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Abstract:

For more than a decade, Yemen has been, and is still, suffering immense atrocities that have resulted in a humanitarian crisis due to foreign interference. This interference of foreign powers in the Yemeni internal crisis has torn the country apart especially with the coming of Donald Trump to office. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to investigate the U.S. involvement in Yemen's conflict and to examine the reasons behind this intervention to find whether it was motivated by humanitarian or self-interest motives. In order to achieve the objectives of this research, descriptive and analytical methods of the qualitative approach will be used in order to obtain a comprehensive review and to uncover the reasons of this interference. It is found that the U.S. interference in Yemen is governed by self-interest under the cover of counterterrorism war; and it has benefited economically and geopolitically in the region.

Keywords:

Civil War - Donald Trump - Intervention - Houthis - Saudi-led Coalition - Yemen.

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Introduction:

The Civil War in Yemen between multiple factions and tribes urged foreign powers to intervene to keep their interests. This interference unified those factions to fight against these powers, namely the Saudi-led coalition and their allies. The ongoing civil war in Yemen began in 2015 with the uprising by a Houthi-Saleh alliance. Following these events, Saudi Arabia urged its allies to form a coalition to confront and to contain the crisis. The allies intervened remarkably under the aim of restoring peace and supporting the internationally-recognized government in Yemen under the pro-Saudi president Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi. The conflict resulted in thousands of casualties and the destruction of Yemeni constructions. The United Nations described the situation in Yemen as the world's worst humanitarian crisis, with close to 80% of Yemen's population of nearly 30 million needing some form of assistance. According to the UN reports, malnutrition among children has hit the highest levels; and warned that nearly 2.3 million children under age 5 in Yemen are at risk of famine

United States is one of those allies to Saudi Arabia who played a major role in the conflict. It supported the coalition and provided significant help through weapons sales, intelligence, and technical assistance. The U.S. under Trump administration contributed in military operation through bombing raids in Yemen as a continuation of its counter terrorism war. In 2017, for instance, it conducted more than 131 air strikes which are more than in any other year except 2012. This involvement issued legal controversy in the U.S. and urged the Congress to put an end to this interference. Based on what have been said, the main research question is: What role the U.S. has played in the Yemeni conflict under Donald Trump? And what are the reasons that urged Trump to veto the congressional resolution which aims to end America's involvement in Yemen? We assume that this blatant interference is governed by the U.S. self interests to achieve more gains from this conflict under the cover of counterterrorism.

This paper, thus, is divided into two main sections. The first provides a brief background of the conflict starting with Hirak and its development into a civil war, in addition to the involvement of the foreign powers in the conflict and the U.S. support for the Saudi-led Coalition. The second section of this paper moves to examining the U.S. interference in the conflict through its strikes in the Yemeni provinces that contributed in the worsening of the humanitarian crisis. It also looks into the U.S. resolution that aims to end its interference in the region and Trump's veto to this resolution to understand the reasons behind it.

Section I: The Yemeni Crisis and the Foreign Interference

Yemen went from being the heart of ancient Arabia to one of the poorest countries in the Middle East, and for the last seven years it has been torn apart by war. Whereas local groups on the ground are fighting each other, the Saudi-led coalition bombs from above and millions of Yemenis desperately struggling to survive. This section tries to examine the development of Hirak in Yemen and the interference of foreign powers in the crisis.

A) Development of Hirak into a Civil War

The Arab spring appeared in Yemen following the 2011 election of Ali Abdellah Saleh, the president of Yemen for 20 years since 1990. The masses tried to oust Saleh, who had been accused of corruption, to step down from presidency. The angry protesters demanded governmental change and the increase of human rights in the hope that things might get better. But the government forces resisted against the protesters resulting in hundreds of deaths after a few months which provided Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) the opport unity to move and act in the region freely 1. Under such threats of AQAP, Saudi Arabia comes to intervene to protect its

¹ - Johansson, Linnea. "The United States involvement in Yemen: A case study with rational and humanitarian reasoning of the involvement, influence and its objective." (2021), p 13

borders. Saudi Arabia is the most influential member of a club of countries known as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). It was the GCC that oversaw negotiations to finally force Saleh out. The latter's deal helped to install a new government in Yemen and put Vice President Abd-Rabbu Mansour Hadi in charge¹. However Yemen continued to suffer under President Hadi after the revolution. These initiatives that had come out of the revolution were brokered by Gulf powers that simply appeared to bring back the same elite to power.

In 2014 tensions escalated into a civil war where some of Yemen's factions began to lose their patience. One of them was the Houthis, another major player in the war. The Houthis are Shiaa Muslim minority from Northern Yemen backed by Iran and often rebelled against the government. During the Arab Spring, they were involved in the uprising against Saleh². But the Houthis and Saleh were both sidelined by the GCC's plans for Yemen's new government, so the former enemies joined forces. The Houthis together with some allies of Saleh still in the army took over Yemen's Capital Sanaa in 2014³. Hadi fled to Saudi Arabia and then the Saudis along with several countries formed a coalition to return him to power.

Yemen has been always viewed by Saudi Arabia as a source of threat because of the ideological and territorial menaces it represents. On one hand, Yemen is a resource-poor and populous; on the other its political system is different from its neighbors. In fact, it is the sole non-monarchy on the Arabian Peninsula and it could be a source of exporting instability in the region. Thus, the Gulf countries supported Abdullah Saleh for decades to maintain stability⁴. In short, the Saudi-

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¹ - "Yemen Conflict Alert." Crisis Group, 20 Sept. 2016, www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/yemen/yemen-conflict-alert-1.

² - Laub, Zachary, and Kali Robinson. "Yemen in crisis." Council on Foreign Relations 19 (2016): 1-7. P 4.

³ - Baron, Adam. "Foreign and Domestic Influences in the War in Yemen." (2019).

⁴ - Hokayem, Emile, and David B. Roberts. "The war in Yemen." Survival 58.6 (2016): 157-186.

led intervention in Yemen was a campaign of relentless airstrikes. Saudi-led forces report that they have been targeting the enemy, but rights groups accuse the coalition of bombing dozens of hospitals and schools killing thousands of Yemeni civilians which caused a disastrous humanitarian crisis.

B) Foreign Powers Involvement in Yemen

In 2015, Saudi Arabia launched airstrikes on the Houthis and their allies in Yemen. The operation, "Decisive Storm", was initiated and supported by a Saudi-led coalition that includes the GCC countries, Morocco, Egypt, Sudan, and Pakistan¹. The Saudi-led coalition created a land, sea, and air barrier around Yemen making it almost impossible for supplies to get in or out, a prolonged Saudi-led blockade has made food too expensive for Yemenis. The Houthis are also blamed for blocking, destroying, or taking aid which Yemenis desperately need it.

In a country of 29 million people, 24 million depend on some kind of humanitarian help according to the U.N. reports². Christophe Boulierac, UNICEF spokesman, said "More than 11 million children in need of humanitarian aid. Nearly every single Yemeni Child"³. Stephen O'Brien, UN Emergency Relief Coordinator, said "This is rapidly becoming the world's worst humanitarian disaster."⁴ The Houthis and Saleh alliance broke down in 2017 after they had fought the Saudi-led forces for three years. In fact Saleh switched sides on

¹ - Stenslie, Stig. "Decisive Storm": Saudi Arabia's attack on the Houthis in Yemen." Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center 1 (2015): 1-3.

² - "Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen Remains the Worst in the World, Warns UN." UN News, 19 Feb. 2019, news.un.org/en/story/2019/02/1032811.

³ - "UNICEF Press Conference: Geert Cappelaere, Regional Director for the Middle East and North Africa, on the Humanitarian Situation of Children in Yemen." UNICEF, www.unicef.org/press-releases/unicef-press-conference-geert-cappelaere-regional-director-middle-east-and-north.

⁴ - Nebehay, Stephanie. "Gulf States Must Donate to Avert Famine in Yemen: U.N." U.S, 24 Apr. 2017, www.reuters.com/article/cnews-us-yemen-security-unidCAKBN17Q1C6-OCATP.

TV saying he wanted to talk to the coalition. Two days later, the Houthis killed him¹.

Today, the Houthis still control Yemen's capital Sanaa and for now they have an upper hand in the war. But Saudi Arabia refers this dominance to the involvement of Iran and its assistance. As the biggest Shiaa power in the region, Iran has openly supported the Houthis but denies backing them militarily. However, Saudi Arabia and its allies insist that Iran have a hand in the fighting especially when its oil facilities were attacked. The U.S. Defense Secretary, Mark Esper said: "It is clear based on detailed exploitation by Saudi, United States and other international investigative teams that the weapons used in the attack were Iranian-produced and not launched from Yemen". He pointed that "All indications are that Iran was responsible for the attack."²

Recently, the conflict has become a proxy war between Saudi Arabia and Iran even though Iran denied its involvement. It is the fact that the two major rivals are backing opposite sides in a foreign war³. So are all other countries in Saudi's coalition in addition to their allies like the United States, France and the United Kingdom who have been supplying them with weapons and logistical support.

The U.S and the U.K are among the prominent powers who contributed to the coalition by providing weapons and technology assistance to the members of coalition; these members are among the top five of the countries who receive US arms sales. Most of these sales are directed for military aircraft and engines in addition to

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¹ - Edroos, F. (2017, December 4). How did Yemen's Houthi-Saleh alliance collapse? Retrieved from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/12/4/how-did-yemens-houthi-saleh-alliance-collapse

² - "Defense Leaders Announce Steps to Deter Further Iranian Malign Behavior." U.S. Department of Defense, 20 Sept. 2019, www.defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/Article/1967422/defense-leaders-announce-steps-to-deter-further-iranian-malign-behavior/.

³ - Sharma, Anu. "Severed Ties Between Iran and Saudi Arabia: A Cold War or a Proxy War of Narratives, Influence and Power." New Delhi: Forum for National Security Studies, 2016.

missiles and bombs which are mainly used in their war in Yemen. Moreover, the US and UK provided Saudi-led coalition with targeting assistance, intelligence, and mid-air refueling. The latter is the most significant contribution during Trump's presidency. In 2017, the US sold over 67 million pounds of fuel and refueled aircraft more than 9000 times besides to offering its military bases in the region for coalition warplanes¹.

Section II: Donald Trump and the Crisis A) The U.S. Strikes in Yemen

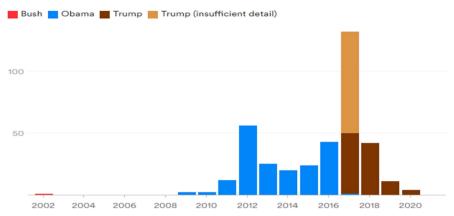
Donald Trump took office on January 20, 2017. As president he inherited his predecessors escalating counterterrorism war in Yemen. Trump at the early days of his presidency began to loosen the curbs on conducting war on terrorism and to launch multiple attacks in Yemen using airstrikes, ground raids, and drone strikes in the country. Indeed, during his first year, the United States launched unprecedented attacks than in any other year except for 2012. It was in 2018 that the military declared that it conducted 131 strikes in 2017. The following column chart, which is adopted from Bergen Peter et al. study entitled *America's Counterterrorism Wars*, shows the overall attacks in Yemen conducted by each administration²:

¹ - Bachman, Jeffrey S. "A 'synchronised attack'on life: the Saudi-led coalition's 'hidden and holistic'genocide in Yemen and the shared responsibility of the US and UK." Third World Quarterly 40.2 (2019): 298-316.

² - Bergen, Peter, et al. "America's Counterterrorism Wars." New America, www.newamerica.org/international-security/reports/americas-counterterrorism-wars/.







As the chart demonstrates, 2017 witnessed heavy attacks on Yemen. As the officials stated that they conducted 131 air strikes. The chart also represents "insufficient detail" about strikes that account for those numbers where the US was unable to identify specific location and date information.

On January 29, 2017, Trump authorized a military operation in Yakla district of Yemen. The raid was a US-UAE military operation with an ostensible goal of gathering information on Al-Qaeda in The Arabian Peninsula and also to target its members¹. It was Trump's first military raid since he took office. Yemen, at the time, was among the countries listed on immigration ban. Despite the killing of three prominent AQAP leaders, the operation, however, was costly. It resulted in killing at least 14 civilians according to the report of

¹ - Eric, Schmitt, and Sanger David E. "Raid in Yemen: Risky From the Start and Costly in the End (Published 2017)." The New York Times - Breaking News, US News, World News and Videos, 2 Feb. 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/02/01/world/middleeast/donald-trump-yemen-commandoraid-questions.html.

Human Rights Watch ⁽¹⁾.in addition to the death of an American commando from the Naval Special Warfare Development Group².

Six weeks into his presidency, precisely on early March 2017, Trump expends his counter-terrorism operations inside Yemen. As part of his administration endeavors to ease the restrictions in the battlefield that had been inherited by the previous administration of Barak Obama, Trump pointed three provinces in Yemen as "areas of active hostilities" in March 2017³. During this period, the armed drones and warplanes conducted more than 30 airstrikes against suspected Al Qaeda positions in the three provinces. These strikes were designed to eliminate the Yemeni countryside as a place and there were no specific threats or plots being tracked in Yemen according to a Pentagon spokesman⁴.

B) Trump's Veto on Yemen War

On April 4th 2019 Congress officially succeeded to pass a historic resolution to end the U.S. hostilities and support for the war in the Republic of Yemen that have not been authorized by Congress. The resolution provides that Congress has the sole power to declare war and it has not declared it in Yemen. Furthermore, it reminds the president that according to section 5 of the War Powers Resolution that whenever United states Armed Forces are engaged in hostilities outside the territory of the United States, its possessions and territories

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¹ - "Yemen: US Should Investigate Civilian Deaths in Raid." Human Rights Watch, 28 Oct. 2020, www.hrw.org/news/2017/02/24/yemen-us-should-investigate-civilian-deaths-raid.

² - Eric, Schmitt, and Sanger David E. "Raid in Yemen: Risky From the Start and Costly in the End (Published 2017)." The New York Times - Breaking News, US News, World News and Videos, 2 Feb. 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/02/01/world/middleeast/donald-trump-yemen-commando-

³ - Bergen, Peter, et al. "America's Counterterrorism Wars." New America, www.newamerica.org/international-security/reports/americas-counterterrorismwars/.

⁴ - Hennigan, W.J. "Trump Steps Up Airstrikes Against Al Qaeda in Yemen; More Ground Raids Could Follow." Los Angeles Times, 4 Mar. 2017, www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-trump-yemen-20170304-story.html.

without a declaration of war or specific statutory authorization, such forces shall be removed by the president if the Congress so directs". Because of the absence of a statutory authorization or any provision of law that explicitly permits providing assistance to the Saudi-led coalition, Congress urged this resolution to remove United States Armed Forces from Yemen¹.

By a vote of 247 to 175 the war powers resolution has got the approval of Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress to direct the president to remove the Armed Forces from Yemen within 30 days. It was, also, provided that the president must submit reports assessing the risks of ceasing assistance². Those bipartisan votes were a clear sign that the Capitol Hill is going increasingly anxious about the cozy relationship between Trump and Saudi allies due to the shock and outrage following the murder of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi besides to the billions of Dollars making their way to Saudi-led forces in Yemen each year. Thus, this measure was viewed as a rebuke to President Trump and as a punishment for Saudi Arabia for the crime of killing Khashoggi.

However, Donald Trump for the second time³ during his mandate to the white house, has wielded his power of veto to block this resolution which aims to end U.S. military assistance to the Saudi coalition fighting Iran back rebels in Yemen. His veto was justified by his America First approach arguing that if the U.S. withdrew from Yemen and it ceased selling weapons and providing assistance to Saudi Arabia, other powers such as Russia and China would have seized the opportunity to take the U.S. place in selling weapons and

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¹ - "Text - S.J.Res.7 - 116th Congress (2019-2020): A Joint Resolution to Direct the Removal of United States Armed Forces from Hostilities in the Republic of Yemen That Have Not Been Authorized by Congress." Congress.gov | Library of Congress, 2 May 2019, www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-joint-resolution/7/text. ² ibid

³ - The first veto of Donald Trump was issued to reject a congressional resolution that would have blocked him from funding his border wall without congressional approval

providing help to the Saudi forces. He warned that breaking the alliance with them would increase the oil prices since Saudi Arabia keeps the prices stable. Donald Trump said that the congressional resolution would harm the U.S. foreign policy as well Washington's bilateral relations: "This resolution is an unnecessary, attempt to weaken my constitutional dangerous endangering the lives of American citizens and brave service members both today and in the future". He argued that the situation in Yemen is different from that of Afghanistan, Syria, and Iraq. He believed that the conflict in Yemen cannot be ended by political documents. Thus, America must provide logistical support to the Arab coalition against the Houthis in order to isolate Iran which supports them in their uprising against the Yemeni government and "peace in Yemen requires a negotiated settlements", he emphasized².

In an attempt to override Trump's veto, Congress failed in this task which requires 67 votes by a 53-45 vote³. Democrats say the U.S. support of Saudi Arabia has to stop. Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, said: "The conflict in Yemen is a horrific humanitarian crisis that challenges the conscience of the entire world. Yet the President has cynically chosen to contravene a bipartisan, bicameral vote of the Congress & perpetuate America's shameful involvement in this heartbreaking crisis." She added that "this conflict must end, now. The house of representatives calls on the President to put peace before politics, and work with us to advance an

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¹ - Johansson, Linnea. "The United States involvement in Yemen: A case study with rational and humanitarian reasoning of the involvement, influence and its objective." (2021).

² - Landler, Mark, and Peter Baker. "Trump Vetoes Measure to Force End to U.S. Involvement in Yemen War (Published 2019)." The New York Times - Breaking News, US News, World News and Videos, 17 Apr. 2019, www.nytimes.com/2019/04/16/us/politics/trump-veto-yemen.html. Accessed 30 Oct. 2021.

³ - "Senate Fails to Override Trump's Veto on Yemen." POLITICO, 2 May 2019, www.politico.com/story/2019/05/02/senate-trump-yemen-1298350.

enduring solution to end this crisis and save lives"¹. The veto was not a subject of criticism only to Democrats, but also for David Miliband, President and CEO of the international Rescue Committee. He described the veto as "morally wrong and strategically wrongheaded" warning that the "Yemeni men, women and children will pay the price for this veto with their safety and in the worst cases with their lives. President Trump has given an effective green light for the war strategy that has created the world's worst humanitarian crisis to continue"².

Conversely, the veto has been welcomed by open arms by the United Arab Emirates. Anwar Gargash, the UAE Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, hailed Trump's veto of a congressional resolution that aims to end U.S. involvement in Yemen war. He described it as "timely and strategic" decision and as "a positive signal" of the U.S. support to the Arab coalition³.

Conclusion

In short, the Arab Spring in the Republic of Yemen began with a surge of anger in 2011 to oust their President Abdullah Saleh and ended in an ongoing civil war with interference of foreign powers. Yemen has been torn apart by multiple foreign powers involved in the conflict from one side, and by multiple internal militant groups from another side. The war have displaced the population and brought them to the brink of famine and characterized the situation in Yemen as the world's worst humanitarian crisis.

¹ - "Pelosi Statement on President Trump Veto of Bipartisan, Bicameral Yemen Resolution." Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, 23 Apr. 2019, pelosi.house.gov/news/press-releases/pelosi-statement-on-president-trump-veto-of-bipartisan-bicameral-yemen.

²- "Trump's Yemen Veto is a Green Light for World's Worst Humanitarian Crisis to Continue." International Rescue Committee (IRC), 17 2019, www.rescue.org/press-release/trumps-yemen-veto-green-light-worlds-worst-humanitarian-crisis-continue.

³ - Staff, Reuters. "UAE Minister Hails Trump's Veto of U.S. Congress Resolution on Yemen." U.S, 17 Apr. 2019, www.reuters.com/article/usa-saudi-yemen-emirates/uae-minister-hails-trumps-veto-of-u-s-congress-resolution-on-yemen-idINKCN1RT03E.

These conflicts have undermined Yemen's central governance and fragmented the country into centers of power in various regions. The gradual destruction and dissolution of Yemen's territorial integrity worried and urged the international community to act. This was pushed by their fears that central government failure could lead to empower terrorist groups and destabilize international shipping lane in the region which offers an opportunity to Iran to threaten the Saudi Arabian border.

The U.S. has conducted a massive airstrikes in Yemen and provided an immense assistance to the Saudi-led coalition especially during Trump presidency. This assistance had been reported by the United Nations agencies and observers as a factor that worsened the situation in Yemen. In an effort to end Trump's involvement, Congress passed a resolution that aims to end the US involvement in the conflict. It was provided in the joint resolution that Congress has the sole power to declare war under article 1 of the United States constitution. Besides to the criticism to Trump because of his introduction of the members of the United States Armed Forces into hostilities between the Houthis and the Saudi-led forces. However, the resolution was vetoed and the congress later failed to override the veto.

United States involvement in the conflict finds its justification in its counterterrorism war against Al-Qaeda in The Arabian Peninsula and against the Islamic State (ISIS), and the terrorists that had been seen as responsible for the 9/11 attacks in America. Trump rebuffed the resolution to maintain U.S. national interests in the Middle East especially that many deals had been made with the Arabian coalition and benefited its economy, namely from Saudi Arabia who became the most prominent client of U.S. arms since the beginning of the war bringing billions of dollars to its economy. Additionally, losing Saudi Arabia, which is among the main suppliers of oil to the United States, could damage its economy and disrupt its agenda in the Middle East. Furthermore, the withdrawal of America from Yemen would give Iran

the chance to exert its influence in the region especially that it aims to transform the Houthis movement into Hizboullah of Yemen, a movement which threatens the stability in the region and conflicts with America interests. Here, we recommend researchers to carry further studies to have a deep insight into the damages caused by the U.S. airstrikes in Yemen. We also advise to investigate the role of Iran in the crisis and the kind of assistance it provides to the conflicting parts.

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