one anti-riot battalion in addition to fourteen vehicles from the Reinforcement forces with 60 soldiers and nine vehicles from the Capital Security,” a security source at the Defense Ministry said.

The source said all the military units worked based on what was outlined in the security plan.

Aden radio employees call for boss' removal

Amal Al-Yarisi

ADEN, Sept. 25 – A pool of Aden radio station employees continue their sit-in in front the radio station compound in Al-Tawahi district, calling for an end to the corruption the radio station has been facing.

Abu Bakr Al-Hajari, the Staff Syndicate head at the station, said sit-ins would continue until their head, Yaslm Matar, is replaced. They said Matar promised many times to solve their problems in a meeting in Sana'a with the media minister months ago, yet Matar has yet to make any changes or improvements.

“The radio institution is suffering from huge corruption in addition to looting thirty percent of the workers' salaries,” Al-Hajari said.

The institution is suffering from corruption, including a lack of new buses; the current ones have been used since 1994, according to Al-Hajari, adding that former director Yaseen Saleh died and other workers sustained injuries because of these buses.

“Matar refused to send a fact-finding committee with regard to this issue.”

Al-Hajari said the staff made

many complaints to the media minister in order to resolve their problems, threatening resignation if case these troubles remain unresolved.

The Aden radio station held Matar accountable for the deterioration that the institution has seen.

For his part, Jamal Hassn, a broadcaster in the Aden station, said the salaries of Aden radio station employees are manipulated; thus, they resorted to a sit-in.

He said the staff used loud speakers and hoisted placards denouncing corruption in the institution.

Defending himself against complaints, Matar said, “All that has been said about me is untrue and unfounded.”

He said he directed a letter to the media minister to interfere and stop such a situation. He also said there is no protest or sit-in in front of the institution compound.

All reporters in Aden radio station called on the media minister, Ali Ahmed Al-Amrani, to meet their demands and to solve their problems, affirming the sit-in will go on, in addition to other further staging procedures according to the law and the constitution.

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Report: Four out of five Yemeni women worse off now than 2011

Amira Nasser

“Still Waiting for Change: Making the political transition work for women in Yemen,” the latest report released by Oxfam, has found that four out of five women it consulted with claim they are worse off today than they were 12 months ago.

The data, compiled from interviews and research done in Sana'a, Taiz, Aden, Hodeida and Harad, concerns women's issues post-2011's political uprising.

"There are about 136 women who were part of the focus groups from the different areas," Sultana Begum, a humanitarian policy adviser at Oxfam GB, said.

The report encompassed interviews with women from different social and educational backgrounds, as well as displaced women from other governorates.

It is reported that four out of five women spoke that their lives have worsened within the last 12 months, and during the present time of Ye-



Women waiting to receive a cash grant from Oxfam in Al Hodeidah governorate, Al-Jarrahi, Yemen (March 2012)

men's transitional government, women's hopes for a better life are wearing thin.

The report found that one quarter of women between the ages of 15 and 49 are malnourished, and the economic situation in the last period makes women's priorities to find food, jobs and safety. Women

resort to desperate means and destructive actions to adapt and to survive. They reduce the amount of food they consume or eat food with poor nutritional value so as to provide more food for their families.

Women's demands for better access to food, jobs and physical safety comes at the same time as

complaints that women's roles in shaping Yemen's future remain limited despite their prominent roles in last year's uprising.

"Women from rural areas said they need the government to have an eye on them and to listen to their needs," Begum said.

The report wrote that political parties are shutting the doors for women's participation in the political transition, and limits are created for women who are able to participate in building Yemen's future.

The report clarified that Yemen's humanitarian crisis has prevented women from thinking about anything other than food, jobs and security.

"Women feel unsafe and worried about the current security situation in their governorates," Begum said.

Women in other districts said they were very optimistic at the beginning of transition to have better lives and futures for themselves and their children. However, they have become less and less optimistic about the situation because of the current conditions that Yemenis live in, according to Begum.

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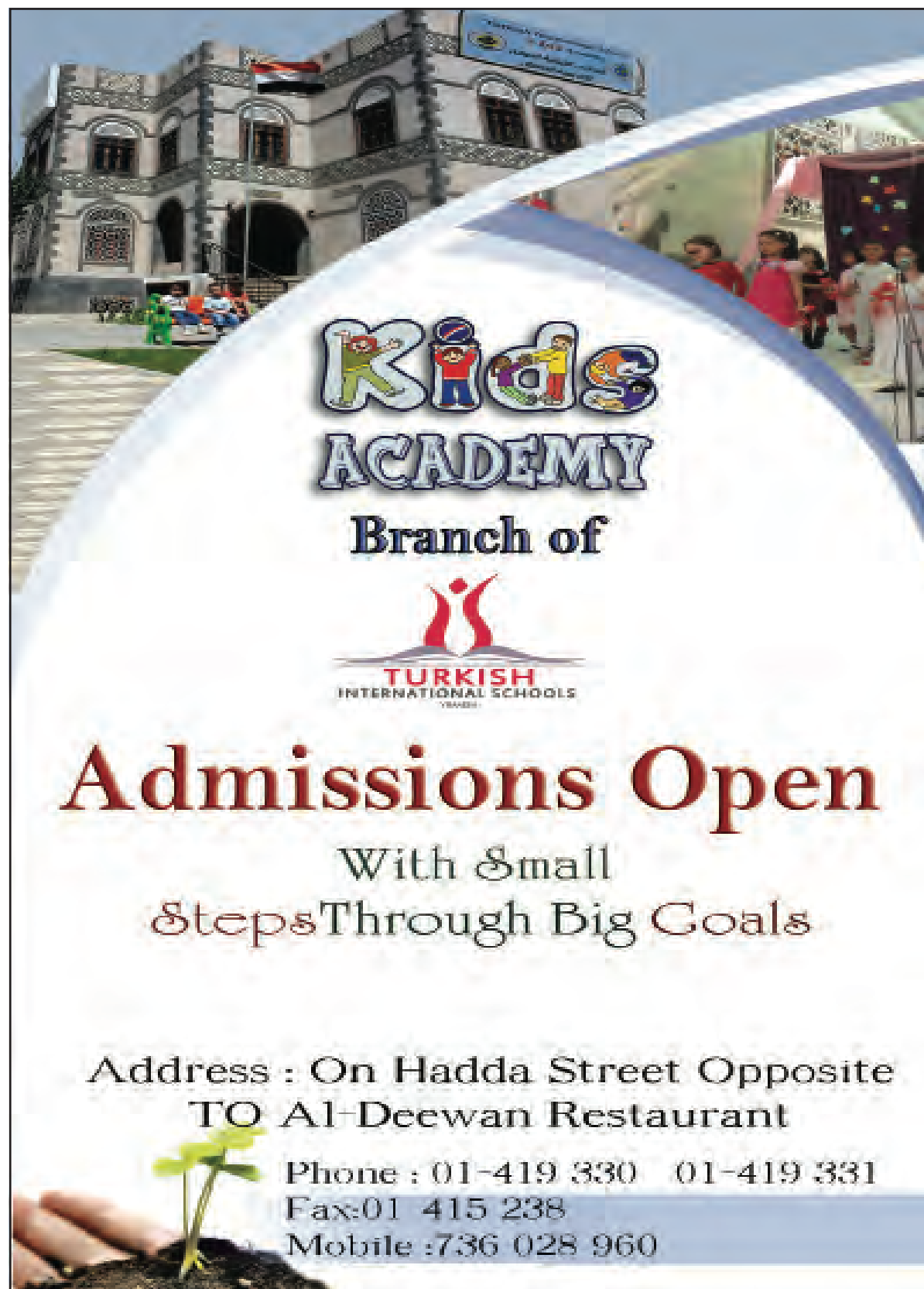
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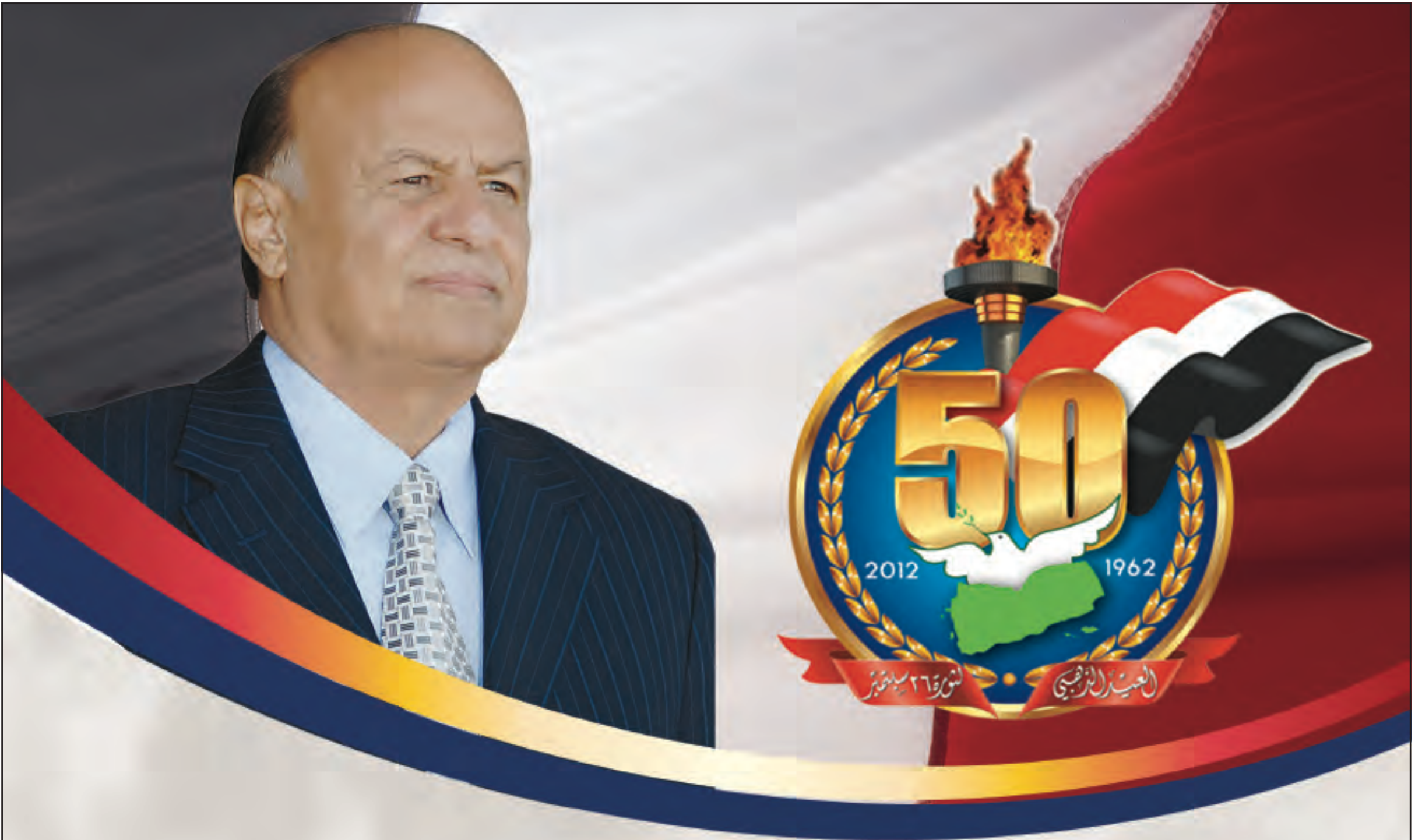
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We express our best wishes to
the Yemeni people and

H.E. Field Marshal
Abd Rabu Mansour Hadi

On the occasion of
Golden anniversary for
26th September Revolution.

Many Happy Returns

تتقدم بأحر التهاني والتبريكات إلى
أبناء الشعب اليمني

وفخامة المشير الـ
عبد ربه منصور هادي

بمناسبة العيد الذهبي لثورة
الـ 26 من سبتمبر المجيدة

كل عيلة ولدت من خير

السيد / محمد بن يحيى الرؤساء
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Safer Exploration and Production
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would like to extend its best wishes to

H. E. Field Marshal

Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi

to the government and
all our great Yemeni people.
on the 50th anniversary of
26th of September Revolution

Management and staff of the company
Safer Exploration and Production
Operations Company(SEPOC)



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



OUR OPINION

After 50 years of conflict, Yemen seeks a vision for the future

Since the revolution in 1962, Yemen has been going through various forms of conflict. Fifty years later, and Yemenis today are still fighting from street-to-street, tribe-to-tribe, city-to-city.

Since that revolution, this nation has endured civil wars, raids on its borders, armed tribal conflict and violent uprisings.

Unfortunately, today, as we stand to celebrate the jubilee anniversary of the 26 September revolution, we don't look back and admire how far we have come. Instead, we look back in shock, thinking, "How did we survive all that?"

If it weren't for pure evolution, then we would not have managed the simple improvements we have today compared to the past. It unnerves me to hear the political rhetoric of those in power, tapping themselves on the shoulders and congratulating each other for the achievements of today.

"We discovered oil," they say. "We brought electricity to this nation." "Education and healthcare!" Recently, they even discovered a cure for AIDS!

The single most distressing problem Yemen has suffered during these 50 years is a lack of vision. The country's leadership never looked into the future and said, "This is what we want Yemen to be like in ten, twenty, or fifty years."

Today, Yemenis don't have a sense of national identity or a patriotic value system that inspires them to greatness.

I can't celebrate 50 years without feeling sorry about the lost time, the lost energy and the lost lives. There is so much catching up to do, and today, instead of celebrating progress, we are holding our breath hoping this transitional and semi-peaceful time will last us until we figure out what we want from Yemen.

The discussions in the National Dialogue Conference Preparatory Committee indicate that the idea of planning a future for a country is something entirely new to us as Yemenis. The committee includes top-level leadership as well as young professionals and social figures—people who are used to success one way or the other, and people who have experienced their relative shares of planning and management.

Yet working on a national vision for the country and translating popular jargons such as "modern state", "equal citizenship" and other buzzwords seems very hard and unprecedented. This shows how important the work this committee is doing today in determining the future of Yemen and whether it will finally catch a break and see peace. So far, it is difficult for hardline politicians to accept others who are different from them, and there is a sense of insecurity and suspicion. They try to sound tolerant and accepting, but you can see the veins almost popping out as they force themselves to swallow terms that go against their interests in an attempt to allow consensus on controversial issues.

Relatively, this is a good sign, but we are still waiting to see if it lasts and works. Hopefully it will.

Nadia Al-Sakkaf

Is aid good for Yemen?

**Abubakr Al-Shamahi
Guardian.co.uk
First published Sept. 24**

The Yemeni government is desperately hoping the Friends of Yemen group of international donors meeting on 27 September will result in more promises of aid alongside the \$6.4bn already pledged by donors to counter Yemen's growing humanitarian crisis.

Ten million Yemenis, about 45% of the population, are going hungry in the Arab world's poorest state. Unemployment is at a disastrous 70% and, according to the IMF, in 2011 the economy contracted by 10.5%, while inflation hit 17.6%.

Mohammed Al-Saadi, Yemen's planning and international co-operation minister, told delegates at the last Friends of Yemen meeting, in Riyadh on 4 September, that Yemen needed "\$11.9bn in the short term". So far, the major donors responding to his call have been Saudi Arabia, the U.S. and several E.U. states, including Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands.

The Yemeni government, and the international community, seem to view aid as essential to Yemen's future development. Yet there is an ongoing debate among Yemenis

about just how beneficial aid is proving to be. The debate is pitched in familiar terms – is aid good for the country in the long-term? How can aid organisations overcome the problems posed by corrupt institutions and inefficient bureaucracies?

Young Yemenis, many politicised by the uprising against former president Ali Abdullah Saleh in 2011, are split. A debate was held in May at the Spanish embassy in Sana'a and, perhaps surprisingly, 60% of the attendees voted in favour of the motion: "Foreign aid to Yemen causes more harm than good."

Atiaf Al-Wazir, a researcher and blogger, spoke for the motion in Sana'a, and still supports it: "We have a corrupt government that lacks the capacity to handle large amounts of aid. Before we keep pumping aid, we should build the capacity of the government and make sure it is more transparent so that the money can actually reach the people it is intended for."

Aid to Yemen is inevitably tied up with the politics of the country. The organisations that foreign NGOs choose to deal with can often be seen as giving tacit approval to certain groups or factions. This then affects what Yemeni NGOs can and cannot do. Wazir says: "Develop-

ment aid has made some NGOs silent on other issues for fear that their opinion might cost them their funding."

Yemenis like Wazir instead call for donor organisations to invest in the future of Yemen, with funds for educational institutes and vocational training, as well as increased job opportunities in the country and in the wider region. Baraa Shaiban, a youth activist, supports this approach: "Short-term solutions might be needed in certain places, but it won't solve things in the long term. We need investment. Aid on its own won't solve the issue."

Proponents of aid accept there have been problems in the past, but say aid is vital for the future of the country. Awssan Kamal, a member of the Yemen Relief and Development Forum, an umbrella charity set up by the Yemeni diaspora in the U.K., says the forum is not simply looking at short-term solutions. "The YRDF is looking forward to building development plans and not just short-term emergency responses, but these need to work in tandem," he says. "How can you rebuild a country where people can't even feed themselves?"

Many Yemenis complain they have not benefited much from international aid, a view reflected by the human rights minister, Hooria

Mashoor. "Many [Yemenis] are not satisfied about international aid because they don't feel it," Mashoor says. "It does not touch their life at all. Their life conditions are not improving."

The forum aims to avoid the problems affecting other aid organisations working in Yemen that have tried to change Yemeni opinion on aid. The YRDF will only work with local NGOs that provide reports on where the money being sent to them is going, in an attempt to stamp out corruption.

The group also aims to use the power of the 80,000-strong Yemeni diaspora in the U.K. to help Yemen to move forward. The community has already helped to raise £250,000 for aid. The sum is a drop in the ocean compared to the \$6.4bn pledged by the international community, but British Yemenis view it as an important start and an effective means by which to lobby the U.K. government to carry on helping Yemen.

Meanwhile, the humanitarian situation in Yemen is worsening. Both pro- and anti-foreign aid advocates are desperately seeking ways to get the country out of the quagmire it is in. For now, the response of the international community is the same as ever: pump in more money.

'Targeted' drones strikes and magical thinking

**Neta C. Crawford
Huffingtonpost.com
First published Sept. 23**

As we enter year twelve of the "war on terror," drones are arguably the coolest tool in the American military arsenal. There is a breathless tone in describing these machines that loiter for hours, then fire Hellfire missiles at remote targets. But just below the gee-wiz is a simmering debate over the secrecy and legality of their strikes in Pakistan and Yemen.

There is so much rhetorical action amid the dazzle and we are so busy listening to the patter that we may miss the sleight of hand under way. We are told the strikes are secret, and at the same time that they are perfect. The Pentagon and CIA refuse to acknowledge their existence and usually won't answer questions about the program, though President Obama defended the strikes in a Google Plus forum.

We know there have been more than 270 drone strikes targeting insurgents and militant leaders in Pakistan and Yemen since 2002. The U.S. has more than tripled drone strikes this year in Yemen. Anonymous sources leak the names of the militants killed. And Congress holds hearings on who leaks all this.

We are assured that the targeted killing program is legal with its legality resting firmly on three grounds.

- First, drone strikes are closely monitored by the president, who says, we are not killing people "willy nilly." President Obama says, "It is important for everybody to understand that this thing is kept on a very tight



The equation of precision with few civilian casualties is the sleight of hand. While we marvel at the technology, see reporters get rebuffed when they ask about the not-so-secret program, get assured of the strikes' legality ... we overlook the disappearance of civilian bodies from the scene of the strikes.

leash. It's not a bunch of folks in a room somewhere just making decisions."

- Second, we are assured that the executive branch has all the legal authority it needs and that Congress has authorized it as, says Obama, "part and parcel of our overall authority when it comes to battling Al-Qaeda." And the courts, we are told, have no business getting into the details, even when American citizens are named as targets and killed.
- Third, we are told the strikes satisfy the laws of war. According to Obama's counterterrorism tsar, John Brennan: "Targeted strikes conform to the principle of proportionality, the notion that the anticipated collateral damage of an action cannot be excessive in relation

to the anticipated military advantage."

This final assertion is the key to the drone strike debate -- the contention that drones have astonishing precision, yielding little "collateral damage" civilian killing or injury. "It's this surgical precision," Brennan has argued, "the ability, with laser-like focus, to eliminate the cancerous tumor called an Al-Qaeda terrorist while limiting damage to the tissue around it, that makes this counterterrorism tool so essential."

Obama told the Google audience that drones have "not caused a huge number" of civilian casualties. Sen. Diane Feinstein said the number of civilian casualties have gone down. Drones, we are told, dramatically reduce the danger to innocent civilians, yet neither the Bush nor Obama administrations have been precise about the numbers of civilians killed. They've said at times "fewer than 20" or "single digits."

The equation of precision with few civilian casualties is the sleight of hand. While we marvel at the technology, see reporters get rebuffed when they ask about the not-so-secret program, get assured of the strikes' legality as our system of checks and balances is derided, and even debate minutia such as whether the remote pilots of drones are really pilots, we overlook the disappearance of civilian bodies from the scene of the strikes.

Estimates of civilians killed and injured by drones vary widely. The New America Foundation and the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, put it in the hundreds while Pakistani sources say as many as 2,000 civilians have may have been killed and injured since 2004 in Waziristan. The same fog exists with regard to the numbers of civil-

ians harmed in Yemen. The conservative web site Long War Journal, counts more than 130 civilians killed in Pakistan and more than 50 Yemeni civilians killed in U.S. strikes.

But the people of Pakistan and Yemen can't lose sight of the civilian dead and wounded. The intention/assertion of distinction and proportionality is not its fact. And the cruel irony of waging a hearts-and-mind strategy which puts civilian protection at its core in Iraq and Afghanistan, while denying the harm to civilians in Pakistan and Yemen, is not lost in those countries.

In July, the U.S. Army released a new "Civilian Casualty Mitigation" manual. It argues that civilian casualties lead to "ill will," undermine U.S. legitimacy, and diminish the likelihood of military success. Among the tools to maintain and regain that legitimacy, according to the Army, is to investigate incidents of civilian harm, acknowledge when civilian casualties occur at U.S. hands, and tell the truth.

It took years for the U.S. to acknowledge that civilian casualties were not only a grave concern to Afghans and Iraqis, but were also hurting the U.S. war efforts. Generals admitted that for every civilian killed, a number of insurgents were born and attacks on U.S. soldiers grew. It is time that the U.S. apply these lessons from Afghanistan and Iraq to the not-so-secret, not-so-legal, and probably not-so-precise drone war.

Neta C. Crawford, a political science professor at Boston University, was co-director of the "Cost of War" project and is author of a forthcoming book about collateral damage.

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Different revolts, different decades

Ashraf Al-Muraqab

When the revolution sparked on Sept. 26, 1962, revolutionaries set certain aims, and they were determined to achieve them.

Among those aims was liberation from tyranny, building a strong, national military to protect the country, enhancing the economic situation of people, protecting the revolution, constructing a cooperative, democratic society and respecting U.N. conventions.

Last year, when the 2011 youth uprising against former President Ali Abdullah Saleh's regime raged during the so-dubbed "Arab Spring," revolutionary youth set their own similar aims, including constructing a civil state, improving the economic situation and building a strong military to protect the country from external interference. They announced they will continue to hold sit-ins and protests in change squares nationwide, and they refuse to give up or to leave the squares until all their goals are realized.

Supervisors said there are several similarities between the 1962 and the 2011 movements, pointing out that, had the aims of the 1962 revolution been achieved, Yemen would be in a better situation today.

Abdulsalam Al-Maswari, an activist in Sana'a's Change Square, said there are no differences between the aims of both movements, each decades apart.

He said the only difference between the two is that the 1962 revolution aimed to get rid of foreign colonialism while the 2011 uprising aimed at terminating the rule of one family over the people of Yemen.

"The 1962 revolution aimed to build a national strong army whereas the 2011 revolution aimed



A Friday of September sign is used as a reminder that the revolution must continue.

to reorganize the military so as to make a national army protecting the country," Al-Maswari said.

Meftah Al-Zoba, a university professor, said the goals of September's revolution were more comprehensive and more accurate since they included protecting the national unity, something that was not addressed by 2011 revolutionaries. He said this could be because the goal has already been achieved in their eyes. However, recently, national unity is threatened by the internal and regional political conflicts, Al-Zoba said.

Al-Zoba said the sixth goal of the 1962 revolution focused on respecting international conventions and universal peace, and this is one other goal that wasn't mentioned during last year's uprising. Instead, 2011 concentrated on the independence of Yemen's judiciary system, considering it a key element of internal peace.

Safa Al-Saidi, a women revolutionary in Sana'a's Change Square, said the goals of the two move-

ments are likely the same. There was no need to set new goals in 2011, she said, since all the people were demanding the same thing—

constructing a civil and democratic state.

"It was better to demand achieving those aims," Al-Saidi said. "Ye-



In 1962, the revolution was carried out by military elites.



2011's youth revolutionaries took to the streets in protest.

men doesn't need new aims and legislation because the revolutionaries did the same thing 50 years ago. We only need to reactivate the old aims and legislation."

Ahmed Al-Wase'i, a media activist, said the 26 September revolution changed the regime and brought new leaders to the scene.

He said the difference between what happened in 1962 and what happened in 2011 is that the 1962 revolution was carried out by elite military men and the only provided solution was a that the imams leave the country. A long-lasting civil war resulted.

However, the 2011 uprising was a popular and a civil movement, which ended in compromise.

Journalist Kamel Al-Ma'mari said the two are the same because both fell in the trap of an external proxy. A revolution must depend on national sovereignty to be called a "revolution," he said.

Al-Ma'mari said 2011 was politicized.

"It is true the 2011 revolution

ousted Saleh, but the country—which has been suffering for 33 years—wasn't taken into consideration, as if the revolution aimed only to topple Saleh," he said. "What is more surprising is that the political powers that shared authority are fighting each other, and people are the victims, as happened in the 1962 revolution."

Al-Ma'mari said it was better to think of the upcoming civil state as an alternative, otherwise the revolution was useless. Why didn't the politicians who led the revolution set a civil state project to unify government associations, he asked.

"It was supposed that the 2011 revolution completes the first one."

Salah Al-Deen Al-Asdi, a media activist in Sana'a's Change Square, said the two movements happened due to tyranny, corruption, torture, hunger, poverty and marginalization.

"The 1962 revolution uprooted the imams' regime while the 2011 revolution granted immunity for Saleh's regime," Al-Asdi said.

مقارنة بين ثورتين

أشرف المرقب

عبد الله صالح، رسم الثوار أهدافاً رئيسية لهم، منها بناء الدولة المدنية، وتحسين الوضع الاقتصادي لليمنيين، وبناء جيش قوي يحمي البلاد من أي تدخلات خارجية، معنيين بقاءهم في الساحات وعدم التخلي أو التنازل عن ثورتهم حتى تحقيق هذه الأهداف.

ويرى الكثير من المتابعين لأحداث الثورتين أن هناك قواسم مشتركة بين أهداف الثورتين، مشيرين إلى أن ثورة سبتمبر لو تم تطبيق أهدافها لكان اليمن في خير.

ويؤكد الناشط بساحة التغيير بصنعاء عبد السلام المسوري عدم وجود تعارض بين

حين اندلعت ثورة السادس والعشرين من سبتمبر عام ١٩٦٢ رسم الثوار أهدافاً معينة حرصوا على تطبيقها في المستقبل، وكان من بين تلك الأهداف التحرر من الاستبداد، وبناء جيش وطني قوي لحماية البلاد، ورفع مستوى الشعب اقتصادياً وحراسة الثورة ومكاسبها، إضافة إلى إنشاء مجتمع ديمقراطي تعاوني عادل، واحترام مواثيق الأمم المتحدة.

وحين اندلعت ثورة الشباب السلمية في فبراير ٢٠١١ ضد نظام الرئيس السابق علي



يتطلع اليمنيون إلى تحقيق دولة ديمقراطية مدنية متقدمة بشعبها واقتصادها.

تفعيل هذه الأهداف والقوانين فقط."

بدوره، يقول الناشط الإعلامي أحمد الواسعي إن ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر حققت تغييراً في النظام السياسي، وجاءت بقوى جديدة إلى الواجهة، مشيراً إلى أن الاختلاف بين الثورتين يكمن في أن ثورة سبتمبر كانت نخبوية وني طابع عسكريين كما أنها اعتمدت على حل ذي طابع واحد وهو رحيل الملكيين بالإضافة إلى اندلاع حرب أهلية طويلة، وهو ما لم يحصل في ثورة الشباب التي اتسمت بالشعبية والطابع المدني وصولاً إلى انتهائها بحلول وسط.

فيما يقول الصحفي كامل المعمرى إنه لا فرق بين ثورة سبتمبر وثورة الشباب الأخيرة فتورة سبتمبر وقعت في فخ الوصاية الخارجية وثورة التغيير أيضاً بل وزادت على ذلك، لذلك اعتقد أن أي ثورة لا تقوم على سيادة الوطن ليست بثورة.

ويضيف المعمرى أن ثورة التغيير أصيبت بـ"فولتارين" الساسة. وقال: "صحيح بأنه تم نزع السلطة من صالح لكن لم يتم إعادة الاعتبار لهذا الوطن الذي ظل مسلوباً لثلاثة وثلاثين عاماً وكان الثورة قامت فقط لإزالة صالح عن الحكم فقط وتوقفت عجلة التغيير، والعجيب أن القوى السياسية التي تقاسمت السلطة لازالت تتناحر فيما بينها ليصير الشعب هو الضحية مثل ما حدث في ثورة ٢٦."

وأكد أنه كان من المفترض التفكير في ماهية الدولة المدنية القادمة، وإلا ما قيمة ثورة بدون مشروع بديل! لماذا لم يقيم الساسة الذين قادوا الثورة بصياغة مشروع الدولة المدنية القادمة لكي تتحدد ملامح بناء المؤسسات الحكومية. "كان من المفترض أن تكون ثورة التغيير مكملة لثورة سبتمبر التي تعثرت أهدافها."

فيما يرى صلاح الدين الأسدي ناشط إعلامي في ساحة التغيير أن الثورتين قامت

خاص، والسبب معروف: أن الشعب إذا تعلم، فأول ما سيقوله: ارحلوا.."

وكلتا الثورتين لم تكن دموية، والخسائر البشرية - رغم كل شيء كانت محدودة مقارنة بلبنيا وسوريا

فالثورتان شهدتا ثورة مضادة: فمن المعروف: أن ثورة سبتمبر لم تنجح وتستقر، إلا بعد فك حصار صنعاء: حصار السبعين يوماً ١٩٦٧ أي بعدها بخمس سنوات وحظيت بدعم إعلامي وسياسي كبير

فيهما قيادات عسكرية، هي التي أسهمت في نجاحهما.

وأضاف رصين: "أن الثورتين شهدتا رفضاً شعبياً من فئة بعينها، ربما تكون الأغلبية: ومعروف أن الأغلبية ليست شرطاً لازماً لنجاح ثورة ما وأن كثيراً من الذين وقفوا ضدها، سيغيرون آراءهم بمجرد قطف أول ثمارها.



«تميز الحكام الذين خلعتهم الثورتان، بضيق الأفق السياسي ومحدوديته، وعدم الرغبة في تطوير البلاد»



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Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi

And to all our great Yemeni people

**On the occasion of the 50th
Anniversary of 26th of
September Revolution**



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وإلى الشعب اليمني العظيم

**وذلك بمناسبة العيد الخمسين لثورة السادس
والعشرين من سبتمبر المجيدة**



26 September revolution objectives: What has and hasn't been achieved?



Dr. Ahmed Al-Ajl: "Saying that all aims have been achieved is an exaggeration, and saying none of these aims have been achieved is an exaggeration as well."



Dr. Mohammed Abduljabar Salam: "Yemen, before the revolution, was living in a deteriorating situation, and revolutionary people at that time were determined to make large developments in Yemen, but unfortunately, their aims were obstructed."



Hatim Abu Hatim expressed his apprehension and worry that the unification is currently at stake because of the rifts and disputes inherited from the former regime.

Ahmed Dawood

A half-century has passed since the breakout of the 26 September revolution in 1962, since the pioneers of that revolution strived to build a new Yemen.

Henceforth, the monarchy began to collapse—it grasped its final breaths. Sana'a was ready to announce the birth of a new country: the Yemen Arab Republic.

At that time, the revolutionaries set six objectives for the revolution. Even today, these six objectives are still outlined in government newspapers. The objectives were as a project to help restore Yemen and drive it out of backwardness, poverty and ignorance experienced under the reign of monarchy.

The revolutionaries made their first objective to liberate the country from tyranny and colonialism, to establish a just, republican rule and to eliminate differences and discrimination between social classes.

The second objective was to build a strong national army capable of defending the nation, its revolution and its gains.

The economy was not separate from the revolution's objectives. The revolutionaries wanted to raise the country up economically, socially, politically and culturally as the third objective.

The fourth was building a cooperative, fair, democratic society, which derived its regulations from Islam.

The revolutionaries' fifth objective asserted the importance of Yemen's unity as a part of a comprehensive Arabic unity.

And the sixth and final objective was respecting the conventions of the United Nations and international organizations, positive neutrality, non-alignment, supporting international peace and consolidating the peaceful co-existence principle between peoples.

There are many questions constantly raised. What has been achieved of the revolutionary objectives? What has failed?

Has the republican regime applied these objectives or diverted away from the 1962 goals?

Qualitative jump

Hatim Abu Hatim, a leading Nasirite figure, said the 26 September revolution shifted Yemen from the Stone Age to a bright period, indicating that it was a great move and that was the ambition of the rebels of the revolution.

Yemeni unification was attained; this was among the revolution's objectives, he said. However, he expressed his apprehension and worry that the unification is currently at stake because of the rifts and disputes inherited from the former regime.

Abu Hatim said the democratic regime installed following the revolution was unauthentic, and the economy was unsuccessful; therefore, the revolutionary objectives have not been fully accomplished.

He is optimistic that the peaceful youth revolution—sparked last year and leading to the overthrow of former President Ali Abdullah Saleh—will renew the 26 September revolutionary objectives, calling for the reconciliation government to cooperate in order to create security and stability as well as building a strong economy and exerting their utmost to realize the objectives of the September 1962 uprising.

For his part, Ibrahim Ghanim, a journalist, said the objectives of 26 September have not been accomplished at all; the revolution was hijacked from the cradle.

"Tyranny has not been annihilated yet, and the national economy remained unhealthy in the course of the past periods," Ghanim said. "Yemen does not have a strong army competent to defend the country thus far."

Exaggeration isn't needed

Doctor Ahmed Al-Ajl, the former dean of the Mass Media College, said some revolutionary goals from 1962 have been achieved while others have not been achieved.

"It is logical to say that some aims of the revolutions were achieved," Al-Ajl said. "Saying

that all aims have been achieved is an exaggeration, and saying none of these aims have been achieved is an exaggeration as well."

Al-Ajl said establishing a republican regime and achieving the national unity have been achieved. However, achieving developmental goals and enhancing the economic situation have not been accomplished.

He said attaining all aims of the revolution requires solid efforts and significant leaps in Yemen's economic, cultural and political fields. But Yemen underwent dangerous periods—both in the past and the present—he said, adding that these challenges obstructed reaching all aims of the revolution, especially during last year's uprising.

Al-Ajl hoped the upcoming National Dialogue Conference would succeed, local legislative elections would be held and a constitution would be improved for Yemen to witness a period of stability and so that all aims would be achieved.

Doctor Mohammed Abduljabar Salam, an academic who has written several books about the 26 September revolution, said there is big difference between what has been achieved and what has not been achieved.

"It is true that the revolution's aims haven't been achieved, but most of them were accomplished," Salam said. "Yemen, before the revolution, was living in a deteriorating situation, and revolutionary people at that time were determined to make large developments in Yemen, but unfortunately, their aims were obstructed."

Sallam said the country's political parties contradicted each other in regards to achieving the September revolution's aims. He said these political parties are making progress, but slowly.

Sallam agreed with those who say building a strong military force—the second objective—has not been successful. People are living in a deteriorating situation, he said, and the unity achieved May 22, 1990 has been exposed to setbacks so the achievements have not been made.



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بأحر التهاني وأطيب التبريكات
لفخامة المشير الركن
عبدربه منصور هادي
رئيس الجمهورية
وإلى كافة أبناء شعبنا اليمني العظيم
بمناسبة العيد الذهبي لثورة الـ 26 من سبتمبر المجيدة
أعاده الله علينا وعليكم بالخير واليمن والبركات

د/ عبد الله السنفي
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**Congratulates
H. E Field Marshal**

Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi
President of the Republic

**And to all our great Yemeni people
on the occasion of Golden anniversary for
26th September Revolution.**

**Many Happy Returns
D. Abdullah Al-Sanafi**
President of the Central Organization
For Control and Auditing and Vice President
All agents and assistants and staff of the Control Organization




From their eyes: The 1962 revolution

Struggling revolutionaries will never forget the events of the 26th of September's revolution. The events that happened on that day in 1962, and changes that arose from those events, remain engrained in their memories.

Amal Al-Yarisi and Samar Qaed

Names of prominent people who participated in the 26 September revolution are kept alive through history. Those revolutionaries struggled very much to eliminate the imams' regime and to move Yemen into a new period—away from the time of tyranny, illiteracy and outdated social norms.

Still today, revolutionaries are able to relive the details of the revolution—50 years old—that turned Yemen into a republic.

An extension of 1948's revolution

General Mohammed Abdullah Al-Aryani recalls many details of the revolution and also of the events that attempted to change its direction.

"The 1962 revolution wasn't a first attempt to uproot the imams but an extension of the 1948 revolution aimed to uproot Yahia Hameed Al-Din's regime and the attempts aimed to get rid of Imam Ahmed in 1956," Al-Aryani said.

When Imam Ahmed's regime toppled, the tribesmen didn't accept it, so they tried many times to oust the new regime and bring imams back, he said.

At the time, Al-Aryani was the vice manager of the military department and the leader of the Shibam region. He still remembers how the pro-imam tribesmen imposed a barricade around Shibam's region on numerous occasions.

Al-Aryani said Imam Al-Badr, son of Imam Ahmed Hamed Al-Din, incited the tribesmen to rise against the revolutionaries. His father killed Imam Yahia, and Al-Badr tried to do the same thing. The revolution had been exposed to fluctuations and risks for seven years until it finally succeeded.

According to Al-Aryani, the tribesmen launched an attack on Shibam, and they were expecting death at any moment, but Allah saved their lives.

He also said that had it not been for Egypt's important role siding with the revolutionaries, the revolution wouldn't have succeeded and would have been stopped from the beginning.

Al-Aryani called to mind the dreams of the revolutionaries and their ambitious project to develop Yemen. But he said he is sorry for the current situation Yemen is undergoing.

"Seeing how other people improved their countries and what they have achieved in comparison to what Yemenis have achieved, I prefer not to talk about the 1962 revolution," he said. "Revolutions are like a medical operation that might succeed or fail. The revolution was exposed to problems due to instability and backwardness."

"We tried hard to overcome that situation, but we couldn't. Currently, we are facing new circumstances. The National Dialogue is a way out of this situation to achieve equal citizenship and instill democracy," he continued.

Al-Aryani said that now, 50 years after the revolution, seeing sheikhs in the streets accompanied by armed men really hurts him.

A racist regime

Mutahar Al-Aryani, a prominent national figure, said the imams' regime affected Yemen negatively because it was a racist regime. Imam Yahia Bin Hameed Al-Din spread racism among Yemenis, Al-Aryani said.

Al-Aryani said Imam Ahmed's regime faced opposition from the beginning, so it couldn't spread as the Solahi State, which included all of Yemen.

He said the imam tortured Yemen and increased sedition among Yemenis, taking advantage of the state's instability. At the same time, the opposition movement was improving, and people started to support Mohammed Mahmood Al-Zubairi and Ahmed Mohammed Noa'man. The revolution was a must, particularly when people realized that the imams' promises were false.

"The revolutionary people hoped to get rid of the imams in 1948, but they couldn't because the imam incited tribesmen to support him and was able to stop the revolution for a period," he said. "He ruled people by force, violence and by shedding the blood of innocent people. Due to the struggle of the revolutionary people and their opposition to the imam, the revolution was achieved."

He said the 1955 uprising was the first attempt against Imam Ahmed, but it failed since it was unplanned. However, revolutionaries didn't give up. They continued opposing the imam and were tortured and killed. In 1961, three officers shot at Imam Ahmed during a visit to Al-Hodeida Hospital, but he survived. He remained bedridden for a year. At that time, the opposition movement was progressing fast and scholars and "elites" joined. Moreover, new political parties showed up such as Marxists and the Baaths.

When Imam Ahmed died on Sept. 19, 1962, the revolutionaries moved quickly to topple his regime.

Relentless opposition

Brigadier General Mohammed Al-Khawi, a member of the Free Men Organization's leadership, remembers Ibraheem Hameed Al-Din, who was killed at the hands of his brother Imam Ahmed because of his participation in the revolution against his father Imam Yahia Hameed Al-Din.

"Ibraheem criticized the tragic situation of Yemenis during the rule of his father. At that time, Yemenis suffered from torture, illiteracy, backwardness and inequality."

Al-Khawi said Imam Ahmed followed his brother's suit and made people suffer from the scourge of tyranny. He also killed his brothers, Al-Abass and Abdullah, as well as Al-Thulaia, a revolutionary leader, after the 1955 movement. This increased the determination of revolutionaries to remove him from power.



“Seeing how other people improved their countries and what they have achieved in comparison to what Yemenis have achieved, I prefer not to talk about the 1962 revolution.”

—Mohammed Al-Aryani

In 1956, Al-Khawi joined the Military Academy. General Hamood Al-Jayfi, a prominent national figure, was dean of the academy at that time, according to Al-Khawi.

Following Al-Khawi's graduation from the Military College, he moved with his colleagues to Hodeida. When they arrived in Hodeida, they were accused of masterminding the imam's assassination. The commander of the Royal Guards told them, "You have two choices: either to return to Sana'a or go to Hajja." Al-Khawi said heading toward Hajja meant imprisonment in the Cairo castle jail, yet they chose to go back to Sana'a.

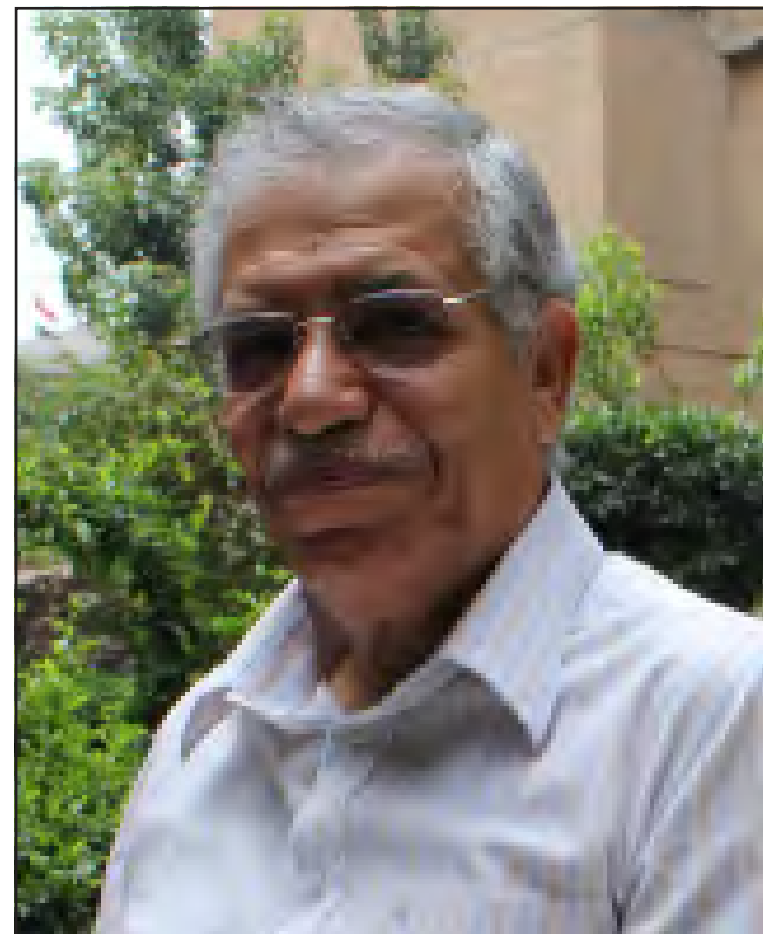
"Just three days following our return to Sana'a, General Al-Jayfi, the college dean, was arrested and jailed in the castle prison. Thus, our reaction was violent. The detention of Al-Jayfi heralded our turn. We thought at that time to take Al-Jayfi to Shareef Baihan, a prison accommodating the free officers in addition to providing them with water and food. However, he attempted to convince us not to go with him so that the 80 college stu-

dents would not be accused."

Al-Khawi went on to say, "Only two went with Al-Jayfi to Baihan and then shifted to Aden. Following this accident, Brigadier General Ahmed Al-Anisi, the head of the Royal Guards, came to us and selected a group of my fellow officers, including martyr Ali Abdu Al-Mughni, Mohammed Mutahar Zaid, Sa'ad Al-Ashwal, Ahmed Al-Kibsi, Ali Al-Dhabaei and Ahmed Al-Washali. I was one of them. We headed toward Taiz. Those personalities were from different branches at the college. That took place in the beginning of 1961."

In Taiz, Al-Khawi and his colleagues established military units.

"Six hundred soldiers were under our command," he said. "There was an active businessmen cell—affiliated with the free officers—such as Sheikh Mohammed Ali Othman, Abdulghani Mutahar, Abdulqawi Hameem, Mohammed Qaed Saif, Ali Mohammed Saeed, Pilot Abduraheem Abdullah and Dr. Abdurahman Al-Baidani. The latter used to criticize the imam and violently contradict him through Swt Al-Arab (the voice of Arab) radio station in Cairo."



“He remembered that on the night of Sept. 26, the revolution was the dream that Yemenis impatiently waited for. On the morning of Sept. 27, the radio station in Sana'a read the revolutionary statement and announced the establishment of the Republic of Yemen, pledging the elimination of imamate in Yemen.”

—Mohammed Mansour

He said those businessmen contacted Egyptian President Anwar Assadat, who asked them to be in touch with officers to help combat the imam.

"They met with us and [we] agreed with them to overthrow the imam."

"We formed a leadership in Sana'a at the house of Colonel Abdullah Al-Moayad. The leadership decided on the formation of the Free Officers Organization. New leaderships spread in Hajja, Hodeida and Taiz. Taiz at that time was the most important station, for Imam Ahmed was there. We primarily agreed that the breakout of the revolution would be in Taiz. We plotted breaking into the palace."

Al-Khawi said they decided the spark the revolution on Sept. 30, 1962, but on Sept. 19, the imam died.

The imam's death accelerated the revolution, which broke out four days earlier than planned, on Sept. 26.

At that time, General Abdullatif Dhaif Allah was presiding over the Free Officers Organization. The struggle moved to Sana'a once Taiz was controlled.

"We heard some news that military forces would come up Sept. 20 to install the new imam, Al-Badr. All the forces gathered in Martyrs Square at the palace. Orders were given to the soldiers to return to their military barracks. We detained Saif Al-Islam Ismael and the imam's sons, Al-Qasim and Al-Mutahar, who could garner tribal support and hijack the revolution. It was a right decision."

"Taizians supported us to execute that."

Al-Khawi said the detention of pro-imam forces was a prerequisite.

"Those detained were sent to President Al-Salal in Sana'a. That helped better the well-being of people and made the revolution largely successful."

He said, "Once they eliminated the Imamate in the north of Yemen, they continued their struggle and moved swiftly to the south. Al-Khawi said he met with combatant Rajeh Laboza in person and set off the Oct. 15 for the revolution that resulted in the independence of Aden and the end of British colonialism in the region."



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—Mohammed Al-Khawi

A blessed night heralding a new era

Poet Mohammed Abdulsalam Mansour’s memory still holds many things about the events of September. He remembers his participation in a protest against Imam Ahmed in Sana’a in 1962 when he was a secondary school student. At first, the protest was against the school principal. Then, all of a sudden, it turned into a protest demanding the overthrow of the imamate.

Some student protestors held up photographs of leader Jamal Abulnasser. As a result, a lot of students were taken to prison, and they remained imprisoned until the breakout of the revolution, he said.

“In 1962, the aspects of the revolution started to be perceptible,” Mansour said. “People used to talk about it in social and student gatherings. The Egyptian programs broadcast by Swt Al-Arab station against the Imam played a role.”

Just in advance of the revolution, people were expecting an uprising to break out at any moment, Mansour said. He remembered that on the night of Sept. 26, the revolution was the dream that Yemenis impatiently waited for. On the morning of Sept. 27, the radio station in Sana’a read the revolutionary statement and announced the establishment of the Republic of Yemen, pledging the elimination of imamate in Yemen.

“I went with my colleagues on that day to Al-Tahrir Square. We saw tanks, and Al-Bashaer Palace seemed alight. People came inside and outside of the palace. We saw the military officers who appeared to be enthusiastic about the new era and reign.”

The years following the revolution were complicated, Mansour said. He remembered that Imam Hassn, the brother of Imam Ahmed, endeavored to mobilize the tribes to reclaim the imamate. But, on the contrary, Egyptian forces came to

Yemen to protect the republic, according to Mansour, indicating that the youth in Yemen were very zealous to defend the republic. There were many young men who were martyred.

Meanwhile, the Police Academy and the Military Academy were opened. When Mansour entered the Police Academy, he was one of the first students to be enrolled. He said there was a political dispute between those who supported the Republic and those who supported the monarchy. He said he was among those lifting the slogan, “Republic or death.” He denoted that he registered later in the Military Forces Units, and he was appointed to the chief staff. He took part in Bani Hushish battles in 1966 with Jar Allah Omar.

The revolution at that time was exposed to continuous setbacks and occurrences. The revolutionaries attempted to rescue their project for the betterment of Yemen no matter what the personal cost to them might be.

He said he had a role to prevent the monarchists from entering Sana’a and combated against British colonialism in the south. He made efforts as well to protect the Republic, following the departure of Egyptian forces from Yemen.

The seventy-day siege on Sana’a was one of the most complicated experiences in Mansour’s life. He said he waded through battles day and night without sleep.

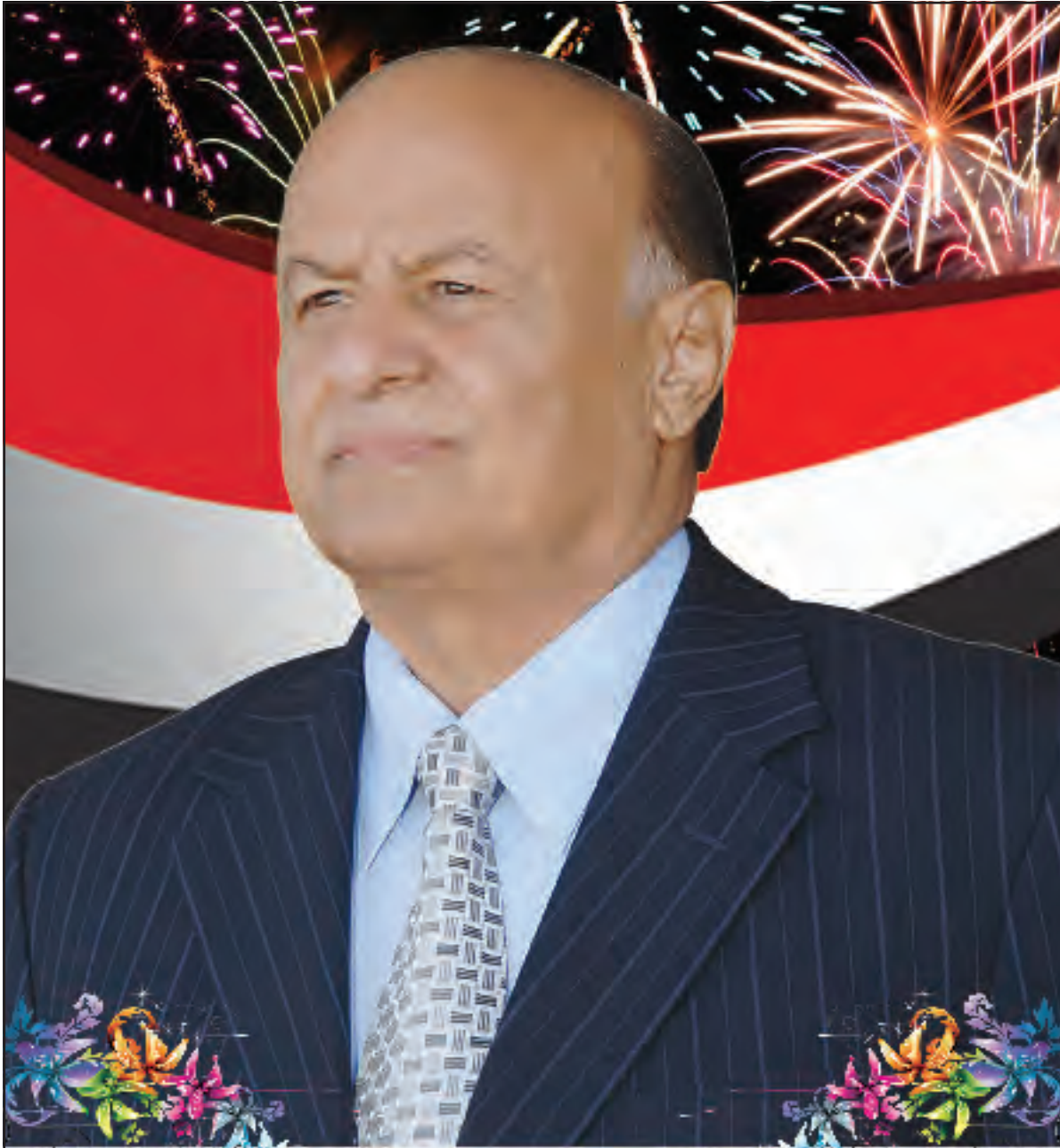
“Soldiers came out of the Police Academy to defend Sana’a from the northern tribes; however, soldiers from the Military College went to Nuqm to repel pro-monarchy people coming from the east. Forces located in Al-Haima came to Sana’a to participate in defending it. We were steadfast; the siege was over and the Republic was established. We entered history.”

88.8 FM




دوف انرجي ليمتد . يمن
تتقدم بأحر التهاني والتبريكات إلى
فخامة المشيرالركن / **عبدربه منصور هادي**
رئيس الجمهورية
وكافة الشعب اليمني العظيم
بمناسبة العيد الذهبي لثورة الـ ٢٦ من سبتمبر المجيدة
كل عام ولدتنا ونفوز بخير
فليب كليج
المدير العام
وجميع موظفي شركة دوف انرجي ليمتد . يمن
DOVE ENERGY LTD. YEMEN
Express their best wishes to H.E. Field Marshal
AbdRabbu Mansour Hadi
And to all our great Yemeni people
on the occasion of Golden anniversary
26th September Revolution.
Many Happy Returns
Phillip Clegg
General Manager
& All Staff of Dove ENERGY LTD. YEMEN

DOVE ENERGY LIMITED



تتقدم شركة يمن موبايل
بأحر التهاني وأطيب التبريكات
لقخامة المشير الركن

عبدربه منصور هادي
رئيس الجمهورية

وإلى كافة أبناء شعبنا اليمني العظيم
بمناسبة العيد الذهبي لثورة الـ 26 من سبتمبر المجيدة
أعاده الله علينا وعليكم بالخير واليمن والبركات

جميع أعضاء ومجلس الإدارة وموظفي الشركة

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رئيس مجلس الإدارة

م/ عامر محمد هزاع
المدير التنفيذي

Yemen Mobile CO.

Congratulates

H. E Field Marshal

Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi

President of the Republic

**And to all our great Yemeni people on the occasion
of Golden anniversary for 26th September Revolution.**

Many Happy Returns

**All the Board of directors and Yemen Mobiles employees
on behalf of**

Eng. Amer Mohamad Haza
Executive Director

Eng. Sadeq Moslah
Chairman of the Board



القوات في ميدان الشهداء بقصر العرضي، وأعطيت أوامر للجنود بالعودة إلى ثكناتهم واعتقلنا

سيف الإسلام إسماعيل وأولاد الإمام القاسم والمظهر الذين كانوا شخصيات قيادية رهيبة باستطاعتهم أن يجمعوا القبائل ويقضوا على الثورة، فكان القرار صائباً، مشيراً إلى أن اعتقال القيادات الموالية للإمام كان ضرورة، وأن أبناء تعز ساندوهم في ذلك، وتم إرسالهم إلى صنعاء للرئيس السلال، لافتاً إلى أن ذلك أوجد الاطمئنان في نفوس الناس، وساعد في إنجاح الثورة بشكل كبير.

ويؤكد الخاوي أنهم وبعد القضاء على الإمامة في اليمن، وإعلان اليمن دولة جمهورية، واصلوا كفاحهم ونضالهم، وتحركوا سريعاً إلى الجنوب، وأنه شخصياً التقى بالمناضل راجح لبوزة، وفجروا ثورة 14 أكتوبر والتي كان من ثمارها خروج الاستعمار البريطاني من عدن.

ليلة مباركة بثرت بعهد جديد
وفي ذاكرة الشاعر الكبير محمد عبد السلام منصور الشيء الكثير والكثير عن أحداث سبتمبر.. ما يزال منصور يتذكر اشتراكه في مظاهرة ضد الإمام أحمد في صنعاء عام 1962، عندما كان طالباً بالثانوية، كانت المظاهرة ضد مدير المدرسة، لكنها سرعان ما تحولت إلى مظاهرة سياسية تطالب بسقوط الإمامة.

كان الطلاب المتظاهرون يرفعون صوراً للزعيم جمال عبد الناصر، غير أن الكثير من الطلاب المتظاهرين تم اقتيادهم إلى السجن، وظلوا في السجن حتى اندلعت الثورة.

يقول منصور: «في ذلك العام 1962، كانت الثورة قد بدأت ملامحها، كان الناس يتحدثون عنها في المقاليل والتجمعات الطلابية وغيرها، وكان للبرامج التي تبثها إذاعة صوت العرب من مصر ضد الإمامة في اليمن دورها.

ويرى منصور أن الناس كانوا يتوقعون حدوث الثورة في أي وقت، فكانت ليلة 26 سبتمبر هي الحلم الذي انتظره اليمنيون بفارغ الصبر، في صباح 27 سبتمبر كانت إذاعة صنعاء تنقل بيان الثورة والإعلان عن قيام الجمهورية اليمنية، وتبشر بالقضاء

على الإمامة في اليمن، يقول منصور: «خرجت مع زملائي في ذلك اليوم إلى ميدان التحرير، فرأينا دبابات، وقصر البشائر كان يشتعل، والناس يدخلون ويخرجون منه، كما رأينا الضباط

العسكريين بملابسهم العسكرية، كانوا متحمسين للقادم الجديد، وكنا نأمل أيضاً بعهد جديد».

ويحكي منصور عن السنوات التي تلت الثورة، وكيف أن الإمام الحسن، أخو الإمام أحمد، المدعوم من السعودية، حشد القبائل وحاول استعادة الإمامة، ويتحدث أيضاً عن وصول القوات المصرية إلى اليمن لحماية الجمهورية، مشيراً إلى أن الشباب كانوا أكثر حماساً في الدفاع عن الجمهورية، حيث استشهد منهم الكثيرون.

في تلك الأثناء كانت كليتي الشرطة والحربية قد فتحت أبوابها، فدخل الشاعر محمد عبد السلام منصور كلية الشرطة ضمن الدفعة الأولى بعد الثورة، ويشير إلى أنه دخل في صراع سياسي، حيث كان اليمنيون منقسمين ما بين مؤيد للجمهورية وآخر للملكية، لكنه كان من ضمن الذين رفعوا شعار «الجمهورية أو الموت»، لافتاً إلى أنه التحق بعد ذلك بوحدة القوات المركزية، وعين أركان حرب لها، وشارك في معارك بني حشيش عام 66، مع الشهيد جاز الله عمر.

كانت الثورة في تلك الأيام تتعرض لنكسات وإرهاصات متواصلة، وكان الثوار يحاولون حماية مشروعهم مهما كلفهم من ثمن.

ويذكر منصور أنه حاول حماية صنعاء من دخول الملكيين، كما كان له دور في النضال ضد الاستعمار البريطاني، وفي حماية الجمهورية بعد خروج القوات المصرية من اليمن، وهزيمة العرب أمام إسرائيل في 67م.

حصار السبعين يوماً على صنعاء كان أيضاً من الأيام العصيبة على الشاعر محمد المنصور، حيث يقول إنه خاض معارك يومية ليلاً ونهاراً، وأنه لم يكن ينام فيها.

ويضيف بقوله: «خرج جنود كلية الشرطة من مطار الرحبة لحماية صنعاء من زحف القبائل القادمة من الشمال، فيما خرج جنود الكلية الحربية إلى نغم لحماية الزحف القادم من الشرق، وانسحبت قوات الصاعقة من الحيمة، ودخلت صنعاء لتشارك قوات المظلات للدفاع عن صنعاء، وضعدنا كثيراً، فأنتهى الحصار، وتثبيتت الجمهورية، ودخلنا التاريخ».

88.8 FM

YEMEN TIMES
Radio



اللواء محمد الإيراني:

لم أعد أرغب في الحديث عن ثورة سبتمبر.. انظر إلى الآخرين، أين وصلوا وماذا حققوا، وكيف تطورت الدول، وما هو حالنا اليوم نحن اليمنيين؟

الثورة في ذاكرة الكبار

لا يستطيع المناضلون والثوار القدامى نسيان أحداث ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر، وما تزال أحداثها وما تبعها من تحولات عالقة في أذهان الكثيرين.

أمل اليربسي- سمر قائد

تعز أهم محطة في ذلك الوقت؛ لأن الإمام أحمد كان هناك، وكان الاتفاق المبدئي أن تبدأ الثورة من تعز، فخططنا بأن نقتحم القصر العرضي الذي كنت سأقوده، وكان سعد الأشول سيساندنا بالدبابات، وأحمد الكبسي بالمدفعية، وكنا محددتين تاريخ اندلاع الثورة ما بين 30 سبتمبر و 6 أكتوبر 1963م، غير أن موت الإمام في 19 سبتمبر، عجل بالثورة، فاندلعت في ليلة 26 سبتمبر، وكان يرأس تنظيم الأحرار حينها اللواء عبد اللطيف ضيف الله، فانتقل الثقل إلى صنعاء، لأننا في تعز تمكنا من السيطرة على القوات الموالية للإمام، وكان لدينا خبر أن القوات المسلحة ستخرج يوم الخميس 20 سبتمبر لتتابع الإمام الجديد البدر، فاجتمعت كل

والطيار عبد الرحيم عبد الله والدكتور عبد الرحمن البيضاني، الذي كان يهاجم الإمام أحمد ويعارضه بشكل عنيف من إذاعة صوت العرب بالقاهرة». ويتابع الخاوي : « كان هؤلاء رجال الأعمال قد سبقونا بالتواصل مع الرئيس المصري أنور السادات، وطلب منهم السادات حينها بالتواصل مع عدد من الضباط من أجل مقاومة الإمام، بالأسلحة، وبعدها التقوا بنا، واتفقنا معهم على إسقاط الإمام». ويزيد بقوله : «شكلنا قيادة في صنعاء في بيت العقيد عبد الله المؤيد، واتفقت القيادة هناك على ضرورة قيام تنظيم الضباط الأحرار وبعد ذلك توسعت القيادات في حجة والحديدة وتعز ، وكانت

الحديدة.. كانت ضربة موجعة، لكن الإمام لم يمت في وقتها، وظل طريقاً في فراشه لمدة عام كامل، وفي ذلك العام كان تيار المعارضة في اتساع مستمر، وانضم إلى الحركة علماء ومثقفين وضباط، كما ظهرت على الساحة اليمنية تنظيمات سياسية جديدة منها التيار الماركسي، والبعثي، وغيرها ،وما إن توفي الإمام أحمد في 19 سبتمبر 1962، حتى بادر الأحرار اليمنيون بالثورة والإطاحة بالنظام الملكي.

معارضة لا تلين

ويتذكر العميد محمد الخاوي عضو اللجنة القيادية لتنظيم الأحرار الشهيد إبراهيم حميد الدين، الذي قتله أخوه الإمام أحمد، لأنه شارك الأحرار اليمنيين في الثورة ضد أبيه الإمام يحيى حميد الدين. كان إبراهيم ينتقد وبشده الأوضاع المأساوية لليمنيين أثناء حكم أبيه الإمام يحيى، حيث كان اليمنيون يعانون من الظلم والجهل والتخلف، وعدم المساواة. ويضيف الخاوي أن الإمام أحمد استمر على نهج أبيه، وترك الشعب يصارع الولايات والاستبداد، كما أنه عمد إلى قتل أخيه العباس وعبد الله، مع الثلاثا بعد حركة 1955م، ما أدى إلى تراكم الحقد في نفوس الشباب الأحرار، والذين أصروا على إزالته وبناء يمن جديد.

في عام 1956م دخل الخاوي الكلية الحربية ليتلقى تعليمه مع مجموعة من الضباط، كان اللواء حمود الجايبي هو عميد الكلية آنذاك، وهو شخصية وطنية ومتميزة كما يقول الخاوي.

بعد تخرج الخاوي من الكلية الحربية، انتقل مع زملائه إلى محافظة الحديدة، ويذكر لنا أنه عند وصوله إلى الحديدة، اتهموا بالتخطيط لقتل الإمام ، وقدم إليهم قائد الحرس الملكي، وقال لهم : «أنتم مخيرون، إما أن تعودوا إلى صنعاء، أو الذهاب إلى حجة، ومعنى حجة، الدخول إلى السجن في قلعة القاهرة هناك، غير أننا اخترنا التوجه إلى صنعاء».

ويتابع قائلاً : «بعد ثلاثة أيام فقط من وصولنا إلى صنعاء، تم اعتقال اللواء الجايبي عميد الكلية، ووضع في سجن القلعة، فكانت ردة فعلنا عنيفة، فاعتقال الجايبي يعني أن الدور قادم علينا، وكنا نفكر في ذلك الوقت أن نهرب الجايبي إلى شريف بيحان، وهو السجن الذي كان يأوي الأحرار ويعطيهم المأكل والمشرب.. لكن الجايبي حاول إقناعنا بعدم الذهاب معه حتى لا يتم إلصاق التهمة بطلاب الكلية الذي كان عددهم 80».

ويضيف الخاوي : «ذهب اثنان فقط مع الجايبي إلى بيحان، ومن بيحان انتقلوا إلى عدن، وبعد هذه الحادثة قدم إلينا العميد أحمد الأنسي رئيس الحرس الملكي، واختار مجموعة من زملائي الضباط للتوجه إلى تعز، فكنتم أجمعهم، وكان معي الشهيد علي عبد المغني ومحمد مطهر زيد وسعد الأشول، وأحمد الكبسي وعلي الضبيعي وأحمد الوشلي، وكانوا من مختلف فروع الكلية الحربية، وكان ذلك بداية العام 1961م.

وهناك في تعز كون الخاوي مع زملائه وحدات عسكرية، واستطاعوا التأثير عليهم تأثيراً مباشراً، يقول الخاوي «إنه كان تحت قيادتهم 600 جندي، وكانت تنشط خلية من رجال الأعمال المنضوين في صفوف الضباط الأحرار على رأسهم الشيخ محمد علي عثمان، وعبد الغني مطهر، وعبد القوي حاميم ومحمد قائد سيف وعلي محمد سعيد

مشروعها. شنت القبائل هجوماً عنيفاً على شبام، ويقول الإيراني إن الموت كان ينتظرهم في أي لحظة، لكن الله قدر لهم الحياة. ويؤكد أن مصراً كان لها دوراً كبيراً في حماية الثورة، ولولاها لفشلت الثورة من الشهور الأولى ولقتلت في مهدها.

ويتكلم الإيراني عن ذلك الحلم الجميل لثوار سبتمبر، ومشروعهم الطموح في النهوض باليمن وتطويرها في كل المجالات، لكنه الآن يتحدث بأسى وحزن شديد، عما آلت إليه اليمن، وما عقب الثورة من أحداث.

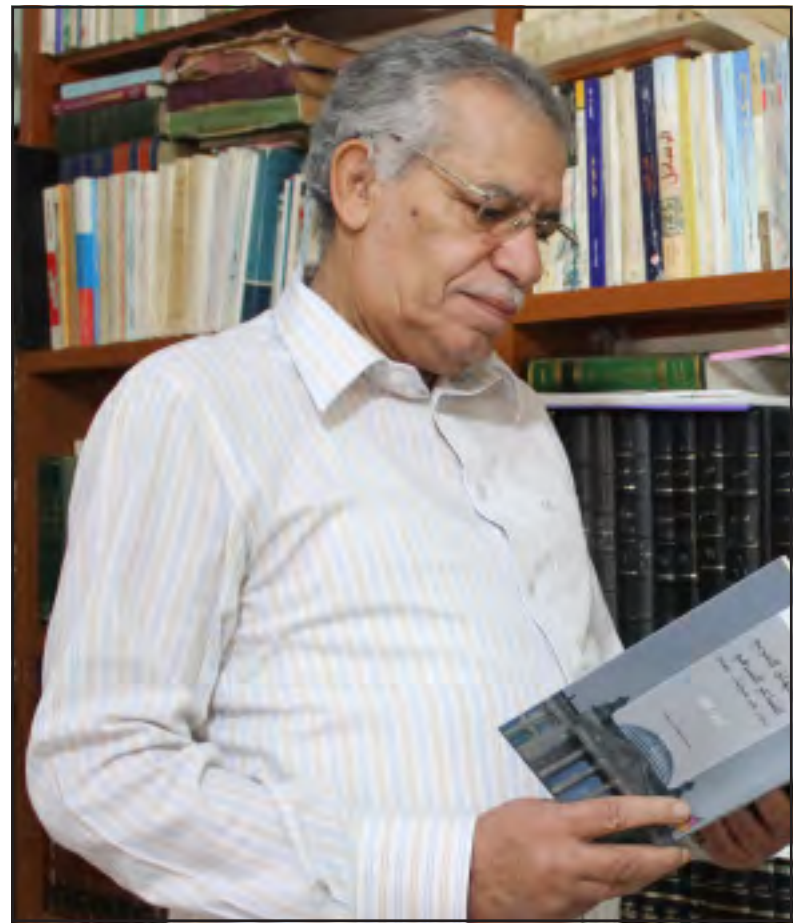
يقول الإيراني: «لم أعد أرغب في الحديث عن ثورة سبتمبر .. انظر إلى الآخرين، أين وصلوا وماذا حققوا، وكيف تطورت الدول، وما هو حالنا نحن اليمنيين؟»، ويشبه الثورة بالعملية الجراحية والتي قد تكون ناجحة، وقد ترافقها العلل والأمراض، مشيراً إلى أن ثورة سبتمبر أصابتها العلل والأمراض، والسبب في ذلك عدم الاستقرار والتخلف. ويضيف بقوله : « كنا نحاول جاهدين القفز والتغلب على هذا الواقع، غير أننا لم نفلح، ونحن اليوم أمام تحولات جديدة، والحوار الوطني وإنجازه مقدمة للخروج من النفق المظلم، وتحقيق المواطنة المتساوية وإرساء دعائم الديمقراطية.

وما يؤلم الإيراني كثيراً أنه وبعد خمسين عاماً يرى الكثير من المشائخ والسياسيين يخرجون إلى الشوارع بعدد من المسلحين.

نظام عنصري

مطهر الإيراني أحد الشخصيات الوطنية الهامة، ما تزال ذاكرته تحمل لنا تاريخاً كبيراً عن العهد الإمامي، فهو يرى أن النظام الملكي أضّر كثيراً باليمن، لأنه كان نظاماً عنصرياً وسلالياً، حاول الإمام يحيى بن حميد الدين تعميقه بين أبناء الشعب. ويقول الإيراني إن نظام الإمام أحمد وجد معارضة كبيرة منذ تربيته على عرش اليمن، وإنه كان يتعثر باستمرار ولم ينجح في نشر دعوته كما نجحت دعوة الصليحي والتي امتدت إلى جميع أطراف اليمن. ويشير إلى أن الإمام ظلم اليمن ، وأشعل الفتنة بين اليمنيين، وأن اليمن ظل في حكمه غارقاً وغير مستقراً، في الوقت الذي كانت المعارضة ضد الإمام تتوسع، والتف الناس حول الشهيد محمد محمود الزبيري، والمناضل أحمد محمد نعمان، وكان لا بد من الثورة، خاصة بعدما اتضح للناس أن وعود الإمام ليست إلا مواعيد عرقوب.

ويضيف الإيراني بقوله: « كان الثوار يأملون في التخلص من الحكم الإمامي عام 1948، لكن ذلك لم يحدث، لأن الإمام أحمد ألب القبائل، وأوقف مشروع الثوار لفترة من الزمن، وحكم الناس بعد ذلك بالقوة والعنف، وسفك الكثير من دماء اليمنيين الأبرياء، لافتاً إلى أنه لولا استمرار الأحرار اليمنيين في المقاومة والمعارضة لنظام الإمام أحمد لما تحققت الثورة. ويرى أن انتفاضة أحمد الثلاثا عام 1955م، كانت أولى الضربات الموجعة للإمام أحمد، لكن ما يعيها أنها كانت حركة ارتجالية وغير مدروسة، لذلك فشلت، غير أن الأحرار اليمنيين كما يقول الإيراني لم يستسلموا، وظلوا في مقارعتهم لحكم الإمام، وتعرضوا للتنكيل والذبح من قبل الإمام، إلى أن جاء العام 1961، حين أطلق ثلاثة من ضباط الأحرار اليمنيين الرصاص على الإمام أحمد أثناء زيارته لمستشفى



الشاعر محمد منصور : كان الناس يتوقعون حدوث الثورة في أي وقت، فكانت ليلة ٢٦ سبتمبر هي الحلم الذي انتظره اليمنيون بفارغ الصبر، وفي صباح ٢٧ سبتمبر كانت إذاعة صنعاء تنلو بيان الثورة والإعلان عن قيام الجمهورية اليمنية .

أول ثورة، ولا أول محاولة للقضاء على الإمامة، فهي امتداد لثورة 48 التي تم فيها القضاء على الإمام يحيى حميد الدين، كما كانت امتداداً لمحاولات التخلص من الإمام أحمد عام 1956».

وحين أطبع بنظام الإمام أحمد في 26 سبتمبر، لم تستوعب القبائل ذلك، وظهرت محاولات عديدة للإطاحة بالنظام الجديد، وإعادة الملكية من جديد.. كان اللواء الإيراني حينها نائباً لمدير إدارة الجيش، وقائداً لمحور شبام كوكبان، وما يزال الإيراني يتذكر تفاصيل ومشاهد كثيرة عن الحصار الذي تعرض له محور كوكبان من القبائل المؤيدة للنظام الملكي.

ويؤكد الإيراني أن الإمام البدر نجل الإمام أحمد حميد الدين حاول تأليب القبائل على الثوار، وتكرار ما فعله والده حين قتل الإمام يحيى، وأن الثورة تعرضت لتقلبات ومخاطر استمرت لمدة 7 سنوات، لكن الثورة في النهاية انتصرت واستمر

يحفظ لنا التاريخ شخصيات وأسماء لامعة شاركت في ثورة 26 سبتمبر 1962، كان لها تأثيراً على الرأي العام اليمني في عدة جوانب.. شخصيات نحتت من الصخر، وغرقت من البحر، من أجل القضاء على المشروع الإمامي، ونقل اليمن إلى طور جديد وعهد جديد بعيداً عن الظلم والجهل والتخلف. وما يزال الكثير من ثوار سبتمبر، يحتفظون بتفاصيل مثيرة عن الثورة، والتي قضت على الحكم الإمامي، ونقلت اليمن إلى عهد جديد، وجمهورية جديدة.

امتداد لثورة ٤٨

ويحكي اللواء محمد عبد الله الإيراني الكثير من تفاصيل أحداث ثورة سبتمبر، مسترجعاً تاريخاً مضى كانت في طياته تقلبات كثيرة عصفت بالثورة وحاولت حرقها عن المسار الصحيح. يقول الإيراني : « ثورة سبتمبر ليست



المناضل مطهر الإيراني : كان الثوار يأملون في التخلص من الحكم الإمامي عام ١٩٤٨ ، لكن ذلك لم يحدث، لأن الإمام أحمد ألب القبائل، وأوقف مشروع الثوار لفترة من الزمن، وحكم الناس بعد ذلك بالقوة والعنف



**Public Corporation For telecommunications
Congratulates**

H. E Field Marshal

Abd Rabbo Mansoor Hadi
President of the Republic

**And to all our great Yemeni people
on the occasion of Golden anniversary for
26th September Revolution.
Many Happy Returns**

Eng. Sadeq Moslah
Director General

Dr. Ahmed Bin Daghr
Minister of Communications
and Information Technology



تتقدم المؤسسة العام للاتصالات السلكية واللاسلكية

بأحر التهاني وأطيب التبريكات
لفخامة المشير الركن

عبد رب منصور هادي
رئيس الجمهورية

وإلى كافة أبناء شعبنا اليمني العظيم
بمناسبة العيد الذهبي لتورة الـ 26 من سبتمبر المجيدة
أعاده الله علينا وعليكم بالخير واليمن والبركات

د/ أحمد عبيد بن دغر
وزير الاتصالات وتقنية المعلومات

د/ صادق محمد مصلح
مدير عام المؤسسة

**DNO Yemen AS presents
its warmest congratulations to**

H.E. Abdu Rabo Mansoor Hadi
President of the Republic of Yemen,

**Government members and to the Yemeni people
on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary
of the September 26th Revolution.**

We wish Yemen continued progress and prosperity.





تتقدم الشركة الوطنية للتأمين

بأحر التهاني وأطيب التبريكات
لفخامة المشير الركن

عبدربه منصور هادي

رئيس الجمهورية

وإلى كافة أبناء شعبنا اليمني العظيم
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أعاده الله علينا وعليكم بالخير واليمن والبركات

يعقوب يوسف عبدالودود
عضو مجلس الإدارة
المدير العام

الحاج/ يوسف عبدالودود سعيد
رئيس مجلس الإدارة
الرئيس التنفيذي

Al-Watania Insurance Company

Congratulates

H. E Field Marshal

Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi

President of the Republic

And to all our great Yemeni people
on occasion of the Golden anniversary for
26th September Revolution.

Many Happy Returns

Yacob Yousuf Abdulwadood
Member of board of directors
The General Manager

Yousuf Abdulwadood Saeed
Chair man
Chief Executive officer



Al-Watania Insurance Company

أهداف ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر .. ما الذي تحقق منها؟

بالكامل كان يحتاج إلى جهود وقفزت هائلة في المجالات الاقتصادية والثقافية والسياسية، لكن اليمن مرت بمراحل ومنعطفات خطيرة، سواء في الماضي أو الحاضر، منوهاً إلى أن هذه التحديات حالت دون تحقيق أهداف الثورة، ولا سيما في الفترة الحالية والأزمة السياسية الأخيرة. وتتمنى العجل أن ينجح الحوار الوطني القادم، وتقام انتخابات تشريعية ومحلية، وأن يتم تطوير الدستور إلى الأفضل، وأن يشهد اليمن مرحلة من الاستقرار.. عندها ستتحقق كافة أهداف ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر.

ويرى الدكتور والأكاديمي محمد عبد الجبار سلام والذي ألف عدداً من الكتب عن ثورة سبتمبر أن الفرق كبير جداً حين نسال ما الذي تحقق من أهداف ثورة سبتمبر وما الذي لم يتحقق، مستدركاً بقوله : صحيح أن أهداف سبتمبر لم تتحقق بالكامل، لكن تحقق الكثير من هذه الملامح والمبادئ، مشيراً إلى أن اليمن كان قبل الثورة يعيش في واقع سيء، ولم يكن شيئاً يذكر، لافتاً إلى أن الثوار كان لديهم طموح كبير لإحداث نقلة كبيرة لليمن، لكن للأسف الشديد تعطلت الكثير من هذه المبادئ والأهداف.

ويقول سلام إن "القوى السياسية دخلت في جدل واسع حول تحقيق أهداف سبتمبر، وأن خطواتهم ما تزال تمشي ببطء في هذا الاتجاه، وما يزالوا يحومون حولها، لكن لم يتم تحقيق الكثير منها".

ويتفق سلام مع من سبقوه بأن القوات المسلحة لم يتم بناءها بالشكل المطلوب، والمستوى المعيشي للناس متردياً، في حين أن الوحدة اليمنية التي تم تحقيقها في ٢٢ مايو ١٩٩٠، تتعرض لنكسات، ولم تتحقق كافة أهدافها.



د. أحمد العجل
تحقيق أهداف سبتمبر بالكامل كان يحتاج إلى جهود وقفزت هائلة في المجالات الاقتصادية والثقافية والسياسية، لكن اليمن مرت بمراحل ومنعطفات خطيرة، حالت دون تحقيق أهداف الثورة.



د. محمد عبد الجبار سلام
القوى السياسية دخلت في جدل واسع حول تحقيق أهداف سبتمبر، و ما تزال خطواتهم تمشي ببطء في هذا الاتجاه، وما يزالوا يحومون حولها، لكن لم يتم تحقيق الكثير منها



المناضل أبو حاتم
النظام الديمقراطي بعد ثورة سبتمبر كان شكلياً، والاقتصاد كان متعثراً، وبالتالي فإن أهداف سبتمبر لم يتحقق منها إلا الشيء البسيط.

إطلاقاً، مشيراً إلى أن الثورة قتلت في مهدها.

ويضيف أن الاستبداد لم يتم القضاء عليه، وأن الاقتصاد اليمني ظل خلال الفترات السابقة متهاكاً، ولم يتم الارتقاء به، وأن اليمن لم يمتلك جيشاً قوياً حتى الآن، قادر على الدفاع عن أراضيه والدفاع عن البلاد.

الحياة الإيجابية وعدم الانحياز والعمل على إقرار السلام العالمي وتدعيم مبدأ التعايش السلمي بين الأمم.

وتبقى الأسئلة التي يتم تداولها باستمرار .. ما الذي تحقق من أهداف ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر كلياً وجزئياً، وما الذي تعثر، وهل طبقت الأنظمة الجمهورية هذه الأهداف أم أنها انحرفت عن المسار؟

نقطة نوعية يرى القيادي الناصري المناضل حاتم أبو حاتم أن ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر نقلت الشعب اليمني من القرون الأولى إلى القرون المشرفة، مشيراً إلى أنها كانت نقلة هائلة وأن هذا ما كان يطمح إليه ثوار ٢٦ سبتمبر.

ويشير أيضاً إلى أن الوحدة اليمنية تم تحقيقها، وهي من ضمن أهداف سبتمبر، لكنه يبدي قلقه ومخاوفه من تعرض هذه الوحدة للمخاطر، بسبب الخلافات والصراعات التي خلفها نظام الرئيس السابق علي عبد الله صالح.

ويؤكد أبو حاتم أن النظام الديمقراطي بعد ثورة سبتمبر كان شكلياً، والاقتصاد كان متعثراً، وبالتالي فإن أهداف سبتمبر لم يتحقق منها إلا الشيء البسيط.

ويتفأل أبو حاتم بالواقع الجديد والمتغيرات الجديدة، مشيراً إلى أن ثورة الشباب السلمية التي اندلعت ضد نظام الرئيس السابق علي عبد الله صالح عام ٢٠١١، جددت أهداف سبتمبر وطورتها، ومطالباً حكومة الوفاق بالتكاتف من أجل إيجاد الأمن والاستقرار، وبناء اقتصاد قوي، والعمل الجاد من أجل تحقيق أهداف سبتمبر.

من جانبه يرى الكاتب الصحفي إبراهيم غانم أن أهداف ثورة سبتمبر لم تتحقق

أحمد داود

مضى نصف قرن على ثورة السادس والعشرين من سبتمبر، والتي اندلعت شراراتها عام ١٩٦٢، وكان الثوار القدامى حينها يصنعون مستقبلاً جديداً لليمن. كان النظام الملكي في صبيحة ذلك اليوم يتهاوى، ويلفظ أنفاسه الأخيرة، فيما كانت صنعاء على أهبة الاستعداد لإعلان ميلاد جديد لدولة يمنية قوية اسمها "الجمهورية العربية اليمنية".

وفي ذلك التاريخ رسم الثوار القدامى أهداف الثورة الستة، والتي ما تزال إلى اليوم تسطر على صفحات الصحف الرسمية.. كانت بمثابة مشروع لتطوير اليمن والنهوض به، وإخراجه من التخلف والفقر والجهل الذي كان سمته خلال عصر الإمامة.

ركز الثوار في هدفهم الأول على التحرر من الاستبداد والاستعمار ومخلفاته وإقامة حكم جمهوري عادل وإزالة الفوارق والامتيازات بين الطبقات، فيما شددوا في الهدف الثاني على بناء جيش وطني قوي لحماية البلاد وحراسة الثورة ومكاسبها. الاقتصاد لم يكن بعيداً عن أهداف الثورة، فرفع مستوى الشعب اقتصادياً واجتماعياً وسياسياً وثقافياً.. كان الهدف الثالث من أهداف ثورة سبتمبر، فيما كان الهدف الرابع هو إنشاء مجتمع ديمقراطي تعاوني عادل مستمداً أنظمته من روح الإسلام الحنيف.

وشدد الثوار في هدفهم الخامس على ضرورة تحقيق الوحدة اليمنية في نطاق الوحدة العربية الشاملة، أما الهدف الأخير، فتتمثل في احترام موائيق الأمم المتحدة والمنظمات الدولية، والتمسك بمبدأ

بمناسبة العيد الذهبي لثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر المجيدة

نتقدم

بأسمى آيات التهاني وعظيم التبريكات إلى القيادة السياسية ممثلة

بفخامة الرئيس عبدربه منصور هادي

رئيس الجمهورية اليمنية

وإلى أبناء الشعب اليمني العظيم

متمنين لليمن وشعبه المزيد من الأمن والاستقرار والتطور والرخاء

مدير عام شركة توتال يمن للاستكشاف والإنتاج

وشركاؤها: أوكسيدنتال وسينوكيم وكوفبيك

وجميع موظفي الشركة





نتقدم بأحر التهاني وأزكى التبريكات
للشعب اليمني العظيم
والقيادة السياسية الحكيمة ممثلة بفخامة المشير الركن
عبدربه منصور هادي
بمناسبة العيد الذهبي لثورة ٢٦ من سبتمبر المجيدة

الشيخ صالح سالم باثواب
(رئيس مجلس الإدارة التنفيذي)
وكافة العاملين في شركة صناعة السجائر والكبريت الوطنية
المحدودة - عدن

We express our best wishes to
the Yemeni People and
**H.E. Field Marshal
Abd Rabu Mansour Hadi**
On the occasion of the golden anniversary for
26th September Revolution.

Sheikh Saleh Salem Bathawab
NATIONAL CIGARETTES AND
MATCH INDUSTRIES LTD. ADEN





نتقدم
بأحر التهاني وأطيب التبريكات
لفخامة المشير الركن /
عبدربه منصور هادي
بمناسبة العيد الذهبي لثورة السادس والعشرون من سبتمبر المجيدة
متمنين لليمن وشعبه الأمن والسلام والتقدم والازدهار
في ظل قيادتكم الحكيمة

We present our warmst congratulations
and best wishes for
H.E. Field Marshal
Abd Rabu Mansour Hadi
On the occasion of Golden anniversary for
26th September Revolution.
We wish Yemen and its people security, peace and prosperity under your wise leadership

مصلحة الضرائب
Tax Authority

أحمد أحمد غالب - رئيس المصلحة
Ahmed Ahmed Ghalib - Chairman of Tax Authority
وكافة موظفي المصلحة
and all staff of the Authority

المرأة اليمنية.. ثائرة ومناضلة في ثورة سبتمبر

أميره ناصر

لا يستطيع مناضلو ثورة السادس والعشرين من سبتمبر نسيان مشاركة النساء في إنجاح الثورة ضد النظام الإمامي عام ١٩٦٢.

ويؤكد الكثير منهم أن الثورة ما كانت لتنجح لولا تكاتف الرجال والنساء على حد سواء وإصرارهم على إزالة النظام الملكي، وتثبيت الجمهورية في اليمن.

ويتذكر المناضل والشاعر الكبير محمد عبد السلام منصور مواقف كثيرة لعدد من النساء ساهمن في مساعدة الثوار وحماية الثورة، ويقول إنه لا ينسى تلك المرأة (المسنة) التي ساعدتهم أثناء حصار السبعين يوماً لصعاء، حيث كان

بعض رجال القبائل يطاردونه من أجل القبض عليه، غير أن تلك المرأة أدخلته إلى منزلها، وأنقذت حياته، ونجا بالتالي من المطاردة!

ويقول منصور إن النساء التأثيرات شاركن في صنع الثورة، ولم يقتصر عملهن بالاهتمام بالمنزل والأطفال والحقول الزراعية فقط، بل تعداه إلى جوانب كثيرة.

ويشير منصور إلى أن النساء اليمنيات في ستينيات القرن الماضي عانين الأمرين، وشاركن الرجال والمجتمع معاناة نظام قاس لم يرحم أحداً، لافتاً إلى أن النساء الريفيات بالتحديد تعرضن للاضطهاد والتهميش، وهو ما جعلهن يقفن إلى جانب الثوار ويدافعن عن كرامة

الإنسان اليمني واليمنيين.

ويؤكد منصور أن قوة الثورة تمثلت في الدعم الكبير الذي قدمته النساء للثوار آنذاك.

كان مناضلنا الكبير طالباً في الكلية الحربية، ويؤكد أن النساء كن يساعدن الرجال بالكثير من الأعمال، حيث كن يقدمن الطعام والملابس وخاصة في فصل الشتاء.

ويضيف أن دعم النساء للثوار تضاعف بتطور الأحداث التي تمخضت بثورة السادس والعشرين من سبتمبر، وما تلاها من أحداث بعد ذلك.

دعم كبير وكانت المرأة في عهد الإمامة أكثر تخلفاً من عصرنا الحالي، وكانت النساء

أميات غير متعلّقات، وكان الإمام يمنعهن من الخروج من منازلهن.

ويقول المناضل محمد الخاوي إن النساء اليمنيات كان لديهن شعور قوي تجاه الثوار، وأنهن فعّلات ما بوسعهن من أجل تحقيق أهداف الثورة.

ويضيف أن النساء قدمن المال والملبس والأكل، وبعضهن قدمن مجوهراتهن وحليهن، لدعم الثوار، في القضاء على الإمامة في اليمن.

وبعيداً عن الذكريات القديمة، تنظر عدد من النساء اليمنيات في عصرنا الحالي إلى ثورة سبتمبر بأهمية كبيرة.

وتقول أمل محمد - طالبة في جامعة تعز- إنها تشعر بأهمية كبيرة لثورة سبتمبر في ذكراها الخمسين لهذا العام،

خاصة وأنها تأتي بعد ثورة شبابية أطاحت بالنظام السابق.

وتضيف بقولها: ثورة الشباب السلمية علمتنا كيف نلعب الدور المناط بنا في بلادنا؛ لكنني أشعر بالذهول عندما أفكر في كيف استطعن النساء مساعدة الثوار قبل خمسين عاماً من الآن!

وتضيف أمل بقولها: «قصص النساء التأثيرات وجهودهن أثناء الثورات في الماضي ساهم في تشجيعنا للخروج في ثورة الشباب السلمية ومساندة الرجال، والتأكيد بأن المرأة لا تقل شأنًا من الرجل».

من جانبه يرى محمد ناصر طالب في جامعة صنعاء إن أكبر تغيير حدث للمرأة اليمنية جاء بعد ثورة سبتمبر، حيث عرفت

المرأة كيف تعيش وتناضل؟ أميره، موظفة في عدن، تتفق مع أمل أن دور النساء التأثيرات ترك أثراً ومهد طريقاً للنساء الشباب اليوم.

وتقول: «لا نستطيع أن ننسى جهود التأثيرات بالرغم مما نحن فيه.. لدينا قدر قليل من الحرية، وما كان هذا ليحدث في ظل غياب جهود اليمنيات في ذلك الوقت».

وتزيد بقولها: «دور النساء اليمنيات في الماضي واضح كوضوح الشمس في رابعة النهار، على الرغم من الصعوبات التي واجهت المرأة في ذلك الوقت، وتؤكد بكل ثقة أن المرأة اليمنية شقت طريقها وأنها لن تتوقف مهما كانت التحديات».

ماذا يريد اليمنيون من الدستور الجديد؟

محمد السامعي

لم يبق إلا قرابة الشهرين فقط، حتى يبدأ اليمنيون في الحوار الوطني المقرر في نوفمبر القادم، من أجل مناقشة وحل الكثير من القضايا اليمنية التي تهم المواطن اليمني شمالاً وجنوباً.

ففي الحوار الوطني سيتم مناقشة شكل الدولة الجديدة، وصياغة دستور يمني جديد يلبي تطورات الشعب تشارك في إعداده وصياغته مختلف القوى السياسية في البلد.

و يتمنى الكثير من اليمنيين أن يلبي الدستور الجديد طموحاتهم، وأن لا يكون مجرد نصوص ومواد فقط لا يتم تطبيقها على أرض الواقع.

وضاح الجليل، باحث في المرصد اليمني لحقوق الإنسان قال: «إن اليمنيين يحتاجون في هذه المرحلة إلى دستور توافقي يحمي حقوق الجميع (الأقليات والأكثرية، الأفراد والجماعات) دون أي اعتبارات مذهبية، أو دينية، أو مناطقية، أو حزبية، أو فكرية، أو حسب النوع الاجتماعي، من خلال نصوص تحقق المواطنة كعملية تتحقق في واقع وأرضية، يمكن لجميع أعضاء ومكونات المجتمع ملامسته ومعايشته».

وأضاف الجليل أن «المواطنة ينبغي أن تتجسد من خلال هذه النصوص التي تنص عليها وتحميها من أية انتهاكات تطالها بشكل فردي أو جماعي، وهذا بدوره يقتضي توفر ديمقراطية ينص عليها ويحميها الدستور نفسه، وهو ما سيؤدي بالتالي إلى ضرورة مشاركة المجتمع ككل في صياغة هذا الدستور حتى يصبح توافقياً ويحقق العدالة والمساواة في كل شيء من شروط ومقتضيات المواطنة الكاملة».

وأوضح الجليل أنه «لا بد أن يحتوي الدستور الجديد على مواد بصياغة مضبوطة لا تتيح لأية سلطة قضائية أو تنفيذية التلاعب بمفاهيمه ومقاصده، وتحريفها لتناسب قوى معينة، أو لانتقاص من الحقوق والحريات في القوانين كما كان يحدث سابقاً، حيث كان الدستور ينص على منح الحقوق والحريات كاملة، لكن جملة زائدة

فيه تحيل المشرع والقانون للتصرف في المقصد والمفهوم، بما يمكن من الانتقاص من تلك الحقوق ومصادرتها عبر نصوص قانونية».

الصحفي صقر أبو حسن قال: «أريد أن أشعر أن الدستور يعطيني حقوقي وليس مواداً أخاف منها تتسبب في إحالتي للمحاكمة الدستورية؛ بحجة مخالفة إحدى نصوصه».

وأضاف «أريد أن يكون لليمنيين في الدستور الجديد خصوصية في مواده، وأن يكون للمواد نفاذ قانوني أقوى، وأن لا تكون المواد مطاطية، بل مفصلة وواضحة ولا تحمل أكثر من تأويل، وأن يكون للبرلمان مكان في هذا الوطن، وأن لا تكون السلطة بيد رجال الدين، وأن يكون هناك دار إفتاء محدد مع نفوذ محدود للمؤسسات الدينية ورجال الدين».

ويرى الناشط الحقوقي عبد الحافظ معجب أن «المشكلة في اليمن ليست في تعديلات دستورية ولا مسودات لدستور جديد بقدر ما نحن بحاجة إلى من يحترم هذا الدستور ويطبق نصوصه ومواده، وحاجتنا تكمن في قضاء حر ومستقل وعادل ونزيه يحقق العدالة ويعاقب كل من يخرج عن الدستور والقانون».

وأضاف أنه «مثلاً تم تفصيل الدستور السابق على مقاسات الديكتاتور السابق سيتم تفصيل الدستور القادم على مقاسات الديكتاتور الجديد التي جاءت على أكتاف الثوار».

وتمنى الناشط الإعلامي في ساحة التغيير عبد الباسط الشجاع أن «يتضمن الدستور الجديد مواداً لاستقلال القضاء، وأن لا يكون تابعاً لحاكم ولا متأثراً بالسلطتين التنفيذية أو التشريعية، بحيث لا تستطيع السلطة التنفيذية حق التعيين أو العزل لقيادات وأعضاء السلطة القضائية».

وأضاف «نريد من الدستور الجديد إلغاء وزارة الإعلام وتنظيم الحصول على وسيلة إعلامية وإلغاء عقوبة الحبس ومراقبة الصحفيين وإقرار الحق في الوصول إلى المعلومات ونشرها وحق النقد للحكومة والسلطة».

وأكد على ضرورة أن «يعزز الدستور الجديد حماية الحقوق والحريات وأن تكون مواده ضامنة وكافلة في حماية الحقوق الأساسية للمواطنين».

ويقول الخبير القانوني عبد العزيز البغدادي: «إن القانون الحالي ملغي وغير شرعي وفقاً للمبادرة الخليجية التي تنص على ضرورة صياغة دستور جديد».

ويضيف البغدادي «أن ما يتمتع به في

الدستور الجديد أن يعبر عن مطالب الثوار في الساحات، وأن يخدم بناء الدولة المدنية الحديثة، ويعمل على الفصل بين السلطات، وأن يتم التركيز على الصلاحيات الممنوحة للرئيس ورئيس مجلس الوزراء وما إذا سيكون نظام الحكم برلماني أم رئاسي؟».

وقال البغدادي: «ينبغي أن تنص مواد الدستور الجديد على مبادئ الحقوق

والحريات الأساسية، ويجب التأكيد على حق المواطن في الحرية والتعبير».

وفيما يتعلق بالمؤسسة العسكرية أشار البغدادي إلى أنه يفترض أن تكون المؤسسة العسكرية «تحت سيطرة وتحكم وزارتي الدفاع والداخلية وليس رئيس الجمهورية، حيث ينبغي أن يتم إلغاء مصطلح القائد الأعلى للقوات المسلحة والأمن، وأن تكون مسألة التعيين والفصل

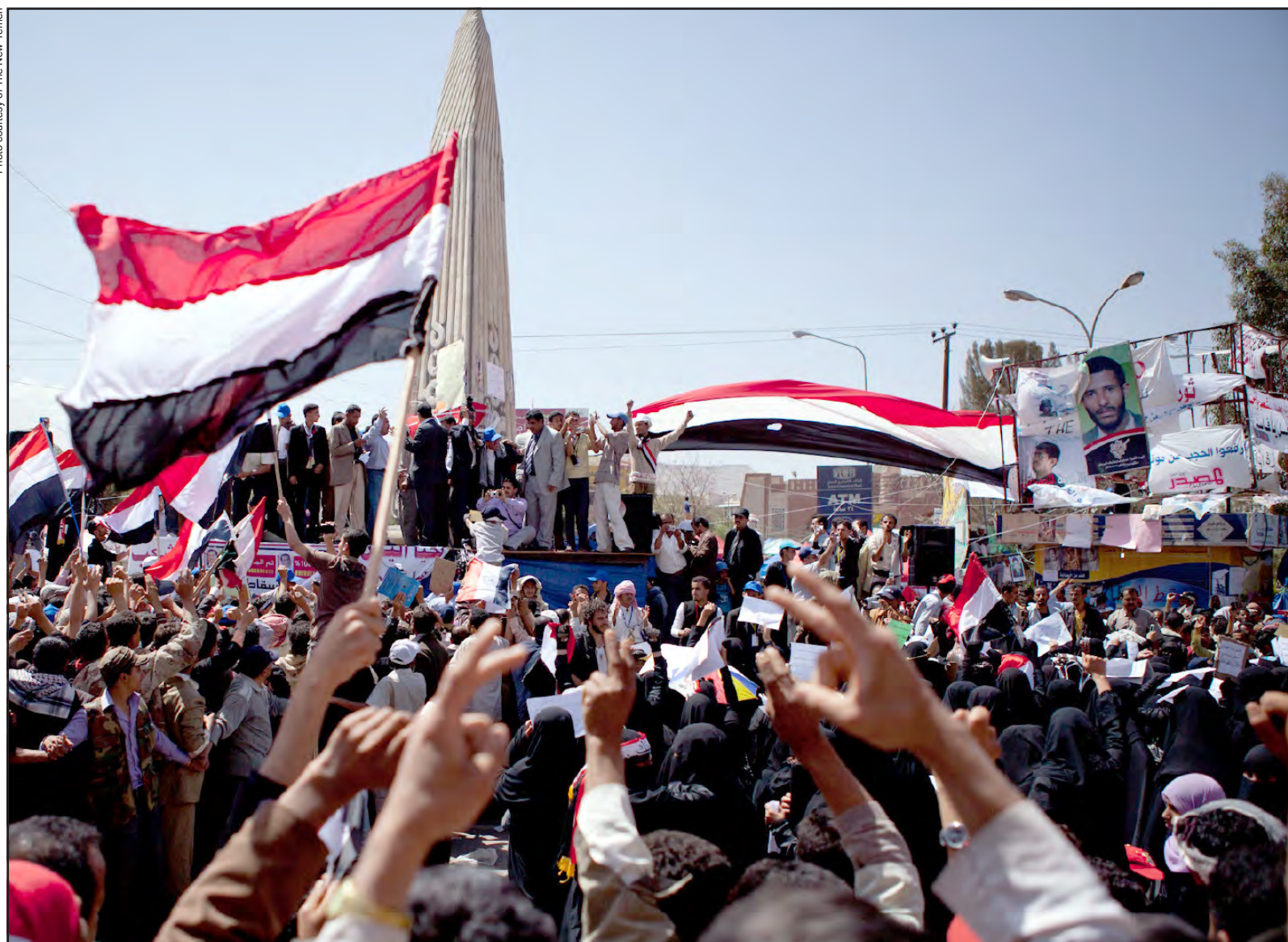


Photo courtesy of The New Yemen

من قبل وزارتي الداخلية والدفاع وليس من قبل رئيس الجمهورية».

ويرى القيادي في ساحة التغيير محمد المقبل أن شباب الثورة «يتمنون أن يعمل الدستور الجديد على فصل السلطات الثلاث، والعمل على تجسيد مناخ الحقوق والحريات وحرية الحصول على المعلومات وترسيخ مبدأ الشفافية».

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البغدادي :

ينبغي أن يتم إلغاء مصطلح القائد الأعلى للقوات المسلحة والأمن، وأن تكون مسألة التعيين والفصل من قبل وزارتي الداخلية والدفاع، وليس من قبل رئيس الجمهورية».

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وضاح الجليل :

اليمنيون يحتاجون في هذه المرحلة إلى دستور توافقي يحمي حقوق الجميع : (الأقليات والأكثرية، الأفراد والجماعات) دون أي اعتبارات مذهبية، أو دينية، أو مناطقية، أو حزبية، أو فكرية، أو حسب النوع الاجتماعي، من خلال نصوص تحقق المواطنة المتساوية للجميع.

How women supported a revolution

Amira Nasser

As Yemenis prepare for the fiftieth anniversary of the 26 September revolution of 1962, September revolutionaries continue to assure that the revolution would not have occurred if Yemeni men and women at that time didn't collaborate their efforts to rid imams of their leadership roles in the north.

It was women—dominated by social duties more than anything else—who provided support to revolutionaries, Mohammed Abdul-Salam, one of the revolutionaries in September 1962, said.

He said women were in complete darkness; their function was very much limited to caring for the house, the children and the fields.

Abdul-Salam said women in the 1960s handled responsibilities greater than most men could bear, especially women in the rural areas, and that was one way in which they supported the men who were revolutionaries.

"These circumstances were the reason for the unlimited support for revolutionaries in 1962" he said.

The power that revolutionaries had at that time came from the women who supported them and who pushed them to do what was necessary to see victory, according to Abdul-Salam.

He said when he was at the Military College, women helped men with their duties by providing them with care, food and clothes, especially during winter.

Abdul-Salam said the support of women increased with the de-

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Mohammed Abdul-Salam, a September 1962 revolutionary, said that during the 70-day siege of 1970, he was being chased by soldiers when an elderly woman pulled him inside her house, rescuing him from imminent capture.

velopment of events leading up to Sept. 26 and beyond. He said that during the 70-day siege of 1970, he was being chased by soldiers when an elderly woman pulled him inside her house, rescuing him from imminent capture.

"She told me that she pulled a revolutionist inside her home in 1948 and told him not to leave, but he left and then soldiers caught him," he said.

Revolutionaries can't forget the role of Yemeni women in the south during the October revolution, he said. Side by side with men, women in the south were in houses, in

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"The biggest kind of change happened to women because they created a new kind of living separate from the role of our mothers in the sixties," Mohammed Nasser, a student in Sana'a, said, speaking of the possibilities for women that arose as a result of the 26 September revolution.

fields and everywhere else that men were—fighting British colonialism.

Mohammed Al-Khawi, a revolutionary from September 1962, said the role of women revolutionaries was different from the role of women today because back then, imam's dictated that women should not be allowed to leave their homes.

"Their feelings were very strong toward us, Al-Khawi said. "Mothers, wives and daughters didn't avoid any effort to help us."

Women helped their relatives by providing them with the essentials for survival: food, clothes and money. Women sometimes sold their



gold jewelry to buy items that revolutionaries needed for their efforts, according to Al-Khawi.

Amal Mohamed, a university student in Taiz, said this year is the first year she felt the importance of the revolutionaries to Yemen.

"The revolution of 2011 showed us how it's important to play roles in our country," Mohamed said. "However, I am amazed now how women could help the revolutionists fifty years ago."

Amal said stories of elderly women about their aid and efforts during the revolutions before her generation inspired them and gave them the power to continue work-

ing to save Yemen in the current situation it faces today.

Mohammad Nasser, a student in Sana'a, said Yemenis still don't enjoy high standards of living, but what they do have now would never have been possible had the 1962 revolution not occurred.

"The biggest kind of change happened to women because they created a new kind of living separate from the role of our mothers in the sixties," Nasser said.

Mohamed's opinion matches with the opinion of Amira, an employee in Aden who said the role of her generation's mothers role in the revolution and after paved the way

for the young women today.

"We can't forget that despite the current situation, we have a piece of liberty, and that wouldn't happen without the efforts of Yemeni women that time," she said.

The role of the past generation's of women is as clear as water in the development of Yemen at that time, despite the difficult situations women faced. And still, the present generation of young women will again pave the way for the next generation after them.

88.8 FM

YEMEN TIMES
Radio

Looking ahead, Yemenis aspire for a new constitution that fulfills ambitions

Mohammed Al-Samei

Yemenis still have more than one month before embarking on a comprehensive national dialogue in November; the dialogue will address many national issues facing the northern and southern parts of the country.

The shape of the new state and the wording a new constitution that fulfills people's aspirations will be discussed during the conference.

Many Yemenis aspire for the new constitution to fulfill ambitions, not just consist of texts ineffective in practice and on the ground.

Wadhah Al-Jaleel, a researcher at the Yemeni Observatory for Human Rights, said Yemenis are crying out for a reconciliatory constitution that defends the rights of everyone—be they minorities, majorities, individuals or groups—without consideration to race, partisanship, ideology or gender. The constitution's text should guarantee tangible, equal citizenship for all social components, he said.

The constitutional texts should embody equality and protect against any individual or group violations; this requires democracy stipulated and protected by the law, Al-Jaleel said.

"The broad social participation to word this reconciliatory law is a must in order to enable citizens equality and justice."

Al-Jaleel said the new constitution should be written precisely so that no legislative or executive authority can play with the terminology or use the constitution's content to appease a particular power, just as it happened in the past.

"The constitution's paragraphs



The 2011 political uprising called for a regime change and a new constitution that guaranteed equal rights and a civil state for the people of Yemen.

should be used to stipulate full rights and freedoms; however, one additional sentence could provide an opportunity for decision-makers to act based on their interpretation of the sentence. Thus, rights were confiscated because of imprecise laws."

"I want to feel the constitution gives me my rights and that it's not just intimidating terms that could refer me to the court under the pretext of contravening its texts," Journalist Sakr Abu Hassn said.

Abu Hassn wanted the constitution to be efficacious, detailed and patent, leaving no opportunity for further interpretations. The liberals must have a space in this na-

tion, he said. And, the state should not be dominated by the clerics, in addition to allowing fatwa—which is essentially limited power—to religious constitutions and clerics.

Abdulhafit Muajib, a human rights activist, said the problem in Yemen has nothing to do with constitutional amendments and drafts; what is missing is respect for laws and implementation as well as a free, fair, independent judiciary to apply the law and subsequent justice to those obstructing the law.

He said the current constitution was worded based on the desires of former leaders; this new constitution, he said, will be shaped in accordance with the wishes of Ye-

men's new leaders.

Abdulbasit Al-Shaje, a media activist in Sana'a's Change Square, said he hoped the new constitution would include items that stipulate independence of judiciary so the executive authority is unable to appoint or dismiss judges.

"We want the new constitution to cancel the Media Ministry and organize information access, abolish journalists' imprisonment or monitoring, give the right for information access and [give the right to] criticize the government."

The new constitution should consolidate the protection of basic rights and freedoms for citizens, Al-Shaje said.



President Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi is at the helm of the country's transition to a new government and a new constitution.

Abdulaziz Al-Baghdadi, a law expert said the current law is axed and illegitimate according to the Gulf Initiative, which stipulates a new constitution be worded.

He said he hoped the new constitution would fulfill the demands of the revolutionaries and be helpful for building a modern civil state, keeping the authorities separate and independent and determining whether the ruling entity would be the parliament or the president.

"The items of the new constitution should highlight the principles of fundamental rights and freedoms, in addition to allowing citizens the freedom of expression," Al-Baghdadi said.

With regard to the military, he said the army should be under the control of the Defense and Interior Ministries, not under the thumb of the president. The terminology "chief commander of the army and security forces" ought to be omitted, he said, and military appointments should be the business of these two ministries.

Revolutionary youth hope the new constitution will render the three authorities separate; function to find an atmosphere of freedom, rights and easy access to information; and establish transparency principles, Mohammed Al-Mukbili, a leading figure in Sana'a's Change Square, said.

We express our best wishes to
H. E. Field Marshal

Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi
President of the Republic

And to all our great Yemeni people

On the occasion of the 50th Anniversary
of 26th of September Revolution

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On behalf of staff and employees of
Yemenia - Yemen Airways

Captain/Ahmed Masod Al-Alwani
Chairman of the Board



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بمناسبة الذكرى الخمسين
لثورة السادس والعشرين من سبتمبر المجيدة.

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الضيافة العربية الأصيلة



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of 26th of September Revolution.

We present our heartfelt congratulations to
H. E. Field Marshal

Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi
President of the Republic

And to the great Yemeni people.

Many Happy Returns



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الس السادس والعشرين من سبتمبر المجيدة

نتقدم بأحر التهاني والتبريكات
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والى كافة أبناء شعبنا اليمني العظيم

بمناسبة العيد الذهبي

لثوره السادس والعشرين من سبتمبر الخالدة

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عصام أحمد علوي السكاف
المدير العام

Congratulations

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and best wishes for

H.E. Field Marshal

Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi

President of the Republic

And to all our great Yemeni people

on the occasion of golden anniversary for

26th September Revolution.

Many Happy Returns

Mohamad Abdullah Al-Amiry
Chairman

Esam Ahmed Al-Sakkaf
General Manager



"I clean streets and see posters everywhere. I know that they stand for a national occasion, but I can't read them because I'm illiterate." -Abdulaziz Al-Mazhari



"I don't know about history and what happened because I have never gone to school. I also didn't hear anyone talking about the revolution and its accomplishments." -Abdullah Al-Mawsaqi



"Some aims of the revolution such as education and freedom of expression were achieved, but the revolution didn't eliminate tyranny and injustice, which still exist so far." -Omar Al-Hakimi



"The 1962 revolution aimed to uproot tyranny, inequality and backwardness, but unfortunately nothing changed." -Hala Al-Swadi



"[The revolution] must be a way in which all Yemenis follow and try to achieve its aims." -Hana'a Mojahed

What do Yemenis know about the 1962 revolution?

Nadia Haddash

Nowadays, Yemen is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the 1962 revolution that moved Yemen from the antiquated regime of the imams to the Republic of Yemen.

Immediately after eliminating the imams' regime in Yemen, revolutionaries set a group of aims to build the new Yemen and to look toward the future.

Moreover, the revolutionaries asserted the importance of uprooting tyranny, injustice and backwardness to establish a republican regime based on justice and equality.

Revolutionaries asserted the importance of building a strong national military to protect the revolution and its accomplishments; to boost the economic, social, political and cultural level of Yemenis; to work to achieve national unity within mass Arab unity; and to respect U.N. conventions.

Today, fifty years have passed since the revolution, but what do Yemenis know about the Sept. 26 revolution? What aims do they think were achieved and what aims do they think weren't achieved?

Yemen Times interviewed a diverse group of Yemenis to find out.

Revolution's aims dissipated

Maher Al-Raimi, a 33-year-old taxi driver, said, "I know the revolution eliminated the imams' regime, but none of its aims were achieved. Had they been achieved, I wouldn't be a taxi driver."

Hala Al-Swadi, a private sector employee, said sarcastically, "All I know about the 1962 revolution and all national occasions is that we get a day off."

"The 1962 revolution aimed to uproot

tyranny, inequality and backwardness, but unfortunately nothing changed," Al-Swadi said. "I think that the 2011 revolution sparked because the 1962 revolution's aims weren't achieved and because Yemenis are still suffering from tyranny, illiteracy, backwardness, looting of national wealth and inequality."

Mohammed Abbas, a 30-year-old clothes center owner, agreed with what Al-Swadi said, adding, "The revolutionaries sacrificed themselves for the sake of building a new Yemen, free of illiteracy and backwardness, but those dreams dissipated when rulers took office and focused on ruling forever and collecting money without taking people into consideration."

Not concerned about the 1962 revolution

Ibrahim Al-Mekhlafi, a 24-year-old falafel stand employee, said he only thinks about his work.

"Please don't ask me about September and October because I have nothing to do with them," he said. "Elderly people are interested in such issues, but all I think about is work and customers who are looking for falafel."

Hanan Al-Kaina, a business administration graduate, said she thought she knew a lot about the history of Yemen, but when asked about the 1962 revolution, she discovered that she doesn't know much at all, including who who started it and what it's aims were.

She said it is important to study the history and instill its concepts among the upcoming generations.

Student Marwan Mohammed said, "I know a little bit about September's revolution. I studied the 1962 revolution only in the fourth grade, and now I'm in the

ninth grade. Frankly, I don't like history, so I don't know about the revolution."

Omar Al-Hakimi, a member of the Life Makers Association, said, "Some aims of the revolution such as education and freedom of express were achieved, but the revolution didn't eliminate tyranny and injustice, which still exist so far."

"It was believed that the revolution would cause a quantum leap, but it didn't. The revolution aimed to change the situation, but replacing an imam with another one is of no benefit. I don't care about changing the regime. What I care about is achieving justice and equality in addition to achieving the aims of the revolution."

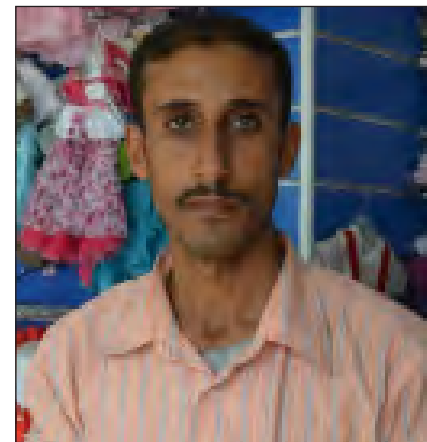
The revolution isn't just an anniversary

Hana'a Mojahed, a student in an English institute, said, "The September 26 revolution isn't an anniversary only on which we celebrate for a whole day and chant national songs. It must be a way in which all Yemenis follow and try to achieve its aims."

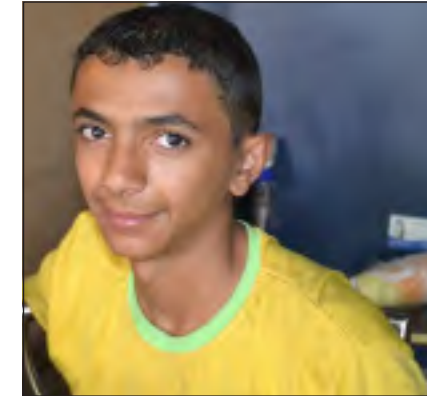
Abdullah Al-Mawsaqi, a qat seller, said that, sadly, he knows nothing about the 1962 revolution.

"I don't know about history and what happened because I have never gone to school," he said. "I also didn't hear anyone talking about the revolution and its accomplishments."

Abdulaziz Al-Mazhari, a 40-year-old street cleaner, said, "I clean streets and see posters everywhere. I know that they stand for a national occasion, but I can't read them because I'm illiterate. I also don't watch T.V. because I spend all my time working to make money for my family. I don't celebrate any national holidays except the Eid holidays."



"... Those dreams dissipated when rulers took office and focused on ruling forever and collecting money without taking people into consideration." -Mohammed Abbas



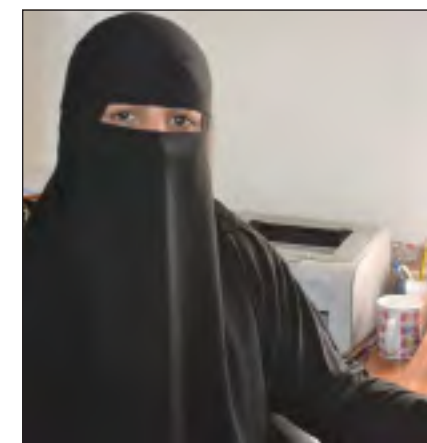
"Frankly, I don't like history, so I don't know about the revolution." -Marwan Mohammed



"I know the revolution eliminated the imams' regime, but none of its aims were achieved. Had they been achieved, I wouldn't be a taxi driver." -Maher Al-Raimi



"Elderly people are interested in such issues, but all I think about is work and customers who are looking for falafel." -Ibrahim Al-Mekhlafi



It is important to study the history and instill its concepts among the upcoming generations, Hanan Al-Kaina'ee said.

بعد مرور نصف قرن من قيامها

ماذا يعرف اليمنيون عن ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر؟!

ناديا هداشي

تحتفل اليمن هذه الأيام بالذكرى الخمسين لثورة الـ ٢٦ من سبتمبر، والتي نقلت اليمن من النظام الملكي الرجعي إلى النظام الجمهوري الديمقراطي.

ومنذ اليوم الأول من القضاء على الإمامة في اليمن، رفع الثوار مجموعة من الأهداف رسمت ملامح اليمن الجديد والمستقبل القادم، ولم يكتف الثوار بالقضاء على النظام الملكي في اليمن، بل أكدوا على ضرورة التخلص من الاستبداد والظلم والتخلف، وإقامة حكم جمهوري عادل، وإزالة الفوارق والامتيازات بين الطبقات.

كما أكد الثوار على ضرورة بناء جيش وطني قوي لحماية البلاد و حراسة الثورة ومكاسبها ، ورفع مستوى الشعب اقتصادياً واجتماعياً و سياسياً و ثقافياً. والعمل على تحقيق الوحدة الوطنية في نطاق الوحدة العربية الشاملة، واحترام مواثيق الأمم المتحدة.

والآن، وبعد مرور نصف قرن من قيام الثورة.. ماذا يعرف اليمنيون عن ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر.. ما الذي تحقق من أهدافها وما الذي لم يتحقق؟ "يمن تايمز" التقت بعدد من المواطنين فكانت هذه الحصيلة..

أهداف الثورة تبددت

ماهر الريمي سائق تاكسي ٣٣ عاماً يقول: "أعرف أن ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر أنهت الضلالة والحكم الإمامي فقط، لكنها لم تحقق أي هدفاً من أهدافها، ولو أن الأهداف تحققت فعلاً ما كنت الآن مجرد (سائق تاكسي)!"

أما هالة السوادى - خريجة قسم حاسوب وموظفة في القطاع الخاص- فتقول ساخرة: "الذي أعرفه عن ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر وعن كل الأعياد الوطنية هو أننا ننعيم بإجازة لمدة يوم كامل".

وتضيف قائلة " قامت ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر لتخلصنا

ويرى عمر الحكيمي - عضو مؤسسة صناع الحياة- "أن بعض أهداف ثورة سبتمبر تحققت، كإتاحة التعليم وحرية التعبير، لكن الثورة التي قامت ضد الظلم والاستبداد لم تقض عليه، فالظلم ما زال قائماً، والاستبداد ما زال قائماً".

ويضيف الحكيمي بقوله: " كان من المفروض أن تحدث هناك نقلة نوعية كبيرة لليمن، فالثورة لم تندلع عبثاً، وإنما قامت لتغيير الواقع، لكن ما الفائدة إذا حل إمام بدل إمام.. لا يهمننا تغيير النظام، بقدر ما يهمننا تحقيق العدل والمساواة، وتطبيق الأهداف التي رفعها الثوار".

الثورة ليست رمزاً فقط

وتعتبر هناء مجاهد - طالبة في معهد للغة الانجليزية- "أن ثورة سبتمبر ليست رمزاً فقط، يتم الاحتفال بها يوم واحد بالتغني بالأناشيد الوطنية فقط، بل يجب أن تكون منهجاً يمارسه كل اليمنيون ويسعون إلى تحقيق أهدافه".

ويتحدث عبد الله الموسقي ٢٦ عاماً بائع قات بأسى لأنه لا يعرف شيئاً عن ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر. ويقول: "لا أعرف كثيراً عن التاريخ، ولا ماذا حدث؟ لأنني لم أتعلم، ولم أسمع أحداً من اليمنيين يحكي عن التاريخ وإنجازات الثورة".

ويزيد بقوله: " أنا بائع قات، واليمنيون لا هم لهم سوى الحديث عن القات وأنواعه، وليس لديهم أي حديث آخر.

من جانبه يقول عبدالعزيز المزهرى ٤٠ عاماً، عامل نظافة "عندما أعمل في تنظيف شوارع العاصمة أرى الملصقات والمنشورات المعلقة في أنحاء العاصمة، على الرغم أنني أمي لا أقرأ ولا أكتب ولكنني أفهم من الصور أن المنشورات هي عن عبد وطني معين، ولكني لا أعرف ما هو تاريخ أو منجز هذا العبد؛ ولا أتابع التلغراف لضيق وقتي وقضاء معظمه في الحصول على قوتي وقوت عائلتي، وأنا وعائلتي لا نحتفل إلا بعيدين فقط هما، عيد الفطر المبارك وعيد الأضحى!

من الظلم والتخلف وعدم المساواة، ولكن للأسف لم يتحقق ذلك، ويمكن القول إن ثورة الشباب السلمية التي قامت في فبراير ٢٠١١، لم تقم إلا لأن أهداف سبتمبر لم تتحقق، وأن الشعب اليمني كان يعاني من الظلم والجهل والتخلف، ونهب الثروات، وعدم المساواة".

ويتفق محمد عباس (٣٠) عاماً -صاحب محل ملابس أطفال- مع هالة، ويضيف بقوله: الثوار قدموا أرواحهم الزكية من أجل بناء يمن مزدهر، لا مكان فيه للجهل والتخلف، لكن هذه الأحلام للأسف سرعان ما تبددت، حين اعتلى على كرسي الرئاسة حكام لم يكن مهمهم إلا الاستحواذ على المناصب، وجمع الأموال، دون الالتفات إلى الشعب وإصلاح أوضاعه.

ثورة لا تعيننا

وفي محل فلافل الهاشمي، يواصل إبراهيم المخلافي(٢٤) عاماً عمله بكل نشاط وحيوية، ولا يفكر إلا في الفلافل وعمل السندويشات.

يقول المخلافي: " أرجوك، لا تسأليني عن سبتمبر أو أكتوبر، لأننا لا تعينني، هي خاصة بالكبار القدامى، أما أنا فلا أفكر إلا بالزبائن وبالعمل في هذا المحل.. لقد أتقنت عملي بسبب الطلب المتكرر على الفلافل والسندويشات!"

أما حنان الكيعني خريجة إدارة أعمال فتؤكد "أنها تعرف الكثير عن اليمن وتاريخه، ولكن حين يتم سؤالها فجأة عن ثورة ٢٦ سبتمبر تكتشف أنها لا تعلم الكثير عنها، ولا من قام بها، ولا ماهي أهدافها، وكيف قامت؟ مشددة على ضرورة دراسة التاريخ بشكل صحيح كي ترسخ الثورة في مفاهيمنا ويتعلمها الأجيال جيلاً بعد جيل".

أما مروان محمد فيقول: " لا أعرف عن ثورة سبتمبر إلا القليل، أنا الآن في الصف التاسع، ولم ندرس عن ثورة سبتمبر إلا في الصف الرابع، وبصراحة لم أكن أحب مدرس مادة التاريخ، لذلك لم أعرف كثيراً عن سبتمبر".

Book exhibition coincides with Sept. 26 events

Story and photos by
Nadia Haddash

The International Book Fair was inaugurated Tuesday at the Police Officers Club in Sana'a. The Book General Authority is in charge of organizing the event to coincide with the 26 September revolution.

Many prominent persons in Sana'a, including U.S. Ambassador to Yemen Gerald Feierstein and Dr. Abdulaziz Al-Makaleh were in attendance, as well as other cultural figures known around the country.

Approximately 120 publishing companies took part in the fair, including publishers from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, India, Turkey and the U.S. For the first time, the Development Social Fund participated.

Abdulbari Tahir, head of the Book General Authority, told the Yemen Times the authority opened the door for publishing institutions to take part in circulating different genres of books, including books pertinent to the 2011 political uprising and to the Arab Spring.

He said participation in the fair was not been confined to a particular side; all are accepted to take part because the exhibition is held every year, and it is an opportunity to offer diverse books for readers.

Yemen has been holding book exhibitions for years, with the exception of 2011 because of the political turbulence the country witnessed.

It is the first time the book exhibition was held in the Police Officers Club. Zayd Al-Samawi, a coordinator, said, "It is known that the book exhibition is held in Expo center. However, because of last year's events and the ill-preparedness, this year's book exhibition is being



The annual book fair includes books from all different genres and countries.



U.S. Ambassador Gerald Feierstein attended the event.

held in the Police Officers Club."

Omar Boghlo, a member from the Turkish Hira Cultural Center, said this is not the first time he is taking part in the event and the exchange of cultures through books with.

"We have over 500,000 books which were provided to past exhibitions—cultural, religious or intellectual."

The demands for books and culture are high in Taiz, Aden and Sana'a, according to Boghlo, and people in these governorates react favorably to such exhibitions.

Mohammed Al-Qalisi, a participant from Yemen Book Shop, said the promotion of English-language

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reading in Sana'a is not that strong when compared with Aden, Taiz and Hadramaut governorates.

Nabila Al-Mahbashi, an exhibition visitor, said, "My impression is

positive, and I hope further exhibitions of such kinds will be always held. It should be held always because it contributes to improving our culture."

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Agent for well known multinational companies:

FMC Technologies Smith Meters / LACT Units/ ULTRASONIC Meters	Solar Turbines A Caterpillar Company	Petrofac Mechanical Svcs.	DRESSER Masoneilan Control Valves
MURPHY Frank W Murphy	FMC Technologies Fluid Control Fittings/Pumps/ Invalco / Manifolds	Honeywell Enraf Tank gauging & Inventory system	SEVERN TRENT Power, Desalination & Coastal Sewerage Electrochlorination
DRESSER Consolidated Safety valves & Pressure Relief valves	KOBOLD Flow Products Pressure Products Level Products Temperature Products	BIOKUBE Wastewater Purification	FMC Technologies Chiksan / WEICO / Dynelor products
Volgaburmash Drill bits & drill pipe tool joints	FMC Technologies Marine & Truck Loading Arms & Systems	Turbine Overhauling	SEKO Pumps & Dosing Systems

First Calibration & Maintenance workshop for flow meters in accordance with API Standards
- Certified by SGS.

RECYCLE & REUSE of wastewater for Oilfield camps, Office buildings & Residential apartments
- mobile & fixed systems for 3-3000 persons are available.

Professional Services: Reconditioning, Overhauling, Drilling Equipments Engineering & Fabrication,
Facility Maintenance, In-field Support, Manpower supply, Rewinding of Motors & Alternators.

HORIZON

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