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## **Framing Analysis of National Media in Yemen Conflict**

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## **Abstract**

This study examined how the conflict in Yemen is framed by Althawarah and SabaNews newspapers concerning the Saudi-led coalition airstrikes in the recent war. Using the critical discourse analysis, this thesis analyzed how each newspaper identifies and labels the different warring sides and the action at large based on the classification of “us” and “them,” and “blame game.” The study also examined and analyzed the texts in order to see if there is an approach towards peaceful resolution or motive of war.

The findings, mainly based on CDA of 10 articles from each newspaper, indicate that each newspaper news framing strategies communicate different ideologies and social practices that explicitly reveal each newspaper’s attitude towards the conflict and their individual affiliation with the different warring sides. Both newspapers have a strong war journalism framing, and the contradiction in the narratives, furthermore, represents a subconscious conflict in the national media of Yemen.

### **Keywords:**

Yemen, conflict, newspapers, CDA, Framing, war journalism

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## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>2</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>Literature Review</b> .....	<b>7</b>
The role of media in conflict.....	7
Conflict through framing.....	8
War and peace journalism, and values of journalism.....	11
<b>Methodology</b> .....	<b>12</b>
Sampling.....	12
Tools.....	13
<b>Findings and Discussion</b> .....	<b>15</b>
Using representational strategies in language to represent people and the Conflict.....	16
<b>Conclusions</b> .....	<b>25</b>
<b>References</b> .....	<b>27</b>
<b>Appendices</b> .....	<b>31</b>

## Introduction

The first airstrike by Saudi Arabia and a coalition of Arab states on the 26<sup>th</sup> of March 2015 against the Houthi in Yemen marked the most recent stage of transformation of the country's ongoing internal conflict with the Houthi uprisings. After the Houthi forces took over the capital Sana'a in September 2014, the already fragile Yemen fell into a civil war that led to chaos in the country and weakness in the government's grip over it (Aikins, 2015). As the Houthi forces started to gain greater control of the state and were heading further to the southern provinces, President Hadi was forced to flee first to Aden in the south and then to Saudi Arabia where he asked for an intervention to stop the Houthi advance towards the control of the whole country. Having "little appetite for a ground invasion," Saudi Arabia responded to Hadi's call by launching a series of military operations starting with the 'Operation Decisive Storm,' (Abdo and Grinstead, 2016). The war escalated when the former president Ali Saleh forces allied with the Houthi forces, calling Hadi a traitor for requesting an intervention from Saudi Arabia. The alliance of Houthi and Saleh forces marked the beginning of the national media's ultimate drift towards the concept of "us" versus "them" in the war in Yemen.

As Saudi Arabia hosted a Yemeni faction and had a participating role in the internal conflict of Yemen, Saudi media also backed up the Hadi government by propagandizing the legitimacy of the Hadi government as well as its own legitimacy to participate in the conflict. Since the Saudi media dominates the pan-Arab media due to its vast ownership and co-optation of the majority of Arab media channels and printed media (Yaghi, 2017), the international media's sources are mostly from the Saudi outlets that regard the Hadi government as legitimate and give the Sunni state, Saudi Arabia, the self-defense justification to intervene in the conflict (Freeman, 2009 and Darwich, 2018). Thus, this paper chooses to examine the national media by investigating two of the main newspapers surviving the war and still publish in the country. The study of the two newspapers examined the different narratives each newspaper used and whether they are heading towards de-escalation or escalation of the conflict. So, as the Saudi media portrays the conflict as a proxy war with Iran and that the two warring sides on the ground are

the kingdom and the Houthi (Darwich, 2018), this analysis chose the event of the Saudi-led coalition airstrikes.

The investigation of the different news frames concerning the war on a national level is almost ignored. In the research of the different narratives of the war in Yemen in three major news agencies from Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Iran, (Vis, 2016) highlighted how a set of core concepts in the conflict was manipulated by each agency in order to allow for a broader view of the conflict. However, this may actually apply only to non-regional readers who may not have a base idea of the conflict that is making the “us” versus “them” concept clearer among the Yemeni people themselves, considering that Saudi Arabia and its alliance are only backing up the “legitimate government” in Riyadh (Darwich, 2018).

Coverage of war is becoming much more complex and varied than in the past when the flow of information was limited and mostly controlled by governments. The current coverage of war, however, reveals an underlying trend according to which journalists do not necessarily “rally around the flag” (Kampf and Liebes, 2013) since governments have lost some of their ability to control the flow of information. As a result, people are confronted with a huge amount of information where there are more images, frames and narratives competing to be labelled as the real news. In time of conflict, however, this kind of competition eventually creates conflicts within different media outlets. The recipients of news, if not inclined beforehand toward any of the warring sides, will have to analyse and reorganize the various stories seen from various perspectives. Thus, the aim of this research is to compare the different narratives used by two influential Yemeni newspapers, Althawrah and SabaNews, covering the recent war in Yemen in order to understand how the event of Saudi-led coalition airstrikes is framed. So, 10 news articles from each newspaper from January to March 2018 are analyzed in this study. The period of time chosen to be analyzed is a couple of weeks prior to the writing of this paper because the websites’ archives of the two newspapers were down. But this will not affect the analysis since the conflict is still on and the two newspapers still publish. By investigating the chosen newspapers discourses, this research will answer the following research questions:

- *How do Al Thawrah and SabaNews newspapers frame the Saudi-led coalition airstrikes in the war in Yemen based on the “us” versus “them” from January to March 2018?*

- *What is the dominant frame, peace journalism or war journalism, in the two newspapers' discourses?*

To answer these questions, a qualitative research using Critical Discourse Analysis, whose theoretical premises view language as more than just a mirror of reality, is conducted along with its methodological variant discourse- historical approach which gives better interpretation of the different layers of the texts (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001).

## **Literature Review**

### ***The role of media in Conflict***

Although violence needs to be reported during wartime since it is part of almost every conflict, there are still potential roles for the media in the prevention and management of conflict (Manoff, 1998). Manoff argues that the media can help frame the issues and interests in such a way that is more susceptible to management. It should self-consciously focus on the concessions made by the warring sides, find a common ground between them and mainly focus on the solutions they consider. Gilboa, however, sees that most of the existing studies focus on the negative contributions of the media to the escalation of violence and extent of conflict (Gilboa, 2009). He explains that it is much easier for the media to foment a conflict than resolve it because of the lack of tools, models and frameworks for analysis.

A study by (McLeod, 2009) on the war of Iraq where the case was similar to the recent war case in Yemen since there was a transformation in conflict. He examined the dysfunction of the traditional national American media in the prevention and management phases of conflict. The study argues that the coverage of Iraq war by the American media failed to investigate and challenge the American government's assertions about key elements in the conflict, such as statements about the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and the links between Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda.

Another study conducted on the Balochistan conflict in Pakistan examined how this interstate conflict was covered by the Pakistani newspapers (Prakash, 2013). This case study looks into the newspapers after an American congressional resolution was passed regarding the ongoing

conflict in the Balochistan, a Pakistani province made up of three large tribes. The study concludes that the attitude of the Pakistani media seems to be fueling the already perilous situations in the country.

This, however, does not imply that the media cannot function as a conflict de-escalator. A study made by (Euwema and Verbeke, 2009) explored and compared the positive and negative roles of media. They actually found a model for de-escalation in the Belgian conflict. This study was very interesting as they examined the roles of media, whether as conflict escalator or de-escalator, through two modes, serious and humorous. In short, the Belgian conflict escalation was mainly conducted by either representing one party seriously or ridiculing it. Yet, the media de-escalation role in the conflict was through setting a serious platform for dialogue and adding new frames contributing to a better understanding of cultural differences between the Dutch-speaking Flemish and the French-speaking Walloons in Belgium.

Studies on the positive functions and roles of media are a few compared to the negative ones, this is where Gilboa suggests that immediate attention should be given to the highly neglected areas, such as the de-escalation role of media in conflict. However, this is in itself a challenge as conflicts take up years and years trying to be resolved, and once it's resolved, another conflict arises, such as in the case of Balochistan, as long as there still is government media, independent media, and ethnic or biased media and non-biased. In this research, the role of each newspaper in the conflict as well as their affiliations and whether they are ethnic, non-biased, or biased will also be visible through the analysis.

### ***Conflict through framing***

Most of the studies on the news coverage of conflicts strive to show the prevalent face of journalism, whether it is categorised under war or peace journalism, in a certain period of conflict through the analysis of news frames. Despite the increasing importance of audio-visual media in today's world, the media continues to transform the world into a text which involves an interplay between questions of language, power and ideology (Fairclough, 1989). News frames, therefore, provide the audience with ways to think about issues. However, while framing can be understood as a subconscious process that occurs through communication, research has also emphasized the strategic nature that framing can take (Hulst and Yanow, 2014). This form of

framing is what gives the media its manipulative and diplomatic roles known as strategic communication.

Framing in the news consists of the telling of a particular story through a distinct lens that is created by the selection, evaluation, naming and labelling, and presentation of certain key concepts in the story. Since the language is the main tool in building a narrative, naming and labelling is an essential process in building an effective frame, particularly in a narrative of a conflict. This process is the essence of the blame game (Tilly, 2010). This concept refers to assigning the blame as well as giving credits. In other words, it simply means the representation of people as cause and effect according to who are the bad guys to be blamed and who are the good guys to be praised for certain actions. These labels are very effective as they hold emotional weight and significance. Hence, media framing within political discourse is an important device to achieve an objective (Scheufele, 1999).

However, in the case of newspapers as Richardson explains it, we make guesses; to fully comprehend the meaning, out of social, cultural, historic knowledge (Richardson, 2007). Hence, as production and consumption of journalism are fundamentally interrelated, any analysis of text frames will have to take into consideration the historic and cultural knowledge of the producer, here the newspaper, the text, and the consumer or target audience. Richardson furthermore sees a relation between journalism and social practices, such as the class composition, ideological status and values of the audience. Dijk, furthermore, did not specify what previous knowledge should be acquired to understand a news discourse. He argues that macro dimensions, such as class, gender and any links between the readers and journalists, in a societal structure matter in understanding news discourses (Dijk, 1988). As studies on the media and its relation to social context of the conflict in Yemen are not available, tracing the history of the argument through collecting original documents and researches is the appropriate method to use to understand the current news discourse (Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999).

Tracing the history of the argument in Yemen will reveal the political and ideological facts behind the conflict as will be apprehended from the following outline. The Houthi movement was initially founded by a Shi'a group in the city of Saad'a in north-western Yemen in 1992 as a

political party having strong ties with the prominent Shi'a leaders in Iran (Freeman,2009). The movement took a militant form only after the killing of their leader Hussein Al Houthi by the former Yemeni president Saleh in 2004. Saudi Arabia, a Sunni state, is believed to have backed up Saleh in his fight against the Houthi in Saad'a. In the recent war, Saleh allied with the Houthi for a while, but when he turned against them in a televised interview in December 2017, he got killed right afterward. In fact, although the religious discourse has had a low profile in the conflicts in the Middle East, the Saudi rivalry with Iran has been given the sectarian voice as most of the Arab spring protests were initiated by the Shi'a minorities in the region, such as in Bahrain, Oman and Yemen (Matthiesen, 2013).

From what has been mentioned above, it is clear that previous literature regarding media and conflict is based on peace or war journalism categorization through case studying certain wars' and conflicts' representations in the media. Some researchers argue that most findings suggest that war journalism is more prominent than peace journalism, subconsciously putting the blame on journalists and then researchers who, as they suppose, should research and publish more peace journalism findings. However, for the many reasons comprehended from what is said earlier, this is the shocking truth that truly most findings are pertinent to war journalism. As a matter of fact, unfortunately, news has been playing a leading role in fomenting conflicts.

The previous researches that are pointed out in this paper have studied the representation, the grouping and framing of certain conflicts in the foreign media, not the national media of the country of the conflict. Some of them compared how a conflict is represented in the national and foreign media. Similarly, the case of the war in Yemen was studied through its representation in the foreign media as well as its representation in the national media compared to the foreign media. But this research will look into the different text framing and counter framing of news about the Saudi-led coalition airstrikes in the recent war by two national newspapers in order to see how the conflict and parties or people involved are represented.

## ***War and peace journalism, and values of journalism***

News about conflict often hold the underlying connotation of the existence of two sets of rival claims, ultimately, vying for victory. Lynch and Galtung explained that reporting conflict can follow two roads, namely the low road or high road (Lynch and Galtung, 2010). Journalists take either of these roads depending on the focus of their reports. When the focus is on the violence of the conflict and the parties involved are trying to impose only their views and only the messages they want to get crossed to the people, this is when the low road is taken. The low road becomes clearer when the conflict is seen as “us” versus “them” and “them” here is the other who is seen as evil and probably the cause of the conflict. Opposite is the high road where the focus is on the conflict and how it can be resolved. The concept of the high road is the resolution-oriented reporting of conflict or what is known as peace journalism. In this research, these roads are the parameters which the analysis will use to examine where each newspaper is heading; either towards peace or war.

The purpose of journalism is actually hard to define without knowing which facts it is seeking and “by what criteria they qualify as meaningful” (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005). Certainly, the basic duty of news organizations and journalists individually is to inform. And in time of conflict, honest reporting of the surroundings is a must. However, diplomacy-based decisions on what to report and what to withhold are also important in a journalist’s job (Seib, 2002). This gives rise to the journalism of attachment where journalists are given freedom in expression and choice. The notion of objectivity in the journalism of attachment seems an unobtainable ideal to Manoff. He believes that objectivity is both necessary and impossible but the effort to achieve it is much of what gives the practice of journalism its “social utility and undoubted nobility” (Manoff, 1998). However, in this case study of the specific event of Saudi-led intervention in the conflict, the analysis will examine a notion of attachment since both of the targeted newspapers are Yemeni. Therefore, objectivity, as one of news gathering values, will be investigated in this research through analyzing the verbal reaction of the prominent social actors (Dijk, 1988). Dijk saw that news discourse depends on format, relevance of topic or issue and news values that journalists needs to adhere to. Therefore, the analysis will examine the social practice and historical background of each newspaper in order to understand each news framing strategies and values behind the discourse in hand (Richardson, 2007).

## **Methodology**

In recent decades, Critical Discourse Analysis has become the most common approach when investigating texts and discourses and the meanings included in them (Blommaert, 2005) because it provides both theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between the discourse and the social developments in different social domains (Carta and Morin, 2013). This theoretical stand leads to the focus on the role of language in reflecting power relations, inequality and identity building (Aydin- Düzgit, 2014). According to CDA, discourse is understood as a social system of language which combines the linguistic means used to construct meanings with social practices. Thus, language is understood as a form of social action. Moreover, language is understood as means of manipulation (Vanhala-Aniszewski and Siilin, 2013). Consequently, questions of ideology and power play a major role in the theory of CDA, so that approach is widely used in studying political and media discourse (Pietikäinen, 2000; Wenden, 2005). The discourse theory addresses the individual communicative processes that underlie its data material which is in accordance with the critical discourse analysis approach (Keller and Jenner, 2016). Therefore, since this paper will investigate the framing of an event, CDA will provide the systematic way of studying discourses through its refined linguistic and argumentative tools. Since this paper studies news texts concerning the ongoing conflict of Yemen, it will be based on CDA as it takes into consideration the social, cultural and historical factors behind arguments and texts (Vanhala-Aniszewski and Siilin, 2013).

### ***Sampling***

The two sampled newspapers are Althawrah and SabaNews. They are in Arabic but the parts which will be analysed will be properly and accurately translated into English. The reason only national newspapers were chosen is because the conflict has reached a phase where there is a split on the national level on the basis of us and them. This research will figure out how many real warring sides in the conflict to comprehensively see the complexities of it. The selection of these two newspapers was based on three important factors. First, both newspapers can be accessed online. Second, both have search navigation services from where targeted articles can

be collected and analysed. Last but most importantly, they are considered as the main national newspapers surviving the crisis and still covering the war in all over the country.

Since the study will be on news articles written on the Saudi airstrikes, the choice of the articles will be based on their relevance to the topic. Due to the short timeframe of this research, only 10 relevant news articles from each newspaper written in the first three months of 2018, a time period only a couple of weeks prior to writing this paper, will be analysed. The choice of this time period, which is three years after the war in Yemen, is due to three reasons. First, the Saudi-led coalition airstrikes are still on. Second, the malfunction of the newspapers' websites keeps hindering me from getting access to earlier articles. Lastly, this time period could be an appropriate time to answer the second question of this paper concerning the war or peace journalism for it will show how the national journalism is having a role in either fuelling or dampening the conflict by manipulating or focusing on a specific discourse (Hass, 2009).

## ***Tools***

This study is based on Critical Discourse Analysis. CDA will examine the newspapers' framing of the event through the representation of the conflict and the people involved in order to understand what specific ideology each newspaper holds and wants to communicate to its audience. Of course, adding an ethnographic dimension to the analysis will be conducted through the discourse-historical approach within CDA that intends to trace back the history of phrases and arguments (Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999) because the conflict in Yemen has been an ongoing conflict that has encountered major transformations.

To firstly answer the first question of this paper regarding the framing of the narrative, I will be using Richardson's approach in CDA where the discourse history and social practices of each newspaper is examined through investigating the producer, here each newspaper, the relation between the text and systems, and the social influence of the sources (Richardson, 2007). Also, I will be using the representational strategies in language referred to by (Machin and Mayr, 2012) which are used to communicate certain ideological ideas. The coding categories in the classification of social actors to be used in this analysis include labelling,

personalization/impersonalisation, individualisation/collectivisation, specification/genericisation, nomination/functionalisaiion, use of honorifics, objectivation, anonymization, aggregation, the 'us' and 'them' division, and suppression. In terms of representing the action, the coding categories will examine the verb processes in relation to the agents or participants especially in the headlines which must be the first approach in the analysis as they are important in attracting and making statements for propaganda purposes (Richardson, 2007).

As to answering the second question of this paper, the discourse will be examined through a different set of coding categories adapted from Galtung's (1986, 1998) classification of war/peace journalism. The assessment of the articles will be based on 13 indicators of peace journalism and 13 indicators of war journalism. These indicators will show what frame, war or peace journalism, dominates the narrative based on two criteria, the language and the approach (see Appendix). From the 10 sampled articles of each newspaper, a score is recorded each time an indicator is found. When the peace journalism indicators exceed the war journalism indicators, the news coverage of the conflict will be classified as peace journalism coverage, denoting the newspaper's high road in conflict reporting (discussed above). On the other hand, when war journalism indicators exceed the peace journalism, the coverage will be classified as war journalism, denoting the newspaper's low road in conflict reporting (Maslog, Lee, and Kim, 2006).

## Findings and Discussion

To better understand the news framing in the two newspapers, this paper examined the social practices as well as the discourse history of both of them, as suggested by (Richardson, 2007), through the following points:

- 1- Where the information comes from.
- 2- The relation between the text and systems; such as government, religious beliefs and ownership.
- 3- The power and social influence the sources have.

With regard to *Althawrah* newspaper, it had been the official national newspaper in the country and the voice of the government since 1962 before it was taken over by the Houthi militants and journalists affiliated with them in December, 2014. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the Houthi is considered a sectarian and political group that has long been on a continuous fight with the Yemeni governments; Saleh's and Hadi's. In the articles analyzed in this paper, it shows that the sources which the newspaper relies on are not named, but in most cases, they are referred to as sources from Saba News Agency to show some credibility. Saba News Agency is the official national agency that has also been another media outlet that was taken over by the Houthi in January 2015. So, the power and social influence is huge to whoever is not already affiliated with any of the warring parties or to those who don't know yet that these outlets are not the Yemeni government's voice anymore.

As to *SabaNews* newspaper, it was among the new Hadi government-affiliated media outlets after the Houthi had seized almost all the government media institutions. It was released in June 2015 from Saudi Arabia as one of the media outlets that convey the opinion and message of the Yemeni government in Riyadh regarding the conflict along with the accomplishments which the government, backed up by the Saudi-led coalition, is making. As Saudi Arabia is a Sunni state, it can be inferred that it is in a conflict with the Houthi forces on a religious basis even though the religious discourse is not so apparent in the articles. Similar to *Althawrah* newspaper, the sources

are not named but described as militant, local sources and eye-witnesses. The power and social influence of the source come from its reference to the Yemeni Army Site in Marib, a city in northern Yemen where the government with the help of the Saudi intervention is still in control.

## **Using representational strategies in language to represent people and the conflict.**

After extracting all the social actors and the verb processes used, I noticed that there was a repetition in all articles. Each newspaper stuck to the same strategies in representing the social actors and the action. So, the result is a set of representational strategies that each newspaper stuck to all the way in the sampled articles which are presented in this chapter.

- ***Althawrah newspaper***

### **“Us” versus “them” through classification of social actors**

In the 10 articles from Althawrah newspaper, the social actors referred to were three; the Saudi-led coalition, the people hit or affected by strikes, and the sources. There was a clear absence of the Houthi forces as actors in the conflict. The Saudi-led coalition was mostly labelled as “The American Saudi aggression”, “The Saudi enemy” and “The oppressive American Saudi aggression coalition.”

العدوان السعودي الأمريكي، العدو السعودي، تحالف العدوان الأمريكي السعودي الغاشم

So, the Saudi-led coalition is represented as the enemy. America is believed to be behind the Saudi “aggression”, and therefore, should be fought back according to the Houthi movement slogan; Death to America. The terms “martyrs”, “civilians”, and “citizens” were used to represent the people affected by the strikes.

شهداء، مدنيين، مواطنين

Hence, they are seen as the only targets and victims. The sources were anonymized as mentioned above and were only labelled as “militant, local, and security official sources” to give strong legitimacy to the journalist or the newspaper at large.

How the social actors were represented in language gave each of them a certain identity as well as conveyed the newspaper’s own ideological stance on the conflict. Mentioning the affected people as only normal citizens and civilians who are further labelled as martyrs with completely excluding the Houthi from the general frame of the conflict reinforces the idea that this war is against Yemen, and that Iran is not in any way involved. The “us” and “them” here is defined as the innocent people of Yemen and the American Saudi aggression respectively, putting the blame on Saudi Arabia and its allies by labelling them as “oppressive.” The word “oppressive” along with other more specification of the incompetent targeted objects of airstrikes, such as infants, families, women and children, private properties and infrastructural investments in the country, communicates the idea of the unfair game played against Yemen. This in effect explains, through the representation of the above social actors, the social practices this newspaper communicates which are nationalism and the implicit call to the unity of the people of Yemen, denying the claimed proxy war.

All the above social actors were represented through more features to implicitly define the nature of the conflict. The articles focused on using aggregation through the number of airstrikes and the number of people affected per a short period of time, e.g. “32 raids on several provinces within the last 24 hours,” “19 martyrs and injured, 32 citizens.”

٣٢ مواطنًا، ١٩ شهيد وجريح

٣٢ غارة على عدد من المحافظات خلال ال ٢٤ ساعة الماضية

٥٨ غارة على عدد من المحافظات ... خلال ال ٢٤ ساعة الماضية

The “us” and “them” division and the blame game were explicitly shown on the basis of personalizing the victims by mentioning their names and the properties they lost, such as “homes, farms, and vehicles.” Humanizing the victims was also shown through pointing out to what specific type of people are targeted, e.g. “infants, women and children, family, civilians and

citizens,” in an implicit way of showing the incompetent rivalry in this war. The action of airstrikes was described as “massacre, brutal raids, war crimes, horrible crimes.”

مجزرة، غارات وحشية، جرائم حرب، جرائم مروعة

### **The conflict through verb processes**

Looking at the headlines, they all included the casualties the airstrikes have affected; e.g. martyrs, innocent women, children, homes, and the number of airstrikes launched by the Saudi-led coalition with labeling them as aggression. The repeated use of the phrase “Saudi aggression” shows the transformation of the conflict from being an internal civil war to a regional war between Saudi Arabia and Yemen. The newspaper uses the emotive language to dehumanize the action of the airstrikes and sets the consequence for the readers about what to understand through reading the article; that the Saudi-led coalition is aggressive and the action is merely a crime. The use of the pathetic mode shows their standpoint (Richardson, 2007) regarding the conflict.

Giving much consideration to who does what and to whom in the active voice of sentences leaves the judgment to the reader in making perceptions about the nature of the conflict and its consequences. The constant usage of the material verb “target”, استهدف, in the active voice gave emotional weight to the sentences especially that the goal in the process was the “civilians.” Also, there was a frequent use of the verb “launch,” شن- followed by a number of the airstrikes; not less than 10, in a way to aggregate and exaggerate the violence of the action.

All the verbs used were complete sentences; subject, verb and object, with sticking to the labeling of the participants to greatly define the “us” versus “them” concept. For example, “the aggression air raid launches 32 strikes on several provinces,” and “the aggression raid commits a massacre by which its first outcome 19 martyrs.”

طيران العدوان يشن ٣٢ غارة على عدد من المحافظات  
طيران العدوان يرتكب مجزرة حصيلتها الاولى ١٩ شهيدا

Therefore, through the above representational strategies used by Althawrah newspaper in the articles analyzed in this paper, this war was framed as to demonstrate the national identity of the newspaper through presenting the conflict as the intentional unfair inhumane attack by Saudi Arabia on Yemen.

- ***SabaNews newspaper***

### **“Us” versus “them” through classification of social actors**

In the 10 articles analyzed from SabaNews newspaper, there were four social actors who were represented. They are the Saudi-led coalition, the people hit or affected by airstrikes, the Houthi forces and the sources. The Saudi-led coalition was mostly labelled as the “Arab coalition to support legitimacy in Yemen,” and “Saudi-led Arab coalition.”

التحالف العربي لدعم الشرعية، التحالف العربي بقيادة السعودية

Therefore, Saudi Arabia is identified as a legitimate leading side in this war due to the request for its intervention from the Yemeni government as only “to support legitimacy in Yemen.” It was also given this leadership and power identity because it shares borders with Yemen. However, the proxy war claimed by political analysts was clearly pointed out in the newspaper discourse through the representation of the Houthi as the “Backed up by Iran,” counterpart.

مدعومين من إيران

The Houthi was labelled as the “Iranian Houthi militia, Houthi coup and rebels.”

مليشيا الحوثى الايرانية، مليشيا الانقلابية، متمردين

So, the “us” and “them” division was assigned to the Saudi-led coalition and Houthi militia respectively. Saudi Arabia was represented as the neighboring good guy and the Houthi coup is the bad guy who should be fought back. Hence, the conflict is between good and evil for the sake

of Yemen and its unity. However, the discourse does not deny that sometimes some of the affected people are innocent as the targets are not only militant for it states that the places that the raids hit were also where other people live in, e.g. “one farm, militant vehicles belonging to the militia, militia gatherings, and militia located in the city western neighborhoods.” The targeted locations for the airstrikes were not specified but described as any “locations where Iranian spying experts are in.”

أحد مزارع، مركبات عسكرية تابعة لهم، تجمعات لهم، تمركز الميليشيات في الاحياء الغربية للمدينة  
مواقع فيها خبراء تجسس ايرانيين

This was more implicitly shown when the affected people were pointed out as “most of whom were of the Iranian Houthi militia.” معظمهم من ميليشيا الحوثى الايرانية.

Therefore, it is the real target which is being successfully hit that is implicitly verified through the insertion of the words “Houthi militia” even though innocent people could be victims. More specifically, the people affected by the airstrikes were labelled as “armed people, Houthi leaders and new conscripts,” to show that the only targets to the Saudi-led raids are the bad people and whoever joins them. So, the discourse does not victimize the targeted objects but rather justifies the action.

مسلحين، قبايين حوثيين، مجندين جدد

The sources were mostly labelled as militant sources from the Yemeni army site to reinforce the legitimacy of Saudi Arabia in participating in this war, and implicitly verify the idea that this conflict is interstate and the Saudi-led coalition is there only upon request for help. Furthermore, the constant reference to the national army sets the social change that the newspaper wants to communicate which is the power, pride and nationalism, detaching Saudi Arabia and its allies from the scene or having a leading role.

These representational strategies through the labelling of the above social actors identify them according to who does what and why in the conflict. Saudi Arabia and its allies are stretching

their helping hand to Yemen to get rid of Iran which is represented by the Houthi militia but only upon Yemen's call for help. Therefore, no matter how Yemen is negatively affected by the airstrikes, e.g. innocent people killed and injured, and infrastructure collapsed, it is all for the sake of the country's unity and stability in the long run.

### **The conflict through verb processes**

First looking at the headlines, the consequence is set for the readers. They state the affected people or objects by the airstrikes as being the Houthi and his reinforcement to show how successful the coalition and its airstrikes in targeting the "bad guys" and their places. They mostly used noun phrases where only the object targeted is mentioned but not the doer or the action, or noun phrases containing the action and where. For instance, "the death of a Houthi leader," and "airstrikes in western Marib." The use of noun phrases actually identifies the mode of proof or entitlement to doing something, an implication of their trustworthiness (Richardson, 2007).

مصرع قيادي حوثي، غارات غرب مارب

There were verbal clauses and sentences in the headlines, and constantly in the articles, where all participants are mentioned to strongly show the justification of the action. For example, "the coalition airstrikes target Iranian spying experts," and "the coalition destroys Houthi reinforcements."

غارات التحالف تستهدف خبراء تجسس إيرانيين  
التحالف يدمر تعزيزات حوثية

Added to actors and their representations, a specific set of verbs was frequently used in all articles in order to convey the ideology of the newspaper regarding the conflict as a whole. The transitive verb "support," دعم, with the recipient of the action "the national army" suggests the ideology of the newspaper that these air raids are only a supporting tool in a totally interstate national conflict. Also, this ideology was implicitly shown through the use of passive voice statements where the "national army made an advance, backed up by the coalition."

The frequent use of the verb “target” in active voice statements assign power and success to the agencies, e.g. Saudi-led coalition and the national army, especially that the goals of the process are the “bad guys;” “rebels.” There was also a constant use of the verb “destroy” followed by Houthi “military reinforcement” and “weapon warehouse,” to strongly suggest that the air raids are meant to only “destroy” what is harmful. Therefore, these air raids are justified to be of help for the good of Yemen.

So, the framing of the narrative here identifies the Saudi-led coalition as only a helping side in the war that eventually and unintentionally sank in a proxy war with Iran. The discourse assigns to the newspaper the identity of nationalism and pride in it by presenting the conflict as an interstate conflict in that the Houthi rebels backed up by Iran are the bad guys, and this urges the unity of all Yemen against them.

## **Peace and war classification**

In all the sampled articles, each newspaper followed the same set of strategies in language in framing the conflict as seen in the answer to the first question of this paper. The findings were further analyzed based on the indicators of war and peace journalism. The results show that both newspapers’ framing of the conflict is taking the low road where war journalism dominates the narrative. As shown in table 2 below, only three salient indicators support the peace journalism frame. What’s noticed here is that these three indicators of peace journalism are more pertinent to what ideology each newspaper holds. For example, Althawrah articles focused on the invisible effects of war, beside the visible effects, and the personification of the people, both victims and witnesses, only to communicate their idea about the conflict as having bad effects on all levels. Similarly, the SabaNews articles avoided using a victimizing language only to show their ideology regarding the conflict as a legitimate war on the “bad guys.”

The two tables below show how the two newspapers' approaches in representing the conflict are towards more conflict and war. The fact that the two newspapers disagree on who to blame and who to praise, and who are being victimized through the language and the approach, is actually a salient indicator that the conflict in the national media exists. Since public opinion about conflicts is to some extent mediated by the intervention of the media (Euwema and Verbeke, 2009), this can confirm the public division that can be found if each newspaper already has its own supporters.

**TABLE 1**

<b>War journalism</b>	<b>Althawrah</b>	<b>SabaNews</b>
Reactive	1	1
Visible effects of war	1	1
Elite-oriented	1	1
Differences-oriented	0	0
Focuses on here and now	1	1
Dichotomizes the good and bad	1	1
Two-party orientation	1	1
Partisan	1	1
Zero-sum orientation	0	1
Stops reporting and leaves after war	0	0
Uses victimizing language	1	0
Uses demonizing language	1	1
Uses emotive language	1	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>

**TABLE 2**

<b>Peace journalism</b>	<b>Althawrah</b>	<b>SabaNews</b>
Proactive	0	0
Invisible effects of war	1	0
People-oriented	1	0
Agreement-oriented	0	0
Causes and consequences of war	0	0
Avoid labelling of good and bad	0	0
Multi-party orientation	0	0
Non-partisan	0	0
Win-win orientation	0	0
Stays on to report aftermath of war	0	0
Avoids victimizing language	0	1
Avoids demonizing language	0	0
Avoids emotive language	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>

## Conclusions

In answer to the first research question of this paper- ***How do Al Thawrah and SabaNews newspapers frame the Saudi-led coalition airstrikes in the war in Yemen based on the “us” versus “them” from January to March 2018?***, this study concludes that each newspaper frames the Saudi-led coalition airstrikes in accordance with the ideology each embraces about the conflict through placing the blame and justifying legitimacy, which was framed through the labelling of the different social actors in the conflict and their action, as either positive or negative; as either aggressors, leaders, supporters, or victims.

The study shows the complexities of the current conflict in Yemen through the framing and counter framing of it by each newspaper. It, furthermore, shows that there is no single frame through which the conflict in Yemen can be given a complete picture. Both narratives leave the reader with a variety of contending stories especially when related to the ongoing conflicts history in the country.

Based on the “us” and “them” concept, *Althawrah* newspaper frames the conflict as a regional unfair conflict between two warring sides; Yemen and Saudi Arabia, where “us” being Yemen as an innocent victim, while “them” being Saudi Arabia as aggressors.

In the meanwhile, *SabaNews* newspaper frames the conflict as an internal civil war between two Yemeni factions; Houthi and the rest of Yemen, and that Saudi Arabia is only a helping hand in the conflict. So, the “us” is referred to Saudi Arabia as the helping hand to the rest of Yemen, against “them” being the Houthi “rebels.”

An implication of this research emphasizes the importance of critical analysis when it comes to viewing news outlets as sources of information. This is not new but in the case of Yemen where very little academic research is being done, due to the nature of the conflict and the rapid complex developments surrounding it, the news and official reports are the only source of current and up-to-date information. This actually gives rise to the need for more future

researches on the situation of Yemen as the lack of previous studies on the media in the country was one of the greatest limitations of this research.

In answer to the second research question- ***What is the dominant frame, peace journalism or war journalism, in the two newspapers' discourses?***, this study shows that the dominant frame in both newspapers is the war journalism frame. Each newspaper reflects and communicates certain social and political ideologies regarding the ongoing conflict in Yemen. Finding out that the two newspapers are individual examples of war journalism, this research also reveals a conflict in narratives as they prejudicially contradict each other.

The fact that frames of news stories has a significant role on “respondents’ cognitive responses” (Schefuele, 1999) even beyond the information they’re given, they also convey certain ideologies and implications (Price, Tewksbury, and Powers, 1995). The two national newspapers analyzed in this paper in the specific timeframe and specific event of airstrikes in the war in Yemen generally represent two different narratives which should be further investigated through other national media outlets, too, so that respondents understand the conflict better. Therefore, more future studies on many different media outlets in Yemen in order to bring on the neutral and non-bias media to the front would be a beneficial step towards a concise understanding of the conflict and its potential solutions, as implied by Gilboa (2009).

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Peace/war journalism coding categories

<b>War journalism</b>	<b>Peace journalism</b>
<p><i>Approach</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Reactive (waits for war to break out, or about to break out, before reporting)</li> <li>2. Reports mainly on visible effects of war (casualties, dead and wounded, damage to property)</li> <li>3. Elite-oriented mainly (focuses on leaders &amp; elites as actors and sources of information)</li> <li>4. Focuses mainly on differences that led to the conflict</li> <li>5. Focuses mainly on the here and now</li> <li>6. Dichotomizes between good guys and bad guys, victims and villains, in conflict</li> <li>7. Two-party orientation (one party wins, one party loses)</li> <li>8. Partisan (biased for one side in the conflict)</li> <li>9. Zero-sum orientation (one goal: to win)</li> <li>10. Stops reporting with the peace treaty signing and ceasefire, and heads for another war elsewhere</li> </ol> <p><i>Language</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>11. Uses victimizing language (e.g. destitute, devastated, defenseless, pathetic, tragic,</li> </ol>	<p><i>Approach</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Proactive (anticipates, starts reporting long before war breaks out)</li> <li>2. Reports also on invisible effects of war (emotional trauma, damage to society and culture)</li> <li>3. People-oriented (focuses also on common people as actors and sources of information)</li> <li>4. Reports also the areas of agreement that might lead to a solution to the conflict</li> <li>5. Reports also causes and consequences of the conflict</li> <li>6. Avoids labeling of good guys and bad guys</li> <li>7. Multi-party orientation (gives voice to many parties involved in conflict)</li> <li>8. Non-partisan (neutral, not taking sides)</li> <li>9. Win-win orientation (many goals and issues, solution-oriented)</li> <li>10. Stays on and reports aftermath of war; the reconstruction, rehabilitation, implementation of peace treaty</li> </ol> <p><i>Language</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>11. Avoids victimizing language, reports what has been done and could be done by people,</li> </ol>

demoralized) which only tells what had been done to people	and how they are coping
12. Uses demonizing language (e.g. vicious, cruel, brutal, barbaric, inhuman, tyrant, savage, ruthless, terrorist, extremist, fanatic, fundamentalist)	12. Avoids demonizing language, uses more precise descriptions, titles or names that the people give themselves
13. Uses emotive words, like genocide, assassination, massacre, systematic (as in systematic raping or forcing people from their homes)	13. Objective, moderate, avoids emotive words. Reserves strongest language only for gravest situation. Does not exaggerate

## Appendix 2: Screenshots of the sampled articles from Althawrah newspaper

### 24 غارة للعدوان السعودي وحلفائه بعدة محافظات

التاريخ: مارس 14, 2018 م  
17:00  
في: أبرز الأخبار، السلايدر - الأخبار



#### الثورة نت /..

استهدف طيران العدوان الأمريكي السعودي عدداً من محافظات الجمهورية بـ 24 غارة ، وتعرضت المناطق الحدودية لقصف صاروخي ومدفعي خلال الأربع والعشرين ساعة الماضية أسفر عن أضرار في مزارع المواطنين .

وأوضح مصدر عسكري لوكالة الأنباء اليمنية (سبأ) أن طيران العدوان شن غارة على منطقة الأزقول بمديرية سحار في محافظة صعدة ، واستهدف قصف صاروخي ومدفعي سعودي منطقة الغور بمديرية غمر و مناطق متفرقة من مديرية شدا ما أدى إلى أضرار في مزارع المواطنين .

وشن طيران العدوان ثلاث غارات على تبة العرة شمال مطار صنعاء الدولي و غارتين على معهد الشرطة بمدينة ذمار ، كما شن غارة بالقرب من مفرق الوازعية في محافظة تعز .

وذكر المصدر أن الطيران المعادي شن غارتين على مديرية صرواح بمحافظة مأرب ، و أربع غارات على مناطق متفرقة من مديرية المصلوب بمحافظة الجوف ، واستهدف خمس غارات مديرية حضرموت في محافظة حجة .

## العدوان السعودي وحلفائه يشن 85 غارة بعدة محافظات

التاريخ: مارس 12, 2018 م 17:01 | في: أبرز الأخبار، السلايدر، الأخبار



### الثورة نت /..

شن طيران العدوان الأمريكي السعودي 58 غارة على عدد من محافظات الجمهورية وعسير وجيزان خلال الـ 24 ساعة الماضية ، فيما استهدف قصف صاروخي ومدفعي مناطق حدودية متفرقة .

وأوضح مصدر عسكري لوكالة الأنباء اليمنية (سبأ) أن طيران العدوان شن في محافظة صعدة ثلاث غارات على مديرية باقم و غارة على منطقة طخية بمديرية مجز و غارة أخرى على منطقة القد بمديرية رازح .

كما شن غارتين على منطقة الملاحيط بمديرية الظاهر و ثلاث غارات على منطقة الفرع واستهدف بغارة سيارة مواطن في آل أبو جبارة بمديرية كتاف . وأشار المصدر إلى أن قصفاً صاروخياً ومدفعيةً سعودياً استهدف مناطق متفرقة من مديرتي شدا و رازح الحدوديتين .

وذكر المصدر أن طيران العدوان شن ثلاث غارات على مطار صنعاء الدولي و 13 غارة على قاعدة الديلمي الجوية ، و 11 غارة على مديرتي حرص وميدي بمحافظة حجة .

وفي محافظة الجديدة شنت طائرة بدون طيار تابعة للعدوان غارتين على مديرية حيس ، وشن الطيران الحربي ثلاث غارات على مزرعة في مديرية

## طيران العدوان يشن 12 غارة على عدة مناطق بصعدة مستخدماً قنابل عنقودية

التاريخ: يناير 29, 2018 م 23:28 | في: السلايدر، الأخبار، ماينت 1، عناوين رئيسية



### الثورة نت /..

شن طيران العدوان السعودي الأمريكي اليوم 12 غارة على مناطق متفرقة بمحافظة صعدة مستخدماً قنابل عنقودية.

وأوضح مصدر أمني بالمحافظة لوكالة الأنباء (سبأ) أن طيران العدوان شن ثلاث غارات على الامارة وحبل محجوبة بمديرية كتاف.

وأشار إلى أن الطيران المعادي شن ثمان غارات على وادي علاف بمديرية سحار منها بقنابل عنقودية، وغارة على منطقة بني معين بمديرية رازح الحدودية.

وذكر المصدر أن العدو السعودي عاود قصفه الصاروخي والمدفعي على مديرتي رازح وشدا الحدوديتين.

## طيران العدوان يرتكب مجزرة جديدة حصيلتها الأولية 19 شهيداً وجريحاً في مديرية سحار بصعدة

التاريخ: فبراير 28, 2018 م 10:10 | في: تقارير محليات



### < استهداف منزل مواطن ومسعفين

#### الثورة/سبأ

أقدم طيران العدوان السعودي الأمريكي أمس على ارتكاب مجزرة وحشية بمديرية سحار بصعدة أسفرت عن سقوط عدد من الشهداء والجرحى من المدنيين.

وأوضح مصدر أمني بالمحافظة أن 19 مواطناً بينهم نساء وأطفال استشهدوا وأصيبوا في ثلاث غارات لطيران العدوان على مديرية سحار بمحافظة صعدة. وأضاف المصدر أن طيران العدوان الغاشم شن غارة على منزل مواطن في منطقة حفصين بمديرية سحار ما أدى إلى استشهاد عدد من أفراد المنزل. وأشار المصدر إلى أن طيران العدوان الغاشم عاود استهداف المكان بعد توافد المسعفين ما أدى إلى ارتفاع حصيلة الشهداء إلى خمسة مواطنين والجرحى أربعة عشر مواطناً كحصيلة غير نهائية.

وأدان المصدر هذه الجريمة الوحشية والبيشعة التي ارتكبها تحالف العدوان الأمريكي السعودي الغاشم بحق المواطنين المدنيين من أبناء مديرية سحار .. مؤكداً أن تلك الدماء ستبقى لعنة تطارد قوى العدوان مدى الحياة.

أسماء شهداء وجرحى مجزرة طيران العدوان الأمريكي السعودي على منطقة حفصين بمديرية سحار صعدة  
أسماء الشهداء

## إستشهاد وإصابة أربعة مواطنين بغارة لطيران العدوان بالجوف

التاريخ: فبراير 02, 2018 م 17:54 | في: أبرز الأخبار, تقارير, مستجدات



#### الثورة نت/..

استشهد مواطننا وأصيب ثلاثة آخرين اليوم بغارة لطيران العدوان السعودي الأمريكي استهدفت مخيم للبدو بمديرية برط المراشي محافظة الجوف.

وأوضح مصدر محلي بالمحافظة أن طيران العدوان استهدف أسرة المواطن ناجي سعدة الفرجة بمنطقة أسحر، ما أسفر عن إستشهاد مواطن وإصابة ثلاثة آخرين وإحتراق الخيام.

واستنكر المصدر إمعان العدوان في إستهداف المدنيين ومنازلهم ومصادر رزقهم في ظل صمت دولي مخجل ومعيب.

## جرائم طيران العدوان السعودي وحلفائه خلال الساعات الماضية

التاريخ: يناير 11, 2018 م 18:01 | في: أبرز الأخبار، السلايدر-الأخبار



### الثورة نت..

واصل طيران العدوان السعودي الأمريكي ارتكاب الجرائم المروعة باستخدام القنابل العنقودية خلال الساعات الـ 24 الماضية، ما أدى إلى استشهاد وإصابة 32 مواطناً بمحافظة صعدة بينهم نساء وأطفال.

وأكد مصدر عسكري لوكالة الأنباء اليمنية (سبأ) استشهاد 12 مواطناً وإصابة آخر بغارة لطيران العدوان استهدفت سوقاً شعبياً بمنطقة وادي آل أبو جبارة مديرية كناف، كما استشهد خمسة مواطنين إثر غارتين استهدفتا سيارة في المنطقة نفسها.

وأشار المصدر إلى استشهاد طفلين وإصابة رجل وثلاثة أطفال آخرين في غارة على منزل بمنطقة المحجر في مديرية باقم، وأصيب امرأتان وطفلة جراء غارة أخرى استهدفت منزلاً بالمديرية ذاتها.

واستشهدت طفلتان وجرحت امرأة وطفلان آخرا ودمر منزلان في غارات لطيران العدوان على منطقة تشدان بمديرية غمر الحدودية، فيما استشهد مواطن من أبناء مديرية شدا بنيران حرس الحدود السعودي.

## طيران العدوان يشن 32 غارة على عدد من المحافظات

التاريخ: مارس 15, 2018 م 15:57 | في: أبرز الأخبار، السلايدر-الأخبار، مستجدات



### الثورة نت./

شن طيران العدوان الأمريكي السعودي 32 غارة على عدد من محافظات الجمهورية خلال الـ 24 ساعة الماضية خلفت أضراراً بمنزل المواطنين ، واستشهد طفل بنيران حرس الحدود السعودي في مديرية شدا الحدودية .

وأوضح مصدر عسكري أن طيران العدوان شن ست غارات على منطقتي آل صبحان والسداد بمديرية باقم في محافظة صعدة ، و استهدف بثلاث غارات منطقة القد بمديرية رازح الحدودية خلفت أضراراً بمنزل المواطنين ،فيما استشهد طفل بنيران حرس الحدود السعودي في مديرية شدا بالمحافظة .

وذكر المصدر أن الطيران المعادي شن 12 غارة على مطار صنعاء الدولي و غارتين على قاعدة الديلمي الجوية ،واستهدف بسبع غارات معسكر اللواء العاشر بمديرية باجل في محافظة الحديدة ، وشن غارتين على الخط الرابط بين مديرتي زيد والتحتا بالمحافظة نفسها .

وحسب المصدر شن طيران العدوان غارة على الربوعة في عسير .

## استشهاد وجرح 8 مواطنين بـ37 غارة للمعتدي السعودي وحلفائه

التاريخ: فبراير 13, 2018 م 16:51 | في: أبرز الأخبار, السلايدر-الأخبار



### الثورة نت/..

شن طيران العدوان الأمريكي السعودي 37 غارة على ست محافظات ونجران وعسير ما أدى إلى استشهاد وجرح ثمانية مواطنين خلال الـ 24 ساعة الماضية ، فيما استهدف قصف صاروخي ومدفعي المناطق الحدودية بمحافظة صعدة .  
و أفاد مصدر عسكري لوكالة الأنباء اليمنية (سبأ) أن طيران العدوان استهدف بغارة بئر ماء في مديرية الصلو بمحافظة تعز ما أدى إلى استشهاد سبعة مواطنين وإصابة آخر في حصيلة أولية .  
وذكر المصدر أن الطيران شن غارة على قاعدة الديلمي الجوية بأمانة العاصمة صنعاء و خمس غارات على مديرية صرواح بمحافظة مأرب ، وغارتين على مديرية المصلوب بمحافظة الجوف .  
وأشار المصدر إلى أن قصفاً صاروخياً ومدفعياً سعودياً استهدف منطقة الغور بمديرية عمر و منطقة الرقة بمديرية حيدان في محافظة صعدة ، في حين شن الطيران غارة على مديرية كتاف .  
و شن طيران العدوان 16 غارة على مناطق متفرقة في مديرتي حرص و ميدي بمحافظة حجة ، و ثمان غارات على موقعي الشرفة والشبكة في نجران ، كما شن ثلاث غارات على المنطقة في عسير .

## العدوان الأمريكي السعودي يواصل استهداف النساء والأطفال

التاريخ: مارس 04, 2018 م 14:18 | في: أبرز الأخبار, اصداء العدوان, السلايدر-الأخبار, تقارير, مستحدثات



### الثورة نت/..

واصل العدوان الأمريكي السعودي استهداف النساء والأطفال في عدد من محافظات الجمهورية خلال الـ 24 ساعة الماضية .  
وأكد مصدر عسكري استشهاد ثلاث نساء في غارة لطيران العدوان شمال العريش في مديرية موزع بمحافظة تعز ، كما شن الطيران غارة أخرى شمال شرق معسكر خالد بالمديرية .  
ولفت المصدر إلى استشهاد طفلين وإصابة امرأة وطفلها جراء قصف صاروخي ومدفعي سعودي استهدف مناطق متفرقة من مديرية رازح الحدودية ، وتعرضت منطقة الغور بمديرية عمر و منطقة الرقة التابعة لمديرية حيدان لقصف صاروخي سعودي .

وأوضح المصدر أن طيران العدوان شن تسع غارات على منطقتي طيبة الاسم والقذامل بمديرية كتاف و غارة على منطقة الحجلة بمديرية رازح في

## استهداف للممتلكات والاضرار بالمواطنين بغارات العدوان السعودي وحلفائه

التاريخ: فبراير 10, 2018 م 20:07 | في: أبرز الأخبار, السلايدر -الأخبار, مستجدات



### الثورة نت /..

شن طيران العدوان السعودي الأمريكي اليوم خمس غارات على مديرية خب والشعف بالجوف. وأوضح مصدر أمني لوكالة الأنباء اليمنية (سبأ) ان غارات العدوان استهدفت منطقة المهاشمة بمديرية خب والشعف وخلقت أضراراً بممتلكات المواطنين. فشن طيران العدوان الأمريكي السعودي اليوم سلسلة غارات على محافظة حجة. وأوضح مصدر أمني بالمحافظة لوكالة الأنباء اليمنية (سبأ) أن طيران العدوان شن تسع غارات على مديرتي حرض وميدي. كما شن طيران العدوان الأمريكي السعودي خمس غارات على محافظة معدة وقطاع حبان .



## Appendix 3: Screenshots of the sampled articles from SabaNews newspaper

16/02/2018

### غارات التحالف تستهدف "خبراء تجسس" إيرانيين في تعز



سبأ نيوز : متابعات

قال الجيش اليمني، الجمعة، إن طائرات التحالف العربي لدعم الشرعية في اليمن شنت غارة جوية، استهدفت موقعا يتمركز فيه، خبراء تجسس إيرانيون قرب مدينة تعز، جنوبي البلاد.

وذكر الجيش أن الخبراء كانوا يتواجدون في موقع شرقي تعز، مشيرا إلى أنهم يعملون في التجسس على شبكة الاتصالات لصالح الميليشيات الحوثية الإيرانية.

وفي سياق متصل، شن التحالف العربي 68 غارة جوية على أهداف ومواقع عسكرية تابعة لميليشيات الحوثي خلال الساعات الـ 24 الماضية.

وتوزعت الغارات على مواقع الميليشيات الانقلابية في صنعاء ومأرب وكذلك جبهة الساحل الغربي في محافظة الحديدة، كما طالت مواقع وتعزيزات للحوثيين في صعدة وحجة.

ودمرت مقاتلات التحالف في وقت سابق منصة إطلاق صواريخ أرض- أرض تابعة لميليشيات الحوثي الإيرانية قرب مطار الحديدة.

وكانت الميليشيات تعمل على تجهيز المنصة لإطلاق صواريخ نحو مدينة المخا.

ووفقا لمصادر عسكرية، أسفرت الغارة عن 8 ثمانية من أفراد ميليشيات الحوثي العاملين في المنصة.

## تصاعد الضربات الجوية على الحوثيين بالساحل الغربي لليمن



سيأنيزور : منابعات  
تصاعدت حدة الضربات الجوية، التي  
تشنها طائرات التحالف العربي بقيادة  
السعودية، على معقل ميليشيات  
الحوثي الإيرانية في الساحل الغربي  
باليمن الثلاثاء.

وأوضح أن طائرات التحالف دمرت  
عربات عسكرية للمتمردين الحوثيين  
في وادي زبيد ومديرية الجراحيفي  
محافظة الحديدة، كما استهدفت  
تعزبات للحوثيين كانت في طريقها  
إلى مديرية جبل راس بالمحافظة.

ومهد القصف الجوي الطريق أمام  
تقدم قوات الشرعية اليمنية بإسناد  
من القوات الإماراتية المشاركة في

التحالف العربي، جنوب شرق مديرية الجراحي، حيث أجبرت الميليشيات على الفرار من مواقعها.

وتخوض قوات دعم الشرعية في اليمن معارك مع المتمردين الحوثيين المدعومين من إيران في مديرية مسورة بمحافظة  
البيضاء على جبهتين، حيث سقط عدد من المسلحين الحوثيين بين قتيل وجريح.

ويأتي هذا التطور بعد ساعات من إعلان مصادر عسكرية يمنية مقتل العشرات من ميليشيات الحوثي الإيرانية بمواجهات في  
مديرية نعم شمال شرقي صنعاء.

## التحالف يدمر تعزيزات حوثية بالحديدة.. ومقتل العشرات



سبأ نيوز : متابعات

قُتل عشرات من عناصر  
ميليشيات الحوثي  
بغارات شنتها طائرات  
تحالف دعم الشرعية  
اليمنية على مواقع  
وتجمعات في الساحل  
الغربي للبلاد.

وقالت مصادر عسكرية  
"إن الغارات تركزت في  
مناطق جنوب الحديدة  
وتحديداً في مديريات  
المنصورية وبيت الفقيه  
وزبيد والتحيتا  
والجراحي".

وأُسفرت الغارات عن عشرات القتلى والجرحى من عناصر الميليشيات، منهم القيادي الميداني الحوثي علي بن علي محسن المطري، نجل خطيب جامع الصالح، وسابقاً جامع الرئاسة في عهد الرئيس السابق علي عبدالله صالح، حيث قتل بغارة مع عدد كبير من عناصر الميليشيات في إحدى مزارع مديرية الجراحي.

المصادر أشارت إلى أن المطري كان يفود مجموعة من المجندين الجدد من أبناء مديرية بني مطر بمحافظة صنعاء ضمن تعزيزات لميليشيات الحوثي إلى الساحل الغربي.

كما أسفرت الغارات عن تدمير عشرات الآليات والمركبات العسكرية التابعة للميليشيات في مديرتي بيت الفقيه والتحيتا.

يأتي ذلك فيما أكد مصدر عسكري سقوط أكثر من 70 قتيلًا وجريحاً من ميليشيات الحوثي إثر معارك نفذها الجيش الوطني

## غارات جوية على صعدة.. ومقتل 70 حوثياً



ارتفعت وتيرة الغارات الجوية التي نفذها طيران التحالف على مواقع للمليشيات الحوثية، ووصل عددها إلى أكثر من 30 غارة في ثالث يوم بعد عملية إطلاق الحوثيين 7 صواريخ بالستية على السعودية والتي دمرتها قوات الدفاع الجوي السعودي.

وتمركزت الغارات التي نفذتها مقاتلات التحالف في محافظة صعدة، وبعضها شمال صنعاء.

كما واستهدفت مواقع لمسلحين حوثيين، وأهداف عسكرية تابعة لهم، كان أبرزها منصة صاروخ بالستي في معسكر الاستقبال بضلاع همدان.

كما دمرت المقاتلات قطعاً عسكرية متحركة وثابتة في مديريات حرف سفيان، وباقم، وكتاف، ورازح، ومجز، والصفراء، ومدينة صعدة.

وتجاوزت حصيلة قتلى العناصر الحوثية في تلك الغارات لـ70 عنصراً من الحوثيين، مع تدمير مركبات عسكرية التابعة لهم.

من جهة أخرى، تمكنت قوات الجيش اليمني، مسنودة بطيران التحالف، من تحقيق تقدم جديد شمالي محافظة لحج "جنوب"، وتأمين معسكر طبية الاسم الاستراتيجي الرابط بين محافظتي الجوف وصعدة.

وقالت مصادر ميدانية إن قوات الجيش حررت "جبل شيفان" الاستراتيجي بمديرية القبيطة شمالي #لحج، كما حققت تقدماً في "جبال الكسري" و"المزحلق" و"الممشاج" بذات المنطقة، وتواصل التقدم باتجاه مدينة الراهدة جنوبي تعز.

وتكمن أهمية تحرير "جبال شيفان" في أنها تطل على "منطقة السحي" التي تبعد نحو 5 كيلومترات عن مدينة الراهدة، وتؤمن تقدم قوات الجيش نحو مدينة "الراهدة" عبر الخط الرئيس.

كما سيطرت قوات الجيش اليمني، وفق المصادر، على كامل قرية العلوب بجميع نوابها جنوب مدينة الراهدة، وتواصل التقدم ميدانياً لقطع خط إمداد المليشيات الحوثية في اتجاه منطقتي الشريجة، والراهدة، جنوبي شرق تعز.

## مقاتلات التحالف تدمر مخزن أسلحة وتعزيزات عسكرية للحوثيين



شنت مقاتلات التحالف العربي بقيادة المملكة العربية السعودية لدعم الشرعية في اليمن، سلسلة غارات جوية استهدفت تعزيزات عسكرية ومخزن أسلحة وذخيرة تابعين لميليشيات الحوثي الإيرانية في مديريات باجل و الجراحي والتحيتا بجهة الساحل الغربي.

ونقلت وكالة أنباء الإمارات عن مصادر يمنية قولها إن الغارات أسفرت عن تدمير تعزيزات عسكرية ومخزن أسلحة وذخيرة تابع لميليشيات الحوثي الإيرانية في مديرية باجل.

وأضافت أن مقاتلات التحالف العربي دمرت آليات عسكرية أثناء توجيهها من مديرية زبيد إلى مديرية الجراحي، كانت تسعى الميليشيات للزج بها إلى الجبهات، غير أن القصف دمرها بالكامل في ضربات نوعية أربكت صفوف الميليشيات وسط فرار جماعي لعناصرها.

وأسفرت غارات مقاتلات التحالف أيضا عن مصرع وإصابة العشرات من ميليشيات الحوثي الإيرانية وتدمير عشرات الآليات العسكرية تكبدت على إثرها تلك الميليشيات خسائر فادحة في العتاد والأرواح.

وتواصل مقاتلات التحالف شن غاراتها الجوية على تجمعات ميليشيات الحوثي الإيرانية وتدمير التعزيزات العسكرية والآليات التابعة لها في مناطق الساحل الغربي.

## صنعاء.. 12 غارة تستهدف قاعدة الديلمي وانفجارات عنيفة



سبأنيوز : متابعات

هزت انفجارات عنيفة، اليوم الأحد، العاصمة اليمنية صنعاء، الخاضعة لسيطرة ميليشيات الحوثي الانقلابية، عقب غارات مركزية شنتها مقاتلات التحالف العربي على قاعدة الديلمي الجوية شمال صنعاء.

وأفاد سكان محليون أن غارات هي الأعنف منذ أشهر، استهدفت القاعدة العسكرية الجوية الخاضعة لسيطرة الحوثيين، مؤكداً دوي انفجارات قوية أعقبت الغارات، وتساعد أعمدة الدخان بشكل كثيف من الموقع المستهدف.

ورصد شهود عيان أكثر من 12 غارة جوية استهدفت القاعدة الجوية العسكرية، وسط تحليق مكثف وعلى علو منخفض لمقاتلات التحالف في سماء العاصمة صنعاء.

وبحسب قاطنين في حي المطار القريب من القاعدة العسكرية، فإن هذه الغارات جاءت عقب تحركات حوثية داخل القاعدة منذ مساء السبت، لم تعرف أسبابها.

واقترنت وسائل إعلام الحوثيين على ذكر مكان استهداف الغارات، لكن الميليشيات تكتمت على خسائرها البشرية والمادية.

كما أغارت مقاتلات التحالف العربي، الأحد، على مواقع وتجمعات لميليشيات الحوثي الانقلابية في عدة مناطق بمديرية صرواح غربي محافظة مأرب، وأسفرت عن سقوط قتلى وجرحى حوثيين، إضافة إلى تدمير أليات ومعدات قتالية، بحسب موقع الجيش اليمني.

وفي السياق نفسه، شنت مقاتلات التحالف غارات جوية على مواقع للحوثيين في السلسلة الجبلية التي تفصل بين مديرتي ناطع والملاحم بمحافظة البيضاء، وسط اليمن، ما أسفر عن سقوط عناصر من الميليشيات وتدمير أسلحة وذخائر وأليات

## قتلى من الحوثيين في حجة والشرعية تحرر جبال الأدمغ في نهم



سبأ نيوز : متابعات

قتل 18 عنصرًا من ميليشيا الحوثيين الإيرانية في معارك مع الجيش اليمني، جنوب مديرية ميدي، التابعة لمحافظة حجة، بينما حرر الجيش الوطني بإسناد جوي من مقاتلات التحالف العربي مواقع متفرقة بمديرية نهم، شرقي العاصمة صنعاء.

ونقل موقع " سبتمبر نت " عن مصادر ميدانية أن قوات الجيش الوطني تمكنت خلال معارك اليوم من تحرير جبال الأدمغ، الواقعة ضمن سلسلة يام الجبلية، التي تطل على خط الجوف.

وبحسب المصادر فإن المعارك خلفت أكثر من 19 قتيلًا من الميليشيا الحوثية بينهم القيادي الميداني المكنى "أبو زيد الوجيه"، علاوة على سقوط عشرات الجرحى.

كما شنت مقاتلات التحالف العربي غارات جوية استهدفت مواقع وتجمعات للميليشيا الحوثية في عدة مناطق بمديرية نهم، دمرت طقم إمداد أثناء ما كان قادمًا من اتجاه أرحب.

وقال مصدر عسكري يمني إن الجيش اليمني بإسناد من طيران "تحالف دعم الشرعية في اليمن" هاجم ميليشيا الحوثيين الانقلابية في منطقة الكنف حيث أدى ذلك إلى خسائر فادحة في عتاد وعناصر الميليشيا.

## حجة.. مصرع 40 قيادياً حوثياً في يناير



سبأنيوز : متابعات  
كشف الجيش اليمني  
عن مصرع 40 قيادياً  
حوثياً في محافظة حجة  
شمال غرب اليمن في  
يناير الماضي، خلال  
المواجهات وبغارات  
لمقاتلات  
التحالف\_العربي بقيادة  
السعودية.

وأعلن موقع الجيش  
اليمني، الخميس،  
مصرع القيادي الميداني  
البارز في  
ميليشيات\_الحوثي  
الانقلابية، عبد القادر  
هادي هبة وعدد من  
عناصر الميليشيات في  
جبهة ميدي غربي محافظة حجة شمال اليمن.

وأفاد أن القيادي الحوثي عبدالقادر هبة، لقي مصرعه (الثلاثاء)، في مواجهات مع الجيش\_الوطني مسنودة بقوات التحالف العربي.

وأشار إلى أن الجيش الوطني حقق خلال الیومین الماضیین إصابات نوعية في صفوف الميليشيات الحوثية إثر استهدافه بالقصف المدفعي عددا من مواقع وتجمعات وأليات الميليشيات الانقلابية.

وكانت مقاتلات التحالف العربي شنت عدة غارات جوية على مدينة ميدي مستهدفة تمركز الميليشيات في الأحياء الغربية وحقق إصابات وخسائر بشرية كبيرة في صفوف الحوثيين.

يشار إلى أن جبهتي ميدي وحرص في حجة من أكثر الجبهات التي استنزفت عددا كبيرا من قيادات وعناصر التمرد الحوثية، نتيجة استماتة الميليشيات في الدفاع عن هذه المنطقة التي تتخذها ضمن المنافذ البحرية لتهرب الأسلحة والدعم الإيراني إليها، إضافة إلى كونها الشريان الرابط مع معقلهم الرئيس في محافظة صعدة أقصى شمال اليمن.

## غارات غرب مأرب ومعارك شمال الجوف



سبأ نيوز : متابعات  
شنت مقاتلات التحالف العربي، اليوم الأربعاء،  
غارات جوية استهدفت مواقع للمليشيا الحوثية  
الانقلابية غرب محافظة مأرب.

وافادت مصادر محلية ان الغارات الجوية استهدفت  
مواقع للمليشيا في منطقة الضيق بصرواح.

وذكر ان الغارات اسفرت عن تدمير مدفعية  
للمليشيا في المنطقة المستهدفة.

وتشهد مديرية صرواح مواجهات عسكرية مستمرة  
بين قوات الجيش الوطني مسنودة بمقاتلات التحالف العربي من جهة ومليشيا الحوثية المدعومة من إيران من جهة  
أخرى، وسط تقدم ميداني لقوات الجيش الوطني، وانهيارات في صفوف العناصر الميليشيات الانقلابية.

وفي الجوف المجاورة لمأرب صدت قوات الجيش الوطني، اليوم الأربعاء، هجوما للمليشيا الحوثية الانقلابية بمديرية خب  
الشعف، شمالي محافظة الجوف.

مصدر ميداني قال لموقع الجيش "سبتمبر نت" ان المليشيا الحوثية شنت هجوما على مواقع خسرتها الأيام الماضية في  
منطقة المهاشمة، بمديرية خب الشعف، غير أن قوات الجيش الوطني تصدت لها وأجبرتها على التراجع والفرار.

وبحسب ما ذكر المصدر فان قتلى وجرحى من المليشيا سقطوا خلال المعارك، علاوة على استعادة قوات الجيش الوطني ثلاثة  
أطقم قتالية.

يأتي ذلك في الوقت الذي تشهد فيه جهات عدة من محافظة الجوف، استمرار العمليات العسكرية التي يشنها الجيش  
الوطني لتحرير ما تبقى من المناطة . الخاضعة لسيطرة المليشيا.

## مواجهات عنيفة شرقي صنعاء.. وقصف تعزيزات الحوثيين



سبأنيوز : متابعات  
اندلعت مواجهات  
عنيفة بين قوات  
المؤتمر الشعبي  
العام ومليشيات  
الحوثي الإيرانية  
شرقي العاصمة  
صنعاء بعد يوم  
معارك عنيفة  
سيطرت خلالها  
قوات حزب المؤتمر  
الشعبي على  
مدينة البيضاء  
وسط اليمن، كما  
تدور اشتباكات بين  
المتطرفين ورجال  
القبائل في مديرية  
الخمر بمحافظة  
عمران.

وأفادت مصادر  
طبية وعسكرية، بمقتل أكثر من 100 شخص في اشتباكات صنعاء، معظمهم من مليشيات الحوثيين الإيرانية.

وتمكنت قوات المؤتمر الشعبي العام في اليمن، السبت، من السيطرة على المواقع الحيوية في العاصمة صنعاء وعدد من المحافظات، وسط دعوات إلى انتفاضة شعبية ضد مليشيات الحوثيين الإيرانية.

وذكرت مصادر أن قوات المؤتمر سيطرت على دار الرئاسة ووزارة الدفاع والبنك المركزي ووزارة المالية وجهاز الأمن القومي في صنعاء القديمة.

كما سيطرت على مبنى التلفزيون الرسمي، الذي كان في قبضة الحوثيين، فيما تحاصر مطار العاصمة صنعاء، حيث تتمركز المليشيات الإيرانية.

وانتشرت قوات المؤتمر أيضا في محافظات إب وذمار وريمة وحجة ومحويت، وأقامت تمركزات جديدة في الحديدة، بعدما طردت مليشيات الحوثي من المناطق الحيوية.

وكان حزب المؤتمر قد دعا في وقت سابق، السبت، رجال القبائل إلى مواجهة مليشيات الحوثي، محملا إياها مسؤولية "إشغال قبيل الحرب".