

Name: Houthis

Type of Organization:

- Insurgent
- religious
- social services providerterritory-controlling
- territory-col
 violent

Ideologies and Affiliations:

- Arab nationalist
- jihadist
- Islamist
- Shiite
- Zaidi

Place of Origin:

Saada, Yemen

Year of Origin:

1990s (as the Believing Youth movement); renamed the Houthi rebel movement in 2004

Founder(s):

Hussein Badr al-Din al-Houthi

Places of Operation:

Yemen

Overview

Also Known As:

- Al-Houthis¹
- Al-Shabaab al-Mu'minin²
- Ansarallah³
- Ansar Allah⁴
- Ansarullah⁵
- Ash-Shabab al-Mu'min⁶
- Believing Youth⁷

Executive Summary:

- Believing Youth Forum⁸
- Houthi Movement⁹
- Huthis¹⁰
- Partisans of God¹¹
- Shabaab al-Mumanin¹²
- Supporters of God¹³

The Houthis—officially known as Ansar Allah (Partisans of God)—are an Iranian-backed, Shiite Muslim military and political movement in Yemen.¹⁴ Its members, who subscribe to the minority Zaidi sect of Shiite Islam, advocate regional autonomy for Zaidis in northern Yemen. The group has waged a series of bloody insurgencies against the Yemeni

government since 2004, overthrowing them and seizing power in Sanaa in 2015.¹⁵ In 2016, the group announced the formation of a government.¹⁶

The Houthi movement began as an effort to maintain tribal autonomy in northern Yemen and protest Western influence in the Middle East. Today, the Houthis seek a greater role in the Yemeni government and continue to advocate Zaidi minority



interests.¹⁷

The Houthis have received training and military equipment from Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC). According to the Saudi ambassador to the United States, the "first thing the Houthis did when they entered and occupied Sanaa was to free Iranian Revolutionary Guards operatives and Hezbollah operatives from the jails."¹⁸ The Iranian ship *Jihan I* was seized allegedly en route to Yemen in 2013 with arms meant for the Houthis.¹⁹

The movement is known for its virulently anti-American and anti-Semitic rhetoric, including the group's ubiquitous slogan: "God is great! Death to America! Death to Israel! Curse upon the Jews! Victory to Islam!"²⁰

The Houthis have targeted U.S. citizens, kidnapping four Americans in May 2015 and releasing one in early June.²¹ Several of the group's leaders have been designated as terrorists by the United States.²²

The Houthis' roots trace back to the 1990s, when Houthis founder Hussein Badr al-Din al-Houthi created the al-Shabab al-

Mumanin (Believing Youth) movement in an effort to combine religious revivalism with anti-imperialism.²³ The movement sought to educate local youth about Zaidism's long history in Saada Governorate, northern Yemen. To that end, the al-

Houthi family launched a network of associations, sports clubs, and summer camps.²⁴ The al-Houthis also sought to protect Zaidism from perceived encroachment of Salafism and Wahhabism from Saudi Arabia into northern Yemen, where Zaidism has been dominant for centuries.²⁵

God is great! Death to America! Death to Israel! Curse upon the Jews! Victory to Islam!Houthis slogan

The Houthi movement grew increasingly politically engaged in 2003, in reaction and opposition to Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh's support for the U.S-led war in Iraq.²⁶ Domestically, Hussein Badr al-Din al-Houthi continued to seek autonomy for Saada Governorate from Yemen's Sunni-dominated central government.

After Saleh dispatched troops in a failed attempt to arrest al-Houthi in 2004, the Houthis launched an insurgency against the government. Al-Houthi was killed during clashes with the government in 2004, but the movement has continued in his name, waging a series of intermittent wars against the government, with Saudi forces intervening to support Sanaa in the vears since.²⁷

During these wars, Saleh repeatedly sought to appease the Houthis by issuing amnesties to their prisoners and even pardoning Hussein Badr al-Din al-Houthi in 2005, but al-Houthi rejected the pardon and the periodic fighting continued.²⁸ In 2007, Qatar brokered a brief cease-fire called the Doha Agreement, but the deal failed to satisfy the parties and fighting resumed that year.²⁹ In 2009, with the Saleh government launched the massive Operation Scorched Earth, which sought to crush the insurgency for good, and was backed by financial, political, and military support from the Saudis.³⁰ However, the campaign failed, and intermittent fighting continued.³¹

During the Arab Spring in 2011, mass protests began against the Yemeni government, and Saleh stepped down in 2012 pursuant to an internationally negotiated transition agreement.³² The Houthis participated in a National Dialogue Conference but continued fighting against government forces.³³

The Houthis made significant territorial gains in 2014-2015. In September 2014, the group captured Yemen's capital, Sanaa,³⁴ resulting in the resignation of President Abd Rabbuh Mansour Hadi in January 2015.³⁵ The following month, the Houthis officially announced the dissolution of Hadi's parliament and the institution of their interim government, known as the Supreme Revolutionary Committee (SRC).³⁶

The United Nations began facilitating peace talks between the Houthis and the Yemeni government in October 2015.³⁷



Concurrently, the government of Saudi Arabia held negotiations with the Houthis, beginning in March 2016 and reaching a stalemate in May.³⁸ The peace talks between the Houthis and Yemeni government ended without an agreement in early August 2016, after which President Hadi's forces launched a fresh offensive.³⁹ That month, the SRC handed its authority to the Supreme Political Council (SPC), a government body formed by the July 2016 merger between the Houthis and former

Yemeni president Ali Abdullah Saleh.⁴⁰ The alliance between Saleh and the Houthis ended in December 2017 after Saleh offered to reconcile with Saudi Arabia. Houthi forces assassinated Saleh on December 4, 2017, during violent clashes between the rebels and Saleh's forces.⁴¹

Following a week of U.N.-sponsored peace talks in Sweden, all parties tentatively agreed to an immediate cease-fire in the Red Sea port of Hodeidah on December 13, 2018.⁴² However, few of the conditions agreed upon were implemented by either side. Fighting continued until February 17, 2019, when the Houthis and Yemeni government finally withdrew their forces from the city of Hodeidah.⁴³ While violence has declined in Hodeidah,⁴⁴ it has continued and escalated elsewhere in the country.⁴⁵

Beginning in 2017, the Houthis have also repeatedly attacked Saudi Arabia with missiles and drones, and has ramped up strikes in the spring and summer of 2019.⁴⁶ On August 27, 2019, the U.S. government was reportedly preparing to initiate

negotiations with Iranian-backed Houthi rebels in an effort to bring the four-year civil war in Yemen to an end.⁴⁷ This round of peace negotiations is aimed at convincing Saudi Arabia to take part in secret talks with the rebels in Oman to help broker a cease-fire in the conflict. Oman currently stands at the front line in the regional proxy war between Riyadh and Tehran. The Houthis have previously engaged in peace talks, however both instances—once in 2015 during the Obama administration which sought to broker a cease-fire and the release of Americans held in Yemen, and once just last

December during the United Nations peace talks—did not result in any significant progress.⁴⁸ Saudi Arabia resumed its airstrikes in Yemen in January 2020 after a suspected Houthi ballistic missile strike on a military camp in Yemen killed at

least 116.⁴⁹ On November 16, 2020, a senior official from Saudi Arabia allegedly told the Houthi's chief negotiator, Mohammed Abdulsalam, that Riyadh would sign a U.N.-sponsored ceasefire if the Shiite movement agreed to a buffer zone along the Kingdom's border. In exchange for the buffer zone to prevent incursions and artillery fire, the Kingdom claims it will ease an air and sea blockade.⁵⁰

Doctrine:

Unlike Sunni extremist groups in Yemen, the Houthis adhere to Zaidism, a doctrinally distinct off-shoot of mainstream "Twelver" Shiism.⁵¹While Zaidism ruled Yemen for approximately 900 years beginning in the 9th century, the country has been officially secular since 1962, when a military coup ended the rule of Imam Mohammed Al-Badr.⁵²

The Houthi movement has drawn attention for its anti-American, anti-Semitic slogan, "God is great! Death to America! Death to Israel! Curse upon the Jews! Victory to Islam!"⁵³ While some analysts maintain that the slogan does not reflect the group's objectives, the Houthis have issued threats against Yemen's Jewish community and attempted to force the U.S. ambassador from Yemen to leave.⁵⁴ The Jews living in Saada were threatened by the Houthis in 2007 and forced to relocate to Sanaa, where they were living under government protection as of early 2015.⁵⁵

The Houthis have detained numerous foreign nationals, including at least five Americans. In June 2015, the Houthis

released one American captive.⁵⁶ On September 20, 2015, after the intercession of Oman's government, the Houthis released three more hostages, including U.S. citizen Scott Darden, a logistics employee from Louisiana, and one other American. On November 10, 2015, U.S. officials reported that American contractor John Hamen, who had been detained sometime in October 2015, was dead. The announcement was followed by the release of three other Americans believed to

be working for the United Nations.⁵⁷



Organizational Structure:

The Houthi movement's organizational structure is opaque. The movement began as a grassroots religious organization

aimed at youth,⁵⁸ but over time it has entered politics and developed military capabilities. Following the killing of movement founder Hussein Badr al-Din al-Houthi by Yemeni forces in 2004, the Houthis were led by Hussein's father, spiritual leader Badr al-Din al-Houthi. The movement's current leader is Hussein's younger brother, Abdul-Malik al-Houthi.⁵⁹

The organization revolves around a General Secretary, Fadhl Abu Talib, and has multiple "departments." These departments include the political office—al-maktab al-siyasi—as well as the external relations office, health office, education office, social office, intelligence service, and the "media authority to counter the aggression." However, the

Houthis still have yet to make an organizational chart publicly available.⁶⁰

Since December 2, 2017 after the death of President Saleh, the Houthis have ruled northern Yemen. In Houthi-controlled territories, formal state authorities exist alongside the Houthi supervisory system. Decision-making within the Houthi regime is not in the hands of those who are actors of the state—such as governors or ministers—but rather with Houthi supervisors.⁶¹

Houthi political leadership is organized around four "wings." These wings include the military wing, which is headed by Abdullah al-Hakim; the tribal wing, which includes tribesmen; the ideological wing which is led by Abdulkarim al-Houthi; and the political wing, which is represented by Mahdi al-Mashat, the current president of the Supreme Revolutionary Committee (SPC).⁶²

Financing:

Yemeni officials have long accused Iran's Shiite Islamist regime of providing political, financial, and logistical support to the Houthi rebels and other secessionist movements in Yemen. Despite a 2009 U.N. report confirming such claims, Iran

and the Houthis have historically denied engaging in past cooperation.⁶³ Nevertheless, other reports subsequently confirmed Iranian support, including a Reuters article in December of 2014 confirming financial backing by Tehran. One source stated, "We think there is cash, some of which is channeled via Hezbollah and sacks of cash arriving at the

airport."⁶⁴ Only in 2015 did Iran finally acknowledge providing "direct support" to the Houthis rebels. According one

Houthi official, the group has received tens of millions of dollars from the Iranian regime in recent years.⁶⁵ Experts place the amount of financial support from Iran at between \$10 and \$20 million per year, including at least one alleged payment of \$3.7 million.⁶⁶

In addition to allegedly sending financial support to the Houthis, Iran also reportedly dispatches military personnel and weapons, including missiles, explosives, and small arms.⁶⁷ American intelligence officials have claimed that the Houthis receive considerably less support from Iran than some have alleged.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, on March 28, 2016, the U.S. Navy reportedly intercepted weapons from Iran believed to be headed for Houthi rebels.⁶⁹ Among the weapons intercepted were 1,500 AK-47 rifles, 200 rocket-propelled grenade launchers, and 21 .50-caliber machine guns, according to Reuters.⁷⁰

A 2018 U.N. report accused Iran of supplying missiles and drones to the Houthis.⁷¹ In January 2019, the U.N.'s Panel of Experts on Yemen reported that they had "traced the supply to the Houthis of unmanned aerial vehicles and a mixing machine for rocket fuel and found that individuals and entities of Iranian origin have funded the purchase.⁷² In June 2020, U.N. Secretary-General Antonio Guterres reported to the Security Council that cruise missiles used attacks on Saudi oil facilities and an international airport in Saudi Arabia in November 2019 and February 2020 were of Iranian origin.⁷³

Though Iran has provided military and financial support to the Houthis, Iran had previously neither confirmed nor denied recognition of the Houthi government in Sanaa. In August 2019, the Houthis appointed Ibrahim al-Dulaimi, director-



general of Houthi-run Al Masirah TV station, as ambassador of the Houthi government to Iran.⁷⁴ Iran accepted the appointment and transferred Yemen's official diplomatic residence in Tehran to Dulaimi. Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei has since met with Dulaimi and the Iranian government has recognized the legitimacy of the Houthi

government. In October 2020, Iran appointed its own ambassador, Hassan Eyrlou, to the Houthi government.⁷⁵

Recruitment:

The Houthis' primary area of recruitment is the northern provinces of Yemen, its heartland of ideological support.⁷⁶ In February 2016, al-Arabiya reported that the group had expanded recruitment beyond its traditional political base by inducing "mercenaries" from African countries.⁷⁷

Houthi recruitment efforts inside Yemen have benefitted from the unpopularity of the Yemeni government.⁷⁸ Since the 2011 uprising that removed President Ali Abdullah Saleh from power, the Houthis have increasingly attracted potential recruits

to anti-government public protests in support of the movement.⁷⁹ In the summer of 2014, the group gained noticeable traction when it protested the Yemeni government's decision to cut popular fuel subsidies. Houthi-led protests attracted tens of thousands of supporters, including not only Zaidis but also Sunnis, to Yemen's capital, Sanaa.⁸⁰

Since the 1990s, Houthi recruitment has reached out to its target Zaidi audience through social connections and networking, proselytizing through religious sermons, the dissemination of written materials, audio and videotapes, and online recruitment.⁸¹ The Houthis began paramilitary activities in 2004 and began distributing military training videos electronically and in person where possible.⁸²

The Houthis have also revived local Zaidi rituals, including events where potential recruits can socialize with pro-jihadi Houthi militia men, with the intention of encouraging new recruits to join the veterans.⁸³ A pro-Houthi youth movement called Shabab al-Sumud (Steadfast Youth) has also provided support, including by managing a tent in Maydan Taghayr (Change Square) in 2012 where members of the public could enter and watch pro-Houthi videos.⁸⁴

The group is also active on the Internet, including on YouTube channels where it posts pro-Houthi videos, as well as web forums to promote the Houthi movement.⁸⁵ The Houthis operate the TV channel Al Masirah,⁸⁶ which publishes pro-Houthi videos, including poems and songs.⁸⁷ In 2007, group leader Abdel Malik founded the Al Minbar website,⁸⁸ which published press statements, editorials, speeches, videos, and images to promote its message.⁸⁹ The group has also released statements through website Ansar Allah (Supporters of Allah).⁹⁰ Houthi officials also maintain Twitter accounts disseminating pro-Houthi material. For example, in May 2016, Houthi spokesman Mohammed Abdul Salam posted comments accusing the Yemeni government of lying and time-wasting.⁹¹

Training:

The Houthis have historically trained their fighters in Yemen's mountainous north.⁹² The Quds Force of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) has trained Houthis in Yemen and Iranian military leadership is also believed to be present in Yemen to provide strategic military advice.⁹³ In March 2015, Saudi foreign minister Adel al-Jubair also alleged that Hezbollah operatives were advising the Houthis.⁹⁴ In the same month, Syrian military officials were reportedly present in Yemen assisting the Houthis as well.⁹⁵

In early 2015, U.S. officials reported that the IRGC's training of Houthi rebels covered the use of advanced weapons, which

the Houthis seized from Yemeni military bases.⁹⁶ A January 2020 U.N. report claims that Iran continues to provide the Houthis with advanced weaponry and high-tech components for their ammunition systems. According to the Egyptian Center for Strategic Studies, the IRGC has its own special forces units in Yemen, with some of those units specializing in



missiles and others in drones. There are also units specifically focusing on intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance. The IRGC allegedly has multiple operation rooms throughout Yemen, with one located in Hodeidah and another on the

west coast of Yemen that secures the arrival of military forces and weapons.⁹⁷ Following the October 28, 2020 appointment of Hassan Eyrlou—an IRGC-Quds Force officer—as ambassador of Iran to the Houthi militia, it is likely that the IRGC will move from providing not just logistical support to the Houthis, but will also direct the way in which the Houthis will

manage the Yemeni crisis.⁹⁸

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³ "Houthi Movement (Ansarallah)," Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC), accessed June 9, 2015, http://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/houthi-movement-ansarallah [1].

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¹⁰ "Houthi Movement (Ansarallah)," Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC), accessed June 9, 2015, http://www.trackingterrorism.org/group/houthi-movement-ansarallah [1].

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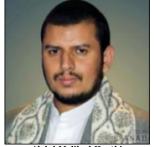
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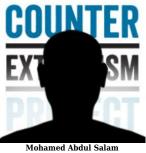
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Key Leaders



Abdul-Malik al-Houthi Spiritual, military, and political leader; brother of founder Hussein Badr-al-Din al-Houthi



Spokesman



Youssef al-Midani Deputy leader; brother-in-law of Abdul-Malik al-Houthi (reported deceased October 2015)



Houthi-appointed governor of Saada between 2011 and December 2014; alleged former arms dealer whose assets were frozen by the U.N. Security Council and the U.S. Treasury Department



Yahia Badr-al-Din al-Houthi Senior leader, former lawmaker, brother of founder Hussein Badr-al-Din and current leader Abdul-Malik al-Houthi



Mohammed al-Bukhaiti Spokesman and member of the Houthi Political Council



Abdul-Karim Badr-al-Din Al-Houthi Senior leader, brother of founder Hussein Badr-al-Din and current leader Abdul-Malik al-Houthi



Mohammed Ali al-Houthi Member of the Supreme Political Council and former president of the Supreme Revolutionary Committee



Yahya Sarea Military spokesman



History:

• December 2020: In early December, the U.S. government weighs designating the Houthis as a terrorist organization. As the U.S. State Department prepares to end \$700 million in aid to Yemen, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo calls the potential designation another step in isolating Iran. U.S. President Donald Trump reportedly wants to designate the Houthis as a terrorist organization before the end of his term the following month. On December 8, the United States levies financial sanctions on Hasan Irlu, whom the government accuses of being Iran's envoy to the Houthis. According to the U.S. government, Irlu is a member of the Quds Force of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps who has provided advanced weapons and training to the Houthis through coordinated support from other Quds Force leaders. Sources: "Treasury Sanctions Iran's Envoy in Yemen and University Facilitating Recruitment for Qods Force," U.S. Department of the Treasury, December 8, 2020, https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm1205 [80]; Maria Maalouf, "Trump determined to designate pro-Iran groups as terrorist," Arab News, December 9, 2020, https://www.arabnews.com/node/1774956 [81]; Missy Ryan and John Hudson, "Ahead of Yemen move, U.N. highlights humanitarian risk, and officials prepare to suspend aid," Washington Post, December 2, 2020. December 2, 2020,

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- November 15, 2020: The Houthis claim they will release 301 prisoners, including Nasser Mansour Hadi, who is Yemeni President Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi's brother. Abdul Qader al-Murtaza, the head of Houthi Captive Affairs, also releases a statement urging the Riyadh administration to participate in negotiations for the release of Saudi Arabian prisoners held by Houthis. Source: Muhammed es-Samii, "Yemen: Houthis to release 301 prisoners," Anadolu Agency, November 15, 2020, <u>https://www.aa.com.tr/en/politics/yemen-houthis-to-release-301-prisoners/2044123</u> [83].
- October 28, 2020: The Houthis accuse the Saudi-led Arab coalition of assassinating Hassan Zaid, the Houthi administration's Minister of Youth and Sports. According to the Houthis, the minister was shot and killed in Sanaa. Zaid is reportedly the first prominent Houthi government official to be assassinated since the group was formed in 2016. Source: "Yemen: Houthis accuse Saudi-led coalition of assassinating minister," Middle East Monitor, October 28, 2020, https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20201028-yemen-houthis-accuse-saudi-led-coalition-of-assassinating-minister, [84]
- October 27, 2020: The Houthis announce that they seek to strengthen ties with Iran following a visit from Hassan Eyrlo, Tehran's new representative to the Yemeni area under Houthi control and an alleged member of Iran's IRGC. The move to increase bilateral ties is allegedly a part of Tehran's approach to support proxy forces against Iran's rivals. Source: "Houthis vow to bolster Iran ties as Tehran's new Hezbollah-linked 'ambassador' makes appearance," Arab News, October 27, 2020, east [85]
- October 14, 2020: Houthi militants free two American hostages—humanitarian worker Sandra Loli and Mikael Gidada, a U.S. businessman—after holding them for more than 16 months. Their release is part of a U.S.-backed trade that would return over 200 Houthi loyalists who were being held in Oman to Yemen. The Houthis will also return the remains of Bilal Fateen, a third American who was held by the militant group. Along with the return of the hostages, the deal includes the delivery of medical aid for Yemen. Source: Dion Nissenbaum, "Two Americans Held Hostage by Iran-Backed Forces in Yemen Freed in Trade," *Wall Street Journal*, October 14, 2020, but he house found in the trade includes the delivery of the host of t .com/articles/two-americans-held-hostage-by-iran-backed-forces-in-yemen-freed-in-trade-11602687328 [86].
- September 27, 2020: At the conclusion of a 10-day U.N.-mediated talk in Switzerland, Yemen's government and Houthi representatives agree to immediately release a total of 1,081 conflict-related detainees and prisoners. The Houthis are expected to release around 400 government prisoners, while the Yemeni government will release 681 Houthi fighters. The prisoner release is the largest between the warring groups since they previously agreed to swap more than 15,000 prisoners and detainees in 2018. Sources: Lisa Schlein, "Yemen's Warring Parties Agree on Prisoner Exchange," Voice of America, September 27, 2020, https://www.voanews.com/middle-east/gemens-warring-parties-agree-prisoner-exchange [87]; Samir Salama, "Yemeni prisoner swap deal between the warring for the same statement of 'positive': Arab coalition," Gulf News, September 28, 2020, er-swap-deal-positive-arab-coalition-1.74177116 [88].
- April 9, 2020 April 14, 2020: The Saudi-led coalition backing Yemen's government announces a two-week unilateral ceasefire to commence on April 9.

The Houthis reject the proposal despite having submitted a comprehensive peace proposal to the United Nations the same day. On April 13, the coalition accuses the Houthi rebels of significantly violating the conditions of the truce. According to a statement released by the coalition, the Houthis breached the truce more than 241 times, carrying out attacks that included ballistic missiles with light and heavy weaponry. The truce was scheduled to last two weeks to help the Yemeni government tackle the repercussions of the coronavirus pandemic. Despite the on-going violence, it was reported that on April 14, Saudi Arabia resumed indirect talks with the Houthis in an effort to reach a bilateral ceasefire. Sources: Mina Aldroubi, "Government says rebels are 'not serious' about ending the war," National, April 13, 2020, https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/yemen-s-houthi-rebels-violate-ceasefire-241-times-in-two-days-saudi-"Yemen and coronavirus: Saudi-led coalition announces two-week ceasefire," Middle East Eye, April 8, 2020, coalition-says-1.1005480 [89].; https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/coronavirus-saudi-arabia-ceasefire-yemen-un-peace-agreement-covid19 [90].; Aziz El Yaakoubi and Lisa Barrington, "Saudi Arabia resumes talks with Yemen's Houthis as truce falters," Reuters, April 14, 2020, https://www.reuters.com/article/yemen-security/saudi-arabia-resumes-talks-with-yemens-houthis-as-truce-falters-idUSL5N2C21B9 [91].; Aziz El Yaakoubi and Stephen Kalin, "Saudi-led coalition announces ceasefire in five-year Yemen war," Reuters, April 8, 2020, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-saudi/saudi-led-coalition-to-announce-yemen-ceasefire-at-midnight-so R [92].; Ben Hubbard, "Yemen Cease-Fire Is, at Best, First Step on Long Road to Peace," *New York Times*, April 9, 2020, ources-idUSKCN2102W 0/04/09/world/middleeast/saudi houthi-yemen-ceasefire-questions.html [93] ttps://www.nvtimes.com/2

- March 14, 2020: Houthi militants storm the headquarters of the Nasserist Unionist People's Organization in Sanaa and impose new taxes on the city's residents under the guise of support the war effort. According to the militants, residents opposed to the taxes will be deprived of gas bottles and other humanitarian aid allocated by international organizations. Source: "Houthis Storm 'Nasserist's Headquarters' in New Crime Against Yemenis," Al-Awsat, March 15, 2020, https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/2181041/houthis-storm-nasserists-headquarters-new-crime-against-yemenis [94].
- January 20, 2020: According to a report published by the United Nations, Houthi and ISIS militants have begun to engage in limited cooperation against AQAP in central Yemen.

In a short-term alliance, Houthi forces have provided ISIS fighters with access to its military camps as a way to repel their shared adversary.



Source: "Twenty-fifth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team submitted pursuant to resolution 2368 (2017) concerning ISIL (Da'esh), Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities," United Nations Security Council, January 20, 2020, https://undocs.org/S/2020/53 [95].

- January 2020: Talks between the Houthis and Saudi Arabia stall after a January 18 ballistic missile strike on the al-Estiqual military camp in Marib kills at least 116 people. Saudi Arabia resumes airstrikes in Yemen. Source: "Saudi-Led Coalition Resumes Airstrikes Near Yemeni Capital," Associated Press, January 21, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2020/01/21/world/middleeast/ap-ml-yemen.html [47].
- September 2019:On September 16, Houthi rebels threaten to launch more attacks on Saudi Arabia's oil infrastructure

September 2019:On September 16, Houthi rebels threaten to launch more attacks on Saudi Arabia's oil infrastructure after claiming responsibility for drone attacks on Saudi oil facilities on September 14. U.S. officials claim those drones were actually launched from Iranian territory. The Houthis make no reference to whether Iranian equipment or training played a role in the attack. On September 20, Mahdi al-Mashat, head of the Houthis' supreme political council, announces a truce offer to Saudi Arabia and claims the rebels will stop aiming missiles and drones at the kingdom and expects the kingdom to reciprocate by stopping all attacks against them. On September 30, the Houthis unilaterally release 290 detainees as part of a U.N. peace initiative. A prisoner swap was one of three elements of an agreement between the warring parties that was brokered by the U.N. in Stockholm, Sweden, in December 2018. The Houthis' announcement came a day after they said they had killed more than 200 pro-government fighters and captured 2,000 others in a major attack near the border with Saudi Arabia's Najran province. Oman begins mediating informal backchannel talks between the Houthis and Saudi Arabia on ending the war in Yemen. Sources: Richard Pérez-Peña, "Houthi Forces in Yemen Warn of More Attacks on Saudi Oil Systems," *New York Times*, September 16, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/16/world/middleeast/houthis-vemen-saudi-arabia-warning.html [96]: "Yemen's Houthis sav will stop all

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attacks on Saudi Arabia," Al Jazeera, September 20, 2019, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/09/houthis-stop-attacks-saudi-arabia-190920183802126.html [97]; "Yemen war: Houthi rebels release hundreds of detainees," BBC News, September 30, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-49880517 [98]; Aziz El Yaakoubi and Michelle Nichols, "Saudi Arabia discussing Yemen truce in informal talks with Houthis: sources," Reuters, November 14, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security/saudi-arabia-discussing-yemen-truce-in-informal-talks-with-houthis-sources-idUSKBN1X010 6 [99]; Ahmed al-Haj and Maggie Michael, "Saudi Arabia, Yemen's Houthi rebels in indirect peace talks," Associated Press, November 13, 2019, https://apnews.com/cb393079f7be48d2951b3ae3f2d4361b [100].

- August 27, 2019: The Trump administration is preparing to initiate direct talks with Iran-backed Houthi forces in Yemen in an effort to end the four-year war. The U.S. is looking to prod Saudi Arabia into taking part in secret talks in Oman with Houthi leaders in an effort to broker a cease-fire in Yemen. The move could open the first significant channel between the Trump administration and the Houthis. Source: Dion Nissenbaum and Warren P. Strobel, "U.S. Plans to Open Direct Talks With Iran-Backed Houthis in Yemen," *Wall Street Journal*, August 27, 2019, https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-plans-to-open-direct-talks-with-iran-backed-houthis-in-yemen-11566898204 [45].
- August 21, 2019: Martin Griffiths, the U.N. Special Envoy to Yemen, meets with Houthi rebels over stalled peace talks. Peace talks between Houthis and the internationally recognized government have been stalled since they reached an U.N.-sponsored ceates-fire agreement in Stockholm in December last year over the country's Red Sea port city of Hodeidah. Both Yemeni warring parties have failed to implement the deal or withdraw their forces from Hodeidah. The Houthis are still holding the port city while the government forces backed by a Saudi-led coalition are stationed on the southern outskirts of Hodeidah. Source: Huaxia, "UN envoy arrives in Yemen's capital to meet Houthis over stalled peace talks," Xinhua, August 21, 2019, <u>http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-08/21/c_138326656.htm</u> [101].
- August 19, 2019: The Houthis announce the appointment of Ibrahim Mohammed Mohammed Al-Dailami as the "ambassador of the Republic of Yemen," in Tehran.

It is a move that the Yemeni government considers a "flagrant violation" of international laws. The appointment came after the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran held talks with Houthi spokesman Mohammed Abdul Salam on August 13. Source: "Houthis appoint ambassador to Iran," Middle East Monitor, August 19, 2019, https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20190819-houthis-appoint-ambassador-in-tehran/ [102].

August 13, 2019: Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei pledges Tehran's continued support for Yemen's Houthi movement.

That same day, Houthi forces claim to launch drone attacks on the airport of Abha in southwest Saudi Arabia. Coalition forces deny that Abha was under attack and that instead a drone launched by the Houthis "fell" over a residential area in Amran. Both sides report no casualties. Sources: "Saudi-Led Coalition Says Houthi Drone 'Fell' Inside Yemen," New York Times, August 13, 2019. attacks on Saudi Arabia's Abha airport - Masirah TV," Reuters, August 13, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/tomon.com/article/tom/arti https://www.reuters.com/article/vemen-security-abha/vemens-houthis-launch-drone-attacks-on-saudi-arabias-abha-airport-masirah-tv-idUSB2 2D02D [104]; "Iran's Khamenei backs Yemen's Houthi movement, calls for dialogue," Reuters, August 13, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-iran/irans-khamenei-backs-yemens-houthi-movement-calls-for-dialogue-idUSKCN1V31W3 [105]. abha-airport-masirah-tv-idUSB2N2

• May 15, 2019: Fighting resumes between the Houthis and pro-government forces in Hodeidah, threatening the ceasefire there.

Source: Patrick Wintour and Bethan McKernan, "Yemen: Ceasefire Broken As Fresh Fighting Breaks Out in Hodeidah," May 15, 2019, Guardian (London), https://www.theguardian.c 019/may/15/yemen-ce <u>n-as-fresh-fighting-breaks-out-in-hodeidah</u> [106].

- May 14, 2019: The Houthis carry out several drone attacks on Saudi oil facilities. Source: Vivian Yee, "Yemen's Houthi Rebels Attack Saudi Oil Facilities, Escalating Tensions in Gulf," New York Times, May 14, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/14/world/middleeast/saudi-oil-attack.html [107].
- March 23, 2019: The Saudi-led military coalition mounts raids on sites of the Houthi movement in Sanaa. The raids target two caves used by Houthi forces to store drones. Earlier that day, there were additional raids in Houthi camps as well as the Al-Dailami air base. Sources: "Saudi-led coalition attacks drone storage caves in Yemen's capital: SPA," Reuters, March 23, 2019, tal-spa-idUSKCN1R40R -sanaa [108].; "Saudi-led coalition attacks drone storage caves in Yemen's capital: Report," Middle East Eye, March 23, 2019, d-coalition-attac
- March 2019: The Houthis begin unilaterally withdrawing their forces from Hodeidah. Source: Emma Graham-Harrison, "Yemen: Houthis Begin Hodeidah Port Pullout," Guardian (London), May 11, 2019,



https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/11/yemen-houthis-begin-hodeida-port-pullout [110].

- February 17, 2019: The Houthis and Yemeni government agree to withdraw their forces from the city of Hodeidah, thus implementing the first phase of the previously agreed-upon cease-fire deal. Source: "Yemen and Houthi rebels agree to withdrawal deal," *Guardian* (London), February 17, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/17/yemen-and-houthi-rebels-agree-to-withdrawal-deal [40].
- February 3, 2019:Houthis and Yemeni government officials meet aboard a U.N. ship in the Red Sea to discuss December's failed cease-fire plan. Source: "Yemen government, Houthi rebels meet on UN ship to discuss truce," Al-Jazeera, February 3, 2019, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/02/yemen-government-houthi-rebels-meet-ship-discuss-truce-190203140748595.html [111].
- January 2019:The U.N.'s Panel of Experts on Yemen reported that they had "traced the supply to the Houthis of unmanned aerial vehicles and a mixing machine for rocket fuel and found that individuals and entities of Iranian origin have funded the purchase." Source: Ahmed Himmiche, Fernando Rosenfeld Carvajal et al, "Letter Dated 25 January 2019 from the Panel of Experts on Yemen Addressed to the President of the Security Council," United Nations Security Council, January 25, 2019, 40, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2019_83.pdf [65].
- December 31, 2018: The World Food Progamme accuses the Houthis of diverting critically needed food aid and selling the deliveries on the open market. Source: "Yemen war: WFP accuses Houthi rebels of diverting food aid," BBC, December 31, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-46722502 [112].
- December 13, 2018:All warring parties agree to a cease-fire in the port city of Hodeidah. Despite this, fighting in the city continues until February 17. Source: Patrick Wintour and Bethan McKernan, "Yemen: ceasefire agreed for port city of Hodeidah," *Guardian* (London), December 13, 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/13/yemen-ceasefire-agreed-for-vital-port-city-of-hodeidah [38].
- December 4, 2018: A Houthi delegation arrives in Sweden for U.N.-sponsored peace talks between the militant group and the internationally-recognized Hadi government. Source: Aziz El Yaakoubi, "Yemen's Houthis in Sweden for peace talks; U.N. warns of economic breakdown," Reuters, December 4, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security/yemens-houthis-in-sweden-for-peace-talks-u-n-warns-of-economic-breakdown-idUSKBN1030 SU [113].
- November 18, 2018: Mohammad Ali al-Houthi releases a statement in support of a U.K.-proposed cease-fire, stating, "We are willing to freeze and stop military operations on all fronts to reach a just and honourable peace." Source: "Houthis ready for ceasefire if Saudi-UAE alliance wants 'peace'," Al-Jazeera, November 19, 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/yemen-houthis-ready-ceasefire-181119025040410.html [114].
- November 2, 2018: The Saudi-led coalition launches air strikes on the international airport in Sanaa and a nearby air base operated by Houthi rebels.

Earlier that day, the coalition launches a new offensive against the Houthi-controlled port of Hodeida. Source: Sudarsan Raghavan, "Two days after U.S. call for cease-fire, Saudi-led coalition launches new attacks in Yemen," *Washington Post*, November 2, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/two-days-after-us-call-for-cease-fire-the-saudi-led-coalition-launches-new-attacks-on-yemen /2018/11/02/585de36e-bf0b-40e3-921c-964b47d313a3_story.html [115].

• July 25, 2018:Saudi Arabia temporarily halts oil exports through the Red Sea following a series of Houthi attacks against its oil ships.

Oil shipments renewed again on August 5 after Saudi officials claimed that appropriate security measures had been implemented. Sources: Rania el-Gamel, "Saudi Arabia halts oil exports in Red Sea lane after Houthi attacks," Reuters, July 25, 2018, <u>https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security/saudi-arabia-halts-oil-exports-in-red-sea-lane-after-houthi-attacks-idUSKBN1KF0XN</u> [116]; "Saudi Arabia Resumes Oil Shipments Through Red Sea Lane After Houthi Attack," Haaretz, August 5, 2018, <u>https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/iran/saudi-arabia-resumes-oil-shipments-through-red-sea-lane-1.6341891</u> [117].

- June 12, 2018:UAE forces officially launch their offensive to capture Hodeidah from the Houthis and their allies. The United Nations warns against this offensive, stating that 70 percent of food and medical aid to Yemeni civilians arrives through the port city. Source: Mohammed Ghobari and Mohamed Mokhashef, "Arab states launch biggest assault of Yemen war with attack on main port," Reuters, June 12, 2018, <u>https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security/arab-states-launch-biggest-assault-of-yemen-war-with-attack-on-main-port-idUSKBN1J90BA</u> [118].
- June 1, 2018:The UAE and its allied forces begin advancing on the port city of Hodeidah, the Houthis only connection to the sea, prompting the Houthi-aligned Brigadier General Sharaf Ghaleb Loqman to threaten to target the UAE with missile attacks.

Source: "Houthi official: 'Abu Dhabi is no longer safe'," Al Jazeera, June 1, 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/houthi-official-abu-dhabi-longer-safe-180601215207412.html [119].

• December 2, 2017 - December 4, 2017:On December 2, former President Ali Abdullah Saleh offers to "turn a new page" with the Saudi-led coalition fighting against Houthi forces if the Saudis end their month-long blockade of the country.

Saleh's supporters had until then fought alongside Houthi rebels, but the Houthis view Saleh's offer as a betrayal and fighting breaks out between the rebels and Saleh's loyalists. At least 125 people are killed and 238 are wounded in the fighting. On December 4, Houthi forces stop Saleh at a checkpoint as he is trying to leave Sanaa and kill the former president. The Houthi-controlled Interior Ministry announces Saleh's death later in the day. Saleh's General People's Congress party confirms he was killed by a sniper. Houthi forces also announce that they had blown up Saleh's home in Sanaa. Sources: Hakim Almasmari, Tamara Qiblawi, and Hilary Clarke, "Yemen's former President Ali Abdullah Saleh



killed trying to flee Sanaa," CNN, December 4, 2017,

http://www.cnn.com/2017/12/04/middleeast/vemen-former-president-ali-abdullah-saleh-killed-intl/index.html [36]; "Ali Abdullah Saleh, Yemen's former leader, killed in Sanaa," BBC News, December 4, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-42225574 [120]; Marwan Bishara, "Analysis: Yemen's ex-president Saleh's killing was 'revenge,'" Al Jazeera, December 4, 2017, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/12/nalysis-yemens-ex-president-saleh-skilling-revenge-171204135213663.html [37]; Faisal Edroos, "How did Yamara http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/12/nalysis-yemens-ex-president-saleh-skilling-revenge-171204135213663.html [37]; Faisal Edroos, "How did Yemen's Houthi-Saleh alliance collapse?" Al Jazeera, December 4, 2017, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/12/yemen-houthi-saleh-alliance-collapse-171204070831956.html [121]; Sami Aboudi and Noah Browning, "Exiled son of Yemen's Saleh takes up anti-Houthi cause," Reuters, December 4, 2017, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security/avilod.com of yemene calch takes up anti-Houthi cause." https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security/exiled-son-of-yemens-saleh-takes-up-anti-houthi-cause-idUSKBN1DY12V?il=0 [122].

- January 30, 2017: Houthis attack a Saudi ship off the coast of Yemen, allegedly ramming into the ship and causing an explosion, killing two crew members and injuring three. explosion, kining two crew memors and injuring tirree. Separately, the group launches a ballistic missile on a Saudi military base on the Red Sea island of Zugar. Rockets also hit and damage U.N. offices in southern Saudi Arabia in an attack Saudi Arabia attributed to Houthis.Sources: "Yemen's Houthis attack Saudi ship, launch ballistic missile," Reuters, January 31, 2017, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-saudi-idUSKBN15E2KE;Ahmed al-Haj, "Saudi Arabia says Yemen Rebel Boat Rams Frigate in Red Sea," Associated Press, January 30, 2017, http://staging.hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/M/ML YEMEN?SITE=AP&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT&CTIME=2017-01-30-17-19-24;"Rockets hit U.N. Yemen ceasefire office in Saudi Arabia," Reuters, January 30, 2017, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-security-yemen-idUSKBN15E1LZ.
- November 19, 2016: The Houthis are accused by a Saudi general of launching a ballistic missile at the eastern Saudi province of Marib, in violation of a cease-fire. Source: "Houthi missile and Saudi-led air strikes strain Yemen truce," Reuters, November 19, 2016, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-ceasefire-idUSKBN13E05D.
- October 27, 2016: The Houthis launch a ballistic missile toward the Islamic holy city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia, according to a statement by the Saudi-led coalition. Houthis confirm that they had launched a missile into Saudi Arabia but claim that they had been aiming for King Abdulaziz International Airport in Jeddah.Source: "Yemen's Houthis launch missile toward Saudi holy city, coalition says," Reuters, October 28, 2016, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-missiles-idUSKCN12S016.
- October 9, 2016 October 13, 2016: The Houthis are believed to be behind a series of attacks against the U.S. Navy, leading the United States to engage the rebels directly for the first time since the crisis began launching counterattacks in Houthi-held areas.

On October 9, suspected Houthi rebels fire a pair of missiles in a failed attack on the U.S. Navy destroyer USS Mason near the Bab el-Mandeb Strait. On October 12, the Houthis are allegedly behind another failed missile attack on the Mason. The U.S. Navy launches Tomahawk cruise missiles against Houthi-controlled radar sites along the Yemeni coast. Sources: Courtney Kube and Phil Helsel, "U.S. Launches Strikes in Yemen After Missiles Aimed at American Ships," NBC News, October 13, 2016, http://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/us-launches-strikes-in-yemen-after-missiles-aimed-at-american-ships/ar-AAiT7zO?li=BBmkt5R&ocid=spa

rtandhp;Courtney Kube and Phil Helsel, "U.S. Launches Strikes in Yemen After Missiles Aimed at American Ships," NBC News, October 13,

2016, http://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/us-launches-strikes-in-yemen-after-missiles-aimed-at-american-ships/ar-AAiT7zO?li=BBmkt5R&ocid=spa rtandhp;Phil Stewart, "U.S. military strikes Yemen after missile attacks on U.S. Navy ship," Reuters, October 13, 2016, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-missiles-idUSKCN12C294.

• October 8, 2016: An airstrike in Sanaa kills 140 funeral attendees.

The Saudi government denies responsibility. Source: Mohammed Ghobari, "Yemen's Houthis respond to air strike with missile attack," Reuters, October 10, 2016, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-idUSKCN12A13J.

• September 25, 2016: Houthi political council chief Saleh al-Samad proposes a truce along the Yemen-Saudi Arabia border.

The Saudi government declines the terms, saying it would prefer a broad political settlement to a short-term cease-fire.Source: "Houthi official in Yemen offers border truce, amnesty," Reuters, September 25, 2016, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-idUSKCN11V0SL; "Final Yemen solution preferred over 'short truce'," Al-Arabiya, September 26, 2016, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2016/09/26/Yemen-militia-leader-offers-border-truce-with-Saudi-Arabia.html.

September 6, 2016: Houthi rebels and Iraq's Popular Mobilization Forces (PMF) reportedly agree to joint training and to provide logistical support to the Houthis.

Among the PMF are Shiite extremist groups Asaib Ahl al-Haq (AAH), the Badr Organization, and Kata'ib Hezbollah (KH).Source: "Houthis and Iraqi militias agree to joint training," Middle East Monitor, September 6, 2016, https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20160906-houthis-and-iraqi-militias-agree-to-joint-training/.

• August 2016: The Houthis end peace talks and establish a political council in Yemen.

August 2016: The Houthis end peace talks and establish a political council in Yemen. On August 1, Houthi leaders reject a U.N. proposal aimed at ending Yemen's war during peace talks in Kuwait, which began in April 2016. On August 20, tens of thousands of Yemenis rally in Sanaa to support the formation of the newly formed political council. Just over a week later, a Houthi delegation travels to Baghdad to meet with the Iraqi government to discuss the possibility of recognition of its political council.Sources: "Yemen government leaves Kuwait talks after Houthis reject U.N. plan," Reuters, August 1, 2016, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-talks-idUSKCN10C2JT;"Tens of thousands of Yemenis rally to support Houthi-led council," Reuters, August 20, 2016, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-idUSKCN10V0KO; "Houthi delegation meets Iraq's foreign minister," Al Arabiya, August 29, 2016, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2016/08/29/Yemeni-Houthi-delegation-meets-Iraq-foreign-minister.html.

- June 19, 2016:Houthi militants release 276 Yemeni government loyalists who had been held captive for months. The group claims it was a gesture of "good will" during the holy month of Ramadan.Source: "Houthis free 276 Yemeni government's loyalists," Al-Arabiya, June 19, 2016, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2016/06/19/Houthis-free-276-Yemeni-government-s-loyalists-.html.
- April 11, 2016: The Houthis and Saudis pledge to respect a U.N.-backed cease-fire. Two days before the start of the cease-fire, the Houthis release an American hostage. U.N.-supported peace talks between the Yemeni government and the Houthis begin in late April. Talks remain ongoing by the end of the month. Sources: Conor Gaffey, "Yemen: Saudi Coalition and Houthis Pledge to Respect Ceasefire," Newsweek, April 11, 2016,



http://www.newsweek.com/yemen-saudi-coalition-and-houthis-pledge-respect-ceasefire-446152;"Oman says US man held by Houthis freed," Al-Arabiya, April 9, 2016, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2016/04/09/Oman-says-US-man-held-by-Houthis-freed.html;"Houthis arrive in Kuwait to start Yemen peace talks," Middle East Eye, April 21, 2016, http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/yemen-peace-talks-pushed-back-again-1907523115;"Houthi Rebels Advocate Disarmament, Formation of Unity Gov't in Yemen," Sputnik News, April 30, 2016, https://sputniknews.com/middleeast/201604301038884363-yemen-houthis-conflict/.

March 2016:Houthi and Yemeni forces agree to a cease-fire in preparation for peace talks in April on March 21 On March 28, Houthi and Saudi Arabians exchange prisoners—nine Saudis for 109 Yemenis—in preparation for an April 10 cease-fire. The same day, the U.S. Navy reportedly intercepts weapons from Iran believed to be headed for Houthi rebels.Sources: "Houthis, Yemeni government agree to ceasefire ahead of talks: Report," Middle East Eye, March 21, 2016, http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/houthis-yemeni-government-agree-ceasefire-ahead-talks-report-1486223496;Rick Gladstone, "Saudis Announce Prisoner Swap With Houthis in Yemen Conflict," *New York Times*, March 28, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/29/world/middleeast/saudis-announce-prisoner-swap-with-houthis-in-yemen-conflict.html?_r=0; "U.S. Navy says it seized weapons from Iran likely bound for Houthis in Yemen," Reuters, April 4, 2016, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-usa-yemen-arms-idUSKCN0X12DB.

January 2016 - February 2016: Houthis suffer losses fighting the Saudi-led coalition. January 2016 - February 2016; Houthis suffer losses fighting the Saudi-led coalition. On January 7, Houthis lose control of Midi port, allegedly used to bring weapons into the country. About a month later, Houthis withdraw from former militant camps and headquarters near Taiz. On February 15, an estimated 60 Houthi militants are killed, including Houthi leaders Yahya Zafran, Yahya al-Mutawakkil Taha, and Abdulwahab al-Houthi.Sources: "Yemen seizes crucial port from Houthi militias," AlArabiya, January 7, 2016, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2016/01/07/Yemen-troops-seize-northwestern-port-from-Houthis-militias.html;Sa'ed Al-Abyadh, "Houthis Relinquish Positions in Taiz after Siege of Sana'a," Al-Awsat, February 18, 2016, http://english.aawsat.com/2016/02/article55347682/houthis-relinquish-positions-in-taiz-after-siege-of-sanaa;"Dozens of Houthi militias killed in Yemen," Al-Arabiya, February 15, 2016, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/2016/02/15/Dozens-of-Houthi-rebels-killed-in-Yemen.html.

January 7, 2016: Houthi forces repel a Saudi Arabian attack at Tawwal border-crossing, killing an estimated 40-60 Saudi troops.

Source: Leith Fadel, "Saudi casualties mount as Houthis repel border attack," AlMasdar News, January 7, 2016, https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/saudi-casualties-mount-as-the-houthis-repel-the-border-attack/

January 4, 2016: The Houthis' truce with Saudi Arabia formally ends after weeks of violations. **January 4, 2016:** The Houthis' truce with Saudi Arabia formally ends after weeks of violations. Sources: Caroline Mortimer, "Yemen crisis: Saudi Arabia ends formal ceasefire with Houthi rebels after more than 30 fighters killed over weekend," *Independent* (London), January 4, 2016, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/yemen-crisis-saudi-arabia-ends-formal-ceasefire-with-houthi-rebels-after-40-fighters-are-killed-over-a6795501.html; "Yemeni forces seize provincial capital from Houthis," Al Jazeera, December 18, 2015, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/12/yemeni-forces-seize-provincial-capital-houthis-151218131922168.html;Morgan Winsor, "Houthi Rebel Leader Killed In Yemen Amid Fragile Ceasefire: Report," International Business Times, December 19, 2015, http://www.ibtimes.com/houthi-rebel-leader-killed-yemen-amid-fragile-ceasefire-report-2233396; "Saudi forces warn of harsh response to latest Houthi rocket attack," Middle East Eye, December 22, 2015, http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/saudi-forces-warn-harsh-response-latest-houthi-rocket-attack-2075951606; "Yemen loyalists inflict heavy losses on rebels in Sanaa," *National*, updated December 26, 2015, http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/yemen-loyalists-inflict-heavy-losses-on-rebels-in-sanaa.

- December 19, 2015: Insurgent leader Mohammed Badreddin al-Houthi is reportedly killed near Saada province. Source: Morgan Winsor, "Houthi Rebel Leader Killed In Yemen amid Fragile Ceasefire: Report," International Business Times, December 19, 2015, http://www.ibtimes.com/houthi-rebel-leader-killed-yemen-amid-fragile-ceasefire-report-2233396 [123].
- December 18, 2015 December 20, 2015: Houthi rebels fire four rockets into Saudi territory between December 18 and December 22, three of which are shot down, though one hits a desert area east of Najran city on December 18. Source: "Saudi Forces Warn of Harsh Response to Latest Houthi Rocket Attack," Middle East Eye, December 22, 2015, <u>http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/saudi-forces-warn-harsh-response-latest-houthi-rocket-attack-2075951606</u> [124].
- December 18, 2015:Yemeni forces seize the capitals of Jawf and Marib provinces from Houthi rebels. Source: "Yemeni Forces Seize Provincial Capital from Houthis," Al Jazeera, December 18, 2015, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/12/yemeni-forces-seize-provincial-capital-houthis-151218131922168.html [125].
- December 15, 2015: Houthi rebels sign a formal truce with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Days later, Houthis release 285 Yemeni prisoners in exchange for 375 Houthi rebels. Sources: Caroline Mortimer, "Yemen crisis: Saudi Arabia ends formal ceasefire with Houthi rebels after more than 30 fighters killed over weekend," *Independent* (London), January 4, 2016, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/yemen-crisis-saudi-arabia-ends-formal-ceasefire-with-houthi-rebels-after-40-fighters-are-killed-over-a6795501.html; "Yemeni loyalists and Houthis begin exchange of hundreds of prisoners," *National*, December 17, 2015, http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/yemeni-loyalists-and-houthis-begin-exchange-of-hundreds-of-prisoners.
- December 14, 2015: In one of the deadliest attacks to date, Houthis launch a missile into Taez province, killing at least 146 people.

Source: Nabih Bulos and Zaid al-Alayaa, "In Yemen, Houthi rebel missile strike kills dozens in Saudi-led force," Los Angeles Times, December 14, 2015, http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-yemen-attack-20151215-story.html.

- December 1, 2015: Houthis attempt and fail to seize Saudi territory near the border with Yemen. Source: "Dozens of Houthis killed in Najran misadventure," Arab News, December 1, 2015, http://www.arabnews.com/featured/news/843751.
- November 25, 2015:U.N. officials accuse the Houthis of blocking humanitarian aid from entering Taiz, a city 123 miles from Yemen's capital of Sanaa. The Houthis gained control of Taiz in March 2015.Source: "U.N. accuses Houthis of blocking supply routes to Yemen's Taiz city," Reuters, November 25, 2015, http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/11/25/uk-yemen-security-taiz-idUKKBN0TE17J20151125;Mohammed Mukhashef, "Houthis seize strategic Yemeni city, escalating power struggle," Reuters, March 22, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/22/us-yemen-security-idUSKBN0MI08B20150322#xWCe2BHP2iD4m02T.97.

November 20, 2015: ISIS takes responsibility for an attack on Yemeni troops in Hadramawt, that killed 19 Yemeni



soldiers and 35 ISIS militants.

Analysts note that ISIS is likely attempting to further foment instability in Yemen to increase its base of support. Reuters notes that because the Houthis ascribe to the Shiite offshoot of Zaidism, ISIS considers them heretics, and likewise views the Yemeni army and the Gulf states as "traitors to Islam."Source: Mohammad Mukhashaf, "Islamic State claims Yemen attack," Reuters, November 20, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/11/20/us-yemen-security-qaeda-idUSKCN0T910720151120#uDKjbD2wlHtdLMj0.97.

 November 19, 2015: Oman negotiates the Houthis' release of three American hostages held in a rebel-controlled area of Sanaa.

No information is released about any of the individuals except that two worked with the U.N. in an unspecified capacity.Source: "Three Americans evacuated from Yemen to Oman, Omani news agency says," Reuters, November 19, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-oman-usa/three-americans-evacuated-from-yemen-to-oman-omani-news-agency-says-idUSKC N0T<u>819A20151119</u> [126].

- October 2015: The United Arab Emirates deploys 450 Latin American mercenaries to fight in Yemen, joining the Sunni Arab coalition fighting the Houthis in that country. Source: Emily B. Hagar, Mark Mazetti, "Emirates Secretly Sends Colombian Mercenaries to Fight in Yemen," *New York Times*, November 25, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/26/world/middleeast/emirates-secretly-sends-colombian-mercenaries-to-fight-in-yemen.html.
- October 8, 2015: The Houthis accept engagement with the Yemeni government through the U.N., stating it will comply with the conditions of the cease-fire, including retreating from cities currently under Houthi control. A representative of the Yemeni government states that Houthi acquiescence is merely a ploy due to losses the insurgent movement has incurred from the latest coalition airstrikes.Source: "Yemeni president dismisses Houthi concessions as 'maneuver,'" Reuters, October 8, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/10/08/us-yemen-security-politics-idUSKCN0S21GC20151008.
- October 7, 2015: The U.N. announces that it will broker peace talks in Oman expected to end the fighting between the Yemeni government and Houthi militants. The latest cease-fire comes after a five-month period of fighting.Source: "Yemen's Houthis, Saleh's party accept U.N. peace terms, eye talks," Reuters, October 7, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-talks-idUSKCN0S10DX20151007.
- October 6, 2015: Houthi leaders allegedly travel to Iran to negotiate for military support for their insurgent movement.

The vice president of the Houthis' supreme revolutionary committee, Nayef al-Qanes, is believed to be heading the delegation. Source: Matar al-Matary, "Houthi delegation 'visits Tehran to receive arms,'" Al Arabiya, October 6, 2015, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/10/06/Houthi-delegation-visits-Tehran-to-receive-arms-.html.

- September 20, 2015: The Houthis release two American and one British hostage after Oman's government intervenes. The Houthis kidnapped the hostages in March 2015.Source: Sami Aboudi and Eric Walsh, "Two Americans, Briton, three Saudis released from Yemen," Reuters, September 20, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-usa/two-americans-briton-three-saudis-released-from-yemen-officials-idUSKCN0RK0M52015 0920 [127].
- September 2, 2015: Yemen-based ISIS militants attack a predominantly Houthi mosque in northern Sanaa, killing 28

and wounding 75. Source: Reuters, "Islamic State claims bomb attack on Yemeni mosque, 28 reported dead," Yahoo News, September 3, 2015, http://news.yahoo.com/least-20-dead-dozens-wounded-yemeni-capital-bombings-171003003.html.

- August 31, 2015: News sources report that Houthi militants have detained at least 50 individuals in Sanaa as Saudicoalition forces gain entry near the capital. Source: "Houthis Detain Dozens in Yemen Capital," Al Arabiya News, August 31, 2015, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/08/31/Houthis-launch-arrest-campaign-in-Yemen-s-Sanaa-.html.
- August 30, 2015: Yemen's air force kills 36 people as a result of airstrikes targeting a bottling plant in Hajjah, a province in northern Yemen. Source: "Saudi-led coalition air strike kills 36 Yemeni civilians: residents," Reuters, August 30, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/08/30/us-yemen-security-idUSKCN0QZ09P20150830.
- August 27, 2015: Yemen's foreign minister states there will be no negotiations with the Houthis until they disarm. Source: J. Dana Stuster, "No Negotiations Until Houthis Surrender, Yemeni Government Says," *Foreign Policy*, August 28, 2015, https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/08/28/no-negotiations-until-houthis-surrender-yemeni-government-says/.
- August 24, 2015: Houthi rockets kill 14 as fighting between the rebel group and a Saudi-led coalition continues in Yemen.

Source: "Houthi rockets kill 14 civilians in Yemen's Taiz: residents," Reuters, August 24, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/08/24/us-yemen-security-idUSKCN0QT0X620150824.

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Saudi and coalition airstrikes. Source: Abdullah al-Shihri, "Houthi rebels fire Scud missile from Yemen into Saudi Arabia," *Washington Post*, June 6, 2015, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/houthi-rebels-fire-scud-missile-from-yemen-into-saudi-arabia/2015/06/06/00e39c44-0c89-11e5-a7ad-b43 0fc1d3f5c story.html.

- June 1, 2015: The Houthis release one American detainee, Casey Coombs. At least three other Americans are still being held captive by the Houthis.Source: Elise Labott and Khushbu Shah, "One American held in Yemen released," CNN, June 2, 2015, http://www.cnn.com/2015/06/01/politics/yemen-four-americans-held-houthis/.
- May 29, 2015: The Houthis continue to battle for control of Aden and detain at least four Americans in the country's



capital.

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- October 30, 2013 November 2, 2013: Fighting between Houthis and Salafists in the town of Damaj kills at least 55 over four days.

Source: Reuters, "At Least 55 Die as Rival Sects Clash in Yemen," *New York Times*, November 2, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/03/world/middleeast/yemen.html.

- **2013:**The Iranian ship *Jihan I* is allegedly seized en route to Yemen with arms meant for the Houthis. The cache, as Reuters reported in December 2014, included "Katyusha rockets M-122, heat-seeking surface-to-air missiles, RPG-7s, Iranianmade night vision goggles and 'artillery systems that track land and navy targets 40km away,'' as well as "silencers, 2.66 tonnes of RDX explosives, C-4 explosives, ammunition, bullets and electrical transistors." Source: Yaya Bayoumy and Mohammed Ghobari, "Iranian support seen crucial for Yemen's Houthis," Reuters, December 15, 2014, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-houthis-iran-insight/iranian-support-seen-crucial-for-yemens-houthis-idUSKBN0JT17A20141215 [130]
- January 2012: President Ali Abdullah Saleh leaves Yemen. The parliament grants him full immunity despite objections from thousands of protesters. Source: "Yemen Profile - Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.
- December 16, 2011: The New York Times reports an increase in clashes between the Houthis and Salafists on the outskirts of Saada "in recent weeks." The Salafists are believed to have been supported by the Yemeni government, Saudi Arabia and Islamists in Yemen at different times during their dispute with the Houthis in Yemen's Northern province. Source: Kareem Fahim, "Yemeni Uprising Opens a Door to Besieged Rebels in the North," New York Times, December 16, 2011,



http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/17/world/middleeast/yemeni-uprising-opens-a-door-to-besieged-rebels-in-the-north.html.

- November 2011:Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh agrees to form a new unity government under his deputy, Abdrabbuh Mansour Hadi. The Houthis commit to a peaceful transition to the new government.Sources: "Yemen Profile – Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951; "Countries Backing Shaky Yemen Transition Warn Houthis Against Violence," Reuters, August 19, 2014, http://in.reuters.com/article/2014/08/19/yemen-houthis-idINKBN0GJ1IL20140819.
- June 1, 2011: The Houthis kill five Sunni tribesmen during clashes in northern Yemen. Source: Nasser Arrabyee and Robert F. Worth, "Fighting Spreads in Yemen, Raising Fear of Civil War," *New York Times*, June 1, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/02/world/middleeast/02yemen.html.
- March 2011:Houthis advance on Saada, prompting the province's governor and other officials to flee. Houthi rebels install Faris Manna, believed to be Yemen's most powerful arms dealer, as governor.Source: Laura Kasinoff and Robert F. Worth, "Factory Explosion Follows Yemeni Forces' Pullout," *New York Times*, March 28, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/29/world/middleeast/29yemen.html.
- **December 2010:**The Yemeni government says 3,000 soldiers were killed in an outbreak of fighting involving Houthi rebels.

Source: "Yemen Profile - Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.

- July 30, 2010:Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh invites at least three Houthi representatives to participate in a national dialogue involving other Yemeni opposition factions. Robert F. Worth, "Yemen: President Makes Offer to Rebels," *New York Times*, July 30, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/30/world/middleeast/30briefs-yemen.html.
- July 17, 2010: The Houthis kill 11 Yemeni soldiers and government-aligned tribesmen, sparking a heightened wave of violence.

Source: "Ministry Says Houthis Killed 11 Including 3 Security in Saada," Yemen Post, July 17, 2010, http://www.yemenpost.net/Detail123456789.aspx?ID=3&SubID=2414.

- March 2010: The Houthis release 178 prisoners after the Yemeni government accuses the Houthis of failing to comply with the cease-fire's terms. Source: "Yemen Houthi Rebels in the North 'Release 178 Captives,'" BBC News, March 17, 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8571605.stm.
- February 18, 2010: The Houthis release two Saudi soldiers as part of the Houthi-Saudi cease-fire deal. Source: Reuters, "Yemen: Houthi Rebels Release 2 Saudi Soldiers," *New York Times*, February 18, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/19/world/middleeast/19briefs-Yemen.html.
- February 11, 2010: The Yemeni government and the Houthis sign a cease-fire to end six years of conflict. Conditions on the agreement include removal of militants from civilian neighborhoods and an end to road blockades. Source: Robert F. Worth, "Yemen's Government Agrees to a Cease-Fire With Rebel Forces," *New York Times*, February 11, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/12/world/middleeast/12yemen.html.
- February 2010: Abdul-Malik al-Houthi declares a unilateral cease-fire with Saudi Arabia but does not withdraw rebels from the border region.

More than 130 Soudi solders have been killed near the border between November 2009 and January 2010.Sources: Robert F. Worth, "Yemen Seems to Reject Cease-Fire With Rebels," New York Times, January 31, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/12/world/middleeast/12yemen.html;Robert F. Worth, "Yemen's Government Agrees to a Cease-Fire With Rebel Forces," New York Times, February 11, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/12/world/middleeast/12yemen.html.

- November 5, 2009:Saudi Arabia conducts its first cross-border military intervention since the Gulf War, sending warplanes to bomb Houthi positions both in Yemen and within Saudi territory. The Saudis succeed in pushing back the rebels from the border region, but the Houthis capture a number of Saudi soldiers.Sources: Joost R. Hiltermann, "Disorder on the Border: Saudi Arabia's War Inside Yemen," *Foreign Affairs*, December 16, 2009, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/persian-gulf/2009-12-16/disorder-border;Robert F. Worth, "Airstrikes Kill at Least 35 in Northwestern Yemen," *New York Times*, December 13, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/14/world/middleeast/14yemen.html.
- November 3, 2009:Houthi rebels open fire on Saudi border guards, killing two and injuring at least 10. Sources: Robert F. Worth, "Yemeni Rebels and Saudis Clash at Border," *New York Times*, November 6, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/07/world/middleeast/07yemen.html;Robert F. Worth, "Saudis' Efforts to Swat Rebels From Yemen Risk Inflaming Larger Conflict," *New York Times*, November 12, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/13/world/middleeast/13saudi.html.
- October 2009:Clashes erupt between the Houthis and Saudi security forces along Yemen's northern border. The Houthis accuse Saudi Arabia of supporting the Yemeni government's attacks against them, which the Saudi government denies.Source: "Yemen Profile – Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.
- August 2009: "Tens of thousands" of Yemenis are displaced after government forces attack Houthi rebels in Saada province, BBC News reports.

Source: "Yemen Profile - Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.

• June 2009: The Houthis deny responsibility for the abduction of nine foreigners—three of whom are killed—in Yemen's northern province of Saada, a Houthi stronghold. Source: "Foreigners Kidnapped in Yemen," Al Jazeera, June 14, 2009, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2009/06/200961453254571859.html.



- May 2, 2008: A bomb explodes outside a mosque in northern Yemen, killing at least 12 and wounding at least 44. Yemeni officials consider Houthi rebels responsible for what would be the group's first attack deliberately targeting civilians. Houthi leader Abdul-Malik al-Houthi denies any connection to the bombing.Source: Robert F. Worth, "At Least 12 Killed in Bombing at Yemeni Mosque," New York Times, May 3, 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/03/world/middleeast/03yemen.html.
- January 2008: Fighting renews between the Houthis and Yemeni forces. Source: "Yemen Profile - Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.
- June 2007:Rebel leader Abdul-Malik al-Houthi and Yemeni forces agree to a cease-fire. Source: "Yemen Profile – Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.
- January 2007 March 2007: Fighting between Yemeni security forces and Houthi rebels in Yemen's north kills or wounds dozens.

Houthi rebels threaten Yemen's Jewish population in Saada, many of whom are relocated to Sanaa.Sources: "Yemen Profile – Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951;Roee Nahmias, "Yemenite Jews under threat," Ynetnews, January 22, 2007, http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3355506,00.html;Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 257, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG962.pdf.

- March 2006: More than 600 Houthis are released from prison under an amnesty deal. Source: "Yemen Profile – Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.
- May 2005:Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh announces that Houthi leader Shaikh Badr al-Din al-Houthi has agreed to a peace deal in exchange for a pardon. Badr al-Din al-Houthi is the father of Hussein al-Houthi.Sources: "Yemen Profile – Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951; "Yemen's Abd-al-Malik al-Houthi," BBC News, October 3, 2014, http://www.bbc.co.uk/monitoring/yemens-abd-almalik-alhouthi.
- March 2005 April 2005: Renewed fighting between Yemeni forces and Houthi supporters leaves more than 200 people dead.

Source: "Yemen Profile - Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.

- September 2004:Hussein al-Houthi, leader of the Houthi movement, is killed by Yemeni forces. Source: "Yemen Profile - Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.
- 2004 2010: The Houthis wage a series of insurgencies against Yemen's central government. Source: Associated Press, "Shiite Rebels Make New Demands to Yemen," New York Times, August 25, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/26/world/middleeast/shiite-rebels-make-new-demands-to-yemen.html.
- June 2004 August 2004: Fighting breaks out in Yemen's north between government troops and Shiite insurgents led by Hussein al-Houthi. Hundreds die in the clashes. Source: "Yemen Profile – Timeline," BBC News, June 16, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.
- 2003:Hussein al-Houthi opposes Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh's cooperation with the United States in the latter's war on terror and invasion of Iraq. Al-Houthi and his supporters later resist arrest by Yemeni forces, provoking conflict.Source: Charles Schmitz, "The Huthi Ascent to Power," Middle East Institute, September 15, 2014, http://www.mei.edu/content/at/huthi-ascent-power.
- **1995 1999:**Hussein al-Houthi, son of Zaidi spiritual leader Shaikh Badr-al-Din al-Houthi, forms the political party Hizb al-Haqq (Party of Truth) and briefly serves in Yemen's parliament. He later abandons politics and begins to grow and militarize the Houthi movement, ostensibly to protect itself from the Yemeni government and other armed groups.Source: Charles Schmitz, "The Huthi Ascent to Power," Middle East Institute, September 15, 2014, http://www.mei.edu/content/at/huthi-ascent-power.
- **1990 1993:**The al-Houthi family founds Shabab al-Mumanin (the Believing Youth) in Yemen's Saada province. The movement seeks to educate youth about their Zaidi ancestry and promote Zaidism in the face of the perceived growing influence of Salafism and Wahhabism in northern Yemen.Source: Charles Schmitz, "The Huthi Ascent to Power," Middle East Institute, September 15, 2014, http://www.mei.edu/content/at/huthi-ascent-power.
- May 1990:North and South Yemen unite to form the Republic of Yemen, led by Ali Abdullah Saleh. Source: "Yemen Profile - Timeline", BBC News, September 24, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.
- September 1962:A military coup ends the rule of Yemen's last imamate, led by Imam Muhammad al-Badr, and establishes the Yemen Arab Republic. Al-Badr flees to the north. Civil war between north and south Yemen begins.Sources: Asher Orkaby, "A Road Map to Chaos in Yemen," *Wall Street Journal*, April 9, 2015, http://www.wsj.com/articles/a-road-map-to-chaos-in-yemen-1428619669; "Yemen Profile – Timeline", BBC News, September 24, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704951.
- 1872 1918: The Ottomans conquer Yemen, ruling the region until the Ottoman Empire is dismantled at the end of World War I.

A new Zaidi-affiliated line—the Hamid al-Din imamate—takes over rule of Yemen.Source: Najam Iftikhar Haider, "What do the leaders of Yemen's Houthis want?," Al Jazeera America, February 7, 2015, http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/2/what-do-the-leaders-of-yemens-houthis-want.html.

• 1598 - 1853:Zaidi rule transitions to the Qasimi dynasty. Qasimi rulers are not required to be descendants of Zayd bin Ali. Some analysts note that Zaidi influence on Yemen's leadership decreases in



favor of Sunni theology.Source: Najam Iftikhar Haider, "What do the leaders of Yemen's Houthis want?," Al Jazeera America, February 7, 2015, http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/2/what-do-the-leaders-of-yemens-houthis-want.html.

0800 - 1598:Yemen is ruled by the Zaidi imamate, descendants of Zayd bin Ali, great-great-grandson of the Islamic ٠

prophet Muhammad. The Zaidi imamate is considered an offshoot from mainstream Shiism.Sources: "Yemen Crisis: Who is Fighting Whom?," BBC News, March 26, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29319423;Najam Iftikhar Haider, "What do the leaders of Yemen's Houthis want?," Al Jazeera America, February 7, 2015, http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/2/what-do-the-leaders-of-yemens-houthis-want.html;Bruce Riedel, "Houthi victories in Yemen make Saudi Arabia nervous," Al-Monitor, October 15, 2015, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/10/houthi-yemen-victory-saudi-arabia-nightmare-iran.html#.



Violent history:

Violent activity by the Houthis has consisted mainly of armed rebellion against the Yemeni government, leading to clashes with security forces. Thousands have been killed and displaced as a result of the fighting. The Houthis also briefly fought Saudi forces on the northern border in late 2009, and have battled al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) for several years. In October 2016, the rebels took direct action against the United States by conducting a series of failed missile attacks against the U.S. Navy presence in the region.⁹⁹ The Houthis had previously kidnapped several American citizens, including a teacher, journalist, humanitarian aid worker.¹⁰⁰ U.S. ships are not the only vessels the rebels have targeted. Prior to the attacks on the U.S. Navy, a UAE civilian ship was damaged by Houthi missiles that same month.¹⁰¹ Starting in 2017, the Houthis have repeatedly attacked Saudi Arabia with missiles and drones, and have ramped up strikes in 2019, often targeting Saudi airports and oil fields.¹⁰²

- **2003:** Hussein al-Houthi opposes Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh's cooperation with the United States in its war on terror and invasion of Iraq. He and his supporters later resist arrest by Yemeni forces, provoking conflict.¹⁰³
- June-August 2004: Fighting breaks out in Yemen's north between troops and Shiite insurgents led by Hussein al-Houthi. The clashes kill hundreds.¹⁰⁴
- 2004-2010: The Houthis wage a series of insurgencies against the government of Ali Abdullah Saleh.¹⁰⁵
- March-April 2005: Renewed fighting between Yemeni forces and Hussein al-Houthi supporters kills more than 200.¹⁰⁶
- January-March 2007: Fighting between Yemeni security forces and Houthi rebels in the north kill or wound dozens.¹⁰⁷ Houthi rebels threaten Yemen's Jewish population in Saada, forcing many to relocate to Sanaa.¹⁰⁸
- January 2008: Fighting renews between the Houthis and Yemeni forces.¹⁰⁹
- April 2008: Men allegedly associated with the Houthi movement destroy a Jewish family's home.¹¹⁰
- May 2, 2008: A bomb explodes outside a mosque in northern Yemen, killing at least 12 and wounding at least 44.¹¹¹ Yemeni officials hold Houthi rebels accountable for the attack -- the first attack by the group that deliberately targets civilians.¹¹² Houthi leader Abdul-Malik al-Houthi denies any connection to the bombing.¹¹³
- June 2009: Houthis deny responsibility for the abduction of nine foreigners—three of whom are killed—in Saada region, a stronghold.¹¹⁴ Some media speculate the involvement of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) following the arrest of a supporter accused of financing the group.
- October 2009: Clashes erupt between the Houthis and Saudi security forces along Yemen's northern border. The Houthis accuse Saudi Arabia of supporting the Yemeni government in attacks against them, which the Saudi government denies.¹¹⁵
- November 3, 2009: Houthi rebels open fire on Saudi border guards, killing two and injuring at least 10.¹¹⁶
- January-February 2010: More than 130 Saudi soldiers are killed by Houthis in fighting along the border between Yemen and Saudi Arabia.¹¹⁷
- July 17, 2010: Houthis kill 11 Yemeni soldiers and government-aligned tribesmen, sparking a heightened wave of violence.¹¹⁸
- December 2010: Yemen says 3,000 soldiers were killed in recent fighting with Houthi rebels.¹¹⁹
- Late March 2011: Houthis advance on Saada, causing the governor and other officials to flee the city. Houthi rebels install Faris Manna, believed to be the country's most powerful arms dealer, as governor of the province.¹²⁰
- June 1, 2011: Houthis kill five Sunni tribesmen in northern Yemen.¹²¹



- November-December 2011: Clashes erupt between Houthis and Salafists on the outskirts of Saada.¹²²
- October 2013-January 2014: Houthis launch an attack on Salafists in the town of Damaj, resulting in the death of over 100, at least 210 according to a Salafi spokesman.¹²³
- January 20, 2014: Clashes between Houthis and pro-Salafist Sunnis in the north kill 12.¹²⁴
- **February 2, 2014:** The Houthis, reportedly joined by tribes aligned with former president Ali Abdullah Saleh, and attack tribal forces in Amran province.¹²⁵
- February 28, 2014: Houthis attack a security checkpoint after a protest against the government, killing three soldiers and wounding four.¹²⁶
- March 6-9, 2014: Fighting erupts between Houthis and Sunni tribesmen, killing at least 40.¹²⁷ Houthi fighters blow up a religious center in Hamdan on March 9.¹²⁸
- March 13, 2014: Houthis attack an army base near Sanaa, killing two soldiers.¹²⁹
- May 2014: Houthis and Sunni tribesmen clash near Sanaa, killing at least 40.¹³⁰
- May 20, 2014: Houthis attack Yemeni security outposts near Oman; seven Yemeni soldiers and nine Houthis are killed.¹³¹
- May 29, 2014: Houthis attack a checkpoint and two other locations, killing five tribesmen.¹³²
- June 18, 2014: Houthi fighters advance toward the capital, clashing with Yemeni forces 25 miles outside of Sanaa.¹³³
- July 5, 2014: The cease-fire between the government and the Houthis collapses and Yemen's air force bombs Houthi fighters in northern Yemen, killing 70 people.¹³⁴
- July 8, 2014: At least 100 are killed and 150 wounded as the Houthis capture Omran.¹³⁵
- August 30, 2014: Houthis kill at least ten soldiers and local militia fighters in clashes.¹³⁶
- September 20, 2014: The Houthis shell the official state television building, setting it ablaze and ultimately capturing it.¹³⁷ Sanaa residents claim that Houthis control several other government sites, including the prime minister's buildings and an army command center.¹³⁸
- **December 2014:** Yemeni and Iranian officials claim that Iran is supplying Houthi rebels with weapons, money, and training.¹³⁹
- December 13, 2014: AQAP militants kill at least 30 Houthi fighters as they battle for control of the city of Radaa.¹⁴⁰
- **February 2015:** The Houthis seize power and announce that a transitional five-member presidential council will replace President Hadi, drawing protest from the U.N. Security Council.¹⁴¹
- March 19, 2015: Warplanes target the president's palace in Aden, where President Hadi had sought refuge since fleeing Sanaa.¹⁴²
- April 2, 2015: Houthi fighters take control of Aden's central Crater neighborhood and fight their way into a presidential residence nearby.¹⁴³
- May 12-14, 2015: The Houthis accept a five-day humanitarian cease-fire, but are accused of violating the truce within 24 hours.¹⁴⁴
- May 29, 2015: The Houthis continue to battle for control of Aden.¹⁴⁵ They detain at least four Americans in the country's capital.¹⁴⁶



- June 1, 2015: The Houthis release one American detainee, Casey Coombs. At least three other Americans are still being held captive by the Houthis.¹⁴⁷
- June 6, 2015: Houthi rebels fire a Scud missile into Saudi Arabia from Yemen in apparent retaliation for two months of Saudi and coalition airstrikes.¹⁴⁸
- December 1, 2015: Houthis attempt and fail to seize Saudi territory near the border with Yemen.¹⁴⁹
- **December 14, 2015:** In one of the deadliest attacks to date, Houthis launch a missile into Taez province, killing at least 146 people.¹⁵⁰
- **December 18-22, 2015:** Houthi rebels fire four rockets into Saudi territory. Three are shot down, though one hits a desert area east of Najran city on December 18.¹⁵¹
- December 25, 2015: Houthi rebels launch a failed attack on Yemeni forces stationed near Jabal Al Salb.¹⁵²
- January 7, 2016: Houthi forces repel a Saudi Arabian attack at Tawwal border-crossing, killing an estimated 40-60 Saudi troops.¹⁵³
- **May 2016 July 2016**: Houthi forces attack Saudi and Yemeni targets along the Yemen border and across the Yemen-Saudi border, collectively killing at least 40 individuals. On May 1, Houthi rebels attack and seize a Saudi military base north of the capital of Sanaa, killing several soldiers guarding the base.¹⁵⁴ On May 8, Houthi rebels conduct a failed missile attack across the Saudi border, violating a truce agreement. Saudi forces intercept the missile and do not retaliate to maintain the truce.¹⁵⁵ Later that month, Houthi rebels and Arab coalition forces clash in southern Yemen, killing 48 individuals, including 28 rebels and 20 coalition soldiers.¹⁵⁶ On June 3, Houthi rebels launched rockets at the western city of Taiz, killing at least 17 civilians, including 10 women and a girl, in a busy marketplace.¹⁵⁷ During the first week of July, Houthi militants fire a missile towards the southern Saudi city of Abha. Saudi forces intercept the missile, leaving no casualties.¹⁵⁸ They also fire a rocket into Yemen's border town of Marib, killing seven children and wounding 25 other civilians.¹⁵⁹ On July 25, Houthi forces launch a ballistic missile into the Saudi Ahad Al-Masarihah Military Camp along the Yemen border, destroying several armored vehicles and killing a large number of soldiers.¹⁶⁰
- July 28, 2016 August 3, 2016: Houthi militants abduct and murder four tribal sheikhs from Yemen's Al Bayda province. The bodies display evidence of torture before they were each shot in the head.¹⁶¹
- August 2016 September 2016: Houthi forces continue to launch missiles into Saudi Arabia and continue to clash with Saudi and Arab coalition forces along the Saudi-Yemen border. On August 2, UAE forces foil a Houthi forces offensive attempting to recapture strategic locations in Yemen's southcentral province of Shabwa, killing 30 militants.¹⁶² On August 10, Houthi forces launch two intercepted missiles targeting the southern Saudi city of Abha in a failed attack.¹⁶³ The next day, Saudi forces kill Iranian-backed Houthi leader Saleh al-Houthi Mouawad Kibsi and 40 other Houthi militants near the kingdom's southwestern border with Yemen.¹⁶⁴ Throughout the rest of the month and into September, Houthi forces continue to launch missiles into Saudi Arabia's southern provinces, killing at least 10 civilians.¹⁶⁵ On September 4, Houthi rebels attack the Saudi border towns of Midi and Haradh, killing between 40 and 50 individuals, including government soldiers.¹⁶⁶ A week later, Houthi rebels claim they captured a Saudi military post in the border region of Jizan. The Saudi military denies these claims.¹⁶⁷
- September 21, 2016: Suspected Houthi rebels in the Island of Hanish and Zagar attack the Eritrean international airport and Navy headquarters in Assab, a port city in the Southern Red Sea region of Eritrea. The mortar attack causes damage to the sites.¹⁶⁸
- September 24, 2016: Arab coalition forces kill head of Houthi Special Forces Major-General Hassan Almalsi while he and a squad of Houthi fighters were attempting to infiltrate Saudi Arabia's southern province of Najran.¹⁶⁹
- October 9, 2016 October 13, 2016: Houthis are believed to be behind a series of attacks against the U.S. Navy, leading the United States to engage the rebels directly for the first time since the crisis began launching counterattacks in Houthi-held areas. On October 9, suspected Houthi rebels fire a pair of missiles in a failed attack on the U.S.



Navy destroyer *USS Mason* near the Bab el-Mandeb Strait.¹⁷⁰ On October 12, the Houthis are allegedly behind another failed missile attack on the *Mason*. The U.S. Navy launches Tomahawk cruise missiles against Houthi-controlled radar sites along the Yemeni coast.¹⁷¹

- October 27, 2016: Houthis launch a ballistic missile toward the Islamic holy city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia, according to a statement by the Saudi-led coalition. Houthis confirm that they had launched a missile into Saudi Arabia but claim that they had been aiming for King Abdulaziz International Airport in Jeddah.¹⁷²
- November 19, 2016: The Houthis are accused by a Saudi general of launching a ballistic missile at the eastern Saudi province of Marib, in violation of a cease-fire.¹⁷³
- January 30, 2017: Houthis attack a Saudi ship off the coast of Yemen, allegedly ramming into the ship and causing an explosion, killing two crew members and injuring three. Separately, the group launches a ballistic missile on a Saudi military base on the Red Sea island of Zuqar. Rockets also hit and damage U.N. offices in southern Saudi Arabia in an

attack Saudi Arabia attributed to Houthis.¹⁷⁴

• December 2-4, 2017: On December 2, former President Ali Abdullah Saleh offers to "turn a new page" with the Saudiled coalition fighting against Houthi forces if the Saudis end their month-long blockade of the country. Saleh's supporters had until then fought alongside Houthi rebels, but the Houthis view Saleh's offer as a betrayal and fighting breaks out between the rebels and Saleh's loyalists. At least 125 people are killed and 238 are wounded in the fighting. On December 4, Houthi forces stop Saleh at a checkpoint as he is trying to leave Sanaa and kill the former president. The Houthi-controlled Interior Ministry announces Saleh's death later in the day. Saleh's General People's Congress

party confirms he was killed by a sniper. Houthi forces also announce that they had blown up Saleh's home in Sanaa.¹⁷⁵

- **December 19, 2017:** The Houthis target Al Yamama royal palace in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia with a missile. Saudi forces says it intercepted the missile.¹⁷⁶
- January 8, 2018: The Houthis release a video that they claim shows the rebels shooting down a Royal Saudi Air Force F-15S over Yemen. Saudi Arabia confirms the crash but says it is due to "technical errors."¹⁷⁷
- January 30, 2018: The Houthis launch a ballistic missile at Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah Airport.¹⁷⁸
- March 25, 2018: Houthi rebels fire seven modified scud missiles at Saudi Arabia. Four missiles target air defense and military bases in the cities of Abha, Jizan, and Najran. Three missiles target Riyadh, killing one civilian.¹⁷⁹
- April 3, 2018: The Houthis claim to damage a coalition warship near Hodeidah while Saudi Arabia claims the group targeted an oil tanker, causing only minor damage to the ship.¹⁸⁰
- April 11, 2018: The Houthis launch a ballistic missile at Riyadh, Saudi Arabia and claim to conduct a drone attack on a Saudi Aramco oil refinery in Jizan province.¹⁸¹
- April 28, 2018: The Houthis launch eight ballistic missiles at Saudi Arabia's Jizan province. Four missiles are intercepted and one Saudi national is killed.¹⁸²
- May 9, 2018: The Houthis fire multiple missiles at Riyadh targeting "economic centers." At least four blasts are heard throughout the city.¹⁸³
- May 10, 2018: The Houthis are suspected of targeting and damaging a Turkish cargo ship delivering 50,000 tons of wheat to the Yemeni port of Salif.¹⁸⁴
- June 10, 2018: The Houthis launch a missile at Saudi Arabia's Jizan province, killing three civilians.¹⁸⁵
- June 13, 2018: The Houthis strike a UAE naval vessel with two missiles near Hodeidah. The attack occurs during a Saudi-led operation to recapture the port city.¹⁸⁶
- July 18, 2018: The Houthis claim to have attacked a Saudi Aramco refinery in Riyadh with a drone. The oil company denies this claim, stating that the fire at the facility was caused by "an operational incident."¹⁸⁷
- July 25, 2018: The Houthis slightly damage a Saudi oil tanker in the Red Sea.¹⁸⁸



- August 4, 2018: The Houthis claim to conduct a drone attack against a Saudi military base in the country's Asir province.¹⁸⁹
- August 6, 2018: Houthi rebels launch a missile at the Saudi city of Najran. The missile is intercepted by Saudi air defense systems and no casualties are reported.¹⁹⁰
- August 9, 2018: The Houthis launch a ballistic missile at the Saudi city of Jizan, killing one civilian and wounding 11 others.¹⁹¹
- August 27, 2018: The Houthis claim to target a UAE airport with a drone. The UAE denies the attack occurred and there is no evidence of any damage to the facility.¹⁹²
- September 4, 2018: The Houthis claim a missile attack on an Aramco facility in Saudi Arabia's Jizan province.¹⁹³
- **September 5, 2018:** The Houthis launch a ballistic missile at the Saudi city of Najran. Twenty-six people are wounded by shrapnel when the missile is intercepted by Saudi defense systems.¹⁹⁴
- September 15, 2018: Saudi Arabia intercepts a Houthi missile targeting Jizan, Saudi Arabia.¹⁹⁵
- September 20, 2018: Saudi Arabia intercepts two Houthi-controlled boats laden with explosives outside of the Saudi port of Jizan.¹⁹⁶
- October 5, 2018: Houthi forces fire three shells at an IDP camp in Hodeidah, killing one woman and injuring others.¹⁹⁷
- **December 7, 2018:** An Associated Press report accuses the Houthis of carrying out rampant detention and torture of political opponents in areas under its control.¹⁹⁸
- January 5, 2019: Houthi forces kill two civilians and wound 16 others when they shell the 7th July neighborhood of Taiz.¹⁹⁹
- January 10, 2019: Houthi forces target a Yemeni military parade with a drone, killing five and wounding twenty soldiers, including the Yemeni army's chief of staff who would later die of his wounds.²⁰⁰
- February 17, 2019: Houthi forces launch several attacks across Yemen's northern border killing nine Saudi soldiers in the provinces of Aseer, Jazan, and Najran.²⁰¹
- March 11, 2019: After weeks of intense fighting, Houthi forces seize several besieged villages in northern Yemen. Progovernment media outlets accuse the Houthis of killing 62 civilians and displacing 268 families. The Houthis blame the Saudi-backed coalition for some of the civilian deaths.²⁰²
- May 14, 2019: The Houthis carry out several drone attacks on Saudi oil facilities.²⁰³
- May 15, 2019: Fighting resumes between the Houthis and pro-government forces in Hodeidah, threatening the ceasefire there.²⁰⁴
- May 20, 2019: The Houthis launch two ballistic missiles at Saudi Arabia. The Saudi government says it intercepted the missiles over Mecca province.²⁰⁵
- May 21, 2019: The Houthis attack an airport in the Saudi city of Najran with a bomb-laden drone.²⁰⁶
- June 11, 2019: The Houthis launch two drones at the southwest Saudi city of Khamis Mushait.²⁰⁷
- June 12, 2019: The Houthis successfully strike Saudi Arabia's Abha airport with a cruise missile, injuring a reported 26.²⁰⁸
- June 19, 2019: A Houthi-launched projectile hits a power-transformer station near a desalination plant in Saudi Arabia.²⁰⁹



- June 23, 2019: The Houthis successfully strike Saudi Arabia's Abha airport with a cruise missile, killing one.²¹⁰
- July 2, 2019: The Houthis again strike Saudi Arabia's Abha airport, this time with a drone, injuring nine.²¹¹
- July 6, 2019: Houthi forces carry out drone attacks on military sites at the Abha airport in southern Saudi Arabia. Earlier that day, Houthis also claim targeting warplane hangars and other military sites in Saudi Jizan airport.²¹²
- July 15, 2019: The Saudi-led coalition intercepts and downs three Houthi drones that were launched towards the southwestern Saudi cities of Jizan and Abha.²¹³
- July 16, 2019: Houthi forces launch a drone attack on Jizan airport in southwestern Saudi Arabia.²¹⁴
- July 20, 2019: Saudi-coalition fighter jets take out at least five Houthi air defense sites around Sanaa.²¹⁵
- July 28, 2019: Houthi forces launch indiscriminate attacks in the Al-Rawdhah neighborhood of Taiz. The attack kills one child and injures three others.²¹⁶
- July 29, 2019: The Saudi-coalition launches an airstrike on a market in northern Yemen, killing 14 people and wounding more than 26 others. The attack is a response to a Houthi drone attack on a Saudi airbase.²¹⁷
- August 1, 2019: Houthi rebels initiate twin attacks in the city of Aden. Suicide bombers blast a police station in one neighborhood while the rebels fire a missile at a military parade of UAE-trained militia. At least 51 people are killed in the attacks.²¹⁸
- August 5, 2019: Houthi forces launch drone attacks on Saudi Arabia's King Khalid Air Base and Abha and Najran airports.²¹⁹
- August 13, 2019: Yemen's Houthi movement launches drone attacks on the airport of Abha in southwest Saudi Arabia.²²⁰
- August 16, 2019: The Houthis launch drone attacks on Saudi Arabia's Abha international airport, halting air traffic. The Saudi-led coalition reports that the drone was intercepted and shot down.²²¹
- August 17, 2019: Houthi rebels deploy 10 drones to strike Saudi Arabia's Shaybah oil field, one of the kingdom's largest. There are no injuries and no disruption to the field's production.²²²
- August 19, 2019: The Houthis launch a ballistic missile on a military parade in the province of Marib. Official numbers have not been reported, but the attack kills and wounds dozens of soldiers.²²³
- August 21, 2019: Houthi rebels shoot down a U.S. drone with an air missile. The U.S. suspects the missile to be provided by Iran although the Houthis claim the weapon was developed locally.²²⁴
- August 22, 2019: Houthi forces launch two drones towards the city of Khamis Mushait, Saudi Arabia. Saudi forces intercept and down the two drones.²²⁵
- August 25, 2019: Houthi rebels fire 10 ballistic missiles at Jizan airport in southwest Saudi Arabia. The Saudi-led coalition intercepts and destroys at least six of the missiles. It is unreported if there were any casualties in the attack. That same day, the Arab military coalition fighting the Houthis in Yemen intercept and down a drone that the rebels claim they launched in the direction of a Saudi airbase. A Houthi military spokesperson cited by the group's Al Masirah TV earlier said the group had launched drones targeting the control towers of the Abha airport and the Khamis Mushait airbase, both in the southwest of the kingdom.²²⁶
- August 26, 2019: Houthi rebels launch armed drones at a "military target" in Riyadh. It is unreported if there are any casualties or injuries.²²⁷
- August 27, 2019: Saudi-led coalition forces intercept and down a Houthi drone launched toward the kingdom from Yemen. Houthi's Al Masirah TV does not announce the attack. Also on the 27th, Houthi rebels conduct a large-scale attack in Saada. As many as 25 soldiers of the Saudi-backed government forces are killed and an unreported number



are injured.²²⁸

• August 28, 2019: Houthi rebels launch a cruise missile towards Saudi Arabia's Abha airport. Yahya Saria, the group's military spokesman, confirms Houthi responsibility for the attack. The missile targeted plane hangars and led to air traffic being halted in the airport. No casualties or injuries are reported. Also that day, the Houthis launch armed

drones on "military targets" in the Saudi regions of Jizan and Najran.²²⁹

• September 1, 2019: The Saudi-led military coalition launch airstrikes in southwest Yemen, eventually hitting a prison complex. The Sunni Muslim coalition says it destroyed a site storing drones and missiles in Dhamar. Over 100 people are killed in the attack. The head of the Houthis' national committee for prisoner affairs, Abdul Qader al-Mortada, said

many of those held were due to be released in a local deal to exchange prisoners of war.²³⁰

• **September 3, 2019:** Houthi rebels launch multiple drone attacks on King Khalid Air Base in the southwest of Saudi Arabia. Earlier in the day, Houthis fire several ballistic missiles towards Najran airport in the southwest of the bingdom. No accurate the provide the bingdom of the bingdom

kingdom. No casualties or injuries are reported in both instances.²³¹

• September 14, 2019: Drone attacks are launched on two key oil installations in Abqaiq, Saudi Arabia. The Houthis claim responsibility for the attack. Although there are no casualties, the damaged oil facilities process the majority of the country's crude output which raises the risk of a disruption in world oil supplies. In January 2020, a U.N. Security

Council investigation concludes that the Houthis did not carry out the attack.²³²

- September 24, 2019: Saudi forces intercept and destroy two ballistic missiles fired from Sanaa.²³³
- September 28, 2019: Houthi rebels claim to have killed 500 Saudi soldiers, captured a further 2,000, and seized a convoy of Saudi military vehicles in the southern Najran region of Saudi Arabia. The claims could not be corroborated have been denied by Saudi forces.²³⁴
- November 6, 2019: Houthi rebels launch drones and fire at least four missiles at warehouses in the port town of al-Makha, killing at least eight and wounding at least 12. At least three other missiles are intercepted. The warehouses are used by the Giants Bridges militia allied with Yemen's internationally recognized government. Government forces say the attack also targeted a refugee camp and a hospital run by Doctors Without Borders.²³⁵
- November 17, 2019: Houthi rebels hijack the Saudi tugboat Rabigh-3 while it is towing a South Korean drilling rig in the Red Sea. A Houthi spokesman acknowledges the seizure in what he calls a "suspicious case" off the Yemeni coast. He says the boat will be released if it is determined to belong to South Korea.²³⁶
- **December 29, 2019:** A ballistic missile strikes a military parade for new recruits held at a soccer field in the capital of Dhale Province by the UAE-backed separatist militia the Resistance Forces. The attack kills at least 10, including four children, and wounds 21. There are no immediate claims of responsibility but the militia blames Houthi rebels.²³⁷
- January 2020: On January 18, ballistic missiles strike a mosque at the al-Estiqbal military camp in Marib, killing at least 116 people. It is reportedly one of the deadliest attacks in the civil war. There are no immediate claims of responsibility but the government blames Houthi rebels. On January 20, government forces fight Houthi rebels east of

Marib. Senior Houthi commander Jaber Al Muwaed is reportedly killed in the fighting.²³⁸

- January 25, 2020 January 30, 2020: Houthi military spokesman, Yahya Sarea, releases a statement claiming the Iran-aligned group has launched 26 rocket attacks between January 25th and the 30th against airports in southern Saudi Arabia. The targets also included the facilities of oil company Saudi Aramco, and "two sensitive targets." Saudi authorities have not confirmed the strikes, but if confirmed, they will be the first by the Houthis on Saudi Arabia since September 2019.²³⁹
- February 11, 2020: Houthi rebels carry out a missile attack against the Amajed army base in Abyan, southern Yemen. The attack kills three soldiers and wounds 15 others.²⁴⁰
- March 14, 2020: Houthi militants carry out a missile attack in Taiz, southwest Yemen. The missile strikes a civilian vehicle, killing five and wounding an unconfirmed number of others.²⁴¹
- March 17, 2020: Houthi rebels launch ballistic missiles in Al-Yatma, north of Al-Jawf. The attack targeted a meeting of senior military and tribal leaders, including Amin Al-Akeemi, the governor of Al-Jawf. Al-Akeemi survives the attack, but



four others are killed.²⁴²

- March 28, 2020: Houthi rebels launch ballistic missiles, targeting Riyadh and Jizan, Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia's air defenses intercept the attack. However, two civilians are injured from debris fallout.²⁴³
- April 6, 2020: Houthi rebels launch a shelling attack in Taiz, southwestern Yemen. The shelling hits a women's prison, killing at least six prisoners.²⁴⁴
- June 23, 2020: A Houthi military spokesman claims the rebels launched drone and ballistic missile strikes on Riyadh, targeting the defense and intelligence ministries as well as an air base. The Saudi government says it intercepted one ballistic missile but has no comment on other projectiles.²⁴⁵
- July 13, 2020: Houthi rebels claim to have launched a missile attack from Sanaa on a large oil facility in Jizan, Saudi Arabia. The Saudi-led military fighting the Houthis allege they intercept the attack. Yahya Sarea, the Houthi's military spokesman, claims that the group also launched attacks on Saudi military sites near the Yemen border on the same day, killing and injuring dozens of military officers. However, Saudi Arabia does not confirm the attack.²⁴⁶
- August 16, 2020: Houthi rebels launch a missile attack in both the northeast and east of Sanaa. The attacks kill nine soldiers and wound four others.²⁴⁷
- **September 10, 2020:** Houthi rebels launch a ballistic missile and drones toward Riyadh, which Saudi forces intercept. The Houthis claim to have attacked an "important target." According to Sarea, the attacks are "a response to the enemy's permanent escalation and its continuing blockade against our country" and will continue as long as Saudi Arabia "continues its aggression" against Yemen.²⁴⁸
- **September 19, 2020:** Houthi rebels launch a missile that targets Saudi Arabia's Jizan province. The attack wounds five civilians.²⁴⁹
- September 23, 2020: The Houthis launch a missile against a Saudi base near the Yemen border, allegedly killing 10, according to Iranian media.²⁵⁰
- October 1, 2020: Houthi fighters attack an army post in Al Hudaydah province. At least three militants are killed.²⁵¹
- October 4, 2020: A Houthi missile launched from Yemen hits Jizan, Saudi Arabia. There are no reported casualties.²⁵²
- October 5, 2020: The Arab coalition in Yemen destroys a remote-controlled explosive-filled Houthi boat near As-Salif, Yemen.²⁵³
- October 23-25, 2020: Houthi drones target the Jizan and Abha airports and the Khamis Mushait base in Saudi Arabia. The Saudi military intercepts four drones over the three-day period.²⁵⁴
- October 28, 2020: The Saudi-led Arab coalition destroys six Houthi drones and three ballistic missiles targeting Saudi Arabia. There is no reported damage.²⁵⁵
- November 22, 2020: Houthi forces fire a missile that strikes a Saudi Aramco oil company distribution center in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. According to Houthi spokesman Yahya Sarea, the strike was carried out in response to the Saudi-led coalition's actions in Yemen. Sarea also stated that foreign companies and Saudi residents should exercise caution as Houthi "operations will continue."²⁵⁶
- November 25, 2020: An explosion damages a Maltese-flagged oil tanker in the Saudi port of Shuqaiq, causing minor damage. The Saudi government blames the Houthis.²⁵⁷
- **December 3, 2020:** Mortar shells strike the Thabit Brothers industrial compound in Hodeidah, killing at least eight and wounding 13 others. The government blames Houthi militants.²⁵⁸
- December 14, 2020: An explosives-filled boat attacks a Singapore-flagged oil tanker near Saudi Arabia's port city of Jeddah, causing a small fire but no casualties. The Houthis are suspected in the attack.²⁵⁹
- December 16, 2020: An unidentified projectile strikes Saudi Arabia's Jizan province, causing no damage or casualties.



Saudi authorities blame the Houthis.²⁶⁰

- December 30, 2020: As a plane carrying Yemen's newly confirmed government arrives from Saudi Arabia, an explosion at Aden's airport kills at least 25 and wounds more than 110 others. The Saudi-led coalition reportedly shoots down a bomb-laden drone over a palace where the new cabinet members were taken after arrival. No cabinet ministers are injured in the attack. Yemeni Prime Minister Maeen Abdulmalik Saeed accuses the Houthi militia and its primary sponsor, Iran, of responsibility. According to investigators, the Houthis fired four ballistic missiles at the airport. A Houthi official denies responsibility.²⁶¹
- January 6, 2021: Houthi militants kidnap three engineers employed by the Safer Company for Oil Exploration and Production in Sanaa. Two of the engineers are kidnapped off a bus, while the third is taken at his home. Separately, Houthi attacks on homes in Taiz leave six dead and seven wounded. Four of the dead are children.²⁶²

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Designations:

Designations by the U.S. Government:



April 14, 2015: The U.S. Department of the Treasury designated Houthi leader "Abdul Malik al-Houthi" as a Specially Designated National (SDN).²⁶³

The U.S. Department of the Treasury designated Sultan Zabin pursuant to the Global Magnitsky Executive Order for being a foreign person who is a leader or official of an entity that has engaged in, or whose members have engaged in, serious human rights abuse relating to their tenure on December 10, 2020.²⁶⁵

The U.S. Department of the Treasury designated Motlaq Amer al-Marrani pursuant to the Global Magnitsky Executive Order for being a foreign person who is a leader or official of an entity that has engaged in, or whose members have engaged in, serious human rights abuse relating to their tenure on December 10, 2020.²⁶⁷

The U.S. Department of State designated Ansarallah, a.k.a. the Houthis, as a Foreign Terrorist Organization on January 19, 2021.²⁶⁹

The U.S. Department of State designated Abd al-Khaliq Badr al-Din al-Houthi as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist on January 19, 2021.²⁷¹ The U.S. Department of the Treasury designated former commander of Yemen's Republican Guard "Ahmed Ali Saleh" as a Specially Designated National (SDN).²⁶⁴

The U.S. Department of the Treasury designated Abdul Rahab Jarfan pursuant to the Global Magnitsky Executive Order for being a foreign person who is a leader or official of an entity that has engaged in, or whose members have engaged in, serious human rights abuse relating to their tenure on December 10, 2020.²⁶⁶

The U.S. Department of the Treasury designated Qader al-Shami pursuant to the Global Magnitsky Executive Order for being a foreign person who is a leader or official of an entity that has engaged in, or whose members have engaged in, serious human rights abuse relating to their tenure on December 10, 2020.²⁶⁸

The U.S. Department of State designated Abdul Malik al-Houthi as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist on January 19, 2021.²⁷⁰

The U.S. Department of State designated Abdullah Yahya al Hakim as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist on January 19, 2021.²⁷²

Designations by Foreign Governments and Organizations:



Saudi Arabia designated the Houthis as a terrorist group in March 2014.²⁷³



The United Arab Emirates designated "The Houthi Movement in Yemen" as a terrorist organization in November 2014.²⁷⁴





November 7, 2014: The U.N. Security Council designated "Abd al-Khaliq al-Huthi."²⁷⁵ November 7, 2014: The U.N. Security Council designated "Abdullah Yahya al Hakim."²⁷⁶

April 14, 2015: The U.N. Security Council designated "Abdulmalik al-Houthi."²⁷⁷

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²⁷⁶ Security Council, "Security Council 2140 Sanctions Committee Designates Three Individuals as Subject to Assets Freeze, Travel Ban," United Nations, November 7, 2014, <u>http://www.un.org/press/en/2014/sc11636.doc.htm</u> [296].

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Associations:

Ties to Extremist Entities:





Hamas [299] Higher-ups in the Houthi movement have expressed support for Hamas. Before he was killed in 2004, Houthis founder Hussein al-Houthi made it a point to praise Hamas for its wars against Israel.²⁸⁰In October 2014, a member of the Houthis political party stated that the Houthis and Hamas share "a common stand vis-a-vis Israel" and the United States.²⁸¹



ary Guard Cor s (IRGC) [301] The Houthis have received training and military equipment from Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard

Corps (IRGC). According to the Saudi ambassador to the United States, the "first thing the Houthis did when they entered and occupied Sanaa was to free Iranian Revolutionary Guards operatives and Hezbollah operatives from the jails."Warren Strobel and Mark Hosenball, "Elite Iranian guards training Yemen's Houthis: U.S. officials," Reuters, March 27, 2015, ity-houthis-iran-idUSKBN0MN2MI20150327 http:/ [15]. In December 2020, the United States levied financial sanctions on Hasan Irlu, whom the government accused of being Iran's envoy to the Houthis. The U.S. government accuses Iran of being the only nation to officially recognize, and appoint formal representation to, the Houthis. According to the U.S. government, Irlu is a member of the IRGC's Quds Force who has provided advanced weapons and training to the Houthis through coordinated support from other Quds Force leaders²⁰⁷ The Iranian ship Jihan I was seized allegedly en route to Yemen in 2013 with arms meant for the Houthis. The cache, as Reuters reported in December 2014, included, "Katyusha rockets M-122, heat-seeking surface-to-air missiles, RPG-7s, Iranian-made night vision goggles and 'artillery systems that track land and navy targets 40km away" as well as "silencers, 2.66 tonnes of RDX explosives, C-4 explosives, ammunition, bullets and electrical transistors."²⁰⁸



No known cooperative links exist between the Houthis and Iraqi Shiite paramilitary group the Badr Organization. Badr members have, however, rallied in Iraq in support of the Houthi rebels.²⁷⁹



Hezbollah [300] Saudi officials allege that Hezbollah has provided training to the Houthi rebels.³⁶² According to the Saudi Ambassador to the United States, the "first thing the Houthis did when they entered and occupied Sanaa was to free Iranian Revolutionary Guards operatives and Hezbollah operatives from the jails.³⁶² Moreover, Houthi rhetoric as early as 2004 indicates the group looks up to Hezbollah due to its anti-American, anti-Israel stance.³⁶⁴ According to a number of analysts, the Houthis may also have modeled their organization after Hezbollah.³⁶⁵ In October 2014, the Associated Press reported that the Houthis were "poised to become Yemen's version of the Shitte Hezbollah in Lehanon—top powerbrokers dominating the government and running a virtual state-within-a-state.^{,286}



Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) [302] Higher-ups in the Houthi movement have expressed support for Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). Mohammed al-Bukhaiti, a member of the Houthis political party, has stated that the Houthis and PIJ share "a common stand vis-a-vis Israel" and the United States.²⁸⁹

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²⁸² "Iran and Hezbollah trained Houthis to 'harm Yemenis,'" Al Arabiya, April 7, 2015, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/04/07/Iran-and-Hezbollah-trained-Houthis-to-harm-Yemenis-.html [306].

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Media Coverage:



Rhetoric:



[309]



Yahya Sarea, Houthi spokesman, January 13, 2019 [309]

"Soon there will be enough [armed drones] in the strategic stockpile to launch more than one drone operation in multiple battle fronts at the same time." 290

Abdul-Malik al-Houthi, March 25, 2018 [310]

"In the fourth year of the war, we will use more developed and more diverse missile systems which will overcome all American and non-American air defence systems to target Saudi Arabia,...We'll use our Badr [short-range ballistic missiles] and Burkan missiles, long-range drones which have excellent military capabilities. We will activate military institutions in an unprecedented way and open up more opportunities to recruit the children and men of our people to fight."²⁹¹



<u>Mohammed al-Bukhaiti, spokesman and member of Houthi Political Council,</u> <u>April 29, 2018 [311]</u>

"The Yemenis have added new systems for manufacturing missiles, so more missiles are targeting Saudi Arabia as a part of an escalation."²⁹²



Brigadier General Sharaf Ghaleb Loqman, June 1, 2018 [312]

"From now on Abu Dhabi is no longer safe, it will be within our ballistic missiles' range... Islands and areas, where the occupation forces of the Saudi-UAE-led coalition are stationing, will be a cemetery."²⁹³

العلمه أكمبسسر الموت لأمىريكا الموت لإسرائيل اللعنة على اليهود النصر للإسبارم [313]

Houthis slogan [313]

"God is great! Death to America! Death to Israel! Curse upon the Jews! Victory to Islam!" $^{\rm 294}$



Houthis Rally Slogan, February 20, 2015 [314]

"Against extortion and the American conspiracies and their agents... our revolution continues." $^{\prime\prime 295}$



Mohammed al-Bukhaiti, member of Houthis political party, Fall 2014 [315]

"What we have in common with Iran or Hezbollah or Hamas and Islamic Jihad, is that we have a common stand vis-a-vis Israel and US and we will cooperate with any political actor in the region who stands in the face of the US regional designs."²⁹⁶

Mohammed Abdul Salam, Houthis Spokesman, September 2014 [316]

"The authorities want the people to realize that peaceful options aren't acceptable ... and





are no use in correcting the situation."297

[316]



Letter from Houthi rebels, January 2007 [317]

"They [the Jews] have taken part in actions and movements that serve global Zionism first and foremost, and are working diligently at corrupting people and making them abandon their values, their moral and religious values, and spread all kinds of abominations throughout society... Our Islam religion compels us to fight the corrupt and denounce them."298



Hussein al-Houthi, Founder, Date Not Determined [318]

"[Hezbollah is the] head of mujahidin in this world, they are the ones who present martyrs, the ones who truly preserve the water of the face of the *umma*."²⁹⁹



Hussein al-Houthi, Founder, Date Not Determined [319]

"[The goal of the Houthis' slogan is to] ingrain in the minds of Muslims that America is the criminal terrorist, that America is evil, that Jews and Christians are evil..."300



Hussein al-Houthi, Founder, Date Not Determined [320]

"Jews know that the Sunnis will not pose any danger to them . . . are the leaders of the Islamic world today not Sunni? Are they not the ones who agreed, who hurried to agree, that America is to lead the world against what is referred to as terrorism?"³⁰¹



Hussein al-Houthi, Founder, Date Not Determined [321]

"[I]f the issue of confronting Israel were brought to a popular referendum . . . [the people] would vote 90 percent in favor of confronting America and Israel."302



Hussein al-Houthi, Founder, Date Not Determined [322]

"[Our slogans] from Americans'—the Christians' and Jews'—point of view... form an extreme danger to them."³⁰³



Hussein al-Houthi, Founder, Date Not Determined [323]

"[I]f the [Arab] leaders united, they would be able to strike Israel."³⁰⁴

[323]





Hussein al-Houthi, Founder, Date Not Determined [324]

"Usama [bin-Laden] and the Taliban are not the ones being targeted. The event that occurred in New York [9/11] is not what motivated America. Who knows, the American intelligence could be the ones who carried out that event, to create justifications and clear the air for them to strike those who really form a danger to them, and they are the Shi'a, they are the Shi'a."³⁰⁵



Hussein al-Houthi, Founder, Date Not Determined [325]

"It is clear in front of us collectively that Israel is powerful over the Arabs... [and] that Jews and Christians are the masters of Muslims." 306



Hussein al-Houthi, Founder, Date Not Determined [326]

"[The Muslim world is in a state of weakness] under the feet of the Jews and Christians." $^{\rm 307}$

²⁹⁰ "Yemen's Houthis threaten more drone attacks," Reuters, January 13, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security/yemens-houthis-threaten-more-drone-attacks-idUSKCN1P70E1 [327]. ²⁹¹ "Saudi Arabia: Houthi missile attack kills Egyptian in Riyadh," Al Jazeera, March 26, 2018, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/yemen-houthi-rebels-fire-ballistic-missile-riyadh-180325211734660.html [328]. ²⁹² "Houthi rebels vow to step up attacks on Saudi oil facilities," *Financial Times*, April 29, 2018, https://www.ft.com/content/1c983caa-4a2b-11e8-8ae9-4b5ddcca99b3 [329]. ²⁹³ "Houthi official: 'Abu Dhabi is no longer safe'," Al Jazeera, June 1, 2018, https://www.aliazeera.com/news/2018/06/houthi-official-abu-dhabi-longer-safe-180601215207412.html [119]; "Abu Dhabi No Longer Safe," Al Manar, Juen 2, 2018, https://english.almanar.com.lb/516118 [330]. 294 Nabih Bulos and Patrick J. McDonnell, "'Death to America! Death to Israel!' Say Houthis in Yemen," Los Angeles Times, February 20, 2015, http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-death-to-america-death-to-israel-say-houthis-in-yemen-201502 0-story.html [331]. ²⁹⁵ Nabih Bulos and Patrick J. McDonnell, "'Death to America! Death to Israel!' Say Houthis in Yemen," Los Angeles Times, February 20, 2015, http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-death-to-america-death-to-israel-say-houthis-in-yemen-20150220-story.html [331]. ²⁹⁶ "Q&A: What do the Houthis want?," Al Jazeera, October 2, 2014, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/10/ga-what-do-houthis-want-2014101104640578131.html [305] ²⁹⁷ Reuters, "Gun Battle in Yemeni Capital After Soldiers Kill Four Shi'ites," New York Times, September 9, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/09/09/world/middleeast/09reuters-yemen-unrest.html? r=0 [332]. 298 Roee Nahmias, "Yemenite Jews under threat," Ynetnews, January 22, 2007, http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0.7340,L-3355506,00.html [139]. ²⁹⁹ Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 121, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG962.pdf [22]. ³⁰⁰ Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 120, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG962.pdf [22]. ³⁰¹ Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 120, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG962.pdf [22]. ³⁰² Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 120, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG962.pdf [22]. ³⁰³ Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 119, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG962.pdf [22].

³⁰⁴ Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 118, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG962.pdf [22].

³⁰⁵ Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 118, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG962.pdf [22].



³⁰⁶ Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 118, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG962.pdf [22].

³⁰⁷ Barak A. Salmoni, Bryce Loidolt, and Madeleine Wells, *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2010), 117, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG962.pdf [22]