

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

Stage	Framework/substantive - partial
Conflict nature	Government
Peace process	Yemen peace process
Parties	<p>Ali Abdullah Saleh, President of the Republic, Chair of the General People's Congress, (Signed); 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); Amat Al-Razzaq Hamad, Assistant General Secretary of the General People's Congress (Signed); Ahmad Ubayd Bin Dagher, Assistant General Secretary of the General People's Congress (Signed); Qasim Salam, Chair of the Council of the National Democratic Alliance (Signed); Mohamed Salem Basendwah, Chair of the Preparatory Committee for National Dialogue (Signed); Yasin Sa'id Nu'man, General Secretary of the Socialist Party and Temporary Chair of the Joint Meeting Parties (Signed); Abdulwahhab Ahmad Al-Insi, General Secretary of the Yemeni Congregation for Reform (Signed); Hasan Muhammad Zayd, General Secretary of the Al-Haqq Party (Signed); Sakhr Ahmad Al-Wajih, Representative of the Solidarity Council and the Freedom Bloc (Signed);</p>
Third parties	<p>In the presence of: Abdul-Latif Bin Rashid Al-Zayani, Secretary-General of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Signed); 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>
Description	<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>

Agreement document	YE_110423_Agreement (responding to GCC initiative on 21 April 2011).pdf (opens in new tab) Download PDF
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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.

Gender

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

Men and boys No specific mention.

LGBTI No specific mention.

Family No specific mention.

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.

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.

Political parties reform	No specific mention.
Civil society	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 Agreement shall fulfil the aspirations of the Yemeni people for change and reform;
Traditional/religious leaders	No specific mention.
Public administration	No specific mention.
Constitution	Governance→Constitution→Constitutional reform/making 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. 7. When complete, the new constitution shall be submitted to a popular referendum.

Power sharing

Political power sharing	Power sharing→Political power sharing→General State level 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; Page 2, Have agreed on the following implementation steps; 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.
Territorial power sharing	No specific mention.
Economic power sharing	No specific mention.
Military power sharing	No specific mention.

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.

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.

Rights institutions

NHRI No specific mention.

Regional or international human rights institutions No specific mention.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

Related cases No specific mention.

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