

Country: Yemen

Years: 1945-1947

Leader: Yahya ibn Muhammad

Ideology:

Description: CHISOLS identifies leader party as none. Esposito (2020) describes Yahya ibn Muhammad as “autocratic, rejected political and economic modernization, and favored preservation of a traditional Islamic society. The Free Yemeni Movement revolted against his despotic rule.” Rabi (2014: 13-14 preface) writes, “Imam Yahya bin Husayn bin Muhammad demonstrated an impressive ability to unite the country under his rule. . . Yahya zealously maintained divisive policies and administered his state according to tribal patterns, but he nevertheless ensured his state’s relative stability.” Ingrams (1963: 61) writes, “[Yahya] was willing to leave foreign affairs to the Turks, but insisted that the religious law and the traditional system of taxation be restored.”

Years: 1948-1961

Leader: Ibn Yahya Hamid

Ideology:

Description: CHISOLS identifies leader party as none. World Statesmen identifies Hamid as “Non-Party”.

Years: 1962-1966

Leader: Al-Sallal

Ideology: Left

Description: CHISOLS does not identify head of government’s party. New York Times (1994) identifies as-Sallal as leftist, writing “Mr. Salal was a leftist who opposed the West.” Washington Post (n.d.) corroborates, writing “In an administrative reorganization in 1966, the independent government of Premier Hassan al-Amri’s supporters were ousted by a strongly pro-Egyptian regime, with as-Salal assuming the office of premier.” Carapico (1985: 210-213) writes, “The first republican regime of Abdullah al-Sallal opened the door to political and economic liberalization and endorsed the principle of local development.”

Years: 1967-1973

Leader: Al-Iryani

Ideology: Rightist

Description: Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as rightist. The Historical Dictionary of Yemen notes that Iryani “was the founding chairman of the Central

Planning Organization and minister of development”. Thorsen (2020) writes “Abdul Rahman Al-Iryani... He is known for... his attempt to reconcile the Islamic royalist right wing and the modernist left in order to foster a stable government and nation... He claimed that he was not a leftist although he wanted modernization... One of the first things Al-Iryani did after entering power was to create a government that included a mix of factions: conservatives, leftists, modernizers, and technocrats... He invited people from different striding tribes and ethnicities to take core positions in government... A couple of years later, the conservatives kicked the radical leftists out of the government... That Al-Iryani allowed this is an instance of pleasing his winning coalition, but it does not conflict with his ideological goals in the sense that he was subject to strong constraints from the generally very powerful conservatives and shaykhs... Towards the end of his incumbency, in 1974, Al-Iryani had become increasingly unpopular among both the conservatives (who found he served the leftists too much) and among the modernizers (who saw him as too conservative)... He... [forced] out a conservative prime minister and replac[ed] him with a radical modernist and leftist, Hassan Makki.” Burrowes (1991) writes “the major political achievement of the al-Iryani regime, the Royalist-Republican reconciliation in 1970, had come at the price of both expelling the modernist Left and incorporating the big tribal sheikhs, especially by seating them in the Consultative Council. The result was the narrowly based center-Right Republican regime that, with some changes, persisted from the end of the 1960s through the presidencies of al-Hamdi and al- Ghashmi and into the early years of the Salih era”.

Years: 1974-1976

Leader: [Ibrahim Muhammad] Al-Hamadi

Ideology:

Description: World Statesmen identifies Ibrahim Muhammad Al-Hamadi as “Military.” The Historical Dictionary of Yemen writes of Hamadi as “a symbol of modern Yemeni nationalism and a popularizer of the idea of development” noting also that “he was the leader and symbol of the local development association”. Carapico (1985: 210-213) writes, “The first republican regime of Abdullah al-Sallal opened the door to political and economic liberalization and endorsed the principle of local development. . . After some debate, all member associations agreed to a common name, which translated literally means “local development cooperative society.” This is usually rendered “LDA” for local development association in English; in Arabic it is generally called al-ta’awun, which implies cooperative self-help. . . Al-Hamdi promised greater government encouragement for self-help in the provinces.” Carapico (1985: 205) describes, “local development activities in the Yemen Arab Republic have made a major contribution to the

extension of rudimentary services to towns, villages and hamlets” and mentions specifically “local and regional groups have mobilized capital for investment in dirt roads, simple water collection, primary schools.” Rabi (2014: 72-73) writes, “The new president, Ibrahim al-Hamdi, recognized the need to build modern state institutions and adopted a policy of more dynamic reform than his predecessor had. . . President al-Hamdi did not succeed in implementing the reform measures that he initiated in North Yemen. By the end of his rule, the government’s reach was more limited, not less. . . During the reign of Ibrahim al-Hamdi, a strong attempt was made to consolidate and rebuild state and societal institutions.” Hirst (1977) writing for The Guardian noted after Al-Hamdi’s assassination that “President Al-Hamdi [did] move forcefully against them... [the] unofficial but quietly tolerated Left-wing parties.” Burrowes (1991) writes “After 1974, the charismatic President al-Hamdi... inadvertently narrowed the political base of the regime further when he both succeeded in driving such leading tribalists as Abdullah ibn Husayn al-Ahmar and Sinan abu Luhum from the state and failed in his tentative efforts to reincorporate the Left. In addition to keeping up old ties with a few leftist leaders, his attempt to create a more broadly based center-Left coalition during his 40 months in office involved three separate initiatives: the local development association (LDA) movement, the Correction Movement, and the General People's Congress. The LDA movement, launched in 1974, held out the promise of grassroots organization nationwide; the Correction Movement offered a means to train and place political cadres at all levels of the state. Despite their initial promise, al-Hamdi seems to have had second thoughts and to have pulled back from efforts to use these two initiatives as bases for a broad, popular political movement, and his subsequent plans for a general people's congress were overtaken by his assassination in 1977. Frustrated by al-Hamdi's inability or unwillingness to grant them reentry into the polity, several leftist groups created the NDF in 1976, and it, in turn, became the basis of the rebellion that challenged the Salih regime a few years later” and “the major political achievement of the al-Iryani regime, the Royalist-Republican reconciliation in 1970, had come at the price of both expelling the modernist Left and incorporating the big tribal sheikhs, especially by seating them in the Consultative Council. The result was the narrowly based center-Right Republican regime that, with some changes, persisted from the end of the 1960s through the presidencies of al-Hamdi and al- Ghashmi and into the early years of the Salih era”.

Year: 1977

Leader: [Ahmad] Al-Ghashmi

Ideology:

Description: World Statesmen (2020) identifies Ahmad al-Ghashmi's party as "Military." The Jerusalem post noted Al-Ghashmi's antagonism with leftist groups, saying at the time of his assassination in 1978 that "The president was killed as an envoy from the rival South Yemen regime was about to hand him a message... "Al-Ghashmi was killed from a quarter known for its perfidy against the nation and Allah," INA quoted... [as] an evident reference to the Marxist regime in neighboring South Yemen." Burrowes (1991) writes "the major political achievement of the al-Iryani regime, the Royalist-Republican reconciliation in 1970, had come at the price of both expelling the modernist Left and incorporating the big tribal sheikhs, especially by seating them in the Consultative Council. The result was the narrowly based center-Right Republican regime that, with some changes, persisted from the end of the 1960s through the presidencies of al-Hamdi and al- Ghashmi and into the early years of the Salih era".

Years: 1978-2011

Leader: Saleh al-Hashidi

Ideology: Rightist

Description: Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as rightist. CHISOLS identifies leader party as none. World Statesmen (2020) identifies leader party as "non party/MSA" from 1978-1990 and MSA after 1990. World Statesmen notes that "MSA=Al-Mo'tamar Ash-Sha'abiy Al-'Am (General People's Congress, Arab nationalist, authoritarian, right-wing, Arab nationalist." Perspective monde identifies head of government's party as People's General Congress (GPC). In the Global Party Survey 2019, 6 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of General People's Congress (GPC) as 7.0. In V-Party (2020), 7 expert identifies leader party's ideology as "Center" (-.05) in 1993, "Center" (-.131) in 1997 and "Center" (.009) in 2003. Perspective monde identifies head of government ideology as centrist. Burrowes (1991) writes "The Salih regime's political effort was not very original... The element added by the Salih regime was the step-by- step process by which it moved the Yemeni polity from where it was in 1979 to the successful holding of such a congress... By design and a bit of luck, moreover, this sustained political initiative did more to strengthen the regime than merely organize its growing but amorphous center-Right base of support. It also provided a political process largely defined and managed by the regime into which elements of the Yemeni Left could be safely incorporated when, in 1982, the NDF rebellion was put down and many of its leaders and followers "came home." The two dialogues, one between the Salih regime and the NDF as well as the larger, more public one involving the regime and the rest of the nation, converged finally in a structure that facilitated a second national reconciliation" and "the major political achievement of the al-Iryani regime, the Royalist-Republican reconciliation in

1970, had come at the price of both expelling the modernist Left and incorporating the big tribal sheikhs, especially by seating them in the Consultative Council. The result was the narrowly based center-Right Republican regime that, with some changes, persisted from the end of the 1960s through the presidencies of al-Hamdi and al- Ghashmi and into the early years of the Salih era”.

Years: 2012-2020

Leader: Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi

Ideology: Rightist

Description: Perspective monde identifies leader party as People’s General Congress. CHISOLS identifies leader party as MSA. Perspective monde identifies head of government ideology as “centrist”. Oman and Yemen Business Forecast Report (2006) identifies GPC as right: “Founded in 1982 following Saleh’s accession to the presidency of North Yemen. Secular and broadly moderate/economically liberal.” World Statesmen (2019) further corroborates, writing “General People’s Congress, Arab nationalist, authoritarian, right-wing, Arab nationalist, est. 1982.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 6 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of General People’s Congress (GPC) as 7.0. In V-Party (2020), 7 expert identifies leader party’s ideology as “Center” (.009) in 2003.

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