

Analyzing the Causes of The Yemen Crisis in the Middle East in the 21st Century with A Focus on the Typology of the National Interests of Iran, Arabia, And America in It (2015-2022)

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Abstract: The purpose of this study is to analyze the causes of the Yemen crisis by focusing on the national interests governing relations between Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. If the cooperation or non-cooperation of actors over national interests does not lead to conflict, the national interests are parallel. If there are conflicts between them to achieve the national interest, they have conflicts of interest. If they cooperate in achieving national interests, they have a common national interest. And if the intensity of the conflict between actors is less profound than the conflicting national interests and they seek areas of influence for themselves, their national interests are of a discordant kind. Accordingly, the research raises the question of the causes of the Yemen crisis by focusing on the conflicting, parallel, common, and discordant national interests of Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United States in the 21st-century Yemen crisis in the Middle East. By collecting documentary information and explanatory research methodology, Firstly, it sees the cause of the crisis in the common national interests of Saudi Arabia and the United States and sees security, energy, and counterterrorism as the triangle of the Yemen crisis, a handicap for the cause. The second cause of the crisis is the discordant national interests of Iran and Saudi Arabia, which considers the confrontation between the discourse of Iranian Shia Islam and the Saudi Salafi Islamic discourse in the Yemen crisis as also disabled for the cause. And the last cause of the Yemen crisis is Iran’s conflicting national interests with the United States, and its effect is to deter Iran from infiltrating the 21st-century Middle East Yemen crisis

Keywords: Yemen Crisis, Typology of National Interests, Iran, Saudi Arabia, United States.

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İran, Arabistan ve Amerikan Ulusal Çıkarları Tipolojisi Bağlamında, 21. Yüzyıl Ortadoğusu'ndaki Yemen Krizinin Nedenlerinin Analizi (2015-2022)

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Öz: Bu çalışmanın amacı, İran, Suudi Arabistan ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri arasındaki ilişkileri yönlendiren ulusal çıkarlara odaklanarak Yemen krizinin nedenlerini analiz etmektir. Aktörlerin ulusal çıkarlar doğrultusunda iş birliği yapması veya iş birliği yapmaması çatışmaya yol açmıyorsa ulusal çıkarlar paraleldir. Ulusal çıkarları elde etmek için aralarında çatışmalar varsa çıkar çatışmaları vardır. Ulusal çıkarları elde etmek için iş birliği yapıyorlarsa ortak ulusal çıkarları vardır. Eğer aktörler arasındaki çatışmanın yoğunluğu çatışan ulusal çıkarın derinliğinden daha az ise ve kendileri için etki alanları arıyorlarsa ulusal çıkarları uyumsuz bir türdedir. Bu bağlamda, araştırma Ortadoğu'daki 21. yüzyıl Yemen krizinde İran, Suudi Arabistan ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin çatışan, paralel, ortak ve uyumsuz ulusal çıkarlarına odaklanarak Yemen krizinin nedenlerini sorgulamaktadır. Belgesel bilgi toplama ve açıklayıcı araştırma yöntemi ile öncelikle krizin nedenini Suudi Arabistan ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin ortak ulusal çıkarlarında görür ve güvenliği, enerjisi ve karşı teröristi Yemen krizinin üçgeni olarak görür. Krizin ikinci nedeni; İran'ın Suudi Arabistan ile uyumsuz ulusal çıkarlarıdır ve İran Şii İslam ve Suudi Selefi İslam söyleminin Yemen krizindeki karşılaşması da bu sebep için devre dışı bırakıcı olarak kabul edilir. Yemen krizinin üçüncü nedeni, İran'ın Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ile çatışan ulusal çıkarlarıdır ve etkisi İran'ı 21. yüzyılda Ortadoğu'da Yemen krizine müdahale etmekten caydırmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yemen Krizi, Ulusal Çıkarların Tipolojisi, İran, Suudi Arabistan, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri.

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تحليل أسباب أزمة اليمن في الشرق الأوسط في القرن الواحد والعشرين مع التركيز على نمط مصالح إيران والعرب وأمريكا فيها (2015-2022)

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المخلص

هدف هذه الدراسة هو تحليل أسباب أزمة اليمن من خلال التركيز على المصالح الوطنية التي تحكم العلاقات بين إيران والمملكة العربية السعودية والولايات المتحدة. ففي حالة لم يؤدي التعاون، أو عدم التعاون، بين هذه الفواعل الثلاثة فيما يتعلق بمصالحهم الوطنية في أزمة اليمن فإن ذلك سيؤدي الي نشوب صراع، ومصالحهم الوطنية ستبقى متوازية. وفي حالة وجود صراعات بين هذه الفواعل ألتلات لتحقيق مصالحهم الوطنية في أزمة اليمن، سيكون لديهم تعارض في المصالح. أما إذا تعاونت هذه الأطراف الثلاثة في تحقيق مصالحهم الوطنية في أزمة اليمن، فسيكون لديهم مصالح وطنية مشتركة. وإذا كانت شدة الصراع بين الفاعلين أقل عمقاً من المصالح الوطنية المتعارضة وكانوا يبحثون عن مناطق تأثير لأنفسهم، فإن مصالحهم الوطنية تكون من نوع غير متجانس. وبناءً على ذلك، يطرح البحث مسألة أسباب أزمة اليمن من خلال التركيز على المصالح الوطنية المتنازعة، والمتوازية، والمشاركة، وغير المتجانسة، لكل من إيران والمملكة العربية السعودية والولايات المتحدة في أزمة اليمن في القرن الواحد والعشرين في الشرق الأوسط، من خلال جمع المعلومات الوثائقية ومنهج البحث التوضيحي، حيث نجد أولاً أن سبب الأزمة يكمن في المصالح الوطنية المشتركة بين المملكة العربية السعودية والولايات المتحدة ويعتبر انتشار المجاميع المسلحة وأمن الطاقة ومكافحة الإرهاب ثلاثية أزمة اليمن، عائقاً أمام معالجة هذا السبب. السبب الثاني للأزمة هو تعارض المصالح الوطنية بين إيران والمملكة العربية السعودية وتعتبر المواجهة بين الخطاب الشيعي الإيراني والخطاب السلفي السعودي في أزمة اليمن أيضاً عائقاً أمام معالجة هذا السبب. وأخر سبب لأزمة اليمن هو تعارض المصالح الوطنية لإيران مع الولايات المتحدة، وتأثيرها هو المساعي لمنع إيران من التسلل أكثر إلى أزمة اليمن في القرن الواحد والعشرين في الشرق الأوسط.

الكلمات المفتاحية: أزمة اليمن، تصنيف المصالح الوطنية، إيران، المملكة العربية السعودية، الولايات المتحدة.

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Introduction and expression of the problem

When it comes to national interests, there is a political principle that covers the public interests of the people of a country in the dimensions of domestic and foreign policy¹, in which case it can be said that the national interests of each state are organized to meet the needs of that state in such a way that government institutions, in the form of their own foreign policy, strive to meet these needs, including maintaining the existential security of the country and territorial integrity. And guarantee the independence of that land, ensure the well-being of the population of that land, etc. Sometimes governments compete and confront each other to meet the above needs, including their national interests, and in their struggles and confrontations, their national interests take different forms, such as parallel, common, conflicting, or discordant. Which can lead to social, humanitarian, poverty, etc. crises in a region, a country, or even beyond.

Yemen has become one of the focal points of the Middle East's crisis in the 21st century. The Arab Spring protests, which began in their infancy in Tunisia and Egypt in 2010, provided an opportunity for marginalized Yemeni youth to rise to restore their social rights as well as the process of personalizing power in the country.² But since 2015-2022 the main focus of the current study is Yemen, which has entered a new phase of the crisis in the 21st century of the Middle East. Since March 26, 2015, Saudi Arabia has entered the Yemen campaign with the creation of a coalition of GCC countries.³ However, the actors active in the Yemen crisis are not limited to Saudi Arabia during this time frame and include the United States and Iran, while Saudi Arabia and Iran have each competed to consolidate their regional supremacy in the Middle East on the battlefield in Yemen.⁴ The U.S. presence as a trans-regional actor has further added to the complexities of the Yemen crisis in the Middle East in the 21st century. Does it seem that each of these three actors is involved in the Yemen crisis? Accordingly, the main concern of this study is to understand the causes of the Yemen crisis by focusing on the conflicting, parallel, common, and disputed national interests that each of the above-mentioned actors

- 1 Michael C. Williams, 'What Is the National Interest? The Neoconservative Challenge in IR Theory', *European Journal of International Relations* 11, no. 3 (1 September 2005): 321–22, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066105055482>.
- 2 Brian M. Perkins, 'Yemen: Between Revolution and Regression', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 40, no. 4 (3 April 2017): 300, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1205368>.
- 3 Noel Brehony, 'Yemen and the Huthis: Genesis of the 2015 Crisis', *Asian Affairs* 46, no. 2 (4 May 2015): 232, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2015.1037162>.
- 4 Marcel Serr, 'Understanding the War in Yemen', *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 11, no. 3 (2 September 2017): 357–69, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23739770.2017.1419405>.

may have with each other in the 21st century of the Middle East? Because depending on what kind of national interests, disputes, conflicts, parallels, or common interests prevail in the relations between Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United States in the current crisis in Yemen, the crisis will increase. The main effort of this study is to identify the type of national interests governing the relationships of the three actors in the Yemen crisis from the time efficiency (2015-2022) in the 21st century of the Middle East, which, according to the present study, can link itself to the causes of the Yemen crisis so that it can extract the causes of the crisis with a precise typology of the type of national interests governing the relationships of the three actors mentioned in the Yemen crisis.

Therefore, to understand the main question of the research, “What are the causes of the Yemen crisis by focusing on the conflicting, parallel, common, and disputed national interests of Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United States together in the 21st century Yemen crisis in the Middle East?” The method of qualitative research and data collection is used as documents, and the method of analyzing the data of the present research is based on the explanation of Ali Davidson. And finally, as the title of the research comes from the title of the research, the theoretical framework to understand the main problem of the research is also of national interest. In the first part, the Saudi national interests of the United States in the Yemen crisis in the 21st-century Middle East have been identified, and it has been tried to take the national interests of the actors mentioned in the Yemen crisis into consideration. In the second part, the type of national interests prevailing in Saudi-Iranian relations in the 21st-century Yemen crisis of the Middle East is recognized, and the following is mentioned for this kind of national interest orientation of the two actors mentioned in the Yemen crisis as well as the first part of the disability. The third and final part of the study also identifies the type and typology of the national interests of the United States and Iran in the Crisis of Yemen 21 of the Middle East and tries to bring about this kind of national interest orientation between the two actors mentioned in the Yemen crisis as well as previous sections on the disabled.

I. Background and literature on the Yemen crisis:

The literature on the Yemen crisis, as outlined in the present study, distinguishes itself by employing a theoretical framework based on national interests within the principles of international relations. This approach categorizes national interests into discordant, conflicting, parallel, and common elements, aiming to delve into the causes of the 21st-century Yemen crisis in the Middle East. In examining various perspectives and

factors contributing to the conflict, the literature encompasses analyses by Hinnebusch (2020) linking the crisis to Saudi intervention, Swietek (2017) framing it as a regional conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia, Teimoori et al. (2016) emphasizing the religious dimension, and Iqbal (2015) describing the complex situation involving internal conflicts and a Saudi-led coalition. Sami's Esfahani and Mousavi (2016) characterize it as a “Cold War” between Saudi Arabia and Iran; Fink (2017) highlights the humanitarian consequences of the Saudi-led blockade; and other studies consider geopolitical factors, historical conflicts, and regional power dynamics. Predictions about the future scenarios, including potential collaboration or continued rivalries, underscore the multidimensional analysis of the Yemen crisis, incorporating geopolitical, religious, and historical perspectives.

I-I Research literature that considers the influence of regional and extra-regional powers to be the cause of the Yemen crisis.

Hinnebusch considers the main cause of the Yemen crisis in the Middle East to be Saudi Arabia's intervention in the country's internal affairs. According to the book's producers, Yemen's territorial and border disputes with Saudi Arabia are another factor in Yemen's crisis in the Middle East in the 21st century.⁵

Swietek initially identifies Yemen as a weak and influential government in the Arabian Peninsula, which in recent years has been mired in direct and indirect strategic rivalries by regional and trans-regional powers such as the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Iran, but in the author's view, the Yemen war is a regional conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia that has evolved widely. In his view, the factor that has exacerbated the Yemen crisis is that Saudi Arabia considers Yemen a strategic interest and believes it must defend itself against Iranian attacks, which has led to war in that region and the Yemen crisis escalating.⁶

Teimoori et al., with a constructive approach, instilled in the reader that after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Islamic values, beliefs, and identity were at odds with Saudi Arabia's Wahhabism, particularly in the Yemeni region, which has led Iran to defend the Houthi Shiites in Yemen against Saudi

5 Raymond A. Hinnebusch, *Foreign policy of Middle East countries*, trans. Rahman Kahramanpour and Morteza Sabah (Imam Sadeqh University Press, 2020), <https://www.gisoom.com/book/1751774/> - کتاب/سیاست-خارجی-کشورهای-خاورمیانه.

6 Hubert Świątek, 'The Yemen War: A Proxy War, or a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy?', *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs*, no. 2 (2017), <http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.desklight-55032049-03a4-4719-a7d9-7e142a8f2f00>.

Arabia, which supports the government of Saudi Arabia. Key has caused a national interest conflict between the two named governments in Yemen.⁷

Iqbal describes the Yemen crisis as a timeless battle in the Middle East and North Africa. Since March 25, 2015, as a result of a Houthi-led insurgency, President Mansour Hadi is believed to have fled the country. Supporters of former Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh, himself a Houthi, are clashing with supporters of Mansour Hadi. The extent of these conflicts is so great that Saudi Arabia and the rest of the small countries in the Arabian Peninsula are concerned that their security will be compromised as a result of a Saudi-led coalition called Operation Storm, which includes Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, Sudan, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, etc. Pakistan was also asked to participate in the coalition, but the country's parliament opposes this. By turning to the discussions mentioned above about the beginning of the Yemen crisis, we can see the role of various actors in this crisis, which is itself one of the causes of the beginning of this crisis.⁸

Nejat, Musavi, and Saremi describe the war in Yemen as a competition in the form of the "Cold War" between Saudi Arabia and Iran, in the form of an aggressive realism theory, stating that Saudi Arabia's policies in Yemen are in response to Iran's leadership in the Middle East, as well as the Saudis' sense of danger from inflaming Shiite thoughts in these regions. The authors of the research believe that Saudi Arabia, in response to Iran's leadership in the Middle East, as well as the Saudis' sense of danger from inflaming Shiite thoughts in these regions. It has tried to pre-empt the war in Yemen and prevent the influence of Shiite thought in the region.⁹

Fink explains that the Saudi-led alliance as a result of the Yemen war has led to the blockade of the Yemeni Sea and that the blockade has humanitarian consequences, such as famine, hunger, etc. for Yemen.¹⁰

Amiri and Kiani consider Yemen's geopolitics to be the cause of the crises, turmoil, and civil wars of 1994 between Northern and Southern Yemen, Jamal Abdel Nasser's military invasion of Yemen in 1962, and the repression of the country's Shiites. Having this geopolitical position gives Yemen access to the Bab al-Mandab Strait, which is of great importance to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Horn of Africa countries, so from the perspective of the owners of

7 Rohollah Teimoori, Hasan Abdollahzadeh, and Mohammad Agah, 'Confrontation Between Iran and Saudi Foreign Policy in The Crisis in Yemen With Constructivist', *Journal of Islamic Awakening Studies* 5, no. 10 (22 October 2016): 82–98.

8 Khalid Iqbal, 'Yemen Crisis and Pakistan: A Holistic Overview', *Policy Perspectives* 12, no. 2 (2015): 61–80, <https://doi.org/10.13169/polipers.12.2.0061>.

9 Seyed Ali Nejat, Raziyyeh Musavi, and Mohammadreza Saremi, 'Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran Strategy towards the Crisis in Yemen', *Research Letter of International Relations* 9, no. 33 (21 June 2016): 137–79.

10 Martin D. Fink, 'Naval Blockade and the Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen', *Netherlands International Law Review* 64, no. 2 (1 July 2017): 291–307, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40802-017-0092-3>.

this article, having a geopolitical position for Yemen that brings the above-mentioned benefits to the country causes various crises in the country.¹¹

Brehony accelerates the Yemen crisis as a result of the March 26, 2015, attacks by Saudi Arabia and its allies, the GCC countries. The crisis in Yemen has added to the crisis because it has led to the eruption of Yemen's Houthi movement.¹²

Heidari and Sheikhezadeh argue for the presence of one of the most important players in the Yemen crisis, Iran. In their view, Iran's presence in Yemen is a result of the strategy of active strategic defense of the country's national interests. According to the authors of this research, Iran is forced to have an active presence in the Yemen crisis to preserve its regional allies. The important point that this research has found is that Iran intends to control and monitor the Bab al-Mandab Strait, which is the main way of energy transfer, while maintaining its regional influence.¹³

Qasemi, Jamshidi, and Mohseni have been studying the future of the Yemen crisis, and the authors believe that the future of Yemen's crisis will fluctuate between the turbulent rivalries of the main players in the MENA region, namely Saudi Arabia, the United States, the United Arab Emirates, Israel, and Iran. They believe that the U.S. presence in the Yemen crisis is possible through Saudi Arabia, as well as proxy wars waged by the United States by Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, Israel intends to confront Iran's revolutionary identity in Yemen. In the future, it tries to participate in the Yemen crisis, so from the perspective of these writers, Iran's regional role in the future of MENA has tied itself to the country's strategies in Yemen.¹⁴

Alipoor et al., since the Arab Spring protests in the Middle East onwards, consider Yemen a country that has entered into new conflicts in the Middle East. According to the authors, these conflicts have both internal and external dimensions: inside Yemen, crises such as fragile government, lack of nation-state formation, poverty, and religious tensions between Shiites and Sunnis, and in the foreign arena, as well as interventions by regional and regional powers. Like a Saudi-led coalition in the Middle East, Iran's influence in the Region of Yemen and the United States has increased, and the authors of

11 Suroush Amiri and Javad Kiani, 'The Internal, Regional and Transnational Origin of the Yemeni Geopolitical Crisis', *Journal of Political Strategy* 1, no. 2 (22 November 2017): 25–57.

12 Brehony, 'Yemen and the Huthis'.

13 Saman Heidari and Mohammad R. Sheikhezadeh, 'Magiran | The Requirements for the Strategic Presence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Yemen from a Geopolitical Point of View', *International Journal of Nations Research* 4, no. 41 (n.d.): 7–24.

14 Farhad Qasemi, Mohammad Hossein Jamshidi, and Sajjad Mohseni, 'Saudi Arabia and Integrated Deterrence Against Islamic Republic of Iran', *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 21, no. 81 (21 December 2018): 135–60.

this research work outline four scenarios for the future of the Yemen crisis: In the first scenario, which is favorable to the supporters of Yemen's Ansar Allah, peace between the parties to the conflict and the abandonment of the conflict are recommended, and in the second scenario, which is favorable to the opponents of Yemen's Ansar Allah, it is said that the conflict will continue and the Yemeni Houthis will surrender. The third scenario is likely; in this scenario, the third scenario is given to federalism and the division of Yemen into the north and south, just like during the Cold War. This research work suggests that Salafist and Takfiri groups should take power to form an Islamic emirate and expand into Yemen, and among the previous three scenarios, the last scenario is more believable from the authors' point of view.¹⁵

Ahmadi and Khosravi search for the cause of Saudi Arabia's invasion of Yemen in March 2015 in three dimensions: geopolitics, internal environment, crisis in Yemen, and international politics. Saudi Arabia gave Yemen in March 2015 because of its access to the Geopolitical Strait of Bab al-Mandab. In the internal environment of Yemen, the pressure of the Saudi Wahhabis on Yemen's Zaydi Shiites has put them in a bind. From the authors' point of view, the reason for Saudi Arabia's invasion of Yemen in March 2015 can be seen. Finally, on the international dimension, the reason for the Saudi invasion of Yemen, according to the authors, stems from the contributions of trans-regional powers such as the United States to Saudi Arabia. The aggregation of such factors in the views of the authors of the above study led to an attack on Saudi Arabia in Yemen in March 2015.¹⁶

With an aggressive realism approach, Yazdani and Hassanzadeh roach and determine the position of U.S.-Saudi foreign policy towards the Yemen crisis. The authors of this research believe that Saudi Arabia in Yemen seeks to preserve the status quo; in this case, the country intends to achieve goals and objectives such as fighting the revolutionary centers of the region in Yemen, leading the Arab world and Islam, and preventing Iran from gaining power in the Middle East using an aggressive realism approach. By adopting an aggressive realism approach, Yemen is creating a crisis, and in doing so, the United States is seeking help from its regional ally Saudi Arabia in the Middle East.¹⁷

15 Javad Alipoor, Sajad Gheytsi, and Mehdi Darabi, 'The Futurology of Yemeni Crisis in Terms of Scenario Writing', *Defensive Future Study* 3, no. 8001138 (1 January 2018): 51–71.

16 Hamid Ahmadi and Afsaneh Khosravi, 'The Anatomy of Saudi Invasion Of Yemen: Geopolitics, Domestic Crisis Milieu and International Politics', *POLITICS QUARTERLY* 46, no. 4 (1 January 2017): 817–38.

17 Enayat Allah Yazdani and Seyed Saied Hassanzadeh, 'Foreign Policy Towards The Yemen Crisis (2011-2015)', *POLITICAL QUARTERLY* 48, no. 4 (22 December 2018): 1075–92, <https://doi.org/10.22059/jpq.2018.217749.1006913>.

Nejat is trying to answer this key question: what are the reasons and consequences of Saudi Arabia's attack on Yemen? According to the author of the study, the reasons for the Saudi invasion of Yemen are as follows: using the pattern of the security dilemma and countering Iran's growing power in the Middle East, making changes in the balance of power to compete with its Iranian counterpart, promoting its regional and international prestige, trying to reduce the Houthis' power in Yemen, the power of their affiliated movements in Yemen such as Mansour Hadi, and the ouster of Abdullah Saleh from power, preventing the formation of a stable democracy in Yemen. In contrast to research, the Saudi invasion of Yemen could also have consequences for Saudi Arabia, which are also consequences of losing the military image and shaping financial crises for Saudi Arabia, intensifying internal disputes in Saudi Arabia, and increasing the power of terrorist groups on the border. Saudi Arabia, escalating anti-Saudi protests, reducing Saudi Arabia's international credibility, etc.¹⁸

Amouri analyzes that al-Saud has long considered Yemen as their backyard and dominated its rulers, so it can be said that from the perspective of researchers, the Houthis' grip on Yemen, which could be considered a factor for Iran's presence in Yemen, and balancing with Iran, is one of the goals of the Al Saud war in Yemen.¹⁹

Hemmati et al. are trying to explain the reason for Saudi foreign policy's conservative behavior in attacking Yemen, and the Saudi attack on Yemen can be explained by the authors of the study within the framework of balancing Iran in the Middle East.²⁰

Dashiri and Fahrji intend to write scenarios for Iran's future regional strategies under the influence of the Yemen crisis. The producers of the research predict four scenarios, respectively: the confrontation between Saudi Arabia and Iran in the Yemen crisis, the cooperation of Iran and Saudi Arabia in the Yemen crisis, the arrival of a third actor to mediate between Iran and Saudi Arabia in the Yemen crisis, the victory of Ansar Allah Yemen, and the strategic success of Iran in that region. That is, the victory of Yemen's Ansar Allah and Iran's strategic success in that region is a reference and confirmed scenario.²¹

18 Seyed Ali Nejat, 'Saudi Arabia's Military Invasion of Yemen; Reasons and Consequences', *Research Journal of Contemporary Thought* 2, no. 2 (2019): 20–42.

19 Abdul Hossein Amouri, 'Study and Analysis of the Contexts and Goals of Al Saud's Belligerence in Yemen', *Journal of Politics and Media History* 2, no. 3 (2019): 345–68.

20 Morteza Hemmati, Shahrooz Ebrahimi, and Mahnaz Goodarzi, 'Saudi Arabia's Balancing Policy with Iran in Yemen', *Spatial Planning* 10, no. 1 (20 March 2020): 105–22, <https://doi.org/10.22108/sppl.2019.119020.1420>.

21 Mohammad Reza Dashiri and Mojtaba Hosseini Fahrji, 'The Future Study of The Regional Strategy of The Islamic Republic of Iran in The Light of The Evolution of The Yemen Crisis', *Political and International Approaches* 11, no. 3 (2019): 147–74.

I-2 Research literature that looks for the cause of the Yemen crisis among other issues.

Bozorgmehri and Najafi want to answer the question of whether, in the Yemen crisis, the position of the two permanent members of the Security Council has been more towards Iran than China and Russia. And have they supported Iran and Yemen's Ansar Allah? Or to the West and Saudi Arabia? In response to this key research question, using UN documents proves that the position of the two mentioned members was more towards supporting Saudi Arabia and the West in the Yemen crisis than supporting Iran.²²

Mohebi et al. see UN Security Council Resolution 2216, adopted to end the War in Yemen, as contrary to international law because they believe it does not condemn Saudi aggression against Yemen. And it has only called on the Yemeni people and Ansar Allah to end the war, whereas the basic principle in international law is the lack of force, and if a country attacks another country, country B can defend itself, and this defense is considered a legitimate defense.²³

Shadlou initially condemns Saudi Arabia's aggression against Yemen from the perspective of international law because, from the author's point of view, aggression on the territory of a country has occurred. In the next step, the author of the above-mentioned work sees the Saudi invasion of Yemen as a joint project by the West and Israel aimed at implicitly threatening Iran in the region.²⁴

Soltani et al. are trying to reach a kind of future studies on France's foreign and defense policy towards the Yemen crisis and its impact on the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran through a scenario-writing approach. At the outset, the authors emphasize the axis of the Gulf of Aden to the Mediterranean, which is very important for France and has caused its kind. France is not indifferent to the War in Yemen, and in this regard, it sells a lot of military weapons to Saudi Arabia and the UAE. The authors intend to measure France's foreign policy strategy towards the War in Yemen on Iran. They set three scenarios in this regard, which are the continuation of the war, which can have undesirable consequences for Iran in the international arena. Iran's state

22 Majid Bozorgmehri and Shahla Najafi, 'Analysis of China-Russia Strategy in the Yemeni Crisis; Alignment with Saudi Arabia or Iran', *Foreign Relations Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (23 August 2019): 131–59.

23 Mohammad Mohebi et al., 'Studying Legal Aspects of Saudi Arabia's Military Intervention in Yemen with Emphasis on the Security Council 2216 Resolution', *International Studies Journal (ISJ)* 12, no. 4 (20 April 2016): 39–58.

24 Shahideh Shadlou, 'Reviewing the Saudi Attack on Yemen as a Recent Crisis in the Persian Gulf Region with an Emphasis on International Law Standards', *Persian Gulf Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (2014): 54–72.

can safely travel to the Indian Ocean in the waters of the Persian Gulf. The third scenario is France's support for Saudi Arabia to destroy Yemen's Ansar Allah, which could jeopardize the security of Iran and its allies in Yemen in the future.²⁵

Niakouee and Hejazi discuss the Crisis in Yemen since the Arab Spring onwards in the Middle East from the perspective of the Third World and Little's approach, concluding that a combination of domestic and foreign factors in the Third World has caused the Yemen crisis.²⁶

Dehbaneh and Yaghoubi describe Iran and Saudi Arabia as competing in the region. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the conflict in Yemen has become more intense. In this article, the authors intend to analyze the Yemen crisis from the psychological perspective of Robert Jervis. From the perspective of the authors of this article, the belief of Saudi rulers regarding the increase of Iran's regional power in the Middle East has caused conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia in Yemen.²⁷

Karimi, from the perspective of international law, examines the Yemen crisis, and Saudi writers have committed genocide and war crimes in the Yemen war, while the UN Security Council has not done anything positive about the Yemen crisis and has even issued a resolution against the Yemeni people.²⁸

Shahidani and Babae explain that Saudi Arabia entered the Yemen crisis in March 2015 with the advance of an alliance of GCC countries, but the alliance has been defeated in the southern parts of Yemen, where Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates are struggling, due to the two countries flawed perceptions of a common enemy, which negatively affects Yemen's future, although it is now between Yemen's Ansar Allah and Saudi Arabia. A ceasefire has been in place, but the main rivalry remains between Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.²⁹

25 Farzad Soltani, Mahdi Javdani Moqaddam, and Ali Reza Beygi, 'The Future Study of France Foreign and Defense Policy in Yemeni Crisis and Its Effect on the National Security of the Islamic Republic of Iran', *International Studies Journal (ISJ)* 17, no. 4 (21 March 2021): 27–45, <https://doi.org/10.22034/isj.2021.266735.1354>.

26 Seyed Amir Niakouee and Ehsan Hejazi, 'The Exploration of Security Crisis in Yemen: Causes and Contexts', *POLITICAL AND INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND RESEARCH QUARTERLY* 8, no. 28 (1 January 2016): 39–62.

27 Majid Rouhi Dehbaneh and Nader Yaghoubi, 'A Study of the Iran-Saudi Arabia Conflict in Yemen with the Political Psychological Approach', *Journal of Islamic Revolution Studies* 18, no. 64 (10 April 2021): 89–110.

28 Elham Karimi, Sohrab Salahi, and Abomohammad Asgarkhani, 'The Yemeni crisis and the international responsibility of the United Nations', *POLITICAL AND INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND RESEARCH QUARTERLY* 12, no. 44 (September 2020), <https://doi.org/10.30495/pir.2020.680009>.

29 Mahdi Hedayati Shahidani and Mohammadreza Babae, 'The Fragile Coalition and Political Competi-

Soleimani and Salehi believe that Israel is interfering in the Yemen crisis in the form of military, technical, educational, espionage, and propaganda. In the end, the authors believe that media outlets should be used to combat Israel's activities in Yemen and offer several media solutions.³⁰

Sadeghi and Ahmadian believe that the international community's attention to Yemen's domestic challenges and developments is influenced by the geographical location of the country. The authors believe Yemen's future is uncertain. Because there are many actors in this country, such as Saudi Arabia, the Houthis, and al-Qaeda terrorism. Along with these issues, Yemen is in a weak position economically. These issues have led trans-regional powers such as the United States to consider Yemen's security threats but never send forces there to resolve the Yemen crisis.³¹

Firouzkalai, the most important causes of the Saudi invasion in March 2015 in the context of Operation Decisive Storm to Yemen, the Yemeni aristocracy to the Bab al-Mandab Strait, Saudi concerns about the danger of its southern borders due to the Yemen crisis, Saudi Arabia's alliance with the United States to attack Yemen, the rivalries between Iran and Saudi Arabia to find an infiltration zone in Yemen, Saudi hasas from the formation of a democratic government in Yemen, and finally the containment of Ansar Allah. Mansoor Hadi is known in Yemen.³²

Zanganeh and Hamidi are trying to identify the factors affecting the Saudi-Iranian confrontation in the Yemen crisis. These two authors, with a constructive conception, believe that the identity perceptions of the two countries, one from Shi'a Islam and the other from Salafi-Wahhabi Islam, have caused the confrontation between the two countries in the Yemen crisis.³³

Hosseinzadeh and Qaffarizadeh agree that the Yemen crisis has caused the emergence of al-Qaeda. Because Yemen is a small country in the Middle East, it has created a suitable context for security and political play in the Middle East due to its sensitive geopolitical position. This has provided an

tion between UAE and Saudi Arabia in Yemen (2015-2020)', *Quarterly of Political Strategic Studies* 10, no. 38 (December 2021): 227–54, <https://doi.org/10.22054/qps.2021.56691.2700>.

30 Zahra Soleimani and Ali Mohammad Salehi, 'The Role of the Zionist Regime in the Yemeni Crisis and the Media Requirements', *JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MEDIA RESEARCH LETTERS* 6, no. 2002188 (1 January 2022): 33–55.

31 Hossein Sadeghi and Hasan Ahmadian, 'Changing Yemen's Regional Status: Possibilities and Challenges', *Rahbord* 19, no. 56 (1 January 2010): 253–80.

32 Abdul Karim Firouzkalai, 'An Analysis of The Most Important Reasons for The Military Invasion of Yemen by The Coalition Led by Saudi Arabia', *Epistemic Religious Flow In The International Arena* 7, no. 3 (2015): 159–90.

33 Peyman Zanganeh and Somaye Hamidi, 'The Nature of Logics Ruling Interactions of Iran and Saudi Arabia in the Yemen Crisis', *Political Strategic Studies* 5, no. 18 (21 November 2016): 143–69, <https://doi.org/10.22054/qps.2016.6801>.

opportunity for regional and trans-regional actors, even terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda, to operate in the Yemen crisis.³⁴

2. Research Methodology: Causal Explanation

The data collection method of this study involves documents that have been collected based on google searches, comprehensive humanities portal sites, Google Scholar websites, university jihad sites and some books written on the subject of this study. The method of analyzing the research data is based on David Sun's explanation; accordingly, the research approach and perspective are also focused on the research issue of "causes of the Yemen crisis in the Middle East of the 21st century", focusing on the theory of national interests in international relations. The main special task of "Explaining causality" is to understand the causes and effects of an event.³⁵ In other words, "causal explanation" can clearly state the similarities, differences, and reasons of an event, and this type of explanation believes that the factors of an event, if they cause that event to be implemented, if a complex set of stimuli and beliefs provoke certain causes for its realization³⁶ David Sun intended to find out what causes an event to occur at a particular time. He tries to come to the conclusion that action occurs when it has a specific cause.³⁷ Therefore, the present study is precisely David Sun's "causal explanation" because it seeks to identify the causes of the Yemen crisis by analyzing the type and typology of the national interests of the disputed, conflicting, common or parallel Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United States in the Middle East in the 21st century.

3. Theoretical Framework: National Interests and the Yemen Crisis

According to the proponents of globalization theory, this event has challenged the national interests of states because state and non-state actors have emerged in the international arena, which has caused a change and challenge in the concept of national interests. From the viewpoint of the

34 Seyed Mohammad Ali Hosseinzadeh and Mehrshad Qaffarizadeh, 'The War between Yemen and Al-Qaeda in Arabian Peninsula (2016-2015)', *Political Science* 20, no. issue 77 (22 June 2017): 129-49, <https://doi.org/10.22081/psq.2017.63784>.

35 Abolghasem Taheri, *Research Methodology in Political Science* (Tehran: Gums Publications, 2015), 192, <https://www.gisoom.com/book/11120519/کتاب-روش-تحقیق-در-علوم-سیاسی/>.

36 Wayne A. Davis, 'The Causal Theory of Action', in *A Companion to the Philosophy of Action*, ed. Timothy O'Connor and Constantine Sandis, 1st ed. (Wiley, 2010), 33-34, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444323528.ch5>.

37 Mehdi Zakeri, 'Davidson's Causal Theory of Action', *Existence and Knowledge* 0, no. 11 (22 December 2006): 5.

owners of this school, globalization has caused the national interests of many states to be combined and integrated at the regional and international levels. The national interest is a guide to the foreign policy of states in their external and external environments, so the national interests of a state act are close to the views of realists because realistic companions tie the national interests of each state with their security and power.³⁸

Among the realists, Morgenthau, in his book *Politics among His Nations*, emphasizes the concept of national interests and defines it as an observer of the power of countries in the international arena, and he believes that any country with more power in the international environment will gain more national interests.³⁹ But now, given the process of globalization, it has also distanced itself from the realists' point of view and shown it in other respects. There are different approaches to the concept of national resources, which can be divided into subjective objectivism and binomism. Objectivists visualize national interests as objective and tangible, which implies objective realities. Realists and neo-realists can be contracted into the category of objectives, who define national interests in terms of the power of countries in the international arena. Mind-makers consider national interests subject to their perceptions of their foreign environment, and the values and preferences of decision-makers' mindsets are involved in countries' national interests. They know. Finally, weeping-sighted people consider national interests as a social construct and consider it to be the development of the social environment in which foreign policy decision-makers live. The school of constructivism is very close to this perception of the national interests of countries; constructivism in understanding national interests emphasizes the common language among government activists in the field of international politics.⁴⁰ Researchers divide national interests into different types:

Parallel national interests: In this case, the cooperation, or non-cooperation of states over their national interests does not lead to their conflict. And they don't fight each other.

Conflicting National Interests: States dispute with each other to achieve their national interests; in this case, one state may ignore other national resources in achieving its national interests.

38 Rifki Dermawan, 'The National Interest Concept in a Globalised International System', *Indonesian Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 2 (16 March 2020): 30–31, <https://doi.org/10.32787/ijir.v3i2.101>.

39 Homeira Moshirzadeh, *Development in International Relations Theories* (Tehran: Semt Publications, 2020), 98, <https://www.gisoom.com/book/11284530/کتاب-تحول-در-فکر-سیاسی-روابط-بین-الملل>.

40 Seyed Jalal Dehghani Firouzabadi, *Generalities of International Relations* (Tehran: Audience Publications, 2016), <https://www.gisoom.com/book/11224285/کتاب-کلیات-روابط-بین-الملل>.

Common national interests: In this type of national interest, the two countries conclude that they must work together to achieve their national interests.

Discordant national interests: In this case, it is easier for countries to achieve national interests than conflicting national interests. The intensity of the clash between countries, if they differ in national interests, has less depth and less probability of dealing with conflicting national interests. This type of national interest is created in a situation where the countries and the parties involved are trying to gain influence zones for themselves.

Since March 2015, Yemen has been the confluence of the national interests of various actors, such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, and the United States, in the context of an operation launched by Saudi Arabia called “Decisive Storm”, which has left the Middle East facing a major crisis in the 21st century. The national interests of these three important actors in the Yemen war, which are either a kind of dispute, conflicting, or common national interest, have caused the emergence, insurrection, and finally, erosion of the Yemen crisis in the Middle East in the 21st century, identifying the type and typology of the national interests of the actors mentioned in the Yemen crisis, which fall into which categories are divided, discordant, conflicting, common, or parallel, and connecting them to the causes of the crisis. Yemen in the 21st century Middle East is included in the competence of the present study.

4. Findings:

a) The common national interests of Saudi Arabia and the United States of America are a cause for the effect of the escalation of the crisis around the three sides of al-Qaeda’s triangle of security, energy, and counterterrorism in the 21st century Yemen crisis of the Middle East:

If the national interests, guides, and directions of foreign policy and the actions of governments are covered by foreign policy,⁴¹ then government activists, security, territorial integrity, prosperity, increased power, etc. Define themselves as their national interests and take steps to achieve the above-mentioned goals within the framework of foreign policy in the field of international politics. Accordingly, Saudi Arabia, to realize its security, which has been one of the country’s most important national interests since

41 Ileana-Gentilia Metea, ‘National Interest, Terminology and Directions of Approach’, *International Conference KNOWLEDGE-BASED ORGANIZATION* 26, no. 1 (1 June 2020): 75, <https://doi.org/10.2478/kbo-2020-0011>.

the beginning of its formation by Abdul Aziz bin Saud, has established the foundation of its common national interests with the United States since 1932, and instead of securing itself, has placed its foreign policy priorities in the field of cooperation with the United States.⁴² On the other hand, the effect that has led to the common national interests of the United States and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East in the 21st century is the U.S. need for hydrocarbon energy and Saudi oil, which has brought the trans-regional actor's cooperation and support to Saudi Arabia. This advantage has led the Saudis to become active, influential, and interventionist activists not only in Mina but also in the Arabian Peninsula.⁴³ One of the Arab Peninsula countries where the Saudis have been intervening fiercely since March 2015 is Yemen, which said that the Al Saud family's military intervention in the country was the main site of the Houthi Shiite campaign because of fears that the security of the Saudi border areas would be compromised, as a result of its proximity to Yemen's borders and the city of Aden; In the view of the rulers of the Al Saud, as stated above, "security" is the national interest of the country and should be prevented from being compromised, so Saudi Arabia has cooperated, united and established common national interests not only with the GCC countries but also with the United States, which has reciprocated from the threat to its existential security, caused by the growth of extremist groups. As al-Qaeda's terrorism is under the influence of the Yemen crisis, it fears that it is in its national interests to threaten al-Qaeda's terrorist movements stemming from the Yemen crisis. It defines its national interests jointly with Saudi Arabia and other GCC countries involved in the Yemen crisis and intervenes in the crisis. Saudi-American intervention, along with other actors involved in Yemen, along with damages such as energy shortages through [Blocking the Bab al-Mandab Strait], poverty, hunger, water shortages, etc. It has inflicted infrastructural damage on the people of this country.⁴⁴ And in its kind, the crisis in Yemen in the Middle East has added to the 21st century. Therefore, security, energy, and countering the extremism of al-Qaeda terrorism, now as a handicap for the triangle of crises, have created the cause, which is the common national interest of the United States and Saudi Arabia in the Yemen crisis and has added to its severity in the present time.

42 Farhad Ataci and Mohammad Mansouri Moghaddam, 'Genealogy Of The Foreign Policy Of Saudi Arabia: A Realist Strategy on The Basis Of Identity', *FOREIGN RELATIONS* 5, no. 1 (1 January 2013): 144.

43 Mai Yamani, 'The Two Faces of Saudi Arabia', *Survival* 50, no. 1 (March 2008): 143, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396330801899488>.

44 Roland Popp, 'War in Yemen: Revolution and Saudi Intervention' (ETH-Zürich: CSS Analyses in Security Policy, 2015), 1- 4.

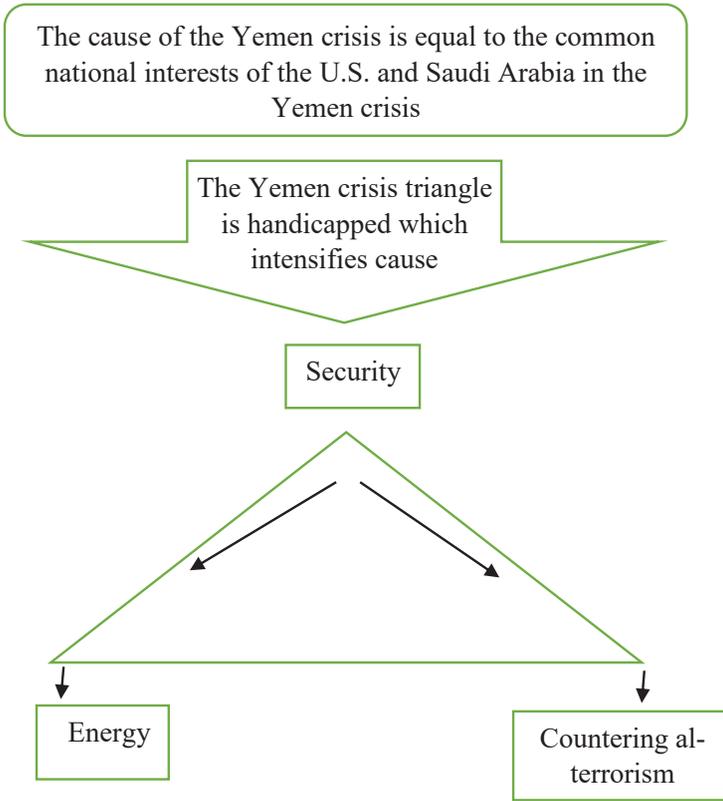


Figure 1: The conceptual model of Saudi-American common national interests in the Yemen crisis in the Middle East in 2021.

b) The discordant national interests between Iran and Saudi Arabia are a reason for the escalation of the Yemen crisis and the confrontation of Saudi Arabia’s Salafi and fundamentalist Islam discourse with the Discourse of Shiite and Revolutionary Islam in Iran, a handicap for the Yemen crisis in the Middle East of the 21st Century.

Contrary to Saudi Arabia’s shared national interests with the United States in the Yemen crisis, Saudi and Iranian national interests are disputed. Each of the parties involved in this type of national interest seeks to gain regional privilege and influence in the Yemen crisis to realize the Narrative power governing their foreign policy and national interests. Discourse, or the power of narrative-making, means the semantic structure governing a country’s foreign policy.⁴⁵ State actors in the field of international politics are trying

45 Seyed Jalal Dehghani Firouzabadi, *Foreign Policy of The Islamic Republic of Iran*, 8th ed. (Tehran:

to increase or decrease the capabilities of competing actors by implementing these semantic structures and narratives in particular.⁴⁶ In fact, it can be stated that the discourse and narratives that state actors in the field of international politics use within the framework of their foreign policy are a tool for achieving the goals of their national interests. One of the most important goals of Iran's national interests after the revolution has been independence. Independence is the rejection of foreign domination and the preservation of the territorial integrity of a country. But with the victory of the Islamic Revolution, what happens is that Iran has not only tried to preserve its independence and territorial integrity from foreigners but has also sought to help all neighboring Muslim countries that are colonized and dominated by foreigners to achieve independence. Consider itself equal to the preservation of independence and territorial integrity of other Islamic lands and strive in this regard.⁴⁷ It can be said that in this timeframe, the discourse or narrative that Iran seeks to promote in the field of international politics is based on the discourse of the issuance of the revolution.⁴⁸ Within the idea of exporting the revolution lies in helping other Muslim nations and liberation movements, which, as stated, seek to help them achieve the most important goals of their national interests [independence]; This has led Saudi Arabia, which presents itself as an Arab representative in the Middle East and Arabian Peninsula, to try to thwart the discourse of exporting revolution using the spread of fundamentalist Salafi Islam discourse. This has led some U.S. officials, including Obama, to believe that Iran and Saudi Arabia should seek cold peace in the Middle East in the 21st century.⁴⁹ Accordingly, the nature of Iran's Shiite and revolutionary Islamic discourse in the Middle East is at a point of disagreement with the nature of Saudi Arabia's Salafi and fundamentalist Islam, giving the national interests of the two actors a state of disagreement. One region that has become a place in the Middle East in the 21st century to reflect the discord between The Shiite Discourse of Iran and Saudi Arabia's Salafi and Fundamentalist Islam is the Yemen crisis. Iran is struggling to achieve independence for Yemen's Houthi people and Shiites in this crisis and demands the realization of their national

Sedam Publications, 2017), 187, <https://samt.ac.ir/en/book/2382/foreign-policy-of-the-islamic-republic-of-iran>.

- 46 Linus Hagström and Karl Gustafsson, 'Narrative Power: How Storytelling Shapes East Asian International Politics', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 32, no. 4 (4 July 2019): 387–406, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2019.1623498>.
- 47 Yahya Fawzi, *Imam Khomeini's Political Thought*, 22nd ed. (Tehran: Maaref Publications, 2015), 173, <https://www.gisoom.com/book/11146288/> /کتاب-اندیشه-سیاسی-امام-خمينی-ره/
- 48 Mahmoud Yazdan Fam, *Review of Foreign Policy Texts of the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Tehran: Research Institute of Strategic Studies, 2012), 68, <https://www.gisoom.com/book/11013865/> /کتاب-بررسی-امتون-سیاست-خارجی-جمهوری-اسلامی-ایران/
- 49 Kenneth Katzman, 'Iran's Foreign and Defense Policies' (Congressional Research Service, 2015), 9, <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R44017>.

resources. Saudi Arabia, while promoting fundamentalist and Salafi Islamic discourse in Yemen, supports the government of Mansour Hadi. Therefore, the discordant national interests between Iran and Saudi Arabia are a reason for the escalation of the Yemen crisis and the confrontation of Saudi Arabia's Salafi and fundamentalist Islam discourse with the Discourse of Shiite and Revolutionary Islam in Iran, a handicap for the Yemen crisis in the Middle East of the 21st century.

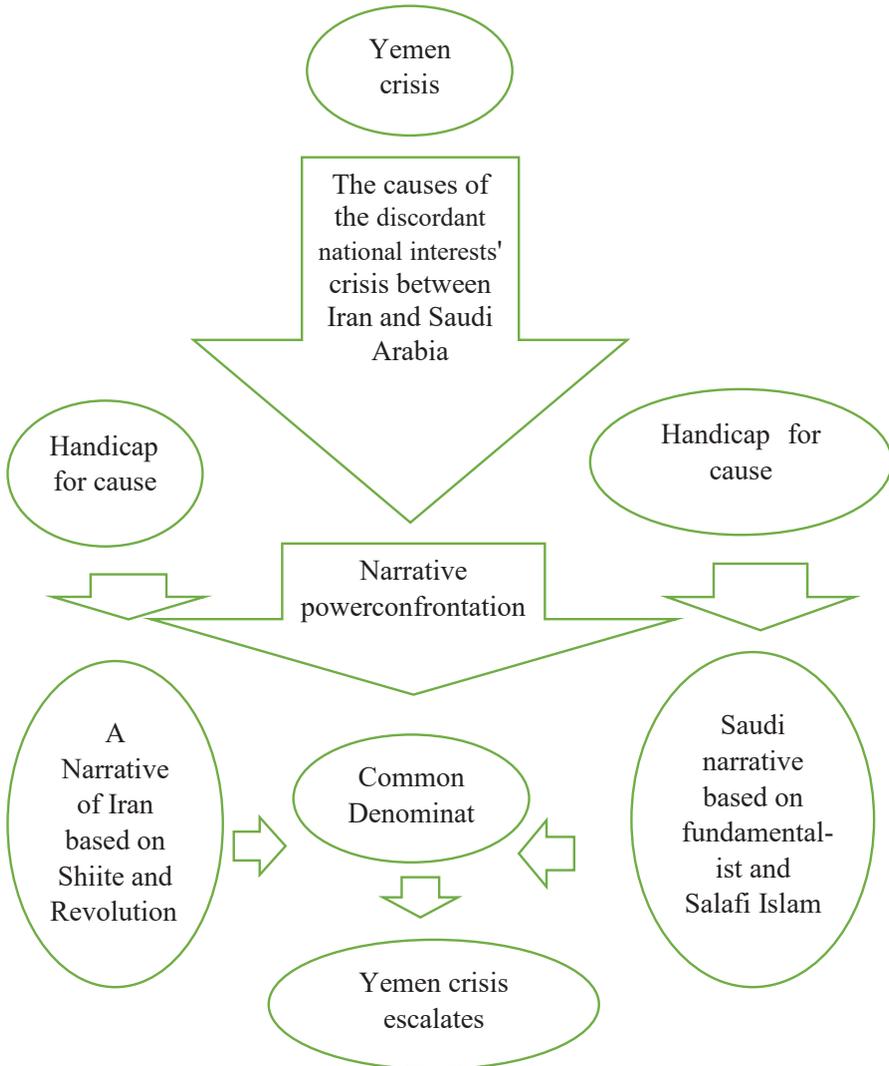


Figure 2. The Conceptual Model of The National Interests of Iran and Saudi Arabia Based on the conflict in Yemen between Saudi Salafi Islam and Revolutionary Islam.

c) U.S.-Iran conflicted national interests in the Yemen crisis, a cause for the escalation of the crisis And U.S. deterrence against Iran's influence in the 21st-century Middle East Yemen crisis, and its accelerating effect:

After the victory of the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, relations between Iran and the United States have been strained by the nature of the “revisionists” of the revolution and the formation of a “unified Islamic nation” in the Middle East of the Islamic world, which positions itself [against the thought of the American Bretton Woods School in the 21st century] as the axis of evil” following the events of September 11, 2001, the capture of the U.S. Embassy in Iran in November 1978, which led to the embargo on Iran and the cessation of diplomatic relations with the United States. The United States’ failure to agree to Iran’s nuclear program⁵⁰ and consequently the U.S. withdrawal from the JCPOA under President Donald Trump and... All are examples of the strained relations between Iran and the United States in the context of history. In response to this key question, why have U.S.-Iran relations always been strained and hostile? Several responses have been given, one of which goes back to the conflicting national interests of the two countries, which are rooted in their foreign policy.⁵¹ Now, one of the examples of the conflicting national interests of Iran and the United States is the Yemen crisis. The logic of this argument decrees that the United States, in the face of Iran’s influence in the Yemen crisis, deterrence.⁵² However, currently, the coronavirus pandemic has added to Yemen’s economic, social, health, and other problems. But it will prevent the possibility of conflicting national interests between Iran and the United States on a short-term and cross-sectional basis. Since April 2, 2022, a temporary, albeit brief, ceasefire has been in place during Biden’s presidency in Yemen. The current study raises the possibility that because the U.S. presidency is democratic at present, as well as his focus on domestic issues in the United States, such as the coronavirus pandemic, the Yemen crisis, albeit cross-sectional and short-term, will become a peaceful one. But as mentioned above, this peaceful figure has been cross-sectional and short-lived. So much

50 Enayatollah Yazdani and Rizwan Hussain, ‘United States’ Policy towards Iran after the Islamic Revolution: An Iranian Perspective’, *International Studies* 43, no. 3 (1 April 2006): 267–70, <https://doi.org/10.1177/002088170604300302>.

51 Mohammad Reza Chitsazian and Seyed Mohammad Ali Taghavi, ‘An Iranian Perspective on Iran–US Relations: Idealists Versus Materialists’, *Strategic Analysis* 43, no. 1 (2 January 2019): 28, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2019.1569329>.

52 Mohamed Mahmoud Marzouk, ‘The Yemeni Crisis and its Repercussions on US-Saudi Relations during the Period from (2011-2016)’, *almajalat aleilmia lildirasat altjariat walbiyya* 10, no. 1 (1 January 2019): 160–61, <https://doi.org/10.21608/jces.2019.50391>.

so that we must look forward to increasing America’s contradictory national interests in the face of Iranian influence, which manifests itself as a cause for the 21st-century Middle East Yemen crisis. And U.S. deterrence against Iran’s influence in Yemen as disabled has exacerbated it.

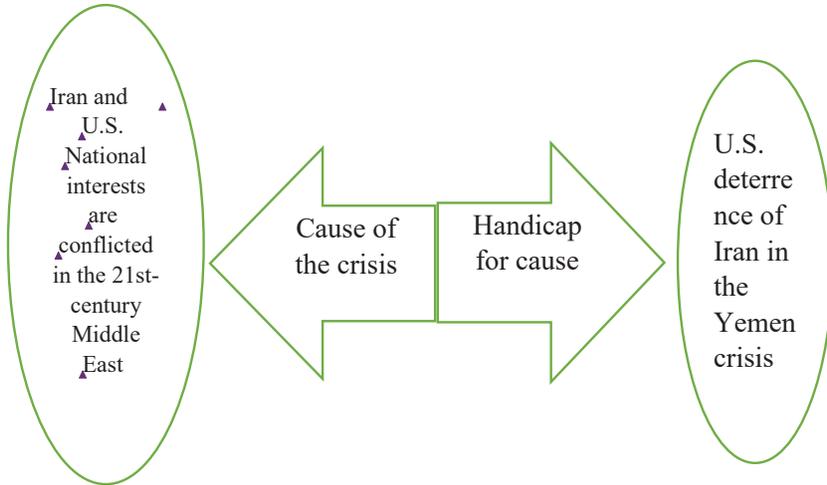


Figure 3. The Conceptual Model of the Conflicting National Interests of Iran and the United States in the 21st Century Middle East Yemen Crisis

Conclusion

The present study sought to study the crisis in Yemen in the Middle East in the 21st century from a time efficiency perspective(2015-2022). For this purpose, using causal explanation, Davidson’s explanatory research method, that considers a disability for any cause, tried to identify the cause of the crisis among the different national interests of active actors in Yemen, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United States, and bring the handicap for a cause that will follow their mention. Accordingly, it first defined the national interest as a guide to the actions of states in the foreign policy environment. This basic principle and foreign policy guide categorized states into different types and forms of typology, including common national interests, parallel national interests, conflicting national interests, and discordant national interests. then tried to implement this typology and classification of various forms of national interest in the 21st-century Yemen crisis in the Middle East. In addition to accurate identification and typology, various forms of national interest, including conflicting national interests or disputes, could prevail in the relationships of actors active in Yemen’s 21st-century crisis in the Middle East, including Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. Discovering the causes that

can cause a crisis, as mentioned above, from the heart of the classification and typology of all kinds of national interests is a research effort. From the period (2015 to 2022), Saudi Arabia entered the War in Yemen along with the alliance of GCC countries within the framework of an operation called “Decisive Storm,” as previously stated. Apart from Saudi Arabia, other actors such as the United States and Iran also entered the Yemen crisis to realize their national interests. The national interests of these actors, when they face each other and compete with each other, take the forms listed above. This could increase the escalation of the Yemen crisis in the Middle East in the 21st century and make it more severe. The first confrontation of the national interests of key players in the Yemen crisis relates to the common mood of finding the national interests of Saudi Arabia and the United States, which is primarily a reason for the escalation of Yemen’s 21st-century crisis in the Middle East because, from the perspective of research, the joint national interests of Saudi Arabia and the U.S. as the cause of the crisis are organized on about three sides of the triangle of security, energy and countering al-Qaeda terrorism extremism, while, from the perspective of the investigation, the joint national interests of Saudi Arabia and the United States as the cause of the crisis are organized on about three sides of the triangle of security, energy and countering the extremism of al-Qaeda terrorism. The efforts of the two actors to reach the three sides of the triangle, which the research in question called the Yemen Crisis Triangle, as a handicap for the cause, have exacerbated the Crisis in Yemen in the 21st century. The second confrontation between the national interests of key players in the Yemen crisis belongs to Saudi Arabia and Iran. It is explained here that the discordant national interests of Iran and Saudi Arabia, two key players in Yemen’s 21st-century crisis in the Middle East, are among the other causes of the Yemen crisis, with the confrontation of the Shia-revolutionary discourse led by Iran and Saudi-led Sufi and fundamentalist Islam as the underlying cause. Finally, the conflicting national interests of Iran and the United States are the cause of the 21st-century Yemen crisis and express the U.S. deterrence against Iran’s influence in the Yemen crisis as an intensifying effect of the conflicting national interests of the two actors. It goes on to point out that the coronavirus outbreak, cross-sectionally and short-term, reduces the contradictory situation of U.S.-Iran national interests in the crisis and considers Biden’s coming to power as Democratic president in the United States and his focus on domestic issues in the United States effective in reducing the contradictory state of U.S.-Iran national interests cross-sectionally and short-term. But ultimately, he believes that the variables that diminish the conflicting national interests of Iran and the United States in

the Yemen crisis in the Middle East in the 21st century, as stated above, have a short-term impact, so we have to wait for the reinvestment of the conflicting national interests of Iran and the United States in the Yemen crisis.

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