

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

Saudi Arabia is the largest desert country in the Middle East, with an area of 2.240.350 sq.km (4/5 of *Jazirah Arab*)<sup>1</sup>. Saudi Arabia occupied most of the Arabian Peninsula<sup>2</sup>, bordering with the Red Sea in the west and the Persian Gulf in the east. It has borders in the north with Jordan, Iraq, and Kuwait; east coastline with the Persian Gulf; east with Qatar and United Arab Emirates (UAE); southeast with Oman; south with Yemen; and west coastline with Gulf of Aqaba and the Red Sea. It shares maritime borders with Bahrain, Egypt, Eritrea, Sudan and Iran. Saudi Arabia is the birthplace of Islam and home to Islam's two holiest shrines in Mecca and Medina. Saudi governed by a monarchy; the king is head of both state and government. The king's official title is the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques. Sunni Islam is the official religion.

In 1902, Abd Al-Aziz ibn Abd al-Rahman Al Saud captured Riyadh and set out on a 30-year campaign to unify the Arabian Peninsula. A son of Abd Al-Aziz rules the country today, and the country's Basic Law stipulates that the throne shall remain in the hands of the aging sons and grandsons of the kingdom's founder.

Since 1995, Saudi Arabia has made subtle changes in its governance structure. Concerns over balancing the various factions of the royal family led to the creation of new advisory groups and a slight diffusion of power. In 2003 the government announced a reorganization of the Council of Ministers and then plans to create municipal councils and to hold democratic elections. About the foreign relation, Saudi Arabia has strong ties to the nations of the Middle East as well

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<sup>1</sup> Kedutaan Besar RI Merangkap Organisasi Kerjasama Islam (OKI) di Riyadh, Kerajaan Arab Saudi. (2015). *Profil Negara Kerajaan Arab Saudi*. Retrieved November 18, 2017 from Kedutaan Besar RI Merangkap Organisasi Kerjasama Islam (OKI) di Riyadh, Kerajaan Arab Saudi:

<https://www.kemlu.go.id/riyadh/id/Pages/Arab-Saudi.aspx>.

<sup>2</sup> Arabian Peninsula, known also as *Jazirah Arab*.

as to other Muslim states and developed nations such as the United States and Japan.

In the south of Saudi, there is Yemen as a neighbor country which has a long history with Saudi. It is a desert country which located in the Middle East at the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula between Oman and Saudi Arabia.<sup>3</sup> Its situated at the entrance to the Bab el Mandeb strait, which links the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean (via the Gulf of Aden) and is one of the most active and strategic shipping lanes in the world<sup>4</sup>. The official language is Arabic. Following World War II, Yemen became a member of both the Arab League and the United Nations.

Since long time ago Saudi and Yemen had already relation, it was from bad and good sides because they are a neighborhood country. Besides that, those countries also a member of the Arab League in the inter-governance organization. There were several moments which already happened between those countries, they are The Treaty of Taif (1934), Yemen's civil war (1962-1970), Yemeni unification (1990), The Gulf War (1990-91), North-south war (1994), Treaty of Jeddah (2000) as the result of border dispute, and the last is The Houthi rebellion (2015). Also, each country is always meddling with internal conflict which happens to them.

In Yemen, there is an internal conflict between the Sectarian Shiite which represented by the Houthi group and the Sunnis which represent the Government of Yemen. An internal conflict like that already happened since Yemen divided into two parts for decades; the Yemen Arab Republic (North) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South) the country finally unified as the Republic of Yemen in 1990. Differences over power-sharing and the pace of integration between north and south came to a head in 1994, resulting in a bloody civil war. Harmony between all factions

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<sup>3</sup>CIA. (2015, June 15). *The World Factbook: Yemen*. Retrieved from Central Intelligence Agency: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ym.html>.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

remains a difficult, sometimes violent process, but countrywide democracy is a long-term goal.

Most recently, with the rise of the Arab Spring, protests in Yemen were widespread in early 2011. Among the demands were changed in the economic conditions and corruption, as well as a call for the resignation of President Ali Abdullah Saleh.<sup>5</sup> The protests quickly transformed into a massive uprising and an assassination attempt against Saleh.

By late 2011, after signing an agreement, Saleh stepped down; however, protests and conflict continued. Then Vice President Abed Rabbo Mansour Hadi as the only candidate at the time won the election with the result on the ballot won 99 percent of the vote and became President of Yemen.<sup>6</sup> Political instability in Yemen is not good, which occurred during efforts to overthrow Ali Abdullah Saleh a gap for groups that Shiite Houthi rebels try to seize power from the government. The condition in Yemen is becoming worse. When it happened, Saudi came and did a military action. The military intervention by Saudi Arabia in Yemen's internal power struggle in March 2015 has brought southern Arabia to the attention of a global public once more.

The intervention was known as Operation Decisive Storm, conducted by Saudi-led coalition of 9 other countries across Arab region and supported by Western powers like United States. The operation was mainly focusing on bombing Houthi's base and lasted for several months before stopped and shifted to aid Yemen in humanitarian assistance. This thesis will focus on analyzing the reasons why the coalition led by Saudi Arabia decided to intervene in the Yemeni conflict.

## **B. Research Question**

Based on the explanation of the background above, the main problem of this undergraduate thesis is "Why did Saudi Arabia operate military intervention in Yemen conflict 2015?"

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<sup>5</sup>Popp, R. (2015). War in Yemen: Revolution and Saudi Intervention., p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

### C. Theoretical Framework

To answer the research, question writer will use the Coplin's Decision Making Process and Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) concept, which are:

#### 1. Decision Making Process of Foreign Policy by William D. Coplin

When we learn about International Relations, we will talk about how the relationship within a state. There are several relations could tie between two states or more; like in economics, politics, educations and so on. Those aspects are a way to reach their goals (national interest). To make it all happen a state already have a plan or strategic which already calculated first.

Foreign Policy of every state is different; it depends on their national interest and what approach that they used. For this undergraduate thesis, the writer would analyze the case and answer a research question use a theory of Foreign Policy based on William D. Coplin's book. The title of the book is "*Introduction of International Politics: Model of Decision Making Process*."

In his book, Coplin used a rationality approach to explain how the process of a state to decide. There are some points on rationality approach: first, rational approach emphasizing that the main actor to achieve national interest is a state; second, on global political scene - to reach those aims a state make a rational strategy; third, making an analyses about what decision will be taking the best or is it good/bad.; last, foreign policy is a calculated-response of the act of the other states<sup>7</sup>. This approach called a rationality approach

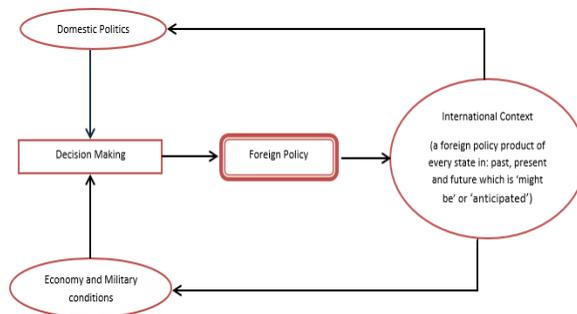
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<sup>7</sup> Rd. Rikan Krisna Wangsa rievion on William D. Coplin. "*Introduction of International Politics: Model of Decision Making Process*". From: [http://www.academia.edu/11030333/William\\_D.\\_Coplin\\_Introduction\\_to\\_International\\_Politic\\_Model\\_of\\_Decision\\_Making\\_Proces](http://www.academia.edu/11030333/William_D._Coplin_Introduction_to_International_Politic_Model_of_Decision_Making_Proces). Retrieved November 2, 2017.

because of a result of a deep calculation and analyses from every alternative.

By using a rational approach in his book, Coplin mentioned that the first thing to use to analyze foreign policy of a country is by finding out why the country is making such a policy. We should find out what causes a head of state (policy maker) to decide it because every head of state did not instantly make foreign policy, it must have considered beforehand.

As written in Mercedes Marbun's translated book “*Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoritis Ed. 2*”, according to Coplin three factors influence the decision-making process of foreign policy, which are: domestic politics, economy-military capability, and international context<sup>8</sup>. Before the explanation of those three factors, the writer will show the illustration of how four determinants (three factors plus 'decision-making') influence foreign policy actions:<sup>9</sup>



**Diagram 1.1**

### **Coplin's Decision Making Process Theory**

Source: William D. Coplin, *Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoritis* [Introduction to International Politics: A Theoretical Overview], 1992, Mercedes Marbun, Trans., 2nd Edition, Bandung: Sinar Baru., p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> William D. Coplin, *Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoritis* [Introduction to International Politics: A Theoretical Overview], 1992, Mercedes Marbun, Trans., 2nd Edition, Bandung: Sinar Baru., p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Based on the illustration above, we will discuss about each factor:

a. Domestic Politic

Domestic politic situations are the consideration in the decision making of foreign policy. Thus, the consideration is not only relying on the decision maker but the policy influencer in within the state. The relation between the decision maker and the political actors to influence the foreign policy is called policy influencers system. Politic situations within each state are different, thus the decision making of foreign policy also different. There are four types of policy influencers<sup>10</sup>; they are bureaucratic, partisan, interest and mass media. Each type of policy influencer has consideration.

b. Economic and Military Capability

Besides politic situation, other factors that give huge influence toward foreign policy making are the military and economic conditions. Both economic and military give demands and supports<sup>11</sup> toward foreign policymaking. The demand is something that eager to be achieved in economic and military in international relation through foreign policy. In contrast, supports are the capability of an economy and military power to achieve the purpose of foreign policy.

c. International Context

A country becomes very sensitive to what happens with the surrounding countries. As Realist believes it, domestic politics is not only the factors that influence the foreign policy.

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<sup>10</sup> William D. Coplin, *Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoritis* [Introduction to International Politics: A Theoretical Overview], 1992, Mercedes Marbun, Trans., 2nd Edition, Bandung: Sinar Baru., p. 81.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

Another factor that gives a contribution to the foreign policymaking is international context, where the international context reflects on how the interaction between or among the states. Based on “*Suatu Telaah Teoritis*,” international environment of one state correlates with the territory of its state, economic and political relationships with other states. Briefly explain that there are three important elements of international context<sup>12</sup>, they are: geographic, economic and political.

Then, to analyze the reason behind Saudi Arabia operates military intervention in Yemen conflict, the writer refers it to one of the three factors that influence the decision-making process of foreign policy, that is international context. As it already mentions above that the international context has three important elements, but the writer will only use the two elements, which are geography and politic:

1) Geographic

Geographic does not only discuss territory but also can be an international context in every sector that refers to the alliance and the inter-governance membership pattern. First, the in term of geographic condition, Saudi and Yemen are in the same region, which is in the Middle East. That makes Saudi, and Yemen become close. Thus, the location of South Arabia is directly adjacent to North Yemen. Second, in term of the alliance sector, Saudi and Yemen are the Sunni followers. Third, both countries are in the same regional organization, which is ‘Arab League.’

2) Politics

Alliance and the resemblance of national interest are the reasons behind political relations among or between states. Alliance can affect

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 167.

member and nonmember foreign policy. That also happens in the relationship between Saudi and Yemen, which located in the same region. The resemblance of national interest and under the Sunni umbrella, Saudi feels the moral value to help the Muslim people in Yemen.

The conclusion from the reason of Saudi Arabia did military intervention toward Yemen case seen by international context is the moral burden to help the neighbor state. Moreover, they are in the same ideology.

## **2. The Responsibility to Protect Concept**

The Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) has become a prominent feature in international debates about preventing genocide and mass atrocities and about protecting potential victims. Starting from the tragedy which happened in Rwanda and The Balkans in the 1990s, where at that time international community failed to do an intervention on that conflict.

UN Secretary-General Koffi Annan recalled about the humanitarian crisis which happened in Rwanda and Kosovo on his Millennium Report of 2000; he has a question<sup>13</sup>

"If humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica, to gross and systematic violation of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity?"

The formula of sovereignty as a responsibility to protect then developed furthering a report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS or Evans-Sahnoun Commission). In December 2001, International Commission on Intervention State Sovereignty (ICISS) firstly presented

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<sup>13</sup> *The Responsibility to Protect*, Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, December 2001., p. 2.

the expression of “Responsibility to Protect” as a response of Kofi Annan’s question about when the international community must intervene in the internal conflict of a state, for the humanitarian purpose. The issues were reported again in December 2004 by the United Nations Secretary General’s High Panel on Threats, Challenge and Change with the title “*A More Secure World, Our Shared Responsibility.*”

ICISS also reported that Responsibility to protect should insert three types of responsibility;<sup>14</sup>

1. The Responsibility to Prevent

To address both the root causes and direct causes of internal conflict and other man-made crises putting population at risk.

2. The Responsibility to React

To respond to situations of compelling human need with appropriate measures, which may include coercive measures like sanctions and international prosecution, and in extreme cases military intervention.

3. The Responsibility to Rebuild

To provide, particularly after military intervention, full assistance with recovery, reconstruction and reconciliation, addressing the cause of the harm the intervention was designed to halt or avert.

According to the UN Security Council, there are three pillars of the responsibility to protect, as stipulated in the Outcome Document of the 2005 United Nations World Summit and formulated in the Secretary-General’s 2009 Report on Implementing. The three pillars are<sup>15</sup>:

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<sup>14</sup> The responsibility to Protect, Report of The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, December 2001.

<sup>15</sup> *Summary of the Report of the Secretary-General on “Implementing the Responsibility to Protect”*. (2009, February 16). Retrieved October 20, 2017, from International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect;

1. *The protection responsibility of the State* - The State carries the primary responsibility for protecting populations from four mass atrocity crimes such as genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing, and their incitement;
2. *International assistance and capacity-building* - External actors like the international community have the right to be involved and have the responsibility to encourage and assist States in fulfilling this responsibility;
3. The international community has a responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other means to protect populations from these crimes. If a State is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take collective action to protect populations, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The implementation of this theory based on the ICCS report on RtoP concept, it was explained that States and international organization have a responsibility to prevent and cope with the internal conflict that can endanger society. Subsequently, if the state cannot cope with the domestic conflict, the state will recognize as 'failed,' later other states or international organization are obligated to help people within the state.

The assistance can be formed as sanctions (from international organizations), even military intervention if the situation much endangered to society. In this case, Saudi did the military intervention in Yemen, on behalf of the Arab League. Seeing from the meaning of RtoP,

the writer analyzes the reason why Saudi Arabia did the intervention in Yemen refers to two of the three types of responsibility that must exist in RtoP:

1. Responsibility to Prevent

Prevention or solving problems, in this first phase the Yemeni government has failed to prevent conflicts in the country. Why is that, this kind of conflict between Houthi and government has happened before. Then in 2015 again occurs where in that year the conflict spread not only in western Yemen but to the capital of Yemen (Sanaa, South Yemen). The expansion of the Houthi rebellion in Yemen resulted in many deaths.

2. Responsibility to React

After a country is deemed a failure because it cannot prevent a conflict that causes its inhabitants to be in danger. Furthermore, the obligation to keep the population from humanitarian crimes continues to international organizations (United Nations) or other countries. The Yemen conflict that had reached Sanaa resulted in President Hadi having to move to Aden to seek help from the United Nations and neighboring countries. The help request was then responded by Saudi Arabia, by intervening to Yemen. Saudi intervention was military because Yemen's situation at that time was very chaotic. The rebels have coupled almost all of Yemen's country.

Based on the explanation above, the reason of Saudi Arabia 'on behalf of Arab League' intervention is helping and saving Yemen population from humanitarian crimes. Moreover, it was supported by President Hadi which has been sending a legal-letter for help to the United Nations and neighbor countries. So, Saudi wants to restore the legitimate government and

protecting a Yemeni population from humanitarian crimes.

Afterward, the reason behind the writer does not discuss responsibility to rebuild because of the scope of research for this under-graduate thesis only up 2015. Therefore, in 2015 there was no progress about the recovery process.

#### **D. Hypothesis**

Based on the theoretical framework above, the writer assumes there are two annalistic reasons behind Saudi Arabia operate military intervention in Yemen, they are:

1. Saudi has a close relation in geographic and political element, same ideology; Sunni.
2. Saudi Arabia acts on behalf of Arab League encouraging responsibility to protect to maintaining the Arab League principles.

#### **E. Purpose of Writing**

The purposes of the research are to explain the factors Saudi Arabia did operate military intervention in Yemen conflict in 2015.

#### **F. Methodology**

A methodology is a system of principles and general ways of organizing and structuring theoretical and practical activity, and also the theory of this system.<sup>16</sup> We would say that a methodology is the science of methods to answer questions about how the data collected and how it analyzed.

The research method divides into two, they are qualitative and quantitative:

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<sup>16</sup>A. Spirkin, "*Dialectical Materialism*". Chapter 1. Philosophy as A World-View And A Methodology, Philosophy as Methodology. Retrieved May 08 2016, from: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/spirkin/works/dialectical-materialism/ch01-s03.html>.

“Quantitative methods emphasize objective measurements and the statistical, mathematical, or numerical analysis of data collected through polls, questionnaires, and surveys, or by manipulating pre-existing statistical data using computational techniques. Quantitative research focuses on gathering numerical data and generalizing it across groups of people or to explain a particular phenomenon.”<sup>17</sup>

“Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry.”<sup>18</sup>

To help answering the research question, the writer used a qualitative method in this undergraduate thesis. Qualitative research is primarily exploratory research. Which means the research will run with the help of the printed materials such as book, newspaper, journal, and report. It also helped by the electronic media such as the television news, and online media retrieved from the internet.

Firstly in here, the writer would like to mention several books which were used to help for the research; first, a book by Roland Popp with the title “*War in Yemen: Revolution and Saudi Intervention*”; second, a translation book by Marsedes Marbun “*Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoritis Ed. 2*”; third, a book by Abdulaziz Bashir and Stephen Wright with the title “*Saudi Arabia: Foreign Policy after the Gulf War*,” and forth, a book by Mark A. Caudill with the title “*Twilight in the Kingdom: Understanding the Saudis*.” These all books helped the writer to complete the background and analyze the issue. Secondly, there is a report; it is a report of

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<sup>17</sup>USC Libraries, “*Organizing Your Social Sciences Research Paper: Quantitative Methods*”. Retrieved May 08 2016, from USC Libraries: <http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/quantitative>.

<sup>18</sup>USC Libraries, “*Organizing Your Social Sciences Research Paper: Quantitative Methods*”. Retrieved May 08 2016, from USC Libraries: <http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/qualitative>.

The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICSS) about the Responsibility to Protect (December 2001). Finally, I would mention several online media like news and articles from CIA website, BBC news, The National World, and USC libraries, etc.

The next step after collecting data is processing it. In the data processing, it should divide into two parts, processing and display as mentioned below:

a. Processing

In this step, the data will divide by two, which are analyzed or presented. The data analysis could be done by finding any sources to proof the data whether it is correct or not. Then, it would be analyzed to find the valid and reliable one.

b. Displaying

In this step, tables and graphics will be exposed to support the validity and reliability of the available proof.

The last step is writing a research report because all a data are already valid. On this step determine which data the writer can use to help make the undergraduate thesis complete.

Therefore, all the data collected for this analysis are the secondary data. It is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations. It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas or hypotheses for potential quantitative research.

## **G. Scope of Research**

The internal conflict which happened in Yemen started since this state was independent until achieved the unification in 1990. However, the unification in 2015 known as the trigger of rebels who against the government and made the chaotic situation in Yemen. One of the biggest and most influence rebellion is Houthi.

In action, Houthi was done several actions to show its stand against the government, such as massive demonstrations, to reject the unfair treatment by the Sunni group which done

by the government to Shiite. The conflict between Sunni and Shiite created the government instability that made Saudi which has a close relation in geographic and political element intervene in Yemen, also on behalf of Arab League encouraging responsibility to protect maintaining Arab League principle. So, this research will be focusing on Saudi Arabia's ethics on behalf of Arab League to operates military intervention in Yemen conflict 2015.

## **H. Thesis Structure**

This undergraduate thesis provides analysis in systematic order by separate the analysis into several chapters. Every single chapter is a coherent body of analysis to answer the question that generated before. These would be as follows:

**Chapter I** consist of eight subtitles; background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, the purpose of writing, methodology, the scope of research, and thesis structure. The introduction is the brief opening about what the case that the thesis analysis.

**Chapter II** explains about the Foreign Policy of Saudi Arabia, consist of four sub-titles based on the geographical spectrum; the Gulf circle, the Arab circle, the Islamic circle, and the International circle

**Chapter III** explain about Conflict and The Increasing of Humanitarian Crises in Yemen, consist of five sub-titles; the History of Yemen, the Origin of Houthi, the Existence of Terrorist Group in Yemen, Yemeni Crisis 2011-2015, and Humanitarian Violation in Yemeni Crisis.

**Chapter IV** analyze the factors of Saudi Arabia did operate military intervention in Yemen conflict (2015). This chapter consist of three subtitles; the Intervention of Saudi-led Coalition, the Close Relation of Saudi Arabia - Yemen in Geographic and Political Elements and the Encourage of Responsibility to Protect Maintaining Arab League Principle.

**Chapter V** concludes the thesis from all chapters