COI QUERY

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Main subject	Conscription and recruitment in Yemen
Question(s)	1. Legal framework and implementation of the law on military service and conscription
	2. <u>Recruitment by non- state actors</u>
	2.1 <u>Recruitment by the Houthi militia</u>
	2.2 <u>Recruitment by Al-Qaeda</u>
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The target audience is caseworkers, COI researchers, policy makers, and decision-making authorities. The answer was finalised on 3 March 2022. Any event taking place after this date is not included in this answer.





COI QUERY RESPONSE – YEMEN

Conscription and recruitment in Yemen

1. Legal framework and implementation of the law on military service and conscription

Legislation on conscription

Article 36 of the Yemeni Constitution from 1990, as amended in 2001, states that:

'The law stipulates the conditions for military service, promotion and disciplinary procedures in the military, police and security forces.'

Article 60 of the Constitution further notes that:

'Defending religion and the homeland is a sacred duty, military duty is an honour, and national service is to be organized by law'.²

According to the CIA World Fact book overview of Yemen, there is 'no conscription' in the country and the minimum age for voluntary military service is 18 years old. Those who join the army voluntarily are obliged to serve for two years.³

Information on legislation stipulating the conditions for military service could not be found among the sources consulted by EUAA within time constraints.

Additional information on military service and conscription in Yemen from older sources can be found in the 2019 EUAA Query on https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2019_10_17_EASO_COI_Query_Yemen_Conscription_Q23.pdf.

Recruitment by the Government of Yemen

In its letter dated from 22 January 2021, covering the period from 1 January to 5 December 2020, the UN Panel of Experts on Yemen noted that it 'received information from several sources concerning the recruitment of children by the Special Security Forces in Shabwah', however, the Government of Yemen denied these allegations.⁴

¹ Yemen, Constitution [Yemen], 10 February 2001, <u>url</u>

² Yemen, Constitution [Yemen], 10 February 2001, <u>url</u>

³ CIA, The World Factbook, Yemen, last updated 2021, <u>url</u>

⁴ UN Security Council, Letter dated 22 January 2021 from the Panel of Experts on Yemen addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2021/79, 25 January 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 152





An August 2021 report by UN Secretary-General, covering the period from 1 January 2019 to 31 December 2020, noted that there had been 171 verified cases of children aged between 10 and 17 years, recruited and used by Yemeni armed forces in 2019 and in 2020.⁵ According to the same source the recruitment 'mainly took place in the governorates of Shabwah (36), Ma'rib (20) Dali'(19), Ta'izz (17) and Bayda(15)'.⁶ The report further noted that in February 2020, the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of the Interior issued political and military directives to prohibit child recruitment, while in March 2020, the President of Yemen issued a directive to prevent the recruitment and use of children in the armed and security forces.⁷

According to a September 2021 report by Mwatana for Human Rights (Mwatana)⁸, the percentage of children recruited by governmental forces, in 2020 was approximately 10% of the total documented cases (at least 239 children), concentrated in the governorates of Ma'rib, al-Bayda, Shabwah, Hadramaut, Abyan, Sadah, Sana'a, al-Jawf and Ryamah.⁹

In a September 2020 report, covering the human rights violations occurring between July 2019 and June 2020, the United Nations (UN) Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts, reported the following:

'The Group received 24 allegations and verified three cases of boys recruited and used by some brigades or units, with the alleged involvement of members of the coalition and/or the Government of Yemen, all following a similar modus operandi. Boys were recruited in Ta'izz and Lahij in Yemen, then transported to Saudi Arabia, where they were trained and then deployed in Yemen. Nearly all of these boys were used as combatants, eight allegedly died in combat and others were detained by the Houthis for their alleged association with the enemy. The Group verified the cases of two boys recruited by the Special Security Forces of the Government of Yemen in Shabwah, used in combat in Abyan in May–June 2020, and detained by the southern transitional council in Aden.'¹⁰

The UN Group of Experts noted that recruitment both by brigades and by Government of Yemen's Special Security was linked to the economic necessities of the boys' families, as recruiters were reportedly offering 'lucrative' salaries.¹¹

⁵ UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Yemen, S/2021/761, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 14

⁶ UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Yemen, S/2021/761, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 17

⁷ UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Yemen, S/2021/761, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 53

⁸ Mwatana is an independent Yemeni organization established in 2007 and advocates for human rights. In February 2021, Mwatana for Human Rights and Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) were nominated for the 2021 Nobel Peace Prize, Mwatana for Human Rights, About, n.d., <u>url</u>

 ⁹ Mwatana for Human Rights, A Tragedy Without Justice: Human Rights in Yemen in 2020, 29 September 2021, url, p. 58
¹⁰ UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Yemen, including violations and abuses since September 2014: Report of the Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts on Yemen, A/HRC/45/6, 28 September 2020, url, paras. 76-77

¹¹ UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Yemen, including violations and abuses since September 2014: Report of the Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts on Yemen, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, paras. 249, 255





2. Recruitment by non-state actors

2.1. Recruitment by the Houthi militia

According to Al-Masdar, an independent Yemeni news organization¹², the Houthis 'focus on forming an ideological army of youth, recruiting from neighbourhoods and schools, and providing them with religious, cultural and political propaganda. They also use intimidation and coercion to recruit'. The same source noted that the families of young boys are being threatened with imprisonment or accusations of treason in order to enrol them in the military.¹³

Middle East Monitor (MEMO) noted in March 2020, citing Yemen Shabab.net, that the Houthi militias had introduced conscription to attract new recruits in Ibb governorate under their control and that they formed field committees to enforce conscription in the area. According to Yemen Shabab.net 'The militia has committed tribal leaders who are loyal to the Houthis to recruit at least two people from each village and push them to the front', while monetary penalties were imposed on families who refused to send their young men for recruitment. Furthermore, Yemen Shabab.net noted that this practise has already happened in Al-Qafr district.¹⁴

MEMO reported on 6 May 2020, that the Houthis launched an enforced conscription campaign 'for young men in areas under their control to help fight the Saudi-led coalition and UAE-backed forces'. The source further noted that 'the militia issued orders to take four civilians from each neighbourhood in the capital Sana'a to train them in the use of firearms before sending them to the battlefield'.¹⁵

On 29 As reported by Al-Mashareq¹⁶ on 29 May, 'the Houthis have forced local leaders to turn over their young men adding that children are often recruited without their parents' knowledge or consent'.¹⁷ The United States Department of State (USDOS) reported that members of the Houthi militia killed four and injured one Muhamasheen ("the marginalized ones", or Akhdam, "servants")¹⁸, in Amran province for refusing to join their fighters on the front lines in July 2020.¹⁹

Jamestown Foundation reported on February 2021 the following:

'The shortage of fighters, especially well-trained ones, was acute, and had become even more so over the last six months. The Houthis have long used conscription to fill their

¹² Al Masdar Online, About us, n.d., <u>url</u>

¹³ Al Masdar Online, Parallel militaries: Anatomy of the armed forces fighting Yemen's war, 3 January 2021, <u>url</u> ¹⁴ MEMO, Houthis impose financial penalties for refusing conscription, 20 March 2020, <u>url</u>

¹⁵ MEMO, Yemen's Houthis order compulsory conscription of civilians, 6 May 2020, <u>url</u>

¹⁶ Al-Mashareq is a website sponsored by USCENTCOM to highlight movement toward greater regional stability through bilateral and multilateral cooperative arrangements, Al- Mashareq, About Us, n.d., <u>url</u>

¹⁷ Al-Mashareq, Houthis force city elders to send youth to fight, 29 May 2020, <u>url</u>

¹⁸ MRG, Muhamasheen, updated November 2018, <u>url</u>; Sanaa Centre for Strategic Studies, The Historic and Systematic Marginalization of Yemen's Muhamasheen Community, 4 June 2019, <u>url</u>

¹⁹ USDOS, 2020 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Yemen, 30 March 2021, <u>url</u>





ranks, but the most recent conscripts are younger, receive less training, and are paid, if they are paid at all, far less than they were six months ago.'

Citing Al-Anba Online, James Foundation further noted that 'to make up for the conscript shortfall, the Houthis are recruiting, often forcibly, more foreigners, including those fleeing the conflict in Ethiopia's Tigray region'.²⁰

According to a November 2021 article by Asharq Al-Awsat, the Houthis continued 'to forcibly recruit locals' in the Ibb governorate as the battles at the country's west coast were intensifying. A tribal source told Ashar Al-Awsat that 'al-Houthi's directives had prompted Houthi leaders in Ibb to conduct field trips and request meetings with several local tribal leaders to coordinate additional recruitment.' The tribal source added that 'Most dignitaries of Ibb's directorates refused attending the meetings with the Houthi leaders, categorically rejecting the group's demands to mobilize new recruits to battle fronts.'²¹

On 16 February 2022, the Houthi Supreme Political Council launched a recruitment campaign, called the 'Yemen Cyclone' or the 'Yemen Hurricane' campaign, in order to mobilize fighters and funding.²²

Child recruitment by the Houthi militia

In its report covering the human rights violations which took place between July 2019 and June 2020, the Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts on Yemen noted that it had documented:

'Houthi recruitment and use in hostilities of 174 boys (aged 7 to 17) between June 2015 and February 2020, in all Governorates under their control, through well-organised, strategic and widespread campaigns in schools and detention centres, via abduction in poor, urban areas, and via peer recruitment'²³

The Group further noted that they had received 'credible reports of the recruitment and use of 34 girls (aged 13 to 17) by the Houthis between June 2015 and June 2020' in the governorates of Sa'ada, Hajjah, Sana'a City, Dhamar, Amran, and Ta'izz, who were mainly used in support and paramilitary roles.²⁴

An August 2021 report by the UN Secretary-General provided that, during the period from 1 January 2019 to 31 December 2020, 605 cases of recruitment and use of children were attributed

²¹ Asharq Al-Awsat, Houthi Recruitment Campaigns Target Youths, Children in Yemen's Ibb, 26 November 2021, <u>url</u> ²² Debriefer, Houthis launch largest military recruitment campaign for years, 17 February 2022, <u>url</u>; Saba News,

²⁰ JamesTown Foundation (The), Yemen's Fate Hinges on The Battle for Marib, 26 February 2021, url

[&]quot;President Al-Mashat launches the 'Yemen Hurricane' campaign to mobilize and mobilize," February 16, 2022, <u>url</u> and Khabar Agency, "Houthi militia launches a mobilization campaign to 'mobilize fighters' amid UN efforts to resume peace consultations," February 17, 2022, <u>url</u> as cited in Critical Threats, Gulf of Aden Security Review, 18 February 2022, <u>url</u>

²³ UN (United Nations) Human Rights Council, Situation of Human Rights in Yemen, Including Violations and Abuses since September 2014, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, para. 258

²⁴ UN (United Nations) Human Rights Council, Situation of Human Rights in Yemen, Including Violations and Abuses since September 2014, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, paras. 271-272

to the Houthis²⁵, out of which 72 were girls 'used as spies, to carry out intelligence gathering in their communities, or to persuade male family members to become combatants'.²⁶ According to the same source the children were mainly recruited and used in Hajjah governorate (260), followed by the governorates of Sa'dah (75) and Dhamar (61).²⁷

Mwatana noted in its annual report that, during 2020, it verified the recruitment and use of at least 239 children, 82% of whom were recruited by the Houthis, mainly in the governorates of Sadah, Ma'rib, al-Bayda, al-Hudaydah, al-Jawf, Sana'a, al-Mahwit, Amanat al-Asemah, Amran, Dhamar, Hajjah, Ibb, and Ryamah.²⁸

In a January 2022 letter addressed to the President of the Security Council, covering the period from 6 December 2020 to 5 December 2021, the Panel of Experts on Yemen reported that it had received a list of 1 406 children recruited by the Houthis, who died on the battlefield in 2020 and another list of 562 children who died on the battlefield between January and May 2021.²⁹

Information on recruitment methods used by the Houthis

The Houthis have conducted recruitment of their new fighters using various methods³⁰, including intimidation³¹ and peer pressure.³² The main methods can be categorized as follows below:

1. Indoctrination in schools and summer camps

The Houthis have been reported to use schools for indoctrination and promotion of recruitment.³³ Local reports, cited in the report by Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor (Euro-Med) and SAM for Rights and Liberties (SAM), documented Houthis' activities that led to the





²⁵ UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Yemen, S/2021/761, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 14

²⁶ UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Yemen, S/2021/761, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 15

²⁷ UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Yemen, S/2021/761, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 16

 ²⁸ Mwatana for Human Rights, A Tragedy Without Justice: Human Rights in Yemen in 2020, 29 September 2021, <u>url</u>, p. 58
²⁹ UN Security Council, Letter dated 25 January 2022 from the Panel of Experts on Yemen addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2022/50, 26 January 2022, <u>url</u>, para. 123

³⁰ Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, Militarized Childhood: A Report on the Houthis' Recruitment of Yemeni Children During War, 15 February 2021, <u>url</u>, p. 11

³¹ UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Yemen, including violations and abuses since September 2014: Report of the Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts on Yemen, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, paras. 172, 264; Al Masdar Online, Parallel militaries: Anatomy of the armed forces fighting Yemen's war, 3 January 2021, <u>url</u>; Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, SAM for Rights and Liberties, Militarized Childhood: A Report on the Houthis' Recruitment of Yemeni Children During War, 15 February 2021, <u>url</u>, pp. 8, 13, 15

³² UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Yemen, including violations and abuses since September 2014: Report of the Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts on Yemen, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, paras. 246, 258, 263; UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Yemen, S/2021/761, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 19; UN (United Nations) Security Council, Letter dated 25 January 2022 from the Panel of Experts on Yemen addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2022/50, 26 January 2022, <u>url</u>, ANNEX 10, para. 11

³³ UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Yemen, S/2021/761, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 37





recruitment of children in 150 schools distributed in many Yemeni governorates.³⁴ According to the UN Group of Experts on Yemen:

'Linked closely to Houthi recruitment of both boys and girls, the Group found that, as early as May 2015 and as recently as June 2020, Houthi supervisors, Ministry of Education (MoE) officials and "volunteer" educators used and manipulated education provided to children in a strategic and widespread manner as part of their child recruitment efforts in 34 schools in six governorates under their control (Sa'ada, Sana'a, Ta'izz, Dhamar, Amran, and Raymah). Reportedly, this strategy resulted in 49 boys and nine girls being recruited'.³⁵

According to the same source, indoctrination and recruitment activities comprised demonstrations of weapons and speeches from the Houthis about the students' responsibility to join the fighting. The UN Group of Experts noted that 'recruitment messaging was clearly gendered; boys, not girls, were exclusively targeted as future fighters on the frontlines.'³⁶

Furthermore, the Houthis were reportedly enrolling both adults and children in summer camps and in ideological and cultural programs which duration ranged from a few days to a few weeks. The content of the courses was reported to vary: in some cases, military training was combined with cultural or religious lessons, while in others the focus is exclusively on cultural courses.³⁷ According to Yemeni children interviewed by the UN Panel of Experts, they were also taught 'patriotic songs glorifying Houthi leaders, and received lectures in which, amongst others, they were told that they were fighting to liberate Palestine'.³⁸ The cultural trainings were reported to further target detainees, the children of female detainees, and children belonging to ethnic minorities.³⁹

2. Financial offers and starvation tactics

According to Euro-Med and SAM, 'in all verified cases [of recruitment by the Houthis], poverty and hunger were primary factors that cause children to fall victims to recruitment'.⁴⁰ In some

³⁴ Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, SAM for Rights and Liberties, Militarized Childhood: A Report on the Houthis' Recruitment of Yemeni Children During War, 15 February 2021, <u>url</u>, p. 7

³⁵ UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Yemen, including violations and abuses since September 2014: Report of the Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts on Yemen, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, para. 285

³⁶ UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Yemen, including violations and abuses since September 2014: Report of the Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts on Yemen, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, para. 260

³⁷ UN (United Nations) Security Council, Letter dated 25 January 2022 from the Panel of Experts on Yemen addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2022/50, 26 January 2022, <u>url</u>, ANNEX 10, paras. 1, 2, 6, see also UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Yemen, S/2021/761, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 16

³⁸ UN (United Nations) Security Council, Letter dated 25 January 2022 from the Panel of Experts on Yemen addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2022/50, 26 January 2022, <u>url</u>, ANNEX 10, para. 12

³⁹ UN (United Nations) Security Council, Letter dated 25 January 2022 from the Panel of Experts on Yemen addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2022/50, 26 January 2022, <u>url</u>, ANNEX 10, paras. 25-28

⁴⁰ Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, SAM for Rights and Liberties, Militarized Childhood: A Report on the Houthis' Recruitment of Yemeni Children During War, 15 February 2021, <u>url</u>, p. 8, see also UN Security Council, Letter dated 25 January 2022 from the Panel of Experts on Yemen addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2022/50, 26 January 2022, <u>url</u>, ANNEX 10, para. 21

cases, children were recruited from poor families who accepted the recruitment in return for a monthly salary of 150 dollars.⁴¹ The UN Group of Experts reported cases of Houthi supervisors offering boys salaries ranging from 40,000 to 50,000 Yemeni Riyals.⁴² The same source reported that girls in economically vulnerable circumstances were targeted for recruitment by the Houthis.⁴³

In September 2021, Mwatana released a report on the use of starvation tactics by warring factions in Yemen. In Saada governorate, the Houthis reportedly had blocked humanitarian aid in the form of cash payments, perceived, as reported by humanitarian workers interviewed by Mwatana, as a constraint on their ability to recruit fighters. As revealed from the interviews, Houthis were taking advantage of the difficult economic situation, including non-payment of public sector salaries, to recruit militants (including children) by offering recruits' families small amounts of cash or basic necessities such as food.⁴⁴

3. Abduction

Abduction has been a means of recruitment used by the Houthi militia. In its report covering the human rights violations which took place between July 2019 and June 2020, the Group of Experts on Yemen reported that 'In poor areas of Sana'a and governorate capitals, such as Dhamar city, abduction was a means of recruitment of some boys by Houthi supervisors. In some of the 11 cases verified, boys were abducted'.⁴⁵ In another UN report, it is noted that 31 children were abducted in 2019 and 55 in 2020 by the Houthis,⁴⁶ while Euro-Med and SAM reported 832 cases of abduction as a means of recruitment by the Houthis, without specifying since 2014⁴⁷

4. Recruitment in detention centres as a condition for release

As noted by the Group of Experts on Yemen, 'Child detainees in Dhamar Central Prison, Ta'izz's Al-Saleh Prison, Dhamar Ghabraa (Northern) Prison, and Dhamar Political Security Prison were reportedly offered release from detention in exchange for agreeing to fight on the frontlines'.⁴⁸ Furthermore, boy detainees were reported to have been 'threatened, intimidated, tortured,





⁴¹ Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, SAM for Rights and Liberties, Militarized Childhood: A Report on the Houthis' Recruitment of Yemeni Children During War, 15 February 2021, <u>url</u>, p.13

⁴² UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Yemen, including violations and abuses since September 2014: Report of the Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts on Yemen, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, para. 263b

⁴³ UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Yemen, including violations and abuses since September 2014: Report of the Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts on Yemen, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, para. 275

⁴⁴ Mwatana for Human Rights, Starvation Makers: The use of starvation by warring parties in Yemen, 1 September 2021, <u>url</u>, p. 253

⁴⁵ UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Yemen, including violations and abuses since September 2014: Report of the Group of Eminent International and Regional Experts on Yemen, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, para. 262

⁴⁶ UN Security Council, Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Yemen, S/2021/761, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>, para. 44

⁴⁷ Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, SAM for Rights and Liberties, Militarized Childhood: A Report on the Houthis' Recruitment of Yemeni Children During War, 15 February 2021, <u>url</u>, p. 15

⁴⁸ UN Human Rights Council, Situation of Human Rights in Yemen, Including Violations and Abuses since September 2014, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, para. 262

subjected to ill-treatment and indoctrination by Houthi guards as a way to pressure them to join the Houthis.'⁴⁹ Houthi prison authorities were also reported to have attempted to recruit girls held in female detention facilities in exchange for their release.⁵⁰

Asharq Al-Awsat reported on 27 August 2021 that 'the Houthi militias launched recruitment campaigns among Ibb prisoners in their efforts to compensate for the shortage of their fighters, according to well-informed sources'. A source told Asharq Al-Awsat that 'Houthi leaders concluded deals with the families of many prisoners, including his, to release their relatives in exchange for financial ransoms'.⁵¹

2. 2. Recruitment by Al-Qaeda

Information on recruitment by Al-Qaeda in Yemen could not be found among the sources consulted by EUAA within the time constraints. However, the following information may be relevant.

France 24 reported in March 2021 that 'years of setbacks have weakened the once mighty Yemeni branch of Al-Qaeda, but the militants are seizing the opportunity to regenerate while the government and Houthi rebels are locked in a fight to the death in the north'.⁵² According to a 2021 article by SANAA center for strategic studies, 'Al-Qaeda in Yemen appears weaker now than at almost any point since its Saudi and Yemeni branches united to form Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) in 2009'.⁵³

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⁴⁹ UN Human Rights Council, Situation of Human Rights in Yemen, Including Violations and Abuses since September 2014, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, paras 172, 264. See also, Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor, SAM for Rights and Liberties, Militarized Childhood: A Report on the Houthis' Recruitment of Yemeni Children During War, 15 February 2021, <u>url</u>, p. 6

⁵⁰ UN Human Rights Council, Situation of Human Rights in Yemen, Including Violations and Abuses since September 2014, A/HRC/45/CRP.7, 29 September 2020, <u>url</u>, para. 276

⁵¹ Asharq Al-Awsat, Houthis Launch Campaign to Recruit Dozens of Prisoners in Ibb, 27 August 2021, <u>url</u>

 $^{^{\}rm 52}$ France 24, Yemen's Al-Qaeda regenerates amid battle for the north, 16 March 2021, $\underline{\rm url}$

⁵³ SANAA Center for Strategic Studies, Where is AQAP Now?, 21 October 2021, <u>url</u>





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