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ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИЕ СРЕДСТВА И МЕТОДЫ УРЕГУЛИРОВАНИЯ СПОРОВ В ЙЕМЕНЕ

Дипломатия – важнейший аспект принятия политических решений, поскольку она позволяет разрешать конфликты и кризисы между странами, укреплять международные отношения и вносить вклад в разработку внешней политики. Она включает в себя политические переговоры и направлена на преодоление разрыва между точками зрения разных стран с помощью таких методов, как переговоры, посредничество и добрые услуги. Дипломатические усилия особенно ценны при урегулировании политических кризисов и конфликтов, если участники переговоров понимают свою роль и ответственность, которую они несут. Однако в случае с Йеменом дипломатия оказалась неэффективной в разрешении политического конфликта в стране и более масштабного кризиса, прежде всего потому, что йеменские переговорщики не смогли осознать и выполнить свою ответственность перед родиной.

Ключевые слова: дипломатические средства, переговоры, йеменский кризис, международные отношения.

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DIPLOMATIC MEANS AND METHODS OF DISPUTE SETTLEMENT IN YEMEN

Diplomacy is a crucial aspect of political decision-making, as it addresses conflicts and crises between countries, strengthens international relations, and contributes to the formulation of foreign policy. It involves political negotiation and aims to bridge the gap between different countries' viewpoints through methods like negotiation, mediation, and good offices. Diplomatic efforts are especially valuable in managing political crises and conflicts, provided that negotiators understand their role and the responsibility they hold. However, in the case of Yemen, diplomacy has been ineffective in resolving the country's political conflict and the larger crisis, primarily because Yemeni negotiators have failed to comprehend and fulfil their responsibility towards their homeland.

Key words: Diplomatic means, negotiations, Yemen crisis, international relations.

Introduction. Diplomacy is considered a vital tool for countries in regional and international interactions due to the convergence of interests and common problems among international units, as well as the significant development of international relations across political, economic, cultural, technological, and military domains. The evolution of state relations, including their nature, objectives, and means, as well as differences in standards, concepts, and values over time, has significantly influenced countries' foreign policies. This is particularly evident in the use of diplomatic instruments, which play a crucial role in achieving foreign policy objectives.

The development of international relations has demonstrated that external decision-making is a process influenced by both internal and external dynamics. It has become increasingly challenging to distinguish between what pertains to domestic politics and what relates to a state's external practices. Diplomacy is an art of negotiation management and an instrument of foreign policy. It serves as a means of communication and interaction at local, regional, and international levels. Diplomacy has been effective in resolving problems and disagreements between countries, balancing conflicting interests, and achieving different objectives in regional and international interactions.

The emergence of international organisations has led to improved understanding and the use of diplomacy in managing relations between countries. This means that countries are now working towards resolving disputes through diplomatic means, whether they are legal, political or military in nature. Diplomacy played an important role in dealing with and resolving conflicts. If there had been no diplomacy, the logic of brute force would have prevailed in imposing the will of strong countries on weak countries.

In this context, diplomacy is a standard for measuring the success or failure of any country's foreign policy. Yemeni foreign policy faces a major challenge in the Yemeni state's ability to employ diplomatic means to achieve its goals and interests. It is important to prioritize the awareness of the Yemeni political decision-maker. To achieve balance in relations with countries, both regionally and internationally, it is important to promote cooperation and consensus based on commonalities. Disharmony and tension should be avoided within the framework of international relations in order to obtain strategic gains or acceptable solutions to disputed issues.

This study will discuss diplomacy, its means, and its role in resolving the ongoing conflict in Yemen, as follows:

Settle the conflict in Yemen through negotiations. The Yemen war followed a series of events that shaped the stage for the conflict. These events included negotiations between Yemeni parties within the country, the 'legitimacy' in Riyadh, and 'Ansar Allah' in Sanaa. Despite facing numerous obstacles, these negotiations continued through several rounds. From Geneva 1 to Geneva 2, and including Kuwait and the Sultanate of Oman, the latest of which is Sweden's consultations, this study covers the dramatic developments on the military and political levels since the beginning of the war up until now.

This text discusses the role of diplomatic negotiations in ending the war in Yemen and resolving associated conflicts. The focus is on relieving the current human suffering in Yemen [1].

The negotiating stations between the two parties involved in the war will be examined as follows:

In June 2015, the Geneva talks on Yemen began, following an announcement by United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in May of the same year. The conference aimed to resolve the conflict over power in Yemen and the ongoing war by bringing together President Hadi's delegation and another delegation representing the Sana'a rescue government. The Sanaa party refused to engage in dialogue with President Hadi's government and instead called for direct dialogue with Saudi Arabia. This is because the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is leading the military operations and its allies.

Meanwhile, the Yemeni government in Riyadh refused to participate in the talks scheduled for May 28. They declared their adherence to the necessity of implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 2216 and demanded negotiations be held under the umbrella of the Gulf Initiative and the outcomes of the Yemeni national dialogue. Regarding the Sana'a party, they demanded that the war against them be stopped as a condition for entering negotiations in Geneva. As a result, the date of the negotiations was postponed to June 14th and then to June 16th. Both parties attended the conference in Geneva, where the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, opened the talks on Monday, June 16th, calling for a ceasefire for humanitarian reasons.

Naturally, every negotiation has a goal that each negotiating team seeks to achieve based on its political agenda. In this negotiation, the goal was specifically to discuss

the acceptance of Resolution 2216. The Hadi government in Riyadh stipulated that one party declare Sana'a specifically approved the prior official approval of the resolution. However, Sana'a rejected this demand without hesitation. The Riyadh delegation remained committed to its demand for the necessity of implementing Resolution 2216. On June 19, Yemen's Foreign Minister, Khaled Al-Yamani, announced that the negotiations had ended without reaching an agreement. One week later, the Geneva 1 negotiations also failed.

During their meeting in Muscat, the Sana'a delegation discussed Resolution 2216 with Ismail Ould Sheikh, the Secretary-General's envoy to Yemen at the time. Sheikh suggested that the war would end if the delegation signed a paper accepting the resolution. However, the delegation responded by questioning how they could approve 2216 without a solution to Yemen's suffering from the scourge of this war.

It is worth noting that the Sana'a delegation stopped in Muscat, Oman on August 8, 2015, on their way back to Sana'a. During their visit, they met with Ismail Ould Sheikh who requested that the delegation demand a ceasefire. After extensive discussions, the Seven Points Initiative was agreed upon. The first clause of the initiative emphasised the importance of adhering to Security Council resolutions, which included the following points [4]:

- The withdrawal of the Houthis and forces loyal to former President Ali Abdullah Saleh from all Yemeni cities, and the return of military equipment and ammunition confiscated from the Yemeni army;
- The return of President Hadi and the government of Khaled Bahah to Sana'a to carry out their duties and work;
- Early parliamentary and presidential elections;
- A peace agreement signed by all Yemeni parties;
- Transforming the «Ansar Allah» group into a political party;
- An international aid conference was held in the presence of donor countries;
- Yemen joining the Gulf Cooperation Council.

However, the Saudi coalition rejected the initiative. They informed the Sana'a delegation of the rejection through the approval of the European Union ambassador and an official delegation from Muscat. The coalition's condition was that a signed statement be issued regarding the initiative. The Sana'a delegation agreed to the condition. On 3 October 2015, the Sana'a delegation sent an official letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Security Council, and the ambassadors of 18 countries, stating their approval of Security Council Resolution 2216 and their readiness for dialogue.

The Sultanate of Oman's initiative was based on two points. Firstly, to persuade both parties to the conflict to establish a 'humanitarian truce', followed by negotiations for a 'permanent ceasefire'. Secondly, Muscat would host the rounds of negotiations with international, European and American participation and international guarantees.

In December 2015, the United Nations announced the opening of the second Yemeni negotiating station in the Swiss canton of Biel following a truce. The negotiating

delegations, including the American ambassador and the ambassadors of Saudi Arabia and the UAE, met there for a week. This was interspersed with several situations and events, the most prominent and most important of which are [5]:

1. The coalition forces, on the second day of negotiations, carried out a large-scale ground march on the Al-Jouf desert, despite the imposed truce, which led to the fall of many positions by those forces, and the Hadi delegation considered that the progress in their favor in Al-Jouf was not known to them;
2. The delegation led by Hadi declined to exchange prisoners unless the process of handing them over was unilateral.

In December, the American ambassador declined to renew the presence of the negotiating delegations, despite the Swiss authorities confirming that renewing their presence was in the interest of the Yemenis. Although the Sana'a delegation, the Hadi delegation, and the United Nations agreed to continue the negotiations, the American ambassador refused to do so, citing the New Year's holidays as an excuse.

On April 18, 2016, negotiations took place in Kuwait following the understandings reached with Saudi Arabia. The Salvation Government insisted that Saudi Arabia fulfil the pledges agreed upon in Dhahran al-Janoub. The negotiations started on time on April 18, 2016, but the actual sessions were postponed to the 21st of the same month. This was due to the Sana'a delegation's refusal to hold the first negotiating session before the air strikes stopped, and the Saudi-led coalition countries' refusal to stop the air strikes.

After four days, the raids ceased for only one week. Afterward, the coalition resumed the raids and military operations. The purpose of these negotiations was to find a peaceful solution instead of continuing the war and destroying Yemen under flimsy and illegitimate justifications. However, these negotiations encountered deep-rooted differences between the Yemeni political parties. During the Kuwait negotiations, the heads of delegations discussed the formation of a consensual government, as well as the creation of security, military, and field committees. The discussions centred on the mechanism of action for the consensual government if the parties reached a unified vision, the drafting of the constitution, and the institution of the Presidency. The United Nations (UN) envoy proposed several topics for negotiation and decision-making by the parties involved. These include military assurances, the military committee, political assurances, consensual authority, local assurances, and international assurances [2].

The differing visions of the negotiating parties on how to manage the main files on the negotiating table resulted in a state of faltering and push and pull. The Sana'a delegation made allegations regarding the withdrawal of the Riyadh delegation from the negotiations due to raising the issue of political guarantees, which include the executive authority in accordance with UN Resolution (2216), the outcomes of the national dialogue, and the peace and company agreement, with the Riyadh delegation emphasizing the necessity of guarantees for implementing tasks and powers for the long transitional period, including economic conditions.

During the initial round of negotiations, there was no significant or measurable progress made towards resolving the situation in Yemen. Negotiations were suspended at the end of June and resumed in mid-July 2016. At that time, the Yemeni government in Riyadh announced that it would not participate in the second round of Kuwait negotiations on the specified date. The government stated that it would not participate until the United Nations fulfils its obligations through written guarantees from the other party. The government adheres to the determinants and references for the political solution, which are represented by the Gulf Initiative and its implementation mechanisms, the outcomes of the national dialogue, and international resolution (2216).

On September 6, 2018, the United Nations sponsored a new round of consultations in Geneva to resolve the crisis in Yemen, after negotiations had stopped for two years. However, the national delegation Sana'a delegation was unable to attend the scheduled consultation session as Riyadh refused to grant permission for the Omani plane to transport them the Sana'a delegation' to participate in the Geneva negotiations, as confirmed by the current UN envoy Martin Griffiths in a press conference. The UN was unable to secure the delegation's departure due to logistical circumstances, despite their eagerness to participate.

The Sanaa delegation used the ban to insist that travel on an Omani plane to transport their wounded from the field command, who were injured during the war, to Muscat for treatment. However, the coalition forces refused to provide an Omani plane to transport the Yemeni delegation from Sanaa to Oman from there, they would travel to Geneva. The United Nations sponsored indirect consultations between the two groups were scheduled to focus on the issue of prisoners and abductees. The aim was to reach an agreement to release them, while also addressing humanitarian concerns and removing obstacles to the arrival of aid. The discussions also covered employee salaries, as well as the port of Hodeidah.

On December 13, 2018, consultations were held in Sweden after all previous efforts by Griffiths to hold peace negotiations failed in September in Geneva. The Houthis refused to leave Sana'a due to the absence of guarantees to return to it and because of the issue of evacuating the wounded and injured Houthis to the Sultanate of Oman. Confidence-building talks were arranged and held at the conference center in Johannesburg Castle, located sixty kilometers north of Stockholm. The duration of the talks was not specified. Analysts and United Nations sources did not specify any ambitious goals for these indirect talks. The goal of the talks, as stated by their organizers, was to build confidence between the two parties. Before the start of the consultations, the two parties had agreed to exchange prisoners. In Sweden, a time frame and details are being set to implement the agreement, which will allow the reunification of thousands of Yemenis and their families [6].

During the negotiations, the Sanaa delegation demanded the reopening of Sanaa International Airport, which was damaged by Saudi Arabia and its allies' raids three years ago. Meanwhile, the Riyadh delegation demanded mine maps. Both parties called for a ceasefire, with each side stipulating that the other initiate it and open humanitarian corridors. A diplomatic source in the UN Security Council expressed little

hope that these talks would lead to tangible progress. By the end of the consultations in Sweden, the situation had become clearer: of the six files on the agenda of the week-long discussions, three main files remained: the release of prisoners, the cessation of fighting in the city of Hodeidah, the refusal to hand over the Central Bank, the siege of the city of Taiz, the delivery of humanitarian aid to the victims and the opening of... Sana'a airport is closed. Four dossiers were agreed, the rest (Sana'a airport, economic dossier including the Central Bank dossier) were postponed to the next round. The text of the agreement was as follows [3]:

- The agreement includes the city of Hodeidah and its ports, Salif and Ras Issa;
- Additionally, an executive mechanism will be established to activate the prisoner exchange agreement;
- Understandings regarding Taiz have also been announced;
- Finally, there is a commitment to continue consultations unconditionally within the month of January 2019 in a location to be agreed upon later. The two delegations have committed to fully implementing the provisions of this agreement and working to remove any obstacles that may prevent its implementation. They have also committed to refraining from any actions or decisions that could undermine the chances of full implementation.

United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres has described the recent peace talks held in Sweden between conflicting parties in Yemen as a significant step forward, emphasizing that an agreement was reached regarding the withdrawal of opposing forces from Hodeidah and a ceasefire. Guterres highlighted that this agreement will result in improved living conditions for millions of Yemenis, as it will facilitate the delivery of food and services. The United Nations will take on the role of a «port monitor» while local forces oversee the city. Another achievement of the talks is an agreement to reduce tensions in Taiz city and establish humanitarian corridors for aid delivery, with the UN playing a role in this process. Additionally, a prisoner exchange agreement was reached, which will lead to the reunion of numerous individuals with their families.

Saudi Arabia's official position on the results of the talks was voiced by the kingdom's ambassador to Yemen, Muhammad al-Jaber, noting that the agreements reached in Sweden aimed at resolving the humanitarian situation through the withdrawal of troops from the city and port of Hodeidah, as well as Taiz, and the release of thousands of detainees and prisoners, stressing that the next round of talks will be held in January 2019.

Conclusion. Diplomacy has played an effective role in managing international relations. The more successful diplomacy has been in managing international relations, the more those relations have been on the right track. This has been proven in some of the disputes and conflicts of which we have given examples. Diplomacy has not been successful as a tool for conducting diplomatic work, and those who have been in charge of this tool have often not felt the magnitude of the responsibility that has been placed on their shoulders and that they have a contribution to make in getting their countries out of these crises and ending these conflicts and wars.

Political differences among Yemeni negotiators led to the failure of negotiations as an instrument of diplomacy to resolve the Yemeni crisis and end the war and conflict in Yemen. The scale of the political dispute, which took primarily an ideological dimension, led to a widening gap between the Sana'a delegation and the Riyadh delegation.

Moreover, these differences within one delegation played a clear and obvious role in the lack of unity among the components of the Sana'a negotiating delegation in their negotiating positions or negotiating programmes. Both Ansar Allah and the General People's Congress have their own local, regional and international programmes that determine their negotiating positions in the talks, and these were generated by them. Those differences arose because the Yemeni negotiators, whether they represented the Sana'a side or the Riyadh side, did not reach compromise solutions that would have spared the Yemeni people from suffering. The study proved that diplomatic work, which is an instrument of diplomacy in its various forms, has played a clear and prominent role in resolving some disputes and disputes between countries or even political crises and disputes to avoid entering into numerous conflicts. wars because of those disputes, crises or disputes. Based on the differences discussed in the study between the two negotiating delegations, the Sana'a delegation, and the Riyadh delegation, as the Yemeni negotiators were unable to reach a solution to the Yemeni crisis. Due to their political differences, and their multiple political agendas, the differences of which affected the course of the negotiations, and thus the failure of diplomatic work; Because the negotiators on both sides do not feel their responsibility, which is that they are negotiating for the sake of a homeland, and not for political parties, groups, or forces, whatever their political justifications.

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