CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

International relations phenomena nowadays have been more explicit that are not merely discuss about World War, Cold War, strong military of states, nuclear weapon, environmental problems and many still others that could threat international world such as Security, Peaceful, human right, environment, terrorism, and trade investment, bilateral or multilateral relations among states. Meanwhile, in this 21st centuries era that is globalization era, the threat comes from transnational threat which come from weak or failed states then become more dangerous problems that gives significant influences to the other states not only in the region of the states or neighboring states, but it's becoming wider and wider to the international world.

Francis Fukuyama also argued that in the end of cold war many failed states have become the main problems in a new world[1].This assumption based on the fact that the development of globalization, and the end of nation state can stimulate transnational phenomena which is no boundaries[2], like Kenichi Omahe said in his book "*In the end of nation state*" transnational phenomena make the world feel like no boundaries which gives not merely positives side neither negative sides to the state itself such as trade investment, foreign investment, etc.

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[1]Francis Fukuyama, State-Building: *Governance and World Order in the 21st century.* (Ithaca, N.Y.:Cornell University Press, 2004), Page.92
[2]Tulus Warsito, 2009, *Diplomasi Perbatasan*, Yogyakarta, LP3M UMY.

However, those phenomena can stimulate group of society for some groups to conduct crime activities such as international terrorism, pirates, weapon proliferation, crimes organization, human trafficking, illegal logging, transnational crime, or even, some diseases like HIV/ AIDS, Swain Influenza H1N1 etc. Thus kind of problems above could become a big challenge to some states relate to the influence of distribution in transnational. The relation to the transnational threat caused by failed states problems, it becomes more interesting and needs to be discussed more deeply that the influence of failed state which a government could not run its functions effectively or it can be called the disfunctions of government. The disfuctions of it can stimulate many kind of transnational crime activities to thrive prosperous used by some people or groups.

Then, at the first time the existence of transnational crimes activities is only involved by one country and its only for domestic problem. But, it could become wider not only for one country. Then also may occur a new wider, becoming more global threat and a new perception that becomes a topic discussion in any groups, government, scientist, and mass media. They all try to relate the phenomena of weak or failed state and much kind of its new threats gives influence toward Global Threat and Humanitarian Catastrophes. And also like what Lars Erslev Andersen has written ten in his article that: "that state which having failed or being weak are unable to maintain a monopoly of violence either on their own territory or in their territorial waters"[3].

Marx weber also defined about an ideal state: "that is state the institution

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[3] Lars Erslev Andersen, *Piracy in The Gulf of Aden: Reflections on the Concept of Piracy and Order*. Pages 92

which legitimately, monopolizes the production of regulations and the use of force, integrates society, national territory and mediates conflicts"[4] The other statement was defined by Barry Buzan it is "State is the main entity that must be protected and that war is the main threat to its existence[5]." It means a state which could not protect their own territory and solve violence, monopolize production in its own country called failed or weak state.

Those statements above are true based on the fact compared with a condition in a failed state like Somalia. The state apparatus is unable to uphold an effective monopoly of violence over its whole territory, lacks an effective judicial system to guard the rule of law and promulgate or officially the judgments that are internationally regarded as legitimate and sound (especially in commercial matters), it is also unable or unwilling to fulfill international obligations (such as in debt repayment) and cannot prevent various forms of transnational economic crime or the use of its territory for the perpetration or act of violence (politically motivated or otherwise) against other states in the international system[6].

The government had collapsed because of the civil war which has been taking place since 1990s[7]. The collapse of the government makes Somali condition is unstable. Somalia can not create its security, run its economy, social, politics, and military. This condition makes 40% (less than a dollar a day)of its

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[4] Max Weber, 1968, *Economy and Society,* Bedminster Press, New York.
[5] Bilyana Tsvetkova *: Securitizing Piracy Off the Coast of Somalia* : pages 45 Retrieved December 16, 2009, taken from http://www.cejiss.org/assets/pdf/articles/vol3-1/Tsvetkova-Piracy_in_Somalia.pdf
[6] Shaacir Mataan, *The Failed State of Somalia and Jumping on the Terrorism Bandwagon,* retrievied November 11, 2009, Taken from http://www.banadir.com/the_failed_state.htm.
[7] Firman Atmakusuma, "Ketika Perompak Mulai Mengungsi". *Tempo.* 15 November 2009 page. 118

citizens live in extreme poverty[8]. And almost 75% of households subsist or live on less than \$2 a day. Approximately two-thirds of Somali youth are uneployments. Poverty and uneployment are over flowing in Somalia[9].

In 2004, the Somali Transitional Federal Government (TGF) was formed to hold office for five years. However, the TGF was too weak and thus unable to take up residence in Somalia. It failed to establish its authority throughout most part of the country. Most of the regions are dominated some by traditional groups, While the government does not have enough legitimacy to protect its citizen from any threat especially criminal activities such as Piracy. The extreme government and virtually nonexistent justice system created favorable condition for piracy. That's why piracy in Somalia has been being prosperous and thrive freely[10].

There are some causes that make Somali piracy prosperous and infamous and became one of the world's oldest professions[11]. It began in the early 1990s when there was no coast guards to protect against trawlers from foreigner countries who illegally fishing in Somali water which has the longest coast in Africa along 3.330km which rich of tuna and Samoa fish. Then, as an attempt by Somalis to protect their Somali water from those what foreigners have done, it made Somalis getting angry and felt that the foreign ship are threathening their livelihood that they rely only from their coast. Moreover it was disturbed and

[8] *Somali Aid and Development Saad Ethiopia, an Overview of Somali* : Retrieved 12nd december 2010. Taken from
http://saadaid.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=28
[9] John CK Daly, "*Somalia: Pirates of The Gulf,*" International Relations and Security Network, Retrivied on March 12, 2009. Taken from http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Current-Affairs/Security-Watch/Detail/?id=97585&lng=en
[10] Bilyana Tsvetkova *:"Securitizing Piracy Off The Coast of Somalia":* pages 45. 2nd November 2009. taken from http://www.cejiss.org/assets/pdf/articles/vol3-1/Tsvetkova-Piracy_in_Somalia.pdf
[11] Ibid Pages. 4

automatically would give influence to their income if they keep quiet of what foreigners due to their coast. So, they started to band together to protect their resources by asking some compensation toward what foreigners had done to their coast that led to the erosion of the fish stock[12].

After trying to against and asking compensations, ordinary Somali fishermen suddenly change into the braver and more brutal fishermen who hijack many foreign ships not only fishermen that change the profession into pirates, but also by bandit-bandit that make Somali piracy are extremely dangerous not only doing hijack but also they do murder, rape, and recently more sophisticated methods of kidnapping and extortion. The Somalis felt that their job as piracy has become a fashionable and appealing business because it provides rich remunerations. This resulted in the information of multiple pirate gangs in the Gulf of Aden which allowed for significant sophisticated their operations.

The condition of combination of inter clan rivalry, corruption, arms proliferation, extremism and pervasive impunity has facilitated crime in most parts of Somalia, particularly in Puntland and Central Somalia. This criminal activity eventually moved from land to the sea. Those stimulator such many crime activities especially Somali piracy that is really dangerous and give significant influence toward any term in security. So, the researcher tries to find the aims of this research that is to explain deeply and to prove the existence of piracy can give influences and threaten toward regional trade stability in certain region.

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[12] Firman Atmakusuma, Ketika Perompak mulai mengungsi. *Tempo*. November 15, 2009 page. 118

The researcher takes Somali piracy as the case of this research because it is considered to give significant influences to the trade stability in the Gulf of Aden. Since it is proven there are many ships have been being hijacked dramatically increased it caused because Somali piracy are supported by influential clans, by member of TGF, by many Somali society, and by several business communities in neighboring countries and the country's strategic location at the horn of Africa, its conditions were ripe for the growth of piracy in the early 1990s.

B. Research Question

Based on the background above, the writer can make a reserach question of her final paper. the reseach question is formulated as follows:

How is the influences of Somali piracy as international relations actor toward regional trade stability in Gulf of Aden in 1991-2008?

C. Theoretical Framework

1. Classical Security Complex Theory[13]

The logic of regional security came from the fact that international security is a problem related each others. Most of international security involves how human collectivity related each other in many sectors such as threaten or vulnerability. And give pressure in security dilemma, power deterrence, weapon war, and security regime. Classical security complex theory states that there is regional sub-system as the object of security analysis and gives analysis framework within those systems. This theory has

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[13] Taken from Barry Buzan, *Security; A New Framework for Analysis*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998, pages 10-12

a main focus state as the keyword or unit and political and economic sectors. The theoretical framework is made to give specification toward autonomy relations from regional security relations and put the relations in the context of state.

All states in a system (region) is included in a complicated relations within global web of security interdependent. Meanwhile, many big politic and military threats can be moved easier with near distance not long distance. Unsecure condition is rarely mentioned with the near distance (proximity). Most states are more afraid from the influence of their neighboring states than another bigger threatens or long distance.

Consequently, the security interdependence in international system is really far to be the same. A normal framework of security interdependency within multi-geography, anarchies' international system include into one of group that based on region, given a label as security complexes. Security interdependencee is rarely signed by a state in certain complex. Complex security involves intensity security relations inter-states that give influence to different region pattern formed by power distribution or amity and enmity history relations.

Complex security has definition as the group of states which security perception and the main interest related each other's so national security problem can not be analyzed or fixed separately inter-state. Regionalist approach describes that based on assumption threat is more often come from short distance than over long distances. From that statement is creates the

concept of security complex define by Barry Buzan it as : "a group of states whose primary have security concerns and link together sufficiently closely that their national securities can not reasonably be considered apart from one to onother[14]".

Buzan and Waever asserted that regional security complex theory have to made up for four variables[15].

1. Boundary : which distingusihes the regional security complex from its neighbours.

2. Anarchic structure : which means that the Regional Security Complex must be made up at least of two or more autonomous states.

3. Polarity : which cover the distribution of power among the states in the regional security complex.

4. Social construction : pattern of amity[16] and enmity[17] among the states in the regional security complex.

To define that states located between regioanl security complex Buzan and Waever introduce the term of insulator which means countries that are involving in more that one secuirty complex are allowed to insulate itself from the security dynamics in both these security complex. Or deal with all these security issues in the security complex without uniting them. Some states command considerable power capabilities within their own regional

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[14] Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, Region and Powers: *The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2003), pages 27-29
[15] Ibid
[16] A close relations between state which, resulted to the expectations of protection and support
[17] Relations Between State based on Fear and Suspicion

security complex unfortunately, it is not enough to bring the matter on theity comple global scale. These states are labeled regional power. Regional security complex theory purposes that all states can be located in one and only one regioanl security complex execpt for great power that could operate in several regional security complex states.

2. **Theory System**

The definition of theory system is a whole system which comes from sub-system or some parts that can change any condition to the other conditions. Actually this theory occurs to react toward interdependency theory which is considered can not explain the development sypthom in the third world. This theory is interdicipline abstract organization study from separate phenomena from its subtancy.

The type is spatial (related with position, size, and shape), or limited time scale from any life. This theory also analized general principes untill the complex entity and models used to its describe. System is a definition that frequently used in political science and international relations right now. It can be explained as:

    a. Theoretical framework to collect data aboutt political phenomenon.

    b. An integration that related each other based on some variable politic hypothesis for example international system which involves world government.

    c. Series of relations among political variables in international system such as bipolar system.

Theory system refers to series of statements about relation between dependence and independent variable that assumed to be able to interact each others. A system can be looser or tighter, stable or no stable. Smaller system can be called subsystem that may life in a wider system. And each system is communication networks that open way of information to self adaptation process. And has its own input n output. And an output in system might become input in other system called as feedback. According James E. Dougherti is a "series of statement about changes in one or more variables are accompanied or followed by changes in other variables or combination of variable"[18].

From the definition above means a comination or series of units are related each others and if there is one change from one of it, it will be followed by other parts which influences the whole system inside. A system consits from four parts[19] :

a. first is object(part, element, or variables) inside the system. It may formed physic or abstract depend on the nature character from the system.

b. Second, a system consist of attributes (quality or property) from the system and its object.

c. Third, a sytem has internal relation among its objects.

[18] James E Dougherty and R.L. Pflatgraff, Jr., *Contending Theories Of International Relations, Third edition*, harper Collins publisher Inc, 1990.
[19] Ludwig von Bertalanffy, *General System Theory: Foundations, Development, Applications,* New York: George Braziller (1968).

d. Fourth, systems are located in an environment.

System is a combination that influence each other inside the environment and shape a different bigger pattern from the others. Otherwise, each change happenned by each object will influence internal relations inside the system.Interaction paradigm system basically from organizational analize shows some steps frequently from input throughout process in each part or time and output that show openness and closeness concept. Closenees system is not interacted with its environment. This system does not take information that's why becoming weaker and loose. And about openness system accept information used to interact dynamically with its environment. Opennes increase hope or want to be survive and prosper.

Some charactheristics of system includes wholeness and depends each other, correlation, understand the causes, hierarchy, suprasystem, and subsystem, self regulation, controll, aim orientation, chance to get information from the environment, input/output. The need of balance or homostatis, change and adapttion(morphogenesis) and equi-finality (last condition that cant be changed) there are many ways to achieve the aim.

3. **Political Piracy Theory**

According Stefan Eklof Amirell in his book in the part of "Political piracy and maritime terrorism: A comparison between the straits of Malacca and the southern Philippines" he defines that The main criteria for defining political piracy depends around the issue of motive , it is not carried out from the purpose of private economic gain but prefer to the purpose of generating

funds for political, ideological or religious, and also for struggle reason an armed insurgency. So from the definition above that political piracy is always depend on the motive behind their activity. Admittedly as common banditry is often cloaked weather in political, ideological, or religious pretext to run well their operation or activity in gaining their goal. However the blurred boundaries between political piracy and ordinary piracy between political struggle and banditry does not make any distinction less valuable. On the contrary, for practical purpose it is all the more important to identify the most fundamental motives behind the specific piratical activity in order to identify and deploy the most efficient counter measures. Moreover to counter the problem of piracy we have to know deeply the very basic of its motive behind it.

It is Just like political piracy acts of maritime terrorism are perpetrated in order to political to promote a political, ideological or religious cause. What the distinguishes maritime terrorism from political piracy and other form of piracy. However the focus on violence as a means of creating instilling fear in a population or the general public. In contrast to other forms of piracy where the motive is driven by economics, the objectives of Maritimes terrorism the very violence constituting the attacks again the boundaries may be blurred. But, the distinction is useful in order to identify the required responses and levels of security needed. In the other hand of countering the problem its also to know the solution of the problem what level of security will we required.

In appliying security complex theory defined by Buzan that a region is a clear and significant sub system from many countries security relations which locked each other geographically. Therefore the conclusion that can be drawn they are :

    a. first, what means by system in this research paper is a relations security system in Gulf of Aden Region.

    b. Second, the countries that geographically located in that region are Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Ethiopia, Egypt; Sudan is the objects from security relations system in that region. And the other factors that contribute in in securing the region.

    c. Third, security relations system in Gulf of Aden Region has an internal relation that influences each other for the countries in that region.

    d. Fourth, the quality of security relations system in the region can be seen by analyzing how internal relations in the region countries in the Gulf of Aden region can be influenced by internal condition of each countries which the object of the system.

To advance this argument, this research commences by the coceptual framework of traditional security theory like the explanation above that piracy has emerged as a serious problem which can threat to regional trade particular the global shipping of oil. By analizing that Somali piracy as international relations actor has recently had a major trade relations. In

addition, Somali piracy presents as regional security threat the strongest link between piracy and international security.

Moreover, in applying theory system that System is set of some variables or parts that influence other parts if one of the variable combination influence each other inside the environment and shape a different bigger pattern from the others. Otherwise, each change happenned by each object will influence internal relations inside the system. So the existence of Somali piracy as international relations actor give influences or change to the regional trade stability in the region.

The effects of piracy disrupts regional trade of oil being transported from Middle East to the Western states considering the Gulf of Aden is one of the world's busiest shipping lanes. This further endangers the income of neighboring countries engaged in commercial shipping. And through the direct effect on regional trade, especially oil.

In addition behind of those Somali piracy activities based on political piracy theory there is a motive reason behind those operation like economic, religion, or political one in running their operation successfully and this operation is a cooperation from some people in a group like international syndicates from many pirates in some countries to gain their motive goal or they use the name of pirates.

So from that explanation the writer can clonclude that the exsistency of somali piracy as international relations actor can change the condition or situation there become very bad condition. When one of country's condition

is unstable or unsecured automatically according this theory it will give influences to the other inside or outside the coutries even other aspects of life such like the case of this paper is regional trade stability in Gulf of Aden. And as the the influence of piracy's action. Because of the condition of somalia itself and its piracy is unstable, and also the place is one of the most strategic route geographically in the world. Through this routre the foregin ships can have low cost and do not need much time to pass. So this route use to pass many foreign ships to minimize the low but with very high risk.

But as the consequent over there, there many pirates that stand by and ready to ask ransom, attack and hijack the ships with many ways they like to act. From those phenomena it really gives significant influences toward the stability there. And now The most trade routes in the world is now threathened by the chronic instability in Somalia by the pirates existence.

D. **Hypothesis**

The existence of Somali piracy as international relations actor gives negative influences toward regional trade stability in Gulf of Aden that is as threat to the regional trade which distrub on oil supplies.

E. **Scope**

The scope of this research contains of the time of the Somali piracy as the actor of international relations case that started from 1991-2008 periods and why they become over whelming and also it focuses geographically in the Gulf of Aden. In order this reseacrh will not too general or too specific.

F. Methodology

This research use quantitative method, this method is commonly applied in any research that took data secondary in any kind of documents such as books, journals, articles, on line or non online. Meanwhile, this research does not use questionnaires or other collecting data. This research applied inductive logic which tries to make a conclusion from any specific terms to make a general conclusion. So, it may give some meaning more detail and made simple and easily accurate.

G. Writing Systematic.

In explaining this undergraduate thesis and make it clearer and systematic, the reseacher divides the report in several chapters that give point to point of its chapter which are:

Chapter I

This chaphter is the introduction that contains regulations in writing scientifically, backgrounds of this research paper, research question, theoretical framework that consist of some theories and one concept, hypothesis, scope of writing, and writing systematic.

Chapter II,

This chaphter explains the failure of the Somali that can stimulate some criminal activities to thrive which became one of the most threats in the world today that is Somali Piracy as international relations actor then continue from the history of Somali piracy to the dynamic existence of it.

Chapter III,

And about the third chapther discusses kinds of **"**Regional trade Stability in Gulf of Aden Area" then in this chapter the researcher will explain about what kind of regional trade in Gulf of Aden Area by explaining the geographical framework, the trading route, and why Gulf of Aden is so an important area and the stability of global trade there before and after 1991 from stabil condition become unstable.

Chapter IV

Fouth chapther is the application of its hypothesis that tries to relate each problem. And because of the existence of the piracy itself that really dominate Somalia coast it's really disturbs, threats or give negative significant influences to the regional trade stability in the Gulf of Aden. By appliying the teoritical framework above it will be explained how it (the Somali piracy) can affect the stability of regional trade in that area and what are the influences of its.

Chapter V

The fifth chapther contains of conclusion that extracts all of chapters of this paper and also some recomendations of this problem which try to give some advices toward international relations study in facing the world problem of new phenomenon especially for the scientist and researchers.