Fall 2-10-2016

Counterinsurgency in Yemen: Assessing operations decisive storm, restoring hope, and golden arrow

Curtis Hanson
The American University in Cairo (AUC)

Follow this and additional works at: https://fount.aucegypt.edu/capstone

Part of the Political Science Commons

Recommended Citation

Hanson, Curtis, "Counterinsurgency in Yemen: Assessing operations decisive storm, restoring hope, and golden arrow" (2016). *Capstone and Graduation Projects*. 9.
https://fount.aucegypt.edu/capstone/9

The American University in Cairo

School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

COUNTER-INSURGENCY IN YEMEN: ASSESSING OPERATIONS DECISIVE STORM, RESTORING HOPE, AND GOLDEN ARROW

A Masters Project Submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Global Affairs

By

CURTIS HANSON

Fall 2015

The American University in Cairo
School of Global Affairs and Public Policy
Department of Public Policy and Administration

COUNTER-INSURGENCY IN YEMEN: ASSESSING OPERATIONS DECISIVE STORM, RESTORING HOPE, AND GOLDEN ARROW

Curtis Hanson

Completed under the supervision of Prof. Allison Hodgkins in conjunction with PPAD 5299 (Fall 2015)

ABSTRACT

This project provides a comprehensive assessment of the counter-insurgency (COIN) operations being conducted against the al Huthis. Specifically, how effective the Arab coalition's Operation Decisive Storm, Operation Restoring Hope, and Operation Golden Arrow have been in achieving their stated goals and common COIN principles. The 2011 International Security Assistance Forces' (ISAF) assessment paradigm is used in evaluating four domains of each operation. The four domains are security, governance, socio-economics, and relations-partnerships. The chosen indicators provide enough specificity to create a comprehensive assessment on both operational and campaign levels. The assessments of each operation show that the socio-economic and governance domains need the greatest improvements. There are also some security aspects that need to be addressed, such as, the combating of all other terrorist groups; particularly Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and Islamic State's walayits (ISIS).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

"Creating a political-military-economic strategy to defeat an insurgency is every bit as revolutionary as planning to overthrow a government, and a great deal more difficult" (Nagl, p. 196, 2002).

On March 25th of 2015, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) initiated a counter-insurgency (COIN) campaign by launching air strikes on designated Yemenis' military targets controlled by combative Huthis. The Huthis of Yemen are known for being a part of the Zaydi sect of Shia Islam and comprise about 40 percent of Yemen's population. Not all Huthis are a designated threat but the distinction between combatants and non-combatants are vague as a result of the fog of war. The ongoing military operations in Yemen are just the beginning of what is likely to be a protracted war based on historical durations of COIN. Eventually, the Huthis might be defeated militarily but their ability to conduct terrorist attacks will likely remain; as we have seen in Iraq and Afghanistan. Furthermore, the coalition's COIN tactics have empowered Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and Islamic State's Walayits (ISIS) as they continue to take advantage of the country's political vacuum through expansion of territorial control. The current state of affairs in Yemen has resonating implications for Yemen, the Middle East, and the United States of America as the country becomes a hot bed for jihadist terrorists.

Retired US Army Lt. Coronel John Nagl's remarks on COIN being more difficult than planning to overthrow a government are accurate for this case. In fact, the Huthi's overthrew the government of Yemen in a "glorious revolution" in approximately one month (Al Jazeera 1, 2015). Although there were historical and conditional factors that aided their abilities to completely control the government in such a short time frame, it remains impressively quick. The dysfunctional state of Yemen politics, their failed policies, and their inability to previously thwart the Huthis through military means, factored into helping the Huthis garner support and expand control of territory. These factors are important for determining the proper COIN approaches and tactics such as addressing government legitimacy and relying less on military means to find success.

The Arab coalition's COIN campaign is entering its tenth month of fighting against the Huthis. Additionally, there have been several thousand non-combatants killed, indirect support to AQAP and ISIS, and continuation of poor socio-economic conditions. These articulations are one sided and do not mean the COIN campaign is failing or the approach of relying heavily on air-strikes is wrong. It is a testament to Nagl's statement on creating a solution to an insurgency is difficult. A comprehensive evaluation of the COIN campaign will afford policy makers a better idea of what to expect in the near future and how to mitigate the negative effects and embrace the positives.

The ongoing fighting between the Houthis, Arab coalition forces, tribal factions, regime loyalists, and jihadist terrorists is not a new occurrence in Yemen. The Huthis have been fighting the Government of Yemen (GoY) for over ten years; with six "Sa'da wars" occurring between 2004 and 2010 (Salmoni, Loidolt, and Wells, p.xv, 2010). The presence of large Arab coalition forces against the Houthis is relatively unique in this instance. Saudi Arabia was involved in the previous Sa'da wars but in a less outstanding role. The current coalition's makeup of multiple Arab nations extends beyond being a unique instance of regional allegiance and has great value to Middle Eastern defense ministries and the United States Department of Defense (DOD). The COIN campaign in Yemen is allowing the US to take a back seat role and actively monitor how effective Arab partners are at fighting irregular wars in the Middle East. The COIN campaign in Yemen provides new evidence of an Arab coalition's ability to spearhead COIN operations, and how that information can be applied to other conflicts in the region.

The GoY previously implemented a poorly constructed and executed COIN strategy; and as result did not address any core grievances, weakened the central government, and indirectly supported Al-Qaeda. The result of failing to implement successful COIN principles was protraction, exhaustion, and revolution. The Arab coalition's ability to recognize the previous GoY failures is necessary to deduce a successful campaign against the Huthis. Furthermore, they must realize that COIN campaigns, especially successful ones, usually last over a decade (Cambell, O'Hanlon, and Shapiro, p.24, 2009). The coalition's success toward removing the Houthis militant support is an aggregate process of assessing and adapting their COIN approach.

Research Question

The operational environment of a counter insurgency operation is constantly changing in accordance to policy implementations and evolving strategies. The importance of Yemen as a country fighting terrorism and the combat effectiveness of an Arab coalition has motivated me to assess the effectiveness of the coalition's COIN operations in Yemen. Specifically, how effective have Operation Decisive Storm, Operation Restoring Hope, and Operation Golden Arrow been in achieving their stated goals and common COIN principles? Each operation will be assed in four domains: security, governance, socio-economics, and relationships. These four domains encapsulate a broad extent of the problems in COIN, while remaining specific enough to be comprehensive. For example relationships, are defined by multiple relations that benefit an operation, such as, local tribes fighting for the coalition or a regional country hindering operational success, such as, Iran. The assessment is concluded with aggregating the individual assessments to provide a complete macro level perspective of the entire COIN campaign.

This assessment is needed for informative evaluation and analysis on the topic for policy makers and government defense agencies. This information is important for US policy makers as Yemen was once a strong opponent to terrorism, particularly against AQAP, and was considered by US President Obama to be a model for counterterrorism (CT). This project's assessment provides information on the success and failures of Yemen's COIN and its regional implications, including Iranian, AQAP, and ISIS expansionism. Additionally, this project provides insight into the coordination of Arab nations, as they take the lead in conducting military operations in the Middle East. Including Arab countries as the majority force in future operations in the Middle East is a viable option for success. The constant evaluation of the Arab coalition's COIN campaign is crucial for correctly formulating and adapting self-interested policies.

Client Description

The results of this project would be beneficial to research institutes specializing in security, or defense ministries in Arab states that are currently participating in the COIN operations. Other regional and international organizations like the League of Arab States would benefit as clients of this project because of the relevance pertaining to terrorism in Yemen and Iranian support to the Huthis. The findings of this project reflect several important factors that can contribute to the coalition's mission regarding function and operations of defense policies. The analysis of the effectiveness of COIN strategy in Yemen provides new perspective to their doctrine on COIN. The strengths and weaknesses of this approach in Yemen allows for the coalition to see a new and alternative perspective of fighting modern COIN. The conclusion can be complied and added to their COIN field manual and possibly applied to other countries in the region to create a better solution. This project provides an evaluation, which improves the ongoing functions with coalition forces by providing constructive criticism, praise, and policy recommendations.

Successful CT operations in Yemen are directly linked with the Arab coalition's success in conducting COIN operations. The Arab nations are taking the lead in combating terrorist groups, primarily the

Huthis but also AQAP and ISIS which, is directly in line with Department of Defense (DOD) interests. At this point in time it is important the coalition succeeds because according to a Congressional Research Service Report on Yemen and US Relations, which was published on February 11, 2015, the DOD was continuing limited CT operations inside Yemen and the political instability had affected its capabilities (Sharp, p.7, 2015). In the following month, 125 US Special Operation Forces were evacuated; leaving US presence inside Yemen near zero (Schmitt, 2015). The ability to gather human intelligence is severely limited and a lack of presence continues to erode relations with influential Yemenis officials. This project's assessment provides policy recommendations to help mitigate further absence from bolstering Yemen's CT capabilities and the DOD's CT operations within Yemen.

Background

Yemen's most recent political instability is another event that comprises a long history of political violence and volatility. Yemen's modern history includes civil wars, presidential assassinations, daily protests, an uprising and ousting of the government, and active terrorist groups. The 2015 Fragile State Index ranks Yemen 7th, above Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq (Fragile State Index, 2015). Some of the primary factors measuring Yemen's fragility include demographic pressure, fractionalized elites, economic decline and development, state legitimacy, public services, foreign involvement, and security apparatuses (Fragile State Index, 2015). These indicators have fluctuated throughout time but have habitually ranked in the bottom 20th percentile. It is expected during the current conflict against the Huthis for these indicators to change abnormally and unfavorably because of the precarious circumstances surrounding war. These indicators delineate the root causes of conflicts with the Huthi insurgency; which needs to be addressed by the government of Yemen.

The Huthi insurgency has developed from historical circumstances, political grievances, and regional spheres of influence. Such factors are important for crafting and adapting COIN strategies and approaches. Thus, the coalition should have already understood where their weaknesses and strengths lie in relation to the politics and history of Yemen. To further understand the current situation in Yemen, it is necessary to understand the historical troubles of national unity (Day, p.23, 2012).

Yemen has never had a unified national culture; being comprised of ruling systems that are defined by separate Arab tribal lands (Day, p.23, 2012). The geographic makeup of Yemen is unique in comparison to other Arab countries because of its rugged and diverse terrain. The ruggedness allowed groups to remain isolated from centralized governance, especially those groups living in the north-west highlands. The north-west highlands are an area that is mostly composed of peoples of the Zaydi sect of Shia Islam—a sect unique to Yemen. This internal isolationism is a force plaguing a successful COIN operation on several levels. First, rugged mountains are hard to traverse and operate in. Secondly, bringing isolated tribes together to fight cohesively is a challenge. Also, finding compromise amongst all of Yemen has historically resulted in two civil wars. A broad division in Yemen, that is becoming more relevant today, is the division between the minority Zaydis in the north-west highlands and the Shafi'i school of Sunnism located on the western coast, midlands of Taiz, and southern coast (Day, p.29, 2012).

The Shafi'i school of jurisprudence pre-dates Zaydism and remains the dominate religion in Yemen. Various statistics estimate the number of Sunnis to be above 50 percent and Zaydi Shias between 35 and 46 percent (Freeman, p.6, 2009). The Zaydis are often referred to as "fivers" because of their split and disputes about the legitimacy of the fifth Imam (Freeman, p.6, 2009). Both the Shafi'i and Zaydi sects are considered moderate schools of jurisprudence but, the Zaydis' practices are the closest to Sunni Islam out of all Shia sects (Day, p.33, 2012). However, the prevented unity of the

two sects was the result of geography based on regional divisions and the Zaydi's believe that a member of the sada, or decedent of Muhammad, must serve as ruler (Day, p.33, 2012). The disagreement on who is to rule Yemen is a problem for Zaydis because they do not except a Shafi'i Muslim as a legitimate or capable leader. This is historically ingrained in Zaydis because a Zaydi imamate ruled Yemen for nearly a thousand years before the 1962 civil war occurred. After which, the imamate was deposed and many Zaydis converted to the Sunni sect of Islam.

The rift between the two religious schools is not primarily sectarian but, includes regional tribalism, defined by Yemen's rugged geography. This is an important factor to realize that historically speaking, the country of Yemen has not had a sectarian problem but a geographic one based on tribalism. In relation to COIN, creating a unified force to combat insurgents is difficult to accomplish because of communication, coordination, and incentives. The ability for the coalition to harness various tribal influences and fighting capabilities is a challenge based on the historical divisions and lack of unity Yemen has faced. The recent rise of sectarianism violence, especially by ISIS in Yemen, depicts how the coalition's COIN approach is failing to combat other groups. As a result, the problem of unification is not just bound to geography but increasingly by religion. Increasing sectarianism complicates the COIN campaign because a political solution becomes harder to achieve. Previous political attempts by Zaydi families failed to solve the problem of sectarianism before it escalated to today's levels.

The al-Huthi and other Zaydi families created a Zaydi religious party called Hizb al-Haqq to compete politically against popular Salafi parties (Day, p.215, 2012). The Salafis are an ultra-conservative Sunni sect of Islam and received financial backing from Saudi Arabia starting in the 1980s. The al-Haqq party found support from a few members of the General People's Congress—the de-facto congress of President Salih. However, the al-Haq party did not succeed very well in parliamentary elections (Schmitz, p.2, 2014). The lack of political success forced Husayn al-Houthi to abandon politics and focused on radicalizing a grassroots movement; and later militarizing it (Schmitz, p.2, 2014). That movement was known as the Shabab al-Moumineen or Believing Youth movement and is the predecessor to al Huthis currently fighting.

The Believing Youth movement was founded in 1992 and consisted of summer schools to promote Zaydism amongst the youth (Freeman, p.1, 2009). Hassan Zaid, the head of the al-Haqq party claims that the Believing Youth movement was the first step of radicalization of the Zaydis (Freeman, p.1, 2009). The Believing Youth remained relatively non-violent in the 1990s but, changed in 2002. In 2002, Husayn al-Huthi encouraged his followers to shout "God is Great! Death to America and Israel!" This slogan, is originally associated with Hezbollah and Iranians during the 1979 Iranian revolution. Husayn is thought to of found some inspiration from this quote when he was exiled to Syria and had contact with programs sponsored by Hezbollah (Day, p.216, 2012). The use of this quote is often brought up in context of linking Iranian involvement with the Huthis.

The connection between the Huthis and Iran is important for this COIN campaign's ability to succeed. Aid between insurgents and other nations is a hindrance to COIN and has historically proven to be effective in losing a COIN campaign. The US war in Vietnam and Soviet war in Afghanistan are two examples of how outside support to an insurgency can drastically alter the playing field in favor of the insurgence. The slogan eventually spread throughout Yemen, resonating out of the Yemeni's capital during the 2003 Iraq invasion by the US. Husayn al-Huthi used this slogan to create mass opposition against Salih and it found legitimacy because of Salih's involvement in the US led Global War on Terror. Al-Huthi had found more leverage in overthrowing the Salih government via a chant than his days in parliament.

President Salih feared mass mobilization by the Believing Youth's movement could threaten his regime beyond his extended influence. Even as a highlander and Zaydi himself, Salih was not able to stop the chanted slogan fueling organized protests in the capital. Although, Salih is Zaydi, his politics contradicted the old Zadi imamate and reflected republican politics. The spread of unrest forced President Salih to invite Hussain al-Houthi to discuss the Believing Youth's grievances (Freeman, p.1, 2009). However, Hussain rejected the invitation and the initiation of six conflicts between the Houthi insurgents and government of Yemen, stretched from 2004 to 2010. The years after 2010 are riddled with violence and instability with the overthrow of president Salih, protests, and Huthi takeover of the government.

In general, the previous six conflicts failed to result in a decisive win for either side. Husayn al-Houthi was killed in September 2004 and the GoY declared they had defeated the Huthi rebellion. However, this was a premature victory because fighting continued to rage on with intervals of cease-fires for negotiation and mediation attempts—which never lasted. The Huthi rebel's leadership evolved after Husyan's death, with his father Badr al-Din al-Houthi assuming leadership for a brief period of time before dying of natural causes. The next leader to assume power and who currently leads is Husyan's brother Abdul Malik al-Houthi. Furthermore, the movement formally adopted a militant wing, known as Ansar Allah or "Supporters of God" (Al-Karimi, 2014).

In the wake of the Arab Spring, the Huthis continued fighting for political control, particularly against Salafi groups; including, but not limited to AQAP. Post 2011, the Huthis also had legitimate representation at the National Dialogue Conference (NDC). The NDC was a conference to exchange dialogue during the country's transitional period. It was endorsed and stipulated by the United Nations Security resolution 2051 and the GCC (United Nations 2, 2012). However, the NDC was marred by country-wide protests, violence, and assassinations of two Huthi representatives (Yemen Post, 2014). This resulted in the Huthis withdrawing from the NDC in early 2014 and initiating their assault to take over the country of Yemen.

The 2014 Huthi takeover begins after the conclusion of the NDC. Within several months, the Huthis seize the entire province of Amran, the Northern Province between the Zeydi dominated province of Sa'da and the capital of Sana'a (Sharp, 2015). In August, the Huthis push further inland and surround the outskirts of the capital, demanding the "corrupt" government resign and fuel subsidies be reinstated (Sharp, p.5, 2015). Fuel subsidies had been lifted the prior month causing a drastic surge in fuel prices. By mid-September, the Huthis clash with Government security forces and with little resistance, capture the capital of Sana'a. In the remaining months of 2014, the Huthis appointed regional governors and continue rejecting any legitimacy retained by the government of Yemen. In February 2015, the Huthis successfully controlled the presidential palace, state media, and military installations (Sharp, 2015). They placed President Hadi under house arrest and forced the entire Yemenis cabinet to resign. Just prior to the Coalition's intervention in March 2015, the president, prime minister, and parliamentary members fled to Saudi Arabia for sanctuary.

Literature Review

Assessing the effectiveness of each operation's stated goals and established COIN principles requires an understanding of different COIN approaches. There are different methods, tactics, and strategies for eliminating an insurgency and the following information will provide a comprehensive understanding of what "effectiveness" is interpreted as for COIN operations in context to the Arab coalition in Yemen.

The definition of COIN as defined by the US Army and US Marine Corp's COIN field manual is "comprehensive civilian and military efforts designed to simultaneously defeat and contain insurgency and address its root causes" (United States Army and Marine Corp., p.1-2, 2014). Often, COIN carries a heavy kinetic and militaristic connotation, but FM 3-24 thoroughly supports the civilian effort and focus on root causes. The emphasis on civilian efforts and addressing of root causes is a broadly defined solution under the category of politics; including but not limited to economics, governance, or sectarianism. The notion of COIN as primarily a political problem and solution is supported by influential French military officer, David Galula. In his famous *Counterinsurgency: Warfare and Theory,* Galula states that "a revolutionary war is 20 percent military action and 80 percent political" (p.66, 1964). Veteran foreign policy expert, William Polk, further supports that COIN is overwhelmingly a political problem, with it being 80 percent of the problem, 15 percent administration, and five percent combat (Polk, p.xvi, 2007). The importance of realizing COIN's solution relies more on political changes and less on kinetic military action which is necessary to properly plan, execute, and assess any COIN campaign. The two greatest political problems plaguing Yemen are the lack of economic progress and government legitimacy. These two non-kinetic issues need to be at the forefront of the coalition's COIN goals.

While the problem and solution to insurgency is political, the question of what is COIN in practice and what defines it is important. In *Minting New COIN: Critiquing Counter-insurgency Theory*, the authors challenge common notions that modern COIN, including FM 3-24, have evolved from a military doctrine to a "universal panacea" (Gventer, Jones, and Smith, p.9, 2014). It has become a strategy and "how-to-guide" for defeating insurgents. Major news outlets, policy makers, and military colleges have used the term "counterinsurgency strategy" to refer and discuss COIN practices (Gventer, et al., p.10, 2014). However, FM 3-24 explicitly states "COIN is not an alternative to a strategy" (p.1-2, 2014). A strategy explicitly denotes the goals for the particulars of a conflict. A strategy includes questions relating how to achieve the necessary goals via the resources at one's disposal. FM 3-24 and equivalent publications are written broadly in context and do not clarify how to achieve strategic goals. A reason for the lack of clarification on political reasoning for fighting is derived from Galula's and Polk's statements on COIN's solution being political. The term politics is broad in meaning and context specific for every insurgency. Therefore, COIN as an understanding is not a strategy but a military doctrine or set of guiding principles for actions in support of objectives (Gventer, et al., p.12, 2014).

There are still caveats to understanding COIN as a doctrine. *Minting New COIN* indicates the inherent problem with understanding COIN as a doctrine is a paradox between war requiring adaptation and doctrine—in theory is fixed (Gventer, et al., p.10, 2014). Also, COIN doctrines derive their basis from historical cases. These historical cases create a best and worst practices catalogue for doctrinal principles. Strong reliance on case studies result in an oversimplification of COIN doctrine because case studies establish pre-determined solutions to a contextually unique problem. Dr. Paul Melshen writes about the problem with reliance on case studies for formulating solutions in *Mapping Out a Counterinsurgency Campaign Plan: Critical Considerations in Counterinsurgency Campaigning.* Dr. Melshen states, "it is impossible to completely superimpose a strategy that worked in one counterinsurgency environment with its own unique parameters on another counterinsurgency environment" (p.4, 2007). The conclusion of *Minting New COIN* is that understanding COIN doctrine is an irresoluble paradox. Abiding by a doctrine, composed of historical cases, oversimplifies the solution and solidifies rigidity. The need to be conscious of uniqueness in a COIN campaign is indicative of the proper independent variables to create a winning solution. As Clausewitz states "war is more than a true chameleon that slightly adapts its characteristics to the given case." A COIN campaign's approach must perceive doctrines and past case studies with a filter and be highly adaptive to the specifics of the particular insurgency.

Paul Staniland's approach to understanding COIN is accomplished by defining four broad categorical approaches for managing violence. This methodology negates the caveat of rigidity found in doctrines. Each category contains strengths and weaknesses and can be applied singularly or together to reach the desired end state (Staniland, p.148, 2014). Staniland is quick to state that there is "no single optimal COIN policy" (Staniland, p.144, 2014). This notion is supported by Dr. Paul Melshen and more prominent COIN specialists, such as, retired US Army Lt. Col. Doug Olivant and David Ucko (Evans, Ollivant, and Ucko, 2014). The lack of a single or universal COIN policy relates to the uniqueness and political contexts of an insurgency.

Staniland uses broad categories for managing violence rather than specific COIN approaches because it allows for "flexible policy options" and does not call for an "application of an organizational handbook" (Staniland, p.145, 2014). The framework used for this project adheres to four broad categories, albeit they are different then Staniland's the added benefits of remaining flexible still exist. The use of security, governance, socio-economics, and relationships are broad indicators that allow for flexible policy options to be developed. Another important factor in this frame work is the reflection of a political solution as discussed by Galula and Polk. Governance, socio-economic, and relationships are all reflective of political and or diplomatic solutions rather than kinetic ones. Lastly, the inclusion of a unique strategy that adheres to the particulars of Yemen, such as, decreasing of fuel subsidies, lack of food and water, and growing presence of jihadist terrorists are addressed under this project's framework. Under each of the four domains are particular policies and or tactics that are being conducted in Yemen which have an effect on the outcome of its COIN. The inclusion of specific policies side steps the issues of oversimplification addressed in *Minting New COIN*.

A commonly adopted approach of recent western COIN campaigns has been "winning the hearts and minds" of the local population. FM 3-24 continuously supports a "heart and minds" approach for winning a COIN campaign. It was extensively applied in Iraq and Afghanistan. David Killculen's *28 Articles: Fundamentals of Company-level COIN* defines a hearts and minds approach by "hearts, means persuading people their best interests are served by your success; and minds, means convincing them that you can protect them, and that resisting you is pointless" (p.5, 2006). General David Patreus is another big proponent of a hearts and minds approach. Patreus, Killculen, and other like-minded COIN specialists all extensively contributed to FM 3-24 and is a likely reason for FM 3-24 strong support for a hearts and minds approach.

The primary creation for the "hearts and mind" approach is derived from Mao's viewpoint on insurgency. Mao's first principle of guerrilla warfare is arousing and organizing the people (Zedong, p.3, 1937). His first fundamental step centers on having a political objective that earns the peoples unequivocal trust. Mao states without "political objectives [that] do not coincide with the aspirations of the people and their sympathy, co-operation, and assistance cannot be gained" (Zedong, p.4, 1937). Thus, modern COIN specialist have reversed engineered the process of thought from Mao's first fundamental step of insurgency and created the "hearts and mind" approach. Counter-insurgent forces can arouse and organize the people in their own favorable interest by convincing their political objectives are better. The crucial caveat to this approach is actually creating a "better" political objective that favors the local population more so than the insurgents. Furthermore, capitalizing on a better political objective may mean delivering on that promise outright or in a timely manner. A long-term win of the population's hearts and minds is feasible when promised political changes actually occur and in a respectively quick manner.

The "hearts and minds" approach is theoretically a sound solution to winning a COIN campaign. However, practically it has mixed results and tends to be heavily relied on as dominant-easy solution. The problem with utilizing a "hearts and minds" approach is the ability to effectively deliver a political narrative that outweighs the benefits of the insurgents. This is especially true, when the

state trying to win over the population is foreign and labeled as an occupier. However, simplistic actions, such as providing humanitarian aid in a conflict zone can go a long way in reaching the population's support and bridge political narrative with policy reality. The ineffectiveness of foreigners wining hearts and minds only increases the need for the host government to carry out this part of a COIN operation. Even in the case of Yemen, Saudi Arabia can be pictured and portrayed as a foreign or occupying force and thus, the government of Yemen needs to enact good policies to support the population and not any other Arab country.

There are singular cases, in which, a "hearts and minds" approach in a specific operation worked but failed to transcend to the macro level of an entire campaign. In *Population is the Enemy: Control, Behavior, and Counter-insurgency in Central Helmand Province, Afghanistan,* Ryan Evans, argues the point of minimal operational success a "hearts and minds" approach creates but fails at the campaign level (2014). The "hearts and minds" approach that occurred in central Helmand province worked but, the larger spread of a "hearts and minds" elsewhere failed. This is important to realize that there is not a one-answer solution to COIN but, multiple approaches might be necessary, and delivering political promises are difficult but worthwhile.

Another common COIN approach is Clear-Hold-Build (CHB) or Shape-Clear-Hold-Build (SCHB). The approach is referred by several different names but the underlying principles are the same. The concept is stated in FM 3-24 as, to identify areas of maximum impact by counter-insurgents (Shape), eliminate the area of insurgents (Clear), maintain control over the cleared area (Hold), and create programs or institutions designed to remove conditions that allow insurgencies (Build) (p.9-5, 2014). SCHB is complimented by a population centric approach; another name for winning the" hearts and minds" (Ucko, 2013). FM 3-24 prefaces its definition on SCHB, as being able to be "very effective in defeating an insurgency" (p.9-2, 2014). This statement is re-enforced in FM 3-24 by one case study of the Huck insurgency in the Philippines. It is inexcusable to call SCHB "very effective" and only cite one example of its success. Furthermore, the SCHB approach is widely championed by the media, DOD, and the White House as the approach applied in Iraq and Afghanistan. Based on quantitative and qualitative measures, those two examples do not qualify as "very" effective.

David Ucko's article "*Clear-Hold-Build-Fail?*," clearly articulates the problem with SCHB and its practical implementation. Ucko states, SCHB is logically sound but difficult to implement in reality. It is hard to "translate military advances into political progress." He often cites NATO's inability to project a comprehensive clear-hold-build campaign across Afghanistan. SCHB frames COIN as a fight for the support and loyalty of the local population and ultimately, is building on the hearts and minds model. However, as Ucko argues, this notion does not provide specifics beyond "exhortation for a secure environment and cooperation with local communities." The dynamics of COIN do not reflect the practical sequencing of SCHB. Clearing and holding are very kinetic in-nature and the solution to COIN is in the politics of the problem, and thus, building should be addressed sooner rather than later. The operational environment is not static as represented in SCHB. This point is acknowledged in FM 3-24 but contradicted by the theoretical framework of SCHB. In FM 3-24, it states "counterinsurgents must be aware that the shape-clear-hold-build-transition framework is not a phase by phase linear process" (p.9-3, 2014). Even disregarding SCHB's implied linearity in the word construct and sound cognition the process is linear in practice. For example, one cannot begin to hold territory before it is cleared and not before it is "shaped". "Building" is arguably the most important phase because it addresses the root causes of an insurgency; cannot be conducted under an insurgency controlled area and is minimally effective if simultaneously being implemented during a "clear" phase. This shows the disconnect between SCHB's linear solution and the required dynamic solutions to compliment COIN's dynamic environment.

David Ucko and Douglas Olivant come to the conclusion that SCHB does not work because "[the US] throws the whole kitchen sink" at the problem (Evans, et al., 2014). They argue that SCHB intent is to be comprehensive and therefore, is enshrouded by a theoretical framework that puts the counter-insurgents of the invading country at the center of the solution. Ucko and Olivant believe the host nation should have more input, influence, and control; not the intervening country. So, while SCHB is trying to reach its long-term goal of good governance via "build" phase, Ucko and Olivant suggest a shift toward active short, intermediate, and long term population centric goals. These goals are reached by the host-county's government's active participation to provide necessary goods and services and in the process establish their legitimacy. In addition, intervening countries provide support through a more passive role. An example of this notion is foreign countries conducting air-strikes in Iraq, Syria, and Yemen.

Colin Jackson's *Government in a Box? Counter-insurgency, State Building and the Technocratic Conceit*, further supports Ucko and Olivant's claim by examining the short term success and long-term failure of the US' involvement in Afghanistan. Jackson argues the politics of civil war are the politics of control and authority (Jackson, p.83, 2014). This is an important statement because control and authority must come from the host government to bolster credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of the local people. A COIN force must turn an offensive victory into lasting population control (Jackson, p.88, 2014). However, if the outside force is clearing and holding, then after they depart, the control departs with them because the host government remains on the periphery of authority. Therefore, involving the host nation is a much more effective approach than a direct COIN model, like Shape-Clear-Hold-Build. Jackson's point is strongly important for a viable solution in Yemen because the GoY has been residing in Saudi Arabia for a majority of this COIN campaign. The GoY's ability to establish authority, through presence of its security apparatus but also its policy implementations is necessary for a lasting victory.

COIN approaches that increase the host nation's involvement while maintaining population centric ideas are considered to be "indirect." On the opposite side of the spectrum, lies the "direct" approach or traditional approach. The key aspect of a traditional approach includes a large presence by the intervening country in all aspects of the campaign; particularly in the presence of ground troops. The approach is becoming outdated and unsustainable for countries intervening in the Middle East as discussed by Ucko and Olivant. The host country needs greater participation over the intervening country for short, intermediate, and long term success. David Ucko and Robert Egnell propose three alternative indirect approaches to COIN by examining faults and failures of the ISAF's COIN campaign in Afghanistan. The three proposed models are the "Libyan Model, Indirect Approach, and Contingency Operations" (Egnell and Ucko, p.14, 2014). The authors preface their argument with critical importance for clarity about the particular nature of the operations, duration, and expected challenges (Egnell, et al., p.15, 2014); which is a point emphasized in *Minting New COIN* and Paul Melshen's publications.

The first model, the "Libyan Model" is based on NATO's air intervention into Libya, following their 2011 revolution. The model is depicted as an alternative to campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan because of the cost effectiveness and minimized number of casualties. However, as Ucko and Egnell point out, the air campaign was indeed similar to the initial COIN operation in Afghanistan. Charles Dunlop Jr. in *Change: Airpower in COIN Today*, argues that airpower is an underrated tool in COIN and that it heavily contributed to successful COIN in Iraq during 2006 to 2007 (Dunlop Jr., p.3, 2008). Dunlop is quick to point out that airpower is ineffective unless correct intelligence is provided for deployment of air support. He supports this notion by citing sources on the increased effectiveness of airpower, i.e. Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) as providing the much needed intelligence for conducting air strikes (Dunlop Jr., p.7, 2008). The caution of over relying on imagery and signal intelligence from UAV's has potential to misinterpret civilian targets as combatants. A fact reported

by the UN on the overwhelmingly large number of non-combatants killed in Yemen because of coalition airstrikes (Ki-Moon, 2015). The other caveat to the "Libya" model is the subsequent effects after the air campaign ends. The result of launching solely air support empowers a local proxy(s) (Egnell, et al., p.17, 2014). This is in fact, the case for Libya currently, with an ongoing civil war between various groups. The Saudi led coalition in Yemen has been heavily reliant on air support but, not solely dependent on this model because of the additional support of ground troops. However, the consequences of high civilian casualties as a result of poor human intelligence and empowerment of proxies is being experienced in Yemen.

The second model, the "Indirect Approach" is a highly favored model for modern COIN campaigns. It can be defined as "indirectly countering an insurgency by working through host-nation institutions or with groups in the society (US Army, et al., p.10-1, 2014). This model is strongly supported by FM 3-24, Ucko, Egnell, Killculen, Patreus, Nagl and other prominent COIN specialists. The indirect approach's support is derived from it historical track record of working in a variety of different COIN campaigns. Some of those campaigns include the British in Dhofar, Oman, the US in El Salvador, and US assistance with the Filipino government against the Abu Sayaf Group (Egnell, et al., p.17, 2014). This model is also currently being implemented in Iraq by the US led Coalition against ISIS. Based on the indirect approaches definition, applications, and tactics, I have identified this model as the one being used in Yemen to eliminate the Huthi insurgency. This identification is important in assessing the coalition's operations and campaign in order to determine its viability for success.

Ucko and Egnell identify five distinct advantages and three caveats to the indirect approach. Those advantages and caveats are listed and critiqued with respect to the case of Yemen. The five advantages identified are:

1. Local forces are used which reduce hurdles associated with language and cultural barriers faced by foreign forces;
2. The campaign is favorable to local population because the foreign footprint is small and, therefore, lacks the feelings of a "foreign presence" or "occupying force;"
3. Reduction in political costs for the intervening government;
4. Overall reduction in financial costs since there is no need for a large number of deployed troops and the associated support networks;
5. Lastly, the in-country government is responsible and in charge of stopping the insurgency, which leads to bolstering its credibility and legitimacy with the people (Egnell, et al., p.17, 2014).

The three caveats identified are:
1. The training and advising of local forces can be a great challenge;
2. Local and regional partnerships are a necessity. The necessity to include multiple parties complicates coordination and cooperation;
3. A lack of the host government's abilities to govern effectively and enact policy change when necessary (Egnell, et al., p.18, 2014).

The indirect approach as previously stated uses a host nation's forces and institutions to accomplish the COIN campaign. The Saudi led coalition has been using coalition forces to provide training and advising to Yemen security forces. They have also provided air support as previously mentioned, due to Yemen's weak air force. Saudi Arabia has also been providing a safe haven for Yemen's government to operate remotely. The second listed advantage is in theory correct; but because of Yemen's history of intervention from other Arab countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, the perception of a limited foreign presence is diminished. The fifth advantage listed by Ucko and Egnell is waning as the government of Yemen remains out of Yemen's capital and the coalition forces perform the

bulk of the fighting. The other advantages remain in full effect. However, the indirect approach in Yemen is moving toward a quasi-indirect approach as more coalition troops become more active participants in the conflict and less of a supportive role working through Yemen institutions and groups within society. The transition to a more direct approach is possibly a conscience decision to adapt their COIN solution because of the lack of results from an indirect approach.

These three caveats are greatly important in the case of Yemen and potentially are the cause of shifting to a more aggressive "direct" or traditional approach. The first caveat, training local forces is hard; regardless of the coalition's inherent language and cultural expertise. The large increase of coalition forces and equipment, with coalition troop numbers as high as 15,000 is partially a result of the slow and disordered process of training an army in a short period of time (Al Jazeera 2, 2015). The second caveat directly builds on the first caveat because Yemen's fractured society and military makes coordination and communication between military, coalition forces, Yemen's government, and tribal factions unmanageable. The third caveat is important because the indirect approach is meant to harness and further the government's control and legitimacy. However, the government of Yemen has fled the country and only since recently has President Hadi, Prime Minister Baha and his cabinet returned to Aden (Al-Kibsi, 2015). The return is confined to Aden, not the capital—limiting effective governance. For further discussion and analysis on these caveats in Yemen see sections Operation Decisive Storm, Restoring Hope, and Golden Arrow.

Methodology

This research project uses qualitative research methods and quantitative figures to establish a comprehensive assessment, regarding the effectiveness of the Arab Coalition's COIN campaign against the Huthis. The comprehensive campaign assessment is comprised of assessing Operations Decisive Storm, Restoring Hope, and Golden Arrow. Operation Decisive Storm is the first operation conducted and was heavily reliant on air sorties to accomplish its goals of stopping the Huthis. Operation Restoring Hope ushered in a new wave of kinetic operations and is ongoing to date. Operation Golden Arrow is an operation launched in tandem with Restoring Hope but with intermediate goals of re-capturing cities from Aden to the nation's capital. The new assessment paradigm utilized by the International Assistance Security Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan is what will be used to conduct the assessments. It is comprised of a radar diagram that poses four domains: Security, Governance, Socio-Economics, and Regional Relations.

The new assessment paradigm adopted by the ISAF in 2011, centered on a two-tier structure for assessing COIN in Afghanistan. It focused on answering questions in a narrative, analytical form and included a set of measurable standards to supplement the narrative responses (Schroden, Jonathan, Rebecca Thomasson, Randy Foster, Mark Lukens, and Richard Bell, p.1, 2013). This method improved the old COIN assessment methodology and found praise for being a "contextual assessment" which is a superior method for assessing COIN success (Connable, p.1, 2012). This project will use the ISAF's post 2011 assessment diagram to report the assessment results of the coalition's COIN operations and campaign. Their diagram format allows for flexibility in reporting mixed data and is a quasi-quantifiable design. The diagram is composed of a single axis for each domain, with gradation ranging from one to five; with five being the best and one being the worst. See figure 1 for an illustration of the radar diagram (Schroden, et al., 2013).

Figure 1:
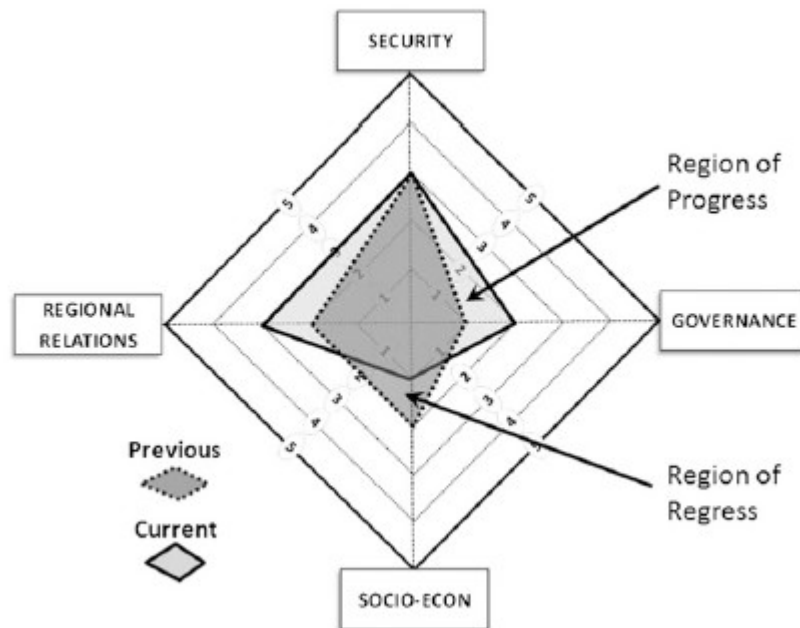
The ISAF's assessment paradigm is composed of a radar diagram and an analysis portion for justifying the particular rating level for the diagram. The radar diagram is composed of four domains and provides "a qualitative, but standards-based, method to depict the current status and changes that have occurred in each of the four domains" (Schroden, et al., p.8, 2013). The four domains used are "Security, Governance, Socio-Economics, and Regional Relations." Each domain is comprised of specific indicators that comprehensively define the broad domains. For example, under the domain of security, there are indicators of attack frequency, magnitude, and ability to control territory. These indicators are analyzed in context of the COIN operation or campaign and justify the rating given in the radar diagram. The broadness of these domains is a conscious reflection of the uniqueness of the root problems which jeopardize a country's security, governance, socio-economics, and regional relations. This project's fourth domain of "Regional Relations" is changed to "Regional and In-Country Relations" to better reflect the specific complexities in Yemen between coalition forces, Yemen's military, tribes, and militias.

The plotting and connection of the domain's ratings create a shaded area that visually depicts aggregate progress but also individual domain progress. The assigned value is based on qualitative and quantitative analysis of those four domains' indicators. The values assigned to each domain are designed to be simple, numerical values ranging from one to five; with one being the worst and five being the best. An example of the logical reasoning for assigning a particular value to a domain, in this case, the security domain is described using the following number system: A score of 1 is defined as "Stated Areas are not secure;" A score of 2 is defined as "Stated areas are partially secured but with significant risk of reversion;" A score of 3 is defined as "Stated areas are partially secured but with moderate risk of reversion;" A score of 4 is defined as "Stated areas are partially secured but with minimal risk of reversion;" A score of 5 is defined as "Stated areas are fully secured with minimal risk of revision" (Schroden, et al., p.11, 2013). A similar line of reasoning is applied to the other domains' assigned values but with respect to their particular context of governance, socio-economics, and relationships.

The specific indicators for each domain are chosen based on literature from COIN specialists and the coalition's stated objectives. Furthermore, the data and analysis for each indicator includes context of the given situation, perceptions, and possible outcomes of actions or inactions (US Army, et al., p.12-3, 2014). In addition to the indicators, this project has identified the coalition's stated objectives for each operation is listed. These indictors directly compare the coalition's intentions toward their actions. The coalition's stated objectives add additional measures of effectiveness for each operation. The specificity of using the coalition's state objectives in conjunction with common COIN principles makes this assessment ideal for the Araba Coalition's member states to use as supportive evaluative information.

The indicators chosen are supported by COIN experts. They include David Galula, David Killculen, the US Army and Marines Counterinsurgency Field Manual 3-24, and many more. According to FM 3-24, measures of effectiveness are used to craft criteria for creating assessment standards. "A *measure of effectiveness (MOE)* is a criterion used to assess changes in system behavior, capability, or operational environment that is tied to measuring the attainment of an end state, achievement of an objective, or creation of an effect" (US Army, et al., p.12-4, 2014). However, the importance in creating MOE's is the ability for the criteria to provide critical information about the changing operational environment (US Army, et al., p.12-4, 2014). The indicators listed under the four domains are interconnected to create a comprehensive evaluation that shows the progressive changes from the beginning of the COIN campaign. The indicators under the security domain are chosen to represent the environment changes and achievement of the coalition's stated objectives. The indicators in the security domain also depict the approach being utilized, i.e. indirect or SCHB, and its effectiveness.

The indicators outside of the security domain reflect FM 3-24's dictation for "broad indicators of progress." COIN is primarily 80 percent political in nature and thus, broad measures need to reflect "social and economic health or weakness when assessing environmental conditions" (US Army, et al., p.12-7, 2014). Doug Olivant reiterates this point with inclusion of stronger economic and community support in COIN operations. His support of socio-economic factors is based on his personal operational assessment as a US commander in Iraq. These two notions embody the indicators listed under the socio-economic domain.

David Galula created a SCHB general framework for counterinsurgency. In the step-by-step guide he includes destroying the main body of insurgents, holding the area after destroying them, securing the population, and setting up means for good governance (Galula, p.59, 1964). These principles mimic the indicators of "territory control," "number of non-combatant casualties," "legitimacy and functioning" of the government. The first two indictors fall under the security domain; and are important for realizing that while, COIN is primarily political, killing must occur to be successful. The legitimacy and functioning indicators are further supported by Galula by stating "counterinsurgents reach a position of strength when his power is embodied in a political organization issuing from, and firmly supported by, the population" (p.79, 1964). The government of Yemen needs to be perceived as legitimate by the population; and necessary for achieving positive perception which is through a functioning organization that provides security and goods.

David Kilcullen writes a "best-practices" of COIN which includes a political strategy, a comprehensive approach, population-centric security, effective and legitimate local security forces, host-government partnerships and a region wide approach (p.265-68, 2009). These principles are derived from a wide array of academic research including Galula and FM 3-24 but, also his personal experiences in Southeast Asia, Iraq, and Afghanistan. The emphasis of effective and legitimate local security forces is represented by the "cohesive and competent security forces" indicator. The emphasis on host government partnerships is to leverage "a home field advantage" and integrate

intervening forces into host government led campaign (Kilcullen, p.268, 2009). This idea reflects the in-country partnerships indicator. The regional wide approach is to limit safe havens and outside spheres of influence that hinder COIN operations. The regional partnerships and hindrances indicator reflect this practice.

Listed under each Operation title are the four domains and their set of indicators that represent the contextual awareness of the coalition's COIN operations against the Huthis. The coalition's stated objectives are in italics.

Operation Decisive Storm:

Security
- Both sides' target selections, their frequency and magnitude of attacks, i.e. scud-missiles, logistic routes, and number or size of conveys destroyed;
- The methods used for the attacks, i.e. air-strikes or ground troops;
- Number of non-combatant casualties, i.e. civilians killed;
- Territory control, i.e. the ability to clear an area and hold it;
- Port and border security, i.e. controlling the port of Aden to stop Iranian arm shipments;
- Cohesive and Competent Security Forces, i.e. military factions and allegiances, local forces advising and training;
- Eliminations of other combatant groups or organizations, i.e. AQAP and ISIS.
- *Achieve air supremacy;*
- *Destroy air defenses of the Houthi militia: SAM and anti-aircraft artillery;*
- *Attack their airbases;*
- *Devastate on the-ground aircraft and ballistic missiles;*
- *Silence the command and control centers* (Saudi Press Agency, Day 1, 2015);
- *Interrupt logistical support networks: Bridges, convoys, transportation of supplies* (Saudi Press Agency, Day 2, 2015);
- *Blocking Houthis from reaching Saudi Border*
- *Air Support to certain tribes on different intervals* (Saudi Press Agency, Day 5, 2015);
- *Naval Blockade of Yemen's ports* (Saudi Press Agency, Day 6, 2015);
- *"Working towards combating the menace of terrorist organization"* (Saudi Press Agency 2);
- *"Prevent Houthi militias from damaging the Yemeni people and its neighbors"* (Saudi Press Agency, Day 1, 2015).

Governance
- Legitimacy, i.e. the legitimate president and other key figures are in Yemen and in control;
- Functioning, i.e. public goods and foreign aid are being distributed to the population;
- *"Support the government and Yemeni President's legitimacy and restore the security and stability of the sisterly country of Yemen"* (Saudi Press Agency, Day 2, 2015);
- *"Laying the ground for resumption of the political process, in accordance with the GCC-sponsored initiative and its executive mechanism and the outcomes of the comprehensive national dialogue"* (Saudi Press Agency 2).

Socio-Economic
- Economic indicators, i.e. employment, GDP, and inflation;
- Resource Scarcity, i.e. food, water, oil;
- Sectarianism, i.e. discrimination between religious or tribal groups;
- Humanitarian aid.

Relations and Partnerships
- In-Country Partnerships or Hindrances, i.e. tribal allegiances, populous support, other terrorist groups;

- Regional Partnerships or Hindrances, i.e. participating coalition members contributions and commitments or Iranian involvement and support of Huthis;
- International Relations, i.e. UN support;
- Coordination with humanitarian aid orgs;
- *"Tornado Plan": evacuate Saudi citizens and members of diplomatic missions* (Saudi Press Agency, Day 3, 2015).

Operation Restoring Hope:
Security
- Both sides' target selections, their frequency and magnitude of attacks, i.e. scud-missiles, logistic routes, and number or size of conveys destroyed;
- The methods used for the attacks, i.e. air-strikes or ground troops;
- Number of non-combatant casualties, i.e. civilians killed;
- Territory control, i.e. the ability to clear an area and hold it;
- Port and border security, i.e. controlling the port of Aden to stop Iranian arm shipments;
- Cohesive and Competent Security Forces, i.e. military factions and allegiances, local forces advising and training;
- Eliminations of other combatant groups or organizations, i.e. AQAP and ISIS;
- *Continuation of protecting civilians;*
- *Continuation of combating terrorism;*
- *Confronting any military movements and operations carried out by Houthi militias and their supporters and preventing them from using the weapons they have looted from the camps or smuggled from abroad* (Saudi Press Agency, Day 27, 2015).

Governance
- Legitimacy, i.e. the legitimate president and other key figures are in Yemen and in control;
- Functioning, i.e. public goods and foreign aid are being distributed to the population;
- *A quick resumption of the political process in accordance with the Security Council resolution No. (2216), the GCC-sponsored initiative and the outputs of the comprehensive national dialogue* (Saudi Press Agency, Day 27, 2015).

Socio-Economic
- Economic indicators, i.e. employment, GDP, and inflation;
- Resource Scarcity, i.e. food, water, oil;
- Sectarianism, i.e. discrimination between religious or tribal groups;
- *Continuation of facilitating evacuation of the foreign dependents and intensifying relief and medical assistance to the Yemeni people in the affected regions and allowing the international efforts to provide humanitarian assistance* (Saudi Press Agency, Day 27, 2015).

Relations and Partnerships
- In-Country Partnerships or Hindrances, i.e. tribal allegiances, populous support, other terrorist groups;
- Regional Partnerships or Hindrances, i.e. participating coalition members contributions and commitments or Iranian involvement and support of Huthis;
- International Relations, i.e. UN support.
- *Establishing international cooperation, based on the ongoing efforts of the allies, to prevent, through accurate monitoring and inspection, the deliverance of weapons by air or sea to the Houthi militias and their ally, Ali Abdullah Saleh* (Special Report 2, 2015).

Operation Golden Arrow:
Security

- Both sides' target selections, their frequency and magnitude of attacks, i.e. scud-missiles, logistic routes, and number or size of conveys destroyed;
- The methods used for the attacks, i.e. air-strikes or ground troops;
- Number of non-combatant casualties, i.e. civilians killed;
- Territory control, i.e. the ability to clear an area and hold it;
- Port and border security, i.e. controlling the port of Aden to stop Iranian arm shipments;
- Cohesive and Competent Security Forces, i.e. military factions and allegiances, local forces advising and training;
- Eliminations of other combatant groups or organizations, i.e. AQAP and ISIS;
- *"Their objective was to take over strategic locations in Aden as quickly as possible, clear the city of any remaining Houthi-Saleh pockets of resistance and immediately open the airport and marine port to begin receiving humanitarian shipments"* (Obaid,2015).

Governance
- Legitimacy, i.e. the legitimate president and other key figures are in Yemen and in control;
- Functioning, i.e. public goods and foreign aid are being distributed to the population.

Socio-Economic
- Economic indicators, i.e. employment, GDP, and inflation;
- Resource Scarcity, i.e. food, water, oil;
- Sectarianism, i.e. discrimination between religious or tribal groups.

Relations and Partnerships
- In-Country Partnerships or Hindrances, i.e. tribal allegiances, populous support, other terrorist groups;
- Regional Partnerships or Hindrances, i.e. participating coalition members contributions and commitments or Iranian involvement and support of Huthis;
- International Relations, i.e. UN support.

It is noted that this methodology will not be completely accurate. A possible limitation of this model is the subjectivity attached to the indicators and analysis. The quality of information provided in conjunction with the assessor's candor mitigates most negativity associated with being subjective (Schoden, et al., p.14, 2013). Other assessment models exist; and can include a Likert scale or SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats). These models do have some benefits but utilization of the 2011 ISAF model is beneficial to security and defense clients because it was specifically developed for a COIN environment.

There is not a single correct model to be used in assessing COIN and experts have acknowledged this point. According to Ben Connable, a Senior International Policy Analyst at RAND, "[there] is no panacea to assess complex COIN campaigns—all assessments of complex operations are necessarily incomplete, inaccurate and subjective to varying degrees" (Connable, p.1, 2012). A Brookings Institute study on Assessing Counterinsurgency and Stabilization Missions, found that they "did not discover simple, universal rules about the proper metrics" and it underscores the challenge and variability in providing case specific assessments (Campbell, p.2, 2009). Military personal including US Major Jonathan W. Roginski, Australian Lt. Coronel David Kilcullen, and civilian, William P. Upshur agree with the policy and academic community on the complexities of creating an assessment framework for a COIN campaign. According to Roginski, Kilcullen and Upshur, the pre 2011 Afghanistan COIN assessment was riddled with "240 metrics and indicators—some of which were uncollectable while others were entirely irrelevant. It lacked focus, failed to define the problem, and was divorced from decision-making cycles" (p.87, 2012).

Analysis of Operation Decisive Storm

Operation Decisive Storm (ODS) began on March 26th, 2015 and was characterized by the overwhelming reliance on air power to achieve a number of its objectives. According to Brig. Gen. Ahmed Asiri, the daily briefer for the operation, some of the objectives of ODS were achieved on the very first day; including "paralyzing the air defenses, particularly SAM missiles and anti-aircraft artillery…[and destroying] on-the-ground aircraft" (Saudi Press Agency, Day 1, 2015). As a result, the coalition established control of Yemen's air space. For almost one month the Saudi-led coalition targeted and destroyed air defenses, ballistic missiles, airbases, Huthi convoys and insurgents. Also, the coalition established a naval blockade of Yemen's ports to contain and control the supply lines and logistics of goods entering Yemen. The operation was officially declared a success and ended on April 21st, 2015.

ODS relies on two COIN approaches. The first approach being applied is Clear-Hold-Build. ODS has strong traits of the first phase "clear" because of its emphasis on kinetic tactics. The second approach is indirect, similar to the "Libyan" model because the coalition heavily relies on air support. However, the utilization of local militias to carry out ground attacks is more representative of a pure "indirect" approach. This heavy kinetic approach is necessary initially in the COIN campaign, in order to re-establish control and influence of lost territories. After all, killing has to be a part of COIN even though combat is only 15 percent of the solution. The following analysis shows the success of the coalition's kinetic tactics and the implications of their actions.

Security Assessment

Achieving Air Supremacy:
Air supremacy is defined as "possessing the ability to operate air forces anywhere without opposition" (Warden, p.1, 1988). This is the best achievable tier for friendly forces as it establishes absolute control of the skies. The second tier of controlling air space is referred to as air superiority. Air superiority is defined as "the opposing force is incapable of effective interference within the operational area using air and missile threats" (Joint Chiefs of Staff, p.3-01, 2012). The subtle difference between the two terms is found in the phrase "effective interference." Air superiority assumes that any interference by opposition forces is minimal and in absolute terms, negligible in diminishing control of the skies. Whereas air supremacy, has no interference by opposition forces- at all. Air superiority is more realistic for this case because the ability to eliminate all weapon platforms capable of downing air-craft in an insurgent-rich environment is unrealistic. In order to establish air superiority the coalition needed to render the following element ineffective for use: Yemeni's aircraft, airbases, surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), ballistic missiles, and anti-aircraft artillery.

The first day of air-strikes by Saudi Arabia targeted and destroyed air defenses of the Houthi, their airbases, devastated on-the-ground aircraft and ballistic missiles, and silenced the command and control centers" (Saudi Press Agency, Day 1, 2015). Continuous air-strikes on similar targets occurred throughout the duration of the operation. According to Saudi Arabia, by the end of the operation, over 2,300 air sorties had been launched (Saudi Press Agency, Day 25, 2015). Out of those 2,300 sorties only one Saudi F-15C/D was reported to have been destroyed; due to mechanical failure and not opposition forces (Barnes, 2015). The coalition's ability to maintain a zero aircraft lose from opposition forces, is a testament to effectively eliminating Huthi SAMs and anti-aircraft artillery. A snapshot of how reliant the coalition was on air-strikes is represented by AEI's Critical threats Project on Yemen's highlighted attacks from March 26 to April 21. Out of 20 major assaults conducted by both sides, 75% were from air sorties and 25% from ground forces (Pro-Hadi forces or artillery from

the KSA Border). Two of the most important target selections of those sorties have been Yemen's aircraft and ballistic missiles.

According to Global Firepower, Yemen has 180 total aircraft; including various fighter jets, attack helicopters, and 21 trainers. Approximately one week before Saudi air-strikes began, an element in the Yemeni Air Force conducted an airstrike on Hadi's presidential palace in Aden (Binnie, 2015). This alluded to the notion of the coalition needing to eliminate all aircraft. By March 29th the coalition had crippled the Yemen air force and no further airstrikes were committed by opposition forces (Al-Masmari and Abi-Habib, 2015). Destroying or capturing various airbases is a complimentary tactic to stopping opposition aircraft from attacking. Furthermore, air bases can provide logistical support and become crucial forward operating bases (FOBs). The largest air base in Yemen is al-Anad Airbase, located in Lahij Governorate. Al-Anad Airbase was where the last remaining US Special Operation Forces withdrew from in March of 2015. The base is strategically located just north of Aden, making the airbase an important outpost for expanding and holding territory in the southern governorates.

At the beginning of ODS, pro-Hadi forces were cited as "re-capturing al-Anad" (American Enterprise Institute, March 29-31, 2015). This implies Huthis had expanded their control upon al-Anad Airbase and within reach of spreading to the port city of Aden. On April 7th, Coalition air-strikes had confirmed the "[Huthis] are neutralized at the airbase." (Saudi Press Agency, Day 13, 2015). Saudi Brig. Gen. Asiri also stated that following the neutralization, pro-Hadi forces were in control of al-Anad airbase. However, two weeks later, coalition air-strikes struggled to stop Huthis from expanding control in the Taiz, Lahji, Aden, and Shabwah governorates (American Enterprise Institute, April 23, 2015). The control of Al-Anad remained under Huthi influence until August, when it was confirmed that coalition and pro-Hadi forces seized absolute control of it. The coalition was able to effectively stop opposition aircraft from attacking but controlling Yemen's largest airbase was a failure for ODS.

The second primary target selection by the coalition has been ballistic missiles. Yemen possesses Scud B and C variants, which have and effective range of 300-500km and upwards of a 700kg warhead capacity (Missile Threat, 2015). A primary rationale for eliminating Yemen's ballistic missiles is due to fear of Huthis launching them from the border of Yemen into Saudi Arabia. The initial approach for preventing launches of ballistic missiles is preemptively striking them with air sorties— a task only achievable through air superiority. The coalition also has a secondary follow up strategy for dealing with launched ballistic missiles which is their American purchased MIM-104 Patriot Missile System. The Patriot missile is a Surface to Air (SAM) missile that adds an additional blanket of security for controlling the skies of Yemen and the Border of Saudi Arabia. General Asiri has reported the destruction of several ballistic missiles and missile sites from day one to the end of ODS.

On the 5th day of ODS, the Huthis launched a ballistic missile from Sanna. But it failed to launch properly and was rendered ineffective. However, 12 days later, General Asiri reported that the air-strikes had achieved their goals because "[they] have never seen launching of any ballistic missiles…" The statement contradicts the launch reported by the same General on the 5th day but the meaning of the statement might refer to launches since then. However, another contradictory statement is made on the final two days of the operation. On the second to last day of ODS, the general reports that no ballistic missile threats remain (Saudi Press Agency, Day 25, 2015). Then, on the final day of ODS, ballistic missile sites at Faj Attan are targeted and result in a large explosion (Saudi Press Agency, Day 26, 2015). There are discrepancies in the reporting of the elimination and launching of ballistic missiles by Saudi reports; but according to them, by the end of ODS they have eliminated all

ballistic missile threats. This fact would be proven false in later months as the Huthis attempted to launch several ballistic missiles.

The coalition was successful at establishing air superiority but not supremacy. They were not able to completely control the skies without opposition because ballistic missile launches continued even after they were have been reported to be completely eliminated. The coalition was successful in leveraging their state of the art warplanes to disrupt and eliminate Huthi weapons and supplies, logistics networks, and command and control centers. The problem plaguing the coalition's ability to maintain air superiority is indiscriminate firepower. The high volume of air sorties in less than a month caused an extraordinary amount of non-combatant casualties and infrastructure damage. Damage, which begs the question, of whether the benefits of conducting 2,300 air sorties to establish air superiority outweigh the costs associated to the people and government's legitimacy.

Territory Control:
Silencing the Huthi's command and control centers (C2) is directly linked to disrupting logistical support networks. C2 entails communication and overseeing of troop movements, supplies, and overall guidance of an operation. The coalition's ability to "silence" the Huthi's C2 has been weak. The expansion of Huthi control further south, into Taiz, Lahji, and Shabwah governorates directly contradicts any ability to silence its C2. The Huthis were able to swiftly shoot, move, and communicate. As a result, they expanded control of land in the south of Yemen, by capturing the presidential palace in Aden and capital of Shabwah (American Enterprise Institute, April 3-6, 2015). The coalition has been limited in direct action missions to target high value targets (HVT) and subsequently disrupt the Huthi's C2. The inability to capture or kill Huthi HVTs is a caveat of the coalition's "indirect-Libyan" approach. The lack of a ground presence to gather intelligence and have a quick reaction force, act upon such intelligence is non-existed because of the coalition's adopted approach. However, the coalition has been fairly successful in disrupting supply networks, particularly from Iran.

The disruptions of Iran's re-supply shipments by air and sea has been curtailed because of the coalition's air superiority and naval blockades. They have implemented a "maritime ban" to prevent the re-supply of arms, ammunition, and supplies to Huthis (Saudi Press Agency, Day 18, 2015). On 21 April, the US Navy intercepted approximately seven to nine Iranian cargo ships headed toward Yemen (American Enterprise Institute, April 21, 2015). The success of air superiority and a maritime band is effective for stopping all outside shipments, regardless of their intended constituent. At the expense of stopping Huthi re-supply shipments, crucially needed aid to the civilian population has been limited. The International Committee of the Red Cross faced logistical problems of landing planes, in order to deliver essential medical supplies and relief workers (American Enterprise Institute, April 6, 2015). Furthermore, international relief organizations have faced difficulty shipping food by sea due to the maritime blockade (American Enterprise Institute, April 29, 2015). The stoppage of supplies by air and sea is not immune to sides of the conflict and has exacerbated an already dire humanitarian situation in Yemen.

The coalition has disrupted the re-supplying of Huthis by destroying bridges, airbases, and various facilities. They have also targeted locations that provided logistical support, such as, buildings used for weapons caches. A facility connecting Al-Shagra with Aden was destroyed as a preemptive measure for stopping logistical support; and a sports stadium in Aden was destroyed because it was storing ammunition (Saudi Press Agency, Day 8 and 16, 2015). Another instance of hindering their logistics networks was the destruction of a bridge "intensively" used by the Huthis to transfer supplies from Saada to Sanaa (Saudi Press Agency, Day 2, 2015). A school was also used by Huthis as a weapons storage facility and subsequently bombed after being evacuated (Saudi Press Agency, Day 16, 2015). These target selections are important for demobilizing the Huthis, but these targets are

important pieces to Yemen's infrastructure. Destroying a bridge or a school has short and long-term implications for the Coalition. Destroying such installations is a military victory and a political failure. The Huthis realize that by utilizing locations such as schools and stadiums the population will ultimately be dissatisfied with the Coalition for destroying their public goods and interrupting their livelihoods.

Cohesive and Competent Security Forces:
The coalition is made up of supporting Arab militaries but the most important component to the security force is the in-country militias. The Saudis have called the tribal formed militias as the "Peoples Committees." They are pro-Hadi forces fighting the Huthis all over Yemen. Their importance outweighs the Saudi, Emiratis, and Egyptians because they are indigenous to the physical and human terrain. Yemen's geographic and social makeup is similar to Afghanistan in that the mountainous regions separate entire tribes. The Peoples Committees are the best available option for creating tribal allegiances against the Huthis and directly combating them on the ground. The Saudi's have actively and successfully been supporting various pro-Hadi forces by providing arms, ammunition, and medical supplies (American Enterprise Institute, April 6, 2015 and Saudi Press Agency, Day 16, 18, 25, 2015). There has been a strong commitment to pro-Hadi forces in the South of Yemen, particular to the areas in and round Aden. The downside of this strategy is the lack of military training the militias have to effectively coordinate and capture positions.

Eliminations of other combatant groups:
According to Brig. Gen. Asiri, the lack of legitimacy in Yemen has a direct correlation with the proliferation of militias and spread of terrorist groups (Saudi Press Agency, Day 8, 2015). Asiri's supportive evidence for claiming the incubation of terrorist groups in Yemen is the "cooperation and interception of interests between Al-Qaeda and the Houthis" (Saudi Press Agency, Day 8, 2015). The first notion of Asiri's claim is correct; the lack of legitimacy and ineffective governance in areas of Yemen will cause outside groups to capitalize on the political vacuum. Both groups like AQAP and al-Huthis have alike interests in seizing the moment and control. However, there is definitely no cooperation between the two groups. The two groups are religiously and ideologically different; and AQAP within less than a week of ODS, fought against the Huthis in Zibjibar, Abyan and Dhi Na'im district in al Bayda (American Enterprise Institute, April 15, 2015). AQAP has also been credited with detonating SVBIED in Lahji, killing ten Huthis (American Enterprise Institute, April 15, 2015). The remark made by Asiri is strategically represented to carry the perceived message that the Coalition combating the Huthis is in effect combating AQAP because of their direct association. In reality, the combating of AQAP by the coalition has been completely absent.

AQAP and its militant wing, Ansar al Sharia, seized Mukalla, the capital of Hadramawat province on April 2. That same day they were able to attack a prison in Mukalla and free 270 inmates, including its own former emir of Abyan province, Khaled Batarif (American Enterprise Institute, April 2, 2015). Less than a week later, Ansar al Sharia was able to expand territorial control of the Hadramawat province by seizing al-Abr (American Enterprise Institute, April 8, 2015). By mid-April, Khaled Batarif, the freed prisoner and former AQAP emir of Abyan had designated AQAP members in control of Hadramawt as the "Sons of Hadramwat" and seized control of al-Dhabah oil terminal and Rayyan Airport--located outside of Mukalla (American Enterprise Institute, April 17, 2015). After two weeks of Coalition air-strikes, Gen. Asiri was asked what the coalition forces were doing to end AQAP's control of Al-Makalla and his response was that "work against Al-Qaeda requires different behavior as the matter is based on the security dimension rather than the military one." (Saudi Press Agency, Day 12, 2015) He further stated that they would continue to assess the situation in Mukalla, and launch an operation against AQAP when the time becomes appropriate (Saudi Press Agency, Day 12, 2015).

It is clear that AQAP capitalized on the political vacuum in the Hadramwat province and have further their control and interests in Yemen. The absurd comments by Gen Asiri claiming that AQAP requires a security dimension and not a military one is a senseless comment coming from a general and one in the midst of a unconventional war. Military force is a tool used to complete the security dimension; after all the security of Yemen can be defined as securing the state of Yemen and its peoples from danger and threats. It is hard to believe Asiri and KSA's confabulation of combating AQAP is different than the Huthis or that both groups are working together.

Summary of Results:

Objective	Score
Air Supremacy	3
Destruction of Targets	2
Territory Control	2
Cohesive Security Forces	2
Elimination of Other Terrorist Groups	1
Total Average Score	**2**

Governance Assessment

Legitimate and Functioning Government:
A legitimate and functional government is a crucial objective for winning a COIN operation. The coalition has identified this notion and stated their dedication to supporting the government of Yemen's legitimacy and resuming the country's political process. The primary goal of ODS is security centric because it is deemed necessary to initially carve out Huthi control, in order to lay the groundwork for restoring governance and socio-economic prosperity. Due to this goal, the ability to fully tackle the problems associated with governance during ODS have not fully been justifiably pursued and resulted in weak improvements. Furthermore, the rapid expansion of Huthi control toward the southern governance forced President Hadi, Vice President Bahah, and cabinet members to flee Yemen and reside in Saudi Arabia. Forcing Yemen's remaining legitimate government officials out of Yemen as a cautionary measure is necessary to preserve their safety but at the same time directly hinders any ability for them to function as a legitimate or effective government. It is understandable for the governance of Yemen to be weak in this stage of the campaign because of the initial focus on security objectives; in order to solidify a future avenue for President Hadi's government to better Yemen's overall situation. This approach is also time sensitive because the longer the legitimate government remains in the shadows the deeper the country falls into chaos and despair.

Number of non-combatant casualties:
A caveat to relying on air-strikes as the primary tactic for combating the Huthi's is the lack of human intelligence (HUMINT) from the local population. Without a strong ground presence to gather information on target specifics the coalition increases the risk of destroying the wrong targets and as result increasing collateral damage. On March 31st, approximately 25 civilians were killed by an airstrike on a dairy factory in al Hudaydah (American Enterprise Institute, March 31, 2015). The dairy factory could have presumably been used by the Huthi's; based on other intelligence of them using schools and stadiums as logistical hubs but, having reliable HUMINT on this dairy factory would have shown at the time it was occupied by 25 civilians. Based on United Nations statistics, from 26 March to 3 May, which is approximately a week after the end of ODS, 646 civilians were killed and 1,364 civilians injured (United Nations 1, 2015). The high number of civilian deaths and injuries directly counters any narrative of viewing the coalition and Yemen government as legitimate and helping the

population. The high numbers alienates the population from helping the coalition and pushes them to sympathize with the Huthis.

Summary of Results:

Objective	Score
Government Presence in-country	1
Non-Combatant Causalities	1
Total Average Score	**1**

Socio-Economic Assessment

Economic and Social Indicators:

Socio-Economic indicators of Yemen were low prior to the operation's commencement. At the end of 2014, 61 percent of Yemen's total population required some form of humanitarian aid (UNHCR, p.3, 2015). It is expected that over the course of ODS, particularly because of its security dimension, that the social well-being of Yemen's people will continue to suffer and the economy will deteriorate. The immediate results of ODS has been high civilian casualties, mass displacement, rising food and water in-security, fuel shortages, and basic services collapsing.

As previously mentioned in the security assessment portion, the maritime ban has negative implications regarding the well-being of the population. Prior to the closure of Yemen's ports, the county was importing nearly 90 percent of its staple food products (UNHCR, p.3, 2015). The World Food Programme has estimated that as result of the maritime ban, food insecurity has risen to 12 million people being effected since the start of ODS. There is a direct trade off of increasing security and decreasing the social well-being of Yemen. It is understandable, to initially strike the Huthis hard in order to curtail their sphere of influence. However, with a high number of civilian casualties and nearly 150,000 people being displaced, it seems as if future social and economic solutions to Yemen's problems will need to be grander and likely more difficult. The next operation by the coalition must focus on increasing the well-being of Yemen and re-instating the legitimate government. The coalition runs the risk of over relying on military muscle at the expense of the civilian population and leaving Yemen in a state of ultimate despair and increasing negative sentiment towards the coalition.

Summary of Results:

Objective	Score
Humanitarian Aid	1
Basic Services	1
Population Displacement	1
Total Average Score	**1**

Relations and Partnerships Assessment

In-Country Partnerships or Hindrances:

An important in-country partnership is between the coalition and the various pro-Hadi forces or "Peoples Committees". The coalition extended their efforts of cooperation with the Peoples Committees by training 300 of them in Saudi Arabia (Mukhashaf and Bakr, 2015). Having indigenous para-military forces operating on the ground is a force multiplier for the coalition and necessary for achieving victory because it leverages the local knowledge and keep the coalition's footprint small.

The coalition needs to continue its cooperation and coordination with the various tribal members to increase its probability of success.

Regional Partnerships or Hindrances:
Regional partnerships are at the center of this COIN campaign. This coalition is made up of mostly Arab countries, particularly from the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC); but also includes the United States and Pakistan. The GCC countries have been the primary provider of aircraft conducting airstrikes but Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, and Sudan have provided additional air support. Egypt's Navy has been strongly utilized to help contain the sea borders of Yemen; in addition to the US' Naval presence. Pakistan's parliament voted to remain neutral in the military intervention and only provide humanitarian support. Other countries have been involved in evacuating foreign citizens such as India which evacuated 4,640 Indians and 960 foreign citizens in two weeks' time from the start of ODS (Kumar, 2015). Saudi Arabia has also succeeded in its "Tornado Plan" of evacuating Saudi citizens and foreign diplomats. The roles of each state, as well as the addition of new supportive countries, change with the dynamic developments of the entire COIN campaign.

On the opposite side of successful partnership spectrum is the hindrances caused by Iran's involvement in Yemen. Saudi Arabia has repeatedly accused Iran of being supportive of the Huthis— years before the current conflict in Yemen. Iran's current support of the Huthis is characterized by limited financial support and armament shipments. Iranian influence over the Huthis has been characterized by the Iranian Quds Force and Hezbollah members helping "implement [Huthi] political and military agenda in the country" (Madabish, 2014). However, according to US Department of State spokesperson, Jen Psaki, "[the US] has no evidence that Iran controls the actions of Houthis" (Milani, 2015). An additional report, from another US official, supporting that Iran's influence over the Huthis is limited to monetary and arm transfers was reported in mid-April. The US official stated that Iranian representative discouraged Huthis from seizing Sanaa in 2014 but, the Huthis disregarded such advice and took over the capital city (Ahmed, Grim, Watkins, 2015). The supplying of money and weapons to Huthis is a direct hindrance to ODS but all misfortune or poor strategy on part of the coalition should not be pinned on Iranian influences. If Iran is determined to be the coalition's only scape goat for their operational failures or problems, the coalition will fail at winning this COIN campaign.

International Relations:
The United Nation's (UN) involvement in Yemen has been ongoing since the 2011 Arab Spring. UN Security Council Resolution 2216, confirmed the UN's support for the Coalitions necessary means to protect the people of Yemen and stop Huthi aggression (United Nations 3, 2015). In the resolution, the UN reaffirmed its "full support for, and commitment to, the Special Adviser of the Secretary-General on Yemen, in particular to the UN-brokered negotiations, and its support for the efforts of the Group of Ambassadors in Sana'a (United Nations 3, 2015)." It is important that the coalition is able to garrison UN support because it legitimizes their intervention.

The other major international relation established with the coalition is the United States of America. The US has been providing logistical and intelligence support to the Gulf Cooperation Council. According to a Wall Street Journal article, "American military planners are using live intelligence feeds from surveillance flights over Yemen to help Saudi Arabia decide what and where to bomb, U.S. officials said" (Al-Masmari, et al., 2015). The use of the US Navy has also been effective in supporting the coalition; as stated in the Security Assessment section in intercepting Iranian cargo ships off the coast of Yemen.

Summary of Results:

Objective	Score
Partnerships	4
Hindrances	1
International Relations	4
Total Average Score	**3**

Conclusion of ODS Assessment

ODS is primarily a kinetic operation but there are stated objectives dealing with humanitarian support and re-instating the legitimate government of Yemen. The lack of medical and food supplies reaching the civilian population is exacerbating the humanitarian crisis of the Middle East's already poorest country. The lack of governance being exerted over institutions and the fleeing of President Hadi and his government to KSA, signals that their legitimacy is in jeopardy. The coalition has done a good job at harnessing the Arab state's military power and US Navy. The coalition's over reliance on air-sorties is causing an alarming number of non-combatant casualties and reducing the overall effectiveness of their security dimension. The political narrative is absent from ODS and the emphasis is on kinetic solutions; a solution likely to fail based on COIN principles.

Figure 2:
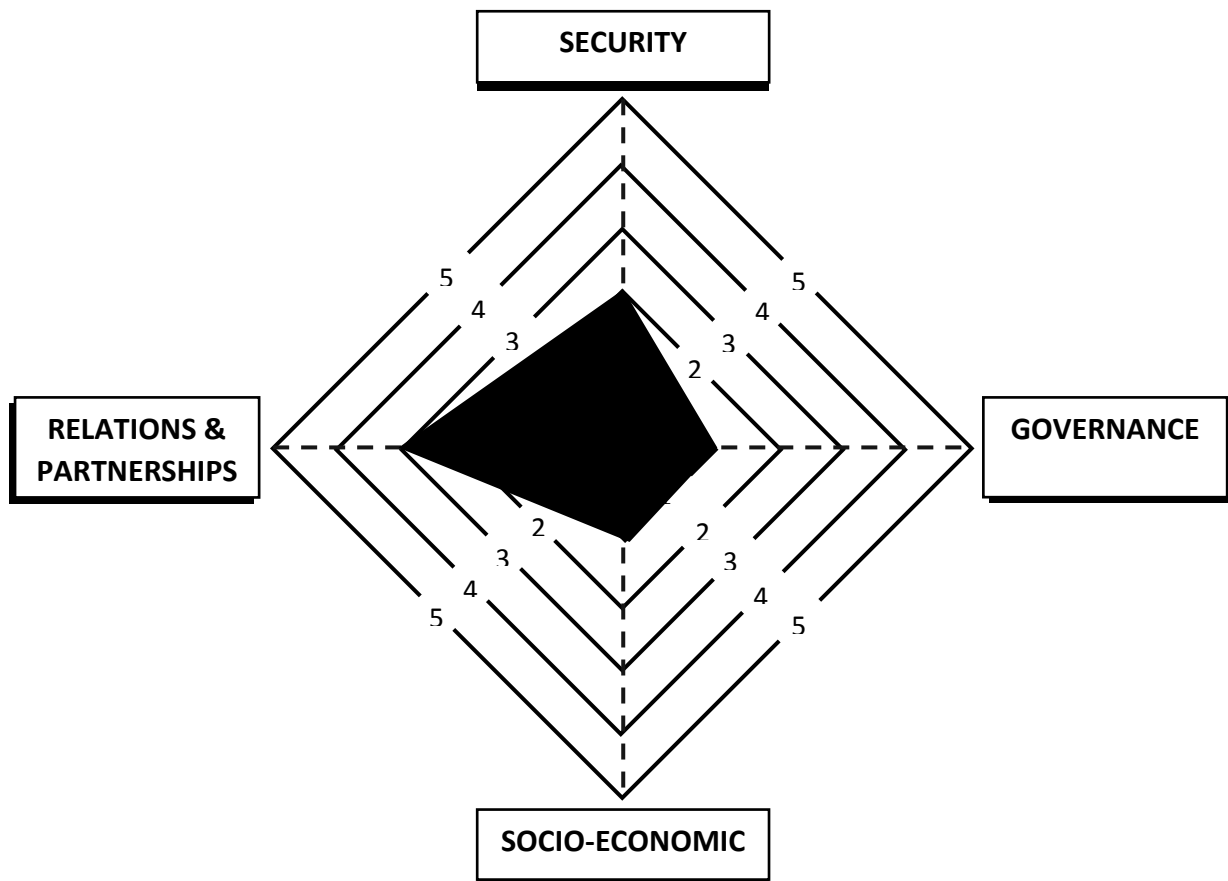
Analysis of Operation Restoring Hope

Operation Restoring Hope (ORH) began on April 21, 2015, with the intention of restoring hope to the Yemeni people and continuing towards a secure and stable Yemen. The operation was specifically requested by President Hadi and not the coalition (Saudi Press Agency 2, 2015). The previous operation had a high number of civilian casualties and based on President Hadi's personal request for a "state-building" operation, the intent of ORH is to shift the narrative toward helping the population and exerting legitimate governance, rather than heavy kinetic operations. Specifically, ORH contains more emphasis on re-instating the political process, protecting civilians, and intensifying relief and medical assistance compared to Operation Decisive Storm (Saudi Press Agency 2, 2015). However, this emphasis is somewhat inane because according to General Asiri, "the end of [Decisive Storm] and the start of [Restoring Hope] are a combination of political and diplomatic action and military action, pointing out that the command of the coalition is concerned with military action, which is to prevent the Huthi militias from carrying out any military operations" (Saudi Press Agency, Day 27, 2015). Asiri's statement clearly displays "his" concern is kinetic and less political in nature—a violation of basic COIN principles. It is undetermined if the general's statement accurately represent the coalition's stance being in militaristic terms and less political.

On the surface ORH seems population centric, with a winning the hearts and minds approach. Furthermore, based on the previous operation, there is an element of Clear-Hold-Build because Operation Decisive Storm was about "clearing" and ORH is a bridge for holding and building. Lastly, the reliance on air-strikes, local militias, and coalition military advisors is a characterization of an indirect approach. The coalition seems to be enacting a culmination of several COIN approaches but the problem lies in the overabundance to rely on kinetic operations. The following analysis will depict that while ORH has potential to be that operation in which adheres to the solution of COIN is 85% politics it misses the mark immensely.

Security Assessment

ORH's security dimension began where ODS ended; by continuing to rely on air power to combat the Huthis. The coalition's approach thus far, has been to limit coalition troop's presence inside Yemen and rely on indirect force, via air-sorties to combat and contain the Huthis. However, the high non-combatant casualties are a reflection of how over reliance on air power without a stable number of ground troops can lead to indiscriminate force and hinder the coalition's COIN approach. ORH introduces a fair number of ground troops over the course of the operation and from several of the collation countries. The inclusion of ground soldiers can be seen as an adaptation from the previous failing approach. As previously noted, a COIN campaign's approach needs to be highly adaptive to the specifics of the particular insurgency. The self-awareness that ODS was not achieving its objectives and altering the approach for ORH is a good step with respect to COIN principles. The failure of this adaptation and its objectives have been the failure of combating terrorist groups that are not the Huthis, continuing high civilian casualties, and false perception that change guarantees success.

Ground Forces:
Saudi Arabia has been providing military training to several hundred tribesmen and attempting to unite different tribes to cohesively fight the Huthis (American Enterprise Institute, May 1, 2015). This strategy is an attempt to harness the power and influence of the local indigenous population to counter an insurgency. The biggest drawback to this approach is quickly turning ordinary people into an effective fighting force. The coalition has attempted to mitigate this caveat by training active Yemeni military soldiers to bolster the total force effectiveness. These two dimensions are not an

effective stand-alone policy option but better suited as a force multiplier for conventional ground forces. A mixture of indigenous militias and conventional soldiers are often deemed necessary in a COIN operation because they can discriminately protect the population, gather intelligence, and assure logistical support for humanitarian aid. These three aspects were absent from ODS and show the need for adapting approaches to better suit the needs of the environment. The coalition's ability to remain on the periphery of the conflict as only an air support and advising force was not feasible as the Huthis continued to exert strong control over the country.

Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) were the first coalition members to deploy ground forces and accompanying transport vehicles, such as, US made M-ATVs, MRAPS, and Emirati made equivalent ground transports (Masi, 2015). Following the need for more effective military forces, Qatar, Morocco, Egypt, Sudan, Malaysia, and Senegel have provided troops. Not all of these troops have been deployed in Yemen but estimations place approximately 5,000 troops from the above countries actively operating in Yemen. Based on a culmination of news reports, the total number of coalition troops provided by all countries is currently around 15,000; but expected to grow to upwards of 25,000 since Sudan plans to send a total of 10,000 troops (al-Mujahed and Naylor, 2015; Middle East Monitor, 2015; Tharoor, 2015; Sudan Tribune, 2015). These figures do not include Yemen military forces or the trained people's committees.

Another interesting development in the realm of utilizing coalition ground forces has sprouted from reports that private mercenaries have been hired to fight in Yemen. In late November 2015, there were reports that the UAE hired and deployed 450 Latin American troops—mostly from Columbia (Hager and Mazzetti, 2015). The reported reason for hiring Columbian mercenaries is because of their extensive fighting experiences of fighting insurgencies against the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia or more commonly known as FARC. These forces are most likely seasoned veterans at fighting unconventional wars but they presumably lack any cultural and linguistic capabilities to be an effective counter-insurgency. Without proper knowledge of the terrain, understanding of how Yemen tribal system works, or working proficiency of a Yemeni dialect the Latin American mercenaries have a high probability of creating more political problems.

The deployment of the coalition's ground forces have resulted in select tactical success. For example, the important port city of Aden was re-taken by coalition, Yemenis, and tribal forces in late August. There is a false strategic value represented by the success of several thousand foreign ground troops and their in-country counterparts capturing Aden. It is easy to convolute a singular event such as the tactical success of Aden with the success of the entire COIN campaign. In early November, Saudi Foreign Minister Adel Al-Jubeir and his Yemeni counterpart stated that the operations in Yemen have entered their final stages (Mustafa, 2015). This statement neglects the statistical facts that the average COIN campaign lasts ten years, the Huthis still control Yemen's capital, and other terrorist groups are filling the vacuum left by retreated Huthis and withdrawn coalition forces. It is dubious to believe that 5,000 deployed troops in Yemen could defeat the Huthis. Even with 140,000 ISAF troops, at the highest number of combat forces in Afghanistan, the COIN campaign was seen as a failure (Joscelyn, 2012). Regardless of the number of troops and their security success, the grievances of the insurgency are not be remedied and the civilian population continues to suffer from lack of basic resources and no central government. Once again, COIN is roughly 80 percent politics and until the political issues of Yemen are addressed, hope will not be restored and nor will tangible evidence of success.

Continuation of protecting civilians:
ORH has a stated objective of protecting civilians but the United Nation's statistics on civilian casualty rates continue to show the coalition's failure at protecting civilians. As if not protecting the civilian population from the opposition force is bad enough, the high non-combatant mortality rate

is linked with in-direct air and artillery support from coalition forces. After one week from the end of ODS, 646 civilians were killed and 1,364 civilians injured (United Nations 1, 2015). In order for ORH to achieve its objective of protecting civilians, the previous figures should remain relatively level—an increase of small variation is expected due to the collateral of fighting a war. However, on August 18, 2015 the United Nations had recorded 1,950 civilian deaths and 4,271 civilians wounded since March 26, 2015 (Ki-Moon, 2015). Those statistics reflect a three-fold increase in total civilian casualties since the end of ODS. An even more current report by the UN released on September 29, 2015, stated that the number of civilians killed was 2,355 and 4,862 wounded (Colville, 2015). That is a 20% increase in civilian deaths in approximately one months' time. The UN reports that "civilians have been killed and injured by an increasing number of airstrikes targeting bridges and highways." This statement also further contradicts the coalition's objective from ODS to preserve Yemen's infrastructure.

The continued use of indiscriminate force and subsequent killing of non-combatants will deepen the humanitarian crisis and alienate popular support for eradicating the Huthis. The support gained from the "popular committees" or "popular resistance forces" is partially contingent on perceived returns of value for fighting for the coalition. But if the coalition continues to accidently harm innocent bystanders caught in the middle, they could be more likely to lean towards supporting the Huthis or simply outright hinder the coalition in the name humanitarian survival. The destruction of bridges and highways further adds to the regression of creating better social and economic liveliness for Yemen. Not only does this kill civilians, impedes access to humanitarian relief, and daily transportation needs. The coalition has to start doing a better job of protecting the civilian population and decrease the casualty rate if they want to create a favorable social and political environment to defeat the Huthis.

Continuation of combating other terrorist groups:
The combating of ISIS and AQ in Yemen has been a complete failure for ORH. The continuation of these groups expanding their power and control is a byproduct of the war's chaos, political instability, and the alarming tolerance of coalition fighters' to fight alongside AQAP against the Huthis (Abi-Habib, 2015). The lack of punitive damage inflicted on AQAP or ISIS in Yemen, even though an objective of the Coalition's campaign has been to combat all terrorist groups, is disturbing to all and especially to those in the defense and security community. At the moment it seems as if the Saudis deem terrorist groups like AQAP a necessity to beat the Huthis, if in fact, on the ground witnesses in Aden are correct about them fighting alongside one another. The overlooking of these two groups to fight the Huthis represents the faulted strategic thoughts of Saudi Arabia. The continue support directly or indirectly to radical jihadists, regardless of sect, will result in the continued deterioration of Yemen and increase probable attacks abroad. After all, ISIS has already detonated an IED in Saudi Arabia and AQAP has had two previous but failed attempts to detonate IEDs aboard planes in or bound to the US. This objective needs to be addressed to win the COIN operation in Yemen and limit the chances of an attack on another nation.

In early May of ORH, anonymous US defense officials and White House aides reported their concerns that Saudi-supplied weapons were directly falling into terrorist hands because they were presumed to be anti-Huthi fighters (American Enterprise Institute, May 8, 2015). The blinded support for any "anti-Huthi" force by the coalition is circumstantial evidence that supports the Aden residences statements of AQAP fighting Huthis at the same time and in the same place as local militias and coalition special operations units. The creation anti-al Houthi forces with known connections to AQAP, as well as the Saudi-led coalition's cooperation with Salafi militias, provides further opportunities for AQAP to leverage its connections and spread influence throughout Yemen (American Enterprise Institute, May 8, 2015). Equally important in giving support to AQAP has been

the coalition's exuberant concentration on pushing the Huthis out of cities that the eviction of Huthis has cleared the way for AQAP to come in and control the cities. AQAP have been able to take control of Zinjibar, the capital of Abyan Province, Mukalla, the capital of Hadrawmout Province, and even neighborhoods in Aden (Joscelyn and Roggio, 2015). The more cities AQAP controls, the less the official government is being able to govern and function properly; particularly in Aden, since that is where the President and Prime Minister are currently residing. The longer the government is unable to act, the longer every socio-economic indicator will fall, and the insurgency will continue.

Although, many of AQAP's town seizures have occurred from firefights between tribal members and AQAP, the AQ franchise is testing a new method of pragmatic power sharing with tribes (Keath and Michael, 2015). In the city of Taiz, AQAP has begun to "integrate" with the locals; and as one resident stated, "They warn us of al-Qaeda but in fact they are much better than Houthis" (Ghabrial, 2015). AQAP is taking advantage of the harshness and brutality of the Huthis, ISIS, and coalition air-strikes to find a common platform with tribal elders and thus, win their influence and control. The more entrenched AQAP becomes in these cities the harder it will be to remove them and their popular support. This power sharing strategy is working for some AQAP members but ISIS in Yemen remains dependent on pure terrorism to achieve its expansion.

ISIS in Yemen as of late July is composed of at least nine wilayats. Their presence in Yemen precedes the coalition's intervention and their attacks have focused on Huthis, Yemen Soldiers, and government officials. Several attacks carried out by the ISIS wilayats of Yemen include the execution of 14 soldiers in the Shabwah district, a bank raid that was guarded by state security forces in Hadramwaut, several SVEST detonations at Huthi checkpoints, several VBIED detonations at Shia mosques, and assignation of Aden's governor by VBIED on 7 December 2015 (Zimmerman, 2015). Similarly to AQAP, ISIS in Yemen has been allowed a wide berth to operate because they have heavily targeted the Huthis.

ISIS in Yemen whole-heartily despise the Huthis for being Shia and while that narrative syncs with the coalition's objective of defeating the Huthis it overlooks the negative role ISIS in Yemen has on creating a lasting solution. In about a two month time span, from October to early December, ISIS in Yemen successfully carried out an SVBIED detonation on the Qasr Hotel, at the time the location of Yemen's Prime Minister, his cabinet, and the UAE forces' headquarters (BBC, 2015). Also, briefly mentioned, was the VBIED detonation that killed the governor of Aden and his six bodyguards (BBC, 2015). These two attacks explicitly show coalition forces that ISIS in Yemen is not bound or obligated to only fight Huthis but, are determined to eliminate the legitimate government in favor of their perverted interpretation of an Islamic caliphate. The coalition must begin to take on ISIS in Yemen as they have begun to transition from attacking Huthis to assassinating key political figures in Hadi's government. Protecting the governance structure of Yemen is a top priority for COIN success and for every political leader loss, the ability to incur positive change diminishes greatly.

Summary of Results:

Objective	Score
Inclusion of Tribal/Local Forces	3
Deployment of Ground Troops	2
Protection of Civilians	1
Combating of Other Terrorists	1
Total Average Score	**2**

Governance Assessment

The first goal of ORH was to quickly resume the political process in Yemen in accordance with UN resolution 2216. Within resolution 2216, there is emphasis on all parties to support the political transition in Yemen that was previously discussed in the National Dialogue Conference (NDC). This includes, "drafting a new constitution, electoral reform, the holding of a referendum on the draft constitution and timely general elections, to avoid further deterioration of the humanitarian and security situation in Yemen." The problem with relying on the NDC specifics is that at the time of the conference in 2014, the entire country was marred by country-wide protests, violence, and assassinations of two legitimate Huthi representatives (Yemen Post, 2014). The Huthis eventually pulled out of the NDC and began their takeover of Yemen's political institutions and territorial expansion. Therefore, using these standards is not the greatest foundation of resuming political processes in Yemen.

The goal set forth by the coalition of resuming Yemen's political process in accordance with resolution 2216 is unlikely; but that is not a sole reason for stopping Yemen's government from functioning. With the removal of 2216's semantics, Yemen's government should still be functioning and perceived as legitimate; or making great efforts to accomplish those tasks in a time of war. The fleeing of Yemen's government, including the president, prime minister, and cabinet members to Saudi Arabia, hinders any policy formulation or implementation. After approximately five months, on the 16th of September 2015, the prime minister and several cabinet members returned to Aden, Yemen (Al-Kibsi, 2015). A week later, the president also returned to Aden. Two conclusions can be made from the governments five month absence. The first conclusion is that a government cannot be seen as legitimate if they have to flee their country for nearly half a year and when they return, they do not return to the capital. The second conclusion is that being in Saudi Arabia for such a long time, suggests that the government was not able to function even remotely close to an acceptable level. The lack of resources, such as food, water, and medicine is an example of how the government failed to execute its job from abroad.

In defense of the government remaining outside of Yemen and unable to execute their duties is because the coalition failed to stop the Huthis expansion. It was clearly unsafe for the President and his subordinates to remain in Saa'da or Aden. It seems to still be unsafe in Aden as ISIS in Yemen has successfully attacked the PM's location and assassinated Aden's governor. The coalition failed in their Clear-Hold-Build approach by losing territory and as a result hindered the governance domain of this COIN operation. The longer the Yemeni government remained sideline the worse the socio-economic conditions of Yemen deteriorated. The lack of governance for half a year stacked the deck against the government's ability to function and be in control upon their return. The implication of this is critical because the political aspects of COIN are what determine victory. The failure of governance has led to AQAP and ISIS expanding their control of territory. The population has no or severely limited public goods, services, and utilities. Looking forward, the length of this insurgency is directly correlated with the length of the legitimate government's inability to govern in Yemen.

Another cause for concern that has arisen during ORH is the increase of sectarianism. Throughout Yemen's history there have been minimal cases of sectarianism. Past disputes were based mainly on tribal rivalries rather than religion. The increase of sectarianism is a reflection of how the coalition has failed to combat other terrorist organizations but the greatest loser is the government. An increase in sectarianism is likely to protract the COIN operation further as ethnic conflicts in the Middle East North Africa region average 6.7 years (Fearon, 2002). The increase of sectarianism undermines the government's legitimacy and future ability to establish peaceful governance in a timely manner.

The increase in sectarianism during ORH comes as a result of attacks on Zaydi mosques (United Nations 4, 2015). It is important to note that these attacks on Zaydi mosque are being committed by ISIS wilayts in Yemen and not the coalition. On June 17th 2015, ISIS Wilayat Sana'a detonated four VBIEDs, destroying two mosques, a Huthi political headquarters, and a Huthi residential home (American Enterprise Institute, 2015). Three days later, another VBIED was detonated outside a Zaydi mosque in Sana'a and immediately claimed by ISIS (American Enterprise Institute, 2015). The ISIS attacks are acting as a spoiler in the process for re-establishing governance in Yemen.

Summary of Results:

Objective	Score
Agreeing on UN Resolution 2216	1
Legitimacy	1
Sectarianism	1
Total Average Score	**1**

Socio-Economic Assessment

The socio-economic situation during Operation Decisive Storm (ODS) was bad and leading towards getting worse. The coalition's naval and air blockades and high civilian casualties exacerbated the need for providing humanitarian relief. The Huthis have also exacerbated the humanitarian crisis by seizing UN aid shipments and claiming they were weapons (American Enterprise Institute, 2015). The ending of ODS and beginning of ORH suggested a need to save face with respect to failing to protect and support the civilian population. ORH has a goal to intensify humanitarian efforts and allow international organizations to assist (Saudi Press Agency, Day 27, 2015). However, Yemen needs more help than ever in increasing living conditions to an acceptable level. Air-strikes have continued to result in high civilian casualties, fuel shortages have affected water supplies and health services, food and medical supplies continue to trickle into the country, and sectarianism is rising because of the deliberate targeting of religious institutions.

A major cause that has effected the population and their need for humanitarian relief are widespread fuel shortages. Fuel shortages first began in late 2014, when the government increased gas prices overnight from cutting gas subsidies. Prices increased by 60% for gasoline and 90% for diesel (Salisbury, 2014). There was no government announcement prior to the increase because it was meant to hinder any attempts to start demonstrations (Salisbury, 2014). Well, the drastic cut of fuel subsidies in one day resulted in wide spread protests and was later a major point of the Huthis reasoning of taking over the government. The reasoning behind the fuel subsidies cut was to receive a $550 million loan from the IMF. There was a stipulation to cut back on government subsidies to reduce the country's deficit (Hagagay, 2013). The IMF did not stipulate cutting the subsidies so quickly or drastically; but rather gradually over time (Salisbury, 2014).

The fuel shortages are a major cause of a decline in socio-economic conditions because fuel is a necessity for maintaining critical infrastructures. Furthermore, the arms embargo placed at ports and airports has un-intentionally hindered outside fuel shipments from entering quickly enough. According to a UN humanitarian official, Yemen is on the verge of collapse because of fuel shortages because water supplies, health services, and telecommunication infrastructures need fuel to operate (Al Jazeera 3, 2015). The coalition's priorities are invested in the security dimension of this COIN operation and as a result are heavily effecting the civilian population. The government of Yemen has failed to enact any kind of subsidy reversal to reflect a more gradual process. A five day humanitarian cease-fire was successfully negotiated in early May, but with the first hour, coalition

airstrikes occurred. Saudi sources reported Huthis had fired mortars first (American Enterprise Institute, May 13, 2015). Several other attempts by UN led negotiators to enact a humanitarian ceasefire failed in late May. ORH's goal of intensifying humanitarian efforts is not being reached and it is apparent that the coalition's concerns are with military action. The earlier the coalition can address humanitarian relief the better chance they have at gaining new recruits for the supportive militias and not worry about losing populous support to other terrorist organizations.

Summary of Results:

Objective	Score
Fuel Shortages	1
Humanitarian Relief	1
Civilian Casualties	1
Total Average Score	**1**

Relations and Partnerships Assessment

In-Country Partnerships or Hindrances:
One of the largest successes of ORH has been the formation of an in-country partnership between the coalition, government, and numerous popular resistance forces. The number of popular resistance forces have grown over the course of the operation and been a strong contributor in all areas of Yemen. A particular group of southern resistance fighter has had great success in Aden (See Op. Golden Arrow). In other cities like Taiz, the battle between the Huthis and resistance fighters has become entrenched and has yet to usher in a victor or show any formidable signs of any; but the PPC have made previously unforeseen efforts. However, the success in the south of Yemen exemplifies how the indigenous population can be greatly effective in winning a COIN operation. The winning of tribal allegiances by the coalition are crucial for maintain territorial integrity and block all other terrorist groups. One caveat to the success surrounding the resistance in Aden is that the inspiration and cohesiveness in the south comes from historical motivations to be secessionists. The strong presence of secessionists is not new to the south but has been re-invigorated due to the absence and lack of central government legitimacy (See Op. Golden Arrow).

Regional Partnerships or Hindrances:
Another great success has been the coalition's ability to muster internal support from the coalition's Arab nations and also add new coalition members—that are not Arab. The majority of the Arab coalition members have all stepped up their support to ORH by sending combat ground units to fight. It is important the coalition remains strongly unified because a unilateral or dysfunctional coalition reduces the probability of success in defeating the Huthis. Communication and coordination are key variables in achieving objectives; and the commitment demonstrated by all members seems to be reinforcing those key qualities. The addition of Malaysia and Senegal as non-Arab members to the coalition is positive for gaining international legitimacy. Malaysia adds greater COIN understanding to the coalition because of their historical involvement in conducting COIN operations in support of combating Malay Muslims in Southern Thailand and Northern Malaysia.

International Relations:
There have been several attempts by the United Nations to create humanitarian aid ceasefires and hold peace talks in Geneva, Switzerland (American Enterprise Institute, Day 13 and 27, 2015). In both cases neither of the coalition, Huthis, or both parties could adhere to the agreed terms or even participate in negotiations. There has been newly restored hope that a ceasefire and peace process will take hold starting on the 15th of December. The UN's special envoy to Yemen, reported that

President Abd-Rabbu Mansour Hadi and the Houthis were committed to the peace process laid down by the Security Council last April (Nebehay, 2015). The previous attempts by the UN likely failed because at the time the coalition had not secured any positions on the ground and subsequently had no bargaining chips and or leverage. The success of Operation Golden Arrow has provided Hadi and the coalition a secure position on the ground and should help guarantee their cooperation in the talks. These talks are important for the COIN operation because a humanitarian ceasefire will help the ongoing humanitarian crisis and triage socio-economic factors and there can be efforts to find a true political solution to the parties' grievances. This negotiation and ceasefire are not guaranteed to occur and are going to be heavily influence by the Huthis attitude toward finding a compromise and also third party spoilers from other terrorist groups.

Other international attempts to help find a political solution have occurred. According to a spokesperson from the Hadi government, on May 31 2015, the US were engaged in "ongoing talks" with the Huthis in the capital of Oman; Omani sources later confirmed this report (American Enterprise Institute, June 1, 2015). A similar case of a third party talk, included Russia's ambassador to Yemen meeting with Saudi official, members of President Hadi's government, and Huthi representatives in Sana'a (American Enterprise Institute, September 23, 2015). It is unclear if any of these efforts played a role in the formation of the upcoming UN sponsored talks.

Summary of Results:

Objective	Score
Partnerships	4
Hindrances	1
International Relations	3
Total Average Score	**3**

Conclusion of Assessment

ORH is a step in the correct direction with respect to adapting the previous overly kinetic operation. The name of the operation and having President Hadi request the operation exemplifies the bolstering of governance and need to increase socio-economic factors. However, in practice there have been limited efforts to create effective change in those two domains. Basic goods and services are not available to the population; including gas, food, water, and healthcare. Furthermore, an increase in sectarianism is causing social problems that were previously not inherent to Yemen's society. The security domain of ORH has shifted to include ground forces and utilize tribal militias. Even with new emphasis on discriminate force, there has been continued increase in civilian casualty rates from artillery and air strikes. A major factor hurting the coalition's security domain is the empowering of other terrorist groups who pose a direct threat to Yemen, the region, and the West. The commitment by the coalition to provide and deploy ground troops, in addition to adding new, non-Arab coalition members is a reassuring sign that partnerships are not waning.

Figure 3:
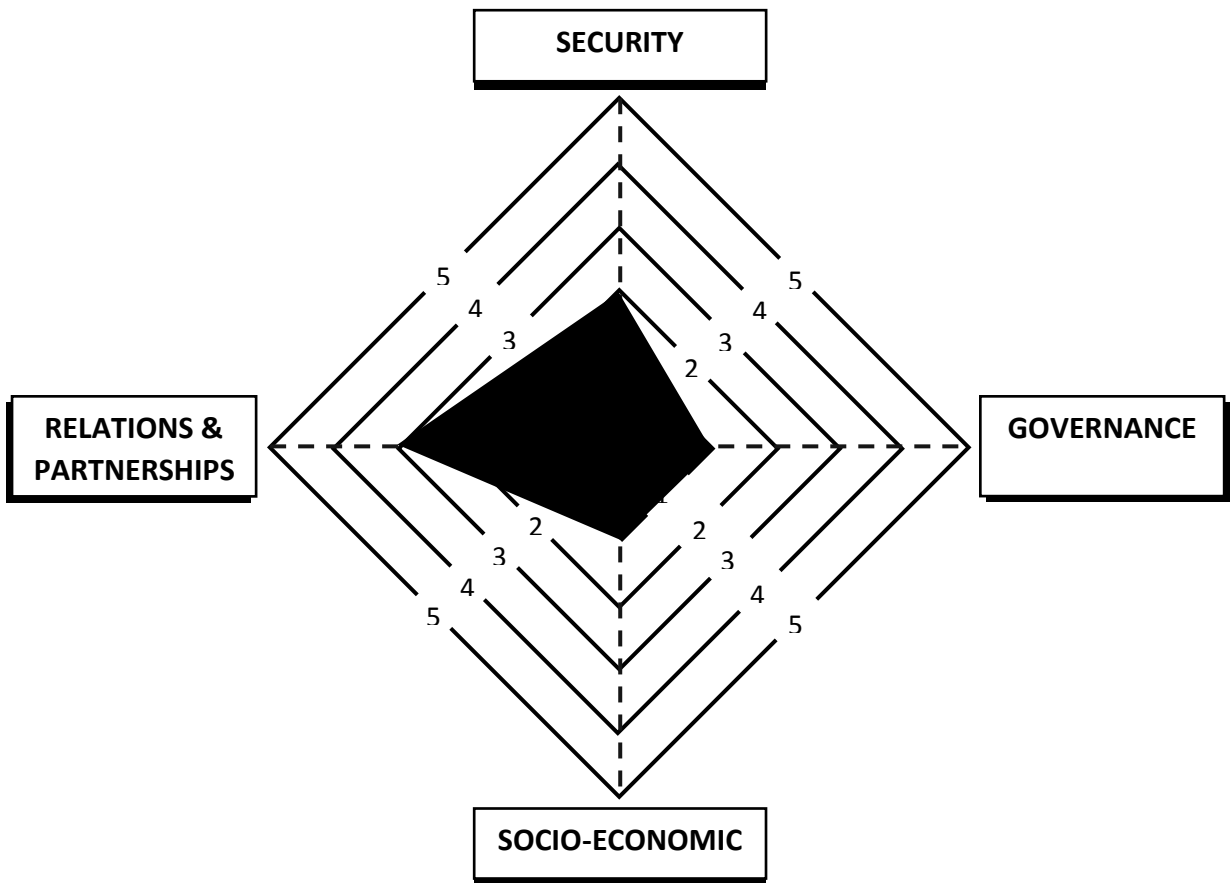
Analysis of Operation Golden Arrow

Operation Golden Arrow (OGA) is the operation that spearheaded the wide-use of ground forces and drove the Huthis out of Aden in pursuit of recapturing the national capital of Sanna. The operation began in mid-July of 2015 and found early success by utilizing coalition ground forces in conjunction with southern resistance fighters to re-capture Aden. The operation's primary objective is to re-capture the capital of Sanna but the means in which to achieve the primary objective includes starting an offensive in Aden and continuing north—expelling Huthi pockets of resistance. This operation's attention is primarily on the security and partnership dimension and lacks substantial objectives from the other two assessment dimensions. Since, OGA is occurring simultaneously with ORH is safe to assume OGA has "indirect" socio-economic and governance efforts occurring. These efforts are occurring as part of ORH and still add to the overall campaign's success.

Security Assessment

Indigenous Ground Forces and Territorial Control:
The offensive mounted on the eve of Eid al Fitr (An Islamic Holiday) included 1,500 southern resistance fighters, 170 MRAPS, 900 coalition troops, UAE and Saudi special operations units, and 136 air sorties (Knights and Mello, 2015). The southern resistance forces with the help of the coalition were able to resize the city, its maritime port, and international airport. The next phase of the operation was to complete a similar assault, in-order recapture al Anad air base in Lahj governorate, then onto Taiz, and finally Sanna. They were successful in re-capturing al Anad air base but the other cities currently remain contested. OGA has been successful in Aden and Lahj because of the strong support and efforts made by southern resistance forces. But currently battles are entrenched in Taiz and cities further north. As the coalition moves more north they lose the large and effective members of the southern resistance and that seemingly was a key component to OGA's success in Aden. The importance of large and well trained indigenous forces is underscored in OGA and is showing the need to better cultivate northern tribes allegiances. The caveat is that the further north the coalition pushes, the stronger the Huthi resistance becomes. The Huthis are from the northern western highland and were in control of places like Sanna long before the coalition intervened unlike their presence in the south.

The liberation of Aden from the Huthis is not a surprise if you look at the southern resistance forces. The southern resistance forces derive their name not from fighting the Huthis but from the historical civil wars of Yemen. The Southern Movement has actively protested and voiced their support for succession. The Southern Movement has a strong motivation to rid the Huthis of Aden because it shows they can protect and govern themselves absent of the central government. So, it is not a surprise that a group that desires succession was able to band together and drive out the Huthis with the close ground and air support of the coalition. In addition to determination, the southern forces had extensive knowledge of the city and access to intelligence the coalition did not. The southern resistance fighters are important for analyzing the future success of OGA and the broader COIN campaign.

The coalition is bound to face a strong Huthi resistance in Sanna and without an equivalent formidable force like the southern resistance fighters the coalition has a high probability of failure. The current battle of Taiz highlights how continuing into stronger Huthi pockets is becoming a protracted fight. Assuming the coalition is successful in capturing Sanna there are two remaining problems facing the broader COIN campaign.

Security Implications and Political Outcomes

The success of OGA does not translate into victory against the Huthis because the strongest presences of Huthi fighters are in the mountainous northern highlands of Sa'ada. The success of re-taking the capital and placing President Hadi and his government in the city center will not stop the Huthis from launching attacks across the border into KSA or within Yemen. They will still be able to conduct terrorist attacks and hold ground in their indigenous mountain regions. The Saleh government failed to beat the Huthis is Saa'da over a ten year period. Anything short of utterly wiping out the Zaydi population, there will remain isolated terrorist attacks in Yemen. The ultimate solution still remains in politics and not large kinetic operations.

The other looming implication of OGA is the empowering of the Southern Movement. The country of Yemen has barely survived two civil wars because of secessionists in the South. There is a legitimate concern that the long absence of a central government, indiscriminate killing of civilians, and ability to fight for liberation could propel southerners to challenge President Hadi. Upon the freeing of Aden from Huthis, Yemen's Southern Movement announced renewed call for southern independence (American Enterprise Institute, July 20, 2015). Also, the recent assassination of Aden's governor further increase tensions between southerners and the Hadi government. A scenario were the Huthis are "defeated" but the Southern Movement and southern resistance fighters supersede Hadi's government in the south is plausible. This scenario would be trading one insurgency for another. It is unclear how obligated the coalition would be in supporting a completely new and different COIN campaign.

Operation Golden Arrow has found success in Aden and Lahj. It remains unknown how success will be determined as coalition forces continue to Sanna. There is however, an increase in prospect that the success of OGA in the south of Yemen is leading toward a renewal in succession. The leveraging of political concession with respect to finding a political solution is necessary to solve the COIN campaign and mitigate a new insurgency in the south. OGA is working on a tactical and kinetic level but the coalition needs to ramp up its non-kinetic operations.

Summary of Results:

| Objective	Score
Re-Capture of Aden	5
Southern Resistance Forces	3
Territory Control	3
Combating of Other Terrorist Groups	1
Total Average Score	**3**

Conclusion of Assessment

OGA is by far the biggest kinetic success of the entire COIN campaign. The current progress of OGA is stagnating, with lack of momentum occurring in Taiz. As a result of recapturing Aden, the government has been able to return to Yemen and set up a provincial capital in Aden until Sanna is liberated. President Hadi and his government have been out of Yemen for almost six months and face challenges to re-establish legitimacy in the eyes of the population. The utilization of indigenous forces to retake Aden and al Anad Airbase is a crucial template for similar operation in northern Yemen. The participation and overall effectiveness of the southern resistance forces does carry a major implication of creating new secessionist tensions between Hadi's government and the Southern Movement. Hadi's ability to diffuse and manage the situation will be good test to demonstrate the government's ability to function and sense of legitimacy. Socio-economic factors are still deteriorating and need to be addressed as 80 % of the population needs some form of humanitarian aid.

Figure 4:
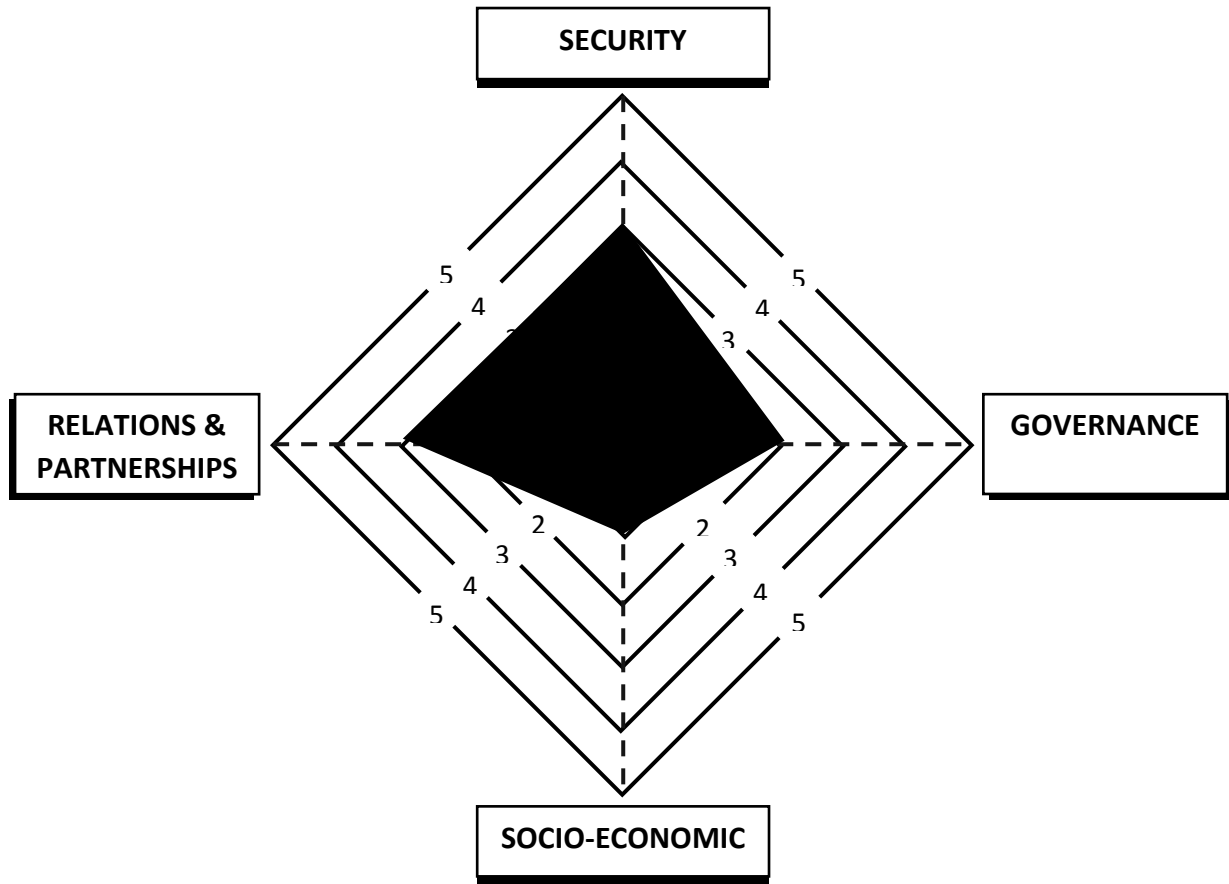
Aggregated Assessment

Figure 5:
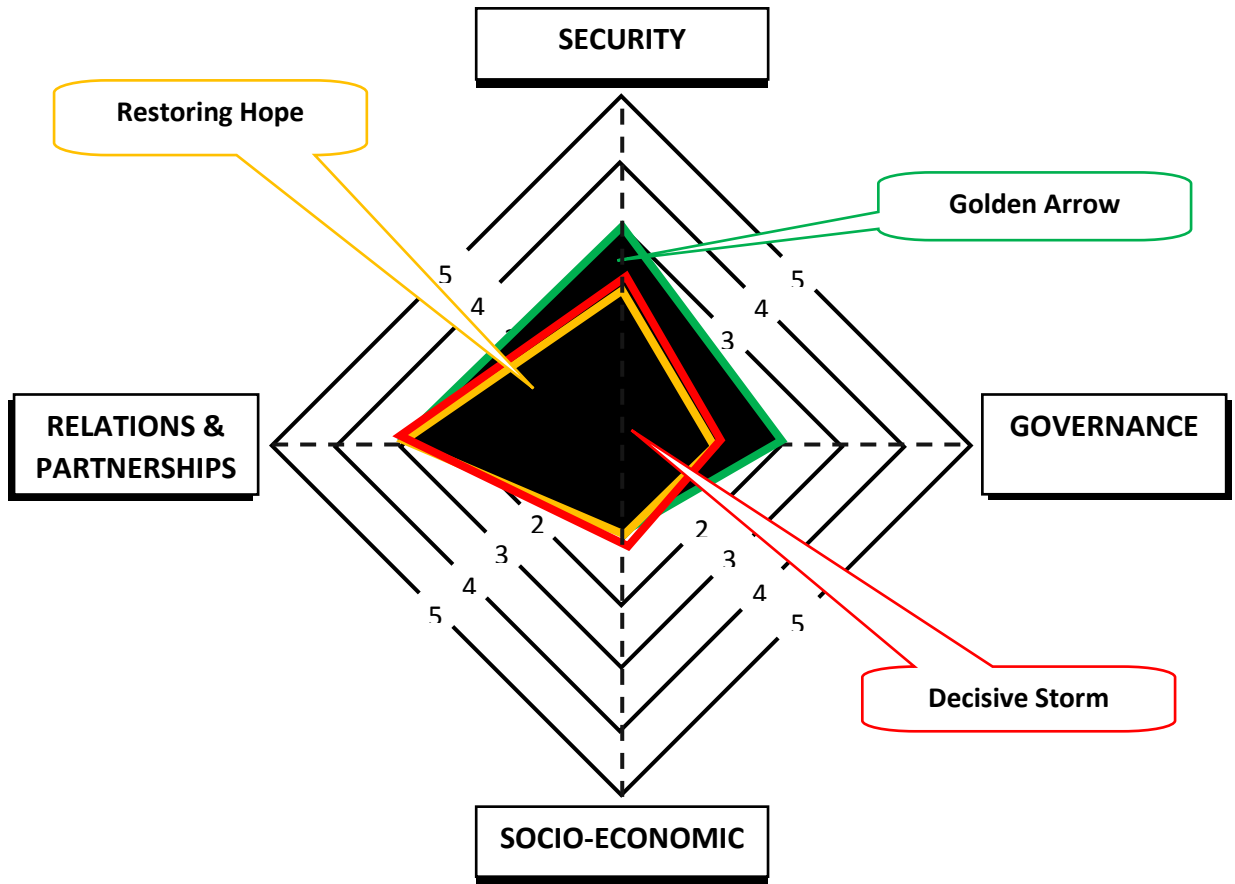
Conclusion

The coalition's current operations are approaching one year since the launch of Operation Decisive Storm. In that time period the COIN campaign has not been a success nor a failure based on this project's assessment. The assessment has depicted two key areas that have consistently reflected a poor performance across all operations. The first area is socio-economic indicators; including water, food, fuel, and medical supplies to reach nearly 80 percent of the population. Operations Decisive Storm, Restoring Hope, and Golden Arrow have failed to make a stabilizing effort to provide both humanitarian aid and public goods. The lack of humanitarian aid has heavily been hindered by the coalition's security initiatives to secure air and marine ports from enemy re-supply shipments. The lack of public goods is reflective of the second area that has performed poorly; a legitimate government. The government of Yemen, for the duration of the COIN campaign, has resided in Saudi Arabia and a make-shift capital in Aden. As a result, the government has been limited in their abilities to enact policies and be perceived as legitimate by the people. This caveat is represented in the theoretical framework of an indirect approach; however the extent to which it has affected Yemen is a significant factor because it was already considered at or near the designated level of "failed state".

The strongest assessment performance comes from the coalition's ability to harness partnerships and international relations. The formation of a strong Arab coalition is a new step in modern COIN for determining the capabilities of Arab nations spearheading these types of operations. This project assessment has determined that the coalition is doing a good job of leveraging local, regional, and international partnerships. For example, the coalition's indirect approach has empowered local militias, particularly the southern movement in Aden, to defeat the Huthi terrorists in parts of the south. The biggest caveat to this success has been the future implications left to these empowered groups who may have alterative motives based on religion, history, or legitimacy. More importantly, is the rise of sectarianism in Yemen. The increase of sectarianism violence, terroristic or not, further complicates a viable political solution in Yemen. The complication of sectarianism is possibly reflective of how or why future COIN operations will fail, regardless of the nation spearheading the campaign.

The analysis of this COIN campaign depicts several future outcomes of Yemen. All of which, are long in duration and complex in fixing Yemen's current state of affairs. There have been several attempts at a negotiated cease-fire; a positive step towards finding a political solution. However, these cease-fire negotiations have all failed. Additionally, the increased sectarianism caused by ISIS affiliates and potential Southern Movement uprising against the government are acting as spoilers. There is a strong possibility that the country of Yemen becomes partitioned but based on Yemen's history that solution is likely to fail. The current legitimate government of Yemen is internationally recognized by the United Nations and abandoning this support would collapse Yemen further into a failed state. The coalition's best outcome of their COIN campaign is to return the Huthis to their indigenous lands and fully re-instate the legitimate government of Yemen. Any other outcome is likely to tip the balance of power toward terrorist groups, like the Huthis, AQAP, or ISIS.

The coalition's first operation conducted nearly 2,300 air-sorties and those numbers continued to increase over the conflict's duration. The coalition adopted the model used in Libya to leverage its superior air power to defeat the Huthi combatants. However, over dependence on air power in highly populated areas limits its use because of indiscriminant fire. The operations heavy uses of air strikes have resulted in over 7,000 civilians being injured or killed; an outcome that reflects poorly on the government's legitimacy and the coalition's inability to protect the population from

"terrorists". The harming of non-combatants places a wedge between the population's support toward the government and possibly re-aliens their allegiance towards the Huthis, AQAP, or ISIS.

Moving forward with the coalition's tactics and approaches, the coalition needs to do more in addressing the socio-economic and governance factors of Yemen. Re-instating fuel subsidies and increasing humanitarian aid are strong initial steps in that direction. It is a two-fold action because it helps the population and projects government legitimacy. The harnessing of relationships needs to continue, in order to defeat the Huthi combatants. But empowering the likes of AQAP or ISIS in Yemen is a real danger that is getting overshadowed at the moment. The coalition needs to do more in the realm of direct action missions that target, what the coalition considers "other terrorists," such as AQAP and ISIS in Yemen. The emphasis for these CT operations needs to be placed on human elements and not from the air. To decrease non-combatant casualty rates, the collation should only use "smart" bombs in conjunction with special operations troops' laser designating targets controlled by Huthi combatants. These policy changes are not an absolute solution to declaring a successful COIN campaign but are the best options for fixing the weaknesses reveled from this assessment.

Policy Recommendations

The assessments show that the socio-economic and governance domains need the greatest improvements. There are also some security aspects that need to be addressed, such as, the combating of all other terrorist groups. The following policy recommendations are considered to improve the operational environment for coalition forces, the government of Yemen and its peoples. The numbering of these solutions is not reflective of their importance.

1. **Guided Bomb Units (GBU) aka Smart Bombs**
   The coalition has made the mistake of perceiving air-strikes as the correct policy solution but in fact, it has resulted in an alarming high number of non-combatant casualties. Air-strikes in a COIN environment have marginal rates of return because the large number of bombs detonated in a highly populated area is likely to incur heavy collateral damage to the population and infrastructure. To mitigate this caveat the coalition is to use precision guided munitions.

   Guided bomb units are informally known as "smart bombs" and are a better alternative to non-guided bombs because they maximize the probability of destroying the correct target and only that target. The coalition should stop using non-guided munitions in highly populated areas and only use GBUs. The recent $1.29 billion weapons deal between the US and Saudi Arabia, includes 1,000 GBU-10 Paveway II bombs and over 5,000 Joint Direct Attack Munitions kits, which convert non-guided units into GBUs via GPS" (RT, 2015) These GBUs should only be used for the continuation of the COIN campaign because they will limit non-combatant casualty rates and subsequently protect and appease the local population.

2. **Laser Designators**
   The coalition should also increase the use and training of laser designators to enhance the effective success of GBUs and stop unnecessary non-combatant casualties. Laser designators "paint" targets with an invisible beam that sends impulses to GBUs and allow the munitions to hit exactly where the target has been "painted." The utilization of laser designators in a highly condensed and populated area is necessary for close air-support. Laser designators are the preferred methodology in a COIN environment because they increase discriminate

force capabilities. The coalition should deploy more units capable of using laser designators in-conjunction with the use of GBUs.

The coalition should be cautious of having locals or resistance fighter designate targets via lasers or use any other demarking system. The reason for exercising this caution is to limit locals from taking personal advantage of coalition air-strikes. Non-military personnel are more inclined to use this technology negatively. An example would be targeting individuals that they have un-settled debts with rather than an operation-critical target. A fair compromise is to embed small coalition teams with local resistance fighters who can accurately designate high value targets.

3. **Training and Motivating Resistance Fighters**
   The success of the southern resistance fighters exemplifies the need to utilize the indigenous population to win this COIN campaign. The coalition should increase training to resistance fighters and motivate these groups in places like Taiz, where fighting has become protracted. Military training is necessary for these resistance fighters but motivation is arguably more important. Teaching a person to move, shoot, and communicate is important but convincing them to do those things for a prolonged time is the key to success. The southern resistance was motivated to take back Aden because it would bolster their secessionist ideas by depicting themselves as self-governing and independent of the central government.

   Other historical cases of correctly identifying a local population's needs to usher their support is presented in the case study of Dhofar, Oman. Small numbered, British Special Air Services (SAS) teams found specifically, what certain areas needed; such as medical care and agricultural goods (Hughes, 2009). These actions convinced those members of the community to fight for the Omani government as para-military forces. The current coalition should identify specific local needs of communities in Taiz and further north to help mobilize and motivate tribes, groups, and individuals to join the resistance. The fundamental key to this policy is identifying specific wants of the people and not just generalizing needs. Talking to important tribal or community leaders is a way to access a community's desired item or service. This method will increase the community's backing of the coalition much more definitively. Without a large presence of coalition ground troops this is the best policy prescription to continue momentum north and re-take the nation's capital.

4. **Counterterrorism Operations (AQAP and ISIS)**
   The coalition and government of Yemen (GoY) need to actively combat the other terrorist groups operating in Yemen. Ramping up CT operations against AQAP and ISIS in Yemen should be a higher priority. With the re-securing of al Anad Airbase—the former US Special Operations base—the GoY in coordination with the US should ramp up their operations against these groups. This policy is not a complete solution; but the longer limited actions are taken against AQAP and ISIS wilayats the harder it will become to erode their influence and presence in Yemen. The collation has a vested interest in directly combating these groups, particularly the ISIS wilayats, as they have killed Saudi citizens inside the borders of Saudi Arabia (Hanna and Tawfeeq, 2015). The coalition needs to become stricter on the allowance of AQAP members fighting alongside resistance fighters and or coalition special operation units. The empowering of AQAP over the Huthis is not beneficial to Yemen, the entire region, and the United States. The inherent problem with providing a cohesive solution to this problem is it requires fighting COIN against three groups rather than just

one. This sort of solution is costly and ill desired by the coalition. However, actively pursuing new CT operations is likely to act as triage to the situation and provide future leverage to ascertain a better solution.

5. Humanitarian Aid

Humanitarian aid has not been getting to nearly 17 million people in need of it. While, providing humanitarian aid in a war zone is not easy for obvious reasons of safety, a larger hindrance has come from the coalition's strong security policies. The coalition has achieved air-supremacy and maritime blockades which limit re-supply of arms and munitions to the Huthis but also limit humanitarian aid shipments. The coalition has been letting in some humanitarian aid but the vetting process is slow and rigorous. The result is aid not reaching those who need it most neither at all nor in a timely fashion. The solution to this is not ideal but, decreasing the vetting process to increase the speed of humanitarian aid coming in has a larger benefit for COIN in Yemen.

The decrease in vetting standards or process is surely guaranteed to increase outside re-supplies to the Huthis. However, the current situation is alienating the population and entrenching the coalition in a protracted war. Reverting back to the policy prescription of motivating the population to win this COIN is founded in getting humanitarian aid to those potential resistance fighters and motivating them. Yemen is the second most highly gun populated country in the world (Karp, p.2, 2011). So, re-armaments from Iran or other sources are minimal in the long-term and broader context of this COIN campaign. Providing much needed goods and services to the population outweighs the costs incurred from increasing aid shipments and decreasing the vetting process of potential arm shipments.

Bibliography

Abi-Habib, Maria. "Al Qaeda Fights on Same Side as Saudi-Backed Militias in Yemen." The Wall Street
Journal. 16 July 2015. Web.

Ahmed, Akbar Shahid, Ali Watkins, and Ryan Grim. "Iran Warned Houthis Against Yemen Takeover."
20 April 2015. Web.

Al Jazeera (1). "Houthi leader vows to defend 'glorious revolution'." Al Jazeera. 8 February 2015.
Web.

Al Jazeera (2). "Houthi leader vows to defy Saudi-led air war." Al Jazeera. 19 April 2015. Web.

Al Jazeera (3). "UN warns of imminent Yemen infrastructure collapse." Al Jazeera. 2 May 2015. Web.

Al-Kibsi, Mohammed. "Yemen's Prime Minister Returns from Exile." The Wall Street Journal. 16
September 2015. Web.

Al-Karimi, Khalid. "Al-Bukhaiti To The Yemen Times: "The Houthis' Takeover Can Not Be Called An
Invasion"." Yemen Times. 21 October 2014. Web.

Al-Masmari, Hakim. "Saudi Airstrikes Cripple Air Force in Yemen." The Wall Street Journal. 29 March
2015. Web.

Al-Masmari, Hakim, Asa Fitch, and Dion Nissenbaum. "U.S. Boosts Aid in Saudi-Led Fight To Defeat
Rebel Force in Yemen." The Wall Street Journal. 27 March 2015. Web.

American Enterprise Institute. "2015 Yemen Crisis Situation Reports." Critical Threats Project:
Yemen: 2 March 2015 to 2 October 2015.

Al-Mujahed, Ali and Hugh Naylor. "Yemen's capital could be next target for Saudi-led ground forces."
The Washington Post. 10 September 2015. Web.

Associated Foreign Press. "Ground troops needed to purge Iran 'influence' in Yemen — Bahrain."
The Jordan Times. 11 September 2015. Web.

Bakr, Amena, and Mohammed Mukhashaf. "Saudi Arabia trains tribal Yemeni fighters: sources." Al
Arabiya News. 30 April 2015. Web.

Barnes, Julian E. "U.S. Rescues Saudi Pilots from Crashed Fighter Jet." The Wall Street Journal. 27
March 2015. Web.

BBC. "Yemen conflict: PM Bahah escapes Aden hotel attack." BBC.com. 6 October 2015. Web.

Binnie, Jeremy. "Yemeni air force turns on president." IHS Janes 360. 22 March 2015. Web.

Cambell, Jason, Michael O'Hanlon, and Jeremy Shapiro. "Assessing Counterinsurgency and
Stabilization Missions." Brookings Institute. (2009): p.2-24.

Colville, Rupert. "Press briefing notes on Yemen, Central African Republic and Escalating tensions in
East Jerusalem and West Bank." United Nations Human Rights Council. 29 September 2015.
Web.

Connable, Ben. "New Counterinsurgency Assessment Methods are Needed to Better Inform Policymakers." Rand Corporation. 3 May 2012. Web. 18 Oct. 2014.

Day, Stephen W. "Regionalism and Rebellion in Yemen." New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, (2012). Print.

Dunlap, Charles. "Making Revolutionary Change: Airpower in COIN Today." Parameters: Summer 2008: 52-66. Web. 7 July 2015.

Egnell, Robert and David Ucko. "Options for Avoiding Counterinsurgencies." On Military Interventions Spring 2014: 1-12. Web. 25 Oct. 2014.

Evans, Ryan, Douglas A. Ollivant, and David H. Ucko. "Bourbon with a Splash of Counter-insurgency." Audio blog post. Warontheorcks.com. War on the Rocks, 31 Mar. 2014. Web.

Evans, Ryan. "Population is the Enemy: Control, Behavior, and Counter-insurgency in Central Helmand Province, Afghanistan." The New Counter-insurgency Era in Critical Perspective. Palgrave Mcmillian (2014): 9-31. Print.

Fearon, James D. "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?". Stanford University. 1-36. 12 July 2002.

Fragile State Index. "Fragile State Index 2015." Fund For Peace.org. (2015)

Freeman, Jack. "The al Houthi Insurgency in the North of Yemen: An Analysis of the Shabab al Moumineen." Studies in Conflict & Terrorism: 1008-1019. 12 February 2009. Web.

Galula, David. "Counter-insurgency Warfare Theory and Practice." New York, NY: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc, (1964). Print.

Ghabrial, Michelle. "Yemen conflict: How al-Qaeda is thriving in the nation's civil war." Independent.co.uk. 12 October 2015. Web.

Gventer, Celeste Ward, David Martin Jones, and M.L.R. Smith. "Minting New COIN: Critiquing Counter-insurgency Theory." The New Counter-insurgency Era in Critical Perspective. Palgrave Mcmillian (2014): 9-31. Print.

Hager, Emily and Mark Mazzetti. "Emirates Secretly Sends Colombian Mercenaries to Yemen Fight." The New York Times. 25 November 2015. Web.

Hanna, Jason and Mohammed Tawfeeq. "Saudi mosque blast: 13 dead; ISIS claims responsibility." CNN. 6 August 2015. Web.

Hughes, Geraint. "A 'Model Campaign' Reappraised: The Counter-Insurgency War in Dhofar, Oman, 1965–1975." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 32.2 (2009): 271-305. Web.

Jackson, Collin. "Government in a Box? Counter-insurgency, State Building, and the Technocratic Conceit." The New Counter-insurgency Era in Critical Perspective. Palgrave Mcmillian (2014): 82-110. Print.

Joint Chiefs of Staff, US. "Joint Publication 3-01: Countering Air and Missile Threats." 23 March 2012.

Joscelyn, Thomas. "ISAF analysis shows Afghan violence remains worse than before surge." The Long War Journal. 26 November 2012. Web.

Joscely, Thomas and Bill Roggio. "Al Qaeda seizes town, provincial capital in southern Yemen." The Long War Journal. 2 December 2015. Web.

Kaplan, Fred. "The Insurgents: David Petraeus and the Plot to Change the American Way of War." New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, (2007). Print

Karp, Aaron. "Estimating Civilian Owned Firearms." Small Arms Survey. 2007.

Keath, Lee and Maggie Michael. "In the face of IS Success, al-Qaida adapts, grows stronger." Associated Press. 4 May 2015. Web.

Kilcullen, David, Johnathan W. Roginski, and William P. Upshur. "Recognizing Systems in Afghanistan: Lessons Learned and New Aproaches to Operational Assesments." Prism, 3 June 2012.

Kilcullen, David. The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One. Oxford: Oxford UP, (2009). Print.

Kilcullen, David. "Twenty-Eight Articles: Fundamentals of Company-level Counter-insurgency." March 2006: 1-11.

Ki-Moon, Ban. "More than 6,000 civilian casualties reported in Yemen since escialtion of conflict." United Nation Security Council Brief. 18 August 2015. Web.

Knights, Michael and Alexandre Mello. "The Saudi-UAE War Effort in Yemen (Part 1): Operation Golden Arrow in Aden." The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. 10 August 2015. Web.

Kumar, Hari. "India Concludes Evacuation of Its Citizens From Yemen." The New York Times. 10 April 2015. Web.

Loidolt, Bryce, Barak A. Salmoni, and Madeline Wells. "Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Huthi Phenomenon." RAND Corp. (2010): xv. 8 July 2015.

Madabish, Arafat. "Iranian Revolutionary Guard, Hezbollah assist Houthis in Sana'a: intelligence source." Asharaq Al-Awsat. 27 September 2015. Web.

Melshen, Paul. "Mapping Out a Counterinsurgency Campaign Plan: Critical Considerations in Counterinsurgency Campaigning." Small Wars & Insurgencies: 665-698. 7 December 2007.

Middle East Monitor. "Malaysian forces arrive to join Saudi-led Yemen offensive." Middle East Monitor.com. 10 May 2015. Web.

Milani, Mohsen. "Iran's Game in Yemen." Raqeb.co. 19 April 2015. Web.

Missile Threat. "Missiles of the World: Yemen." Misslethreat.org. (2015).

Mustafa, Awad. "Saudi-Led Coalition Announces Final Phase in Yemen Operations, But Analysts Disagree." Defense News. 7 November 2015. Web.

Nagl, John A. Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam. Chicago: U of Chicago, 2005. Print.

Nebehay, Stephanie. "Yemen peace talks to start Dec 15 alongside ceasefire - U.N." Reuters. 7 December 2015.

Polk, William. "Violent Politics: A History of Insurgency, Terrorism, and Guerrilla War, from the American Revolution to Iraq." New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2007. Print.

RT. "US approves $1.3bn sale of 'smart' bombs to Saudi Arabia." RT.com. 17 November 2015. Web.

Salisbury, Peter. "Yemen rage boils over 'unliveable' price hike." Al Jazeera. 1 August 2014. Web.

Saudi Press Agency. "Operation "Decisive Storm" – Day 1-26 Coalition Military Briefing." Saudi-US Relations Information Service. 26 March to 20 April 2015. Web.

Saudi Press Agency (2). "Operation 'Decisive Storm' Ends, What's Next?." Saudi-US Relations Information Service. 21 April 2015. Web.

Schroden, Jonathan, Rebecca Thomasson, Randy Foster, Mark Lukens, and Richard Bell. "A New Paradigm for Assessment in Counter-insurgency." Military Operations Research 18.3 (2013): 5-20. Web. 18 Oct. 2014.

Sharp, Jeremy M. "Yemen: Background and US Relations." Congressional Research Service. 11 February 2015. 1-33.

Schmitt, Eric. "Out of Yemen, U.S. Is Hobbled in Terror Fight." The New York Times. 22 March 2015. Web.

Schmitz, Charles. " The Huthi Ascent to Power." Middle East Institute. 15 September 2014. Web. 12 September 2015.

Staniland, Paul. "Counter-insurgency and Violence Management." The New Counter-insurgency Era in Critical Perspective. Palgrave Mcmillian (2014): 144-155. Print.

Sudan Tribune. "Sudan to send 10,000 troops to join Arab forces in Yemen: report." Sudan Tribune. 19 October 2015. Web.

Tharoor, Ishaan. "Why Senegal is sending troops to help Saudi Arabia in Yemen." The Washington Post. 5 May 2015. Web.

Ucko, David. "Clear-Hold-Build-Fail? Rethinking Local-Level Counterinsurgency." War on The Rocks. 7 November 2013. Web.

United Nations (1). "Yemen conflict death toll nears 650, with UN rights office spotlighting plight of 3 million disabled. UN News Centre. 5 May 2015. Web.

United Nations (2). "Security Resolution 2051." United Nations Security Council. 12 June 2012. Web.

United Nations (3). "Security Resolution 2216." United Nations Security Council. 14 April 2015. Web.

United Nations (4). "Yemen: amid 'massive' humanitarian crisis, UN reports civilian death toll now exceeds 1,500." UN News Centre. 7 July 2015. Web.

United States Army and Marine Corp. "Insurgency and Counterinsurgency Field Manual 3-24." (2014). Web. 22 Oct. 2014.

Warden III, John A. "The Air Campaign: Planning for Combat." National Defense University Press Publication: 1988.

Yemen Post Staff. "NDC Houthi representative assassinated in Yemeni capital." The Yemen Post. 21 January 2014. Web.

Zedong, Mao. "Guerilla Warfare." (1937). Web. 22 Aug. 2014

Zimmerman, Katherine. "Exploring ISIS in Yemen." AEI Critical Threats. 24 July 2015. Web.