

CHAPTER III

THE DYNAMICS FOREIGN POLICY OF SAUDI ARABIA TOWARD YEMEN CIVIL WAR AND THE FORMS OF SAUDI ARABIA INTERVENCE IN YEMEN CIVIL WAR

This chapter discusses the dynamics foreign policy in Saudi Arabia including the Saudi Arabia relations with Yemen before their start to intervene, the reformation of Saudi Arabia foreign policy, and the forms of Saudi Arabia intervene in Yemen civil war. The forms that discuss in this chapter including diplomatic intervention, intervention or subversion of classical, guerrilla and military intervention. In addition, this chapter also discusses the impact of Saudi Arabia intervene in Yemen civil war and also its impact of Saudi Arabia towards Yemen's.

A. The Reformation of Saudi Arabia Foreign Policy

Talking about the reform that have taken in every country definitely want any change, either in the changing political, economic, and social systems. Reformation is needed by a country to realize the equality that exists in the public order. A change in a country usually occur, due to the desire of the public or its government to make the country more forward and not backward with other countries. Talking the concept of reform means talking about the purpose of the desired changes as well as to the scope and extent of the changes. The reformation happened in Saudi Arabia carried out due to the desire of the King to generalize the role of society and government in terms of politics, economics, and social systems. Reformation is a change carried out with the limited coverage and in a time that

is either fast or slow. So it can be said that reformation is happening in Saudi Arabia are the changes done by the leader (King) against Saudi Arabia at the request of the people of Saudi Arabia which includes knowledge, economics, morals, law and other habits. (Rasheed, 2010)

The substance of the reformation that needs to make into an object includes the formal basis of the political system, the political superstructure, infrastructure politics, and the political process as a product of the all political process. Like other Gulf countries, Saudi Arabia's foreign policy is based on an agreement with the foreign policy of the countries in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia also establish proximity with non-Muslim countries and with the United States and with his alliance. Since 2003 Saudi Arabia's foreign policy that was really changed since King Abdullah adopts an open foreign policy, that relies on soft power tools such as media, diplomacy, education, culture, sports, tourism, economic and humanitarian assistance. There are two reform is happening in Saudi Arabia and showed highly significant changes also occurred in the era of King Salman's leadership is currently. (Jurji, 2016)

1. Saudi Arabia's Foreign Policy under Abdullah Ibn Abdul Aziz Al-Saud

Since the year 2003, when Abdullah Ibn Abdul Aziz Al-Saud became King, he was given a very large impacting change against geopolitical of Saudi Arabia. King Abdullah held a dialogue forum known as "National Dialogue". This forum is an initiative of the government in order to equalize the perception among government and elements of society that have been concerned against the efforts of reform in Saudi Arabia. The strategic issues that will be discussed in the forum, which took place three times. The issues is related to

domestic politics, the economy, human rights issues and education, all this is being the subject matter. This forum the produce recommendations which are then directed at the government. The reforms that undertaken by King Abdullah would have changes made with the limited scope and in the not fast or slow (moderate), in order to change the leadership, policy and political institutions.

Things that have been jointly agreed upon in a forum held by Saudi Arabia and then become a reference against the conflicts in Yemen, Saudi Arabia has placed one of its focuses on this. As Abdullah Ibn Abdul Aziz Al-Saud knew, he was known to be quite close to the government of President Ali Abdullah Saleh. This began to appear in 2011 when political unrest erupted throughout the Arab world. The youth community protests popular in Yemen were gradually replaced by political elites who scrambled to replace President Saleh. Finally, disputes between various political centres of Yemen broke out in the capital, and government authorities across the country were eroded. Concerned that the political unrest and security vacuum that were occurring were increasingly strengthening terrorist elements, Saudi Arabia, and other international members trying to mediate in political compromises. The transition plan was brokered, and in 2012 former Vice President Abdu Rabbu Mansour Hadi became president.

An assertive policy taken by King Abdullah are also seen from the appointment of a woman that is Dr. Noura Al-Fayez as Deputy of Education Minister for girls in Saudi Arabia. The woman was made a Minister it was the power and policies carried out by the King Abdullah, the involvement of women in politics is not mean to drop, reduce or seizing power from the hands

of men, rather it was intended to be a partner that is aligned with the men. (Ediyono, 2017)

In the economic field, the establishment of the Arab Common Market, King Abdullah calling for the establishment of the Arab Common Market (Public Market in Arab Territories) in January 2011. The Saudi Arabia Foreign Minister, Sa'ud Ibn Faisal declared that the Arab traditional market will be ready to occasions in the year 2015. In the year 2017 will open a market together with the Arabs. This serious effort have been started by building an electric railway network system to connect the Arab countries. (Hidriyah, 2016)

2. Saudi Arabia's Foreign Policy under Salman Ibn Aziz Al Saud

Saudi Arabia, even though on the one hand Wahhabi religious beliefs are adopted and very radical, on the other hand the role of Saudi Arabia in the struggle of Muslims worldwide have no small sense. To Islamic countries or organizations, foundations, da'wah institutions and Islamic educational institutions always show their sincerity by providing financial aid. Saudi Arabia, under the leadership of King Salman now appears the new colour on his government. He is a figure of a leader who often took to the streets to see the condition of the society. This can be seen in the case of the crane crushing when the Muslims conducting the Hajj in 2015. Among the decisive policies he decided was in 2011 Salman deported foreign beggars from Saudi Arabia and held a rehabilitation program in the social department for beggars native to Saudi Arabia. (Institue, ME, 2015)

Reformation in this case is or concerned with the economic sector, which is a concrete step in Saudi Arabia to release its dependence on oil and gas. The

Saudi vision on 2030 is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as a framework passed by the Deputy Crown Prince of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that is Prince Muhammad Ibn Salman during King Salman's reign the throne. The Saudi Vision 2030 has 3 pillars in it, namely:

- a. A Vibrant Society
- b. Thriving Economy, and
- c. An Ambition Nation

A Vibrant Society or a dynamic society meant here is Saudi Arabia wants to strengthen human resources, it is based that we wealth of a country is indeed not only lies its natural resources, but the real wealth owned a country lies in its human resources. The presence of Saudi Arabia as the heart of the Arab world and Islam also encourages the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to strengthen communities to remain on the principles to be that became their national identity that has been rooted and should reinforced.

Thriving Economy or economic development is the focus in this vision. Oil and gas is an important pillar in the economy of Saudi Arabia, but Saudi Arabia in this case will do the development of the economy in the long term and sustainable by removing dependency against oil and gas and do diversification of the economy. The need to diversify the economy in Saudi Arabia to expand investments as an additional sector continuous.

The last was a pillar of the country's national ambition, is awareness of the country's need to streamline the entire range in the bureaucracy. The Kingdom that has clarity against the transparency and accountability that is high-value. Transparency and accountability proved indispensable in the control of the Government, especially the control of projects of significant impact on the economy and high in Saudi

Arabia. As for the main focus of the Vision 2030 Saudi Arabia is indeed oriented on the development of economy of Saudi Arabia.

To maintain political stability against his country, under the leadership of King Salman, Crown Prince Mohammed Ibn Salman is currently preparing the NEOM (*Neo Mustaqbal*). NEOM this which will be the focus of Saudi Arabia in the next few years, a mega project that has a value of billions this will be in the form of the metropolis stretching to Jordan and Egypt. This is intended to make a deal with the State of Saudi Arabia with a country other than the Arabian Peninsula can have a harmonious relationship, this was proven at the beginning of September 2017, Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister Adel Al-Juber began to make connections and a visit to several countries such as Moscow, Russia, which the two countries later agreed upon start of cooperation in programmes against terrorism.

Under the leadership of King Salman, there were several reforms in particular policies against women that exist in Saudi Arabia, starting from the allowed women to attend sporting events at the stadium and issued a Royal Decree that the contents allow Saudi Arabia to have women driving license without the permission of the guardian legitimately. This is due to see that women driving policies can be the key to social reform. At the same time confirms that the step would enhance the participation of women in the work force and to remove gender roles that limit social interaction between men and women outside the family environment. (Hamdan, 2005)

B. History of Conflict in Yemen

The Republic of Yemen is a country on the Arabian Peninsula in Southwest Asia, part of the Middle East. Yemen is bordered by the Arabian Sea to the South, the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea to the West, Oman to the East and Saudi Arabia to the North. The population of Yemen is estimated around 23 million people. The area of this country is around 530,000 kilometres and its territory includes more than 200 islands. The largest island is Socotra, which is located 415 kilometres from South Yemen, off the coast of Somalia. Yemen is the only one Republic state in the Arabian Peninsula. (Al-Barud, 2013)

Before joining into one unity of Yemen is divided into two parts, namely Southern Yemen under the name Yemen People's Democratic Republic and Yemen Arab Republic under the name of Northern Yemen, however since the joining of North Yemen and South Yemen, Yemen's capital city located in the South of the city namely city of Sana'a. The Republic of Yemen that the majority of the population is Muslims, is currently experiencing conflict sect (ideological) between government of Yemen and rebels who claimed the name to *Al-Houthi*, in fact almost all Yemen people are Muslim, which consists of Sect of Sunni and Shia, who represent about 30 percent and 70 percent of the total population respectively. The Sunni sect is in the Southern part of Yemen, and Shia sect is located in the Northern part of Yemen that borders directly with Saudi Arabia. (Affairs, 2012) Since the outbreak of conflict in 2004, Yemen experiencing difficult times because they have to fight against their own people, till make Yemen threatened with government stability who's led by Ali Abdullah Saleh.

Yemen actually is a country very rich in oil resources but in the advancement of all aspect, the Republic of Yemen is different from its neighbouring country, which is Saudi Arabia and Oman are both have a rich oil wealth. Yemen is far behind when compared to its neighbouring countries, both in terms of the economy as well as in the field of science and technology. Aside from the fields of economics, science and technology, the development of infrastructure in Yemen also very missed if compared to its neighbouring countries. This is because the education in Yemen can be said insufficient for said developing countries though. Yemen is the poorest country in the Middle East region with a GDP was only \$2,600 countless small if compared to the North African country which belongs to the region of the Middle East, namely Tunisia to reach \$9,500. (Clausen, 2017)

The conflict in Yemen are indeed very complex, even the conflict in this country cannot be equated with conflicts in other areas such as Pakistan, Iraq, and Afghanistan. This conflict is really complicated in Yemen. The government that based in the city of Sana'a unwilling to accommodate of its people, both in the North and the South. Basically, the conflict in Yemen can be said as a war between the government and its own people.

The prolonged Yemen conflict is also caused by the weakness of the Yemen central government, which is only slightly controlled the capital city of Sana'a, facing war on battle in front of the Northern Houthi rebels comprise about one third of Yemen population of approximately 23 million and a separatist movement in the South. Many parties also worryingly unstable security situation and not conducive in Yemen, will be exploited by militant group namely *Al-Qaida*. Indeed the conflict of Yemen over showed the widespread

perennial feud area of Saudi Arabia and Sunni Shia. Although there is no evidence, but the common assumption presumably agreed to the government of Yemen sided with Saudi Arabia while Iran supported the Houthi groups. Iran intervention in internal conflict that occur in Yemen, it will extend the period of war in the region and also increase the amount of losses between the two parties, namely between government of Yemen and Shia, and that being a victim is most of the civilians. This rebellion took place in Northern Yemen who's led by Badruddin Hussein Al-Houthi. In fact, this is a war of ideology and identity, North Yemen wants to establish a government based on Imamah, with the Shia Zaidiyah foundation and wanted to goes back in the era of glory of the Zaid Kingdom in the 1960s, while the government in Yemen is trying to fight the rebels who want to establish a government in Northern Yemen. For the Houthi, Yemen government is considered to have discriminated against the people in the area of the majority of Shia in Northern Yemen. They also felt that there was no economic development in the region. Houthi also accused the government of Yemen was led by President Ali Abdullah Saleh as corrupt government and its really close relationship with the United States, in this case the Houthi rebellion is also mentioned that their job and it is the character of those Shia who refused under the leadership of Sunnis nor the Houthi rebels whose embraced the doctrine of Shia Ziadiyah. Instead the Yemen government accused the rebels of wanting to separate from the Yemen government. (SEREBROV, 2017)

1. The Born of Houthi's Group

The movements of Houthi group was formed originally by Husein Al-Houthi and now led by Abdul Malik Al-Houthi, his brother. They are the children of

Badruddin Al-Houthi, including the famous scholars of Zaidiyah. Husein Al-Houthi was born in 1956 in the city of Dhuyan and grew up in Saadah. Badruddin Al-Houthi supports the revival of his children, his became the group commanders. He had a number of works such as *Asanid Al Zaidiah*, *Al-Ijaz Fi Al-Rad*, *Ala Fatawa Al-Hijaz*, *Tafsir Al-Quran*, *Al-Tahdzir Min Al-Firqah* and others. Badruddin Al-Houthi in the years of civil war in Yemen, over the past few years seeking refuge in Iran and had lived in Qom. When viewed from the faith of this movement and its leaders, they are known as Zaidiah Jarudiah who is closer to the 12 Shia Imam. According to the followers of the sect Jarudiah, the issue of Nash and the election of Imam Ali as successor to the Islamic Prophet Muhammad is agreed upon. Therefore, they were really concerned about the issues of denying the first to third caliphs. They believe in the *Ahlul Ba'its* priesthood, but there are new interpretations regarding this issue. The *Ahlul Bait's* priesthood according to them will continued until the Zaidiah Imams. They also await the appearance of Imam Mahdi. (Batati, 2018)

The story of Houthi begins in Saada province, the point of concentration of Shia Zaidiyyah in Yemen. In 1986, established the institution of Youth Union or *Itihad Asy Syabab*. This institution aims to teach the understanding of Zadi for their adherents. Badruddin Al-Houthi one of the great scholars Zaidiyyah and one of the teacher at this institute. In 1990, achieved the unity of Yemen and the emergence of a multi-party agreement is wide open. For this reason, Husein Badruddin Al-Houthi emerged as one of the outstanding leaders in the party, and entered into the Representative Council in 1993 and 1997. Along with this occurrence there was a big discord between Badruddin Al-Houthi with other Yemen Zaidiyyah scholars, especially

scholars who became the reference for Zaidiyyah, *Majduddin Al Mu'ayyidi*, who decided the terms forbidden Hashim to become a leader is no longer accepted at this time. This requirement only applies to historical situations. The people can chose who deserves to rule without the conditions that must come from the descendants of Hasan or Husein. Badruddin Al-Houthi strongly opposed this fatwa, especially when he came from the *Jarudiyah* group, one of the Zaidiyyah group which has relatively similarities with *Raghib As Sirjani*. The problem is growing which is not only to the problem of Badruddin Al-Houthi, because openly began to defending understand about Itsna Asy'ariyah. Even though, he wrote a book entitled *Az Zaidiyah Fil Yemen*. In this book, he explained the similarity between Zaidiyyah and Itsna Asy'ariyah. Because of the protest against distorted his thinking about the Zaidiyyah, Al-Houthi was sould move to Teheran and spent several years there. Although Badruddin Al-Houthi leaving Yemen, but his thoughts about Itsna Asy'ariyah began to spread, especially in the region of Saada and surrounding areas. It started in the early 1990s, precisely in the year 1997. At the same time Badruddin Al-Houthi, resigned from the party and formed his own group. At first it was only a group of religious science, even this group do partnering with the government, but not long ago this group turned against the government starting from the year 2002. (ARRAF, 2017)

2. Background the Emergence of Al-Houthi Rebellion

Houthi group is a majority of Yemen population living in an area of Northern Yemen or rather in the province of Sa'ada. This territory included the area that is left behind and not arranged neatly, it's really contrast to the others areas like the province of Sanaa. The

demeanour of the government of Yemen is lack in accommodating Houthi demands and more repressive in facing them, making the overthrow of the government as a goal the insurgency so that they get their rights.

The government of Yemen lowered its military forces to confront a group of Houthi movement, the government uses conventional military various armaments weighing against unconventional enemies. Houthi considers that president Ali Abdullah Saleh do corruption which afflict many people. According to the report of the Panel of experts of the world, President Ali Abdullah Saleh had execute the corruption since the year 1978 until 2012. The Security Council of the United Nation also point fingers at President Ali Abdullah Saleh stole money from his country Yemen around \$60 billion, during 33 years holding powers and his assets stored in around 20 countries. Added with accusation of the Houthi group that Abd Rab Mansur vice President Ali Abdullah Saleh as well as his successor, when Ali Abdullah Saleh put down his position has covering up criminal acts of corruption by the government. So they want to take over the government in order to be clean of corruption. The most important goal of the rebellion carried out by this group is to take over the government and then run it with their ideology that is Shia. In other words, the Houthi wants to establish a Shia state in territory of Yemen especially in the Northern Yemen region.

One things that was very prominent about the conflict that occurred in Yemen was the tendency of the Sanaa government to Saudi Arabia and the foreign parties. This condition that was made complicates the conflict in Yemen. The Sanaa government unwilling to accommodate the aspirations of the Shia groups in Northern Yemen and Sunni groups in Southern Yemen. In the fact, the President of Yemen, Ali Abdullah Saleh

is a dictator who supported Saudi Arabia. He managed to hold power in Yemen since 30 years ago. The escalation of the conflict began to increase since February 2007, Yemen military began the offensive against the Houthi rebels, the attack involved the nearly 30.000 of the military government, which resulted 200 military members and more than 100 people were killed. On 16 June, 2007 the government held a cease fire with the Houthi rebels, then the fighting is still continuing until April 2008, which seven Yemen soldiers were killed in a rebellion attack. The Houthi have taken control and occupy the mountains region of Sa'ada province in Northern Yemen, and successfully gained control of 14 of the 15 countries in the regency of the province, and only the city of Sa'ada that have not taken by the group. In this case the government of Yemen held a massive offensive to rebels in Northern Yemen. This operation called "Scorched Earth Operation". This originally consist of air strikes and artillery against the Houthi, the operation has been extended to the occupied territories of Houthi. The escalation of Yemen army attacks Houthi groups and civilians in the North of the country took place at the time of Rashad Muhammad Al-Alimi, as Deputy Prime Minister for Security and defence affairs of Yemen and its political security Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. (Sharp, 2018)

Coincide with the visit, the conflict in Northern Yemen entered a new phase and form of cooperation between Saudi Arabia and government of Sanaa especially in the overthrow of the Houthi group it also increased. The President of Yemen, Ali Abdullah Saleh, in his statement said that "*the war with Houthi group is currently should be the final war.*" The demeanour of Yemen government towards the Houthi group foiled all regional efforts to reduce the suffering of the people in

the North of the country. In fact, the conflict in North Yemen is increasingly fierce due to escalation of Riyadh support for the Sanaa government. These conditions threaten the unity of the territory of North and South Yemen. Group leaders of the South Yemen suggested a referendum on the separation of the South from the North of the country. It is also believed that the conflict between South Yemen and North Yemen will find a new chapter with a conspiracy created by foreign parties. (Pop, 2015)

This is a major reason against the war that occurred in the year 2009, which became a benchmark so that the implementing details of the deal that offered Governments, as follows:

1. The termination of military operations if the Houthi group complies with Republican system and respects for the constitutions.
2. Termination of action of rebellion and freed prisoners from the rebels unless the case has been assigned to the Court
3. The rebels returned to the society and lived like other citizens
4. Application of rules of power Houthi as in other areas
5. The submission of the entire weapon along with ammunition
6. Respect for free speech
7. A permit for Abdul Malik Al-Houthi, Yahya Al-Houthi, Abdul Karim Al-Houthi, and Abdullah Al-Razami (Houthi group leaders) to left Yemen and settled in Qatar with the condition that they do not carry out anti Yemen propaganda. They can be left Yemen after the Yemen government give permission
8. Stop all forms of propaganda in the mass media

The government of Yemen is trying to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict of Houthi. Abdul Malik Al-Houthi as leader of the rebellion after the death of Hussein Badruddin Al-Houthi has announced its willingness to accept the decision established by Yemen President Ali Abdullah Saleh in August 2009 and reaffirmed in January 2010 as the basis for the cease fire. The government has insisted that the rebels must fulfil all the decisions that have been made. As for the form of the terms agreed by both parties is as follows:

1. Withdrawal of Houthi militants from all the district and dismantle inspection points are blocking travel of citizens
2. Down from mountain hiding places and as well as stopping the action of robbery and destruction
3. Return the equipment that has been mastered from civil or military circles and others.
5. Turn over kidnapping victims from Sa'ada residents

3. Arab Spring

Background of the problem of the Arab Spring that hit the region of the Middle East in 2011 turns out to affect the political conditions and government in Yemen. Combination of various elements of community group in Yemen demanded President Ali Abdullah Saleh to change the condition of Yemen which is getting worse. The political conditions of the Yemen government are experiencing challenges in terms of economic development, and issues of state security. Challenges in terms of security predicated on groups who did opposition to the government of Yemen. There are at least three resistance groups that exist in Yemen, they are a group who come from the communities Shia Zaidi, the group of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula

(AQAP), and separatist group from the South and that is *Al-Hirak*. (Juneau, 2013)

The powers of the President Ali Abdullah Saleh who has been running for more than two decades turned out to solve a lot of problems and often trigger the emergence of conflicts between governments with community groups. Among the three resistance groups, the most significant issue is the resistance of the Houthi group that have been going on since the year 2004. Arab Spring was a demonstration action of anti-government with armed rebellion that spread in the Arab world. The term of Arab Spring was popularized by Western media in early 2011, when there was a rebellion in Tunisia between the people against former leader Zine El Abidin Ibn Ali, who ended up pushing anti-government demonstrations across the Arab world. This also actually began in the turmoil that occurred in Eastern Europe in 1898, during the fall of the communist regime under the pressure of a popular people's demonstrations in a domino effect, then in a short time many communist bloc countries adopted a democratic political system with a market economy system. This then spread to the Arab world, but the Arab Spring action undertaken in the Arab world is different to that occurred in Eastern Europe, that is by not changing the consensus economic and political model, but rather the popular uprising as an expression of their deep hatred of the Arab dictatorship which had served for a very long time. Until the Arab People's Revolution that echoes in some Arab countries want to drop with the demands to bring down dictators in Arab countries, including in Yemen. (Thiel, 2012)

After the Arab Spring get shake Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria, Yemen became the next country affected by the Arab Spring. Protest demanding the withdrawal of Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen in the

Presidential seats began on January 27, 2011. This happened as a response of the Yemen people's to the statement of Ali Abdullah Saleh who proposed a constitutional amendment that made him stay in his power, while under his reign Ali Abdullah Saleh considered unable to prosper the people, the absence of political freedom, increasing unemployment, many corruption, moreover the people must also be troubled by security problems that arise such as the Houthi rebellion. (Durac, 2012)

The outbreak of the conflict that occurred in Yemen in March 2015. Yemen, assisted by its old partner, Saudi Arabia and the United States, established a coalition to launch a military operation aimed at restoring the internationally recognized government of Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi as a successor to the previous President, Ali Abdullah Saleh. This is done because the rule of Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi got resistance from Houthi group supported by Iran. (Salisbury, 2018)

The continuous conflict occurred in Yemen over the past few years has triggered a humanitarian crisis there. The ancient Romans used to refer to the country as "Arabia Felix", or Arab blessed because prosperous by trade routes. But endless war, Yemen is now included as one of the poorest countries in the world.

C. The Forms of Saudi Arabia Intervene In Yemen Civil War

Shifting significant in interests and needs in the international community has turn into a form of reciprocal relationships between both countries in the form of consular relations, diplomatic relations, political cooperation, economic cooperation, social, culture, military cooperation, treaty of friendship, alliance and so on. But not all relationships that involve two or more

countries can accommodate all wishes of the parties. The tendency to intervene as an instrument of foreign policy is on the rise and its background is also becoming increasingly complex. The intervention can be distinguished from other foreign instruments through two factors:

- a) That distinguish themselves with a sharp intervention in terms of how to organize relations between countries that conventional
- b) That intervention consciously made to lead to a fundamental political change in the country that made a target of intervention (Affairs, 2012)

Turning to the Outlook of Kalevi. J. Holsti, distinguishes and discusses the six forms of intervention, namely:

1. Diplomatic Intervention, which usually occurs when a diplomat to comment to or favouring a political issue or crisis ravaged the country place on duty
2. The Classical Intervention, in the form of dark activities or secret missions. The oldest form through bribery of state officials who were the targets
3. Exhibition of military power is relatively inexpensive and low risk, but rather more effective than on delivery of military expeditions
4. Subversion or that we know with the underground movement. Subversion is a political and military movement that organized, supported and directed by a foreign state for the purpose of its own very utilizing situation and local elements in the country
5. The Guerrilla, which is a combination of subversion against the state which caused the harm as revenge for its action that is against the weight of the treaty

6. Military Intervention, this intervention is realized in the form of a military expedition to support the delivery of a ruling government or helping a rebel group (Holsti K. , 1987)

Another view also discusses the parameters used as the reason for the intervention of humanity, it is obviously because of the intervention it gives a negative impact against the continuity of life. Here are some of the parameters to be a benchmark in the conduct of humanitarian intervention:

1. The state failed, when in a state government failed to protect its citizens due to the civil war or mass murder, then this is the condition of other countries can justify themselves to humanitarian intervention
2. Humanity awareness, if in a country there is a mass murder, mass slavery and explosion which caused the death of that great (shocking the conscious of mankind), then that condition justifies a country to carry out humanitarian intervention
3. Final reason, when all non-military ways have done but it still fails, then the intervention became an option and can be justified (Wolfe, 1986)

In this case, it is clearly said that humanitarian intervention is any effort to prevent and stop the occurrence of violations of human rights of weight in a country, through the procedures and requirements that have been specified either with or without the corresponding state agree to maintain security, order and peace of the world.

Other forms of intervention is military intervention which has a controversial in the past. This form of intervention is the most blatantly, the most expensive and the most risk. The deployment of military forces to a region or state to suppress a conflict or movement of

certain groups which interfere with the security and safety of civilian population, this has been done several times, on the basis of humanitarian considerations and request from the government that came to power in the country. Military intervention is defined as cross border use of force by countries and regional organizations with the justification and reasons for their action in order to restore peace and safety as an end to the suffering and widespread human rights violations through the help of multilateral without the consent of the state where the intervention occurred. Military intervention is also manifested in the form of a military expedition to support the delivery of a ruling government or helping a rebel group. In its implementation, military intervention is always accompanied by humanitarian intervention or often referred to as humanitarian military intervention because basically there is a common goal between military intervention for humanity and humanitarian intervention. (Al-Mujahed, 2018)

Saudi Arabia began to get involved in conflict that occurred in Yemen since 2009, Saudi Arabia supports the government of Yemen against Houthi group and openly involved in the assault to the Houthi group by sending a military operation. In the dynamics of the conflict, the government of Saudi Arabia much was involved in the assault which is located in the North of Yemen, which is directly borders to the territory of Saudi Arabia. Yemen and Saudi Arabia, both of which are Arab League member countries, greatly influence the occurrence of military intervention by the Saudi Arabian coalition in the country. This is based on the application of the Article 52 Paragraph 1 of the UN Charter which explains that the UN Charter does not preclude the resolution of disputes by regional organizations in dealing with the problems concerned

with maintaining peace and security according to the way they are all actions that they do comply with the principles and purpose of the United Nations. In the implementation of the Arab League, based on the provisions of the Charter of the Arab League, same is the case with the Charter of the United Nations, the Arab League's also prohibits the use of violence in resolving disputes between members. (Donin, 2018) The use of such violence is not completely prohibited, article 6 in the Charter justifies the existence of the Act of collective self-defence. According to article 6 each Member has the right to propose the holding of the session of the council immediately in the event of aggression, whether aggression committed by members of the Arab League or by the State. The Council must unanimously determine the actions required to resist aggression.

Saudi Arabia intervention in its interests in the turbulent internal conflict in Yemen between the Al-Houthi rebels and the Yemen government and how Saudi Arabia's strategy to play its role and influence in the Middle East region mainly concerns the conflict in Yemen. Saudi Arabia is one of the major powers in the region. Various Middle East conflict that could not be separated from the Kingdom as a vital role. Apart from its monarchy, Saudi Arabia foreign policy can be said to be quite active in the region. The Saudi Arabia government is also active in responding to the people's revival in Yemen. Saudi Arabia directly get involved in the whole crisis and transformation which occurs in Yemen. However, the Saudi Arabia foreign policy is not without challenges. Saudi Arabia and most of the countries of the Middle East and the Muslim world are adherents of Sunni Islam which reached 85-90 percent (Rasheed M. A., 2018). This phenomenon is delivering on the conflict in the region which has always been the

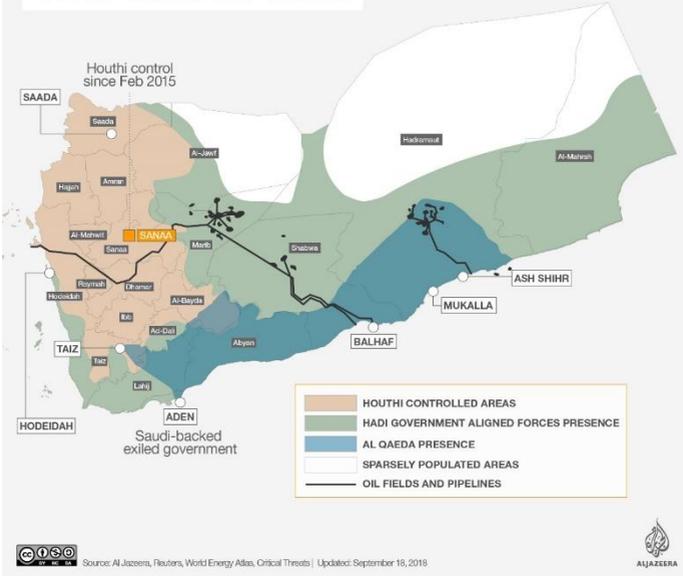
world attention. As the centre of Islam and the largest Sunni country in the region, the Saudi Arabia feel they need to be responsible in every regional conflict. The conflict in Yemen, showing the Saudi Arabia actions to help the government fight the rebel Shia. A very strong civil war tinged this sectarian issues become tangible evidence the Saudi Arabia intervention to restore Sunni power in Yemen.

Saudi Arabia is a symbol of the Sunni leadership in the Middle East. As one of the countries that has a major influence in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia and its new policies are always interesting to observe and discuss. One of them is the policy of Saudi Arabia to carry out a military invasion in Yemen. On 25, March 2015, Saudi Arabia officially took the initiative to intervene militarily by deploying 100 of its warplanes to bomb the position of the Houthi militia in Yemen, and restore the power of President Mansour Hadi. It is also supported by all Arab States in the Gulf region by conducting air strikes against Yemen. It is not enough only with air strikes, the lapse of a few days and then Saudi Arabia and its allies doing ground operations with deployed a number of warships and military forces entered the territory of Yemen. (Yara Bayoumy, 2018)

Picture 3.1: Yemen Controls What

YEMEN

Who controls what



Sources:

<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2016/08/yemen-conflict-controls-160814132104300.html>

Saudi Arabia and Yemen is a partner of the Arabs who both have a closeness relations with the United States. As long as Yemen is fighting the Houthis, the United States is allegedly involved in helping, with evidence that passing fighter jets belong to the United States. Rise of United States aid to Yemen that caught the attention of Al-Qaeda, because Al-Qaeda has always targeted the United States. Al-Qaeda jihadists immediately flock to South Yemen, causing South Yemen used to be influenced by the communists, now the base of the Jihadi Salafi group Al-Qaeda. (Jonathan Saul, 2019)

The Saudi Arabia Kingdom feels threatened by Yemen instability so that it takes three steps to anticipate:

1. Control of the border region is strictly
2. Providing financial assistance to the Sanaa government to prevent the collapse of the Yemen economy
3. Instil influence through all parties who actively play inside Yemen countries such as Salafis, tribal groups and military circles.

Since the Al-Houthi war broke out in 2004, the Saudi Arabia Kingdom has realized the magnitude of the Shia influence in the development of the internal situation of Yemen and the region around the borders of Yemen and Saudi Arabia. To maintain the stability of the Saudi Arabia Government Security gives full rights to Yemen's military to use military bases in the *Jabal Dukhan* to Saudi Arabia stormed a group of Houthi.

D. The Impact of Saudi Arabia Intervene in Yemen Civil War

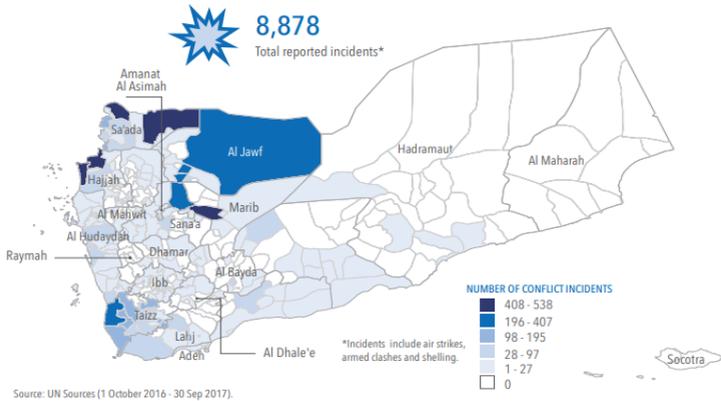
30 years ago of the world have experienced the tragedy of humanity in the form of hunger that hit Ethiopia due to hostile natural conditions, namely the long drought. This long drought caused crop failures systematically so that the scale of the famine experienced by the inhabitants of Ethiopia when it not only hit the children, but also adults. At that time the world rise tandem to help Ethiopia out this human tragedy that should not have happened in the modern era of human life today. Now this humanitarian nightmare is again a bitter reality for the world when the Yemen state which before the civil war was listed as one of the poorest countries in the world is helpless to

face the harsh reality that afflicts children and its citizens. (DARWICH, 2018)

In recent days, civil war in Yemen has become a common problem throughout the region, in the Islamic world and in the Arab world after Saudi Arabia and some of its allies plunged directly into the development of war in this country. The situation in Yemen is getting hotter, directly threatening the security of the area that has long been like an ammunition barrel that just waiting for a small spark can explode at any time. If the famine that hit Ethiopia is largely caused by natural factors, then the humanity tragedy now afflicting Yemen caused by human behaviour that is not only caused by the driving factor that originated in Yemen, but the country also from influence and intervention in other countries.

According to Humanitarian Agencies of the United Nations Central Emergency Response Fund (CEFR) said that the humanitarian tragedy that is taking place in Yemen is the worst human tragedy in the last 50 years that has hit humanity. The current conflict in Yemen has claimed more than 10,000 lives and resulted in the displacement of 3 million Yemeni residents. Hunger is not the only problem in Yemen, in the year 2016 the outbreak disease cholera that caused more than 24,500 cases occurred in Yemen and 108 of them dead. As many as 462 thousand children suffer from acute malnutrition with the risk of life threatening complications. They also experience a lack of access to have clean water, sanitation services and also hygiene, thus exacerbating the increased risk of infectious diseases such as acute diarrhoea, malaria and scabies. (Organization, 2017) The Cholera outbreak that hit Yemen was recorded as the worst case of Cholera outbreaks in the history of modern human life that plagued millions of people.

Picture 3.2: Impact of the Crisis



Sources:

https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/yemen_humanitarian_needs_overview_hno_2018_20171204_0.pdf

Innocent children affected by this body look just like bones wrapped in skin. Obviously hunger and malnutrition affecting these children will have a major impact on the future generations of Yemen. Not until there, the suffering of Yemen which had to accept the wave of the deadly *diphtheria* outbreak hit the already ravaged country of Yemen. *Diphtheria* outbreaks that can be prevented through immunization explode because immunization cannot be done because of the unavailability of needed medicines. A *diphtheria* epidemic ravaged Yemen has been consuming dozens of casualties and struck more than 500 people.

The conflict that has taken place in Yemen has been going on for a long time, and Saudi Arabia, which was asked to help, has given wrong assistance. Saudi Arabia does not want to admit what a mistake that they has

done. The Saudi Foreign Minister Abdel Al-Jubeir said that the military option is the last one to Saudi Arabia and is done as a request from a legitimate government as well as to protect the citizens of Saudi Arabia from ballistic missiles. UN Humanitarian Coordinator Stephen O'Brien stressed, that if the attacks continued, Saudi Arabia to Yemen, especially targeting vital centres including real offense against international law and is an action that cannot be received. (Reuters, 2018) The political mission which wrapped up military aggression and mass slaughter will never be realised as well as only aggravating the crisis and instability.

A Research Institute of The Legate Institute declared Yemen as the most dangerous country in the world, this is due to the continuous conflict happened up to this point so that it creates an insecurity and misery for his subjects. Many toddlers who become victims, they died every 10 minutes that should be prevented. (Shugerman, 2018)

According to the World Food Program of the United Nations, at least 60 percent and possibly three quarters of Yemen population of 28 million people, is defined not in terms of safe food intake, in which seven of the 22 provinces of the country, are on the verge hunger, and nearly half a million children suffer from acute malnutrition. But in such situations, policy makers struggled to decipher the humanitarian problems of the institutionalization of geopolitical issues. (Razek, 2018)

During the reign of President Hadi, armed conflict increases by involving many countries as parties to the war. An integrated and planned attack carried out by the Houthis to dissolve the government of President Abdullah Rabbo Mansour Hadi and take over the Yemeni state institution. At the beginning of 2016, the international world was again rocked by the threat of

security disturbances, a war that was again heating up using Cluster Munitions. Cluster Munitions (Bombs Precipitation) as one of the main weapons used to destroy an opponent's defensive terrain in the war because every single unit Cluster Munitions only contains dozens of Sub cluster munitions that are ready to explode when just after launch and to the Earth and then touched or having direct contact with humans because of the nature of the bomb-like mines, small bombs that pose a risk to civilians both during the conflict and after the attacks the attacks ended. Ammunition exploded could kill or injure citizens and targets not intended after the conflict ends in a long period of time, and requires an expensive cost to destroy it.

Sub munitions that have attractive shapes and colours such as balls and toys, and various colours often attract the attention of children, who then take the sub munitions. As a result, child mortality is increasing. The most obvious impact caused by the use of cluster munitions is:

- a. Destruction of targets is not effective (not right on target)
- b. Material losses and immaterial (the sacrifice of humanity) are very much exaggerated or even
- c. Requires a lot of costs that must be incurred for cleaning and extermination the remnants of Cluster munitions as a form of accountability for international humanitarian protection post-war
- d. Creating isolated areas since the battlefield used in war that use Cluster munitions contain radiation chemistry that is very high. This is certainly an impact on dwindling Save Zone to human life on Earth.

All types of war are certainly destructive and destroy the whole structure of the community both from the economic, political, social and cultural diversity sectors. This condition causes the civil population was made a target by the States parties to the war, and is also one of apparently deliberate war to weaken the opponent though resulted in many groups vulnerable communities and easily hurt became the first victims of violence. Children, women, and seniors, they are vulnerable groups that should be guaranteed its protection with particular attention. Until recently, children are still often used by adults as a miniature war to intimidate and weaken opponents.

Reports from several international agencies indicated that the conflict in Yemen has caused casualties and material loss or immaterial. To date, up to March 2017, UNICEF reported at least the number of victims recorded there were 1,121 children who died at the time of the attack, 1,650 children suffered injuries, 244 children suffered heavy injuries resulting in disability, lack of more 500 children died of post attack due to exposed to blast the remnants of cluster munitions, and 1,560 children experiencing violence and persecution in the conflict. Saudi Arabia Coalition attacks also destroyed 7 hospitals and 25 schools in several cities across the region of Yemen. Materially harm inflicted was defective buildings meeting halls, supermarkets, traditional markets, hospitals, schools, and hero sites. (UNICEF, 2014)

Amnesty International in its latest report on 26 November 2017 stated, 35 thousand citizens of Yemen was evacuated in a conflict that has been going on in Yemen. The institutions mentioned in less than one year of 35 thousand citizens of Yemen was evacuated and more than two million others displaced inside and abroad. Based on the description of UN High

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), refugees in Yemen 2,690,000 and abroad feel the impact of the tragic war that occurred in the country. Up to now the 170,000 citizens of Yemen fled to Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan. The United Nations predicts up to the end of the year 2019, 167,000 more will also evacuate. (UNICEF, 2014)

The tragic humanitarian crisis in Yemen has made more than 80 percent of the citizens of Yemen threatened with food shortages and more than 1.8 million children of Yemen cannot be school. In the report entitled “Children in danger” to mention that since the start of the military aggression of Saudi Arabia into Yemen, up to now 934 Yemeni children were killed and 1,356 others were injured. In addition, around 10 thousand babies died of malnutrition and lack of medical facilities. Added that the interference and discrimination against such children of Yemen also extends so many children who are forced to fight. Recorded 848 children aged under 10 years served. (Cogan, 2018)

Clashes in Yemen also creates a critical condition for the women of Yemen. Many of the women of Yemen is struggling to support his family and sufficient. On the other hand, the lack of access to health, education and job opportunities, making the condition worse. More painful is that the impact of the war will still be felt until years of war to an end. Orphans and widows had to survive and had to work hard to support their families. In this case, the women are the most vulnerable in society before the impacts of the war. Instability will increasingly make them vulnerable in the presence of a variety of sexual crimes. This problem will have an impact is sad, especially for the women of Yemen. The negative impact which will be continued until the post-war years.

Of the economic sector, the Government of Yemen recently known also did not pay the salaries of civil servants and teachers for nearly two years. Those who receive salaries must face the fact that food prices surged 68 percent higher than before the battle took place. At the same time, according to the Agency Save the Children, the value of the currency of Yemen plunged 180 percent. The fall of the currency of Yemen since the war has prevented millions of civilians not to buy foods that are on the market. Food prices soared, have made the people of Yemen made deliberately starved to death.

Law International Humanitarian one part of international law, is one of the tools and how it can be used by every citizen, including by the peaceful country or neutral countries to participate, reducing the suffering experienced by the community due to the war that occurred in various countries. Specifically, the law governing the protection of humanity civilian population, civilian objects, localities and people who cannot afford or take up arms again in battle. In this case, the law is an instrument of International Humanitarian policy and technical guidelines which can be used by all international actors to address international issues related to losses and war victims. (FEIERSTEIN, 2017)

Geneva Convention IV is a Convention governing the protection of the civilian population both in terms of the position of the civilian population, the parties to the dispute, which is in the area as well as the occupied territories as well as in the neutral countries. In addition to the 1949 IV Geneva Convention that governs the protection of civilians, the additional protocols of 1977 Geneva Convention is an additional protocol that constitute additional protection set forth Geneva

Convention IV governing protection in the war. 1977
Additional Protocol consists of two protocols:

- a.) Additional Protocol I year 1977, regulating the protection of victims of international armed dispute
- b.) Additional Protocol II year 1977, which regulates the non-armed dispute international victims

Related to the protection of civilian populations in armed conflicts in Yemen, both the Geneva Convention IV year 1949 and the two Additional Protocols is the Convention which has been ratified by all the countries which joined the coalition in Saudi Arabia. Therefore Saudi Arabia coalition has the necessity to respect and ensure respect of the Convention and the additional protocol in all circumstances, especially in terms of providing protection to the civilian population from the threat of Yemen persecution, torture, and murder. (UNODC, 2018)