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# The Relationship between South Yemen and the GCC States

Analytical Reading of the Realistic Tracks and the Future Prospects

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## Firstly: entries and goals of the study:

- **Summary:**

This study is an analytic approach which justifies the relationship between South Yemen and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). It makes a review for the development features of this relationship from the early beginning until now, and extrapolates its fate in light of the current transformations in the political scene along with the circumstances of the 7-year Yemeni War, the intervention of some Gulf states as part of the Saudi-led Arab Coalition, and the emergence of the Southern Transitional Council (STC) as a political and military power in South Yemen, and as an equivalent party in this war amid the convergence of interests with the Arab Coalition against the Iranian intervention in the region.

The study concluded with a number of recommendations which call for boosting the relationship with the neighbouring states to create a regional balance that absorbs the current situation requirements regarding the regional conflicts and the global network of interests. This is important in making a political parallelism as well as a power balance and restoring the two states in Yemen in the wake of its institutional collapse. There should be integration with the neighbouring Gulf States in anticipation of any possible vacuum due to the American withdrawal from the region, and which could be filled with other countries in a way that affects the future safety and the regional stability.

- **Introduction**

South Yemen is considered the southwestern gate of the six GCC states. Through this gate, the old migrants had moved from South Arabia to the middle and the tips of the Arabian Peninsula. The communication between South and the GCC'S areas has been extended through history as South represents a historical extension to these states which constitute, in addition to Yemen (North and South), the so-called "Arabia Peninsula. South Yemen enjoys an important strategic position in the Arabian Peninsula, and shares long borders with the KSA and Oman. It also overlooks Bab Al- Mandab Strait which is one of the most important

maritime routes to transport oil from the neighbouring Gulf States to the European and North American markets. For South Yemen, this constituted a source of influence to enhance the importance of its international position.<sup>1</sup>

Over the last historical stages, the relationships between South Yemen and the Gulf states have gone through periods of harmony and tension according to the emergent political transformations at the regional and the international levels, and the nature of the political system in South Yemen and the GCC countries. Through its long history, this relationship has witnessed different phases with prevailing harmony and cooperation sometimes while tension and quarrel dominated in other times.

South Yemen and the neighbouring Gulf states constitute an integrated geographical unit in which the immigration and trade have been historically active as the Southerners immigrated to the Gulf States. The waves of immigration are still going on especially with the emergence of the oil wealth in these countries.

- **The objectives of the study**

This study aims at achieving the following points:

- 1- Revealing the factors of the cultural and historical connection between South Yemen and the neighboring Gulf states.
- 2- Explaining the course of the previous political relations between the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (formerly) and the Gulf states.
- 3- Extrapolating the future relationships between South Yemen and the GCC states in light of the international transformations and the ongoing Yemeni War and its consequences.

## **Secondly: the historical relationships between South Yemen and the neighbouring Gulf states**

No doubt that the old South Arabian Peninsula i.e., South Arabia (South Yemen) had close ties with its neighbours in the entire Arabian Peninsula, especially during the kingdoms of Hadhramaut and Ma'in. The Minaean

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<sup>1</sup> Dima Al-Khadra'a, "The Theories of the International Relationships. Specialization and Variety", Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, first edition, Doha. 2016.

people had great interests in the caravan trade, and accordingly, they were agents of the Hadhramaut kingdom (the producer of incense and its derivatives). In the 3rd century B.C, the Minaean people and the Hadhramis were able to move their trade to several areas in the Arabian Peninsula, and established commercial stations there in the north and the west of the peninsula. Their relationships and ties extended beyond the KSA to Qatar, the UAE and Oman (Magan, Umm Al Nar and others)<sup>2</sup> in North of Arabian Peninsula, they reached Al-Ula in the west of the KSA, as well as Dadan, Lahyan, Qaryat Al Faw, and the first capital of Kindah, in addition to Mada'in Salih and Tayma in the north of Arabian Peninsula along with Dumah Al Jandal in the northwest of Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the relationship and ties between South Arabia and those areas which are known now as Saudi Arabia and the Arabian Gulf are deeply old and there are several archaeological and inscriptional evidences which confirm this.<sup>3</sup>

The commercial historical communication has its effect on the civilized relationships between South Arabia states, especially what is known now as "South Yemen", and the Arab countries in the north, the middle and the west of Arabian Peninsula (Saudi Arabia and the Arabian Gulf states) noting that these relations were not limited to the commercial side, but led to active civilized and cultural interactions. Thus, the Arabian Peninsula knew the stability and civilization as shown in its major political formations in the ancient Arabian Peninsula consisting of six kingdoms (Awsan, Mai'n, Qataban, Hadhramaut, Sheba (Saba') and Himyar. Along with these kingdoms, many civilized locations had emerged in north, middle and west of the Arabian Peninsula such as Dadan and Lihyan in Al - Ula, Thamud in Mada'in Salih, Nabatea in Petra and around it, Kendah kingdom, Tayma and others. These kingdoms and civilized districts shared close interrelationships.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Asmahan Said Al-Jarw. "Studies in the Cultural History of ancient Yemen", Dar al Kitab al Hadith, Cairo 2003, Page 85-86 and Saeed Bin Fayeze Alsaeed, the Civilized Relationships between the Arabian Peninsula and Egypt in Light of the ancient Arabic Inscriptions", Riyadh 2003, p.7-8.

<sup>3</sup> Abdulrahman Al-Ansari, "Features from the Ancient Peninsula History through the Archaeological Discoveries" Cairo, 2001 p.1-17.

<sup>4</sup> Fathy Abdulaziz Al-Haddad, "The Arab Civilized Ties in the Old Ages", General Egyptian Book Organization, Cairo 2014, and Mohammed Bin Hawy Bawzeer, Booklets about the History and the Heritage of Hadhramaut", Dar Al- Wefaq, Aden, 2014, p. (105-106).

All of the above confirm the openness of the Arabian Peninsula residents to each other, and their civilized connection with the neighbouring nations and peoples of the Ancient East. This civilized communication impacted the intellectual and civilized understandings: (influence and impact). These relationships and ties continued among the states and the kingdoms of the Arabian Peninsula (south-north-middle-west) in the age of the Islamic domination. The trade of the Southerners, through the southern ports such as (Al-Mukalla-Al-Shihr-Qena) has reached many areas in the world including the Arabian Gulf. This communication continued till recent ages as shown in the several mutual immigration waves between the two parties in the Islamic and Modern Ages.<sup>5</sup>

### **Thirdly: the path of the relationship between South Yemen and the neighbouring Gulf nations**

The determinants of the relationship between the Republic of South Yemen and the neighbouring GCC states remained controlled by the political factors, as being the main driver for the interaction nature. During the middle of the last century, the modern Southern Republic emerged in what was known as “South Arabia”, which was under British colonialism since the 1830s. In 1963, the revolution erupted in South against the colonial British existence and made a victory in 1967 when it drove the British colonialism out of South, and declared the national independence and established the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen<sup>6</sup> which came in conjunction with the Arab revolutions led by the Arabian liberation movements at that time.

The modern Southern state adopted a republic system, taking the Socialist Theory as an ideology for the nation and the ruling party.<sup>7</sup> This system is opposite to the royal regimes in the neighbouring Gulf States. The modern Southern state engaged in friendly and cooperative ties with the Socialist

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<sup>5</sup> Mohammed Bin Hawy Bawzeer, “The Commercial Ties between Hadhramaut and India, The Faculty of Education Magazine, Volume 14, Issue No. 2, University of Aden Printery, July 2016, p. (327-355).

<sup>6</sup> After the independence, it was agreed upon naming the new republic as People's Republic of South Yemen before changing it two years later to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

<sup>7</sup> Ali Al-Sarraf, “The Southern Yemen... the Political Life from Colonization to the Unity (London-Cyprus: Riyad Al Rayes for Books and Publishing, 1992).

system, top of which was the Soviet Union. The Gulf States worried about the dangers of this tendency in the region, especially the oil-rich Saudi Kingdom which has the strictest royal regime. The KSA and Oman (the neighbouring states to South) looked at the new republic regime in South as a source of danger which threatens their national security, especially after the regime in Aden supported the national liberation movements in the Arabian region, in Palestine, Oman as well as some other movements. This deepened the fears and concerns of the Gulf states, making a negative impact on the relationship between South and those countries. This created direct foes of South, top of which were Saudi Arabia, Oman and the Yemen Arab Republic. The Southern state was besieged by some neighbouring nations instead of containing it and helping it with the badly-needed economic aid.

The nature of the relationships between the modern Southern state and the neighbouring GCC nations has varied from one country to another. Kuwait and the UAE attempted to build cooperative ties with the Southern regime, and support it economically with loans and aids. On the other hand, a kind of tension and rivalry dominated the South's relationship with Saudi Arabia and Oman with which it shares borders.

This paper will focus on the path of South Yemen relationships with some neighbouring states (such as Kuwait and the UA which engaged in cooperative ties with the former Southern states) and also with the countries which share wide land borders with South (such as the KSA and Oman).

- **The relationship of the former Southern State with Kuwait**

South Yemen engaged in old historical relationships with Kuwait, as much historical evidence referred to the ties which have been embodied through the old immigration coming from the Southern areas, especially Hadhramaut and Al-Mahrah due to their spatial proximity from Kuwait, or through the Maritimes Southern seaports. This relationship continued after the independence of South and the establishment of the modern state in 1967. Kuwait was probably the first state which established political and economic ties with the modern Southern state along with the UAE, as both of them provided it with economic aid, and financial loans to support the development projects in South. The first agreement between the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the

Kuwaiti government was signed in August 1974 including cooperation in the cultural and scientific fields. Kuwait contributed in building a number of schools and hospitals in South, as well as providing it with million tons of oil annually to be refined in the Aden Refinery to operate it, in addition to the soft loans delivered by the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development to finance the development projects. From 1971 till 1989, Kuwait provided South Yemen with 13 loans, with a total of 42.329.973 Dinar.

The Southern immigrants in Kuwait enjoyed special treatment from the Kuwaiti state by providing them with some privileges which are not available for their counterparts in other Gulf nations, such as allowing the immigrants' sons to study in the Kuwaiti schools and universities, and deliver limited grants to the Southern community in the Kuwait University. Moreover, Kuwait hosted a number of Southern sport clubs, which enjoyed the respect and support of the Kuwaiti authorities. Unlike other immigrants, Kuwait allowed the Southern immigrants to work in banks and the financial institutions.

The relationship was not limited to economical and cultural cooperation but extended to the political field. Kuwait contributed in solving the disputes between the Southern state and Oman, emanating from the first's support of the popular front opposing the Sultanate's regime. Therefore, the relationships between the Southern state and Oman witnessed a state of tension until 1982 when Kuwait and the UAE played a mediatory role between the two sides, which led to the signing of the "Reconciliation Agreement" in Kuwait on Nov, 16<sup>th</sup> 1982.

In the 1979 War between the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and The Yemen Arab Republic, the Southern forces reached the depth of the Northern territories.

The Arab Foreign Ministers Conference, held in Kuwait at that time, called for the withdrawal of the Southern forces from the Northern territories. The conference decided to boycott the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, but Kuwait was the only state which had reservations about the resolution.

The Kuwaiti supportive positions towards the regime and the state of South Yemen were not new as Kuwait was the scene in which the Arab

National Movement was active including the Southern leaders who contributed in liberating South from the British colonialism. Donations were collected from the immigrants to be sent to the National Front revolutionaries inside South.

It is noteworthy that during the Second Gulf War, after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the former Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh supported the Iraqi step, while the then Vice President Ali Salem Al-Bidh, who belongs to South, opposed this invasion. In Aden, popular demonstrations protested against the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

- **The relationship between South Yemen and the KSA**

The KSA shares extended borders with South Yemen. This connection facilitated the cultural and historical ties between the two communities over the past historical stages. After the national independence of South in the 1960s and the establishment of the modern state- People's Democratic Republic of Yemen- it adopted the first republic system in the region unlike the royal regime in the KSA. This had a negative impact on the nature of the relationship between the two states, as South Yemen was besieged, and no support had been delivered to the fledgling republic. On the other side, the KSA sought to strengthen the capabilities of the Yemen Arab Republic to hit its neighbour "South Yemen " and to undermine its regime due to fears of its impact on the highly-populated North Yemen, which is adjacent to the Saudi borders. The KSA's strategy aimed at dominating the neighbouring countries, and to subdue them under the Saudi will, as well as impacting the political decisions with all available means and ways, and preventing any foreign powers from building bases in Yemen generally.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, by interfering with the neighbouring countries affairs including Yemen, the KSA attempted to harness them to serve its influence, and to guarantee controlling the political changes lest the establishment of a strong neighbor state with an ambitious project.

The relationship between the Southern state and the KSA witnessed a kind of conflict and repulsion for a long period of time until it improved in the

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<sup>8</sup> Gregory Gause, "Saudi-Yemen Relations... Domestic Structures and Foreign Influences", Madbouly Bookshop, Cairo, 1993, p.78.

late 1970s after the accreditation of the diplomatic representation. This continued until the declaration of the Yemen Unity in 1990.

It is worth mentioning that the relationship between the KSA and the Yemeni State after the Unity fluctuated between tension and harmony according to the political changes in the region. At the beginning, the KSA didn't welcome the establishment of the Yemeni Unity fearing the emergence of a neighbour and unified strong state. The unity declaration coincided with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Yemen supported the then Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, but this was a source of dispute between the Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh and his Vice President Ali Salem Al-Bidh who adopted a different position and met with the Arab and Western diplomats in Sana'a to express his condemnation of the Iraqi invasion, refusing the foreign intervention in the region. Aden witnessed the eruption of popular demonstrations which showed solidarity with Kuwait in the presence of Dr. Ahmed Al-Rubaie, the Head of "the Arab People's Anti-invasion Committee".

The integration Unity, announced on May 22nd 1990 didn't take into consideration the differentiation between the two states nor tried to dissolve these differences over a gradual sufficient period. Therefore, the two parties of the unity engaged in big disputes from its very beginning. This led to the Sanaa's declaration of war which ended by invading South by the Northern party. The Southern leadership announced disengagement from Sana'a.<sup>9</sup> On the backstage of this war, the GCC states (except for Qatar) sought to provide an international Southern cover for South by moving the raging war issue to the UN Security Council. The latter's members said publicly that the Yemeni Unity was a voluntary one and shouldn't be forcefully imposed.<sup>10</sup> The KSA hosted the Southerners who fled to it after the 1994 War causing tension in the relationship between Yemen and Saudi Arabia. The Sana'a regime attempted to pressure the KSA to stop supporting the displaced "Southern Separatists"

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<sup>9</sup> Dr. Fadel Al-Rubaie, "The Failure of the Unity between the two Yemeni Republics", Madar Center for Studies, Aden 2012. P.41

<sup>10</sup> Zaid Yahya Al-Mahbashi, "The Yemeni-Bahraini Relationships in Yemen and the Gulf States" and Abdullah Al-Faqih, "The Yemen's Relationships with the GCC states", [Gulf Center for Development Policies](#).

in the kingdom. Subsequently, the KSA responded after making a border demarcation agreement with Yemen and abolished the Taif Agreement.

- **The relationship between the KSA and South Yemen after the 2015 War**

When the Saudi-led Arab Coalition intervened in the war between the Houthi militias and the forces affiliated with President Abd Rabbuh Mansour Hadi in 2015, based on the UN Security Council Resolution, and at the request of the Yemeni President, the Arab Coalition was away from the Southern issue which emerged in South Yemen in light of the reality imposed by the Sana'a regime after the 1994 War. This reality has inflicted much harm to the Southerners and confiscated their political and economic rights as well as dismissing them forcefully from their military and civil jobs.

During the past period, Sana'a regime and its political forces have sought to arouse suspicion toward the Southern protest movement, claiming that there is cooperation between the Southern Hirak and the Houthis. However, 7 months after the war, and in the wake of clear victories by the Southern resisters against the Houthis and driving them out of the Southern governorates, the Arab Coalition forces managed to reach the liberated areas, especially the city of Aden. The Arab Coalition forces, led by the UAE, took Aden as its base. This made them more close to the Southern political and resistance leaders, and became aware of the invalidity of the former claims which were promoted by the Sana'a regime and the Muslim Brotherhood to harm the Southern Hirak. The Arab Coalition, led by the KSA and the UAE, engaged in relationships with the Southern Resistance and its leaders, and involved alongside them in a war against the Houthi militias.

South Yemen emerged as a real force on ground which agrees with the Coalition to confront the Houthi threats in the region. Over the past seven years, the relationship between South Yemen and each of the KSA and the UAE has been strengthened. Saudi Arabia contributed in treating the disputes inside the forces supporting the Arab Coalition between the STC's forces and the legitimacy forces which led to armed clashes between them in 2018 and 2019 in Aden. The KSA summoned the two parties and signed

a reconciliation deal (the Riyadh Agreement). However, its clauses have not been fully implemented until the time of preparing this study. It seems that the KSA found itself in a critical situation by dealing with two opposing teams (a Northern pro-unity one against a Southern anti-unity one) inside the same anti-Houthi camp. After signing the Riyadh Agreement, the KSA has attempted to use the “Saudi Development and Reconstruction Program for Yemen” to carry out some development projects in South Yemen such as water, roads and schools’ projects.

### **The relationship between South Yemen and Oman**

The relationship between South Yemen and Oman stretches back to extremely old times, as the territories of each state are connected geographically which facilitated the extension and the social communication between them throughout history. The land borders between Oman and South facilitated the movement of tribes and individuals between the two countries. There is much evidence that shows the extension of that interconnection between the tribes in both Oman and the South Yemen, top of which are Al Kathiri, Al Yafa, Al Bakreet, Kendah and other intertwined tribes. The historical sources confirm this relationship through archaeological and inscriptional evidence which show the extent of historical connection and communication between residents of this region. Oman consists of two big blocks (Ghafiriya tribes that have Yemeni origin and the Hinaweyan Tribes descended from the middle of the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>11</sup>

The Omanis were in constant communication with the Southern tribes, especially in the adjacent areas such as Al-Mahrah and Hadhramaut. In spite of the division of the border area between the two states, it seems that the border communities in Al-Mahrah and Dhofar maintained their common ties. The tribes in Al-Mahrah and Dhofar share the same origin and several historical, social and cultural formations. Moreover, the residents there speak a language other than Arabic especially “Mahri” and

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<sup>11</sup> Ibrahim Mohammed Ibrahim Al-Shaddad, “The Internal Conflict in Oman during the 20th Century 1913-1975”, First Edition, Beirut, Awza'i House, 1989.

“Jibbali” which are Semitic languages that are not used by other Yemenis.<sup>12</sup>

The continuous social relationship in the border areas between the Southerners and the Omanis represented a point of convergence, interaction and positive cooperation that protected the security of the two countries from any threats. Far from the impact of the political relations between the two countries, the bonds of cooperation and harmony continued between the neighboring populations of southern Yemen and Oman.

It is noteworthy that the relationship between the southern state and Oman has witnessed a kind of estrangement and quarrel against the backdrop of the South’s supportive position of the “Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman” opposing the Sultanate's regime. Accordingly, the relationship witnessed some kind of tension for many years until 1982, when Kuwait and the UAE played a mediating role between the two sides and established diplomatic relations between them.

- **The relationship between South and the UAE:**

South Yemen has engaged in positive relationships with the UAE since the establishment of the Southern State. The UAE was quick in making diplomatic ties with the Southern Republic of Yemen after the Southern independence from British colonialism in 1967. The UAE, along with Kuwait were more aware of the importance of making a connection between the modern state with its Gulf neighbours providing it with possible aids. The UAE delivered economic aid to South at that time.

It is noteworthy that Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan was the first Gulf president who visited the Southern state in 1976. The UAE provided soft loans to the former Southern state. The mutual relationship maintained its stable and cooperative state. Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan exerted much efforts to reconcile between the former Southern state and some of the regional countries such as the reconciliation between Oman and South as well as between the two Unity parties (Northern and Southern) at a time of intensified crisis between them after the declaration of the Unity in 1990.

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<sup>12</sup> Ahmed Nagy, Carnegie, “Oman's Boiling Yemeni Border” published on the Center’s website, April 2019.

Moreover, after the 1994 War, the UAE hosted the displaced Southerners who had fled to it providing them with means of living and stability.

- **The relationship between the UAE and South after the 2015 War:**

The Emirati role has been influential in the major transformations in the Arab scene in general and the Yemeni one in particular. The most prominent aspect of the Emirati role was its participation in Saudi-led Arab Coalition which intervened in Yemen to restore the “legitimacy of President Hadi” in 2015, especially after the escalation of risks threatening the Gulf security and Iranian expansion in the region as well as its support of the Houthis in Yemen. This stirred the Gulf States’ fears of possible Iranian attacks along with the danger that threatens their security and position.

Meanwhile, the UAE provided generous and direct support to the liberated areas, and carried out several humanitarian, developmental and service projects that contributed in the stability of the Southern governorates and enhancing their security by training military and security forces specialized in combating terrorism.

After liberating it from the grips of the Houthis and their allies late 2015, the security situation in Aden collapsed due to the state of vacuum caused by the breakdown of the military and security formations by the Sana’a regime. This led to the emergence of security glitches and several assassination operations that targeted a number of resisters along with military and political leaders. During such emptiness, the scattering of popular resistance, and its distribution on variant fronts and directions, there was a need to establish the Security Belt Forces to settle the security in Aden and its surroundings. The UAE has contributed in providing support to these new forces.

It can be said that the UAE’S relationship with South Yemen is basically based upon the nature of the strategic interests between the two parties, especially amid indicators of the Houthi continuing control on North. Therefore, securing the maritimes ports, and keeping the vital Bab Al-Mandab Strait opened in front of the global maritimes navigation

movement is the cornerstone in enhancing the relationship between South Yemen and the UAE which moved towards cementing its role in the Red Sea hoping to increase its impact on the political developments in the Yemeni scene to the maximum level.<sup>13</sup>

During the first 4 years of the war, and before announcing its withdrawal in October 2019, the UAE sought to boost its presence into the liberated governorates such as Aden, Al-Mukalla and their surroundings. The Emirati positions matched those of the Southern forces, led by the STC which acts as a political and military frame that controls South.

#### **Fourthly: the prospects of the relationship between South and the GCC states**

In light of the aforementioned, we find ourselves in front of an important question: How can we benefit from the old, middle-aged and modern relationships and connections between South Yemen and the neighbouring Gulf nations, to develop them in a way that serves the mutual benefits in the face of challenges and threats targeting the region in general?

South Yemen constitutes an important strategic dimension for the neighbouring states in the Gulf region in a way that enables it to play its integrating role with its neighbours, especially with the growing Iranian activities to achieve the greedy ambitions of the Tehran regime in the region through threatening the Red Sea and the Bab-Al-Mandab Strait by its Houthi proxies, and to employ this as a pressure tool for imposing its regional hegemony, in addition to its aspirations of engaging Yemen within the Iranian project seeking to import cries to the Arabian Gulf states especially the KSA. The Iranian officials went further by speaking about their willingness to hand over the Khuzestan Province (the occupied Arabistan) which is one of the 31 Iranian provinces, with Ahvas as its center but they are not ready to give up Yemen.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The UAE's War Aims in Yemen](#)

<sup>14</sup> Abdullah Al-Hadlaq, "The Importance of Yemen in the Iranian Safavid Plot", The Arab Struggle Movement for the Liberation of Al-Ahwaz, 2015, Abdullah Saleh Obaid, "The Importance and Role of the Arab Coalition Forces in Overthrowing the Iranian Plot in the Region", a working paper about the role of the Southern Resistance and the Arab Coalition in the face of the war and the Iranian

Those threats created motives for the Gulf States intervention in Yemen, apart from Oman and Qatar which later withdrew from the Arab Coalition. Consequently, the role played by the military Southern formations along with the Arab Coalition in South Yemen made Iran lose the most important point which Iran is keen to include within its political domain, if not also the geographical one.<sup>15</sup>

The Southern Resistance has asserted itself as an equivalent party on the ground led by the STC. This helped in the rapprochement between South Yemen and the Gulf states, especially in light of the victories achieved by the Southerners, backed by the Arab Coalition and the failure of the resistance and the army in North Yemen in spite of the military and political support they have received from the Coalition. The reason behind the failure of resistance and the army in Northern areas may be attributed to the social historical traits of the northern districts based upon the pragmatism and elusiveness which rely on the principle of the Taqiyya that have governed North Yemen for many years, in contrast of the cultural characteristics in South Yemen.

### **Fifthly: conclusion and recommendations:**

1. Looking into the relationship between South Yemen and the neighbouring countries requires the awareness of the dimensions of such a relationship from civilized, religious and political perspectives. Thus, this could show the importance of the Gulf States' position towards the Southern society which is open to life renovation on the one hand while maintaining the Islamic Arabic principles on the other hand. This requires an understanding, from the neighboring states, of the reality of South Yemen and the legitimacy of its political and civilized entitlement to restore the building of its independent and stable state that integrates with the neighboring Gulf states, and not be left to any external influences, as happened with it after the exit of British colonialism.

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interference in the region (Aden triumphs for the Arabs), 2015, publications of the Madar Center for Studies and Research.

<sup>15</sup> Ali Muhammad Al-Sulaimani, a working paper about the role of the Southern Resistance and the Arab Coalition in the face of the war and the Iranian interference in the region (Aden triumphs for the Arabs), 2015, publications of the Madar Center for Studies and Research.

2. Restoring the establishment of the national independent state in South in such an important and vital location would constitute a trend towards the general stability not only in South or Yemen but in the whole region. The existence of a stable system would help to secure the borders of the neighbouring states from the security aspects, as well as creating cooperation spaces in the security and economic fields, in addition to opening investment horizons and attracting tourism.
3. Ignoring the Southerners' demands and sacrifice would have its negative consequences such as the increase of space for hostility and opposition to the Gulf policies towards their issue. The Southern right is based upon historical, civilized and political entitlement to guarantee finding out safe solutions and rebuilding each of the two states in North and South. This leads to paths that would solve the Yemeni-Yemeni crisis on the one hand, and the Southern Yemeni crisis on the other hand with a perspective of achieving the strategic interests for the regional states in general. Just by that, the regional states' policy would accomplish the elements related to the goals for which they entered the war to treat the roots of the Yemeni crisis.
4. We recommend the neighboring Gulf States to reread the developments and the courses produced by the historical relationships track between South and the Gulf states, along with what has been emanating from the current war, its causes, the scene of its operations and its fate. Additionally, there is a need for arranging the relationship priorities toward creating regional balance which absorbs the requirements of the current situation from the regional interest's conflicts on one hand, and the network of the world interests. This includes the importance of making political parallelism and power balance along with restoring the building of the Southern state, as well as a Northern state. Both of them would integrate with the neighbouring Gulf States in the face of any possible future political changes in light of the regional and international conflict in the region.

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