

**Country/entity** Yemen

**Region** Middle East and North Africa

**Agreement name** Agreement/Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Initiative

**Date** 23 Nov 2011

**Agreement status** Multiparty signed/agreed

**Interim arrangement** Yes

**Agreement/conflict level** Intrastate/intrastate conflict

### **Yemeni Civil Wars (1994) (2011 - )**

The Republic of Yemen was formed in May 1990 after the merger between the Yemeni Arab Republic (YAR) in the north and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) in the south. The unification process was rushed and the final agreement between President Ali Abdullah Saleh and President Ali Salem al-Beidh was based on the imperfect promise of equality. Following the merger, integration of the militaries and civil services was at best incomplete or at times entirely non-existent. When Saleh's General Congress Party (GPC) allied itself with the newly created Islamist Islah ('reform') party in 1993, the former ruling party of South Yemen – the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) – was effectively side-lined in the 1993 General Elections. Violence involving the use of heavy weaponry and aerial bombardment erupted in April 1994 and on the 21 May 1994 Vice President al-Beidh declared the secession of the south, citing political centralization with the northern highland tribes, violence against the YSP and economic discrimination. In the midst of fighting, negotiations in Cairo, Egypt, collapsed. The war ended with the military victory of the north, and on the 1 October 1994, Ali Abdullah Saleh was elected President.

Despite the unification of Yemen in 1990, political power during the 1990s and 2000s remained centralized with the northern highland tribes, particularly the villages from which President Ali Abdullah Saleh and his confidants stemmed. The system of clientelism established through the ruling General People's Congress party maintained relative loyalty among the fractured political allegiances of Yemen's traditional tribal leadership. However, diminishing oil reserves and the shrinking opportunities for access to rent increased economic and political marginalization in Yemen's peripheral communities. The degree of regionalism of conflicts is further defined by other local grievances. In the northern governorate of Sa'dah, a backlash was provoked among the local Zaydi Shi'a against Sunni Salafist cultural incursions resulting in six wars between 2004 and 2010. In the southern governorates of Hadramawt, Shabwa, al-Dhali and Abyan, civil and military personnel forcibly retired after the 1994 Civil War began protesting and eventually formed the secessionist Southern 'al-Hiraak' movement in 2007. Furthermore, tribal grievances have spurred attacks on oil companies and government installations to extract rents. Various takfiri groups including al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula have also increased their presence since 1995.

The Yemen Spring in early 2011 allowed all these movements to express their joint displeasure. Moreover, factionalism in the regime split the already weak military and thus allowed the Houthis, the takfiris and tribal-based militia known as popular committees, to assert themselves militarily. Mandated by the UN-sponsored Gulf Cooperation Council Initiative, the National Dialogue held from March 2013 to January 2014 aimed at guaranteeing power-sharing among the different parties. However, the GCC Initiative only included formal political parties that did not accurately reflect political realities. Furthermore, provisions lacked adequate transitional justice and provided former-President Saleh, as well as others, full amnesty. As a result, little faith was placed in the process by formerly marginalized groups such as the Zaydi Shia Houthi rebels (Ansar Allah) and al-Hiraak who opted to increase their bargaining power vis-à-vis the state by strengthening their own territorial enclaves. In September 2014 the Houthis succeeded in capturing the capital Sana'a and gradually expanded their control southward. The subsequent UN-mediated Peace and National Partnership Agreement between transitional president Hadi and the Houthis on a federal, democratic Yemeni state, failed to be implemented as the Houthis successfully dissolved the parliament and deposed Hadi in January 2015. Following the Saudi military intervention to restore the Hadi government in March 2015, ceasefire attempts continuously failed. A two-year

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| <b>Stage</b>           | Framework/substantive - partial   |
| <b>Conflict nature</b> | Government  |
| <b>Peace process</b>   | Yemen peace process   |
| <b>Parties</b>         | <p>Ali Abdullah Saleh, President of the Republic, Chair of the General People's Congress, (Signed);<br/> Abdulkarim Ali Al-Iryani, Second Deputy Chair of the General People's Congress (Signed);</p> <p>Sadiq Amin Abu Ras, Assistant General Secretary of the General People's Congress (Signed);<br/> Amat Al-Razzaq Hamad, Assistant General Secretary of the General People's Congress (Signed);<br/> Ahmad Ubayd Bin Daghr, Assistant General Secretary of the General People's Congress (Signed);<br/> Qasim Salam, Chair of the Council of the National Democratic Alliance (Signed);<br/> Mohamed Salem Basendwah, Chair of the Preparatory Committee for National Dialogue (Signed);<br/> Yasin Sa'id Nu'man, General Secretary of the Socialist Party and Temporary Chair of the Joint Meeting Parties (Signed);<br/> Abdulwahhab Ahmad Al-Insi, General Secretary of the Yemeni Congregation for Reform (Signed);<br/> Hasan Muhammad Zayd, General Secretary of the Al-Haqq Party (Signed);<br/> Sakhr Ahmad Al-Wajih, Representative of the Solidarity Council and the Freedom Bloc (Signed);</p> |
| <b>Third parties</b>   | <p>In the presence of:<br/> Abdul-Latif Bin Rashid Al-Zayani, Secretary-General of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Signed);<br/> Sheikh Abdullah Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates, Chair of the current session of the Ministerial Council of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Signed)</p>  |
| <b>Description</b>     | <p>Short comprehensive framework agreement looking at transferring power from the government of Saleh Abdullah Saleh. Power will be transferred to the Vice President after immunity from prosecution is assured to the President and other regime officials. The agreement then outlines the arrangement of a unity government; and prepares for elections.</p>  |

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| <b>Agreement document</b> | <a href="#">YE_110423_Agreement (responding to GCC initiative on 21 April 2011).pdf (opens in new tab)</a>   <a href="#">Download PDF</a> |
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## **Groups**

**Children/youth** No specific mention.

**Disabled persons** No specific mention.

**Elderly/age** No specific mention.

**Migrant workers** No specific mention.

**Racial/ethnic/  
national group** No specific mention.

**Religious groups** No specific mention.

**Indigenous people** No specific mention.

**Other groups** No specific mention.

**Refugees/displaced  
persons** No specific mention.

**Social class** No specific mention.

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## **Gender**

**Women, girls and  
gender** No specific mention.

**Men and boys** No specific mention.

**LGBTI** No specific mention.

**Family** No specific mention.

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## State definition

**Nature of state (general)** Page 1, The signatories to this Agreement, desirous of achieving a political settlement of the crisis in Yemen, acting in accordance with the terms of the initiative proposed by the Gulf Cooperation Council on 21 April 2011 and pursuant to the following basic principles:  
- That the solution resulting from this Agreement shall preserve the unity, security and stability of Yemen;

**State configuration** No specific mention.

**Self determination** No specific mention.

**Referendum** Page 3, Have agreed on the following implementation steps;  
... 7. When complete, the new constitution shall be submitted to a popular referendum.  
8. If the constitution is approved by referendum, a time frame for parliamentary elections shall be determined in accordance with the new constitution.

**State symbols** No specific mention.

**Independence/ secession** No specific mention.

**Accession/ unification** No specific mention.

**Border delimitation** No specific mention.

**Cross-border provision** No specific mention.

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## Governance

**Political institutions (new or reformed)** Governance→Political institutions (new or reformed)→General references  
Page 3, Have agreed on the following implementation steps;  
... 6. The new President shall establish a constitutional committee to oversee the preparation of a new constitution.

**Elections** Page 3, Have agreed on the following implementation steps;  
... 5. The President by appointment shall call for presidential elections within 60 days in accordance with the Constitution.  
... 8. If the constitution is approved by referendum, a time frame for parliamentary elections shall be determined in accordance with the new constitution.  
9. After the elections, the President shall request the Chair of the party that has gained the greatest number of votes to form a government.

**Electoral commission** No specific mention.

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| <b>Political parties reform</b>      | No specific mention.   |
| <b>Civil society</b>                 | Page 1, The signatories to this Agreement, desirous of achieving a political settlement of the crisis in Yemen, acting in accordance with the terms of the initiative proposed by the Gulf Cooperation Council on 21 April 2011 and pursuant to the following basic principles:<br>... - That the Agreement shall fulfil the aspirations of the Yemeni people for change and reform; |
| <b>Traditional/religious leaders</b> | No specific mention.   |
| <b>Public administration</b>         | No specific mention.   |
| <b>Constitution</b>                  | Governance→Constitution→Constitutional reform/making<br>Page 3, Have agreed on the following implementation steps;<br>... 6. The new President shall establish a constitutional committee to oversee the preparation of a new constitution.<br>7. When complete, the new constitution shall be submitted to a popular referendum.  |

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**Power sharing**

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| <b>Political power sharing</b>   | Power sharing→Political power sharing→General State level<br>Page 1, The signatories to this Agreement, desirous of achieving a political settlement of the crisis in Yemen, acting in accordance with the terms of the initiative proposed by the Gulf Cooperation Council on 21 April 2011 and pursuant to the following basic principles:<br>... - That the transfer of power shall be smooth, secure and based on national consensus in order to avoid a descent into anarchy and violence;<br><br>Page 2, Have agreed on the following implementation steps;<br>1. On the first day of the Agreement, the President of the Republic shall request the opposition to form a government of national unity with 50 per cent representation from either side. That government shall be formed no later than seven days after his request. |
| <b>Territorial power sharing</b> | No specific mention.   |
| <b>Economic power sharing</b>    | No specific mention.   |
| <b>Military power sharing</b>    | No specific mention.   |

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## **Human rights and equality**

**Human rights/RoL general** No specific mention.

**Bill of rights/similar** No specific mention.

**Treaty incorporation** No specific mention.

**Civil and political rights** No specific mention.

**Socio-economic rights** No specific mention.

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## **Rights related issues**

**Citizenship** No specific mention.

**Democracy** No specific mention.

**Detention procedures** No specific mention.

**Media and communication** No specific mention.

**Mobility/access** No specific mention.

**Protection measures** No specific mention.

**Other** No specific mention.

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## **Rights institutions**

**NHRI** No specific mention.

**Regional or international human rights institutions** No specific mention.

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## **Justice sector reform**

**Criminal justice and emergency law** No specific mention.

**State of emergency provisions** No specific mention.

**Judiciary and courts** No specific mention.

**Prisons and detention** No specific mention.

**Traditional Laws** No specific mention.

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## **Socio-economic reconstruction**

**Development or socio-economic reconstruction** No specific mention.

**National economic plan** No specific mention.

**Natural resources** No specific mention.

**International funds** No specific mention.

**Business** No specific mention.

**Taxation** No specific mention.

**Banks** No specific mention.

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## **Land, property and environment**

**Land reform/rights** No specific mention.

**Pastoralist/nomadism rights** No specific mention.

**Cultural heritage** No specific mention.

**Environment** No specific mention.

**Water or riparian rights or access** No specific mention.

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**Security sector**

**Security Guarantees** Page 1, The signatories to this Agreement, desirous of achieving a political settlement of the crisis in Yemen, acting in accordance with the terms of the initiative proposed by the Gulf Cooperation Council on 21 April 2011 and pursuant to the following basic principles: ... - That all parties are committed to removing the sources of tension in political and security terms;

**Ceasefire** Security sector→Ceasefire→General commitments  
Page 2, The signatories to this Agreement, desirous of achieving a political settlement of the crisis in Yemen, acting in accordance with the terms of the initiative proposed by the Gulf Cooperation Council on 21 April 2011 and pursuant to the following basic principles: ... - That all parties are committed to ending all forms of reprisals, pursuit and prosecution by extending guarantees and pledges towards that end;

**Police** No specific mention.

**Armed forces** No specific mention.

**DDR** No specific mention.

**Intelligence services** No specific mention.

**Parastatal/rebel and opposition group forces** No specific mention.

**Withdrawal of foreign forces** No specific mention.

**Corruption** No specific mention.

**Crime/organised crime** No specific mention.

**Drugs** No specific mention.

**Terrorism** No specific mention.

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**Transitional justice**

**Transitional justice general** No specific mention.

**Amnesty/pardon** Transitional justice→Amnesty/pardon→Amnesty/pardon proper  
Page 2, Have agreed on the following implementation steps;  
3. On the 29th day after the Agreement enters into force, Parliament, including the opposition, shall adopt laws granting immunity from legal and judicial prosecution to the President and those work worked with him during his time in office.

Page 3, Have agreed on the following implementation steps;  
4. On the 30th day after the Agreement enters into force, once Parliament, including the opposition, has adopted the law on safeguards, the President of the Republic shall tender his resignation to Parliament. When Parliament has accepted his resignation, the Vice-President shall become the legitimate President by appointment.

**Courts** No specific mention.

**Mechanism** No specific mention.

**Prisoner release** No specific mention.

**Vetting** No specific mention.

**Victims** No specific mention.

**Missing persons** No specific mention.

**Reparations** No specific mention.

**Reconciliation** Page 1, The signatories to this Agreement, desirous of achieving a political settlement of the crisis in Yemen, acting in accordance with the terms of the initiative proposed by the Gulf Cooperation Council on 21 April 2011 and pursuant to the following basic principles:  
... - That the transfer of power shall be smooth, secure and based on national consensus in order to avoid a descent into anarchy and violence;  
- That all parties are committed to removing the sources of tension in political and security terms;

Page 2, The signatories to this Agreement, desirous of achieving a political settlement of the crisis in Yemen, acting in accordance with the terms of the initiative proposed by the Gulf Cooperation Council on 21 April 2011 and pursuant to the following basic principles:  
... - That all parties are committed to ending all forms of reprisals, pursuit and prosecution by extending guarantees and pledges towards that end;

Page 2, Have agreed on the following implementation steps;  
2. The newly formed government shall create the appropriate atmosphere in order to achieve national consensus and put an end to the sources of tension in political and security terms.

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**Implementation**

**UN signatory** No specific mention.

**Other international signatory** No specific mention.

**Referendum for agreement** No specific mention.

**International mission/force/similar** No specific mention.

**Enforcement mechanism** No specific mention.