



**“Why Kuwait mediation efforts have not succeeded in resolving the
Yemeni crisis”**

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Introduction:

During the events of the so-called Arab Spring, Yemen was not exception, and there was a political crisis followed by complex humanitarian crises and an internecine civil war. 4,600 people were killed and 35,000 injured in the war in just one year, and more than 3 million Yemeni citizens were displaced, according to Amnesty International's report¹. Until the writing of this paper, violent battles are continuous, even in the most populated places, increasing the number of deaths and deepening economic and social losses until the number of children suffering from severe acute malnutrition has risen to at least 462000 children². The humanitarian situation in Yemen is one of the biggest humanitarian crises in the world³. Voices in the international scene have risen demanding for a solution to the disastrous dilemma in Yemen through political negotiations between the parties to the conflict. And on this basis, at the invitation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Member States of the Security Council, the Kuwait negotiations began under the auspices of a UN representative represented by Mr. Ismail Ould Sheikh Ahmed, the United Nations Secretary-General's envoy to Yemen⁴. Despite the efforts made, the Kuwait negotiations have not been very successful.

¹ Amnesty, "Yemen: the forgotten war," Amnesty, 2016, accessed April 4, 2017, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/09/yemen-the-forgotten-war/>

² UNICEF, "Malnutrition amongst children in Yemen at an all-time high, warns UNICEF," UNICEF, 2016, accessed May 16, 2017, https://www.unicef.org/media/media_93868.html

³ "World faces worst humanitarian crisis since 1945, says UN official," *The Guardian*, April 28, 2017, , accessed May 17, 2017, <https://goo.gl/PZnLBH>

⁴ " Yemen's UN envoy calls on Yemeni parties to attend consultation sessions in good faith and flexibility ", KUNA, 2016, accessed May 17, 2017 <https://goo.gl/mQT2UA>

In this paper, the author seeks to discuss and analyze Kuwait's negotiations held from April 21 to August 6, 2016, and to present an evaluation explaining why they failed and showing the most important opportunities that were about to succeed. In addition, this paper will provide some suggestions that the author considers have not been considered in order to increase the chances of a comprehensive political settlement of what is going on in Yemen.

Yemeni negotiations in Kuwait:

The Yemeni negotiations in Kuwait were launched under the auspices and mediation of the UN in April 2016. These negotiations are an update to the consultations launched in Geneva June 2015 and the Swiss Bern in December 2015. The United Nations is considered a third party seeking to assist the parties involved in the conflict to find a mutually satisfactory solution⁵. Indeed, this applies to the negotiations in Kuwait on the conflict in Yemen. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, in consultation with the Security Council, has appointed his Special Envoy — Mr. Ismail Ould Sheikh Ahmed — in lieu of the Moroccan, Jamal Bin Omar⁶. The negotiations, facilitated by the new UN envoy, took place between the parties to the conflict in Yemen. **The first party** represents the legitimate Yemeni government, which was overturned, while **the second party** represents the alliance of both Ansar Allah Movement (ISIL) and representatives of the former President Ali Abdullah Saleh, who leads the General People's Congress Party (split between both sides of the Sharia and former President Saleh). The party of the legitimate Government was represented by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for

⁵ Schellenberg, James A. *Conflict resolution: Theory, research, and practice*. Suny Press, 1996.

⁶ Khalid Alyamani

Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Yemen, Abdulmalik Abduljalil al-Mukhlafi, the head of the delegation, while the Houthis were represented from General People's Congress party Mohamed Abdel Salam – the spokesperson for Ansar Allah – and Arif al-Zuoka, Secretary-General of General Popular Congress⁷.

The negotiations are defined as any form of direct or indirect verbal or nonverbal communication, in which the parties to the conflict-which have conflicts of interest-engage in a discussion or any joint action they may deem appropriate to manage their dispute, without resorting to arbitration or other judicial proceedings⁸. The negotiation provides legitimate criteria for assessing and accepting any option without undue risk to either party⁹. The negotiations were aimed, in a major way, at halting the war, restoring and strengthening State institutions, assisting in reconstruction and accelerating economic recovery, thus not threatening international peace and security through Yemen, based on the three agreed terms of reference¹⁰, namely, the Gulf initiative and its mechanism¹¹, The outcomes of the national dialogue¹², and the UN Security Council resolution 2216¹³.

⁷ Al Jazeera. "The start of negotiations between the Yemeni parties in Kuwait," Al Jazeera Media network, 2016, entered on May 17, 2017 <https://goo.gl/Zn8C8n>

⁸ Gelfand, Michele J., and Jeanne M, Brett, *The handbook of negotiation and culture*, Stanford University Press, 2004.

⁹ Bercovitch, Jacob, and Richard Dean Wells Jackson, *Conflict resolution in the twenty-first century: principles, methods, and approaches*, University of Michigan Press, 2009.

¹⁰ OSESGY. "Yemen Peace Talks Kicked off today in Kuwait," 2016. Accessed May 22, 2017. <https://goo.gl/a5Okxg>

¹¹ The Gulf initiative was signed in 2011 and provides for the formation of a national consensus government within seven days of signing and granting immunity to Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh. Look at. <https://goo.gl/LM38cM>

¹² The comprehensive National Dialogue document stipulates that "the management and development of natural resources, including oil and gas, and the awarding of exploration and development contracts, shall be the responsibility of the authorities in the producing states in partnership with the authorities of the Territory and the federal authority. Look at. <https://goo.gl/iYN5tE>

¹³ A Security Council resolution on April 14, 2015, under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, imposes an arms embargo on the Houthis and supporters of ousted Yemeni president Ali Abdullah Saleh, and calls on the Houthis to leave the

The agenda of the Kuwait negotiations focused on five axes: a ceasefire, a withdrawal from the cities, the handing over of weapons, the restoration of State institutions, as well as the file of detainees and forcibly hidden persons. It describes these axes in three main tracks, namely, the political and security track and the human rights file of prisoners, detainees and forcibly hidden persons¹⁴. The focus was largely on the issue of the withdrawal of the Houthis from the cities and the handing over of weapons, as well as security procedures and arrangements¹⁵ contained in Security Council resolution 2216. The ceasefire issue was essential in the negotiations, which was approved only one month after the start of negotiations in Kuwait.

The Houthis and their allies stressed the importance of the ceasefire and work to stabilize it, but insisted on the issue of the simultaneous formation of political, security and human rights tracks. Their main quest was to form a government of national unity before any further action was initiated¹⁵. But the representatives of the legitimate Government called for the complete withdrawal of the Houthis and their allies from Yemeni cities, the handing over of weapons, and the restoration of Yemeni institutions as a precondition for any other political steps. According to representatives of the government delegation, the Houthis are seeking to form the Government of national unity, so that they will not withdraw

cities and areas they have captured, including the capital, Sana'a. Thirteen states voted in favor of the resolution, and no State opposed, while only one state, Russia, abstained. Look at <https://goo.gl/O0TfGu> .

¹⁴ Al-Najjar, Ghanem, 2016, "between Yemen and Marib Dam... Are the negotiations successful?", "Al Wasat newspaper. Viewed on 1 May 3017 from <http://www.alwasatnews.com/news/1109316.html> ¹⁵ OSESGY.

"Yemen Peace Talks Kicked off today in Kuwait," 2016. Accessed May 22, 2017. <https://goo.gl/a5Okxg>

¹⁵ Interview with the Ambassador Khalid Hussein Al-Yamani, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Yemen to the United Nations in New York and a member of the advisory delegation to the negotiations in Kuwait, the interview took place on Monday, May 22, 2017, at five o'clock Doha time.

from the cities, and the handing over of weapons will depend on the government to be formed¹⁶. The Yemeni government's negotiating team also stressed the importance of removing the blockade of the cities, especially Ta'izz governorate, and releasing the abductees or prisoners. Following the course of the negotiations, it is noticed that the interests of the first party--the Yemeni government--are reflected in the security and military dimension of the provisions of the Security Council resolution concerning the withdrawal from the cities and the handing over of the medium and heavy weapons. The question of the political dimension is premature, as the sensitive issues contained in resolution 2216 have not been dealt with from the governmental point of view¹⁷. The Government's negotiating delegation stressed the importance of achieving sustainable peace, not the creation of unsustainable prosthetic solutions, which could contribute to the recurrence of conflict in Yemen and threatening its existence, security and stability in the Gulf region and the Arabian Peninsula¹⁸.

In addition, the Yemeni government believes that any prospects for a solution should also include the following elements: The departure of Houthi militias, which have been attached to all security and military institutions, the repeal of the constitutional Declaration and all the unilateral actions that emerged from the so-called revolutionary Commission, returning State and government institutions to the capital¹⁹.

¹⁶ The same source

¹⁷ Interview with Ambassador Khalid Hussein Al-Yamani, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Yemen to the United Nations in New York and a member of the advisory delegation to the negotiations in Kuwait, the interview took place on Monday, May 22, 2017, at five o'clock Doha time.

¹⁸ "The situation in the Middle East," United Nations, accessed May 22, 2017, <http://www.un.org/ar/documents/viewdoc.asp?docnumber=S%2FPV.7721&referer=%2Fenglish%2F&Lang=E>.

¹⁹ The same source

In one of the formulas presented by the UN envoy after more than a month of negotiations, which was rejected by the government side, the international mediator proposed formation of a government of national unity to restore the security of basic services and revive the economy in Yemen, and that the government, under the map, assume responsibility of Preparing for a political dialogue outlining the steps required to reach a comprehensive political solution, including defining the tasks of the institutions that will manage the transition and the electoral law and ending the draft Yemeni constitution. The UN envoy stressed the importance of inclusiveness of the political dialogue and open the way for the participation of women and youth as well as representatives of southern Yemen to determine the future of the country. He also emphasized the formulation of a road map, which states that national and international monitoring mechanisms should be established to follow up and support the implementation of the agreements reached by the parties²⁰.

Role of Kuwait (Kuwait as a pivotal Party):

²⁰ The same source

Kuwait is a suitable negotiating station between the parties to the conflict in Yemen, as it has a history of settling past Yemeni disputes. Kuwait played a pivotal role in the negotiations that led to the achievement of Yemeni unity²¹. Kuwait has reconciled the parties to the conflict in Yemen, and has welcomed Presidents Abdel Fattah Ismail and Ali Abdullah Saleh after the 1979 war between the southern



Figure (1) Source: Kuwait News Agency (KUNA)

and northern parts of Yemen, culminating in the signing of the Kuwait agreement in March 1979²². On the other hand, Yemen has been a strategic dimension of the State of Kuwait for many years, and Kuwait has supported Yemen in terms of development and economic aspects in the fields of education, health and reconstruction, as well as Yemen obtaining loans from the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic development²³.

²¹ Yemeni Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "agreements and practical procedures for the recreation of Yemeni Unity", accessed 12 May 2017 <https://goo.gl/O7IHeh>

²² The same source

²³ Kuwait Fund for Development, 2014, Projects of the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic development in Yemen, Kuwait fund for the Development of Arab economies, accessed 12 May 2017 <https://www.kuwaitfund.org/ar/web/kfund/search-results?searchKeyword=%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%85%D9%86&searchFilters=any&searchpriority=newest>

For many decades, Yemen has enjoyed Kuwait's interest in it, as a matter of brotherhood and peace in the region. Kuwait seeks to put an end to the YemeniYemeni peace negotiations, to restore security and stability, to end bitter human suffering and to preserve Yemen's unity. This was evident in the speech of His Excellency Sheikh Sabah Al-Khaled al-Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State of Kuwait at the opening of the negotiating session, in which he noted that Kuwait is striving to transform the war into peace and destruction to reconstruction and underdevelopment to development²⁴. Kuwait's hosting of these negotiations is also the premise of the humanitarian situation, which is not likely to wait. Therefore, at the humanitarian response conference in Geneva on April 25, 2017²⁵, Kuwait announced the allocation of 100 million dollars to support humanitarian needs in Yemen²⁶.

Evaluation of the negotiations:

The negotiations in Kuwait were characterized by the complexity of the issues between the parties to the conflict in Yemen, especially in the first month of its launch. Both sides have maintained their intransigent positions, particularly in relation to the issue of the handing over of weapons. The party of Ansar Allah and representatives of the Saleh Congress party insisted on the importance of political transition first. But the government party is clinging to its stance not to talk about

²⁴ Kuwait TV. 2016. Opening proceedings of the Yemeni consultations in the State of Kuwait. Accessed 11 May 2017, <https://goo.gl/smQBUz>

²⁵ International donors at the Humanitarian Response Conference on April 25, 2017 in Geneva pledged to provide nearly 1.1 billion US dollars to help expand life-saving assistance to millions of people in need, co-chaired by the United Nations, Sweden and Switzerland. Look at. <https://goo.gl/sZsJhO>

²⁶ Reuters. 2017. "Kuwait allocates \$100 million to support humanitarian needs in Yemen." Accessed 5 May 2017, <https://goo.gl/7sHiEA>

this before handing over weapons and the mechanism through which the Houthi party and the General People's Congress will handing over the weapons, which is a negative disadvantage to the government party. The fact that the government delegation was moving away from direct negotiations on May 1 to protest against the storming of a military brigade – the Giants Brigade – by Houthi fighters in Amran, north of Sanaa, has made it worse in these negotiations²⁷. Replying to the researcher's questions, the Yemeni delegate to the United Nations pointed out that the Yemeni government is primarily interested in achieving the interests of the Yemeni people and international law, based on the above-mentioned three references.

Despite the challenges faced by the negotiations and the UN mission by the media or the Yemeni parties, Ould Al-Sheikh was able to play a somewhat effective role because he did not raise expectations, where he managed to keep the discussions alive, and was keen to remind the media that the Yemeni conflict has been going on for Years and cannot be terminated in a few weeks²⁹. But Ould AlSheikh is still stuck in the communication strategy phase of the mediation strategies, which consist of communication strategy, drafting and manipulation²⁸, where he fails to achieve common points between parties, provide solutions or propose concessions and not to prevent withdrawing of the parties. After attempts and individual consultations, the UN mediator was able to achieve a breakthrough so that he could bring both sides of the conflict to one table, after refusing to sit

²⁷ Daniel R. DePetris, "Yemen's Peace Talks: A Progress Report," Atlantic Council, 2016, , accessed May 22, 2017, <https://goo.gl/dX1c7g> ²⁹ Daniel R. DePetris, "Yemen's Peace Talks: A Progress Report," Atlantic Council, 2016, , accessed May 22, 2017, <https://goo.gl/dX1c7g>

²⁸ Bercovitch, J, and R, Jackson, 1997, International Conflict: A Chronological Encyclopedia of Conflicts and Their Management, 1945-1995: Congressional Quarterly.

with each other at the table. Moreover, to reach a positive-sum by identifying issues in a broader context, and re-defining goals and interests²⁹, the UN envoy focused on separate and simultaneous working groups to deal with the issues at hand, rather than on each issue, and this is an important and positive point for the Special envoy to the Yemeni peace talks³².

The follower of the course of negotiations in Kuwait can measure the success of the United Nations mediation in these talks only when considering the key issues and answering a group of questions, such as: [How the process of political transition will be managed and its way, When will the Houthis withdraw from the lands that they captured them especially the capital and major cities, how they will be dealt with their presence within the institutions, and how the Security Council resolution 2216 will be implemented]. In this sense, we conclude that this process is difficult and requires great and effective efforts. The United Nations therefore suffers in several respects, one of which is the rejection by the Houthis to hand over the weapons and abandon them or even withdraw from the capital Sana'a. This impedes the establishment of a Government of national unity in the first place. In contrast, the Yemeni government remains opposed to political arrangements that affect the survival of President Abd Rabbo Mansour Hadi before dealing with the problem of handing over weapons and withdrawing from cities. Given these divergent positions, the United Nations has been unable to bring the views closer together. This has led to a failure in the conduct of those negotiations.

²⁹ Warren, Mark, and Jane Mansbridge, "Deliberative negotiation," *Negotiating agreement in politics* (2013): 92-98.

³² Daniel R. DePetris, "Yemen's Peace Talks: A Progress Report," Atlantic Council, 2016, , accessed May 22, 2017, <https://goo.gl/dX1c7g>

Causes of failure:

Since the start of the negotiations in Kuwait, it has been evident that the Houthis delegation and whom are affiliated with former President Abdullah Saleh of the General People's Congress, **was not serious** because of their delays and delay in arriving in Kuwait three days after the start and opening of the negotiations³⁰. They justified their delay as it is a protesting the violations of the ceasefire agreement by the Saudi Arabian-led coalition to restore legitimacy in Yemen. The researcher here believes that the Houthis tried to set preconditions for their participation in the negotiations, which hinders any progress in the political solution. However, after extensive consultations with the UN mediator team, and after receiving assurances from the United Nations and ambassadors of some countries to stabilize the ceasefire³¹, the Houthis and Saleh delegation arrived in Kuwait, but did not engage in the start of negotiations face to face with the negotiating delegation of the legitimate Government, another reason confirming their lack of conviction with the UN-sponsored negotiations between the two sides of the Yemeni conflict. The Houthis and Saleh delegation were demanding dialogue and negotiations with Saudi Arabia — which leads the alliance — not with the government side — which they do not recognize — in order to affirm and prove

³⁰ Al Jazeera. "The start of negotiations between the Yemeni parties in Kuwait," Al Jazeera Media network, 2016, accessed May 17, 2017 <https://goo.gl/Zn8C8n>

³¹ Mahmoud, Hadeer, 2016, "Kuwait negotiations... Yemen is waiting for agreement and overcoming challenges. " Al-badil newspaper, accessed 1 May, 2017 <https://goo.gl/smQBUz>

their legitimacy at the level of international forums³². **Their refusal to withdraw** from the cities and to hand over the weapons was one of the most important points in the lack of progress in the negotiation process. In conjunction with the negotiations in Kuwait, Houthis and Saleh supporters **formed the Supreme Political Council** within an agreement signed by the Vice-President of the popular conference loyal to Saleh Sadiq Amin Abu Ras and Saleh al-Samad, representing the Houthis³³, which was considered a unilateral action by the Government, proving that the Houthis and Saleh party was not serious in constructive engagement in the negotiations that can contribute to the solution.

One of the factors that has affected the failure of the negotiations is **the lack of understanding of the nature of issues** that feed into values, resources and processes³⁴. The differing and varied nature of the issues affect each party's way of understanding and defining them, in particular with regard to the mechanism and time of handing over the weapons, for example. This has resulted in **the tenacity of each side of its situation, as well as the lack of clarity of the position of former President Saleh**, as it is not possible to know exactly what he wants from the engagement of his Congress party loyalists in the course of the negotiations and the political settlement that took place. The second ambiguity is the multiplicity of opinions and positions of the Houthis group regarding the negotiations, which indicates a split among the Houthis, their various constituents and factions,

³² Interview with Ambassador Khalid Hussein Al-Yamani, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Yemen to the United Nations in New York and a member of the advisory delegation to the negotiations in Kuwait, the interview took place on Monday, May 22, 2017, at five o'clock Doha time.

³³ BBC Arabic. "The Houthis and Saleh party form a political council for the administration of Yemen" BBC News. 28 July 2016, accessed 17 May 2017, look at <https://goo.gl/hJw6Wt>

³⁴ Bercovitch, Jacob, "Problems and Approaches in the Study of Bargaining and Negotiation," *Political Science* 36, no, 2 (1984): 125-144.

especially the issue of the ceasefire, as the Houthis insisted on the ceasefire issue, but only on the Saudi border front not a comprehensive ceasefire in Yemen³⁵. Even after the ceasefire was announced, the Houthis continued to target Ta'izz, and the Coordination and Pacification Commission recorded dozens of violations³⁶³⁷.

One of the most prominent points of disagreement in the negotiations in Kuwait was **the differing priorities between the two delegations**. The priority of the Houthis and Saleh alliance is that the settlement and the political process will be agreed upon first. On the contrary, the legitimate Government considers the importance of that the international resolution must be adhered to and then proceed in the political process⁴⁰. **The lack of confidence between the parties** was a serious impediment that contributed to the failure of the negotiations, including the release of the detainees.

The lack of universal representation in the dialogue is also one of the most important failure causes, as many Yemeni parties were not represented in the negotiations, including representatives of the Islah party, the Nasserite party, representatives of the southern movement, tribal leaders, prominent field commanders and others³⁸.

³⁵ Interview with Ambassador Khalid Hussein Al-Yamani, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Yemen to the United Nations in New York and a member of the advisory delegation to the negotiations in Kuwait, the interview took place on Monday, May 22, 2017, at five o'clock Doha time.

³⁶ The same source

³⁷ Bercovitch, Jacob, "Problems and Approaches in the Study of Bargaining and Negotiation," *Political Science* 36, no. 2 (1984): 125-144.

³⁸ An interview with former Yemeni diplomat, May 15, 2017.

Lessons learned:

The researcher believes that the lessons learned from the negotiations of Yemen in Kuwait contain many lessons that can be a basis for understanding the conflict, and thus can be taken into consideration in any next round of negotiations. Accordingly, we should be fully aware that the extension of solutions and recommendations from their traditional procedural dimension to their broader and comprehensive dimension such as strategic range, would contribute greatly to avoid worsening the crisis and access to stable status, as the procedural and strategic solutions are complements to each other. So, the researcher believes that the road map of the solution in Yemen must include the following:

Firstly: political approach:

A comprehensive intervention strategy should be drawn under international supervision. This strategy is represented by international mediation which is committed to the principle of transparency "giving priority to three political challenges: (1) agreement on the operational command widely accepted and more inclusive government until elections; (2) mechanism for resolving the future status of the South and other regions that seek to further transfer of authority and going away from the central authority; (3) transitional justice and national reconciliation³⁹, and the emphasis on the set up of problem-solving workshops⁴⁰. Along with a series of other negotiations provided that the negotiations would be without preconditions. And that the United Nations will be obliged to move from a

³⁹ "Yemen: Is Peace Possible," Crisis Group, October 24, 2016, accessed May 23, 2017, <https://goo.gl/rzIZnC>.

⁴⁰ Kelman, Herbert C, "The problem-solving workshop in conflict resolution," *Communication in international politics* (1972): 168-204.

culture of "reaction" to "culture of prevention" in the crisis of Yemen, the so-called preventive diplomacy⁴¹. And the pursuit of internal and external reconciliation through which the reconciliation between some Yemeni parties and the Saudi regime will be paved. And finally, the stress on the importance of open high-level immediate consultations on the priority issues, such as easing tensions on the border and the Houthis' relationship with Iran.

Secondly: Absorption of the militants and the provision of legal treatment of prisoners and detainees file:

The contentious points in the Yemen crisis lie in the exit and withdrawal of Houthis militias that were deployed in all security and military institutions and the handing over of heavy and medium weapons to the state, and in particular the Yemeni military brigades that did not participate in the war, abiding by the principle of neutrality (such as the military Brigades present in Hadramout)⁴², the withdrawal from the cities, or form a consensual government run the country and receive weapons. The researcher believes that it must be disarmament of all factions and armed militias in Yemen, including tribes under international supervision, where the spread of weapons contributed significantly to the fragile state, and its inability to be outside the cities. If there is a consensus on this point, there will be real progress. Other more easily file for the solution is to address the issues of prisoners and detainees and missing persons, as this file will contribute to the promotion of

⁴¹ UNDP, 2015, "Prevention and Mediation," United Nation department of Political affairs, accessed 2/4/2017, <http://www.un.org/undpa/en/diplomacy-mediation>.

⁴² Interview with Ambassador Khalid Hussein Al-Yamani, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Yemen to the United Nations in New York and a member of the advisory delegation to the negotiations in Kuwait, the interview took place on Monday, May 22, 2017, at five o'clock Doha time.

confidence-building measures and will be opening for greater prospects for resolving the political crisis⁴³.

Thirdly: transitional justice:

Work on a legal framework for the principle of transitional justice in Yemen. So allowing international national investigation commissions, if necessary, to investigate any allegations of human rights violations and war crimes or crimes against humanity by the conflict parties. Moreover, there should be disclosure to the truth, accountability for violators and procedures for compensation and reparations.

Fourthly: Economic recovery:

Emphasizing the importance of efforts to prevent the collapse of Yemen institutions notably in the economy, poverty widespread, and thus we should focus on the importance of empowering and supporting the local authority⁴⁴ to address the increasing poverty levels due to the continuous war as poverty contributes the deepening crisis indirectly⁴⁵. This is possible through empowering communities with Microloans without interests to revive the economy. As well as opening for foreign investment with international guarantees, after signing a comprehensive peace agreement.

Fifth: community participation:

⁴³ Al-Najjar, Ghanem, 2016, "between Yemen and Marib Dam... Are the negotiations successful?", "Al Wasat newspaper. Viewed on 1 May 3017 from <http://www.alwasatnews.com/news/1109316.html>

⁴⁴ Adam Baron, "While Kuwait peace talks smoulder, Yemen burns," ECFR, 2016, , accessed May 23, 2017, <https://goo.gl/tTT68R>

⁴⁵ Al-Najjar, Ghanem, 2016, "between Yemen and Marib Dam... Are the negotiations successful?", "Al Wasat newspaper. Viewed on 1 May 3017 from <http://www.alwasatnews.com/news/1109316.html>

The importance of involving the Track 2⁴⁶ is to reach a peace agreement and a political settlement between the Yemen parties through a broad dialogue including all groups in society. And there will be participation in power through democratic and transparent mechanism involving all the people, especially if the issue of regions mentioned in the outcome of the national dialogue is adopted. So, It is important to launch parallel processes for dealing with lingering tensions in Yemen such as the inclusion of tribal mediation as the Yemeni society based on that. The tribal mediation can play a role in the exchange of prisoners of war across the country, therefore it should be encouraged and promoted⁴⁷.

Conclusion:

The Yemeni negotiations in Kuwait represented a first phase of negotiating tracks that could contribute to the resolution of the Yemeni crisis with its complexities. Although many writers consider the Yemeni peace talks in Kuwait a failed process, they are an important step in the right direction. The parties to the conflict, as well as the international interventions have contributed to the continuation and complexity of the Yemeni crisis. The absence and low level of trust between the Yemeni Parties has contributed significantly to the obstruction of solutions to the crisis, especially after taking unilateral actions by the Houthis and Saleh. With regard to the role of the UN mediator, the follower of the course of the

⁴⁶ JOB, BRIAN L. 2002. "Track 2 Diplomacy." *Assessing Track 2 Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific Region*:112.

⁴⁷ Adam Baron, "While Kuwait peace talks smoulder, Yemen burns," ECFR, 2016, , accessed May 23, 2017, <https://goo.gl/tTT68R> ⁵¹ Daniel R. DePetris, "Yemen's Peace Talks: A Progress Report," Atlantic Council, 2016, , accessed May 22, 2017, <https://goo.gl/dX1c7g>

negotiations finds that Ould Al-Sheikh Ahmed has managed the negotiation process despite the existence of many gaps and shortcomings. These negotiations have remained alive, and this is not a marginal development, but it has its effective results on the near future⁵¹.

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Interview with Ambassador Khalid Hussein Al-Yamani, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Yemen to the United Nations in New York and a member of the advisory delegation to the negotiations in Kuwait, the interview took place on Monday, May 22, 2017, at five o'clock Doha time.