

CHAPTER III

CONFLICT IN YEMEN AND THE INCREASING OF HUMANITARIAN CRISES

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.⁶⁴ It 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 world⁶⁵. The official language is Arabic. Following World War II, Yemen became a member of both the Arab League and the United Nations.

In Yemen, there is an internal conflict between the Sectarian Shiite represented by the Houthi group against the Sunnis group representing the Yemen's authorities. The root of this conflict has 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 remains a difficult, sometimes violent process, but countrywide democracy is a long-term goal.

Before modern Yemen existed, Yemen was a region filled with tribal groups fighting each other and maintaining their own culture and independence. The northern part eventually came under the Ottoman rule in the 1800s, and when Ottoman fell in the 20th century, North Yemen gained independence. The southern part was still under British rule

⁶⁴CIA. (2015, June 15). *The World Factbook: Yemen*. Retrieved from Central Intelligence Agency: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ym.html>.

⁶⁵Ibid.

and tried to achieve independence; later both parts engaged in conflict until the unification in 1990.

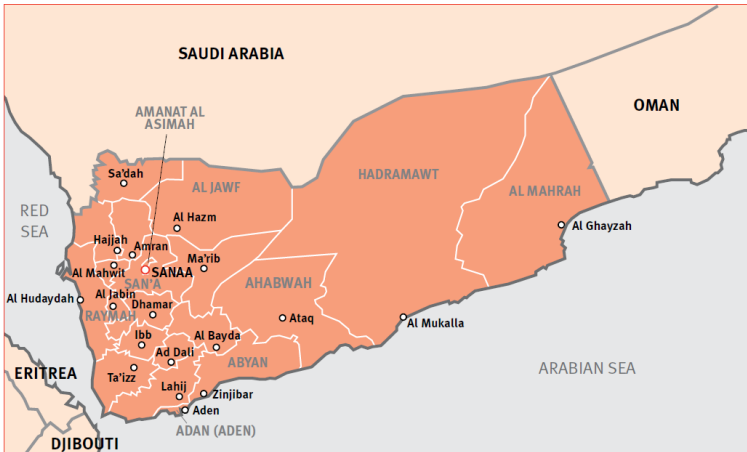


Figure 3.1
Map of Yemen

Source: Ismail Ould Cheick Ahmed and Trond Jensen , “Political transition and the humanitarian challenge in Yemen”, Humanitarian Exchange, No. 61, 2014, p. 7.

A. History of Yemen

Before unification in 1990, Yemen was two entities of North Yemen and South Yemen. Before achieving independence, northern Yemen was part of Ottoman until 1911. This region dominated by two large tribal confederations, the Hashid, and Bakil. Istanbul signed the Da’an agreement with Yahya Mahmud al-Mutawakkil and handed over the sovereignty of northern Yemen. North Yemen declared independence in 1918 following the fall of the Ottoman after World War I. Yahya ruled North Yemen with an Islamic rule and traditional rule in some degree. Yahya was killed in a coup and replaced by his son Imam Ahmad. Ahmad was corrupt and authoritarian. He murdered in a coup, and

North Yemen fell under the civil war of both the supporter of monarchy and republic.

In 1967 the supporter of republic won the war after being supported by Soviet and Egypt, establishing the Yemen Arab Republic. Abdul Rahman al-Iryani ruled the new republic regime and after that, in 1972, led North Yemen into a short border conflict with South Yemen, weakening the country even more. As a result, in 1974 Abdul was ousted in a coup, and North Yemen fell into chaos. In 1978, Ali Abdullah Saleh took control of North Yemen and with the authoritarian way he successfully controls North Yemen, neutralizing coup and eventually led North Yemen into unification with South Yemen in 1990.

On the other hand, South Yemen was a collection of independent tribes under the rule of the British colony. There were two separate entities, the Federation of South Arabia and the Protectorate of South Arabia, both were under British rule and promised with independence in 1968. However, in 1963 Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY) and National Liberation Front (NFL) started armed struggle to fight the British. The condition was severe, and in 1967 the British left South Yemen, and the People's Republic of South Yemen was declared independent.

In 1970, the radical Marxist NFL movement ousted a coup and changed the country into People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen, and heavily backed with Soviet and China. In 1980, Abdul Fatah Ismail resigned from the head of state of South Yemen and replaced by Ali Muhammad Nasir. However, in 1986 Ismail returned, and the clash between the factions of Nasir and Ismail erupted, destabilized the country and resulted in Nasir's ouster and Ismail deaths. Later, Haydar Abu Bakr al Attas assumed the position of head of state of South Yemen.⁶⁶

South Yemen remained the proxy of the Soviet's power in the Middle East even when the surrounding countries were

⁶⁶ "Country Profile: Yemen, August 2008", Library of Congress – Federal Research Division., pp. 2-3., <https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/profiles/Yemen-new.pdf>.

starting to establish relations with the US and the West after the war with Israel. However, in the late 1980s, Soviet was under great political reform, and it influenced South Yemen too. This situation also led to more realization between North and South Yemen, in which in 1988 both agreed to discuss unification, joint oil exploration, and border demilitarization. In 1990, North and South Yemen unified to become the Republic of Yemen. President Saleh of North Yemen became president of the new republic; Ali Salim al Baydh, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, was named vice president; and South Yemeni President al Attas was named a prime minister.⁶⁷

Unification does not mean an instant peace and stability. The nature of this unification seemed rushed and left out some problems like a suspended election, failed military unification, unstable economy, and so on. The bad economic condition mainly became the factor of domestic unrest throughout 1992 and resulted in civil war in 1994. Al Baydh and al Attas declared the new Democratic Republic of Yemen (DRY) to replace former South Yemen, reinstating Aden as the capital. This movement was supported by Saudi Arabia in hope to prevent Yemen from becoming too powerful in the region. However, DRY gained no international recognition and Aden fell into Saleh's forces two months later.

Although lasted shortly, the consequence of the civil war was significant. Most prominently is the stronger control of Saleh's forces and regime. He replaced the government officials from South Yemeni people to North Yemeni people who were loyal to him. Then, it caused more inequality between the North and South power and would become the fuel of future separatism ideas and movements. In recent conflict, people of former South Yemen gather themselves in Southern Movement to separate themselves and gain independence.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

B. Origin of Houthi

Houthi is a group originated from northern Yemen in a region called Sa'ada. This region was known to be underdeveloped and vastly unequal compared to the central government in Sana'a. The name 'Houthi' came from the name of the family of Zaidi clerics in northern Yemen, more specifically Badruddin al-Houthi, father of Hussein al-Houthi, the founder of the movement. Zaidi is a branch of Shia Islam which was the majority of northern Yemen. Houthi's main goal is to combat underdevelopment and political marginalization in Yemen while also fighting for greater autonomy for Houthi-majority region. The claim to support a more democratic republic in Yemen and believe that fighting corruption is the main action of their political program.⁶⁸ They are officially known as "Anshar Allah," meaning the "Supporters of God."

The Houthi movement created by Hussein al-Houthi. The Anshar Allah revolution led by his brother Abdul Malik al-Houthi. Houthi is the line of modern Zaid cleric's family who still exists today. Some experts say that Houthi started out as a moderate religious movement, preaching tolerance and had a broad-minded view. In 1986 they founded the Believing Youth (BY)/Ittihad Asy Syabab movement, full of religious activity to teach Zaidi Shia to society. During the unification of Yemen in 1990, there was a great opportunity for a multi-party system in Yemen, and BY transformed politically into Hizbul Haq (Party of Truth) to represent Zaidi people in politics. Hussein al-Houthi became the member of the representative council in 1993 and 1997.

Although its considered Shia, Zaidi is different from the majority of Shia in Iran and Iraq and elsewhere in the world. Zaidi rejects the belief of Twelve Shia Imam and does not recognize the legitimacy of Ayatullah in Iran. A distanced

⁶⁸ Bruce Riedel, "Who are the Houthis, and why are we at war with them?" (18 December 2017), retrieved 19 July 2018, from Brookings: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/12/18/who-are-the-houthis-and-why-are-we-at-war-with-them/>.

relation with other Shia is also the reason why Houthi sometimes considered too local and not uninfluenced by Iran and other Shia power in the Middle East, some even considered that Houthi is not a representation of all Shia in Yemen at all.⁶⁹ Although, the BY teaching material was full of teaching from Shia in Lebanon (Hezbollah) and other Shia teaching from other countries.⁷⁰ However, Houthi is also open about its political relations with Iran, admiring certain parts of Iranian system especially Iran's resistance to the West and US. However, Houthi never consider themselves as the proxy of Iran nor the extension of Iran's political interest in Yemen.⁷¹

The radicalization of Houthi started after the US invasion of Iraq when BY-affiliated youth then adopted anti-American and anti-Jewish slogan and chanted it in the Saleh Mosque in Sana'a after Friday prayers. Houthi believed that invasion of Iraq is nothing more than an imperialist agenda of the West and the 9/11 is just a conspiracy by US and Jewish to give an excuse to the invasion. It was also around this time the Houthi started calling themselves Ansar Allah.

This action marked the beginning of government's worry and supervision toward Houthi group, believing that Houthi could soon transform to be against the government of Yemen as well. Upon knowing of this provocative chanting and action, the government of Yemen arrested more than 800 BY supporters in Sana'a in 2004 and president Saleh asked Hussein al-Houthi to stop propagating the action. Instead, Hussein responded by calling for the insurgency against the government in June 2004 and starting the role of Houthi as possessing military power in Yemen. Again, the struggle was inspired by Hezbollah in Lebanon for successfully fighting Israeli army.⁷² Hussein killed by the Yemeni military in

⁶⁹ "Shia in Yemen", *Shia Rights Watch*, 2015., p. 12.

⁷⁰ Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, & Madeleine Wells, "Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen", RAND Corporation, 2010.

⁷¹ April Longley Alley, "Who Are Yemen's Houthis?" (Interview) (25 February 2015), retrieved 24 July 2018, from Council on Foreign Relations: <https://www.cfr.org/interview/who-are-yemens-houthis>.

⁷² Saeed Al Batati, "Who are the Houthis in Yemen?" (30 March 2015), retrieved 24 July 2018 from Al Jazeera:

September 2004, and the leadership of Houthi moved to his brother Abdul Malik al-Houthi. Houthi engaged in war with the Yemeni government until the ceasefire in 2010.

C. The Existence of Terrorist Groups in Yemen

Al-Qaeda that operates in Yemen is mostly known as Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). AQAP established in 2009 as the merger of Al-Qaeda's branch in Yemen and Saudi Arabia. AQAP is known as the strongest affiliate of Al-Qaeda's central, feeding power from the ongoing conflict in Yemen. AQAP's leadership consists of many positions, with a Yemeni called Qasim al-Raymi as the decision maker along with his consultative body.

AQAP has several objectives. First, it shares Al-Qaeda's main goal to weaken the US and Europe presence in Muslim-majority countries. Second, it wants to establish a jihadist emirate in Yemen, becoming part of greater Al-Qaeda. Third, and perhaps the most humane of all, is to survive and grow against the harsh condition of Yemeni conflict. During 2009 to 2010, AQAP action was like mainstream terrorist action, conducting bombing and attacks in public places, mainly targeting Jews and Christians. AQAP gained much popularity and support after 2011 because people seek an alternative of government vs. Houthi conflict. AQAP invited tribes to fight alongside them, and they started calling themselves Anshar al-Sharia (Helpers of the Sharia). US attacks in Yemen also encouraged Yemeni people to join AQAP because US presence has been seen as enemy and destructor of the country, so is the government.⁷³

Another similar group presence during the Yemeni conflict is the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL), Daesh, or simply Islamic State (IS). Central ISIS was a defect of Al-

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/08/yemen-houthis-hadi-protests-201482132719818986.html>.

⁷³ Knoll, "Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP): An Al-Qaeda Affiliate Case Study", CNA., p. 17.

Qaeda and in 2014 started to campaign their agenda in establishing an Islamic caliphate. ISIS' branch in Yemen was also founded in 2014 soon after they gain power in part of Iraq and Syria.

ISIS started to attack in 2015, mostly targeting Shia mosques and people affiliated with Shia Houthi movement. Both ISIS and AQAP were radical Sunni and therefore seeing Shia as an enemy as well. However, AQAP saw the presence of ISIS as a threat to their power and existence in Yemen. Although, initially AQAP celebrated the success of ISIS fighting the Western power and called for unity, later AQAP stated that ISIS was illegitimate when ISIS formally declared that Yemen is part of their province.⁷⁴

Despite that condition, ISIS gained many supporters mostly from a former member of AQAP because ISIS can give more money and conduct more regular battle fighting the Houthi.⁷⁵ One of the big attacks by ISIS is the assassination of Aden's governor in 2015. However, because ISIS started to attack the government instead of Houthi, its member started to leave the organization and believed that ISIS had violated Sharia law, this marked the possibility of open conflict between ISIS and AQAP in the future.⁷⁶

The main difference between ISIS with AQAP is their goal which influences the way they operate. For AQAP, their main goal is to combat Western power and free Muslim-majority countries from Western "occupation."

On the other hand, while the ISIS does not have an issue with its supporters attacking Western powers, its main goal is to establish a caliphate. As a result, it has a relatively clear agenda and model: fighting locally, instituting limited governance, and conducting outreach. These agendas are the

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

⁷⁵ Brian Todd, "ISIS gaining ground in Yemen, competing with al Qaeda" (22 January 2015), retrieved 23 July 2018 from CNN: <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/01/21/politics/isis-gaining-ground-in-yemen/>.

⁷⁶ BBC Monitoring, "Islamic State moves in on al-Qaeda turf" (25 June 2015), retrieved 20 July 2018 from BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-31064300>.

factors of why ISIS is attracting for people, including for Yemeni.⁷⁷

D. Yemeni Crisis 2011 - 2015

Just like other parts of the Arab world, Yemen also experienced the Arab Spring. Also, like other countries as well, the protest started and grew because of the ongoing problem inside the country, both in the social, economic, or political aspect. Almost half of the Yemeni population live under the poverty line, and one-third suffer from chronic hunger.⁷⁸ Yemen is the least developed country in the Middle East and even has lower Human Development Index compared to developing countries like Sudan, Djibouti, and Mauritania.

Regarding politics, Yemeni people were upset because the reigning president, Ali Abdullah Saleh, had been the president for more than 30 years full of corruption and lack of real effort for welfare. In 2009 there was a call for political reform, making parliament to gain more power and government to be more decentralized, which never implemented. Regarding security, Yemen was also crippling from internal conflict caused by AQAP, Houthi insurgency, and South Yemen secessionists.

Protests in Yemen were widespread in early 2011 after the video from Tunisian revolution spread over the internet. Among the demands were changing in the constitution, economic conditions, and corruption, but soon turned to blame the current regime and call for the resignation of President Ali Abdullah Saleh.⁷⁹ The protests quickly transformed into a massive uprising and an assassination attempt against Saleh. The most massive crowd gathered around 10.000 people at

⁷⁷ Aaron Y. Zelin, "The Islamic State's model" (28 January 2015), retrieved 18 July 2018 from The Washington Post: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/01/28/the-islamic-states-model/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.7834571a2239.

⁷⁸ Tom Finn, "Yemenis take to the streets calling for President Saleh to step down" (27 January 2011), retrieved 18 July 2018 from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/27/yemen-protests-president-saleh>.

⁷⁹ Popp, R. (2015). War in Yemen: Revolution and Saudi Intervention.

Sana'a University, and soon the protests grew to 20,000 people.⁸⁰

By late 2011, after signing an agreement, Saleh stepped down; however, protests and conflict continued. On February 2012, President Ali Abdullah Saleh formally resigned from the post of President of Yemen. Then Vice President Abdurrahuh Mansur al-Hadi as the only candidate to become a president at the time won the election and became President of Yemen.⁸¹ Political instability in Yemen is not good, which occurred during efforts to overthrow Ali Abdullah Saleh a gap for groups that Houthi tries to seize power from the government.

After that, on September 2014, the battle between Yemeni government forces with the Houthi group took place on the edge of Sanaa (capital city of Yemen) happened. Because the situation became worse on January 2015, Abdurabbuh Mansur al-Hadi resigned from the post of the President of Yemen. President Hadi escaped from Sanaa with the help of the UN Security Council on February 2015, which makes the power in Yemen vacant.⁸² Soon, Houthi took control of Sana'a and declared as the leader of Yemen. However, this action condemned as a coup by international powers, and some region in Yemen rejected the authority of Houthi. Therefore, the UN asked Houthi to hold a national talk and unite both Hadi and Houthi as the national government.

After a successful escape on March 2015, President Hadi announced Aden as the temporary capital of Yemen⁸³, declared Houthi's authority as invalid, and requested help from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states to restore power in Yemen.⁸⁴ Forces loyal to Houthi and former President Saleh tried to sabotage the Aden airport, and fighting broke out. It

⁸⁰ Lina Sinjab, "Yemen protests: 20,000 call for President Saleh to go" (3 February 2011), retrieved 18 July 2018 from BBC: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12353479>.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² *Yemen's President Hadi asks UN to back intervention*. (2015, March 25). Retrieved May 2015, from BBC News; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-32045984>.

⁸³ R Popp. (June 2015). War in Yemen: Revolution and Saudi Intervention.

⁸⁴ *Yemen's President Hadi asks UN to back intervention*, BBC News.

marked as the beginning of the Yemen Civil War which is still ongoing until now (2018). March 26, 2015, Saudi Arabia undertakes request of President Hadi and launch aerial attacks to Yemen.⁸⁵

As what has explained, the ongoing conflict was not a bilateral conflict (government vs. opposition). Rather, it was a collection of groups fighting to support their own agenda and claiming that they did the best for Yemen. On one side there was the government of Yemen, represented by Saleh's regime then Hadi's regime. Saleh was initially in favor of Houthi movement but soon sought help from Saudi and get assassinated by Houthi in 2017. Then, of course, there was Houthi fighting caused by injustice and inequality for years. Opposition to the government fractured into many factions, including Joint Meeting Parties, Islah, the al-Ahmar family, and South Yemen Movement. The opposition did not even agree upon each other on how to replace the current government of Yemen. Meanwhile, terrorist groups like AQAP and ISIS were benefitting from the conflict as well.

The condition in Yemen concerned parties around it. This made some governmental organizations to respond to the crisis. One of the responding organizations is the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC).⁸⁶ GCC provided the GCC Initiative⁸⁷ in 2011 which help the process of President Saleh resignation and the transfer of power to President Hadi. The initiative also assured that President Hadi would commit to reform the military, tackle corruption, address regional grievances, review the constitution, and elect a new parliament. The initiative also regarded as the effective measure to prevent a civil war in 2011 (which was too early, although civil war did erupt in Yemen in 2015). European

⁸⁵ *Saudi-led coalition calls of airstrikes in Yemen*. (2015, April 21). Retrieved 2015, from The National World: <http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/saudi-led-coalition-calls-off-airstrikes-in-yemen>.

⁸⁶ More about GCC in Chapter II.

⁸⁷ Edward Burke, "EU-GCC Cooperation: Securing the Transition in Yemen", *GLC Gulf Paper*, Gulf Research Center, 2013., p. 2.

Union also supported this GCC Initiative by providing funding.

Hadi also asked the UN to support him against the Houthi. Using Article 51 of UN Charter as his legal justification, he asked “willing countries” in UN to help him in his struggle for authority. Article 51 covers an individual or collective right to self-defense and therefore it is suited and legal for Hadi to use the military coalition to combat Houthi in the name of defense.⁸⁸ In response, UN then produced a resolution called UN Security Council Resolution 2216 in 2015 to push Houthi in talks with Yemeni government (referring to previous resolutions) and to allow the military measure to stabilize the region. This resolution was used by Arab Saudi and its coalition via Arab League to legitimize its military action starting in 2015.⁸⁹

E. Humanitarian Violation in Yemeni Crisis

1. Cases of Humanitarian Violation

According to Humanitarian Coalition, a humanitarian emergency is “an event or series of events that represents a critical threat to the health, safety, security, or wellbeing of a community or other large group of people, usually over a wide area.” The condition of humanitarian emergency and crisis worsened by the “Vulnerability” or the reduced capacity of individuals or groups to resist and recover from life-threatening hazards and is most often connected to poverty.⁹⁰ Indeed, even before the crisis erupted in

⁸⁸ Michele Nichols, “Yemen asks U.N. to back military action by 'willing countries'” (25 March 2015), retrieved 19 July 2018 from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-un/yemen-asks-u-n-to-back-military-action-by-willing-countries-idUSKBN0MK2OP20150324>.

⁸⁹ Scott Peterson, “How a tough UN resolution is making push for Yemen peace talks harder” (9 April 2018), retrieved 23 July 2018 from CSMonitor: <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2018/0409/How-a-tough-UN-resolution-is-making-push-for-Yemen-peace-talks-harder>.

⁹⁰ “What Is A Humanitarian Emergency?” (2018), retrieved 10 August 2018 from *Humanitarian Coalition*: <https://www.humanitariancoalition.ca/what-is-a-humanitarian-emergency>.

2011, Yemen was a poor country. A large part of the population (almost 50 percent) lives below the poverty line. Yemen, the poorest country in the Middle East, has a per capita income (\$1,270) that is a fraction of its neighbors' (Oman: \$19,110, Saudi Arabia: \$21,210). The high population growth requires additional 700,000 health and education services and 300,000 new jobs every year.

Yemen was dependent on imports; 90 percent for food, 60 percent for fuel, and 80 percent for medical supplies.⁹¹ In late 2013 in the height of the crisis and before the 2015 civil war erupted, more than half of the population (14,7 million people) needed humanitarian assistance. They include 10,5 million food-insecurity (4,5 million of them were severely insecure); 1 million children under five live in acute malnutrition. According to 2010 WFP's Comprehensive Food Security Survey, 32 percent of the population is in dire need of food, and 13 percent of the children under five wasted, and 56 percent stunted.⁹² Also, 13,1 million Yemenis had no access to a water source and sanitation facilities. 8,6 million people had difficulty in health access.⁹³

According to the US Department of State, the most significant human rights problems were arbitrary killings, disappearances, kidnappings, and other extremist threats and violence committed by various groups and a weak and corrupt judicial system that did not provide for the rule of law.⁹⁴ The number of deaths resulted in insurgency attacks by Houthi and AQAP since the beginning of the 21st century was too many to count. During Houthi insurgency from 2004 to 2014,

⁹¹ Humanitarian Foresight Think Tank, "24-Month Yemen Scenario Analysis: No Easy Solutions", *Humanitarian and Development Program*, IRIS, 2015., p. 4.

⁹² "United Nations Development Assistance Framework Republic of Yemen", 2015, p. 2.

⁹³ Source: Steven A. Zick, "Yemen's security crises and transition process: implications for humanitarian action and access", *Humanitarian Exchange*, No. 61, 2014, p. 3.

⁹⁴ US State Department, "Yemen 2014 Human Rights Report", p. 1.

many humanitarian organizations stated that hundreds to thousands killed while Houthi claimed 25,000 casualties.

Fighting in al-Dhale between government and Houthi in early 2014 resulted in 20 children dead and hundreds injured. The next clashes killed 270 people and injured 600. In October 2014, AQAP attacked Houthi supporters, and the suicide bombing killed 50 individuals. About 2,000 Sa'dah residents of northern Yemen were permanently handicapped, and 250,000 Yemenis displaced from their home.⁹⁵ On the other hand, since 2000, Al-Qaeda had launched 68 attacks in all around Yemen, resulted in 283 deaths up to 2010.⁹⁶ There was also the case of an underage soldier. Tribal members under 18 took part in the tribal militia or armed groups both affiliated to the government or other groups. Houthis routinely used child soldiers to operate checkpoints and search vehicles.

Yemen also suffered from the freedom of press and information. In September 2014, Houthi destroyed the government's official Yemen TV and shut the station off. Houthi then rebuilds the station and replaced the management to suit the Houthi agenda. Houthi also broke into pro-Islam Suhail TV, looted its equipment, and forced it to stop broadcasting. Houthi detained seven employees and interrogated them for the addresses of senior employees.

On the other hand, the government sometimes try to cover the news by not reporting fighting between AQAP and or another conflict in the South. Internet was also hard to connect in Yemen where most websites were inaccessible in peak hours. Houthi also closed all

⁹⁵ Tom Finn, "Salafist, Houthi sectarian rift threatens to engulf fragile state of Yemen" (21 December 2011), retrieved 23 July 2018 from The Daily Star: <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2011/Dec-21/157464-salafist-houthi-sectarian-rift-threatens-to-engulf-fragile-state-of-yemen.ashx#axzz1i76kMykq>.

⁹⁶ "Background Report: Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), Anwar al-Awlaki, and Samir Khan", *START Background Report*, START, 2011., p. 12.

mobile telephone communications mainly during the takeover of Sana'a.

There were also restrictions of the freedom of movement within and out of Yemen. In many regions, especially in areas outside effective central security control, armed tribesmen frequently restricted freedom of movement, operating their checkpoints, sometimes with military or other security officials, and often subjecting travelers to physical harassment, extortion, theft, or short-term kidnappings for ransom. The restriction also more discriminate toward women because women could not travel far alone and must accompany by a husband or family.

After the civil war started in 2015, the humanitarian condition became more severe. Yemen was on the brink of famine, with 5,9 million children was estimated to be hungry. United Nations even upgraded the conflict level of Yemen to level 3, like the conflict in Iraq, Syria, and South Sudan.⁹⁷ In late 2013, there were about 300.000 people displaced within the country. However, 200.000 of them returned but still face many challenges in re-establishing their lives to fulfill their basic needs. However, after the civil war broke out, about 1,5 million people now displaced. This condition worsened by the existence of more than 200 thousand refugees from Africa (mostly from Somalia) stranded in Yemen. They initially planned to move to more prosperous Gulf Countries but stranded in Yemen due to conflict and difficult border control from Gulf Countries themselves. These refugees caught in the crossfire, and many were also a victim of human rights violation done by conflicting parties. Also, more than

⁹⁷ Humanitarian Foresight Think Tank, "24-Month Yemen Scenario Analysis: No Easy Solutions", 2015., p. 5.

4.000 people reportedly died and 28.000 injured when the civil war just only started for a few months.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ All-Party Parliamentary Group for Yemen, “Conflict in Yemen: The Forgotten Crisis”, *Report*, 2015., p. 8.

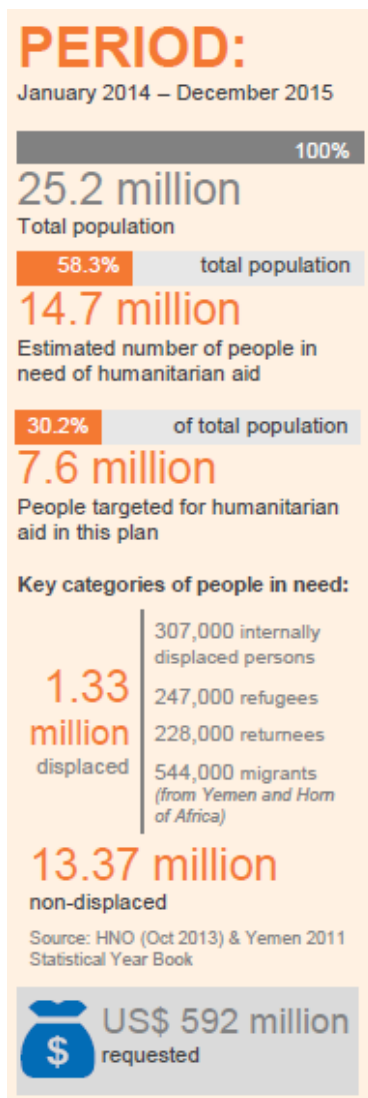


Figure 3.2
Data of Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen (2014-2015)
Source: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, “2014 Humanitarian Response Plan Yemen”, 2015, p. 1.

2. Effort for Humanitarian Relief

The effort for humanitarian relief was flowing to Yemen even before the crisis in 2011 had erupted. Yemen was subject to various aid and international donor from Europe, US, Arab States, and Russia, and through organizations like the UN and UN agencies and another humanitarian organization. However, after years of bloody civil war, in 2018, the most relief effort started to be initiated. UN, Switzerland, and Sweden co-hosted a conference in Geneva to fund the UN's 2018 Humanitarian appeal worth \$2,96 billion. Among the total fund, \$930 million came from combined Saudi Arabia and UAE fund. The US gave \$87 million.⁹⁹

Country	Pledge
Saudi Arabia	\$500.0 million
United Arab Emirates	\$500.0 million
Kuwait	\$250.0 million
United Kingdom	\$239.7 million
European Commission	\$132.7 million
United States	\$87.00 million
UN's Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF)	\$50.00 million
Germany	\$40.70 million
Japan	\$38.80 million
Others (31 pledges)	\$161.0 million

Source: UN OCHA, April 3, 2018.

Figure 3.2
Pledge for UN 2018 Humanitarian Appeal
 Source: Jeremy M. Sharp, "Yemen: Civil War and Regional Intervention", CRS Report, 2018, p. 12.

⁹⁹ Jeremy M. Sharp, "Yemen: Civil War and Regional Intervention", *CRS Report*, 2018., p. 12.

Earlier in 2018, Saudi Arabia also had the Yemen Comprehensive Humanitarian Operations (YCHO). Not just giving aid, but YCHO worked based on multi-approach to improve humanitarian condition and economy in Yemen. YCHO consists of the main components:¹⁰⁰

1. Provide \$1.5 billion to fund the U.N.'s 2018 Humanitarian appeal (Saudi Arabia and the UAE donated \$930 million in March 2018);
2. Deposit \$2 billion into the Central Bank in Aden to bolster Yemen's flagging currency (completed in January 2018);
3. Establish 17 safe passage corridors to allow NGOs to deliver humanitarian relief;
4. Improve crane and off-loading capacities at coalition-controlled ports, such as Mocha, Aden, and Mukalla.

On the other hand, since 2015, US has been the largest donor for humanitarian aid relief for Yemen. The funds provided through US international aid program organization like USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA), USAID's Food for Peace (FFP), and US Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration. Total of the fund was more than \$1.500 million from 2011. Separate bilateral aid from the US to Yemen was about \$74 million.¹⁰¹

Other non-governmental and international humanitarian organization in Yemen also took part in humanitarian relief. From 2015 to 2017, the number of such organization rose about 90 percent. UN reported 143 different humanitarian organizations working in Yemen, including national and international NGOs. In fact, 100 of them are national NGOs of Yemen. However, due to the dispute of authority between Hadi

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 15.

and Houthi government, NGOs and international aid are facing difficulties. They now must deal with multiple administration, bureaucracy, and security before being able to reach Yemeni people directly. As stated by Coppi:

Humanitarian action on the ground, especially access to the most-affected areas, is hampered significantly by the need to negotiate every aspect of operations, from memoranda of understanding to access notifications, with untrained officials from parallel administrations, without clear guidelines or standard procedures, and facing an intense turnover in official interlocutors.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Giulio Coppi, “The Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen: Beyond the Man-Made Disaster”, *Paper*, International Peace Institute, 2018., p. 15.