YEMEN

THE UNTOLD STORY

A Fact-Based Documentation of the Yemen Crisis

The Blockade, The Bombardment, The History, The Players

Sources: United Nations (UNDP, UNICEF, WHO, OCHA, IPC), Save the Children, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Yemen Data Project, Airwars, Pentagon Reports, BAE Systems Annual Reports, US Senate Testimony, WikiLeaks Cables, Oxford University Press, Brookings Institution, Carnegie Corporation

All figures documented with verifiable sources

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Chapter 1

YEMEN: ONE OF THE WORLD'S OLDEST CIVILIZATIONS

Yemen is one of the oldest centres of civilization in the world. Its history stretches back at least 5,000 years, with large settlements existing in the mountains of northern Yemen as early as 5000 BC. Archaeological evidence demonstrates that this civilization was as ancient and advanced as those of Mesopotamia and the Nile Valley.

The Romans called Yemen 'Arabia Felix' (Happy Arabia) because, unlike the harsh deserts of the rest of the peninsula, Yemen was green, fertile, and wealthy. Its rainfall, agriculture, and trade made it the jewel of Arabia.

The Kingdom of Saba (Sheba) rose to prominence around 800 BCE. The Queen of Sheba (Bilqis), mentioned in the Quran, Bible, and Torah, ruled from this civilization. The Sabaeans controlled the Incense Route, linking India to the Mediterranean, and built the Great Dam of Marib around 750 BC, one of the greatest engineering achievements of the ancient world.

The Himyarite Kingdom (275-525 CE) unified nearly all of Yemen under one crown. After the arrival of Islam in the 7th century, Yemeni soldiers and scholars played a crucial role in the expansion of Islamic civilization across the world. The Zaidi Imamate established itself in the northern highlands in 897 CE, and in various forms lasted over 1,000 years.

Yemen gave the world the Incense Route, the South Arabian alphabet, the Great Dam of Marib, coffee (the word 'mocha' comes from the Yemeni port of Mokha), and the mud-brick skyscrapers of Shibam, a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Out of roughly 3,200 years of recorded Yemeni civilization, the country has been divided for only about 165 years (approximately 5% of its history), and every division was caused or deepened by foreign intervention.

Chapter 2

THE BRITISH COLONIAL LEGACY (1839-1967)

Britain seized Aden in 1839. It was the only Arab territory to have been a colony directly ruled by the British Crown. Other British outposts in the Middle East, like Egypt and Palestine, were mandates or protectorates. Aden was a colony, governed initially as part of British India until 1937.

Britain didn't just control Aden. It created the concept of a divided Yemen. It established protectorates over 24 sultanates, emirates, and sheikhdoms in the hinterland, exerting control through what the analyst Fred Halliday described as 'bribery, bluff, and bombing.'

The 1904 Ottoman-British agreement formally drew a border across Yemen, creating 'Ottoman Yemen' (north) and 'British Yemen' (south). This line had no basis in Yemeni tribal, linguistic, cultural, or historical division. It was where two empires agreed to stop bumping into each other.

Britain also played a crucial role in the creation of Saudi Arabia. The Treaty of Darin (1915) made Ibn Saud's territories a British protectorate. Britain provided him with weapons, supplies, and a monthly 'tribute' of 5,000 pounds. Without British support, the Saudi state may never have emerged.

Britain left South Yemen in 1967 after 128 years of colonial rule, forced out by armed resistance. But it never stopped profiting from Yemen's suffering. Since 2015, Britain has been the second-largest arms supplier to the Saudi military conducting the bombing campaign against Yemen.

[Source: Fred Halliday, 'Arabia Without Sultans'; British National Archives; Treaty of Darin historical records; CAAT analysis of UK arms export data]

Chapter 3

THE 1934 SAUDI-YEMENI WAR AND TREATY OF TAIF

Within one year of Saudi Arabia's emergence as a unified state in 1932, the Kingdom of Yemen had already declared war against its northern neighbour over a border dispute. The 1934 war lasted 87 days (March-June 1934) and ended with the Treaty of Taif, signed on 20 May 1934.

The Treaty of Taif asserted Yemen's sovereignty over the disputed territories, including those formerly held by the Idrisis and in Najran. The territories were essentially 'rented' to Saudi Arabia for 20 lunar years, with the understanding they would be returned after 60 years (three renewal cycles). Yemen also paid Saudi Arabia 100,000 British pounds in gold as an indemnity.

Saudi Arabia withdrew from Hodeidah and other Yemeni cities it had captured, but retained the three provinces of Asir, Najran, and Jizan.

The 60-year return never happened. Yemen was in civil war in 1994 when the return was due. In 2000, the Treaty of Jeddah permanently transferred sovereignty to Saudi Arabia under President Saleh, who depended on Saudi money and support.

Year	Event	Yemen's Position
1934	Treaty of Taif signed	Yemen pays 100,000 gold pounds, loses 3 provinces
1954	First renewal	Yemen too weak to demand return
1974	Second renewal	Details uncertain, claim maintained
1994	60-year return due	Yemen in civil war, no leverage
2000	Treaty of Jeddah	Yemen permanently signs away provinces

[Source: Treaty of Taif text (1934); British Legation Jeddah communications; Treaty of Jeddah (2000)]

Chapter 4

THE THREE STOLEN PROVINCES: ASIR, NAJRAN, JIZAN

The three provinces Saudi Arabia retained after 1934 represent approximately 207,000 km2 of historically Yemeni territory with a combined population of approximately 4.2 million people (2022 Saudi census).

Province	Area (km2)	Population (2022)	Character
Asir	76,693	2,024,285	Green highlands, Yemeni tribal culture
Jizan	11,671	~1,533,680	Red Sea coast, former Idrisid capital
Najran	119,000	~600,000	Mountain/valley, Yam tribe, Ismaili Shia
TOTAL	~207,000	~4.2 million	All culturally Yemeni

Asir hosts King Khalid Air Base (Khamis Mushait), one of Saudi Arabia's most important military installations, from which jets have taken off to bomb Yemen since 2015. The province is now being developed as a tourism destination under Vision 2030, marketing its 'unique culture', which is historically Yemeni culture.

Najran experienced an armed uprising in April 2000, when Shiites rose up against Saudi security forces, charging that the Saudi government had failed to commit to the agreement between the Najranis and King Abdulaziz.

All three provinces are now active conflict zones. Houthi cross-border attacks regularly target these areas, and Saudi border villages have been evacuated.

[Source: Saudi 2022 Census data; Kingdom of Saudi Arabia official statistics; Human Rights Watch reporting on Najran]

Chapter 5

THE IDRISID EMIRATE: THE BUFFER STATE THAT VANISHED

The Idrisid Emirate of Asir was a small independent state on the Red Sea coast, founded in 1906 by Muhammad ibn Ali al-Idrisi, of Moroccan origin. Its capital was Sabya, a city whose name is believed to be linked to the ancient Sabaean Kingdom.

The Lahej Sultanate and other southern entities had broken away from the Zaidi Imamate from approximately 1728-1740, nearly a century before British colonization. This internal fragmentation was real, but it was fluid. Britain and Saudi Arabia made it permanent.

The emirate was squeezed between three powers: Yemen from the south, Saudi Arabia from the north, and Britain from across the sea. In 1926, the Idrisis accepted Saudi 'protection,' which gradually became absorption. When they rebelled in 1932, Saudi Arabia crushed them. The emirate lasted only 28 years (1906-1934).

[Source: 'The History of Saudi Arabia' by Alexei Vasiliev; Idrisid emirate historical records]

Chapter 6

NORTH YEMEN AND SOUTH YEMEN: A COLONIAL DIVISION

From 1967 to 1990, two separate countries existed: North Yemen (Yemen Arab Republic, conservative, Saudi-backed) and South Yemen (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, socialist, Soviet-backed). This was the only officially socialist state in the Arab world.

The two Yemens unified on 22 May 1990 under President Ali Abdullah Saleh. In 1994, the south attempted to secede, leading to a brief civil war which the north won with Saudi and Wahhabi support.

The north-south division existed for 23 years (1967-1990). Out of 3,200 years of Yemeni civilization, this represents less than 1% of the country's history. Every division was caused or deepened by foreign intervention: British colonialism, Ottoman occupation, Saudi interference, or the current war.

[Source: Yemen unification records; UN documentation; historical analysis]

Chapter 7

THE RISE OF THE HOUTHIS: A LOCAL YEMENI MOVEMENT

The Houthi movement was founded in the 1990s by Hussein Badr al-Din al-Houthi as a religious and cultural revival movement among Zaidi Muslims in the Saada governorate. It was a direct reaction to two threats: the discriminatory policies of the central Yemeni government, and the rising proselytization of Saudi-funded Salafi groups in northern Yemen.

The Zaidi tradition has been in Yemen for over 1,100 years (since 893 CE). There are significant doctrinal differences between Zaidi Islam and Iran's Twelver Shiism, leaving Zaydis theologically closer to Sunni Islam than to Iranian practice.

Between 2004 and 2010, the Houthis fought six wars against the Yemeni government. During this entire period, there was no evidence of significant Iranian support. The Houthis fought with local weapons, local fighters, and local grievances.

Key Expert Assessments:

> *"The Houthis are not a proxy of Iran." - Bruce Riedel, retired CIA analyst, senior adviser to four US Presidents*
>
> *"The Houthis are fiercely nationalist, and do not take orders from Iran." - Professor Thomas Juneau, University of Ottawa*
>
> *"It is wrong to code what is happening in Yemen as a Sunni-Shi'i conflict. The Houthis are not an Iranian proxy but a predominantly local political movement." - MERIP (Middle East Research and Information Project)*
>
> *"The Houthis are not an Iranian proxy, even though they benefit from Iranian support. Iran lacks control over Houthi behavior." - Brookings Institution*
>
> *"The Houthis have very explicitly not followed Iranian advice." - Bruce Riedel, CIA (ret.)*

Documented Instances of Houthi Defiance of Iran:

1. Iran opposed the Houthi takeover of Sanaa in 2014. The Houthis did it anyway.

2. The Houthis declared a unilateral ceasefire with Saudi Arabia in 2019 when Iran favoured continued military resistance.

3. A 2025 Reuters investigation reported Houthi officials stated they would not 'dial down' attacks despite appeals from Iranian intermediaries.

4. The Houthis have built independent revenue streams through port taxation and fuel taxation, giving them autonomy a true proxy would not have (RAND Corporation analysis).

[Source: Brookings Institution; National Interest (Sept 2026); Responsible Statecraft; Democracy Now interview with Helen Lackner; MERIP; Quincy Institute panel; RAND Corporation; Reuters investigation (2025)]

Chapter 8

SAUDI ARABIA'S INTERVENTION (2015-PRESENT)

On 26 March 2015, Saudi Arabia launched 'Operation Decisive Storm,' beginning an air campaign against Houthi-controlled areas of Yemen. The intervention was led by then-Defence Minister, now Crown Prince, Mohammed bin Salman, who used the war to consolidate his political power within the royal family.

The Saudi-led coalition has conducted 25,054 air raids over seven years, with approximately one-third hitting civilian sites including hospitals, schools, markets, weddings, and water treatment facilities.

[Source: Yemen Data Project - 25,054 air raids documented under Creative Commons; used by UN, media, and researchers worldwide]

Saudi Arabia's motivations for intervention included:

1. Control of the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, a critical oil shipping lane

2. Mohammed bin Salman's political ambitions within the Saudi royal family

3. Fear of an independent power on its southern border

4. Containing Iranian influence (or claiming to)

The coalition includes Saudi Arabia, UAE, Bahrain, Kuwait, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Senegal, and Sudan, with logistical and intelligence support from the United States and United Kingdom.

Chapter 9

THE BLOCKADE: STARVATION AS A MILITARY STRATEGY

Yemen imports approximately 90% of its food and fuel. Saudi Arabia imposed an air and sea blockade that restricted vital commercial and humanitarian goods. The Brookings Institution described the blockade as 'an offensive military operation that kills civilians.'

Since January 2021, Saudi Arabia severely restricted fuel imports, greatly hindering food shipments and hospitals' ability to function. Commercial flights from Sana'a Airport were halted by Saudi Arabia since 2016.

In November 2017, after a Houthi missile was fired at Riyadh, the coalition closed ALL of Yemen's entry points for 20 days. Documents showed vessels carrying wheat, fuel, and other cargo were forced to leave.

The UN established an inspection mechanism in 2015 that ensures ships docking at Yemen's ports are not carrying weapons. US Special Envoy Tim Lenderking acknowledged in April 2021 that the mechanism 'works quite well.' Despite this, Saudi Arabia continued its import restrictions.

Approximately 70% of imports into Yemen arrive through the port of Hodeidah. Saudi Arabia restricts goods heading to Houthi-controlled ports where the majority of Yemen's population lives.

[Source: Brookings Institution; UN OCHA; Human Rights Watch; US Special Envoy statements; port documentation]

Chapter 10

THE HUMAN COST: DEATH, FAMINE, AND DISEASE

377,000 DEAD BY END OF 2021

The UN Development Programme (UNDP) estimated in November 2021 that 377,000 people had died from both direct violence and indirect causes. Of these, approximately 227,000 (60%) died from hunger and preventable disease, not direct combat. Most victims were children under five.

18.3 MILLION FOOD INSECURE (2026)

According to the IPC (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification), 18.3 million Yemenis, more than half the population, face acute food insecurity in 2026. Approximately 41,000 people face IPC Phase 5: catastrophic hunger, meaning people are dying of starvation.

WORST CHOLERA OUTBREAK IN WORLD HISTORY

In 2024, Yemen recorded more than 260,000 suspected cholera cases and over 870 deaths, accounting for 35% of all global cholera infections and 18% of global cholera fatalities. By late 2025, cholera had affected 98% of the country.

Food prices are up to 200% higher than pre-conflict levels. More than 16 million people skip meals nearly every day.

[Source: UN UNDP (2021 death toll); IPC country analysis; WHO cholera surveillance; WFP food security monitoring]

Chapter 11

THE CHILDREN OF YEMEN

Save the Children estimated in November 2018 that 85,000 children may have died from starvation in the first three years of the war (2015-2018). That equals approximately one child dying of hunger every 20 minutes.

Indicator	Figure	Source
Children needing aid	10.8 million	UNICEF 2026
Children out of school	4.5 million	UNICEF 2026
Under-5 malnourished	2.4 million	UNICEF 2026
Severe wasting (most dangerous)	500,000	UNICEF 2026
Pregnant/nursing women malnourished	1.5 million	UNICEF 2026
Children facing chronic malnutrition	49% of under-5s	WHO 2025
Children at protection risk	7 million+	UNICEF 2026

Approximately 40% of Yemen's health facilities are partially or completely out of service. Only 1 in 5 can provide maternal and child health services.

[Source: Save the Children (2018 estimate); UNICEF Humanitarian Action for Children 2026; WHO HeRAMS facility survey]

Chapter 12

UK ARMS SALES AND BAE SYSTEMS

BAE Systems, Britain's largest arms manufacturer and the largest defence contractor in Europe, has sold 17.6 billion pounds worth of aircraft, weapons and services to the Saudi military since 2015. Since the bombing began, the UK has licensed 6.8 billion pounds worth of arms to the Saudi regime.

UK-made equipment used in the war includes Typhoon and Tornado aircraft, Paveway bombs, and Brimstone and Storm Shadow missiles.

In 2019, the UK Court of Appeal ruled that the government acted unlawfully when it licensed the sale of UK-made arms to Saudi-led forces without assessing whether past incidents amounted to breaches of International Humanitarian Law. The government resumed sales.

War Child UK found that UK weapons companies earned revenues exceeding $8 billion from dealings with Saudi Arabia, generating profits of almost $775 million, while the UK government received just $40 million in corporate tax.

[Source: Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) analysis of UK government export licence data; BAE Systems annual reports; UK Court of Appeal ruling (2019); War Child UK report; Declassified UK reporting]

Chapter 13

US MILITARY OPERATIONS IN YEMEN

The United States supplied Saudi Arabia and the UAE with billions of dollars' worth of weapons, training, and logistical support, including aerial refueling (until 2018). US-made weapons were documented in at least 21 apparently unlawful attacks by Human Rights Watch.

A Pentagon assessment found that US military strikes targeting Yemen's Houthis killed 153 civilians and wounded 243 others in 2025, from strikes in April alone. The independent monitoring group Airwars estimated at least 224 civilian deaths.

The US has conducted 376 drone strikes in Yemen over the years, killing between 125 and 151 civilians (New America Foundation data).

US arms sales agreements with Saudi Arabia exceeded $100 billion from FY2009 through FY2020.

[Source: Pentagon annual civilian casualty assessment (2025); Airwars monitoring; Human Rights Watch; New America Foundation; Congressional Research Service]

Chapter 14

ISRAELI STRIKES ON YEMEN (2024-2025)

Israel launched airstrikes against Houthi targets in Yemen beginning in 2024, in response to Houthi missile and drone attacks on Israel launched in solidarity with Palestinians in Gaza.

In May 2025, Israeli airstrikes destroyed Sanaa International Airport and Hodeidah port. Reports indicated at least 61 people killed and 463 injured. On September 10, 2025, Israeli airstrikes killed 46 people including 31 journalists.

Human Rights Watch assessed that many Israeli strikes clearly targeted critical civilian infrastructure, including ports through which humanitarian aid enters, likely amounting to war crimes.

[Source: Human Rights Watch; IDF statements; health ministry reports; Airwars monitoring]

Chapter 15

SAUDI ARABIA'S $100 BILLION WAHHABI EXPORT

Multiple independent sources estimate Saudi spending on promoting Wahhabism and Salafism worldwide at between $70 billion and $100 billion over several decades. This represents the single largest dedicated ideological campaign in human history.

Documented sources for this estimate:

1. David D. Aufhauser, former US Treasury General Counsel, testified before the US Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs (June 2003) that estimates went 'north of $75 billion.'

2. James M. Dorsey and James Chin estimated $70-100 billion (published by ISEAS, 2025).

3. Dr. Yousaf Butt, Senior Advisor to BASIC: 'More than $100 billion spent on exporting fanatical Wahhabism. By comparison, the Soviets spent about $7 billion spreading communism in 70 years.'

4. King Fahd's royal website documented: 200 Islamic colleges, 210 Islamic centres, 1,500 mosques, and 2,000 schools in non-Islamic countries. King Fahd issued a directive that 'no limits be put on expenditures for the propagation of Islam.'

5. A WikiLeaks cable (November 2008, from US Consulate Lahore) stated: 'Financial support estimated at nearly 100 million USD annually was making its way to Deobandi and Ahl-e-Hadith clerics in [South Punjab] from missionary and Islamic charitable organizations in Saudi Arabia and the UAE ostensibly with the direct support of those governments.'

6. Peter Mandaville, Georgetown University, published 'Wahhabism and the World' (Oxford University Press, 2022), the first comprehensive global academic study documenting Saudi religious transnationalism across multiple continents.

[Source: US Senate testimony (2003); King Fahd royal website; WikiLeaks cable published by Dawn, Al Jazeera, Express Tribune, Reuters; OUP (2022); ISEAS (2025)]

Chapter 16

THE COLLAPSE OF INTERNATIONAL AID

By end of 2025, Yemen's humanitarian response was less than 25% funded, the lowest in a decade. Life-saving nutrition programs received under 10% of required funding.

Following major donor funding withdrawals in early 2025, nutrition service reach declined by 63% within one year. Over 2,800 lifesaving treatment services shut down, representing nearly half of all lifesaving nutrition programming.

47 diarrhoea treatment centres and 234 oral rehydration centres closed. Admissions for severe acute malnutrition fell not because children were healthier, but because fewer who were sick could access services.

Year	Humanitarian Need Funded
2019	62%
2020	54%
2021	58%
2023	42%
2025	Less than 25%
2026 (Nutrition)	Less than 10%

[Source: UN OCHA Financial Tracking Service; IRC 'Starving in Silence' report (January 2026); UNICEF 2026 appeals]

Chapter 17

THE CURRENT SITUATION (2026)

As of September 2026, Yemen remains split between Houthi-controlled northwest (approximately 30% of territory, 70% of population) and the internationally recognized government (approximately 70% of territory, 30% of population). The Southern Transitional Council has effectively collapsed.

The Houthis have seized control of all of Yemen's Red Sea coast, including Mokha and Perim Island in the Bab el-Mandeb Strait. They have declared a naval blockade on Saudi Arabia and are attacking Saudi cities with drones and missiles.

Saudi Arabia signed a Strategic Mutual Defence Agreement (SMDA) with Pakistan in September 2025. Pakistani troops and fighter aircraft are deployed at King Abdulaziz Air Base in Saudi Arabia. Pakistan is simultaneously mediating between Iran and the United States, having brokered a ceasefire and hosted the Islamabad Talks in April 2026.

22 million Yemenis need humanitarian assistance. 500,000 children face severe wasting. The WHO has classified Yemen as a Grade 3 emergency, the highest level of activation.

[Source: Al Jazeera (September 2026); Middle East Eye; Express Tribune; AP; WHO emergency classification]

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[32] Pakistan Parliament Resolution on Yemen (April 10, 2015) - unanimous neutrality vote