

4.2 Saran

Dalam penelitian ini, penulis telah menjelaskan bagaimana peran Kongres AS dalam menjadi salah satu pihak penentu apakah kebijakan terkait dukungan terhadap Arab Saudi dan koalisinya dalam bentuk penjualan alutsista dan *aerial refueling* bisa dilanjutkan. Selama rentang tahun 2015 sampai dengan 2019, sebagian dari anggota Kongres AS menunjukkan kekhawatiran terkait kelanjutan dukungan ini, mengingat munculnya kasus-kasus pelanggaran HAM yang disebabkan oleh intervensi militer Arab Saudi dan koalisinya terhadap masyarakat Yaman. Hal ini dapat terlihat dari munculnya kubu oposisi dalam badan Kongres AS terkait keberlanjutan dukungan ini.

Penulis menyarankan untuk dapat dilakukan penelitian terkait bagaimana peran Kongres AS dalam menyikapi keberlanjutan dukungan ini di tengah dilema yang dihadapi oleh pemerintah AS antara keberlangsungan agenda geopolitiknya dengan isu-isu kemanusiaan yang muncul.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- ABC News. (2009, December 18). *Obama Ordered U.S. Military Strike on Yemen Terrorists*. Diambil kembali dari ABC News: <https://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/cruise-missiles-strike-yemen/story?id=9375236>
- ACLED. (2024, January 31). *Yemen Conflict Observatory*. Diambil kembali dari ACLED: <https://acleddata.com/yemen-conflict-observatory/actor-profiles/saudi-led-coalition/>
- Al Arabiya. (2015, February 24). *Yemen President Hadi retracts resignation*. Diambil kembali dari Al Arabiya News:

<https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2015/02/24/Yemen-president-retracts-resignation-aide->

Al Dosari, A., & George, M. (2020). Yemen War: An Overview of the Armed Conflict and Role of. *Journal of Politics and Law*; Vol. 13, 61-62.

Al-Dawsari, N. (2024, January 22). *The ideological underpinnings of the Houthis' Red Sea attacks*. Diambil kembali dari Middle East Institute: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/ideological-underpinnings-houthis-red-sea-attacks>

Ali, I. (2016, August 10). *U.S. approves \$1.15 billion sale of tanks, equipment to Saudi Arabia*. Diambil kembali dari Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/world/us-approves-115-billion-sale-of-tanks-equipment-to-saudi-arabia-idUSKCN10K1JR/>

AlJazeera. (2016, Oktober 28). *Saudi Arabia intercepts Houthi missile near Mecca*. Diambil kembali dari AlJazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/28/saudi-arabia-intercepts-houthi-missile-near-mecca>

al-Mujahed, A., & DeYoung, K. (2015, Maret 25). *Saudi Arabia launches air attacks in Yemen*. Diambil kembali dari The Washington Post: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/report-yemens-embattled-president-flees-stronghold-as-rebels-advance/2015/03/25/e0913ae2-d2d5-11e4-a62f-ee745911a4ff_story.html

Alsaafin, L. (2018, June 18). *All you need to know about Yemen's Hudaida offensive*. Diambil kembali dari AlJazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/6/19/all-you-need-to-know-about-yemens-hudaida-offensive>

Alshammari, S., & Daud, S. (2023). The Yemen Conflict's Ripple Effect: Saudi Arabia's Response And Regional Stability. *Migration Letters*, 1292-1305.

Amini, M. (2015, April 19). *Iran's Game in Yemen: Why Tehran Isn't to Blame for the Civil War*. Diambil kembali dari Foreign Affairs: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/2015-04-19/irans-game-yemen>

Amnesty International. (2017, January 16). *Amnesty International response to the Saudi Arabia-led coalition's investigations*. Diambil kembali dari Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.nl/actueel/amnesty-international-response-saudi-arabia-led-coalitions-investigations>

- Armstrong, M. (2020, March 9). *The USA's Biggest Arms Export Partners*. Diambil kembali dari statista: <https://www.statista.com/chart/12205/the-usas-biggest-arms-export-partners/>
- Auble, D. (2022). *Capitalizing on Conflict: How U.S. arm sales fuel the humanitarian crisis in Yemen*. Open Secrets .
- BBC. (2015, March 27). *President Hadi leaves Yemen as Saudi-led raids continue*. Diambil kembali dari BBC News: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-32078817>
- BBC. (2018, Agustus 10). *Yemen war: Saudi-led air strike on bus kills 29 children*. Diambil kembali dari BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-45128367>
- BBC. (2019, September 2019). *Saudi oil attacks: Drones and missiles launched from Iran - US*. Diambil kembali dari BBC: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-49733558>
- Bisaccio, D. (2017, May 20). *U.S. Announces Major Arms Sale to Saudi Arabia*. Diambil kembali dari Defense and Security Monitor: <https://dsm.forecastinternational.com/2017/05/20/us-announces-major-arms-sale-to-saudi/>
- Breuning, M. (2007). Why Study Foreign Policy Comparatively. Dalam M. Breuning, *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction* (hal. 12-13). New York: PALGRAVE MCMILLAN.
- buko1. (2020). *MIA2S Abrams*. Diambil kembali dari Armed Conflicts.
- Carboni, A., & Sulz, M. (2020, December 14). *The Wartime Transformation of AQAP in Yemen*. Diambil kembali dari ACLED: <https://acleddata.com/2020/12/14/the-wartime-transformation-of-aqap-in-yemen/>
- Center for Preventive Action. (2024). *War in Yemen*. Global Conflict Tracker.
- Coats, D. R. (2019). *Worldwide Threat Assessment of The U.S Intelligence Community*. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.
- Coffey, L. (2018, July 2). *Bab el-Mandeb: The U.S Ignores the Most Dangerous Strait in the World at its Peril*. Diambil kembali dari The Heritage Fundation: <https://www.heritage.org/middle-east/commentary/bab-el-mandeb-the-us-ignores-the-most-dangerous-strait-the-world-its-peril>
- Connely, D. (2023). Conceptualization of War and Moral Injury: Implications for Commanders and Therapist. *ÆTHER: A Journal of Strategic Airpower & Spacepower*, 89.

- Cordesman, A. H. (2016). *Saudi Arabia and the United States: Common Interests and Continuing Sources of Tension*. Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Cordesman, A. H. (2016). *Saudi Arabia and the United States: Common Interests and Continuing Sources of Tension*. Center for International&Strategic Studies.
- Council of Europe. (2023). *Council of Europe Committee on Counter-Terrorism (CDCT)*. Diambil kembali dari Council of Europe:
<https://www.coe.int/en/web/counter-terrorism/cdct>
- Dashela, A. (2022, January 22). *Saudi Arabia's Role in Southern Yemen*. Diambil kembali dari Sana'a Center:
<https://sanaacenter.org/publications/analysis/16146>
- Dashela, A. (2022). *The Present and Future of Yemen's Geopolitics amid Local and Regional Conflict*. Istanbul: Al-Sharq Strategic Research.
- Davenport, K. (2017, June 13). *Senate Puts Trump's Saudi Arms Sales Plans on Notice*. Diambil kembali dari Arms Control Association:
<https://www.armscontrol.org/2017-06/senate-puts-trump-saudi-arms-sales-plans-notice>
- Day, S. W. (2020). America's Role in the Yemen Crisis. Dalam S. W. Day, *Global, Regional, and Local Dynamics in the Yemen Crisis* (hal. 54). Springer Nature.
- Day, S. W. (2020). America's Role in the Yemen Crisis. Dalam S. W. Day, *Global, Regional, and Local Dynamics in the Yemen Crisis* (hal. 60-61). Springer Nature.
- Defense Security Cooperation Agency. (2010). *Saudi Arabia - F-15SA Aircraft*. Washington: Defense Security Cooperation Agency.
- Deutsches Welle. (2019, May 14). *Houthi rebels attack Saudi oil pipeline*. Diambil kembali dari DW: <https://www.dw.com/en/houthi-rebels-attack-saudi-oil-pipeline/a-48735568>
- Elbagir, N., Abdelaziz, S., Arvanditis , B., & Smith-Spark, L. (2018, August 17). *Bomb that killed 40 children in Yemen was supplied by the U.S.* Diambil kembali dari CNN: <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/08/17/middleeast/us-saudi-yemen-bus-strike-intl/index.html>
- Embassy of The Republic of Yemen. (t.thn.). *YEMEN-US RELATIONS*. Diambil kembali dari Embassy of The Republic of Yemen:
<https://www.yemenembassy.org/yemen-us-relations/>

- Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2003). *USS Cole Bombing*. Diambil kembali dari Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- Flight Global. (2019). *World Air Forces 2019*. Flight Global.
- Forum on Arms Trade. (2016, September 21). *Proposed US Tank Sale to Saudi Arabia*. Diambil kembali dari Forum on Arms Trade: <https://www.forumarmstrade.org/resource-page---us-tank-sale-to-saudi-arabia.html>
- Friends Committee on National Legislation. (2024). *The Saudi-led War in Yemen: Frequently Asked Questions*. Diambil kembali dari Friends Committee on National Legislation: <https://www fcnl org/issues/middle-east-iran/saudi-led-war-yemen-frequently-asked-questions>
- Gambrell, J. (2018, November 10). *Saudi coalition in Yemen, under pressure, ends US refueling*. Diambil kembali dari PBS News: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/saudi-coalition-in-yemen-under-pressure-ends-us-refueling>
- Gulick, E. V. (1955). *Europe's classical balance of power*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Hamming, T. R. (2018, November 7). *Why Did the Jihadi Cold War in Yemen End?* Diambil kembali dari War on Rocks: <https://warontherocks.com/2018/11/why-did-the-jihadi-cold-war-in-yemen-end/>
- Hartung, W. D. (2018, March). *Trends in Major U.S. Arms Sales in 2017: A Comparison of the Obama and Trump Administrations*. Diambil kembali dari Security Assistance Monitor: <https://securityassistance.org/publications/trends-in-major-u-s-arms-sales-in-2017-a-comparison-of-the-obama-and-trump-administrations/>
- Jones, G. S., Thompson, J., Ngo, D., Bermudez Jr., S. J., & McSorley, B. (2021). *The Iranian and Houthi War against Saudi Arabia*. CSIS.
- Kegley, Jr., C., & Blanton, S. (2010). *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*. Boston, MA: Suzanne Jeans.
- Kendall, E. (2018). *Contemporary Jihadi Militancy in Yemen*. Washington DC: The Middle East Institute.
- Knights, M., & Almeida, A. (2015, August 15). *The Saudi-UAE War Effort in Yemen (Part 2): The Air Campaign*. Diambil kembali dari The Washington Institute for Near East Policy: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/saudi-uae-war-effort-yemen-part-2-air-campaign>

- Lackner, H. (2022, June 23). *Saudi Arabia-Yemen Relations: A Long History of Mistrust*. Diambil kembali dari OrientXXI:
<https://orientxxi.info/magazine/kingdom-of-saudi-arabia-republic-of-yemen-relations-background,5709>
- Laub, Z. (2015, July 15). *International Sanctions on Iran*. Diambil kembali dari Council on Foreign Relations:
<https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/international-sanctions-iran#chapter-title-0-1>
- Levy, I. (2024, January 9). *The “Axis of Resistance” Strategy in the Israel-Hamas War*. Diambil kembali dari Manara Magazine:
https://manaramagazine.org/2024/01/the-axis-of-resistance-strategy-in-the-israel-hamas-war/?elementor-preview=11552&ver=1704823889#_edn2
- Loft, P. (2024). *Iran's influence in the Middle East*. The House of Commons Library.
- Meehan, B. (2015, March 25). *Statement by NSC Spokesperson Bernadette Meehan on the Situation in Yemen*. Diambil kembali dari The White House: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/03/25/statement-nsc-spokesperson-bernadette-meehan-situation-yemen>
- Mehta, A. (2017, June 9). *Revealed: Trump's \$110 billion weapons list for the Saudis*. Diambil kembali dari Defense News:
<https://www.defensenews.com/breaking-news/2017/06/08/revealed-trumps-110-billion-weapons-list-for-the-saudis/>
- Mello, A., & Knights, M. (2016, March 25). *Gulf Coalition Operations in Yemen (Part 1): The Ground War*. Diambil kembali dari The Washington Institute:
<https://web.archive.org/web/20171206195626/http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/gulf-coalition-operations-in-yemen-part-1-the-ground-war>
- Montgomery, M. (2021, Februari 19). *A Timeline of the Yemen Crisis, from the 1990s to the Present*. Diambil kembali dari Arab Center Washington DC:
<https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/a-timeline-of-the-yemen-crisis-from-the-1990s-to-the-present/>
- NATO. (2024, July 25). *Countering terrorism*. Diambil kembali dari NATO:
https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_77646.htm
- Negi, A. (2019, March 19). *Yemen’s Houthis Used Multiple Identities to Advance*. Diambil kembali dari Carnegie Middle East Center:

- <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2019/03/yemens-houthis-used-multiple-identities-to-advance?lang=en¢er=middle-east>
- Nevola, L., & Carboni, A. (2020, January 16). *Yemen's Fractured South: ACLED's Three-Part Series*. Diambil kembali dari ACLED: <https://acleddata.com/2020/01/16/yemens-fractured-south-acleds-three-part-series/>
- Office of The Spokesperson. (2023). *United States-Saudi Arabia Relationship: Eight Decades of Partnership*. U.S Departmmt of State.
- Paraskova, T. (2020, February 18). *Saudi Arabia's Oil Exports Dropped 11% in 2019*. Diambil kembali dari Oil Price: <https://oilprice.com/Energy/Energy-General/Saudi-Arabias-Oil-Exports-Drop-11-In-2019.html>
- Parsi, T. (2019, February 4). *Don't Let Democrats Become the Party of War*. Diambil kembali dari Foreign Policy: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/02/04/dont-let-democrats-become-the-party-of-war-trump-syria-afghanistan-north-korea-pelosi-schumer/>
- Pawlyk, O. (2016, August 9). *U.S. Air Force refueling missions over Yemen grow by 60 percent*. Diambil kembali dari Air Force Times: <https://www.airforcetimes.com/news/your-air-force/2016/08/08/u-s-air-force-refueling-missions-over-yemen-grow-by-60-percent/>
- Porter, T. (2024, January 16). *The Houthi air force has a single fighter jet — an ancient F-5. The US is very much not afraid of it*. Diambil kembali dari Business Insider: <https://www.businessinsider.com/houthi-air-force-is-single-f-5-jet-us-not-very-scared-2024-1>
- PRNewsWire. (2017, May 20). *Raytheon and Saudi Arabia Military Industries announce strategic partnership*. Diambil kembali dari Benzinga: <https://www.benzinga.com/pressreleases/17/05/n9496157/raytheon-and-saudi-arabia-military-industries-announce-strategic-partne>
- Qiao, J., Li, Y., & Huang, M. (2024, February 24). *The Geopolitical Importance of Bab el-Mandeb Strait: A Strategic Gateway to Global Trade*. Diambil kembali dari Middle East Poltical and Economic Institute: <https://mepei.com/the-geopolitical-importance-of-bab-el-mandeb-strait-a-strategic-gateway-to-global-trade/>
- Rand, P. (2018). *S.J.Res.58 - A joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval of the proposed foreign military sale to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia of certain defense articles and services*. United States Congress.
- Riedel, B. (2017, December 18). *Who are the Houthis, and why are wat war with them?* Diambil kembali dari Brookings:

- <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/who-are-the-houthis-and-why-are-we-at-war-with-them/>
- Riedel, B. (2018, October 22). *A brief history of America's troubled relationship with Yemen*. Diambil kembali dari Brookngs:
<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/a-brief-history-of-americas-troubled-relationship-with-yemen/>
- Riedel, B. (2019, August 15). *Saudi Arabia and the civil war within Yemen's civil war*. Diambil kembali dari Brookings:
<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/saudi-arabia-and-the-civil-war-within-yemens-civil-war/>
- Robinson, K. (2024, March 1). *Iran's Support for Houthis: What to Know*. Diambil kembali dari Council on Foreign Relations:
<https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/irans-support-houthis-what-know>
- Rosenau, J. N. (1976). The Study of Foreign Policy. Dalam J. N. Rosenau, *World Politics: An Introduction* (hal. 6). New York: New York: Free Press.
- Rosenberg, C. (2024, July 22). *Trial Guide: The Cole Bombing Case at Guantánamo Bay*. Diambil kembali dari The New York Times:
<https://www.nytimes.com/article/uss-cole-bombing-trial.html>
- Schmitz, C. (2014). Yemen's National Dialogue. *Middle East Institute Policy Papers Series*, 12.
- Schweller, R. L. (2016, May 06). *The Balance of Power in World Politics*. Diambil kembali dari Oxford Research Encyclopedias:
<https://oxfordre.com/politics/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-119>
- Shane, S. (2015, August 27). *The Lessons of Anwar al-Awlaki*. Diambil kembali dari The New York Times:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/30/magazine/the-lessons-of-anwar-al-awlaki.html>
- Sharp, J. M. (2022). *Congress and the War in Yemen: Oversight and Legislation 2015-2019*. Congressional Research Service.
- Snyder, G. H. (1991). Alliance Threats: A Neorealist First Cut. Dalam R. L. Rothstein, *The Evolution of Theory in International Relations* (hal. 83-103). University of South Carolina Press.
- Stepansky, J. (2021, February 7). *US ending aid to Saudi-led forces in Yemen, but questions persist*. Diambil kembali dari AlJazeera:
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/2/7/us-ending-support-to-saudi-led-war-in-yemen-questions-persist>

- Stewart, P. (2018, November 10). *U.S. halting refueling of Saudi-led coalition aircraft in Yemen's war*. Diambil kembali dari Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-yemen-refueling/us-halting-refueling-of-saudi-led-coalition-aircraft-in-yemens-war-idUSKCN1NE2LJ/>
- Suci, P. (2024, July 31). *F-15SA: The F-15 Fighter That Doesn't Fly for the U.S. Air Force*. Diambil kembali dari National Interest: <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/f-15sa-f-15-fighter-doesnt-fly-us-air-force-207864>
- Taliasih, P. (2016). Dukungan Arab Saudi Terhadap Mansur Hadi Dalam Menghadapi Pemberontak Syi'ah Houthi. *Jurnal Internasional Society*, Vol. 3 No. 2, 2016.
- TCA. (2008, May 15). *Technical Cooperation Agreements*. Diambil kembali dari U.S Department of State: /<https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/109344.pdf>
- Terril, W. A. (2013). Drones over Yemen: Weighing Military Benefits and Political Costs. *The US Army War College Quarterly: Parameters Number 1 Volume 43*, 19.
- U.S Department of State. (2023, November 1). *US Relations with Saudi Arabia*. Diambil kembali dari US Department of State: <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-saudi-arabia/>
- U.S Energy Administration Informations. (2024, November 9). *U.S Imports from Saudi Arabia of Crude Oil*. Diambil kembali dari U.S Energy Administration Informations: <https://www.eia.gov/dnav/pet/hist/LeafHandler.ashx?n=pet&s=mcrimussa2&f=a>
- U.S Joint Chiefs of Staff. (2017). Countering Air and Missile Threats. *Joint Publication 3-01*, 9.
- U.S Mission Saudi Arabia. (2022, May 25). *THE UNITED STATES AND THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA: EIGHT DECADES OF SHARED HISTORY, STRONG PARTNERSHIP, AND UNITED VISION*. Diambil kembali dari U.S Embassy&Consulates in Saudi Arabia: <https://sa.usembassy.gov/the-united-states-and-the-kingdom-of-saudi-arabia-eight-decades-of-shared-history-strong-partnership-and-united-vision/>
- United States Government Accountability Office. (2022). *State and DOD Need Better Information on Civilian*. United States Government Accountability Office.

- UNSC. (2015). *Resolution 2216*. United States Security Council.
- Vitali, A. (2017, May 21). *Trump Tells Muslim Leaders: 'Drive Out' the Terrorists*. Diambil kembali dari NBC News: <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/trump-s-first-foreign-trip/trump-speech-muslims-we-are-not-here-lecture-n762631>
- Vittori, J. (2019). *A Mutual Extortion Racket: The Military Industrial Complex and US Foreign Policy – The Cases of Saudi Arabia & The UAE*. TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE & SECURITY PROGRAM.
- Walt, S. M. (2009). *Alliances in a Unipolar World*. Cambridge University Press.
- Weisgerber, M. (2016, August 9). *Saudi Losses in Yemen War Exposed by US Tank Deal*. Diambil kembali dari Defense One: <https://www.defenseone.com/business/2016/08/us-tank-deal-exposes-saudi-losses-yemen-war/130623/>
- Wilson Center. (2022, July 7). *Who are Yemen's Houthis*. Diambil kembali dari Wilson Center: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/who-are-yemens-houthis>
- Yusri, H., & Muslikhati, S. (2018). CAMPUR TANGAN ARAB SAUDI TERHADAP PERANG SAUDARA DI YAMAN TAHUN 2014-2017 . 68.
- Zeidan, A. (2024, September 17). *Houthi Movement*. Diambil kembali dari Encyclopaedia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Houthi-movement>
- Zweiri, M. (2020). *Iran: Approaches to Foreign and Domestic Policy*. Beirut: Arab Scientific Publisher.

LAMPIRAN

LAMPIRAN 1

RIWAYAT HIDUP

Nama : Narendra Pasha Maulana

Tempat, Tanggal Lahir : Surabaya, 23 Nopember 2001