

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Problem Background

United State of America is a state which has a dominant position in the international system and has the ability to influence events and its own interests and project power on a worldwide scale to protect those interests, thus U.S is called as the superpower country because U.S influence and hegemony in the world have really considered. U.S as superpower country which is powerful in international politic, could implementing in every non-military operation in the world. As the world police U.S has responsible in upholding human right and security in the world from any threat, including terrorism because terrorism becomes the world consent as international crime because terrorism threat and inhuman actions make U.S infuriated.

Terrorism become international consent today, Terrorism activities such September 11 attacks resulted in 2,996 immediate (attack time) deaths in United State, Bali bombings in Indonesia 2002, killed 202 most of them are from Australia with as many as 88 people, in 7 July 2005 London bombings¹ were a series of co-ordinated suicide attack in the United Kingdom in which 52 were killed. Other tragedies make international society consent to reduce these actions, these inhumanity and

¹often referred to as 7/7

unlawful actions. Their actions are responded by U.S as superpower country by a statement “war on terror”.

The statements of “war on terror” was appear after September 11 attacks that have shocked United State when four U.S commercial aircraft were hijacked and used as weapons of mass destruction by 19 terrorists of the radical Islamist terror network. After seizing control of the planes, terrorists crashed two of them into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, while another plane was flown into the Pentagon in the US capital city. more than 2500 U.S. people dead from these actions did by 19 terrorist from Islamist group Al-Qaeda, U.S. justified it is as Al Qaeda² attack because Two weeks after the September 11 attack, the Federal Bureau of Investigation identified the hijackers and connected them to al-Qaeda, a global, decentralized terrorist network. In a number of video, audio, interview and printed statements, senior members of al-Qaeda have also asserted responsibility for organizing the September 11 attacks. The United States responded to the attacks by launching the “War on Terror”, invading Afghanistan to depose the Taliban, which had harbored al-Qaeda members. Many countries strengthened their anti-terrorism legislation and expanded law enforcement powers³. The Bush statement “with us or against us” is the jargon for the war in combating terrorism, especially in combating Al Qaeda which was responsible for September 11 attacks.

²*Al-Qaeda is an international terrorist network led by Usama bin Laden. To continue the holy war beyond Afghanistan, al-Qaeda's current goal is to establish a pan-Islamic Caliphate throughout the world by working with allied Islamic extremist groups to overthrow regimes it deems "non-Islamic" and expelling Westerners and non-Muslims from Muslim countries. Taken from Al-Qaeda (the base),<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/al-qaida.htm>, accessed 6 October 2011*

³ September 11 attack, <http://www.september11news.com/>, accessed October 7, 2011

In order to implement “war on terrorism” Bush called U.S. allies to join with U.S. in combating terrorism, the declaration is:

America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism. Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened.⁴

These declarations prove that U.S. would cooperate with other states in counter-terrorism.⁵ U.S. to combat terrorism in the region demand cohesive strategies across U.S. foreign policy agencies and across the region.⁶ United State organizes strategic with many states in the world and other international actors such as IGOs and NGOs to the war on terror. These strategic are known as “counter-terrorism cooperation”. Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Yemen and Central Asia which are basis for Al- Qaeda movement were targeted by U.S. in combating the existing terrorist threat.

U.S has been succeeding in combating terrorism in several places especially in Pakistan and Afghanistan. U.S successful proven by several data supported this idea. Dr. Little wood he believes that U.S has been succeeding in countering terrorism based on several reasons. first, degrading Al Qaeda core in Afghanistan and Pakistan, pushing them out of Afghanistan and removing the safe haven from the 1990s, and putting them on the defensive in Pakistan and the Afghanistan-Pakistan border areas, as well as in

⁴<http://www.famous-speeches-and-speech-topics.info/presidential-speeches/george-w-bush-speech-9-11-address-to-the-nation.htm>, accessed 7 October 2011

⁵ *U.S government define counter terrorism is the practices, tactics, techniques, and strategies that government, militaries, polices department and cooperation adopt in response to terrorist threats or act, both real and imputed, and those all actions are from the government policies*, Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, *The Political Economy of Terrorism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006 P. 27

⁶ See, Deborah L. West, *Combating Terrorism in The Horn of Africa and Yemen*, Program on Intrastate Conflict and Conflict Resolution, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2005, p.27

other areas of the world. Deteriorating the ability of such groups to plan and act freely is not an inconsiderable achievement. Second, U.S. has also managed to galvanize some of its allies and friends into countering Al Qaeda-type terrorism, even if some did so reluctantly initially: Saudi Arabia; Pakistan for example.⁷ U.S. succeed in combating terrorism has also been proven by Iraq and Libya conditions. Actually Iraq and Libya were designated states sponsor of terrorism before 11 September attack, but today these states are off from sponsor list, and also Libya renounced their project to proliferate WMD (weapon of mass distraction).⁸ While, this succeed condition couldn't generalize to all states have been joined in combating terrorism with U.S. Yemen is a state which has been joined U.S in combating terrorism, but after joining counter-terrorism cooperation, the condition in Yemen was not being better but being worse; rebellion, terrorism and clandestine became problems in Yemen.

After the unity of North and South Yemen, and the beginning of democracy era, the problem after democratization in Yemen is increasing number of international terrorism in Yemen, Al-Qaida in Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). AQAP⁹ take action in thwarting democracy and development in Yemen and Al-Qaeda became a major consent U.S-Yemen cooperation in combating terrorism and their actions made U.S and Yemeni governments throes enough, such as Al-Qaeda bombing of the USS Cole in October 2000, the attack on the M/V Limburg in October 2001, and murder of three American

⁷ See, Li Xuejiang, *U.S 10-year counter terrorism : success or failure ?*, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn>, accessed 14, December 2011

⁸ See, Alex P Schmid and Rashmi Singh, *Measuring Success and Failure in Terrorism and Counter Terrorism US Government Metrics of the Global War on Terror*, RUSI, London, 2009 P.36

⁹ AQAP is a militant Islamist organization, primarily active in Yemen and Saudi Arabia. It was named for Al Qaeda, and says it is subordinate to that group and its now-deceased leader Osama bin Laden.

NGO health workers in Jibla. As a result U.S. and Yemen created partnership against terrorism¹⁰. After Cole Bombing, U.S. officials who complained to Yemeni authorities were not cooperating with U.S. in combating and investigating. But after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Yemeni government became more forthcoming in its cooperation with the U.S and it is proven that after September 11 attack president Saleh Yemen president, also embrace slogan “war on terror” in order to make closer to U.S.

On November 25-27, 2001 Yemeni President Saleh, visited the US and signed a memorandum of understanding on security cooperation, seeking cooperation in the fields of cutting off terrorist funds, preventing terrorist recruitment, sharing anti-terrorism information, carrying out anti-terrorism training, and so on. The United States provided technical assistance, equipment, and training to the Anti-Terrorism Unit (ATU) of the Yemeni Central Security forces and other Yemeni Interior Ministry departments.¹¹ On June 2004, President Saleh was invited to attend the G-8 Sea Island Summit in the Southern American state of Georgia. In the morning on June, 8 2004, Gorge Tenet director of the central intelligence agency (CIA) visited to president Saleh. Tanet had it out bilateral security and intelligence cooperation with Saleh. Tenet praised the level of Yemeni’s cooperation on the ongoing campaign to fight terrorism. He reassured his government’s willingness to strengthen the Yemeni-US partnership on the war on terror. In the early morning of the June, 8 2004, President Ali Abdullah Saleh visited the Pentagon to meet the Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense. The meeting

¹⁰ See, Yemen, <http://www.usaid.gov/policy/budget/cbj2005/ane/ye.html>, accessed 8, October 2011

¹¹ See Jeremy M. sharp, *Yemen : Background and U.S. Relations, initial U.S. and Yemeni Counter Terrorism*, congressional research service, Congressional Research Service, 2010, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/137261.pdf>, accessed October, 7, 2011, p.26

focused on relations of bilateral cooperation between the Yemeni Armed Forces and the American Military and their ongoing efforts to win the war on terror. Also on the of June, 10 2004, President Saleh met Colin Powell, In the meeting, aspects of mutual cooperation between Yemen and the United States in economic and political issues, as well as cooperation in fighting terrorism were discussed. President Bush welcomed President Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen to the White House on November, 10 2005. The two leaders discussed a range of bilateral issues, including the President's Freedom Agenda and cooperation on the war on terrorism.¹²

In order to support counter terrorism U.S. gave aid in military, economic, education and other aspect to increase human development in Yemen. U.S by this USAID programs to help Yemen in developing a healthy and educated population with access to diverse economic opportunities. The program focused on the five districts, Amrn, Sa'ada, Al-Jawf, Marib and Shabwa. These regions known as the central of international terrorism movement.¹³ USAID gave money to support this agenda in 2010 total State Department aid, was about \$63 million, including \$12.5 million to buy military equipment. Yemen got \$67 million in military aid from the Defense Department in 2009; it is evidence that U.S is very serious in counter terrorism in Yemen.¹⁴

Actually, Yemen is a country located in the Middle East, occupying the southwestern and southern end of the Arabian Peninsula. It is bordered by Saudi Arabia to the north, the Red Sea to the west, and Oman to the east. Yemen faces a lot of

¹²<http://www.yemenembassy.org/issues/ymusrelshp/index.htm>. accessed 22 ,12,2011

¹³See, *Ibid*, Yemen

¹⁴ See, Ken Dilania, *Yemen Hasn't Receive as Much U.S. Aid as its Neighbors*, http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2010-01-05-yemen-aid_N.htm, accessed 8 October 2011

problems in its political future and the Arabian Peninsula. War, terrorism, a deepening secessionist movement, the ongoing civil war in Sa'ada against Shiite zaidi rebels, and interconnected economic and demographic trends have the potential to overwhelm the Yemeni government. Yemen remains the poorest country in the Arab world, with its population is expected to double to over 40 million. The government has been unable to provide adequate education or other public services for the rapidly expanding population. This condition makes terrorism grow rapidly¹⁵.

Terrorism in Yemen is not a new phenomenon, Terrorism attack in Yemen was not only after 11 September attack, but before 11 September attack Yemen government and other parties such U.S were busy attacked by terrorism. There are several data for terror action in Yemen before 11 September attack:

TABLE .I

Terrorism Action in Yemen before 11 September Attack

1992	In December three bombing were reportedly targeted at U.S troops in Aden, Yemen. There were no casualties.
1996	-In January, tribesmen in al Ma`rib Governorate kidnapped 17 elderly French tourists in order to pressure authorities into releasing a member of the tribe. - In June, an unidentified assailant threw an explosive device from a passing car into a vacant lot 30 meters from a US Embassy officer's residence near the office of the Canadian Occidental oil company. - A French diplomat was kidnapped by tribesmen in the al Ma`rib Governorate in late October and was released unharmed in early November.
1997	-In march, A letter was sent to the German Embassy threatening to kill the hostages if the Yemeni Government did not pay a ransom of roughly \$3 million. Yemeni tribesmen kidnapped four German tourists who were returning to Sanaa from Marib. -In July, Unknown assailants kidnapped two Italian tourists and their Yemeni driver near Kohlan. -In August, Yemeni tribesmen kidnapped an Italian tourist they randomly picked out among six others traveling between Rada and Aman. Tribesmen

¹⁵ See, Christopher Boucek, *Yemen: Avoiding a Downward Spiral*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2009, www.CarnegieEndowment.org, accessed 4 October, 2011.p.1

	<p>kidnapped six Italian tourists traveling to Aden from Mukallah. They released the hostages on 15 August. Tribesmen kidnapped four Italian tourists in Khami. They released the hostages the next day.</p> <p>-In November, Yemeni tribesmen kidnapped a US citizen, two Italians, and two unspecified Westerners near Aden to protest the eviction of a tribe member from his home.</p>
1998	<p>- In April, at a mosque near Sanaa killed two persons and injured 27 others, including two US citizens.</p> <p>-In November car bomb exploded near the German Embassy in Sanaa</p>
1999	<p>- On 17 January, two US Embassy employees escaped a kidnap attempt; later the same day, tribesmen kidnapped six Europeans, who overheard their captors saying they wanted "to kidnap an American."</p> <p>- In October, tribesmen kidnapped three US citizens and released them unharmed in less than two days.</p>
2000	<p>-In October the USS Cole was bombed in Aden, a port of Yemen, and seventeen American sailors were killed. This suicide attack drew global attention to the terrorism in Yemen. This attack also killed five other people, including an American citizen. These actions did by the international terrorism called Al-Qaeda¹⁶.</p>

Source: Yemen Country Report, U.S department of state official website, available online at <http://www.state.gov>

After 11 September attack and after U.S and Yemen created a relationship in counter terrorism, and U.S gave their aid in military, development, and also training camp for counter terrorism, the number of terror action did not decrease but increase. Increasing number of terror actions was supported by the bad condition of Yemen government and U.S counters terrorism programs that more consent in defense. Here are several terror actions in Yemen after 11 September attack:

TABLE.II

Terrorism Action in Yemen after 11 September Attack

2002	<p>-In October 2002 terrorist attack on the French tanker M/V Limburg; the murder of a Ministry of Interior officer</p> <p>-In November 2002 attack on an oil company helicopter; a plot to attack the Civil Aviation and Meteorology Authority; a plot to attack four foreign</p>
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¹⁶ See Journal Audrey kurth Cronin, *Terrorist Attack by Al-Qaeda*, Congressional Research Service, <http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/033104.pdf>, accessed 9 October 2011

	embassies in Sanaa
2006	-On September 15, two coordinated attacks on oil facilities in eastern Yemen resulted in the deaths of all four attackers and one Yemeni security official. A group calling itself al-Qaida in Yemen claimed responsibility.
2007	- June 22 announcement that Abu BasirNasir al-Wahishi was the new head of al-Qa'ida in Yemen (AQY), and the July 2 terrorist attack in Marib that killed ten people. -On July 2, Abdu Mohamad Sad Ahmad Reheqa drove a suicide vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (SVBIED) into a group of western tourists in Marib, killing him and several others. AQY claimed responsibility. -In June, U.S.-trained Yemeni security forces killed the suspected leader of the SVBIED bombing, Ahmed BasyouniDwedar, an Egyptian wanted in Egypt for his ties to the Muslim Brotherhood.
2008	-In January, AQY claimed responsibility for the shooting deaths of two Belgian tourists and two Yemeni drivers in the southern governorate of Hadramaut. -On March 18, four mortars fell short of the U.S. Embassy, injuring dozens at an adjacent girls' school. -On April 6, three mortars hit residential complex housing western workers, including several U.S. Embassy employees in Sanaa, prompting the ordered departure of non-essential U.S. Embassy staff and family members. -On April 30, two mortars hit the Customs Administration parking lot, causing a large explosion just adjacent to the Italian Embassy, believed by many to have been the intended target. -In May, an AQY-affiliated group claimed that it fired a mortar onto the grounds of the presidential palace in Sanaa, but no official statement was released acknowledging the incident. -In July, AQY claimed responsibility for a suicide car bomb attack of a central security forces compound in Hadramaut that killed eight people.
2009	-On March 15, four South Korean tourists were killed in a suicide bomb attack in the city of Shibam in Hadramaut province. -On March 18, a motorcade carrying South Korean government officials was attacked by a suicide bomber on the road to Sana'a International Airport. -In June, nine foreigners were kidnapped in Sa'ada, resulting in three confirmed deaths. The remaining six were still missing at year's end.
2010	-On April 26, the British Ambassador's vehicle was attacked by a suicide bomber as it approached the British Embassy in Sana'a. The Ambassador escaped unharmed; however, three bystanders were wounded and the bomber died in the attack. -On June 19, six to eight suspected AQAP gunmen disguised as women staged a daylight attack on a security service headquarters in Aden, killed 12 civilians. -On July 14, 20 suspected AQAP gunmen staged a coordinated attack on the intelligence and police headquarters in Zinjibar, killing three people.

	<p>-On October 6, a vehicle carrying the British Deputy Chief of Mission was attacked with an anti-tank rocket as it was approaching the British Embassy in Sana'a. One Embassy employee and two bystanders were injured.</p> <p>-On October 29, a plot to send two parcels containing IEDs on two separate flights bound for the United States was discovered. AQAP claimed responsibility.</p> <p>-On December 15, a man of unknown affiliation detonated a grenade in the bed of an armored pickup truck with four U.S. Embassy personnel aboard outside of a popular restaurant in the Hadda neighborhood of Sana'a. No one was injured. A crowd of Yemenis attacked the man and held him until Yemeni government authorities arrived.</p> <p>-AQAP also claimed two suicide attacks against Shia Houthis in the north on November 24 and 26 that resulted in 28 dead and many more wounded. Following these attacks, AQAP reportedly ordered the establishment of Salafi brigades to halt the spread of Shiism in Sa'ada governorate</p>
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Source: Yemen Country Report, U.S department of state official website, available online at <http://www.state.gov>

From the data above, there is no sign of the decreasing terrorist actions since the cooperation was started instead, it was getting worst. In addition, on 2011 AQAP international terrorism operated south Yemen and occupied several cities in south Yemen. On Tuesday September, 9 2011 AQAP occupied rowda city in south Yemen. In Saturday September, 3 2011 six soldiers were killed and eight others injured in car bomb explosion targeting in the checkpoint entrance to Aden¹⁷. In June 22 more than 60 prisoners absconded from the jail located in the east of the city of Mukalla, Hadramout, Yemen, and most of the absconded prisoners were from Al Qaeda.¹⁸ Not only these worse condition becomes justification that U.S –Yemen cooperation is a failure, it is also reported today that Yemen becomes safe havens¹⁹ for Al- Qaeda. According to the most

¹⁷<http://arrahmah.com>, accessed 9 October 2011

¹⁸<http://jogja.tribunnews.com/2011/06/23/lebih-60-tahanan-terorisme-di-yaman-kabur>, accessed 9 October 2011

¹⁹Safe havens is areas which are indicative of the complexities associated with weak and failing governance, e.g. radicalism which enables the transformation of the intangible into the tangible tools of global terror.

recent information available with regards to the war on terror in Yemen, Al Qaeda elements are primarily located in the Shabwa Governorate, the Ma'rib Governorate, the Abyan Governorate, and the Al Jawf Governorate. The Yemeni tribes usually refuse to hand over its own members to the government regardless of the charges that they are facing, including charges of terrorism. These places become safe havens for Al-Qaeda to gathering the power against U.S –Yemeni Government²⁰.

B. Research Question:

Based on the research background, the formulation of the problem is as follows:
Why did U.S. – Yemen counter terrorism cooperation failed in combating terrorism in Yemen?

C. Theoretical framework

The writer prefers to employ concepts for analyzing the research question. Therefore, to analyze the question above, the writer would like to propose two theories and one concept are terrorism and counter terrorism theories following by military alliance concept to answer the hypothesis.

To avoid the intersection, writer divides the use of theories into two parts. First, the writer used of Military Alliance concept and counterterrorism theory in order to know the counterterrorism strategy employed by U.S and Yemen in solving terrorism in Yemen. The next part use terrorism theory, which will be used to explain the causes of the emergence of terrorism in Yemen and people motivated doing terrorism. Then it can

²⁰Arafat mudabish, *why do Yemeni tribes refuse to hand over terrorist suspect*, <http://www.yemenpost.net>, accessed 5 December 2011

be found whether U.S. formulas using military forces in combating terrorism are a strategy or not.

C.1 Counter Terrorism

The writer employs counterterrorism theory proposed by Walter Enders and Todd Sandler. Counterterrorism is categorized by Todd Sandler into two different policies, proactive and defensive.²¹ First is Proactive response, proactive responses are varied. There are many forms of proactive response which are retaliatory raid, preemptive attack, infiltrating and gathering intelligence, and cutting off the financial resources of terrorists. Retaliatory raid strategy can be seen in many forms including a retaliatory raid against a state sponsor that provides resources, training, safe haven, logistical support so that this strategy more focuses on destroying resources of terrorism in actions. Other type of proactive response is preemptive attack against terrorist group or a country harboring it. A preemptive attack differs from a retaliatory raid because the former is more sustained and intended to severely compromise. And infiltration is more compromise, the intelligent infiltrating the group security leads to arrests. And the last strategy will be frozen their assets, then their actions will be limited.²²

The second policy is defensive policy which consists of many forms of strategies. Defensive policy is reactive after past incidents that brought vulnerabilities in the future, which make attacks more costly for terrorists and thus reduce their likelihood of success using any tools to defend. While, when an attack occurs, effective defensive action also limits the losses of the object, this strategy is more protecting the

²¹ See, Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, *The Political Economy of Terrorism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. P.85

²² See, *Ibid Enders*, P 86-89

object using protecting object from any treat or viruses by giving some antivirus. An example of defensive policies is the installation of metal detectors to screen passengers at airports, hotel, mall, and other public facilities.

Another strategy in counter terrorism by Walter Enders and Todd Sandler is the strategy of getting at the roots of terrorism to address the grievances of terrorists, thereby eliminating their rationale for violence.²³ Then, this strategy give more opportunity to terrorist, which means accommodating the demand of terrorist candidate or making terrorist actions become not attractive by observing the emerge of terrorism, and why people do terrorism. This strategy focuses on the basic reasons why people conducting terrorism such as political and economic situations where terrorist basis existed. Unfortunately, this strategy is not being used by any state because when terrorism surfaces in a country, a common governmental reaction is to limit legitimate protest, thereby inducing more terrorism.

In the case of U.S.-Yemen counterterrorism cooperation for combating terrorism, the action relied mostly on proactive policy by using military forces that were fields of cutting off terrorist funds, preventing terrorist recruitment, sharing anti-terrorism information, technical assistance, equipment, and training to the Anti-Terrorism Unit (ATU) although U.S provided aids for human development but not really spread evenly. This counter terrorism using military force is not enough to eleminate terrorism in Yemen since bad economic distributions and political unfair unsolved. The problem of counterterrorism cooperation is about not getting to the roots of terrorism in Yemen, where the problems of politic and economy are the causes of aggrieved population.

²³ See, *Ibid.* P.108

C.2 The Concept of Military Alliance

The basic fundamental word of Military Alliance is alliance, which has ambiguous definition, As Edwin Fedder stated in his conceptual analysis in 1968, "the concept of alliance in the literature of international relations is ambiguous and amorphous." Holsti/Hopmann/Sullivan comes to the same conclusion by observing "the lack of an accepted definition of alliance." in order to solve this debate; Stefan Bergsmann has alternative definitions of alliance, he excerpts that:

defining an alliance as an explicit agreement among states in the realm of national security in which the partners promise mutual assistance in the form of a substantial contribution of resources in the case of a certain contingency the arising of which is uncertain.²⁴

In the above definition alliance is agreement among state for national security, and both partners promise mutual assistance in form of resources automatically in same interest. While military allies were explained by Bruno Tertrais, he said in his concept of military alliance that military alliances are the subject of a rich body of theoretical literature that contends that two main factors urge the formation of alliances one factor is idealistic that nations commit themselves to fight alongside each other because of shared values and ideas. The other is realistic and rests on an analysis of costs and benefits that alliances can save costs and multiply benefits through the division of responsibilities,

²⁴ Stefan Bergsmann, *The Concept of Military Alliance*, P 21-22 available online at http://www.bmlv.gv.at/pdf_pool/publikationen/05_small_states_04.pdf

the sharing of common assets, or simply the protection provided by having a stronger country as an ally.²⁵

Military alliances that include a security guarantee in case of aggression can be formal (a written agreement) or informal. Formal alliances exist in two varieties, that is bilateral ones (such as those existing between the United States and its Asian allies and between France and some African countries) and multilateral ones (such as NATO or the alliance among Russia and some of the former Soviet states). Informal alliances do not take the shape of a treaty or accord but nevertheless imply a security guarantee, such as the relationship between the United States and Taiwan; the United States and Saudi Arabia; and, arguably, the United States and Israel.

Combining these definitions, military alliance is a security guarantee with nations commit themselves to fight alongside each other because of shared values and ideas or nation save costs and multiply benefits through the division of responsibilities, the sharing of common assets, or simply the protection provided by having a stronger country as an ally. In general Military alliance is an agreement between two, or more, military factions, related to wartime planning, commitments, or contingencies; such agreements can be both defensive and offensive. Military alliances often involve non-military agreements, in addition to their purpose that are shared values and ideas, saving costs, sharing of common asset or protection provided by having a stronger country as an ally.

²⁵ Bruno Tertrais, *The Changing Nature of Military Alliances*, P-135-136 available online at <https://csis.org/files/publication/twq04springtertrais.pdf>

The September 11 attacks were a series of four suicide attacks that were committed in the United States on September 11, 2001, coordinated to strike the areas of New York City and Washington, D.C. On that Tuesday morning, 19 terrorists from the Islamist militant group al-Qaeda hijacked four passenger jets. The United States responded to the attacks by launching the “War on Terror”, when many countries strengthened their anti-terrorism legislation and expanded law enforcement powers. The Bush statement “with us or against us” as the jargon for the war in combating terrorism, makes many states joint the U.S in order to condemn terrorist action. Moreover most of them joint the U.S in military to combating terrorism because U.S believes that they are in the war conditions, the war conditions in U.S perceptions is war on terror.

C.3 Terrorism

In this terrorism theory the writer wants to find out why terrorism emerge, and what the basic reasons people doing terrorism are. There are debates in defining terrorism and no fix definition that is recognized by all people. Based on the Charles L. Ruby, the definition of terrorism must be based on three characteristics. First, terrorism must be politically motivated. Second, terrorist violence is directed noncombatants. Third, terrorism is sub national groups or clandestine agents commit terrorist attack²⁶. It similar to Walter Enders and Todd Sandler they agree that the characteristic of terrorism is the use or threat of violence and political motive. Most of definitions tend agreed that terrorism caused by political motivate. A deeper discussion on terrorism conceptualizing social and political condition is the best way to find the root cause of terrorism.

²⁶See, journal Charles L. Ruby, *Definition of Terrorism*, Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 2002

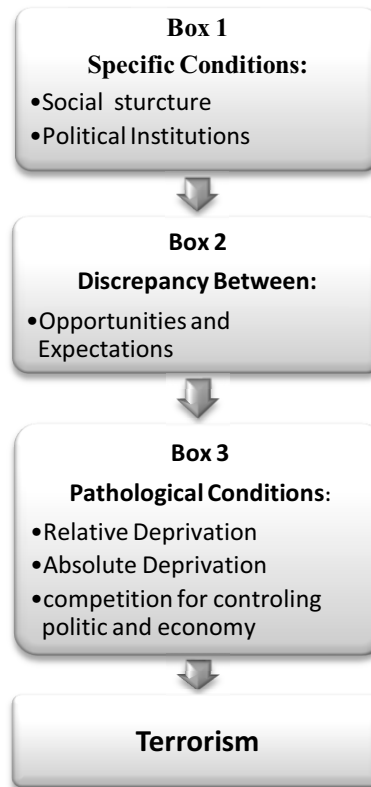
The root cause of terrorism should be viewed from political and economic factors. In other words, terrorism is caused by political and economic factors in particular state. Terrorism and other forms of political violence are product of poverty and poor distribution become a core assumption among national and international policymakers since the events of September 11. James A. Piazza, in understanding of terrorism, expresses terrorism action as an expression of socioeconomic discontent and desperation. Impoverished countries teeming with poorly educated, unemployed masses qualified by a widening gap between the rich and poor combined with low literacy rates are fermentation tanks for dangerous and violent militants. The low levels of economic and social development increase the appeal of political extremism and encourage political violence and instability.²⁷

The root cause of terrorism should be viewed from political and economic factor. It means terrorism is caused by political and economic factors. This is can be examined using the approach from Ted Robert Gurr in the RD theory (relative deprivation). The basic premise of Gurr theory is that specific social and political conditions lead to relative deprivation (RD), and then frustration; the frustration then, leads to aggression against the political authorities. A specific condition means economic and political conditions in the area. This theory is illustrated by A. Ozdogan as followed:

²⁷ See, journal James A. Piazza, *Rooted in Poverty?: Terrorism, Poor Economic Development, and Social Cleavage, Terrorism and Political Violence, Rutledge, 2006*

Figure .I

The relation of political economy to the terrorism action



Source: A. Ozdogan, *Where Do Terrorist Come From?*, an article on Robert W. Orttung and AndreyMakarychev (editor), *National Counter-Terrorism Strategies*, p. 24

Base on figure 1. in Box 1, specific conditions are a starting point on the path leading to terrorism, base on Smelser who identifies social structures and political institutions as important determinants mobilizing strained individuals collectively to respond to their environment violently. Than continues to Box 2, the specific condition factors create discrepancy between opportunities and expectation, which lead (Box.3) people to pathological conditions that are relative deprivation, absolute deprivation, and competition for controlling politic economy. From these processes terrorism will appear.

Based on A. ozdogan the economic conditions of a country are important in understanding the opportunities provided by the social structure. In fact, the economic conditions of a country can result in terrorism originating from absolute deprivation, relative deprivation, and competition over limited resources. The main problem in social structure is economic condition. This economic condition leads people to violence or terrorism acts. Thus economic condition must be observe in order to know the number of how people expectations in the area, while when expectation is unbalance with the opportunity it will be problematic and create some violence actions such terrorism.

From Box 1, of figure 1, about Political institution, according to Huntington, terrorism or political order in general is determined by the strength and the type of political institutions. Based on Paul Wilkinson, revolution and political violence in general as the core of terrorism, Include ethnic conflict, religion and ideologies conflict, poverty, modernization pressure, political unfair, bad peace communication, continuity violence tradition in several areas, the existence of revolutionary group, and weakness of government, decreasing government trust, the clash between elite or other ruler.²⁸

Somehow Gurr said that democracy is one of the political institutions affecting the amount of terrorism produced by a country. On how the free exchange of ideas and the expression of both disagreements and discontent with the current government are allowed in democratic system. In the early stages of democratization for example, the violence conflict more likely occur in democracy system. When there are no synchronization between government and people then freedom of expression as the tools

²⁸ See, Djelantik Sukawarsini, *Terrorisme Tinjauan Psiko-politis, Peran Media, dan Keamanan Nasional*, Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2010, P 25

to justify the violence. Also in other system such as centralization of economic and political power also as major cause of political violence, on how in this issue the distribution is not well distributed, and makes unbalance information, satisfaction of government ruled so people will chose an attempt to take over the power with violence rule.²⁹

Yemen remains the poorest country in the Arab world and its population is expected to double to over 40 million. The mature democracy has been implemented in Yemen creating a lot of problems in political future. Mature democracy includes not really implemented democracy principle, such as authority government. The political aspiration is only ruled by one major political party, and everything is ruled by executive, then executive is the major power to rule the state. Unbalance information and distribution get by people make people uncertain with their legitimation. These two major unsolved problems are never considered by Yemeni government, that are political conditions, unimplemented democracy well and bad economic distributions or calling by unfair economic distributions, people tend to chose to be terrorism.

D. Hypothesis

By examining the theoretical framework and data mentioned previously, the writer takes a tentative statement that there are two factors which caused U.S. - Yemen Counter Terrorism Cooperation in combating terrorism in Yemen failed namely:

1. U.S. – Yemen Counter Terrorism Cooperation using military force failed to combat terrorism because the cooperation couldn't solve the root cause of terrorism.

2. The root cause of terrorism in Yemen that was economic conditions and political factors, these factors are the major factors why people decide to joint terrorist actions.

E. Scope of discussion

In terms of the discussion material, the discussion emphasize on the background causing the failure of counterterrorism cooperation because it is could not get to the roots of terrorism where politic and economy were unsolved problems, which means counter terrorism based on U.S foreign policy sites, will be the practices, tactics, techniques, and strategies that governments, militaries, police departments and corporations adopted in response to terrorist threats and/or acts, both real and imputed. The time of research is limited from 2001 up to 2011. In 2001 cooperation was started between U.S. and Yemen until 2011 that AQAP international terrorism operated south Yemen and occupied several cities in south Yemen, such as Rowda city in south Yemen. The research is also analyzing the core problems increase the number of terrorism in Yemen, among other problem in economic and political institution which is still weak and could not accommodate the people aspiration entirely.

F. Research Method

The research employs analyzing method, or in other word is using content analysis research which means that the researcher is allowed to research the object from without involving in it. It will also follow the development of scientific international relation and their perspectives in observing U.S. counter terrorism in Yemen strategies. The information is gathered by an extensive of relevant published materials such as

books, journals, reports, newsletters, official websites and other resources on a wide variety of topics related to the subject of the research.

G. Writing System

The research paper is as follows:

Chapter I outlines the background of the research, research purpose, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research method and writing system.

Chapter II discusses U.S. – Yemen counter terrorism cooperation to combat terrorism in Yemen

Chapter III discusses Yemen economic and political conditions and the dynamical terrorism within.

Chapter IV provides an analysis and explanation about why U.S. – Yemen counter terrorism cooperation failed to eliminate terrorism in Yemen.

Chapter V will concludes and summarizes the research paper