

We affirm. Resolved: The United States should end its arms sales to Saudi Arabia

Our sole contention is Making Peace

Despite the agreed ceasefire, the war in Yemen appears far from over. Trew from last week finds that **But four years on the war shows no signs of ending.** An estimated 60,000 people have been killed in **the fighting** which **has created the world's worst humanitarian crisis** and pushed the country to the brink of famine.¹ _

The underlying reason why is that Saudi Arabia currently believes they can win the war in Yemen. Feltman 2018 finds that **“For three and a half years, Saudi Arabia has insisted, with diminishing credibility, that military victory was imminent;** and for just as long, the United States and other powers have largely turned a blind eye to the intervention's consequences².” This belief has prevented any legitimate peace deal. Bazzi 2018 finds that **“And as long as the coalition believes it can crush the Houthis, there's little incentive for it to negotiate.** Trump, then, has bought into Saudi Arabia's zero-sum calculation: that a military win in Yemen for the kingdom and its allies would be a defeat for Iran, while a negotiated settlement with the Houthis would be a victory for Tehran.”³ _

The only way out of this bind is for Saudi Arabia to take action and end their involvement. Feltman previously cited finds **“There is only one expeditious way for Saudi Arabia to end this counterproductive war, and that is to stop its military campaign unilaterally and challenge the Houthis to respond in kind”**⁴

Voting pro fundamentally changes the power politics in the Middle East and encourages Saudi Arabia to pull out for 2 reasons

First, threatening relations .

The key to forcing Saudi Arabia's hand is threats to US-Saudi relations. Feltman 2018 finds that **“A unilateral Saudi cease-fire will save lives and could change the narrative of the war to focus on these very real threats. But Saudi Arabia is unlikely to make this move unless the United States**

¹Trew 2019 (Ben Trew, Middle East correspondent for the Independent, “Yemen conflict: As truce fails residents in besieged Hodeidah city forced to eat rubbish to survive”, *The Independent*, January 31st 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/yemen-war-hodeidah-houthi-un-residents-eat-rubbish-red-sea-city-a8757491.html>. DOA: January 31st 2019) TG

²Feltman 2018 (JEFFREY FELTMAN is a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He was United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs from July 2012 until April 2018 and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs from 2009 to 2012, “Saudi Arabia, armaments and conflict in the Middle East”, *The Hill*, November 26th 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/yemen/2018-11-26/only-way-end-war-yemen>. DOA: January 30th 2019) TG

³Bazzi 2018 (MOHAMAD BAZZI is an associate professor of journalism at New York University and the former Middle East bureau chief at Newsday, “Most Americans do not support making cuts to programs for people with low incomes”, *Atlantic*, September 30th 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/iran-yemen-saudi-arabia/571465/>. DOA: January 29th 2019) TG

⁴Feltman 2018 (JEFFREY FELTMAN is a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He was United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs from July 2012 until April 2018 and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs from 2009 to 2012, “Saudi Arabia, armaments and conflict in the Middle East”, *The Hill*, November 26th 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/yemen/2018-11-26/only-way-end-war-yemen>. DOA: January 30th 2019) TG

demonstrates to it that continuing the war will come at a cost to the relationship between the two countries”⁵

The way in which we can achieve this shift is voting pro and ending arms sales to the Kingdom

Bazzi previously cited finds **Saudi Arabia and its allies are more likely to accept a peace process if it is clear that the United States won’t support an open-ended war in Yemen** and won’t provide the military assistance required to keep the war apparatus going.⁶ This is key for long term peace, as Feltman concludes that **“But it will create the conditions necessary for peace talks to gain traction** and for Yemeni leaders, supported by regional and international partners, to address the country’s domestic troubles and the growing influence of Iran. **The United States should lead an alliance of powers in pushing Saudi Arabia to move first, rather than letting it drag out talks as the war rages on”⁷**

Second cutting off the supply

Saudi Arabia is dependent on US arms. French explains in 2018 **The Saudi military is highly dependent on advanced American weaponry. American F-15s comprise close to half the Saudi fighter force,** and the Saudi variant of the F-15E Strike Eagle represents a substantial portion of the air force’s striking power. **On land, the Saudi army is dependent almost exclusively on American** M1 Abrams **tanks** and Bradley infantry fighting vehicles. They can’t just waltz over to a different country and transform their armed forces — not without suffering enormous setbacks in readiness and effectiveness during a years-long transition.

This dependency forces them to stick with the US, as French continues

A fundamental reality of arms deals is that a major arms purchase essentially locks the purchasing nation in a dependent posture for training, spare parts, and technical upgrades. Indeed, one of the reasons for engaging in an arms transaction — aside from the economic benefit — is that the transaction gives America enormous power over the national defense of the purchasing nation. You buy our weapons, and we gain power over you. Well, we gain potential power. The question is whether we have the will to exercise that power.⁸

Because of this reliance, Saudi Arabia cannot shift away from the US as an arms seller as Guay 2018 writes

First, once a country is “locked in” to a specific kind of weapons system, such as planes, tanks or naval vessels, the cost to **switch** to a different supplier can be huge. Military personnel must be retrained on new equipment, spare parts need to be replaced, and

⁵Feltman 2018 (JEFFREY FELTMAN is a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He was United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs from July 2012 until April 2018 and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs from 2009 to 2012, “Saudi Arabia, armaments and conflict in the Middle East”, *The Hill*, November 26th 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/yemen/2018-11-26/only-way-end-war-yemen>. DOA: January 30th 2019) TG

⁶Bazzi 2018 (MOHAMAD BAZZI is an associate professor of journalism at New York University and the former Middle East bureau chief at Newsday, “Most Americans do not support making cuts to programs for people with low incomes”, *Atlantic*, September 30th 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/iran-yemen-saudi-arabia/571465/>. DOA: January 29th 2019) TG

⁷Feltman 2018 (JEFFREY FELTMAN is a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He was United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs from July 2012 until April 2018 and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs from 2009 to 2012, “Saudi Arabia, armaments and conflict in the Middle East”, *The Hill*, November 26th 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/yemen/2018-11-26/only-way-end-war-yemen>. DOA: January 30th 2019) TG

⁸French 18 (David French, Senior Writer for the International Review, “Arms Deals Give Leverage to America, Not the Saudis.” National Review. Oct 18 2018. <https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/arms-deals-give-america-leverage-not-the-saudis/> DOA 1/17/18)KJR

operational changes may be necessary. **After being so reliant on U.S. weapons systems for decades, the transition costs to buy from another country could be prohibitive even for oil-rich Saudi Arabia.**⁹

For this reason, voting pro and cutting off arms sales forces Saudi Arabia to pull out of Yemen. Ultimately, Kaplan 2018 writes that *Trump claimed, **the Saudis could go elsewhere for weapons—send billions of dollars to other countries—if Congress banned all deals. But this isn't true, at least not in the short term. They need spare parts and ammunition for the American weapons already in their arsenals.** Those items don't cost much money, but **if they were cut off, the Saudis' brutal war in Yemen would grind to a halt**—which is what many in Congress, and elsewhere, would like to see happen. *It would take many months, even years, for the Saudis to establish new relations with another supplier and receive parts, training, and infrastructure.*¹⁰*

For these two reasons, cutting off arms sales can lead to a resolution of the conflict in Yemen

There are 3 impacts

1 Starvation

Saudi Arabian intervention in Yemen has blocked any effort to help the Yemeni people. Wezeman 2018 finds that “Since the spring of 2015, **Saudi** Arabia has been leading a coalition of states in a military intervention against rebel forces in Yemen. The **intervention has involved airstrikes, ground operations and an aerial and naval blockade of Yemen.** Instead of a quick victory or resolution to the conflict, fighting has continued and the warring parties have been accused of violations of international humanitarian law. United Nations bodies and non-governmental organizations have accused Saudi Arabia of widespread and systematic attacks on civilian targets. The conflict in Yemen has caused tens of thousands of casualties and the situation there is currently considered to be the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. **The fighting—and the blockade in particular—has disrupted imports of food, fuel and medical supplies.**”¹¹. Without voting pro and removing US and Saudi Arabian influence from the conflict, allowing this aid to go through, people will continue to starve, because as a result of Saudi Arabia’s role in the conflict, Taylor 2017 finds **“Yemen would expect to see about 50,000 malnourished children under the age of five die from hunger or disease this year – an average of 130 a day, or one child every 10 minutes.”**¹² Palmer 2018

⁹Guay 2018 (Terrence Guay is a Clinical Professor of International Business, Pennsylvania State University. October 19th, 2018. “Arms sales to Saudi Arabia give Trump all the leverage he needs in Khashoggi affair.” *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/arms-sales-to-saudi-arabia-give-trump-all-the-leverage-he-needs-in-khashoggi-affair-104998> DOA 01/07/19) GSH

¹⁰Kaplan, 2018 (Fred Kaplan is the author of *Dark Territory: The Secret History of Cyber War*. “Trump’s Saudi Delusions.” October 12th, 2018. Slate. <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/10/khashoggi-trump-defends-saudi-arms-sales.html> DOA 01/17/19) GSH

¹¹Wezeman 2018 (Pieter D. Wezeman is a Senior Researcher with the SIPRI Arms Transfers and Military Expenditure Programme, “Saudi Arabia, armaments and conflict in the Middle East”, *The Hill*, December 14th 2018, <https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-background/2018/saudi-arabia-armaments-and-conflict-middle-east>. DOA: January 29th 2019) TG

¹²Taylor and Janati 2017 (Erin Taylor and Negin Janati at the Save the Children Foundation, “YEMEN: Hunger and Disease Could Kill at Least 50,000 Children This Year, More if Aid Blockade Continues”, *Save the Children*, November 15th 2017, <https://www.savethechildren.org/us/about-us/media-and-news/2017-press-releases/yemen--hunger-and-disease-could-kill-at-least-50-000-children-th>. DOA: February 9th 2019) TG

further that there are “*The numbers from the United Nations are shocking; **10 million Yemenis facing hunger this winter.***”

2 Continued casualties

The war in Yemen has been devastating Jones 2018 finds “11 December 2018: As UN-led peace talks proceed in Stockholm and a landmark bill to end US support for the Saudi-backed coalition works its way through Congress, the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) now estimates that **over 60,000 people have been killed in the Yemen War since just 2016.**”¹³ Without voting pro and pushing the conflict towards peace, people will continue to die, as Cockburn 2018 finds Oxfam said this week, **a civilian is being killed every three hours in the fighting,** and between 1 August and 15 October, 575 civilians were killed in the port city, including 136 children and 63 women.¹⁴

3 Moral imperative

The US sets itself out to be a supporter of human rights, especially in terms of arms trade. Stohl 2016 finds that “**The United States holds an estimable position and a certain moral authority when it comes to the global arms trade** – in both its robust (and restrictive) arms transfer control system and its attentiveness to potential risks – and should not negate its core principles when confronted with potential competition.”¹⁵ However, our arms sales make us complicit in a genocide. Bachman 2018 finds that *As a scholar of genocide and human rights, I believe **the destruction brought about by these attacks combined with the blockade amounts to genocide.*** Based on my research, to be published in an upcoming issue of Third World Quarterly, I believe **the coalition would not be capable of committing this crime without the material and logistical support of both the Obama and Trump administrations.**¹⁶ Because of this complicity, we have a moral obligation to vote pro and end arms sales, as Bachman concludes that *As a genocide scholar, I believe that **under international law, the U.S. shares responsibility with the coalition for genocide in Yemen.*** What does this mean? It means that **the U.S. must cease and desist all activities that facilitate genocide in Yemen. This would include stopping all sales of weapons** and ending logistical support for coalition action.¹⁷

¹³Jones 2018 (Sam Jones, Communications officer for the ACLED, Armed Conflict Location Event and Data Project, 11 December 2018, “PRESS RELEASE: YEMEN WAR DEATH TOLL NOW EXCEEDS 60,000 ACCORDING TO LATEST ACLED DATA”, ACLED, <https://www.acleddata.com/2018/12/11/press-release-yemen-war-death-toll-now-exceeds-60000-according-to-latest-acled-data/>, 01/08/19) ERA

¹⁴Cockburn 2018 (Patrick Cockburn, writer for the Independent, 26 October 2018, “The Yemen Death Toll is Five Times Higher than we Think—We can’t Shrug Off Our Responsibilities any longer”, The Independent, <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/yemen-war-death-toll-saudi-arabia-allies-how-many-killed-responsibility-a8603326.html>, 01/08/19) ERA

¹⁵Stohl and Dick 2016 (Rachel Stohl is director and Shannon Dick is research associate of the Conventional Defense program at the Stimson Center, “Block U.S. Arms Sales to Stop Indiscriminate Bombing in Yemen”, *Breaking Defense*, September 16th 2016, <https://breakingdefense.com/2016/09/block-u-s-arms-sales-to-stop-indiscriminate-bombing-in-yemen/>. DOA: February 4th 2019) TG

¹⁶Bachman 2018 (Jeff Bachman, Professorial Lecturer in Human Rights; Director, Ethics, Peace, and Human Rights MA Program, American University School of International Service, 11-26-2018, “US complicity in the Saudi-led genocide in Yemen spans Obama, Trump administrations,” Conversation, <https://theconversation.com/us-complicity-in-the-saudi-led-genocide-in-yemen-spans-obama-trump-administrations-106896>) JJ

¹⁷Bachman 2018 (Jeff Bachman, Professorial Lecturer in Human Rights; Director, Ethics, Peace, and Human Rights MA Program, American University School of International Service, 11-26-2018, “US complicity in the Saudi-led genocide in Yemen spans Obama, Trump administrations,” Conversation, <https://theconversation.com/us-complicity-in-the-saudi-led-genocide-in-yemen-spans-obama-trump-administrations-106896>) JJ

Arms sales make us complicit in the Yemen disaster

Purzycki 19 (Michael Purzycki, journalist, "The United States and Saudi Arabia: Is Partnership Necessary?," Charged Affairs,

<https://chargedaffairs.org/the-united-states-and-saudi-arabia-is-partnership-necessary/> DoA 2/6/19) JJ

Events over the past decade, however, have fundamentally shifted America's role in the global oil sector. Thanks largely to hydraulic fracturing ("fracking"), the United States has become [the world's largest producer](#) of crude oil. This makes it difficult to justify the resources America devotes to protecting oil half a world away. In September 2018, Securing America's Future Energy (SAFE) [compared six estimates](#) by economic, scientific, and security experts of how much the U.S. military spends protecting Gulf oil supplies. The estimates averaged \$81 billion in 2017. Even as [approximately one-third](#) of all oil transported by sea flows through the Strait of Hormuz, an America less dependent on Middle Eastern oil can afford to place the flow of that oil lower on its list of priorities. Finally, there is Mohammad bin Salman's ruthless authoritarianism. The Crown Prince has earned plaudits for his efforts to modernize the Kingdom, from [diversifying the Saudi economy to lifting the country's ban on women driving cars](#). But even before allegedly ordering Khashoggi's death, there were signs that MBS was wielding power in a heavy-handed manner. In November 2017, his government [detained Lebanese](#) Prime Minister Saad Hariri and attempted to force him to resign for being, in the words of the New York Times, "not sufficiently obedient to his Saudi patrons." That same month, more than 200 Saudis, including princes, government ministers, and businessmen, [were arrested](#) on corruption charges, a move that to some observers seemed more like MBS undermining possible rivals. And since May 2018, [at least a dozen](#) women's rights activists, some of whom had campaigned for the right to drive, have been arrested. In an [October 16 column](#), the New York Times' Thomas L. Friedman declared, "I believe that the promise of M.B.S., however much you did or did not think he could bring...reform, is finished." *Arms sales to Saudi Arabia make the United States complicit in a humanitarian catastrophe, with no gain for the United States.* America's abundance of domestic oil means it can spend less protecting Gulf oil. And MBS's unnecessary brutality makes a mockery of his image as a reformer. For these reasons, the United States must ask itself whether it truly needs to consider Saudi Arabia a partner.

Unfortunately, Saudi Arabia has not met this standard, as their campaign has devastated Yemen. As an ethical policy maker, you have an obligation to vote pro and protect human rights, or else Stohl

concludes that **Without a concerted and public effort to delay future sales, the United States effectively legitimizes the Saudi government's actions**¹⁸

No end in sight to the conflict, as the Saudi coalition has accused Houthis of violating ceasefire

Trew 2019 (Ben Trew, Middle East correspondent for the Independent, "Yemen conflict: As truce fails residents in besieged Hodeidah city forced to eat rubbish to survive", *The Independent*, January 31st 2019,

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/yemen-war-hodeidah-houthi-un-residents-eat-rubbish-red-sea-city-a8757491.html>. DOA: January 31st 2019) TG

But four years on the war shows no signs of ending. An estimated 60,000 people have been killed in the fighting which has created the world's worst humanitarian crisis and pushed the country to the brink of famine. Anwar Gargash, the UAE's foreign minister, on Wednesday accused the Houthis of committing over 1,000 violations of the Stockholm agreement. He warned the coalition would respond with greater force. "Still no Houthi withdrawal from Hodeidah city ports. Militia blocking aid convoys from leaving Hodeidah and barring ships from entering ports. A real impediment to the peace process," he wrote. "Coalition prepared to use more calibrated force to prod Houthi compliance with Stockholm agreement," he added.

¹⁸Stohl and Dick 2016 (Rachel Stohl is director and Shannon Dick is research associate of the Conventional Defense program at the Stimson Center, "Block U.S. Arms Sales to Stop Indiscriminate Bombing in Yemen", *Breaking Defense*, September 16th 2016, <https://breakingdefense.com/2016/09/block-u-s-arms-sales-to-stop-indiscriminate-bombing-in-yemen/>. DOA: February 4th 2019) TG

The war in Yemen is a disaster, and peace talks will drag on unless the US takes action to force Saudi Arabia's hand

Feltman 2018 (JEFFREY FELTMAN is a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He was United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs from July 2012 until April 2018 and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs from 2009 to 2012, "Saudi Arabia, armaments and conflict in the Middle East", *The Hill*, November 26th 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/yemen/2018-11-26/only-way-end-war-yemen>.

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The war in Yemen has been a disaster for U.S. interests, for Saudi interests, and above all for the Yemeni people. It has sparked the world's largest humanitarian catastrophe: tens of thousands of civilians have been killed and 14 million people are at risk of starvation. It has been a strategic blunder as well, producing the exact results the Saudi-led military campaign was designed to prevent. The Houthis are more militarily sophisticated and better able to strike beyond Yemen's borders than they were at the start of the war; Iranian influence has expanded; and the relationship between the Houthis and Lebanon's Hezbollah has only deepened. Although the United Arab Emirates has waged an effective battle against al Qaeda in Yemen, terrorism remains a grave threat. For three and a half years, Saudi Arabia has insisted, with diminishing credibility, that military victory was imminent; and for just as long, the United States and other powers have largely turned a blind eye to the intervention's consequences. But the murder of the journalist Jamal Khashoggi at the Saudi consulate in Istanbul in October has focused the world's attention on the kingdom's reckless conduct—including its disastrous war in Yemen. However belatedly, in October 2018, Mike Pompeo, U.S. secretary of state, and James Mattis, U.S. secretary of defense, both called for an end to the fighting and publicly expressed support for peace talks proposed by the United Nations. *But to bring a complex war such as Yemen's to a cease-fire through talks will take time, during which the country's agony and the strategic crisis in the Gulf will only deepen. There is only one expeditious way for Saudi Arabia to end this counterproductive war, and that is to stop its military campaign unilaterally and challenge the Houthis to respond in kind. Doing so will not end all of the fighting inside Yemen. But it will create the conditions necessary for peace talks to gain traction and for Yemeni leaders, supported by regional and international partners, to address the country's domestic troubles and the growing influence of Iran. The United States should lead an alliance of powers in pushing Saudi Arabia to move first, rather than letting it drag out talks as the war rages on.*

With US support, Saudi Arabia thinks they can get a quick win, preventing peace talks

Bazzi 2018 (MOHAMAD BAZZI is an associate professor of journalism at New York University and the former Middle East bureau chief at Newsday, “Most Americans do not support making cuts to programs for people with low incomes”, *Atlantic*, September 30th 2018,

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/iran-yemen-saudi-arabia/571465/>. DOA: January 29th 2019) TG

By accepting the coalition’s cosmetic attempts to minimize civilian casualties, the Trump administration is signaling to Saudi and Emirati leaders its apparent belief that a clear military victory in Yemen remains possible. And as long as the coalition believes it can crush the Houthis, there’s little incentive for it to negotiate. Trump, then, has bought into Saudi Arabia’s zero-sum calculation: that a military win in Yemen for the kingdom and its allies would be a defeat for Iran, while a negotiated settlement with the Houthis would be a victory for Tehran. Blinded by its obsession with Iran, the Trump administration is perpetuating an unwinnable war and undermining the likelihood of a political settlement. This current phase of the conflict in Yemen began in September 2014, when the Houthis, a group of Shia rebels allied with Yemen’s ousted dictator Ali Abdullah Saleh, forced most of President Abdu Rabbu Mansour Hadi’s government to flee to Saudi Arabia, and threatened to take over much of the country. *In 2015, the Saudi-led coalition went to war in Yemen to restore Hadi to power and roll back the Houthis. Since then, despite thousands of air strikes and an air and naval blockade at a cost of some \$5 to \$6 billion a month for Riyadh, the Saudi-led alliance failed to dislodge the Houthis from the capital, Sanaa.*

The war in Yemen is a disaster, and peace talks will drag on unless the US takes action to force Saudi Arabia's hand

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The conflict won't go away anytime soon, but Saudi Arabia pulling back could push towards a solution
Feltman 2018 (JEFFREY FELTMAN is a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He was United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs from July 2012 until April 2018 and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs from 2009 to 2012, "Saudi Arabia, armaments and conflict in the Middle East", *The Hill*, November 26th 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/yemen/2018-11-26/only-way-end-war-yemen>. DOA: January 30th 2019) TG

After three and a half years, the Saudi-led coalition's goals remain elusive, while conditions on the ground deteriorate: the humanitarian situation is worsening, disease is spreading, the Houthis are more entrenched than ever, and Iranian influence has grown. Yemen desperately needs good-faith negotiations on long-term political and security arrangements. Support from Pompeo and Mattis for UN-sponsored political talks is a welcome development. *But negotiations will not outpace the coming humanitarian calamity or distract the world from Saudi Arabia's questionable conduct in this war.* The security risks to Saudi Arabia from an increasingly sophisticated Hezbollah-like militia and growing Iranian military presence just across the Saudi border are clear and become more acute as the war continues. ***A unilateral Saudi cease-fire will save lives and could change the narrative of the war to focus on these very real threats. But Saudi Arabia is unlikely to make this move unless the United States demonstrates to it that continuing the war will come at a cost to the relationship between the two countries***

Saudi Arabia would be more likely to enter talks if US withdrew support

Bazzi 2018 (MOHAMAD BAZZI is an associate professor of journalism at New York University and the former Middle East bureau chief at Newsday, “Most Americans do not support making cuts to programs for people with low incomes”, *Atlantic*, September 30th 2018,

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/09/iran-yemen-saudi-arabia/571465/>. DOA: January 29th 2019) TG

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Selling arms to Saudi Arabia gives us significant leverage over the Saudis

French 18(David French, Senior Writer for the International Review, "Arms Deals Give Leverage to America, Not the Saudis." National Review. Oct 18 2018.

<https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/arms-deals-give-america-leverage-not-the-saudis/> DOA 1/17/18)KJR

Of all the talking points justifying American inaction in response to the indescribably brutal murder of Jamal Khashoggi, perhaps the worst is *the idea that the Saudis somehow have leverage over America because of their large-scale arms deals. The truth is exactly the reverse. The Saudi military is highly dependent on advanced American weaponry.* American F-15s comprise close to half the Saudi fighter force, and the Saudi variant of the F-15E Strike Eagle represents a substantial portion of the air force's striking power. On land, the Saudi army is dependent almost exclusively on American M1 Abrams tanks and Bradley infantry fighting vehicles. They can't just waltz over to a different country and transform their armed forces — not without suffering enormous setbacks in readiness and effectiveness during a years-long transition. *A fundamental reality of arms deals is that a major arms purchase essentially locks the purchasing nation in a dependent posture for training, spare parts, and technical upgrades. Indeed, one of the reasons for engaging in an arms transaction — aside from the economic benefit — is that the transaction gives America enormous power over the national defense of the purchasing nation. You buy our weapons, and we gain power over you. Well, we gain potential power. The question is whether we have the will to exercise that power.*

Arms sales to Saudi Arabia give Trump all the leverage he needs in Khashoggi affair

Guay 2018 (Terrence Guay is a Clinical Professor of International Business, Pennsylvania State University. October 19th, 2018. "Arms sales to Saudi Arabia give Trump all the leverage he needs in Khashoggi affair." *The Conversation*.

<https://theconversation.com/arms-sales-to-saudi-arabia-give-trump-all-the-leverage-he-needs-in-khashoggi-affair-104998> DOA 01/07/19) GSH

*While it's true that Russia and China are [indeed major exporters](#) of armaments, the claim that U.S. weapons can easily be replaced by other suppliers is not – at least not in the short term. First, once a country is "locked in" to a specific kind of weapons system, such as planes, tanks or naval vessels, [the cost to switch](#) to a different supplier can be huge. Military personnel must be retrained on new equipment, spare parts need to be replaced, and operational changes may be necessary. *After being so reliant on U.S. weapons systems for decades, the [transition costs](#) to buy from another country could be prohibitive even for oil-rich Saudi Arabia.* The second problem with Trump's argument is that *armaments from Russia, China or elsewhere are simply [not as](#) [sophisticated as](#) U.S. weapons, which is why they are usually cheaper – though the quality gap is quickly decreasing. To maintain its military superiority in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia has opted to purchase virtually all of its weapons from American and European companies. That is why the U.S. has significant leverage in this aspect of the relationship. Any [Saudi threat](#) to retaliate against a ban on U.S. arms sales by buying weapons from countries that have not raised concerns about the Khashoggi disappearance would not be credible. And is probably why, despite worries in the White House, such a threat has not yet been made.**

Saudi Arabia remains reliant on the U.S. to buy weapons

Kessler 2018 (Glenn Kessler, Kessler has covered foreign policy, economic policy, the White House, Congress, politics, airline safety and Wall Street. Published October 11, 2018. "Trump's \$110 billion in arms sales to Saudi Arabia: still fake," *Washington Post*,

https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/11/trumps-billion-arms-sales-saudi-arabia-still-fake/?utm_term=.db632ec66c47. DOA January 7 2019.) GH

In essence, this is a wish list. It's worth recalling that Obama offered Saudi Arabia \$115 billion in deals, about half of which resulted in actual sales. Trump raised the possibility that **the Saudis might turn to Russia or China for its hardware. The Saudis**

are still considering purchasing a Russian S-400 air-defense system, but Reidel said the kingdom is too invested in U.S. equipment – which means the U.S. has significant leverage if it wanted to punish the Saudis over the Khashoggi matte **"It would take decades to transition from U.S. and U.K. aircraft, for example, to Russian or Chinese aircraft," Reidel said. "Same is true for tanks, communications equipment and other hi-tech equipment. And the Saudis don't have time given they are bogged down in Yemen."**

Contrary to what Trump says, ending the arms race would end the brutal war in Yemen

Kaplan, 2018 (Fred Kaplan is the author of *Dark Territory: The Secret History of Cyber War*. “Trump’s Saudi Delusions.” October 12th, 2018. Slate.

<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/10/khashoggi-trump-defends-saudi-arms-sales.html> DOA 01/17/19) GSH

[In 2017](#), acting on contracts signed before Trump was president, the Saudis spent about \$10 billion on arms imports—\$6 billion from the United States, \$2.3 billion from Britain, and almost all of the rest from other European countries. Finally, just saying what Trump said—implying that the Saudis held all the cards and he held none—no doubt sent a message to Saudi rulers that the president of the United States wasn’t going to hold them responsible, wasn’t going to take any severe action, and ultimately didn’t much care what happened. (This was likely the calculation before Khashoggi was nabbed; it is hard to imagine these rulers would have put this plan in motion if they thought the president would disapprove.) After all, *Trump claimed, the Saudis could go elsewhere for weapons—send billions of dollars to other countries—if Congress banned all deals. But this isn’t true*, at least not in the short term. *They need spare parts and ammunition for the American weapons already in their arsenals. Those items don’t cost much money, but if they were cut off, the Saudis’ brutal war in Yemen would grind to a halt*—which is what many in Congress, and elsewhere, would like to see happen. *It would take many months, even years, for the Saudis to establish new relations with another supplier and receive parts, training, and infrastructure.*

Fighting in Yemen prevents citizens access to basic necessities

Wezeman 2018 (Pieter D. Wezeman is a Senior Researcher with the SIPRI Arms Transfers and Military Expenditure Programme, “Saudi Arabia, armaments and conflict in the Middle East”, *The Hill*, December 14th 2018,

<https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-background/2018/saudi-arabia-armaments-and-conflict-middle-east>. DOA: January 29th 2019) TG

Since the spring of 2015, Saudi Arabia has been leading a coalition of states in a military intervention against rebel forces in Yemen. The intervention has involved airstrikes, ground operations and an aerial and naval blockade of Yemen. Instead of a quick victory or resolution to the conflict, fighting has continued and the warring parties have been accused of violations of international humanitarian law.

United Nations bodies and non-governmental organizations have accused Saudi Arabia of widespread and systematic attacks on civilian targets. The conflict in Yemen has caused tens of thousands of casualties and the situation there is currently considered to be the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. The fighting—and the blockade in particular—has disrupted imports of food, fuel and medical supplies.

U.S. arms sold to Saudis are killing civilians in Yemen, and causing their economic collapse and famine

Zavis and Ahmed, 2017 (Alexandra Zavis and Zayd Ahmed. "U.S. arms sold to Saudis are killing civilians in Yemen. Now the Trump administration is set to sell them more." June 13th, 2017. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-yemen-us-arms-2017-story.html> DOA 01/07/19) GSH

"*With all the arms they have given to Saudi Arabia, the Saudis have achieved nothing* after more than two years but *killing civilians and destroying infrastructure*," he complained bitterly. The State Department says the arms package, announced during Trump's [recent visit to the Saudi capital, Riyadh](#), will help a key Middle East ally defend itself against "malign Iranian influence" and contribute to counter-terrorism operations across the region. In addition to replenishing the kingdom's dwindling supply of precision-guided bombs, the administration is offering howitzer artillery pieces, Blackhawk helicopters and the antimissile system known as Terminal High Altitude Area Defense, or THAAD. *The Saudis say they need the weaponry to defend themselves against Yemeni rebels, who they charge are being armed by Shiite Muslim Iran in a bid to increase its clout against the region's Sunni monarchies.* The rebels, known as Houthis, surged out of their northern strongholds in September 2014 and seized control of Yemen's capital with the help of rogue elements of the armed forces loyal to the country's deposed strongman, Ali Abdullah Saleh. Six months later, Saudi Arabia assembled a military coalition to restore power to the internationally recognized president, Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi, who set up a parallel government in Yemen's southern port city of Aden. The Houthis have lobbed thousands of mortar shells and rockets into Saudi territory in response to the coalition's campaign and claimed to have aimed a ballistic missile at Riyadh the day before Trump arrived. (The strike was not successful.) "We don't want people to think we are purchasing weapons to have influence," said a high-ranking Saudi defense official who was not authorized to discuss the deal publicly. "We respect the sovereignty of countries. But if there is a threat to our borders, we need to defend ourselves." Although all sides in the war stand accused of abuses, United Nations officials attribute most of the heavy civilian toll to the air campaign waged by Saudi Arabia and its Persian Gulf allies. The *fighting has killed more than 10,000 people, destroyed vital infrastructure and pushed* what was already *the Arab world's poorest nation to the brink of a [humanitarian catastrophe](#).* *Nearly a quarter of Yemen's 27 million people are "one step away from famine,"* U.N. humanitarian chief Stephen O'Brien told the Security Council last month. *The economy is collapsing; government employees have not been paid for months; prices for [food and fuel](#) have skyrocketed; half the country's health facilities are closed and a raging cholera epidemic is killing hundreds. "This is not an unforeseen or coincidental result of forces beyond our control,"* O'Brien said. *"It is a direct consequence of actions of the parties and supporters of the conflict."*

ACLED 2018 (ACLED, Armed Conflict Location Event and Data Project, 11 December 2018, “PRESS RELEASE: YEMEN WAR DEATH TOLL NOW EXCEEDS 60,000 ACCORDING TO LATEST ACLED DATA”, ACLED, <https://www.acleddata.com/2018/12/11/press-release-yemen-war-death-toll-now-exceeds-60000-according-to-latest-acled-data/>, 01/08/19) ERA

11 December 2018: As UN-led peace talks proceed in Stockholm and a landmark bill to end US support for the Saudi-backed coalition works its way through Congress, the [Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project \(ACLED\)](#) now estimates that **over 60,000 people have been killed in the Yemen War since just 2016. According to data collected and analyzed by ACLED, reported fatalities since the beginning of 2016 are more than six times higher than the frequently cited UN figure of 10,000.** ACLED’s estimate only includes deaths directly caused by violence. Complementary estimates produced by organizations like [Save the Children](#) indicate that tens of thousands more may have died from other causes linked to the conflict, such as starvation and disease.

Saudi Forces Cause Civilian Death Cockburn 2018 (Patrick Cockburn, writer for the Independent, 26 October 2018, “The Yemen Death Toll is Five Times Higher than we Think—We can’t Shrug Off Our Responsibilities any longer”, The Independent,

<https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/yemen-war-death-toll-saudi-arabia-allies-how-many-killed-responsibility-a8603326.html>, 01/08/19). ERA

Casualties are rising by the day as Saudi and UAE-directed forces try to cut off Hodeidah — the last port controlled by the Houthi rebels — from the capital, Sanaa. Oxfam said this week, a civilian is being killed every three hours in the fighting, and between 1 August and 15 October, 575 civilians were killed in the port city, including 136 children and 63 women. An airstrike on Wednesday killed 16 civilians in a vegetable market in Hodeidah, and other strikes this month have hit two buses at a Houthi-held checkpoint, killing 15 civilians, including four children.

The US is a moral authority- we should not be complicit in rights violations

Stohl and Dick 2016 (Rachel Stohl is director and Shannon Dick is research associate of the Conventional Defense program at the Stimson Center, “Block U.S. Arms Sales to Stop Indiscriminate Bombing in Yemen”, *Breaking Defense*, September 16th 2016, <https://breakingdefense.com/2016/09/block-u-s-arms-sales-to-stop-indiscriminate-bombing-in-yemen/>. DOA: February 4th 2019) TG

The 18-month Saudi-led campaign in Yemen is believed to have resulted in over 3,800 civilian deaths and more than 6,700 injuries. US-manufactured weapons are being used to carry out the Saudi-led bombing campaign in Yemen, and strikes have hit civilian targets, destroying schools, markets, hospitals, and factories. The United States is Saudi Arabia’s largest weapons supplier and it has provided logistical and intelligence support to the kingdom, along with billions of dollars in heavy conventional weapons. The Obama administration has prioritized Saudi Arabia’s special relationship with the United States and has requested a nominal \$10,000 per year for International Military Education and Training (IMET) assistance so that Saudi Arabia can remain eligible for discounts on Foreign Military Sales. *Since 2009 alone, the administration has authorized over \$115 billion in sales of major conventional weapons to the Kingdom –including munitions, tanks, and fighter jets.* While proponents of continued sales to Saudi Arabia provide numerous justifications, many of those do not hold up. Indeed, the oft-heard refrain, “if we don’t sell, someone else will” is used repeatedly – but just because we can doesn’t mean we should. *Complicity in contributing to human rights abuses and a massive humanitarian crisis is not in the U.S. interest*, even if the U.S. could lose sales (itself a specious argument). If the Chinese or Russians want to sell weapons that they know will be used to kill civilians, let them. *The United States holds an estimable position and a certain moral authority when it comes to the global arms trade – in both its robust (and restrictive) arms transfer control system and its attentiveness to potential risks – and should not negate its core principles when confronted with potential competition.*

Military cooperation not only makes the US complicit in genocide, it has made the genocide possible in the first place. We are obligated to stop selling arms.

Bachman 2018 (Jeff Bachman, Professorial Lecturer in Human Rights; Director, Ethics, Peace, and Human Rights MA Program, American University School of International Service, 11-26-2018, "US complicity in the Saudi-led genocide in Yemen spans Obama, Trump administrations," Conversation, <https://theconversation.com/us-complicity-in-the-saudi-led-genocide-in-yemen-spans-obama-trump-administrations-106896>) JJ

Tens of thousands of Yemenis have also died from causes related to the war. According to Save the Children, an [estimated](#) 85,000 children under five may have died since 2015, with more than [50,000 child deaths](#) in 2017 alone from hunger and related causes. Coalition actions in Yemen amount to nothing short of what [Raphael Lemkin, the individual who coined the term "genocide,"](#) referred to as a ["synchronized attack on different aspects of life."](#) The US contribution *The coalition's genocide in Yemen would not be possible without the complicity of the U.S.* This has been a bipartisan presidential effort, covering both [the Obama](#) and [Trump administrations](#). *U.S. arms are being used to kill Yemenis and destroy their country.* [In 2016](#), well after the coalition began its genocidal assault on Yemen, four of the top five recipients of U.S. arms sales were members of the coalition. The U.S. has also provided the coalition with logistical support, including mid-air refueling, targeting advice and support, intelligence, expedited munitions resupply and maintenance. Other than the sale of arms, perhaps the most significant contribution to the coalition's ability to commit genocide in Yemen has been the provision of fuel and mid-air refueling of coalition warplanes, [which was halted in early November 2018](#). By the middle of 2017, the U.S. had delivered over 67 million pounds of fuel to the coalition and refueled coalition aircraft more than 9,000 times. Shared responsibility for genocide As a genocide scholar, I believe that *under [international law](#), the U.S. shares responsibility with the coalition for genocide in Yemen.* What does *this* mean? *It means that the U.S. must cease and desist all activities that facilitate genocide in Yemen. This would include stopping all sales of weapons and ending logistical support for coalition action.* In an ideal world, one in which all states are equally subjects before international law, the U.S. would also seek an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice regarding what restitution it owes the people of Yemen for its role in the coalition's genocide. Similarly, the U.S. would request an International Criminal Court investigation into individual culpability of U.S. officials in both the Obama and Trump administrations for their role in facilitating the crimes committed in Yemen. Of course, this is not an ideal world. The U.S. recognizes neither the International Court of Justice's [authority](#) to judge the legality of its actions, nor the International Criminal Court's [authority](#) to investigate the suspected criminal acts of individual U.S. officials. Such an investigation could be triggered by a U.N. Security Council referral, but the U.S. would simply veto any such effort. *All that is left, then, is for the people of the U.S. to hold their own to account for the crimes committed in their names.*

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