T.C.
ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN YEMEN (1962- 2014)

MASTER'S THESIS

Sohaib Abdulhameed Abdulsalam SHAMSAN

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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Prof. Dr. Yılmaz BINGÖL

ANKARA 2020

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Seyfullah YILDIRIM

Manager of Institute of Social Science

I certify that this thesis satisfies the entire requirement as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration.

_____

Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Bingöl

Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

_____

Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Bingöl Supervisor

Examining Committee Members:

1. Prof. Dr. Yılmaz BİNGÖL AYBU, PSPA _____

2. Assist. Prof. Dr Güliz Dinç. AYBU, PSPA _____

3. Prof. Dr. Murat ÖNDER ASBÜ _____

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Sohaib Abdulhameed Abdulsalam SHAMSAN

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ABSTRACT

What Yemenis are experiencing today from wars, conflicts, famine, and disease is the inevitable result of political instability for a long time. This article elaborates on the main dilemmas in the political instability in Yemen and proposes appropriate solutions. In fact, there are many reasons that led to the absence of political stability in Yemen, such as separatist calls in southern Yemen and Al-Qaeda wars. Yemeni tribes stand as a parallel political system to the Yemeni government because the Yemeni tribe has most of the state's elements such as power, weapons, and money. The dynastic sectarian calls for the Imamate and the class like the Hashemite family claiming the right to rule Yemen simply because they related to the Prophet Muhammad. As a result, they led several wars against the Yemenis starting from the six wars in Sa'ada governorate, which lasted for six years and ended with the coup in September 2014.

Keywords: Yemen, Civil War, Political Stability, Houthis, Saudi Arabia, Iran, NDC

ÖZET

Yemen'in içinde bulunduğu savaşlar, çatışmalar, kıtlıklar ve hastalıklar, uzun süredir yaşanan siyasi istikrarsızlığın kaçınılmaz sonucudur. Bu arıştırma amaç Yemen'deki siyasi istikrarsızlıktaki temel ikilemleri detaylandırmak ve onlara uygun çözümler önermektir. Aslında Güney Yemen'deki ayrılıkçı çağrılar ve El Kaide savaşları gibi vakaların hepsi ülkede siyasi istikrarın oluşamamasına yol açıyor. Ülkedeki kabileler, Yemen hükümetine paralel bir siyasi sistem olarak bu konumda yer almakta ve bu kabileler, devletin güç, silah ve para kaynağı gibi önemli unsurlarının çoğuna sahip bulunmaktadırlar. İmamlığın mezhep hanedanları ve Haşimi ailesi gibi sınıflar, sırf Hz. Muhammed'le akraba olmalarını öne sürerek Yemen'i yönetme hakkı talep etmektedirler. Bunun sonucunda da Sa'ada vilayetinde altı yıl süren ve Eylül 2014'te darbeyle sona eren savaşlarla beraber Yemen halkına karşı başka savaşlar da başlatmış oldular.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yemen, İç Savaş, Siyasi İstikrar, Husiler, Suudi Arabistan, İran, NDC

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Research

Yemen is located in the south of the Arabian Peninsula. It is bordered to the east by the Sultanate of Oman, to the west by the Red Sea, to the north by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and to the south by the Mediterranean Sea and the Gulf of Aden. According to the World Bank (2018), Yemen Population is 28.5 million.

This research focuses on the political instability in Yemen and discusses the local and regional factors, which have direct and indirect effects on the political instability in Yemen. In fact, political stability absent since about 1200 years ago, despite the few calm times in some periods where it does not stand long and soon it over and the instability start again. However, for more than half a century, Yemen and Yemenis have been trying to understand and find out solutions for the dilemma of political instability.

In this research, we will examine the essence through a deep study of the major dimensions from different sides, culturally and socially, geographically, etc. On the other hand, this thesis discusses the political system reforms in Yemen and the democratic processes in the country before and after the unity of south and north Yemen. The Yemeni society is going through a period of imbalance in the general social construction which helped in the emergence of some unstable in the societal system, which reflect on the political and economic system in Yemen, that led to the emergence of modern institutions that turned into a "monster" for example, as revenge for the Yemeni tribes. It became a political and party revenge, practiced in most of the Yemeni regions, especially the tribal areas, and this led to the proliferation of arms and violence to resolve some conflicts instead of the use of dialogue , tolerance and forgiveness, on the other hand, the Yemeni tribes are standing as a parallel

political system to the Yemeni government because the Yemeni tribe has most of the state's elements such as power, weapons and money, therefore applying the law by the state on the Yemeni tribes consider a big dilemma facing the political system in Yemen. The Yemeni political system suffers from the phenomenon of political instability, as evidenced by the 7 rounds of Sa'ada province war against the Houthis militant, 2004 to 2010, as well as demonstrations, sit-ins and strikes in many Yemeni governorates, especially southern ones, in addition to the return of the phenomenon of kidnappings, tribal intersections, and the spread of revenge, in addition to the occurrence of bombings, and the presence Al-Qaeda in Yemen. Regional interventions posed a real threat to the security and stability of Yemen; it violated the national sovereignty and political decision. On the other hand, the strategic location of Yemen overlooking the Arab Sea on the one hand and the Red Sea and the Strait of Bab Al-Mandab, the most important sea-lane in the world, making Yemen the place of regional and foreign ambitions. Regional states supported Yemeni political parties and armed groups pushing them to fight and thus a proxy war for the sake of the conflicting external and regional countries, resulting in the absence of security, political stability and economic deterioration. The dynastic sectarian calls for the Imamate and the class like the Hashemite family claiming the right to rule Yemen simply because they related to the Prophet Muhammad, as a result, they led several wars against the Yemenis starting from the six wars in Sa'ada governorate, which lasted for six years and ended with the coup in September 2014. Many other reasons that led to the absence of political stability in Yemen, such as separatist calls in southern Yemen and Al-Qaeda wars as well as the political system itself.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

This study addresses the issue of political stability absence in Yemen. It discusses its causes and dimensions as Yemen has not witnessed political stability for the last 1200 years since the Hashemite dynasty took over the rule of Yemen. The country has gone through many wars, since then the Yemeni unity between North and South in May 1990. Yemen underwent serious historical junctures such as the war of Separation in 1994, the wars of the province of Saada, Al-Qaeda wars, protests, demonstrations, the Arab Spring, and the Houthi coup in September 2014, beside the wars in the south and north Yemen from 1962 to 1990 Yemen undergone through many unstable stations and civil wars. According to the United Nation

Human Rights Council reports, records of violations, abuses of human rights, local and international humanitarian law over past years since September 2014. As the conflict started, the UN organizations and other institutions observed recorded many civilians, and casualties fall due to the ongoing conflict, on the other hand, many people including children and women killed and injured. However, millions of Yemenis now and since 2014 facing starvation and lack of basic life stuff. Yemeni government employees currently do not receive their salaries and most of the private sectors has closed, beside the Yemen currency (Riyal) has slumped to a record low against the US dollar since the Houthi Militia Coup 2014, at the same time the prices of basic living requirements has raised up accordingly. In response to this problem, this research is to address the core factors that led to political instability in Yemen and proposed solutions to the dilemmas that weaken political stability.

1.3. Research Questions

The main problem is the political instability in Yemen; this thesis will investigate the factors and dimensions of political instability in Yemen. What are the main causes of the political stability? What are the problems and issues that the current political system has? Does Yemen need a new political system? What is the best political system for Yemen?

1.4. Research Methodology

Qualitative approaches will be used in the research. The time interval measurement applied to measure the political instability in Yemen “from 1962 to 2014”. Articles. Books, journals, websites, World Bank, UN organization's reports and political figures will be used as sources.

1.5. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this research is to find the main obstacles in the Yemeni political system, the social and cultural conditions, and the political relationship of Yemen with the regional and international community, which ultimately led to the deterioration of political stability in Yemen. Moreover, to evaluate the current political system and the system agreed upon at the National Dialogue Conference, which calls for changing the political system in

Yemen from the central to the federal system of six cantons. The Iranian-backed Houthi militias took the chance of the weakness of the state and seized the capital Sana'a in September 2014. As a result, Yemen was placed under UN Chapter VII became under international trusteeship. On the other hand, the result of the absence of political stability in Yemen is the current war and the famine spread throughout Yemen, epidemics, diseases and other negative consequences caused by the political instability of the state. In return, proposing solutions and recommendations help to maintain political stability in Yemen and thus lift Yemen from the circle of wars conflicts to the circle of development and growth.

1.6. Significance of the Study

The importance of this research lies in the study of the roots of political problems, the social structure of the Yemeni society, the regional and international role in the process of political instability in Yemen. What Yemenis are experiencing today from wars, conflicts, famine, and disease is the inevitable result of political instability for a long period of time, because of the lack of understanding of the roots of the problems and factors that led to political instability or there may not be enough studies to study the causes and provide solutions for them. For this reason, this research will present the main dilemmas in the political instability in Yemen and propose appropriate solutions to address all these problems and thus positively reflect on the security and stability of Yemen.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. The Concept of Political Stability

Stability in all its economic, social and political dimensions is an indication of the success of the political system, indeed, it's necessary for a decent life because of its positive effects on the growth and development of individuals, societies and states, a goal that all countries and societies seek without exception, strategies and plans are prepared for it. However, the society cannot achieve any economic, educational, cultural or political development in the absence of political stability; it is a necessary condition for renaissance and development, and an imperative necessity for growth and progress. There are specific criteria for measuring the degree of stability prevailing in countries and societies, at the same time, indicators for measuring political instability, this is what we seek to discuss in this research by studying the definition of political instability and knowing its indicators and applying to the situation of Yemen, in addition to the definition of instability Political indicators and its measurement.

The term political stability refers to "the ability of the political system to perform its functions, respond to the demands of the masses, and adapt to the changes of the internal and external environment surrounding it, in a way that gains the political legitimacy necessary for its continuation, and prevents it from being exposed to any acts of violence or conflicts that are difficult to control by peaceful means and within the framework of commitment constitutional rules (Mekkawi, 2019).

According to Ake (1975), to define political stability we must illuminate the concepts of the political structure and politics. However, political behavior is the act of any member of the society in obeying and disobeying the laws of society. All defilements of the law consider political behavior; untimely, desecration of law is an encounter to the authority. Political stability is the consistency of the movement of political relations. He claims that, as the political relations regularly flow, there will be more political stability. Instead, it refers that,

the members of the society restriction to the behavior patterns applied by political role prospects, the political stability be present. Otherwise, it considers as a case of political instability.

2.2. Determinants and Manifestations of Political Stability

Hurwitz (1973) stated that, political stability is described by some approaches such as: non-existence of violence; governmental long duration; the presence of a lawful constitutional regime; non-existence of structural alteration; and a multifaceted societal feature.

The indicators of political stability are represented by: the peaceful transfer of power and the legal transfer of power within the state, the legitimacy of the political system, the sovereignty of the state, steadfastness in the positions of political leaders, parliamentary stability, democracy and strengthening political participation, the absence of violence, the disappearance of civil wars, separatist movements and rebellions, and the consolidation of the principle of citizenship and the existence of a successful economy and the lack of internal and external migration (Al-Obaidi, 2017).

These indicators are not fully available in the Yemeni situation as they change from one stage to another, and what can be applied at one stage is lacking at another, which indicates the absence of a state of political stability, according to these indicators, even in the case where there is a type of political stability, it is relative stability. Indeed it’s quickly exposed to the loss a number of its indicators in favor of instability.

Political stability is a reflection of the socio-economic dimensions of assimilating societal components, integrate them into the political system, and involve them in political life. Therefore, political stability takes several forms and is not limited to a specific aspect. The instability situation results from the failure to achieve those dimensions in the social, political and economic reality. The security imbalance and violence is the result of that failure to achieve those Objectives. Therefore, the manifestations of political stability take several aspects.

2.2.1. Manifestations with political dimensions

The manifestations of political stability with a political dimension are represented in the extent of stability in the system through its integrated political developments or the so-called (political levels) of ruling elites, political institutions and political behavior.

Ruling Elites

Stability in the ruling elites is articulated by the absence of rapid changes among the elites, the change of high-level occupants, and the emergence of organized and disciplined change by constitutional and legal rules. Also, stability at the elite level includes that it stays in power by popular choice by the polls through free, fair, and transparent elections. These include the existence of the popular consent factor; otherwise, these elites are based on tyranny and oppression. It is clear from this that the ruling elite's long stay in power does not reflect political stability unless this stay is accompanied by a factor of consent and commitment to constitutional and legal institutions with a factor of consent and commitment to constitutional and legal institutions (Saleh, 2019).

The transfer of power means the existence of mechanisms for the transfer of the political position from one person to another, whether the person is the president of the republic or ministers in the presidential or parliamentary systems, and therefore the peaceful transfer of power is linked to democratic political rule that moves from one political group to another, and from a party or a coalition of parties to a party or another alliance, and from one period to another, based on the wishes of the people that appear in the outcome of their political practices. As for the transfer of power and linking it to indicators of political stability, it is intended in particular to change the person of the head of state, a process that varies according to the type of political system and constitutional methods used. If this transition process takes place according to the law and the constitution, this is a true indication of the phenomenon of political stability. Thus, the transfer of power here becomes a democratic basis, because the forces that are outside the authority find that they have the right to participate in it or to exercise it in accordance with the constitution and electoral laws in exchange for the commitment of those who have power to these laws and rules, with his understanding that he

is not entitled to a monopoly of power, and then Acknowledging that it was distributed peacefully. (Wali, 2003, p. 265).

Bu Afia (2016) claimed that the process of transferring power within the political system is a true indication of the phenomenon of political stability, reflecting the extent of stability and entrenchment in the political system in light of the attendant change in the person of the ruler or political organizations, or both. The transition process power is the change of the person of the head of state, and it is a process that differs according to the type of existing political system and constitutional methods used, or according to the method by which change is made. Some analysts believe that the genetic systems in which power is transferred on the basis of kinship enjoy a degree of political stability compared to some other systems that witness the phenomenon of power and governance struggle, which in turn reflects the state of stability in the country. Certainly, if the power transfer process takes place according to what is constitutionally recognized, then this is a true indication of the phenomenon of political stability, but if the authority is transferred from one party to another through coups and military interventions, this is a true indication of political instability.

Constitutional and political institutions stability

The legislative stability and constant changes represents by the constitutional and legal rules, the legislative, executive, political parties, civil society organizations and mass organizations. Political legitimacy is intended to justify the ruling authority from the collective well of society. In other word, the political system is gaining its legitimacy by achieving the interests of the people, maintaining the independence of the country, and protecting rights. In other terms, the political system is gaining its true legitimacy from the acceptance by the people of their rule while they submit to it on a real voluntary basis.

Sabri (2011) indicated that the political system loses legitimacy and effectiveness in succession due to changes in the constitutional system and challenges to it.When political institutions in a certain society are ineffective in satisfying the wishes and aspirations of the people, this leads to a state of political aversion. Additionally, when the system is absent and does not preserve it, the elements of turmoil are formed within the system. This creates an imbalance between the various forces, which puts the system at risk.

The legitimacy is a legal basis represented in the acceptance by the citizens of state of this power as the sole representative of the political entity (Muhanna, 2002). Therefore, the political legitimacy that the political system acquires is considered one of the main pillars of political stability, and political stability, in turn, is one of the signs of political legitimacy. The collapse of legitimacy means the disappearance of all internal manifestations and motives of consent, acceptance and voluntary action, which leads to the possibility of using violence in all its forms and thus a political instability.

Political stability and strengthening political participation

Nasser (2014) said that, political stability linked to political participation by the public through informing the people in society that they have a contribution to the political authority and administration of the country, and that they participate in the appreciation of their affairs through their contribution in expressing their opinions and their intellectual and political beliefs.

Naji (2007) noted that, political participation is those political activities in which members of a society participate in choosing its rulers, and in formulating public policy directly or indirectly, meaning that it aims to involve members of society at various levels of the political system. Political participation is directly related to the concept of political stability. Political participation reflects activities and actions aimed at selecting rulers, influencing government decisions, and prevailing and established public policymaking. Political participation also includes deep political, social and positive awareness aimed at building the citizen and within social norms and values and according to an open intellectual and humanitarian framework and comprehensive visions of the reality of social life for all segments of society and its various religious spectrums and nationalities.

To achieve stability, the political authority and in its endeavor must adopt the rules and laws that guarantee the basis for effective participation, by permitting the formation of associations and political parties. On the other hand, launching of freedom of expression and political affiliation and deepening the foundations of political legitimacy, as well as adopting societal standards by providing transparency of information in all the activities of the political authority. In addition to the decisions that can be taken in the political, economic and social

fields that are of interest to society (Saleh, 2019).Political participation allows individuals to freely express their views on various issues, whether political, social or economic, as well as freedom to choose representatives in local and parliamentary councils, and from here it is one of the most important means by which internal political stability can be achieved in any country.

Political stability and violence, civil wars and rebellions

Political violence is the main expression of political instability. Indeed, the disappearance of political violence is one of the indicators of political stability. Political violence can be defined as the actual use of physical force to harm others to achieve political, social, or economic goals. Political violence may be formal or informal directed against citizens, groups, organizations, or elements concerned. As for the informal, it is directed by citizens or groups against the regime and some of its symbols. On the other hand, separatist movements, rebellions, and civil wars, which reflect the political instability, and this includes the resort to violence on a large scale (Youssef, 2017, pp. 49-50).

Bu Afia (2016) indicated that violence is the main manifestation of political instability, as it means the actual use of physical force to harm others. The phenomenon of political stability in many societies has always been associated with several negative indicators. However, it's revolving around the phenomenon of violence, such as civil wars, political and military coups and revolutions, which lead to causing chaos and the collapse of the legitimacy of the political system, all of which are clear indications of the loss of stability and safety within the state.

Civil wars are one of the manifestations of the problem of political instability through the resorting of two or more opposing parties to arms within the state. Therefore, it is an armed conflict that takes place between political units characterized by the complete absence of restrictions and laws that govern the behavior of the belligerents. The full use of political violence takes other forms as a result of the failure of the political system to achieve the general goals of society or distribute value in a way the citizens are satisfied with Which means that this regime was hit by a crack in its legitimacy, and this is why political violence is resorted to in its attempt to change reality. This violence cannot be matched by calmness by

the ruling group, as it will meet with counter-violent. Among the forms of this violence are demonstrations and riots that reflect popular discontent through broad popular participation. Additional to that, there is the political assassination that the ruling groups resort to liquidating opposition leaders, political figures, parties and groups, and this considered an indication of the political system's inability. There is also political terrorism, which may be state terrorism, individual terrorism or group terrorism with threats, killings, kidnappings, displacement and destruction of property, and finally the phenomenon of gang wars that may be small or mass popular wars (Sabri, 2011, pp. 165-166).

Internal and External Migration

The causes of migration, both internal and external, can be summed up by the security and economic situation, and both reasons, in turn, indicate a phenomenon of political instability, and whenever the rates of migration are few or moderate, this indicates the existence of political stability.

Bu Afia (2016) mentioned that, the rate of internal and external migration flow can be considered an indication of a state of stability or political instability in a society, because the spread of the migration phenomenon means that the citizen does not have good living conditions and thus this means that he/she is not satisfied with the security and economic situation and existing health care, and this is an indication of political instability. Migration is also linked to the economic index, inflation, unemployment rate and living standards, which has the greatest impact on frustration and insecurity, and therefore, the higher the rate of emigration abroad, this is evidence of the presence of expulsion factors. In society, the lower immigration percentage indicates the improvement of internal conditions, and therefore a state of relative stability.

2.2.2. The social dimension of political stability

Social dimensions consider the very important factor of manifestations of political stability to which the system enjoys a national unity based on interactive interactions between the different components of society in an equal manner, and not necessarily the abolition of the sub-components of the system such as doctrine, tribalism and ancestry. But rather in what

it grants from political justice to different groups that melt through which all identities, affiliations, and allegiances unify the goals, and public participation in them. (Saleh, 2019).

Bu Afia (2016) indicated that, the concept of stability in political thought was associated with some social and political issues, such as class differentiation or social and economic disparity, the distribution of wealth within society, the issue of legitimacy, and others. Therefore, some researchers related the phenomenon of stability to the issue of social conflict, and how it can lead to internal conflicts between different groups of society, whether on the economic level between the rich and the poor, or at the racial level where the conflict of races and different nationalities. On the other hand, at the level of religions and beliefs between People of different religious denominations and sects, Here, the political authority may be unable to achieve a balance between the interests and the conflicting group, from there fail to maintain the unity, cohesion and stability of society, which constitutes a direct threat to the legitimacy and continuity of the system and government.

The existence and spread of the principle of citizenship: societies that do not know the phenomenon of pluralism and diversity, whether at the ethnic, religious or regional level, are often closer to political stability and social unity. However, this is contrary to what other societies witness in national and religious conflicts that lead in some cases to the establishment of separatist movements and civil wars, which is considered an indication of instability in these societies as a result of the multiplicity of national loyalties in them, but the problem is not in pluralism or diversity, it's in the way in which this pluralism is dealt with. Here two types of political systems deal with this situation emerge. The first type deals with pluralism, especially the minority with the logic of power, while the second type deals according to logic of equal rights and duties. (Youssef, 2017, p. 50).

2.3. The Economic Dimension of Political Stability

Economic stability considers as a general indicator of political stability in all societies. When the political system is stable, it directs its economic policies towards development goals. Infect, the development policies that raise the standard of living and welfare of individuals, which creates a kind of reassurance and popular satisfaction with the political system (Bani, 2017). Thus each of the state, the private and public sectors in financing huge

economic projects to revive the internal market, this becomes an indication of community stability, therefore, these development policies and programs are adopted by the state to raise the standard of living and welfare rates for individuals. It encountered a kind of reassurance, acceptance and popular consent towards the political system and government policies, which overshadows some other negative indicators within society (Bu Afia, 2016).

The economic dimensions of political stability are represented in a holistic and integrated community development process that includes all social groups and components with efficiency and fair distribution (Saleh, 2019). The distribution of wealth and income linked to the stability of societies. If the society suffers from poverty, backwardness, and inequity in the distribution of wealth, there are general problems in it. The economic and class differences may result in increased gaps on the government, if the government could not solve them, it will leads to political unrest, class conflict, and political instability (Youssef, 2017, p. 235).

CHAPTER 3

YEMEN POLITICAL INSTABLITY BACKGROUND

3.1 Yemen Before Unification

Yemen has gone through difficult circumstances, in the recent and past, whether in the era of the imamate or during the era of British colonialism or under external interventions with different circumstances and reasons.

3.1.1 The Political Development in the Yemen Arab Republic

Yemen has gone through difficult circumstances, in the recent and past, whether in the era of the imamate or during the era of British colonialism or under external interventions with different circumstances and reasons.

British colonial and Ottoman Empire shared the forces in Yemen; however, Ottoman forces controlled the northern part of Yemen and British colonialism in the southern part of Yemen. The Ottoman forces arrived in 1848 and ruled northern Yemen until 1918, after the collapse of the Ottoman empire, the Imamate took power again and ruled northern Yemen until the revolution in 26 September 1962 , while the British forces arrived in 1839 and ruled southern Yemen till 30 November 1967 (Al-Shuaibi, 2004).

South Yemen known by different names in English during different periods, before it called Aden and the protectorate, it also named by South Arabia, and, after 1959, as the Federation of South Arabia. Officially, the state has taken a new name in 1967 to 1970, the "the People's Republic of South" (or Southern) Yemen. However, after 1970 it took its formal name with the "People's Democratic Republic of Yemen" (Halliday,1985).

Yemen was one of the countries that lagged far behind the rest of the world and remained completely isolated from the world. The September 26 revolution in the north of Yemen represented a historic leap and turned from the era of darkness and tyranny to a new era and openness to the world (Al shahari, 1990). The Republic of Yemen is the only republic

country one in the Arabian Peninsula. The revolution in the North in 1962-reformed Yemen from the era of monarchy and ignorance to the era of republic and freedom, it takes its form, guidance, and principles from the Arab nationalism. However, after eight years of civil war between the imamate and the republicans, the civil war ended and the republic succeeded, however, Saudi Arabia supported the imamate and Egypt supported the republicans. In the South, British colonization paved the way for a socialist regime from 1967 onwards. In the southern part of Yemen, the Socialist Party took power after the last British soldier evacuated from Aden in 1967 (Poirier & Bonnefoy, 2012). The Yemeni revolution of 26 September 1962 against the Imamate was not the first but before that the Imamate received successive defeats forced to flee to the high mountains. The importance of the Yemeni revolution is due to the overthrow of the rule of the Imamate and the acquisition of power and wealth (Brown , 2016) .

September 26 revolution laid down great goals,

1. Freedom from tyranny, colonialism and its byproducts. Establishing a fair republican government and eliminating the disparities and privileges between classes.

2. Build a strong national army to protect the country and guard the revolution and its gains.

3. Raise the level of the people economically, socially, politically and culturally.

4. Creating a democratic, just and cooperative society whose systems derive from the true spirit of Islam.

5- Working towards achieving national unity within the scope of the comprehensive Arab unity.

6- Respect for United Nations conventions and international organizations, uphold the principle of positive neutrality and impartiality, work for global peace and promote the principle of peaceful coexistence among nations (Julufikaya, 1994).

The table 3.1 below refers to the presidents of North Yemen from 1962 to 1990 and shows the reign and the way of transfer of power. However, Table 2 summarizes the historical events, civil wars, and conflicts.

Table 3. 1. List of heads of state of North Yemen 1962-1990

Name of the president	**Reign**	**Transfare of Power Way**
Abdullah Al-Sallal	1962-1965	Military coup
Abdulrahman Al-Iryani	1965-1974	White military coup and resignation
Ibrahim Al-Hamdi	1974-1977	Military coup and assassination
Ahmad Al-Ghashmi	1977-1978	Assassination
Ali Abdullah Saleh	1978-2012	Revolution and killing

Table 3. 2. The historical events, civil wars, and conflicts 1962-1990 in the North

Date	**Discretion**
1962	The "26 September Revolution" against the Imamate rule, and the establishment of the Yemeni Arab Republic.
1962-1970	A civil war between the Republicans and Royalists
1965	Khamer Peace Conference between the Republicans them selves
1965	Haradh conference between the Republicans and Royalists
1967	The 70 day siege of Sanaa
1970	Jeddah agreement and end of the civil war between the republicans and the royalist
1972	First border clashes between North and South Yemen
1978	Second border clashes between North and South Yemen and
1978	The central region's civil war
1990	The unification of South and North Yemen

The Dream of Return and Counter - Revolution

After the end of the Yemeni revolution in September 1962, Yemen survived through that period of tribal divisions and civil wars that lasted until 1970. In the first days after the establishment of the Yemeni revolution, there was a strong establishment of the new state system, where the first Yemeni constitution drafted to guarantee everyone's participation in political life and entrench the principle of citizenship, rights and freedoms. However, Zaidis and Shafi'is shared the power between them, yet this to ensure balance, provide stability, and achieve the goals of the revolution.

This period witnessed international and regional tension, to protect and preserve their interests in the Arab Republic of Yemen. On the one hand, Britain and Saudi Arabia supported the Imamate for the fear of the spread of revolutionary and republican thought in Southern Yemen at that time, thus the revolution against the British occupation in the south. However, Saudi Arabia believes that the establishment of a republic next to it is a real threat to its national security and the monarchy. On the other hand, the Egyptian forces headed by Jamal Abdel Nasser supported the republican forces to achieve victory and achieve the revolution. (Julufikaya, 1994)**.**

The conflict between the republics and the Imamates continued, and the November 5, 1967 movement, which overthrew Abdullah Al-Sallal, The Imamate’s leaders exploited this change and besieged the capital, Sana'a. The conflict continued until the civil war ended with national reconciliation in 1970. Arab and international positions on the Yemeni revolution varied between supporters and opponents; Jordan and Saudi Arabia were the countries that opposed the establishment of the republic while Egypt was the one that stood with the republic and some other Arab countries such as Tunisia, Sudan and Algeria. With the continuation of the war between the monarchists and the Republicans, there were several efforts to settle and to calm and establish security and stability in the North Yemen, through which the two publics sought to hold several peace conferences and peace agreements with the Yemeni tribes, forces and other influential figures.

The republicans sought through these meetings and conferences to unite the republican line to work together in order to end the war. However, the first conference was a Khamer conference, which was held in May 1965, this conference ended with great results and recommendations taken into account among these findings and decisions is the appointment of liaison team to the Imams and the establishment of a Yemeni army of 11,000 men as well as sending delegations to Arab countries to present the Yemeni case and the establishment of diplomatic relations and get cooperation to end the Yemeni war, explaining the bloody tragedies in Yemen, and called for resolute intervention and end the problem in a peaceful manner. In the same year, a Jeddah agreement signed between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, represented by King Faisal, and Egypt, represented by President Jamal Abdel Nasser. The Jeddah Agreement placed the republican system under the experience of the referendum and the formation of a transitional government, governing for a year, the last of which will be a referendum. After the Jeddah Agreement, a Haradh conference held at the end of 1965 between the Republicans and the royalists under the auspices of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, but the conference ended without achieving any results. Arab summit in Khartoum in 1967 outcomes is to stop the support of Saudi Arabia to the monarchies as well as terminate Egyptian support for the Republicans beside that, Withdraw the forces of Saudi Arabia and Egypt from Yemen (Faris & Atto, 2017).

End of the Civil War (1967 - 1970)

At the end of 1967 after the Arab summit in Khartoum that resulted in the formation of a tripartite committee. In 1967, it was agreed to withdraw Egyptian forces from Yemen in return for a cessation of Saudi support for the monarchies. Under the Khartoum Conference, a tripartite committee of foreign ministers from Iraq, represented by Ismail Khairallah, was formed, and the Kingdom of Morocco, represented by Ahmad Al-Iraqi and Sudan, represented by Muhammad Ahmad Mahjoob, as a prelude to stop the war. On the other hand, the popularity of the AL-Sallal began to decline after the withdrawal of the Egyptian army, which was seen as loyal to Nasser, although he did not agree with the outcomes of the Khartoum conference, especially since the dispute is resolved between Nasser and Faisal. Therefore, a group of moderate patriots led by Judge Abdrahman Al-Iryani, who was an advocate of an agreement with the two monarchies, staged a peaceful coup on November 5, 1967, during the

AL-Sallal visit to Cairo (Aldoliami, 2006)**.** Despite the Egyptian withdrawal from Yemen, according to the Khartoum agreement, Saudi Arabia continued its support for the monarchies, which strengthened their power until they besieged Sanaa (70 days), however, Sanaa at that time was about to fall but the popular resistance succeeded and Break the siege. In Beirut, a republican spokesperson said that Saudi Arabia continued to support the monarchies and it was behind the siege of Sanaa, despite the realization of the withdrawal of all Egyptian forces from Yemen in accordance with the Jeddah agreement, the Saudis have continued to send money and equipment to the monarchies to overthrow the republican regime in Sanaa. (Alhajiri, 1988). At the beginning of the siege, people believed that the republic would not stand on and survive especially after the Egyptian forces left Yemen. However, the royal forces were much bigger than which was at the attacking position while the Republican Army was defending with less forces. During November, the leadership made great endeavors to decrease tensions by beginning connections with the tribes which supporting the Royals that intended at reaching national settlement within the frame of the republic. Saudi Arabia has opposed these initiatives; however, it claimed that the settlement and reconciliation must be only through the Arab Tripartite Commission and according to the Khartoum Agreement. Tensions between Yemen and Saudi Arabia raised, While Republicans were at dispute, and Saudi Arabia took advantage of the dispute and intensified its activities by transporting supplies to the monarchists. (Ardeldayhm, 1991)**.** In March 1969, the Royalist Imam Mohammed Al Badar finally realize that it is the time to stop fighting and come to an agreement with the republicans especially after the resignation Imam's deputy Prince Muhammad ibn Al-Husain. However, Al-Badr agreed to cut off the relationship between the tribes who support him and his family, thus, gave more space for political pliancy to negotiate with the republicans. The negotiations held in Jeddah during the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. Royalist and republicans agreed upon forming a new government and share the power together where the Royalist family Hamid Al-Din family excluded and prevented. After signing up for this agreement, Saudi Arabia recognized the Yemen Arab Republic, as a result the civil war and foreign intervention in Yemen comes to end (Orkaby, 2014).

The Era of Coups

President Al-Sallal is the first president of the Arab Republic of Yemen after the September 26 revolution. He took power until November 5, 1967 because of a coup led by Abdulrahman Al-Iryani and some tribal sheikhs exiled him abroad and stayed abroad until his death (IPB USA, 2013). AL-Sallal came to power in northern Yemen immediately after the success of the September 1962 revolution until 1967. His reign was marked by fierce civil war. The regional conflict erupted between the Egyptian regimes led by Gamal Abdel Nasser, who supported the 1962 revolutionaries, while the Saudi regime supported the remnants of the imamate. The conflict continued for many years in Yemeni territory, and many victims were killed at that time (Dashila, 2017). The coup was carried out on November 5, 1967 under the leadership of a number of officers and with the help of tribal leaders, led by Sheikh Abdullah bin Hussein Al-Ahmar (Sheikh of Hashid tribes, Sheikh Sinan Abu Luhum, a tribal leader in Bakil tribes) (Bedewi, 2016) . Al-Sallal was unable to maintain civil peace despite numerous attempts. He was overthrown in a military coup on 5 November 1967; Judge Abdulrahman Al-Iryani followed by Abdullah Al-Sallal, during the peroid 1967-1974. He was the first Yemeni civilian president, but he was also overthrown, in a white coup, followed by President Ibrahim Al-Hamdi, who ruled Yemen during the period 1974-77, and made some economic plans that benefited the Yemeni people, he sought to eliminate the traditional class. He was assassinated in 1977, followed by President Ahmed Al-Gashmi where he stayed in power only for several months and then assassinated, and then Ali Abdullah Saleh, who ruled North Yemen from 1978 to 1990 and then the Republic of Yemen after the unity Year 1990 to 2011 (Dashila, 2017).

Political conflict has intensified in Yemen since the end of 1973 and the beginning of 1974 between the President of the Republican Council of President Judge Abdulrahman Al-Iryani and Sheikh Abdullah Bin Hussein Al-Ahmar, Chairman of the Shura Council over the way of leadership of the state. Moreover, these parties feared the attempts of President Abdulrahman Al-Iryani to unilateral the power, because of the worsening of the dispute between the Authority's axes. The conflict between President Judge Abdulrahman Al-Iryani and his political rivals has been further complicated by the accession of Sheikh Sinan Abu Luhum to the Bukil tribes and the Governor of Hodeidah province. President Abdulahman Al-

Iryani submitted his resignation to Sheikh Abdullah bin Hussein Al-Ahmar, head of the Shura Council, who in turn sent it to Deputy Prime Minister Colonel Ibrahim Al-Hamdi to announce to the people his last resignation. Judge Abdulrahman Al-Iryani left Sana'a to Taiz and was contacted by a large number of personalities, including President Ibrahim Al-Hamdi, who paid tribute to the state and republican peace when the president left for Syria. On the evening of June 13, 1974, the first statement of the movement was broadcast and the leadership council (composed of the leaders of the most important weapons in the Yemeni army) replaced the Republican Council headed by President Ibrahim Al-Hamdi (Bedewi, 2016). President Ibrahim Al-Hamdi ruled Yemen From 1973–1977, he has done several political and economic reforms such as establishing the state institutions that grantee the elementary facilities and services to people, encouraged and develop the relationship between the state and the people so that improving the state's public legitimacy. President Ibrahim Al-Hamdi was assassinated by Ahmed Al-Gashmi. (Ahmed & al-Rawhani, 2018).

The assassination of the President Ibrahim Al-Hamdi executed the day before travelling to the south of Yemen (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen), to discuss the agreement of the unification of the south and the north of Yemen which consider the first meeting between the south and north of Yemen since the 1962 (LaRouche, 1977). Unlike Al-Hamdi's central Yemeni ideology in politics, he took a great political goal to enforce the law system and expand state influence at the expense of military and tribal power. During his reign, he ably sought to build a strong Yemeni army and instill the values of central loyalty to the state, not to the tribe, but it did not last long. Yemeni tribal leaders worried and frightened about this political transition and were assassinated in October 1977 (Barany, 2016).

Ahmed Al-Gashmi came to power after the assassination of Al-Hamdi and met the fate of the Al-Hamdi president, who preceded Ibrahim Al-Hamdi, in June 1978; the north of Yemen was again plagued by another political setback: the assassination of President Ahmed Al-Ghashmi (Rabi, 2015). President Ahmed Al-Gheshmi was assassinated by a bomb that was sent to him by the president of the south of Yemen Rubayya' Ali. The Yemeni government in the north blamed Rubayya' Ali. Many people believe that the opponents of Salim Rubayya' Ali are the one who plotted and incited against him because of his attitudes and moderate policy towards North Yemen (Gause, 1988).

Political Conflicts and Civil Wars (1978-1990)

Ali Abdullah Saleh ascended to power in North Yemen after the killing of President Al-Ghashami and continued to rule Yemen even after the unification of Yemen. After the Arab Spring revolution, Saleh abdicated the power to his deputy, Abd Rabbuh Mansour Hadi. Ali Abdullah Saleh's assumption of power in Yemen did not end the conflict and divisions, but rather entered North Yemen with numerous conflicts and various wars.

Yemeni politics has faced many trouble events after Saleh came to power, in the first three months of Saleh's presidency, a coup attempt by the Nasserite leaders in exile with Libyan support. Saleh's regime faced this coup with full force, was extinguished, and those involved in this coup were sentenced to death and indeed they were executed. A few months later, tensions between North and South Yemen increased, resulting in the conflict. The forces of South Yemen entered the North Yemen territory; however, the defensive force of North Yemen at that time was very weak (Burrowes R. D., 1985).

The central regions of Yemen witnessed harsh wars and assassinations that ended the lives of tribe's leaders, many families and human losses, the region suffered a long period of sadness, and the war left disabilities. National democratic front (NDF) started a civil war in the former North Yemen, whose roots go back to the era of President Judge Abdulrahman Al-Iryani, where improvised popular resistance against the regime arose due to the deterioration of conditions in the central regions or North Yemen, the lack of access to basic state services, and the dominance of the Sheikhs (tribe's leaders). The NDF originally had six members: revolutionary Democratic Party, organization of Yemeni resisters, labor party, popular democratic union, Baath party.

After the assassination of President Al-Ghashami, the North accused the South of masterminding the assassination and the tension between the two countries amounted to the second Yemeni war, in which North Yemen was considered defeated due to the poor quality of its administrative system and the chaos in the military establishment and its penetration by the socialists. After Arab mediation, the cease-fire between the two countries ceased at the end of the seventies, but the violence in the north did not stop. The Socialist Party in the south instructed its loyalists in the central regions to continuously resist the northern regime, which

was considered a reactionary loyal to the reactionary forces (Saudi Arabia) and the imperialist forces (USA), and the bourgeoisie (the tribe's leader), took advantage of the curse of the people of the central regions over the government and the authority of the tribe's leader. At that point, the former improvised resistance became a declared organization called the National Front, which receives massive funding from the government of th South. On the other hand, an Islamic front, represented by some people from the central regions, from the Khuban region in particular, was receiving support from the northern government and from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which was afraid of the communist tide (Burrowes & Schmitz, 1992).

South Yemen played an important role in this civil war, however, the South Yemen initiative a military actions by backing up and supporting the organizations of Northern Yemeni leftist coalition known as the (NDF) or National Democratic Front led by Sultan Ahmad Umar who was part of the south politics. However, the NDF ideological background much closer to the Southern regime. The military of Southern Yemen involved largely with National Democratic Front forces aimed to assess political changes in Northern Yemen. In the military actions, the National Democratic Front backed by the South regime took over a large area from the Northern Territory, especially the boarded areas such as Taiz and Ibb (Gause, 1988). Sanaa regime decided to seek a solution to end up this civil war with NDF backed by Aden regime. Southern and Northern Yemen stared the negotiation to make end for this civil war and stopping the South from supporting the NDF, however, South had a condition that Sanaa regime should reincorporate the NDF into a more progressive, which was anti-tribble, anti-Saudi, Anti-imperialist-North Yemen putting the first stage of the unity of the South and North of Yemen (Burrowes R. , 2016).

3.1.2. The Political Development in the Democratic Republic of Yemen

The glorious revolution of the 14th of October 1963 represents a great deal for the people of Yemen, north and south. Over the three years after the outbreak of the revolution of the fourteenth of October, the armed struggle continued to expand and expand on all colonized lands in the south of the country, and the armed struggle movement against British colonialism expanded to include large sectors within society, including women who participated in the

demonstrations and took up arms and provided fighters with food, distribute flyers, convey messages and internal circulars.

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen became independent in 1967, when it established a modern country that took a socialist approach by adopting the socialist theory as an approach to its policy and building its state internally and externally, which made hostility between it and its neighbors Saudi Arabia, Oman and the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen), which caused it a waste of effort, funds and external assistance and lack of Arab support, especially the Gulf and Saudi states, as these countries worked to strengthen the capabilities of the Yemen Arab Republic to fight the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen , on the other hand, the disputes and internal skirmishes worsened with the remaining effort towards achieving the established development. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen witnessed difficult political conditions and went through several political crises and went through several civil and regional wars in addition to assassinations of political and military leaders, and this was reflected in its political and economic stability at that time. However, after independence, when the British left Aden in 1967, the Front for the Liberation of South Yemen (FLS), the South Arabian League (SAL), and the National Liberation Front (NLF) competed for power. The FLS, SAL and NLF organizations depends on different State institutions inside and outside the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and these differences among them specify the character of the independent South Yemeni regime (Mvlroie, 1983). The table 3 below shows to the presidents of South Yemen from 1963 to 1990 and shows the reign and the way of transfer of power. However, table 2 sums up the historical events, civil wars, and conflicts.

Table 3. 3. List of heads of state of South Yemen 1963-1990

Name of the president	**Reign**	**Transfare of Power Way**
Qahtan Al-Shaabi	1967-1969	Military coup
Salim Rubai Ali	1969-1978	Assassination
Abdul Fattah Ismail	1978-1980	Resignation
Ali Nasir Mohammad	1980-1986	Deposed
Haidar Abu Bakr al-Attas	1986-1990	Handed over the post to Ali Abdullah Saleh

Table 3. 4. South Yemen historical events, civil wars, and conflicts 1963-1990

Date	Discretion
1963	The "14 October Revolution" against the British colonailism, and the establishment People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.
1967	Civil war between the Liberation Front and the National Front
1969	Al-Wadiah War and Conflict with Oman
1972	First border clashes between North and South Yemen
1978	Second border clashes between North and South Yemen and
1986	The January 1986 Dispute
1990	The unification of South and North Yemen

Political Conflicts and the Absence of Political Stability in Southern Yemen

Southern Yemen also witnessed political conflicts and civil wars that left a lot of human and material damage and had a significant negative impact on public life in the country and this was reflected on the security and stability of the state.

War between the Liberation Front and the National Front

During the 1967 disputes between the national forces almost led to a civil war in southern Arabia, where the competition for power intensified between the Liberation Front led by Abdulqawi Makkawi and the National Front for the Liberation of the South led by Qahtan Al-Shaabi. Bloody clashes took place between supporters of the two fronts, and the Arab League advanced its National reconciliation, calling on both sides to stop the fighting. The National Front rushed to declare its control over all the lands of southern Arabia, but the United Nations Tripartite Committee did not accept this declaration and demanded that the Liberation Front be represented in negotiations with Britain, but this did not happen, as the National Front continued negotiations unilaterally with the British delegation in Geneva, it ended with the signing of an agreement in which Britain recognized the country's

independence and handed over the authority to the leadership of the National Front led by Qahtan Al-Shaabi (Abu Khair, 2016).

By defeating the National Front, it managed to establish the People's Republic of Yemen. The National Front faced unrest and explosions from its early days, as it attributed it to the nature of tension during the British colonial era. The National Front faced two resistances from the most leftist within it and from the elements of the Liberation Front that were receiving supplies from its leadership in Taiz. This reflects the deep differences between the political forces that were unable to accept the other, despite the priorities of building a state of institutions, applying the law to all and agreeing on the foundations of the modern state in the theoretical principles of these political forces (Ghanem, 2016).

The Coup against Qahtan AL-Shaabi

Qahtan AL-Shaabi, combined Southern Yemen (or what is known as Arab South) into a single civilian state. He becomes the first president of the republic and supreme commander of the army. On June 22, 1969, a Marxist group overthrew him from his post, from his party, the National Front, led by Salem Rabi 'Ali (Salmeen) and placed AL-Shaabi under house arrest. He died in Aden in 1982. In February 63, after taking office, he presided over a meeting of a large number of free South people in the North. This was followed by a statement that the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen was established, which later became the "National Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen".Qahtan was elected as its Secretary General, and he remained on this site until independence was achieved on November 30, 1967 (Lentz, 2014).

In the beginning of 1968, signs of the conflict began between members of the government and some of them called for speeding towards giving the Pioneering Party the idea of involving workers and peasants and limiting the tasks of the army and security; others called for keeping the situation as it was while making some changes (Al-Oqab A. , 2009). Some disagreements began after the formation of the first government led by Qahtan Al-Shaabi, so that directly affect the performance of the state and the presidency. The leftists, who see themselves as leaders of armed struggle against the Britain colonization, felt that the national front had taken over all positions in the state and each party saw the need to get rid of

the leaderships loyal to the other party, after three months of independence and sharp division in the national front, the Zanjubar conference was held in 1968, and the results were all in favor of the leftists, including the endorsement of agricultural reform and support for the People's Guard, however, the conflict was not resolved from which the conference outcomes, but increased the intensity of the escalation among the political constituents and the leftists' adherence to the decisions of the conference, while Qahtan Al-Shaabi rejected them, and during this period the country witnessed numerous unrest. After that, Qahtan Al-Shaabi announced the law of agricultural reform to calm the situation, but all these efforts did not succeed. The left moved on and arranged for an armed uprising against Qahtan Al-Shaabi regime, bloody battles took place, killing many of the people at those battles. Senior leadership in the state has joined the leftist, which strengthened their conciliator, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which made President Qahtan Al-Shaabi issue a law to dismiss the Interior Minister Ali Haitham, in addition to a constitutional declaration that broadens the powers of the President. But the leftists prevented the broadcasting of the constitutional declaration and took control of the radio building. President Qahtan Al-Shaabi was removed from the authority and sentenced to house arrest until he died in 1982, and the leftists took control of the authority (Al-Rouhani, 2010).

Al-Wadiah War and Conflict with Oman

In November 1969, a conflict erupted between Saudi Arabia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, as the forces of South Yemen occupied a Saudi position near the Saudi border in the Al-Wadih area, which is about 400 kilometers from Aden, the capital of southern Yemen. Al-Wadih area was under the control of Sultan Al-Qaiti before the declaration of independence in southern Yemen, which it considered to be part of its lands in the south of Yemen. Before independence, there was a conflict between Britain and Saudi Arabia over Al-Wadih area, Saudi Arabia saw that Al-Wadih was part of its national territory; during the intensification of the conflict there was a widespread deployment of forces in the Sharurah area near the Al-Wadiah region (Halliday, 1990). Saudi air force interfered with an airstrike that ended its control of the Al-Wadia area within two days and defeated the South Yemeni army. Southern Yemen has also gone through turbulence and political instability by supporting the Dhofar popular movement in Oman. The movement began in 1963 till 1975,

the Sultan’s forces, whose leadership was British, fought a war against an armed Marxist movement centered in the southern Dhofar region. The "Dhofar Revolution" broke out within a narrow tribal domain, where the Dhofar Liberation Front was formed against the rule of Sultan Saeed bin Taimur, in which the country was living in a state of underdevelopment despite having tremendous natural resources with little population. This was one of the reasons for the outbreak of such an armed movement against Saeed bin Taimur in Dhofar , in addition to the communist and Arab nationalist tide at that time, and that is why the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) provided support to the uprising until the last day, and provided them on its territory with military bases for localization and training, as well as bearing a large part of the front’s budget, not to mention the media that was utilized as a spokesperson for the uprising (Hughes, 2009). Aden supported the Dhofar War in the Sultanate of Oman from establishing large and continuous military activities. The Front requested its support from the National Liberation Front in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Southern Yemen played an important role in this war by providing and supporting fighters in Dhofar with military assistance and logistical support. South Yemen also provided support by facilitating the transit of weapons from China, Russia, and Libya via southern Yemen to Dhofar, directly. It operates as a transit point for supplies coming from other sources, China first, then Russia and Libya. The Front Command organized refugee camps, schools, hospitals, and various types of support (Halliday, 1990). Interfering in the affairs of a neighboring country and supporting armed movements that placed southern Yemen itself in a political deadlock that was reflected in the nature of the diplomatic and political relationship between the two countries. On the other hand, the state budget cost millions of dollars, and of course it had a major impact on the economy.

The coup against Salem Rabie Ali

The fundamental initiatives and international relations in the Arabian Peninsula have led to the consolidation of relations with the Soviet Union on the one hand, and calming tensions with neighbors on the other hand (Halliday, 1990, p. 29). In June 1969, the leadership of the Marxist National Front rose to power, and in the beginning of December 1970 the name of the country was changed from South Arabia to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Among the most prominent leaders of this movement are Abdulfattah Ismail, who was close to

Salem Rabi` Ali, Ali Nasser Muhammad, Ali Antar. In the mid-seventies of the last century, President Salem Rabie Ali adopted a policy of rapprochement with neighbors in both the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and northern Yemen, but in the end he lost everything, including the power, after Abdulfattah became Secretary-General of the Union. He sought to establish great relations with the USSR and to link southern Yemen with it, furthermore concluding friendship and cooperation treaties with the Soviet Union, including its 1979 treaties (Brichs & Feliu, 2019, p. 171).

There was an ongoing struggle within the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen that eventually led to the events of June 1978; President Salim Rabia Ali was executed. On June 26, 1978 President Salim Rabie 'Ali and some of his close colleagues were executed, Ali Salim Lakouri, Secretary of the Presidential Office, and Dhia Um Salih, secretary of the National Liberation Front and leader of the peasant movement. In the meantime, hundreds of people were killed and injured, as well; senior figures from the front leadership were dismissed: two members of the Political Bureau, eight out of seventy members of the Central Committee, and four out of six-party ministers in the provinces. As a result of these events, the country's senior members and employees were changed. Many people explain that the assassination of the northern president, Ahmed Al-Ghashami, by a bomb that had been sent to him in a suitcase. As soon as Radio Sanaa broadcast the news of the assassination of its president, the South Yemeni forces increased their degree of preparedness, in response to the accusation issued by the Arab League to President Salem Rabie Ali and his authority over the death of the President of North Yemen. His rivals and enemies resorted to Soviet tricks to pounce, dismiss, and execute him, and they took a zero point for this coup that was very exciting, which is the assassination of Yemeni President (North) Ahmed Al-Ghashami. The Yemeni relations were greatly affected by the execution of President Salem Rabie Ali, and his execution had important consequences at the level of foreign policy. Several Arab countries accused the Soviet Union and Cuba of executing President Salem Rabie Ali. China took a hostile stance; President Salem was a good friend of China. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia supported the suspension of southern Yemen from the Arab League, where, North Yemen cut off its diplomatic relations with the South after the assassination of Al-Ghshmi (Halliday, 1990, p. 30). After the killing of Salem Rabei, Abdulfattah Ismail took over the power, and become the president of south Yemen until 1980, after that he resigned from his post and

handed over the power to Ali Nasser Muhammad. South Yemen was subjected to violent problems which unrest after Ali Nasser Muhammad, who was relatively calm in the years of detente between the North and the South (Al-Knesisi, 2016, p. 65).

The January 1986 Dispute

The events of January 13, 1986, are bloody armed confrontations that erupted in January 1986 in South Yemen, between two wings within the ruling party (the Yemeni Socialist The conflict of 1986 roots back to 1967 after withdraws from the British from Aden. The division started since that time between the anti-colonial movements Fronts leadership. The Liberation Front sought to control southern Yemen before the British colonial withdraw and looked for imposing itself as the successor to the British. However, after the British withdrawal from Aden in 1967, the National Liberation Front (NLF) took over South Yemen. The Conflicts within the National Liberation Front continued; end up in the murdering the President Salmeen, the second People Democratic Republic Yemen as well as, exiling the third President Abdulfattah Ismail to Moscow. President Ali Nasser was not enthusiastic about either the return of former President Abdulfattah Ismail neither the third party conference in October 1985 and the meetings that followed in January 86, in which Abdulfattah was elected secretary of the party's central committee, which disturbed Ali Nasser (Khaled , 2010).

The conflict intensified after Abdulfattah Ismail return from his exile. However, the Soviet Union participated in the increase and continues the disputes inside the party eventually led to the 1986 civil war between Ismail's supporters and Ali Nassir (Dafa , 2016). Thousands of Yemeni Socialist Party members and armed forces members were killed. It has announced that 4,330 people were killed, whereas some other reported higher figures. On the other hand, this conflict has left a great negative impact on the economics of the country. The civil war consequences, the president Ali Nasir Mohammed and thousands of his supporters and respected political figures fled to North Yemen and Ethiopia (Halliday,1990). In the conflict of January 13, 1986 Ali Salem Al Beidh was among the figures who supported Abdulfattah Ismail and Ali Antar, he survived the assassination on the morning of January 13. The wing led by Ali Salem Al-Baidh took the reins of power in Aden until he announced the unification of Yemen on May 22, 1990.

3.2 Yemen after Unification

Yemen geographic partition between South and North was originally the consequence of colonial rules. The borders were then determined between Imam Yahya, the Ottoman ruler of North Yemen, and the British through the agreement of Sanaa in 1934. Succeeding the revolutions which had recognized independent countries in both parts at the time of 1960s, the separation was at first preserved, however, the Yemeni unity was in the plan toward bigger Arab unity. After it became clear that the Soviet empire was falling, which was the strategic allied for South Yemen, it rushed into unity, in May 1990 (Holzapfel, 2014).

Before its realization on May 22, 1990, the Yemeni unity went through challenging times, conferences, seminars, negotiations and understandings between the leaders of the southern and northern parts at that time and for decades. At the same time, it was subjected to internal and external conspiracies to prevent its occurrence, as the division was the main source of internal conflicts and wars. Indeed, the twenty-second day of May 1990 is considered a crucial event in Yemeni history, as this is the most attractive day and certainly the true birth of Yemeni people and the starting point and transformation and the source of strength and inspiration to restore the glories and civilizational heritage.

The establishment of the State of Unity in 1990 and the subsequent constitutional measures in the country represented a turning point in the political life of Yemen, as the national movement embarked on the approach to pluralism and political participation, however, the first presidential and parliamentary elections held which moved the country from the one-party system to political and partisan pluralism. Then, the unit of state faced new challenges in the following years, which resulted in internal conditions represented by the struggle of political partners on the authority, and other external ones, which were characterized by the nature of regional and international balances (Al-Amiri, 2011).

Hani (2019) stated that, the contemporary Yemeni state characterized by tension and sophistication, and this applies to all vital aspects of the state and society. These complications go back to the era of formation and continue to this day, with grave implications and repercussions for the unity of Yemen politically, geographically and societally. There are intersections that are very clear between the internal and external components, which

contribute to sustaining the state of crisis in the country. The successive Yemeni governments have failed to fulfill their assumed duties and functions, which has prevented them from being able to counter external interference in its various forms.

The announcement of the unity agreement between the two parts of Yemen in November 1989, and then the announcement of the establishment of the United State in May 1990, was two unprecedented historical accomplishments. The early experience of the two sides of Yemen in repeating the signing of sudden unitary agreements, to get out of the tension situation of military relations or clashes between their forces, had placed the Yemeni unity in a circle of suspicion and considered going into it or moving the work of its committees as merely political maneuvers and aspirations that do not reflect serious management and aspirations in unifying the energies of the Yemeni people, its economic and human position. However, the economic factor was one of the most important explanations that followed the unitary steps in the late eighties in such an accelerated manner, so escaping forward towards a lofty goal such as unity has become the most appropriate exit available at that time to avoid the consequences of the economic impasse, and an attempt to get out of the "dark development tunnel" that the regimes reached the two halves, after two decades of development as independent republican systems. The growing intensity of disputes and conflicts between the ruling partners in the first years of the unified state came to end in 1994 in a dramatic manner by declaring the decisions of "war" and then "attempts to secede", thus constituted a terrible setback and rather a horrific breakdown of the agreements and covenants of the "compromise" that the opponents agreed to in the name of National unity that "does not accept division (Al-Banna, 2000).

3.2.1 The Dispute of 1994

The Yemeni civil war is known as the Yemeni separation war, or the summer war of 1994, this civil war took place between the Yemeni government and the Yemeni Democratic Republic announced by Ali Salem Al-Baid in 1994.

The reasons that led to the political crisis are the ones that led to military confrontation. Whereas the struggle for power was a direct cause of the April 1994 dispute. The re-launch of

unity for discussion was the main driver of the war; the military conflict took place, under the title of unity and separation (Al Obaidi, 2018).

According to Fennes (2015), the tensions between north and south Yemen continued even after 1990. Ali Salim Al-Beidh, the vice president of united Yemen claimed that south Yemen became politically and economically marginalized and accused the President Ali Abdullah Saleh of seeking to seize ultimate power. However, Ali Saleh and His party (GPC) said that the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) does not really wants to hold unification. During and after these difficult times, YSP politician's assassinations repeatedly, whereas the vice president Al-Beidh went to Aden at the end of 1993 and never come back to Sanaa. In the middle of 1994, the conflict intensified, forces from Nathen Yemen crossed the borderline towards the city of Aden. The battle was ended in favor of the unification, southern leaders, flees outside Yemen, Salem Al-Baidh, settled in the Sultanate of Oman, Saleh, and unilaterally governed Yemen. This war left a thousand dead and wounded, as well as a social rift between the Yemenis. The Yemenis in southern Yemen were subjected to economic, social and political injustice. Among these grievances is the sacking of about 20,000 military personnel after the end of the 1994 war, the demobilization of a large number of public sector employees, and the subsequent marginalization of southerners in state institutions.

3.2.2 The Six wars in Sa'adah

The Houthis rebel knowns also as Ansar Allah (Partisans of God). In the early nineties, they have begun their activity as an association called the "Believing Youth", then turned into arms and militant group in 2004 and at the same year the founder of this group has killed by the government during first round of the war between the government and the Houthis group. The war has ended in by ceasefire agreement in 2010 lead by Qatar after long years of war embodied in six rounds since 2004 (Batati, 2015). Many of the unsolved problems from the republican revolution of the 1962 and its outcome, mainly in the time of Saleh's regime, assisted to initiate the Houthis rebellion in six Sa'adah wars from 2004 to 2010. After unity of South, northern populations raised increasingly rebellious over the growth of extractive economic and political systems for the period of the Saleh's rule thus, failed to fairly distribute the wealth (Feierstein, 2019).

In June 2004, the Houthi militant started the war led by its founder Hussein AL-Houthi. The movement decided to rebel against the state and its presence in Sa'adah governorate. This paved the way for the collection of sovereign and local resources to finance its activities, and it replaced itself with the local authority and then began to act as an independent authority, that was the beginning and then, the rebel movement's control remained confined to some areas of Sa'adah governorate, but it gradually expanded due to internal and external circumstances and factors. The current ongoing conflict in Yemen is just an extension of Sa'adah six wars. The Houthi armed rebellion, among the few armed movements in contemporary history, managed to maintain the state of rebellion for the longest and hardest period that reflects the worst impact on the life of the population. The Houthis built armed force secretly under their known movement "Youth Believing", attacked the public servants, police, and Yemen military forces in Sa'adah Governorate. The founder of the rebel 'Hussein AL Houthi' was killed in the first round in 2004. They have built themselves again and start the second war in 2005 continued five more rounds until 2010 when Qatar sought to make a ceasefire agreement between the Yemeni government and the Houthis. In 2011, The Houthis joined the protesters during the Arab spring and became more and stronger since that time taking advantages of the weakness of the government and unstable situation during that period.

Boucek (2010), addresses the war in Sa'adah (Yemeni province, the center of the Houthis) and explained the six rounds of the conflicts from 2004 until 2009, which had directly affected the civilians and the country's economy where Yemen at that time was having financial crisis and this Houthis conflict has made more complicated. Since the beginning in 2004, more than 250,000 people have moved away from the city of Sa'adah whereas the total number of casualties is unknown. During the six years of war in Sa'adah the war has gradually developed from a local insurrection into a national challenge. In 2004 civil conflict and has led to a widespread humanitarian crisis, destroyed many civilian infrastructures. The number of casualties is not available but there is an estimation of the number killed range from several hundred to several thousand. The Yemeni government has complained that the Houthis are planning to return the Shiite Zaidi imamate, the main cause of the war in Sa'adah is the complex different sectarian identities. The central government has taken a decision to attack the Houthis in 2004 after the Houthis began to practice sabotage and

shooting the military members and the police officers, this fighting followed by 5 rounds of war on 2005,2006,2007,2008 and 2009. About 1 billion $ spent during the sixth war.

3.2.3 Southern Movement in 2007

The first nucleus of the Southern Movement began in 2007 when some military demonstrations demanded their return to their military jobs in the army, after they were referred to retirement by the Yemeni government. This was an indirect penalty due to their participation in the Yemeni secession war that erupted due to the former president calling for the southern part, Ali Salem Al-Bidh as he called for separation between North and South in 1994.

From the start of the demonstrations of the military, many demonstrations took place in many southern governorates intermittently and without any organization or coordination, but most were an expression of poor living conditions and corruption in Yemen in general (Humaid, 2018, p. 208).

Southerner movement has stepped forward over the past years. Due to the social causes left by the civil war in 1994. The protest slogan of the movement changed from the demand for rights into independence demands in May 2007. The protestors, include of post-Southern Yemen soldiers, who have been retired after the civil war of 1994, however, the majority, demanded that economic and social rights. Security forces intervened and deal with the protesters in harsh way. Northern regime domination of economic, political, and social aspects, president Saleh preferred his own relatives and family rather than sharing the wealth and government posts equally which become acceptable by South. Indeed, the politics that disregard the desire of the South and the force against the protestors are seen to put the solidity of the country in risk (Çamyaran, 2017).

The growing problem of Southern Movement activity, whose beginnings were human rights demands, developed into political demands. Later on, it became a southern issue adopted by the Southern Movement in two parties, one of which calls for correcting the path of unity and the other speaks for disengagement, and calls for secession.

3.2.4. Arab Spring and Yemen

Al-Mutawakkil (2016) stated that, protests and demonstrations flared in Yemen in February 2011, strongly demanding freedom, justice, dignity and humanity. These demands reflect the causes and roots of underdevelopment and conflicts in the country, the most important of which are the absence of real freedoms, justice and political participation, as well as weak political governance and equitable development. Despite the signing of the Gulf Initiative in November 2011, which grants sharing power between political opponents and the near-unanimous approval of the National Dialogue document presented in January 2014, the continuation of corruption during the transitional period and the failure to agree on the provisions of the new draft constitution led to the collapse of the path National Dialogue. Since that time, the transitional process has taken a turn toward a comprehensive all-out war, with less hope for a peaceful way out of the conflict. Looking back, this situation is due to the absence of a real transfer of power.

Yemeni people saw the demonstration is the way to end Saleh regime which consider as a new chance to resolve the existing economic and political crisis challenging the state. Some of the GPC party as well which own by Saleh's demonstrated against Saleh's regime, and the political situation got more difficult at that time, Gulf Cooperation Council issued an Initiative to address the Yemen problems (Feierstein, 2019).

On the end of 2011, president Ali Abdullah Saleh assignment of power to his deputy Hadi after the Arab Spring revolution, Yemen suffered tremendous economic and political problems where new alliances were created between tribes leaders and Houthis militants, eventually led to the seizing of the Yemeni capital "Sana'a", control of all government places, the arrest of the ministers, parties leaders, high position figures including the president Hadi. Eventually, Yemen was gone into a bloody civil war, completely isolating the country from the world.

3.2.5. Current Fight and fall of Sanaa

The current conflict in Yemen because of the Houthis coup in 2014 with the help the ex-president of Yemen Ali Abdullah Saleh and his loyal tribes beside the loyal army, which was

under his control for 33 years during his rule and remains loyal to him even after his withdrawn from the state power in 2012. The transitional phase announced on 21 of September 2014, the Houthi militias when they allied with the ex- president Ali Abdullah Saleh and seized the capital of Yemen Sanaa and control over the center of the Yemeni state, then Hadi has escaped from Sanaa to Aden city, on February 6, 2015 the Houthis declare the death of the transitional phase of Gulf Cooperation Council Initiative. The Houthi forces accordingly starting to attack the residence of Hadi in Aden besides the presidential palace. However, Hadi requested from Saudi Arabia and a coalition of Arab states to come and help the Yemeni People to retake the capital of Yemen Sanaa and kick out the Houthis rebel from the power, response top that the Saudi Arabia on the end of March 2015, started a military campaign Named Asifat Alhazam or “Decisive Storm”. The president Hadi and the members of transitional government moved to Riyadh, in the middle of April 2015, the UN Security Council issued resolution number 2216, putting Yemen under Chapter Seven of UN charter (studies sanaa center for strategic, 2020).

CHATER 4

DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN YEMEN

By reading the political history of Yemen, we realize that from 1962 we lives in a cycle of political instability accompanied by devastating wars from time to time that brought hundreds of thousands of victims and caused economic disasters that made this country rich in resources among the poorest Arab countries. Yemen did not know the state in its true meaning, however, sovereignty which is the third pillar of the conditions of the state, was not completed in this country due to the sharing of the rule of law between the powers of the ruling tribal, military, and religious power centers, which made these specific groups govern their control of the center in Sana'a, either by agreement between them in periods or by controlling one force or a coalition of two forces at the expense of other times, which ignites the conflict between them and the return of these forces again to share influence (Bin Idan, 2016). As for Yemen, there are several factors and dimensions that have led to the absence of political stability in the country for a long period of time. In this thesis, we will discuss several of them.

4.1. Political and Social Determinants

The establishment of the Yemen Arab Republic in 1962 ended a thousand-year theocratic rule in northern Yemen, dominated by the successions of a ruling dynasty of the Zaydi Shi'a community. The Zaydis lived in the northern governorates, Sana’a, Amran, Dhamar, Saada, and in the desert along the Saudi border. The Hashemite Zaydis, who is from the north, monopolized the highest military and political positions under the rule of the Imamate instead of sharing power with the Sunni Shafi’i community of the Yemeni people, who were largely excluded from positions of power (Ghanem, 2019). Albatul (2007) claimed that, the conflicts in Yemen started with the establishment of the zaydis state by Imam Al-Hadi Yahya bin Al-Hussein in 284.

Zaidi’s sect rely on political and military support from the tribes surrounding Sanaa (Hashid and Bakil) that it called and used those tribes against its political rivals and religion

among the followers of other religious sects, so that political use under the religious cloak had a prominent role in political instability in Yemen until today. As the tribes took an interest in warfare and maintained their tribal gangs, and their capabilities to recruit individuals for wars as an important economic source. Thus, the war culture that it acquired during the period of imam's rule remains a problem for political stability today.

Zaidi sect belonging to Zaid Ibn Ali, entered Yemen, when Imam Yahya Ibn Al-Hussein (Al-Hadi) reached to Sa'adah based on an invitation from tribes who were in dispute, that they were looking for peace, however, they invited him because he is descended from Prophet Mohammed, to judge in the ongoing conflict between them (Abu Ghanem, 1990). Al-Hadi's arrival to Yemen was not to resolve tribal disputes and conflicts, nor to establish a religious leadership as much as it was for the purpose of mobilizing, supporting, and establishing a political leadership that would make Sa'ada its headquarters. In this framework, it is possible to understand the Zaydi presence in Yemen and its political control (Al-Sayyad, 1992, p. 103). Abu Asba (1999) mentioned that, there are several sects in Yemen besides the Zaydis, including the Shafi'is ,the number of its followers in Yemen ranges between 45 to 50% of the population in Yemen and resides in the coastal plains of Tihama and the central, southern and western regions. They had no role in the political authority due to their distance from the capital, Sana'a, and their peaceful nature. They also remained the focus of the Zaidi Imamate that prevented them from interfering in the affairs of governance. This sect no longer plays an active political role in Yemeni political life. There is also the Ismaili sect, which is the smallest sect in Yemen in terms of number of followers.

The Zaidi Imamate came to Yemen and ruled the country on the basis of religious preaching and took advantage of the concept of religion as an ideological factor in order to achieve purely political goals. As well as exploiting the slogan of enjoining good and forbidding evil to win the tribes 'affection, especially the Hamedan tribes (Hashid and Bakil) which were suffering from lake of economic resources, as a result of the lack of rain and the limited fertile agricultural land. Additionally, it suffered from the conflicts and wars that were taking place between the tribes and the unwillingness of the Yemeni man to refer to the Yemeni from his own people, where the Yemenis tend to arbitrate the other outside in the

conflicts that occur between them, and then the arbitrator becomes a ruler (Al-Dhaheri, 2004, p. 170).

Al-Ahmadi (2006) indicated that, external interventions to support the sects in Yemen posed a major challenge to political stability in Yemen, as Iran revived, the Zaydi Shiite sect in Yemen after the founder of the Houthi movement, Badr Al-Din Al-Houthi, went to Iran to receive more education in the Shiite sect, on the other hand, Saudi Arabia supported the Salafi activity, thus sectarianism was raised again in Yemen, which had largely disappeared since the revolution.

Indeed, Zaidi monopolized the reins of power in northern Yemen for more than 11 centuries; the revolution of September 26, 1962 overthrew its last Zaidi Imam, Ahmad Hamid Al-Din. The population of the Zaidi community concentrated in the north of Yemen, where the Sa'ada governorate the stronghold of the Houthis is the traditional center for it, it is the region in which Al-Hadi bin Al-Hussein Al-Rassi established his state and started from it to expand his influence to the south. The Zaydi sect's rule left a major impact on Yemeni society and worked to fuel conflicts and civil wars throughout his rule, thus reflected in stability in Yemen.

Mahmud (2018) stated that, one of the results of the rule of the Zaidi school of thought on stability in Yemen is the restriction of rule in the Hassan and Hussein dynasty, the sons of Fatima, the Prophet Muhammad's daughter with certain conditions, such as knowledge, but this created a kind of competition between this dynasty, which led them to fight for the rule throughout their rule period, so the results were that Yemen became a war zone and the tribes used as fuel for their wars. The current conflict in Yemen driven from imamates conflicts in pasts, however, Houthis militant's roots back to the Hashemite family (the family descended from Prophet Mohammed). Indeed, the Houthis having one and only one goal to achieve and working for it since 1962, after the Yemeni revolution against the imamate rule in Yemen.

The imamate elites and members and the Houthi family is one member of these imamate followers and Hashmi family. They have tried for long time to restore the imamate rule by many ways but they have always failed to do so, however in the beginning of ninetieth, they establish the youth believing movement as a social and cultural movement in fact, it was an

ideological, sectarian, and ethnic movement sought to rule Yemen and return the imamate rule. They think that the rule of the country must be only the right to the Sayyad (the person descendent from the prophet). Hussein Al-Houthi , the founder of the Houthi militia who led the Zaydi rebel know very well that, he would not be able to Overthrowing the regime of the state is impossible at that time. He depended on the Shiite movements strategies which supported by Iran, firstly he established the movement as a social and cultural movement beside Sectarian and military mobilization to reach his goal. Truthfully, this ethnic group has one ultimate goal, which is ruling the country, and keeps the rule for them and their family elites as their imamates family did in Yemen for many decades (Vall, 2014).

Al-batul (2007) emphasizes that, the Houthi movement started as a movement, which practices, educational, religious, and cultural to rebellion and military activities putting a slogan for it taken from the slogan of Iran and HezbuAllah in Lebanon "God is Greatest. Death to America, Death to Israel, Damn the Jews, Victory for Islam". Their ultimate goal is to restore back the imamate rule and put the rule of the state only to them and these people who descent from the prophet's grandsons Alhassan and Alhussein. The Houthis didn't have many of political agenda during that unstable situation decade, they moved up in power in 2011 during the Arab spring. The group took advantage of the unstable situation in the country during the Arab spring, developed themselves and reconstruct and strengthening its military forces in Sa'adah province and Amran city. Expanding demanded from the government regarding the prices increasing and removing of the fuel subsidies by the government, which led to the increasing of fuel prices. However, this is only pretext to mobilize the street against the government in order to achieve their ultimate goal through these excuses and pretenses. During the past two years, the Iranian government declared that, the fourth Arabic capital city has fallen on our hand, this is so obvious that the Houthis rebel allied with foreigner country like Iran to support them since they have similar ideologies and believe system as they always admit that (Gordts, 2015).

4.1.1. Socialist Party and the Muslim Brotherhood

The historical enmity between the Muslim Brotherhood movement in northern Yemen and the Socialist Party in southern Yemen before the Yemeni unity represented a major

obstacle to Yemeni unity and political stability in both parts of Yemen. The differing ideologies of both sides made Yemen a theater of war that spanned ten years. The Islamic Front teams fought a violent struggle with the National Democratic Front represented by the socialist party forces, the sheikhs (tribes leaders) announced their supports to the "Islamic Front teams" (Aden-alhadath, 2015).

Mansour (2004) emphasized that, the effectiveness of the Islamic trend in Yemen emerged as a force opposed to the Marxist Communist regime in southern Yemen, which is represented in the ruling socialist party at that time, in the framework of the alliance between the authority in the north and the religious movement, which was formed by the so-called Islamic Front to fight the leftist movement in the north and the south in the context of the strategy of complete hostility between the two regimes in Yemen.

The ideology and goals of the Socialist Party in southern Yemen was to seek unity with northern Yemen, which achieved in May 1990. Conversely, the Islamic groups had a different opinion and a completely different approach. They opposed the idea of unity and considered it an attempt to spread Marxist ideas in which there was a real threat to Islamic values, therefore the two parties fought for ten-year civil war that reflected on the political stability in Yemen.

After there was a rapprochement between the two systems in the two sectors during the reign of President Abdulrahman Al-Iryani, President of the North, President Salem Rabi` Ali (Salmeen), President of the Southern Part (formerly). It was agreed between the two parties on the establishment of an integrative unity between the two parts. The vision of the Muslim Brotherhood supported by tribesmen, that this unity will result in the domination of left-wing forces and will allow communism to control the fate of the country, and to define its cultural, intellectual and spiritual features (Al-Shamiri, 1995).

Al-Oqab (2011) asserted that, the armed groups called the Islamic Front formed in Sanaa, and violent clashes took place between the Muslim Brotherhood and leftist forces under the slogan of the struggle against atheism and communism. On the other hand, the leftists formed armed groups in the central region of Yemen called the Revolutionary Resistance Organization, which was created by former members of the Arab Nationalist Movement. The Islamic Front confronted it in armed conflict, and the Revolutionary

Resistance Front eventually led to a guerrilla war that destabilized Yemen's stability and security.

During the transitional period from 1990 to 1993 the Islamic forces practiced propaganda against the Socialist Party through the platforms of the mosques. The media battle that was taking place between the Islamic movement and the Socialist Party during the transitional period confirms the inevitability of the conflict, as it appeared that each side views its relationship with the other , existence and not as relationship of competition, as the presence of the Islamic movement represented by the Islah Party that represented a factor of political instability where the conflict between the movement as a representative of the right and the socialist representing the left was one of the most important reasons that led to the resolution of the conflict between all political forces ended by civil war of 1994.

4.1.2. The ruling elites and transfer of power

The political events that Yemen has gone through from the revolution of the twenty-sixth of September and the fourteenth of October untill today have confirmed the absence of political stability in Yemen through rapid change in governments, assassinations of presidents, military coups, civil wars, constitutional changes, the absence political participation, and internal and external migrations. During the period between 1962 and 1990, North Yemen witnessed four civil wars, and five presidents ruled Yemen, one of them exiled, two assassinated, and two military coups. During that period, the people did not practice any kind of democracy, where political pluralism was prohibited. In contrast, southern Yemen during the period from 1963 to 1990 was under the rule of the Yemeni Socialist Party without a rival. During that period, southern Yemen witnessed six civil wars and a military coup against President Qahtan Al-Shaabi and the assassination of President Salem Rabi 'Ali and Abdul Al-Fattah Ismail.

After the unification, the same previous scenarios and civil wars were repeated, as the Republic of Yemen witnessed five civil wars, Ali Abdullah Saleh remained in power throughout the period between 1990 to 2012, he was in power before the unification also. However, Yemen witnessed during this period many demonstrations, public calls for economic and political reforms, beside the separatist calls. It is estimated that the number of

Yemenis in Saudi Arabia ranges between 1.5 million and two million Yemeni immigrants in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, thousands of Yemenis live in the Gulf states, America, Europe, Ethiopia and Djibouti. The main reason behind all these migrations is the absence of stability in Yemen, the weakness of the state's economy and the lack of jobs, which forces Yemenis to search for a safe place to live and stability.

4.1.3. The role of the tribe

The Yemeni society, during its ancient and contemporary history, was and still one of the most homogeneous Arab societies, as there are no ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities in Yemen that can create a diversity that reduces the cohesion of society. Tribes in Yemen have played and continue to have an influential role in political, social and economic life at the regional and state levels, it have left their mark on all aspects of life. Al-Dhaheri (2004) indicated that, after the September 26, 1962 revolution, and due to the absence of state institutions in conflict areas, the tribes retained the local authority under their influence, which over time became a state within a state. Any change in governance in Yemen does not mean a fundamental change in the political system as much as it means a change in the tribal wing of government, where this system threatens unity patriotism and national cohesion, especially since the capital is close to tribal regions.

What further strengthened the role of the tribes is that the constitutional declaration of 30/10/1962 decided to form a tribal council called the defense, giving them the constitutional text the degree of minister in Article (10) (Al-Rouhani, 2010). This gave the tribes different roles in the overall conflict between the center and the parties at the level of political elites competing for power and governance. Al-Shargabi (2009) stated that, tribal leaders worked on creating crises and political conflicts, straining the state’s relationship with society to ensure the continuation of their interests. moreover, the leaders of the state intent on creating wars and conflicts between tribes to weaken them, and this was reflected in the political stability in Yemen to this day.

The tribes have no clear vision or program for political change; however the tribes express their demands in aggressive ways. Some of the methods it uses most to pressure the government to respond to its demands are kidnapping, blocking the road, destroying public

property and armed rebellion (Carapico, 2001, p. 297). Manea (1996) emphasized that, the states in the former South and North Yemen have almost similar characteristics in prospective of the tribes. However, In South Yemen, the state was Marxist and ideologically oriented, led by only one party. It used strong political method to enforce it polices, it take out the guns from the tribes and enforced the law. However, the system of thoughts and beliefs that was its primary and could not change. Thus, it was easily involved in any conflict accrued, due to their traditional ties of geographical origins. By contrast, in the North, the capabilities of the state were very low and limited. The tribes are equal in power or as parallel to the state, they even control the state decisions were there have no power against the tribes. There are several aspects through which the tribe worked to destabilize security and political stability in Yemen, including revenge, the spread of weapons, and the weakness of the government, kidnappings, and tribes conflicts. In other words, the emergence of the tribal role in the north, during the republican era in general, was not witnessed in the south. Before the establishment of the union in 1990, the scene between them was unfortunate in the south, and the role of the tribes was pivotal in the presence of the British colonizer (1839-1997), which strengthened their position and supported their entities and power to prevent the emergence of a national authority that would establish a modern civil state. In contrast, the role of the tribes in the north, it is limited in the era of imamate Zaydi rule. After the independence of the south in 1967, those who carried communist ideology dominated the rule in the early seventies and treated them firmly and harshly, sized its influence and power, thus established a case of relatively stable society and state, progressed in economic and social fields.

The situation in the south changed after to unity, where the northern elite dominated the political system. This was the most important cause of the 1994 war between the two parts of Yemen. In light of this turbulent reality, the tribal and doctrinal role has become more effective than before, especially after the tribes in both parts had the support of the northern elites, thus defeat of the socialist forces, and their role diminished after the 1994 war (Al-Joujry, 2010, pp. 81-89). Al-Dhaheri, (2004) stated that, There are many wars and tribal revolts in Yemen, where the total of these wars in the last decade of the twentieth century (407) wars, and tribal revolt. Additionally, Ayish (2011), mentioned that, these wars and rebellions are the result of the spread of a culture of armed violence, which is largely available in light and heavy weapons that are widespread in Yemen, where some agencies estimate that

there are approximately (60) million weapons spread throughout Yemen, and a report submitted by the Shura Council indicates that the occurrence of 1979 cases in the context of tribal revenge during the year 2001 in the governorates of Sana'a, Amran, Dhamar and Al Bayda. Phillips (2010) stated that, as a matter of fact, the tribes played an important role in destabilizing Yemen from Revenge area of tribes, especially the Al-Jawf, Marib, and Shabwah cities, revenge murders have drove to cycles of whole-tribe violence and disputes extended generations. It influenced the economic and political situation local trades and businesses are affected as well, additionally, the education system has also distrusted so that the children stopped going to schools afraid from becoming targets, getting the basic needs can become risky.

The tribes resorted to the destruction of public property and armed rebellion. During 1998, the pipeline transporting crude oil from Marib city to export ports on the Red Sea was bombed 118 times by the Jahm tribe (Al-Shargabi, 2009, p. 52). Tribes used the kidnapping process, as a way recognized by tribes; this phenomenon is limited to the conflicting tribes, where the kidnapping of a member of the tribe represents a way to pressure the other tribe in specific dispute between them. Additionally when the role of the state in the socio-economic life developed, the tribes used kidnapping to pressure the state, the trıbes also kidnaped foreigners and tourist in Yemen, as a means of pressure on the Yemeni government and the foreign governments at the same time to achieve the interests of the tribe. The following table shows the kidnappings that occurred in Yemen during the period (1994-2000) (Al-Dhaheri, 2004, p. 216).

Table 4. 1. Kidnappings (1994-2000)

Number of kidnaping cases	Year
49	1994
105	1995
137	1996
104	1997
96	1998
107	1999
84	2000

4.1.4. Social Stratification

President Abdullah Al-Sallal after the revolution in 1962 issued a decision to abolish all forms of discrimination. However, despite decades of this, Yemen remains trapped in discriminatory societal divisions. At the beginning of the ninth century, with the entry of "Imam Al-Hadi" to Yemen from the Hejaz, a culture of preference for the Sadah's class “the descendants from the prophet Mohammed” appeared in Yemen, it was rumored that the Sayyed has the right to rule over others, they consider themselves at the top of the society due to their dependence from the prophet. Later, and perhaps before that, the division of people emerged on the basis of the professions in which they work, so the religious people who served as judges gained a higher social status than others.

The Hashemite dynasty monopolized power between them, from a social point of view, they divided society into classes and made themselves a high social class, and this dynastic division still tears Yemeni society, and affects the state of political and social stability and spread the spirit of hatred and hatred. The dynastic division (Adnani - Qahtani) of the tribal Sheikhs of Yemen, however, the Qahtanis origins resist the imamate rule, as they saw that the imams are not Yemenis, and that the Yemenis of Qahtanis origins are more worthy of the rule of their country and should be the highest social class. In other words, the Imamate divided the Yemeni society into several layers and made the Hashemite family the first class in society, the judges in the second place, the tribal leaders in the third class, and the fourth class is the handicraft professional, traders, and riches. On the other hand, the barber, the butcher and the servants are the lowest groups in society (Al-Rouhani, 2010).

Mclaughlin (2007) indicted that, these social distinctions still have directs affect specific aspect of life; for instance, married mostly happen within the same social classes. In fact, this class division is clearly evident in the dealings between people, especially in the case of marriage. Each class does not marry to or marry from the lower class of it, especially the barber and butcher class. The Houthis and their imamates roots represented by Hashemite family always discriminate themselves against the Yemeni people. They think that, they have created as unique human being since their descendent from the prophet Mohammed. This created opposite reaction against them by the Yemeni people especially nationalist who claim

that, the Yemeni people are the origin of Yemen whereas the Houthis and Hashemite family in general are not a Yemeni origin and their roots go back to the Qurish tribe in north of the peninsula Arabia.

Sadah or Hashemite families (plural of Sayyad which means the person who descent from the prophet) are not a Yemeni origin so they are consider as immigrant society, their origin refer back to Adnan and Qurish tribes in Makkah(Saudi Arabia now).The Yemeni tribes's roots refer back to Qhatan who is the ancestor of Arabs. Sadah's view of marriage, it must be only between them, so they do not accept the marriage out of the Sadah families. They do not want to mix their lineage with the Yemeni and Yemeni tribes, they believe that they are at the top of the society by descend from the prophet and their identity must be excluded only between them (Brandt, 2017).

This investigation showed that, the Sadah considered as ethnic groups in Yemen and the Houthis rebel is one of them, descendent from the imamate family who claim their roots back to the Prophet Mohammed. The role of the Imam in Zaidi belief system, the ruler, or the Imam must be Sayyad, in other word, descendant of the Prophet Mohammed through his daughter Fatimah (Boucek C. , 2010). Sharp (2018), emphasized that, Houthis are largely Zaydi Shiite revivalist political and rebel movement, Zaid ibn Ali is their Imam, he Set up an ideology and believe that the (ruler of the community must be ruled only by a descendant of Prophet Mohammed whom they call an Imam). In 2004, the Zaydi Shiite power and ideology is being disregard recognized by the member of Houthi family in Sa'adah, so they have to take an action to re-establish a strong imamate and Zaydis thought under their leadership. After they took 6 rounds of war with the government from till 2009 they involve in the Yemeni Arab Spring in 2011 and has got a political position which enabled them to be more stronger in government and with the decision makers. Besides that, the government also accepted them to be a part with National Dialogue conference (NDC). This explains the Houthis ethnicity and racial thinking against the Yemeni people. Indeed the roots of all conflicts in Yemen and the continues crisis and civil war since the establishment of the imamate in 1200 years ago is mainly due to the discrimination practices and sectarian ideologies, however the situation and the conflict now is certainly due to this activities practices.

From the point of view of the imamates, the Yemeni tribes were simply creatures created by God for the servants of the Ahlu Albyat, which mean according to them the decadence from the Prophet Mohammed and his daughter Fatima. We have created to live for Ahlu Albayt and die for the sake of the Ahlu Albayt. On the other hand, depriving any Yemeni citizen of his right from being a part of the state power and to in a higher power positions. for the Imamate ideology and beliefs ,the basic fundamental of religion and its power positions are only specified to a particular progeny which refer to them but others do not have right to be so at all. The Imamate was dealing with people on the basis that they were a private property in which they do what they want to do with them. The Imams sought on the division and classification of society into dıfferent classes and each class of special privileges, these categories was as Sayyad then judges and then, then tribes leaders and then and then the Professionals. However, the Sayyads has higher privilege in the society and have all rights since they are descended from prophet and then the Judges who also descended from same, whereas the lower class was the Yemeni tribe's leader and the professionals (Alahmadi, 2018). In fact, these discrimination and society classification that the Hashemite family implies it to the Yemeni society remains until today and therefore created unstable society in continues civil wars.

In the whole history of the human being, all kings and tyrants are taking their power from their nation based on race or ethnicity or life class. However the imamate in Yemen drive their power from their ethnicity based on their believe that they are Ahlul Bayt which means that they are from ancestry of the prophet Mohammed and all people must obey them and be under their rule (Albatul, 2007).

4.1.5. Armed groups in Yemen

A number of extremist and armed groups have been formed, including the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, as well as the Southern Movement, which in turn threatened the stability of Yemen and still do so. These groups found a fertile environment to pass their agenda in Yemen, the deterioration of the security in the country and the weakness of the state were a major factor in the emergence of these groups. It is evident that the spread of weapons and the absence of societal awareness as well as religiosity both have a prominent role in feeding and supporting some of these groups.

Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula arose (AQAP), when the two branches of the organizations unified in Saudi Arabia and Yemen. AQAP has endeavored to do several attacks against the USA, foreign targets, and regional leadership, for instance, a unsuccessful assassination endeavor on a Saudi Deputy Minister of the Interior (ADL, 2013). AQAP sought to impose itself as an alternative to a regime which called for a new Caliphate where it consider the existed regimes not a believers and must be replaced with a new political system under the name of Caliphate and apply all Islam's laws. Al Qaeda intimidated people and terrorist attack against tourists, including the suicide attack on Spanish tourists in Marib as well as it has done many terrorist attempts against the foreign interests in Yemen (Phillips, 2010).

Al-Qaeda in Yemen adopted several domestic attacks on both the Italian and American embassies, the scale and scope of Al-Qaeda activities in Yemen has expanded with the formation of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. Indeed, a few years after its formation, Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula claimed responsibility for several attempts to carry out attacks against the United States of America, the publication of Al Qaeda in the English language in the name of Inspire, and a group of attacks against the Yemeni government. Upon the outbreak of the current civil war in Yemen, Al-Qaeda elements in the Arabian Peninsula began to take over lands in the southern governorates. Al-Mukalla, the capital of Hadramaut Governorate and the port were the most important, was the first captured by Al-Qaeda militants in the Arabian Peninsula. In April 2015, then they took over the governorate of Abyan. Many of Islamic State's fighters are from Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. Islamic State fighters launched a bloody attack on Sanaa in 2014; killing 140 worshipers in mosques described them as loyal to the Houthis. After that, ISIS operatives coordinated attacks against the Houthis and forces loyal to President Hadi, including cars bomb and brutal executions filmed and published as Promotional subject for the Islamic state terrorist group. (Robinson , et al., 2017).

The former regime of Ali Abdullah Saleh employed Al-Qaeda in internal political conflict. The former regime used jihadi armed groups, such as al-Qaeda and other local religious groups, in many internal political struggles to eliminate political opponents. In addition, the American intervention in Yemen had a cause in Al-Qaeda's emergence. In the

year 2000, the bombing of the American destroyer "Cole" occurred off the Yemeni coast, and in 2001, the September 11 operation was carried out in New York and Washington, while in 2002 the French oil tanker Limburg was targeted (Saqqaf, 2012). The continued work of these groups inside Yemen encouraged disaffected youth at the regional and international levels to come to Yemen and support these groups in one way or another. Yemen, meanwhile, was subject to more external pressure and interference, and an open arena for the so-called war on terrorism, and for regional conflicts, especially an important strategic location that Yemen has.

South Yemen has witnessed clashes between separatist groups affiliated with the so called Southern Transitional Council and forces against the internationally recognized government for control of land in Aden and other southern governorates; they have been fighting with each other since August 2019. On August 10, Forces loyal to the Southern Transitional Council stormed the presidential palace in Aden, where President Hadi stays and where government institutions are located. However, the military fighting between separatist groups and forces led by the Hadi government in southern Yemen reflects deep rifts in the political and military scene in the country.

4.2. Geographical determinants

Yemen has a great strategic importance at the political, economic and security levels in the Gulf region and the Arabian Peninsula in particular. It overlooks the Bab al-Mandab linking the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal, which made it a source of interest for international powers throughout history. It represents Yemen is the southern gateway to the Red Sea entrance and controls the corridor that connects it with the Indian Ocean. Moreover, it controls the international maritime shipping routes.



Figure 4. 1. Yemen map

Throughout the 19th century internal instability categorized Yemen. Moreover, due to its strategic location, the international interest in Yemen was increasing; however, Yemen had long been a vital connection in the seagoing and land trade linkage of the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. This reason, as well as growing political rivalry between world powers countries in the 19th century, guaranteed the taking part of Yemen in world affairs. The British In 1839 colonized Aden port and south Yemen to protect communications with India (Simon, Laskier, & Reguer, 2002, pp. 389-390). The geographical location considered one of the important factors that affect the political geography of the state because of its impact on the attitudes of its population, the political behavior of its governments, and its relations with others. The location also affects the national capabilities of the state, as it is the most important natural element in connection with foreign policy. The role of the state and its participation in the international community also determines the extent of the state's immunity against external invasion, the ease of access to waterways, and the nature of the borders that are valid to defend its national security.

Yemen has a unique strategic location, as the length of the Yemeni coast is 2500 km, and it is considered one of the most important coasts in the Arab region and the Middle East,

as it holds the reins of the southern doors of the Red Sea, there is close interaction between the Straits of Hormuz, Bab al-Mandab, and the Suez Canal, these three passes are considered The main road for tankers loaded with Arab Gulf oil towards Europe is equivalent to 30%, and all of Asia's trade with Europe crosses to the Mediterranean through the Bab Al-Mandab Strait, as it connects the security of the peninsula, and the Persian Gulf starting from the Suez Canal, Yemen is also located in Asia and border with Africa , hence Yemen represents a cornerstone of the security of the Arab Gulf, its southern gate, as well as for the countries of the Horn of Africa, and the rest of the Arab countries (Al Nuaimi, 2015). Additionally, Yemen has strategic islands such as Socotra, Hanish Al-Sughra and Al-Kubra, Kamran and dozens of other islands, including Myeon Island which is located in the Strait of Bab el Mandeb which controls by Yemen ,whereas the world power countries and regional states trying to control it.

These characteristics and importance of the strategic location of Yemen would be an element of the state's strength, but the reality comes otherwise that Yemen could not exploit that strategic importance in favor of state building, security and stability. However, that importance bring back a negative impacts to the Yemeni situation, so Yemen has become coveted by the ambitious powers to control and influence, thus the strategic location that Yemen enjoys has become one of the determinants of political instability , and it has had a negative impact due to the weakness of the state.

Al Muwdea (2015) claimed that, the rugged terrain is the most important factor in the absence of political stability in Yemen. Yemen did not know the central government that imposes effective control over all lands except in very rare cases, the geographical location, terrain, and climate contributed to shaping that history. Thus, the rugged mountains and terrain contributed of isolation from the other world, which led to its Lags behind from the developments that took place in the world Likewise; it weakened the central governments and strengthened the entities of the state (tribes, sheikhs, sultans, etc) .So the terrain, especially the mountainous highlands in which the majority of the population of the Republic of Yemen is concentrated, is the most prominent determinant in the case of political instability, as the high mountain series worked to separate the population from each other, each tribe preserved its historical heritage, but formed a state within a state where it provides all the elements of the political entity a region protected by mountain series. As the tribe or region intends on its

economic incomes independent of the state, in addition owning arms and guns to defend itself from other tribes, or from the state itself and often declares its rebellion from the central authority with the inability of states to resolve the conflicts by subjugating the tribes or regions by military force as a result of the terrain that the tribal fighters protect, because there are tribes that were not subject to the state at any stage of its historical stages to this day such as the Hashid and Bakil tribes and the tribes of the Eastern regions in Marib and Al-Jawf. In short, all successive political systems resorting to state administration by creating tribal balances that exempt them from direct intervention to subjugate tribes, especially tribes that may pose a threat to the political system, with all the catastrophic consequences of this method on peace and social security.

The choice of the capital is an important factor for political stability in any country, after which the Yemeni revolution took place in 1962; Yemen took Sanaa as its capital, its 2,200 meters above sea level, surrounded by a series of mountains, the most important The city is surrounded by governorates: Imran from the north, Dhamar from the south, Al-Jawf and Marib from the east, where the Yemeni tribes are distributed in Sana'a these cities bordered by Sanaa. The capital, Sanaa, remained under direct threat by the Yemeni tribes due to its geographical location, which is surrounded by the Yemeni tribes from all sides, this reflected in the stability of the state since the establishment of the Republic in 1962 to the present day.

Al-Shatby (2019) stated that, 100,000 fighters, most of them from the Yemeni tribes supported the royalist in the seventy days of the siege on Sanaa, where the capital, Sana'a, almost fell by the hands of the royalist, after the withdrawal of the Egyptian army from all Yemeni lands. This indicates that the location of the capital, Sanaa, is under constant threat by Yemeni tribes, as it is stronger than the state. Whereas Al-Masoudi (2006) indicated that, the Yemeni tribes have repeatedly plundered the state treasury, under the threat of the weapon.

In 2014, the Houthi militia seized the capital Sanaa, which formed armed units of the Houthi group “occupied the highlands on both sides of the road. Armed groups also used bulldozers and equipment to prepare barricades and trenches. Prior to this, President Hadi held a meeting with tribal leaders around Sana'a, where they said that they are the security of the capital Sanaa, the capital of the Yemeni Unity State, "referring to the expected role of the tribes in defending the capital in the event of an attack (CNN, 2014). In fact, Yemeni tribes

around Sanaa allowed the Houthi militia and provided full support to fighters and weapons, stormed the capital Sanaa, in 21 September 2014, and occupied all government institutions, the state fall on their hands with support the tribes. To this day the tribes are considering the human stock of fighters to the Houthis militant in their war against the state. The war still exists and they rule the capital Sanaa and several other cities. Therefore, the capital must be far from the centers of tribal powers in order for stability to prevail in the country.

4.3. Regional and International determinants

Regional and international interventions increased the intensity of the conflict and the absence of stability in Yemen, these interventions represented a real threat to Yemeni society and constituted a major challenge to the stability and security of Yemen. The strategy, on the other side of the Bab Al-Mandab strait, there are American, French, Israeli, and Iranian bases, in preparation for any possible Arab developments. The conflict in Yemen has its motives and the war has its roots and various causes, including what is internal and external to it, related to the implementation of regional agendas and the achievement of political and economic interests, and it's relevant and related to international goals and plans.

4.3.1.Saudi Iranian intervention in Yemen

The Saudi regime has always stood in the way of the Yemenis' ambitions to revive the country away from the occupation, tyranny and foreign guardianship projects, through their continuous attempts to abort the liberation revolutions and national unitary projects. The Saudi regime has always worked to ensure the imposition of its guardianship on the political decision in Yemen, since the beginning of the Yemeni-Saudi war in 1934 and the signing of the Taif Agreement and the suppression of the 1948 uprising and through participation in the suppression of the 1955 uprising and then the blood that was shed after the revolution of 1962, as well as its efforts to prevent the occurrence of Yemeni unity in 1990, and its participation of the ongoing conflict in Yemen.

The King 'Abd Al-Aziz on his deathbed in 1953, advised his sons to keep Yemen weak. Saudi Arabia provided military and logistical support in Yemen in 1962 against the 1962 revolution in an attempt to support the monarchy and their attempt to restore the rule of Imams

Al Hamid Al-Din to power, after the Yemenis removed them from the September 26 revolution, the revolution that transformed the regime from royal to republican (Stenslie, 2013, p. 1). However, Keeping Yemen weak and poor intertwined by ignorance, poverty, extremism and conflicts to remain under Saudi control, and to secure the Yemeni threat that has been haunting it as a self-sustaining Saudi Arabia since the time of the founders of the first Saudi state. It has been supporting the monarchy against the republic for eight years. It did not recognize the modern Yemeni state until the early seventies. In the meantime, Saudi Arabia established centers of influence in Yemen by buying tribal loyalties through what was the special office for Yemen affairs, which is a purely intelligence department, they spent huge amounts of money on them. These loyalties were corruption centers that took root and deepened within the Yemeni governments and became a scourge for the people who realized later, that Saudi Arabia is the main supporter of all the continuous corruption that stopped the progress of the country, and made it remain in place despite its vast wealth.

The Saudi regime's policy was to prevent the emergence of a strong country in Yemen. To achieve this goal, Saudi Arabia provided great support to the Yemeni tribes for the purpose of keeping the central authority weak and, in return, funding the central authority to prevent the tribes and other powers from controlling the central authority (Lackner, 2019, p. 75). However, Saudi Arabia allocates an annual budget of $ 3.5 billion for what so-called the special office for Yemen affairs establıshed and directed by the Prince Sultan, the late Minister of Defense. The special office for Yemen affairs is an institution affiliated with the royal family concerned with Yemen's affairs, working to gain the loyalty of influential tribal, political and military personalities, and trying to use them to influence the Yemeni decision, and to create an atmosphere of instability in Yemen (Stenslie, 2013, p. 2). On the other hand, Saudi Arabia played a prominent role in fueling the conflict in the 1970s and 1980s, as it supported Islamic groups and tribes in northern Yemen against southern Yemen (Rone & Carapico, 1994, p. 4). The Saudi intervention in Yemen was not limited only to a specific side or stage, and does not distinguish between common interests and sovereign matters. The intervention included the various issues, crises, and transformations that Yemen witnessed, whether they were related to the regional environment or purely internal, such as the Yemeni unity, the 1994 summer war, and the Revolution of 11 February 2011, and the ongoing conflict. Mousa (2019) emphasis that, Saudi Arabia took a hostile stance towards the Yemeni

unity, considering it a challenge and a threat to its role, position, interests and stability, and sought to thwart the unity in order to avoid its potential consequences, such as the emergence of a strong state in southern Arabia and the progress of Yemen in the direction of democracy. On the basis of these concerns, Saudi Arabia worked to return Yemen politically and geographically to what it was before the union by supporting the separatist movement in 1994.

On the other hand Houthi militias have been closely linked to Iran. However, Iran's expansionist ambitions and its plan to export Shiite ideology to the region, following the success of the Khomeinist revolution, led Tehran to forge a relationship with the Houthi group in Sa'ada, northern Yemen, where it supported it financially and militarily after the rebel group adopted Iran's intruding sectarian ideology on Yemen. Iran provided from the mid-nineties until 2004 a lot of money to finance training centers and summer camps and prepare them to attract young people to its cultural activities saturated with Khomeinist thought, and these centers achieved the required success and increased the number of those coming to them, Other centers opened in various Yemeni governorates: in Saada the number of centers reached 24 centers, in Imran 6 centers, Al Mahwit 5 centers, Hajjah 12 centers, Amanah 5 centers, Dhamar 7 centers, Ibb one center, and Taiz one center, and in Sanaa 4 centers (Al-Ahmadi , 2006, p. 137). In fact, the Iranian support to the Houthis helped them withstand the six wars that the government launched against them between 2004 and 2010 (The Yemeni Center for Strategic Studies, 2004). According to Al Shujaa (2012), the accusations indicate that Iran provided significant logistical support during the Houthi wars with the Yemeni state, believing in the importance of Yemen in spreading its revolution, where followers of the Zaydi school of thought exceed 30%.

Iran took advantage of the conditions that Yemen experienced during and after the February 2011 revolution to enhance its influence in Yemen by supporting and strengthening their Houthi allies in order to bring them to power. Iran stood with all its weight to support the Houthis medially, politically and militarily after the February 2011 revolution, as well as during and after the February revolution. Iranian media worked to portray the Houthis as the ones leading the revolution and that they are the strongest component in it and the rest are only a few groups that seek to steal the revolution and deviate its path where it subjected to guardianship American and Saudi Arabia (Al-Dossary, 2011). It supplied the Houthis with

weapons. Former Minister of Interior Major General Abdulqadir Qahtan stated at a press conference in Sanaa in February 2013 that the shipment of weapons seized on the Ceyhan 1 ship was estimated to be about 40 tons of weapons, shells and explosives coming from Iran to Houthis (Al-Daghashi, 2013, p. 88). The pinnacle of this support was during the coup in 2014, as the Houthis did not find any embarrassment in revealing their relations with Iran, which turned into a strategic partner, so Iranian aircraft landed in the Sanaa airport loaded with soldiers of the Iranian revolutionary guards, in addition to technological military materials. Besides sending Revolutionary Guards soldiers, Iran also sent Hezbollah soldiers to train the Houthis, and a large number of them remain after the fall of Sana'a to help the Houthis implement their political and military agenda in Sanaa.

On the media level, it also provided them with an integrated support, whether with money or the location of opening channels or training cadres, so it launched a number of satellite channels to support its policy in Yemen, which is the Al-Masirah channel of the Houthis, the Al-Sahat channel of left-wing activists, and the Aden Life channel that tracks the Southern Movement, all of which are broadcast From the southern suburbs of Beirut and supported the issuance of weekly newspapers such as Al-Masar, Al-Samoud and Al-Democrat (Al-Daghashi, 2013, p. 84). Moreover, at the beginning of the Arab Spring, Iran began to interfere in southern Yemen in a wide polarization process, providing all kinds of financial, training and media support, such as the Aden Life Channel, which is spoken of in the name of the armed movement, which is broadcast from Beirut. The Iranian strategy is based on its support for the faction of Ali Salem Al-Baidh, the president of South Yemen before unification, with money, weapons, and training his supporters on a strategy of security chaos to impede stability efforts in the south, so that their Houthi allies can extend armed territory and gain more of them to the north (Al-Bakiri, 2013).

The competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran in Yemen has become very strong lately, each of these countries seeking to control Yemen. The ongoing dispute in Yemen is due to this rivalry of these two countries. Thus proxy wars in Yemen and some other countries in the region which changed to sectarian conflicts. Salisbury (2015) indicted that, the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran intended for regional influence is intensifying many prevailing conflicts in the region, where the two countries are backing different sides in Yemen.

4.4. Weak states and Political Reforms

The Yemeni state is going through several political reforms and a comprehensive crisis as a result of a political system that has weakened its institutional, legal and symbolic foundations; it has reproduced sectarian and tribal and regional structures according to the process of monopolizing power and wealth and excluding the majority of society. The success of the political systems of any country is represented by equality and citizenship among all people regardless their color, religion, ethnic, and dynasty and etc, as well as its ability to establish stability , enhance security and impose the rule of law in the country. The instability that has persisted in Yemen for seven decades has led to a decline in the levels of public services and security and the imposition of the rule of law in a widely, the current political system in Yemen has proven largely failure, which called for the need to search for another political system that includes solutions to all problems and conflicts, which apply the legal regulations to the people, and achieve the welfare and safety of the state internally and externally, thus achieving the largest number of interests that are in line with the interests of the people.

4.4.1. Pre Unification Weak states and Political System Reforms

North Yemen

North Yemen is a republic country governed by presidential system, formed after the revolution of September 26, and ruled by interim constitutional declarations until the issuance of the final permanent constitution in 1970. North Yemen has been governed by the Revolutionary Command Council, which is made up of civilians, military, and tribal leaders. The Revolutionary Command Council has elected a chairperson of the council and is also considered the president of the republic, prime minister, general commander of the armed forces and head of the legislative authority. The period between the revolution on September 26, 1962 and unity on May 22, 1990 witnessed the issuance of two permanent constitutions, three temporary constitutions, and six constitutional declarations (Al-Barhawi, 2016). North Yemen was divided into governorates; each governorate includes districts and provinces

- **The constitutional declaration issued on 1962.**

The first constitutional document issued after the September 26 revolution is the constitutional declaration issued on 1962. It announced the formation of the Revolutionary Command Council, which issued its first constitutional declaration on 1962. In the introduction, the declaration indicated that it is these rules contains that will determine the method of government during a transitional period for five years. This constitutional declaration included that all powers come from the people (Article 2) and that the Revolutionary Command Council is the one who rule the country (Article 7) whereas it did not include a detailed organization of public authorities and has assigned the legislative authority to a body called (the National Conference) (Article 9), (consisting of the Revolutionary Command Council and the Cabinet, national conference Consider the general policy of the state).

- **The first temporary constitution, April 13, 1963**

On April 13, 1963, the provisional constitution was issued, which made the Presidency Council the supreme body of state power, as Article 39. This constitution has fulfilled all legislative authority tasks to the Presidency Council in addition to the terms of reference Political and Executive (Article 34 & 49 / B) and made the President of the Republic a special position as President of the Republic and not just the President of the Presidency Council (Articles: 31, 32 and 33).

- **The permanent constitutional of 1964**

The constitution organizes the powers of the supreme state including the organization of the supreme state powers in detail, making the supreme state powers: the President of the Republic; the Political Bureau; the National Security Council; and the Executive Council. Under this announcement, the Political Bureau was replaced by the former Presidency Council, where the legislative competence of the Political Bureau (Article 12) was assigned. The announcement stated that the National Security Council is the "supreme body of state

authority in the military and national security affairs of the country" (Article 25) and this council is headed by the President of the Republic (Article 1 / A).

- **The second temporary constitution, May 8, 1965**

This announcement was the outcome of a Khamer conference; this constitutional declaration reduces the powers of the President of the Republic and the consecration of power in the Cabinet. The powers of the Republican Council appear to be merely protocol and honorary (Article 4-15), as in the parliamentary system. As stated in Article (19), “The Council of Ministers is the highest executive and administrative authority. This constitutional declaration decided that the Consultative Council is the supreme legislative body in the state (Article 16).

- **The third temporary constitution, November 1967**

After the coup of November 5, 1967, a temporary constitution (the third interim constitution) was issued on 25/11/1967. It is almost exact copy of the constitution of 5/5/1965 with minor amendments, the most important of which are: Returning the executive authority to the Republican Council instead of the Cabinet and determining the number of members The Republican Council has three members and the presidency shall be periodic every eight months.

- **The issuance of the permanent constitution (second and final) 1970**

On 12/28/1970, the permanent (second) constitution was issued, which is the most important constitutional document in Yemen Arab Republic in terms of its coverage of constitutional issues and the development of legal drafting. It is the first constitution in the Yemen Arab Republic that clearly indicates that the judiciary is an independent authority (Article 144), the only constitution that provided for the establishment of a Supreme Constitutional Court (Article 155-158), although it was not actually established. An administrative law was enacted (Article 154); indeed, the text does not find a way to implement it. It stipulated that the Republican Council is the one that represents the presidency of the state and is responsible for setting the general policy of the state and supervising its

implementation (Article 73). This constitution is the only one that stipulates the banning of partisanship with a clear text, as it is stated in Article (37) that "partisanship in all its forms is prohibited." This constitution stipulated that the administrative units should have local councils that would practice the affairs of the region in a democratic manner (Article 110), which was not achieved.

However, the first constitutional declaration, on, 1962, and the temporary constitution, 1963, did not establish a permanent system of government, and therefore no change was made in their texts to a specific position on party work within the framework of the new republican system, rather, it remained silent on the issue of allowing freedom to organize parties, nor recognizing their legitimacy. Whereas the permanent constitution on 1964, limits freedom of political action to establishing one political organization, established by the authority at a time when the constitution guaranteed the right to form social organizations and unions. As for the permanent constitution of 1970, it explicitly stipulated in article (37) “that partisanship in all its forms is prohibited.” According to this approach, the constitution did not come down to the requirement of a ban on freedom of diversity for my party and restricting it within the framework of a broad political organization or a single party, but exceeded it to all forms of partisanship and determining the anti-partisan and partisan stance (Mashhur & Al-Komim, 2005, p. 45). After the adoption of the temporary constitution in 1963, it enabled the tribes leaders to be on the higher authority by granting them new and more rights, thus putting the authority itself under their influence and control and possessing full authority in the countryside with new tribal formations of warfare equipped with the latest weapons, the sheikhs were able to direct pressure on the authority through tribal clusters ,beside had direct impact on determining the political approach of the country and the internal and external relations of the country. The President expanded his powers through a new by enacting new laws to reduce the role of conservative forces in political life in the country. On the other hand, the authority exiled some opposition figures, which led to increasing division among the ruling leadership and enhancing the cohesion and clustering of the opposition forces (Julufikaya, 1994, pp. 54-55). It was stated in the temporary constitution in 1963 that public freedoms are guaranteed, but there was no reference to freedom of political organization, for this is the reason for a large popular rejection, which led to the issuance of the first permanent constitution in 1964, by a presidential decree stating its title as a constitutional declaration

regulating the powers of the supreme state and within the constitution an article stipulating the establishment of Consultative Council called the "Political Bureau". This constitution was distinguished from its predecessor by detailing the freedoms it guarantees, while stipulating freedom of association and freedom of opinion and the press. Publishing and education, but it neglected the freedom of political organization (Al-asbahi, Al-Amin , Al-Shara, Al-Alim , & Bashour, 2000, p. 95).

Due to the persistent political disputes between the national forces, a new constitution was changed a year later from the age of the permanent constitution. In 1965 the opposition held the Khamer Peace Conference in May 1965, which rejected the 1964 constitution, however, the outputs from this conference is the temporary constitution that was issued three days after the conference. For the first time, it emerged that Yemen is a parliamentary democratic republic, that the Yemeni people are the source of all powers, exercise its powers through its deputies in the Consultative Council, and has created a Republican Council to limit many of the powers of the President of the Republic, as well as given the Consultative Council powers to withdraw confidence from the government and members of the Republican Council. Al-Baidhani (1984) stated that, the president announced willingly, two months after the announcement of the temporary constitution in 1965, the formation of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, in violation of the agreed text of the constitution, thus intensify of the conflict between the exposed men and the President of the Republic. The relationship between the opposing forces and the ruling powers was greatly worsened; eventually it led to the coup of November 5, 1967 and the issuance of an interim constitution (the third interim constitution) on November 1967, which is an almost exact copy of the 1965 constitution with minor amendments. In 1970 final permanent constitution issued, throughout the constitutional periods from the revolution until the establishment of the unity, some bodies were established and carried out some of the functions of the legislature, where they did not exercised real power. However, Political parties formally banned and the progressive military elite and a diverse group of civilians who included a large and growing group of technocrats, key tribal leaders, and other traditional conservative notables who controlled state policy.

South Yemen

The October 14 Revolution, 1963, took place against the British occupation and independence was achieved in 1967. After the independence, South Yemen was divided into governorates; each governorate includes many districts and provinces (Jaradat, 2018, p. 17). The political system in southern Yemen was a republican presidential system in its form, taking the path of the Marxist system, and this was reflected in the political system and the economy many of the goals and organizational structures of "scientific socialism". The Yemeni Socialist Party, the only political party, has dominated government policy, the administrative system of the state, the legislature, and the army. The texts of the constitutional legislations adopted the Marxist socialist system, which was moving in the opposite direction of the freedom of multi-partisanship, as a characteristic of the Western liberal system. The provisions of the constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen included the concept of a monopoly on the organization of the (ruling) National Front for political activity (Mashhur & Al-Komim, 2005, p. 46).

- **The Constitution of 1970 on November 17, 1970.**

The first constitution was issued in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on 17/11/1970 and it was implemented on 30/10/1970. This constitution was characterized by a socialist character. The state “expresses the interests of the workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie and all the workers” (Article 1). And the “Yemeni Socialist Party, armed with the theory of scientific socialism, is the leader and leader of society and the state. It determines the general horizon of the development of society and the internal and external policy plan of the state (Article 3). This constitution deviated from the concept of bourgeois democracy based on the principle of separation of powers, and this is what I explained (Article 62) of it by stipulating that: There is only one state authority in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen based on the sovereignty of the working people and the authority of the state is exercised by the elected bodies by the people or by those made up in accordance with its administration in accordance with its constitutional goals and tasks. On other words, there is no separation of powers, but all powers are in the hands of the elected councils and their bodies, i.e. in the hands of the Supreme People's Assembly, which is the

supreme tool of state power (the executive authority) and the legislative instrument that establishes principles of state policy and ensures coherent implementation through all governmental and social bodies. On this basis, it approves the general foundations of the work of the Presidency, the Cabinet, and other state agencies and makes the necessary decisions in this regard" (Article 69).On the side of the foundations of economic activity, the constitution affirms that "the state develops the national economy on the basis of objective laws of scientific socialism" (Article 12). In light of this, "the state controls foreign trade and directs it to serve economic and social development, and the state directs internal trade and supports the development of the leadership role of the state sector in it" (Article 15).

In the judiciary affairs, the constitution stipulated that "the Supreme People's Assembly shall be elected at its first session by the Supreme Court of the Republic" (Article 82) and also stipulated that "the Supreme People's Assembly shall appoint the General Prosecutor of the Republic" (Article 83). Concerning the local authority, the constitution stipulated that "the local state authority's organs are the local people's councils in the governorates, districts, and centers elected by the citizens. The authority of the local state and its apparatus is part of the authority of the one state, and the law regulates the organs of the state's local authority on the basis of democratic centralization" (Article 112).

- **The Constitution of 1978 on October 31, 1978.**

This constitution was similar to the 1970 constitution, as it adopted the principle of the unity of power embodied in the system of the Parliamentary Assembly system, and this seems clear from what it decided (Article 68) of the 1978 Constitution. The legislative authority was also considered the representative of the people, and it is the highest authority in the state, it has dominance over the executive authority (Article 69). It also stressed the imbalance between the legislative and executive branches (Article 100). It is clear from the above that the constitutional principles of 1970 and 1978 were based on the unity of state authority in which the supreme authority is the Supreme People's Assembly, which elects the Presidency Council, the Council of Ministers, the government, and the Supreme Court and appoints the public prosecutor.

4.4.2 Republic of Yemen political system after unification

The two ruling parties in the north and south presented different projects about the form of the unitary state in the Aden Agreement in 1989. The ruling party in the north General People's Congress (GPC), presented a federal project for the state, while the Socialist Party, the ruling the party in the south presented a Projects of a temporary union between the two parts with the continuation of duplication of the international character, meaning that each country remains in its name for a transitional period. However, the international changes represented by the end of the cold war and the end of the Soviet Union pushed the leaders of the two parts of Yemen to an integrative unit, ignoring the shape of the state or even the projects that were drawn up before (Al-Maktary, 2018, p. 37). From the establishment of the unity on May 22, 1990 until 2006, the Republic of Yemen has undergone several political transformations. The first phase was a transitional stage, on May 22, 1990 and continued until April 27, 1993, sharing power equally between the unity partners, the General People's Congress (GPC) and the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP). A Presidency Council was created to serve as the collective leadership of the country. The Presidency Council consists of five persons; three representing the (GPC) and two representing the (YSP), however, Ali Saleh, president of North Yemen, was chosen to be the first president of the unified Yemen, while Ali Al-Baid, the secretary general of the (YSP), was appointed vice president. The Presidency Council formed the first government of the Republic of Yemen headed by Engineer Haider Abu Bakr Al-Attas. On the other parliament was formed with 301 members, 159 members from the north, and 111 members from the south, whereas 31 members were appointed by the presidential council (Matsumoto , 2003, p. 2).

The transitional period witnessed the establishment of the constitutional and legal foundations for the state of unity, as the new constitution, which was adopted after a national referendum in 1991, gave the right of voting and nomination all adult citizens above 18 years old; Acknowledged the independence of the judiciary, the legal equality of all citizens, and a directly elected parliament; as well as, the democratic political system was guaranteed (Phillips, 2007, p. 5). Partisan pluralism began in Yemen during this period, as there was no partisan aggression before unity in either of the two parts of Yemen. With the announcement of the establishment of the new Republic of Yemen, it was agreed to license political parties

and to hold competitive elections (Uttari & Hamzawy, 2007, p. 15). Yemen entered a new stage of democratic and political reform in April 1993 and continued for a year ended by civil war of 1994, the stage of the tripartite coalition. The first democratic process took place after the unification of the country. Parliamentary elections were held in April 1993, in which GPC and YSP , Islah and other parties participated. The Islah Party was established after the unit, a party most of whose members turned from the GPC in an attempt to marginalize the YSP and to give the Islah party with an Islamic background a distinct political voice. Islah party has close ties to the Muslim Brotherhood (Phillips,2007, p. 8). (20) parties participated in these elections, eight of which were able to obtain seats in the House of Representatives, however, the Popular Congress Party won (123) seats, and the Islah Party (62), where the Socialist Party come in the third place with (56) seats . Although the Popular Congress Party won the majority of seats in the House of Representatives, it did not obtain the absolute majority in the parliament to form a government, and then a coalition government was to be formed. But contrary to expectations, the decision of the political coalition had negative results, which led to the chaos among the three(GPC, YSP, and Islah) political parties ,where the country entered into a political crisis. This crisis ended with a confrontation between the YSP and Islah (Matsumoto , 2003, p. 3). The GPC, allied with the Islah party, and formed a united government that excluded the Yemeni Socialist Party. After the exclusion of the Yemeni Socialist Party from the government, the political scene in Yemen was divided into three components: the ruling General People's People's Party, and the Islah party.

The relations between the two former ruling parties began to worsen significantly, as both parties accused the other of not fulfilling their pledges of unity and sharing power, an attempt was made to calm the crisis, and the “Document of Pledge and Accord " was signed through the national dialogue of political forces. These solutions called for a situation more restrictions on the executive and more decentralization in the hands of the authority. By March 1994, the National Dialogue of Political Forces collapsed and caused the Civil War. The fighting erupted in April 1994, and this bloody two-month conflict destroyed much of the optimism that surrounded the idea of unity, by extension the principle of democratic transformation that had been instilled in the country. The GPC defeated the YSP, which was considered a separatist party (Phillips, 2007, p. 9). The GPC coup against the foundations and principles that were based on the Yemeni unity agreed upon between the GPC and the YSP is

the main reason for the collapse of the democratic process in the country and the slide towards violence and civil wars as well as, the absence of political stability. Demands for separation have continued, and problems remain without solutions, as well as the absence of peaceful dialogue and the spead of armaments.

Less than three months after the end of the civil war in 1994, extensive amendments were made to the constitution and approved by a special committee without a public referendum so that the collective presidency system (the Presidency Council) was replaced by the system of individual presidency (President of the Republic) and the concentration of power in the hands of the President of the Republic in a manner, From the point of view of some, it weakened the legislative and judicial branches. The original articles of the constitution were almost amended, however 29 new articles were added. In addition to removing the article that kept the old laws of the former North and South, the revised constitution established the Consultative Council and gave the president powers to appoint the prime minister, and the head of the Supreme Judicial Council. The YSP accused the president of considering this the marginalization of Southern representation (Phillips, 2008, p. 60).

As a result of the boycott of the Yemeni Socialist Party in the 1997 parliamentary elections, the General People's Congress won with a majority which enables it to form the government. The Congress Party also managed to win the presidential elections in 1999 with the support of the Islah Party, which considered President Ali Abdullah Saleh as a presidential candidate (Al-Yemeni , 2003). The first local elections in Yemen took place after unification and the completion of the constitutional amendments in 2001 over the proposed constitutional amendment in 2001. The General People's Congress won a great victory. The third parliamentary elections were held in April 2003 where the General People's Congress won again by winning 226 seats from total of 301 seats (Matsumoto , 2003). The General People's Congress party has taken power since 1997, the post-2003 elections phase is the most shifting in Saleh’s march and his trend with the party towards absolute unilateral rule, regardless of the people's need to reform the economic and humanitarian conditions, as the election results confirmed the impossibility of removing the president and the GPC from power through the ballot box, if possible, will be in the long run, and Saleh has begun to devote a form of democracy, which is the one that brings him and his party back to power, based on authority

but without responsibility. All of this political turmoil created a state of democratic and political instability that eventually led to the formation of a coalition of opposition parties called the Joint Meeting.

According to Al-Maktary (2018), The GPC's acquisition of three-quarters of the parliament seats in the three parliamentary elections in 2003, and then tightened its hegemony over the legislative process, led to the inability of political pluralism to achieve a peaceful transfer of power. Due to the despair from the ruling regime's failure to respond to the demands of political reform, including reforming the path of unity, Southern leader has submitted proposals and demands to resolve the tragic conditions of the south that resulted from the war, and to eliminate the effects of the war, reform the path of unity, and comprehensive national reconciliation.

Browers (2007) stated that, the opposition Joint Meeting Parties were formed, when the opposition parties realized that, the ruling General People's Congress party sought to incite the two main parties in Islah and YSP parties and reform against each other, through an alliance process or support at the expense of the other, where in 1994, both sides were killing each other. As the joint meeting constituted the development of the Yemeni opposition alliance, the Islah pary, the Yemeni Socialist Party, the Nasserite Unionist People's Party, the National Socialist Baath Party, Alhakk Party, and the Union of Popular Forces joined in. In this context, the joint meeting was formed and coordinated among its components in the 2003 parliamentary elections. The Joint Meeting Parties alliance, Faisal bin Shamlan, nominated for the 2006 presidential elections and was able to collect 25% of the votes. The Joint Meeting demanded political, economic and social reforms. The most prominent demands and called for a change in the current system are "one-person rule", which is concentrated power by the President of the Republic, which led to the promotion of corruption. It demanded a parliamentary system that separates the powers, as well as an independent judiciary, and administrative decentralization. On the other hand, it called for the development of a "national strategy for comprehensive and sustainable development and comprehensive reforms.

The Yemeni people did not see any reforms at all levels. However, the ruling party's relationship with opposition parties deteriorated and corruption spread, and job opportunities were lacking, causing people to go out to the streets demanded economic and political

reforms. These protests continued in North and South Yemen until 2011 in the Arab Spring, in which the ceiling of people's demands rose to overthrow the regime until the regime fell, after that Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi became the President of the Republic of Yemen in 2012. He formed after that so-called National Dialogue conference (NDC), all political parties participated in it, a wide cross-section of civil society organizations, youth and women, to draft a new constitution and re-reform the political system to meet the aspirations of the Yemeni people. Throughout the comprehensive national dialogue, all Yemenis agreed on the new constitution, the shape of the new state, and the political system. The outcomes of the National Dialogue conference (NDC) sought to solve all the political problems that the country has suffered from over the past centuries. However, the state quickly collapsed at the hands of the Houthi militia in 2014, and Sana'a fell and all state institutions fell, despite the Houthi participation in the National Dialogue Conference and the signing of its outputs.

Federalism in Yemen

The national dialogue was marked by the participation and unanimity of political and civil forces where it contains the details of building the state of law and the desired institutions for the Yemenis and documenting the most important political and human rights issues that passed in the country were and still represent a direct threat to the network of political power and social and financial domination that has been in control of Yemen for decades. The National Dialogue Conference mainly sought to distribute wealth and power equitably among members of society through a federal state consisting of six regions. Indeed, the conflict over power and wealth is the basis of the conflicts taking place in Yemen; therefore the federal government in Yemen is as stipulated by the main determinants of the outcomes of the national dialogue in order to build peace at all level in Yemen.

During the National Dialogue Conference, the participants discussed, in particular, the restructuring of the country and the method of governance in Yemen; it generally agreed that federalism is the preferred path for Yemen's future. However, President Hadi formed a presidential committee consisting of 16 members equally from south and north, which divided Yemen into six provinces, two in the south and four in the north. The Constitutional Drafting Committee, which formed shortly after the conclusion of the conference, added more details

such as, plans for a new federal system of government. It defines four different levels of government: central government, regional governments, and two-level governments at the provincial and district levels (Al-Awlaki & Al-Madhhaji, 2018, pp. 18-19). Al-Maktary (2018), indicated that,the goals of the federal state are to equitably address the southern issue, preserve national unity, get rid of centralization of power, and create a competitive and cooperative system between regions on the one hand, and between states and territories on the other. Adopting the federal state is the appropriate solution to the course of developments in Yemen and to the national crisis, with its complications resulting from extreme centralization, and it is no longer possible to deal with. The most important issues, including the southern issue, without changing the form of the state.

Competition authorities transgressed in different regions of Yemen, and they disagree about the form of the state if it should be a unitary state, two states, or multiple countries. In addition to the future form of the state's political system, either federal or confederate (Day, 2019).whereas, all society members aspire to create a comprehensive system of life that will be reflected on all state's and society's facilities, especially after the political forms in which the country has been managed fail to meet societal needs , achieve economic renaissance and provide an opportunity for creative competition in decision-making and managing life affairs.thus, the national dialogue document included comprehensive solutions for all the conflicting parties, including the southern issue, under the roof of a "federal state" consisting of six regions to ensure an end to the "centralization" prevailing in the country since 1990. The document also stipulated the end of all grievances that occurred on the southern provinces since the outbreak of the war in 1994, the return of all looted property.

The federal system of Yemen adopted to address the complaints of minorities such as the Houthis, issues related to southern Yemen, and other social problems that directly or indirectly affected in the previous regimes. The decision to switch to a federal system of government made to ease tensions, cultural and regional, and the central periphery, as well as to mitigate the demands of secession. In fact, during the previous periods, the Yemeni tribes and small groups in the country controlled most of the centers of power and the Yemeni economy. The state was not built through these political elites with little, and even the opposing voices, whether in the decision to participate or in the majority of them crushed, did

not allow local groups the opportunity to integrate and participate in a transparent and accountable government. President Hadi stressed the federalism in Yemen, which is largely based on the decentralization of powers and the solution of issues of exclusion and marginalization and the participation of all members of society in local governance to address the existing conflicts and get rid of the centers of power (Nevens & Haddad, 2015, p. 2).

According to IFDE (2015), federalism characterized by features that allow distinct and specific groups with their territorial borders to enjoy independent autonomy while remaining part of a larger federation. The need for federalism identifies two important reasons. First, federalism of identity that refers to groups or culturally or linguistically heterogeneous groups or nationalities, or whatever. They demand autonomy within that country like Canada and Switzerland.Secondly, a competency federation, which refer to a culturally harmonious country, with a great geographical presence seeking an equitable democratic representation by making decentralized system, thus locals share more in resources and policies like Germany and Argentina. On the other hand, Al-Maktary (2018), assured that, the availability of theoretical conditions in its traditional concept should not be considered as a justification for adopting the federal form of the state in the Yemeni case, which is characterized by strong population homogeneity in language, race and religion. In mean time, it is not possible to ignore the existence of minor, doctrinal, differences that coincide with geography, the division of power, and northern and southern political sub-identities that have created over time the cultural, economic, and social differences that foster the adoption of the federal state, identities that contributed to the creation of Yemeni geography, which is characterized by diversity between plain, mountain, and desert. It also reflects the difficult mountainous terrain itself in the distribution of the population and its very large dispersal in many population groups, distributed to 133931 population centers, which makes the ability of the central authority to manage these communities very difficult, it increases the costs of development, which are factors that make the transition to the federal state possible, in addition to what the federal suspicion of the state desires to bring the institutions of government closer to those population centers and the competition it creates between regions in the areas of development.

Yemen has gone through political crises and bloody conflicts throughout the past period and is still to this day, conflicts over power and influence in the country have led to very large

human, social and economic losses. These conflicts have left more divisions between society in addition to causing political instability and the demand of some people in the south of Yemen Separation from the north of Yemen as well as the Houthis militia coup and ongoing conflicts. The solutions to the Yemeni crisis is the turning to federal system, which was one of the most important outcomes of the national dialogue and was endorsed by all national powers after talks, studies and local and international visits that lasted for nearly a year. Toberven (2009) emphasized that, federalism is a useful means of settling disputes and conflicts; it can achieve a resilient balance within the authority between the majority and minorities, and between individuals and groups of citizens. Empirical research indicates that despite the potential shortcomings of federalism, federal states tend to be more accommodating to diversity and reduce separatist tendencies compared to unitary states. Federal solutions can enhance the feeling of minorities in forming part of the state, thereby contributing to more stability. Federalism may not be able to resolve all disputes, but it can provide peaceful mechanisms for managing disputes.

CONCLUSION

Political stability represents an important role in the development of state prosperity; however, political instability considers a real threat and a difficult challenge for states. The political instability in the state turns the lives of citizens into misery and poverty; this has been the case in Yemen for a long time. Internal conflicts and external interventions played a prominent role in preventing the stability of the country and the independence of its sovereignty. There were many internal and external factors that prolonged the conflict in Yemen and contributed to creating political instability. Before 1990, Yemen was divided into two states, in the north, the Yemeni Arab Republic, and in the south, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Yemen, in its northern and southern parts, has gone through many difficult historical stages and suffered from the absence of political stability, and this was reflected in the lives of people and the performance of state institutions. Numerous political conflicts, civil wars, political assassinations and acts of violence erupted in northern Yemen after the revolution of September 1962 until the establishment of Yemeni unity, the most prominent of which was the counter-revolutionary war of the September 1962 revolution represented by the Imams and their loyal tribes against the republicans which lasted for eight years and ended with the 1970 Jeddah Agreement between Frontiers and Republicans. This period was punctuated by much political turmoil, such as the coup against President Abdullah Al-Sallal in 1967 and exile him outside the country, President Abdulrahman Al-Iryani took power, after which the country witnessed many internal divisions and political conflicts, the constitution was amended twice within three years of assuming power. In 1974 the overthrow of President Abdulrahman Al-Iryani took place, after which President Ibrahim Al-Hamdi took power. His term lasted for three years until 1977, Ibrahim Al-Hamdi's period witnessed a tangible development in services and foreign relations, but his political orientation towards the Yemeni tribes, which are considered a parallel system to the state, as he was planning to establish the role of the state, implement law, and subject the tribes to the authority of the state, this was a major reason for the assassination of him. President Ahmed Al-Ghashmi came to power after him, but he did not stay long , only a few months and was assassinated by an explosive pomb that was sent to him through a diplomatic case. Political stability in Yemen remained absent even after Ali Abdullah Saleh took power after Ahmed Al-Ghashami. Yemen

has gone through dangerous turns, civil wars, coup attempts and assassinations of political figures. On the other hand, southern Yemen did not witness any political stability after independence in 1967 until the establishment of Yemeni unity in 1990, starting with the civil war between the partners of the anti-British colonialism represented by the National Front, the Liberation Front, the coup against the president Qahtan, the Wadia, Dhofar War, the bloody conflict in 1986, and the wars against North Yemen.

The establishment of Yemeni unity represented a historic transformation for Yemen in 1990 after the agreement between the two parts of Yemen on unity based on equal sharing of power and wealth between the north and south. The agreement did not last long until President Ali Abdullah Saleh turned against this agreement, seized power and wealth, which led to a civil war in 1994 that caused a big gap In Yemeni society Yemenis which Yemenis still living its consequences to this day. This war ended in the same year where Ali Salem Al-Baidh, the former southern president and the Vice President escapes to Oman.

Yemen experienced its first democratic experience in 1997, after political pluralism was adopted in 1990. There were parliamentary elections that were boycotted by the Yemeni Socialist Party due to the marginalization of the south in the electoral representation, while the ruling party won with the majority, as well as won the presidential elections in 1999 with the support of the Islah party, but the ruling party soon turned against the Islah Party and other parties, which caused political conflicts , demonstrations and calls for political system reforms, as well as economic reforms, thus, this led to the formation of the so-called Joint Meeting Parties, which includes most of the parties exposed against the president . A civil war erupted by the Houthi militia in the Sa’ada governorate in 2004 against the state and its institutions, which lasted until the end of 2009, costing the state a large budget, destroying the infrastructure of the governorate, and killing many innocent people and civilians. On the other hand, a separatist group appeared, called the Southern Movement, which called for secession in 2007 continued until the Arab Spring revolution, which demanded the overthrow of the regime and symbols of corruption. Indeed, Many factors have contributed to impeding the process of state bulding and political stability in Yemen, including sectarian factors, the Hashemite family, the Yemeni tribes, ideological political parties such as the Islah Party, the

Socialist Party, the class division of society, armed and terrorist groups, separatist groups, the strategic location of Yemen and Yemeni mountainous terrain, as well as external interference.

Ali Abdullah Saleh handed over the power to his Deputy Abdu Rabbu Mansour Hadi. The National Dialogue Conference started, which lasted for nearly a year. All groups of society and political parties participated in it, aiming to develop a new political system for the state by consensus of political parties and civil society organizations. The draft of the National Dialogue was agreed upon and signed by all political parties and conference participants, which included the transformation of the Yemeni political system from a central system to a federal system consisting of six regions that guarantees the equal distribution of wealth and power among the Yemeni people and drafting a new constitution for the Republic of Yemen that guarantees the rights of all people and preserves the sovereignty and independence of the country. However, Houthi militia and former President Ali Abdullah Saleh made agreed togother and Turn on the outcomes of the national dialogue, which led to the siege of Sana'a, storming and control of all state institutions president Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi fled and the Decisive Storm began.

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