The effect of domestic structures in Yemen on growth of Al-Qaeda and terrorism in this country

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Abstract

Rising presence and activity of Al-Qaeda in Yemen since 2009 was one of the foremost issues that have been noticed within framework against terrorism by regional and international powers. Despite of international efforts in fighting against Al-Qaeda, this group still continues to survive in Yemen and during last year it has added to its attacks on that country. We intend to interpret in this research why and how the activities of Al-Qaeda have been developed in Yemen and to express the challenges which are proposed by this organization for security and stability in Yemen as well as the security at regional and international levels. Some of the researches assume the foreign interventions in Yemen as a factor for occurrence of these events but the present study has been focused on domestic structures in this country. The research hypothesis refers to this point that the existing tribal texture, equipping of the majority of people and tribes to weapons, and intervention by foreign countries have prepared the grounds for growth of Al-Qaeda, instability, and insecurity. To this end, theoretical framework of historical sociology and descriptive- analytical method has been adapted in this survey.

Keywords: Yemen, Terrorism, Instability, Al-Qaeda.
Introduction

Fighting against terrorism and with Al-Qaeda on top of it has been turned into the agenda for UN and USA since 2001. Despite of this strong will for fighting against terrorism, the extremist and terroristic groups still continue their activities in the Middle East and even extended the domain of their terroristic measures to Europe as well. The terroristic events occurred in France, UK, and USA in 2015 may be deemed as evidences for such a claim. Two classes of domestic and foreign factors may be identified and explored to review the causes for developing terroristic activities. In this study, we do not intend to deal with foreign factors since this task needs conducting an independent investigation. Therefore, we have exclusively focused on effective domestic factors in Yemen. The reason for dealing with developments in Yemen is related to this point that at present this country has been converted into a host for Al-Qaeda group and after their failure in Afghanistan and Iraq, Al-Qaeda has been focused on Yemen. Thus, it seems that identifying the effective domestic factors on growth of Al-Qaeda in Yemen will be deemed as the most essential element in taking measures to fight against terrorism. In this course by taking historical-sociological approach, we will try to deal with the reasons for extensive increase and intensity of operation done by this organization in Yemen since 2011 through exploring historical conditions in Yemen including study on nature of government, cultural circumstances, and political-economic structures and institutes.

1- Theoretical Framework; historical sociology

In proper terminology, historical sociology means rational and critical and creative perception and it tends to recognize the mechanisms thereby those communities to change and or reproduce their own. Following to discovery of latent structures, which either willingly or unwillingly may thwart some of human’s hopes and wishes at the same time it makes some others realizable (Smith 2007, p.13). Much more simply, historical sociology includes study on past time in order to find how the communities work and how they change. In fact in historical sociology, the mutual effect of past and present statuses of events and processes and action and finding structure are explored and studied. After 1990s, this approach was exposed to noticeable mutation and many prominent sociological thinkers tended to it and tried to interpret human communities with focus on their political differences and transformations which might occur in each of them over the time out of them one can refer to some literatures from Shmuel Eisenstadt, Barrington Moore, Perry Anderson, Charles Tilly, Immanuel Wallerstein, Pierre Bourdieu, Teda Skocpol, and Reinhard Bendix (Hamilton et al 2008, p.140).

Overall within the framework of historical sociology method as studies of some scholars such as Barrington Moore and Scotch Pool indicate, social transformations in any community are influenced by historical, cultural, and economic factors of that community and their form is changed. The historical sociologist emphasizes in role of time and place and historical features of any case study and analyses based on national characteristics of any community and expresses that no certain model and doctrine could be adapted generally and universally for all places and times. At the same time, historic sociologist tends to creation theory as well and highly
emphasizes on generalization but avoids from non-historic generalizations and over-generalization and universal generalization free from time and place. Finally, historic sociologist emphasizes in studied local factors and their specific features. It hereby encourages the researcher to primarily study on local sources and documents and collection of accurate documentary and field data instead of emphasis in the existing various models and theories in the social sciences and then to test the existing models and theories in light of these data and to propose and create local theoretical frameworks, which are based on role of historical features and factors of time and place in any study (Hamilton et al 2008, pp.141-142).

2- History of Al-Qaeda presence in Yemen

Al-Qaeda Terroristic Organization has acted in Yemen for a long period and during recent years it has remarkably added to domain of their activities in this country. The roots of Al-Qaeda in Yemen may return to period of USSR- Afghanistan War (1979-1989). After Saudi Arabia, Yemen was the second major supply source for Islamist combatants against the former Soviet Union in Afghanistan. During that period, thousands of Yemeni people dealt with fighting and trained military course in Al-Qaeda campuses (Dwyer 2010). With end of Afghanistan war and coincided with unification of Yemen, the Yemeni fighters returned to their homeland. In this period and with changing Al-Qaeda stance from cooperation with USA in Afghanistan through confrontation against it after 1991-war for releasing Kuwait, Yemeni rebels as affiliates to Al-Qaeda also assumed campaign against USA as pattern for their activity. One of the first operations of Al-Qaeda in Yemen before September 2001 caused USA to notice about their risk in Yemen that was invasion of Al-Qaeda forces to American war fleet (USS Cole) in October 2000 in Aden Port that was led to killing of 17 American soldiers. But September 11-terroristic operation and fast aftermath developments which transformed scene of Middle East transferred scene of conflicts from Arab Peninsula to Afghanistan and then Iraq. The main point of transformation was the decline of Al-Qaeda activity in Iraq, killing of Abu Mosaab Zarqawi, the Jordanian leader of that organization in June 2006 in Iraq. In 2003 and 2004, Al-Qaeda made a lot of effort to extend this war into Saudi Arabia. During these years, Al-Qaeda became unprecedentedly activated inside Saudi Arabia with implementation of several successful operations and attacking to system of Saudi Family as well as western targets. However, activity of Al-Qaeda did not endure for long time in Saudi Arabia- unlike Iraq. With improving the effectiveness of security forces in Saudi Arabia and pursuant to death of Abdul Aziz Moqren (Al-Qaeda most charismatic leader) in June 2004, the operational effectiveness of this organization was diminished. Killing and arresting of many leaders and members of Al-Qaeda in Iraq and Saudi Arabia was led to decline of activity of subordinates of this organization in these two countries and it has highlighted on requisite for finding the new contexts for activity of Al-Qaeda leaders (Phillips 2009). According to attitude of many observers, Yemen and Somalia are considered as two major candidates for Al-Qaeda future activities after Pakistan and Afghanistan (Cordesman 2010). In 2009, the activities of Al-Qaeda prove such a claim. One of the foremost operation done by Al-Qaeda against USA in this year, which if it succeeded it could leave a lot of fatalities, was the attempt of a Nigerian adult to explode a passenger airplane over Detroit during
New Year feasts in December 2009. This young person had been trained in Yemen and he has equipped and dispatched by Al-Qaeda local actors in Yemen.

In December 2009, Yemeni Army killed about 40 members of this organization within two attacks to Al-Qaeda centers in two Abyan and Shabwah Provinces in Yemen. Some experts believe that activity of Al-Qaeda in Yemen is deemed as concern for the west and Yemeni government mainly assumes it as an opportunity to acquire military aids instead of deeming it as a threat (Alterman 2010). Nonetheless, some of domestic conditions in Yemen have caused at present Yemen to become a secure place for Al-Qaeda troops. These conditions which include geographic, historical, political, economic, and cultural roots are as follows:

2-Yemen domestic structures:

2-1- Yemen geography and strategic situation

Yemen is situated at southern side of Arab Peninsula and it includes wide marine borders in Red Sea as well as Gulf of Aden. The strategic situation of this country in terms of pending point over horn of Africa through southern and western marine borders of Yemen as well as Socotra Isle, has led to special importance for this country. Moreover, pending position of this country to Bab-El-Mandeb Strait causes dubbed importance for this country in terms of providing security of energy and goods transit. In fact, a great percentage of transportation, which is done through Suez Canal, passing from Bab-El-Mandeb Strait. Therefore Bab-El-Mandeb Strait is as important as Suez Canal (Drisdel and Blake 2007, p. 178).

Security of Bab-El-Mandeb is essentially important for all of littoral states on Red Sea in terms of goods and weapons transit. For instance, during Egypt and Syria War (1973) against Israel, Yemen Arab Republic blocked the route for entry of ships and transit of weapons to Israel and thereby it efficiently caused Israel to be deprived from using the major part of its marine force and dealing blow to Egypt through Red Sea; this measure highly affected on trend of war operation in Sinai Frontline. Business and tourism in important cities such as Jiddah and Yanbu-Al-Bahr (Saudi Arabia) and tens of other littoral cities in Red Sea mainly depends on security and calm in Bab-El-Mandeb Strait. Thus, in addition to pending of Yemen to horn of Africa, providing security in Bab-El-Mandeb Strait has also given special strategic position to this country (Mir Razavi and Ahmadi Lafooraki 2004, p.51). This strategic and geopolitical position has caused Al-Qaeda to see Yemen as a paradise and niche for doing illegal activities and providing its own financial sources. At present, these groups have dealt with piracy in open sea waters among Somalia and Yemen and thereby they earn for income.

Rather than attractive geopolitical position of Yemen for Al-Qaeda, physiography of this country has prepared suitable platform for Al-Qaeda activities. The land of Yemen includes some ranges at south and west that led to open sea waters in Gulf of Aden and Red Sea. Even regardless of other factors (economic and social), fighting against Al-Qaeda may be very expensive and difficult for Yemeni government with respect to various geography of Yemen and particularly the
mountainous zones in this country. This natural situation has caused to prepare facilities and suitable operational climate for guerilla activities to several groups such as Al-Qaeda (Jafari Valdani 2008, p.62).

2-2- Social and political status of Yemen

The Yemeni society is a tribal community in which the custom and norm of tribe may occasionally exceed from governmental laws. In this country, tribes may be the most efficient institutes to enter political life beyond the cultural activity and sociability. Many governmental officials in Yemen come from salient and influential tribes. Ali Abdullah Saleh i.e. Yemeni ex-president who ruled over this country for three decades was a member in Hashed Tribes Federation that noticeably influences in Yemen. The chiefs of this federation (Al-Ahmar Family) were often appointed as important political authorities in Yemen. The community is placed within the framework of this tribal structure in which relatively noticeable individual freedoms are granted to members of society. The famous heads of tribes and Yemeni important figures often possess large halls for entertainment of guests where important sessions are held there. The important political issues are proposed and discussed and explored and criticized without any restriction in these summits. Training and education of future political leaders is deemed as one of the major applications for these summits (e.g. parties). In fact, power of tribes and tribal nature of society controls power for influence of government and moving it toward authoritarianism. On the other hand and under the effect of this issue, government may not play superior role in the field of training and formation of national character and identity (Weeden 2004).

After unification of Yemen since 1990, the governing regime determined many political freedoms within the framework of constitution. It included the liberalization legislative package was responsible for political openness after unification, Unification Agreements (1989), Constitution (1991), Press Act (1990), Elections Act (1992), and a declaration based on which the classic troops of national and federal security were dissolved (Carapico, 1998: 137). As a result, both Yemen joined together within the frame of a democratic regime and hereafter United Yemen tended to democratic procedures such as parliamentary and presidency elections, establishing political parties, developing freedom of expression and so forth. Of course, the political freedoms have been passed through decremental trend in Yemen after unification and especially since 1994 (disintegration war).

After Disintegration War (1994), with proposing and approval of Modern Constitution, Yemeni Parliament granted many powers to the president and against the interest of political freedoms (Al-Faqih 2010). This status was highly improved after parliamentary elections (2003) and especially the presidency elections (2006) to great extent. Nevertheless, Yemen should be passed through a long path toward achieving perfect democracy so that Freedom House Organization does not assume government of this country as electoral democracies. In a report published in this Organization (2010) it has been implied about Yemen that although it seems this country to possess a relatively open democratic system in which citizens elect president and members of parliament by direct voting, the politics in under hegemony of the governing party at national
public congress in Yemen (Freedom House 2010). While there is still discrimination against women and non-Muslim minorities in Yemen, in terms of respect for women and minorities’ rights this country is placed at higher position than neighbor countries and most of Arab and Muslim states. Rights of non-Muslim minorities are practically respected and law gives the maximum support from women (regardless of social treatment) (Freedom House 2010). In this country, women could achieve to position of minister. In addition, a female judge was appointed as head of Supreme Court in this country in September 2006. The Yemeni leaders have always acknowledged this point that conducting any project for wide social-political developments requires supporting from women (Carapico 1998, p.199). Although some of developments can be praised in social and political field, the more important point is that no united nation has so far formed based on nationalism in this country. Thus, to come to power and dominance over others, Yemeni political actors benefit from any tool. Resorting to Al-Qaeda is one of these tools in order to hit the blow to the rivals. This issue was reflected in the created crisis in Yemen after escape of legal president of this country to Saudi Arabia in 2015. In some period the adherents of Abdrabbuh Mansour Hadi as current president and another time Ali Abdullah Saleh as the resigned president resorted to Al-Qaeda to predominate over their rivals. The presence of such a climate in Yemen might prepare the ground for growth of Al-Qaeda and strengthening of this group further in that country. As currently this group controls some parts of Yemen.

2-3- Cultural structure of Yemen; Multiple identities

Due lack of process of culture-building and awareness and historical heritage, Yemen has encountered several social problems as well and at present this challenge is still in force as well. Yemen may be assumed as the best example for absence of national integrated identity. In twenty first century, tribe is still deemed as the source of empowerment and Yemeni identity. Number of tribes and nomadic families is so high in this country for which an encyclopedia with 4 thousand pages has been written about them. Bakil (بکیل), Hamdan (حمدان), and Hashed (حاشد) are some of famous tribes in Yemen. Due to the culture of carry weapons, these tribes are often armed with heavy weapons and warfare as well. A Yemeni person defines his/her identity within framework of tribe before using any identity-making source. S/he is committed to his/her tribe, sheikh, or chief instead of sacrifice for homeland. During recent decades, Yemeni tribes have played role of the floating political force in the field of civil developments.

Various power centers and statesmen or military commanders and even some foreign parties have exploited from them to guarantee their own interests. This has caused the Yemeni tribes to be along with Al-Qaeda in some cases and sometimes against them. Armed with weapons in tribes and training of them to use weapons may contribute to Al-Qaeda to succeed further in attraction of forces compared to members who join to this group from other countries. Also tribes consider being along with Al-Qaeda not as a negative point but as a tool to take advantage in political scene of this country.

Similarly, knowing this fact Al-Qaeda expands its relations with Yemeni tribes and by benefitting from their experience in Iraq instead of confrontation with Yemeni tribes and targeting their
sheikhs this group tries to consolidate its ties with Yemeni tribes through marriage and joint trade (Phillips 2010, p.5).

In fact, Al-Qaeda has tried to identify the existing dissatisfactions in Yemen and abuse them instrumentally and it has achieved noticeable success in this regard as well. The opportunistic support of this organization from separatist movement of Yemeni southern tribes should be examined within this framework (Harris 2010). Some of them believe that Al-Qaeda is no longer assumed as guest for Yemeni southern tribes, but it is considered as a part of these tribes after joining members of these tribes to Al-Qaeda queues. Expansion of Al-Qaeda influence among Yemeni tribes became more apparent when during bombardment of some regions in Marib Province, tribes of this state fought against army soldiers. In addition, when the government bombarded Al-Qaeda bases in Abain, Shebwa, Ashjaer, and Arhab provinces, they rejected from dispatching land troops to these regions since they might be inevitably involved with the tribes in this region. In fact, inhabitants in these regions considered the governmental operation against Al-Qaeda as violence to their tribe (the primary loyalty unit) and for this reason they assumed fighting against as their duty.

The other subject to which it should be referred in cultural structure in Yemen is the subject of religion. Zeidi and Shafeyee denominations are two major classes of Islamic religions for people in Yemen. Zeidi denomination is deemed as the closest group of Shiites to Sunnite group and Shafeyee denomination is assumed as the borderline among Shiite and Sunnite. Followers of these two denominations were living together without any difference and dispute for several years and performing their religious rites in common mosques. Zeidi followers were ruling about 11 centuries with the system of Zeidi Imams over some parts of Yemen.

Since 1962 when Zeidi Imamate system collapsed in Yemen, Zeidi Shiites were led to margin and to neutralization of Shiite forces; the government allowed the extremist Wahabi and Salafi activists and missioners from Saudi Arabia to enter Yemen and to be resided in Shiite-inhabitant province. Since that time, Salafi conduct formed in Yemen and a challenge was deep-rooted under the title of religious differences throughout the Yemeni community (Karimloo 1995, p.39). The presence of these disputing foreign forces in Yemen and birth of religious differences are considered as important when the political forces intend to employ them in game of power. The leader of Shiite Al-Houthi (the most famous branch of Shiite organization in Saadeh Province) has announced several time during recent years that some of these forces that have been arrested by the government were tortured by elements of Al-Qaeda in prison of regime of Ali Abdullah Saleh. As some of tribes have entered into a war with Shiite people because of their tendency to Salafi movement in some cases and or currently the crisis of religious conflicts have made them involved and embarrassed. The important point that should not be forgotten in this regard is the transference of Al-Qaeda from Afghanistan to Yemen simultaneously with occupation of this country by USA as well and the coalition troops since 2001. Doubtlessly, penetration of Salafi group in this country with formal permission of Government was one of the numerous reasons for transference of Al-Qaeda into Yemen. Undermining of national identity was one of the consequences and problems of social structure in Yemen to the extent that for example before
assuming their own as inhabitants of Yemen, the dwellers of southern Yemen have primarily
 deemed their own as southern people and then Shafeyee Muslim. As a result, the Yemeni tribes
 emphasize in their tribal identity and religious identity versus national identity and consider
dimension of their own identity as more important than other factors in their political stances.
Here it should not be forgotten that illiteracy is one of social factors along with poverty as a part
of socio-economic structure and they are accompanied to Yemeni community. These two
parameters have covered the social strata and groups in Yemen such an umbrella (Mousavi
Ghobeishi 2013, p.73). The illiteracy is a strong force in attraction of citizens to the groups,
which express superficial impressions from Quran and invite the people to war (Jihad) against
atheists since these persons do not need to philosophical and long discussions to be convinced
and they are satisfied with the least explanation. Apart from this issue, no option is more
attractive and strong to joint Al-Qaeda for the citizens, who are exposed to poverty and
unemployment. These individuals not only get rid of poverty and hunger by membership in this
group but even are also rescued from lethargy of unemployment with sense of fulfillment of the
commendable task of Jihad.

2-4- Economic status of Yemen:

Yemen is deemed as one of the poorest countries in the Middle East region in terms of socio-
economic conditions and at least 58% of children of this country suffer from malnutrition.
Similarly, the annual rate of population growth in Yemen is about 3.2% while the human and
governmental natural resources are limited in this country and it could not tolerate such
population growth (Blumi 2011, p.1). Inter alia, civil war and airliner bombadments of this
country under leadership of Saudi Arabia is a phenomenon that exert pressure and create
bottleneck in weak infrastructures and slim social services in this country more than ever and this
trend is still continued. The economic deficiency and weakness in service- giving by government
along with its disability has moved Yemen toward crisis in removal of security challenges. 28%
unemployment and wide administrative and political corruption has made gloomy the outlook for
 alleviation of domestic problems in Yemen (UNDP 2009, p.107). In a report from Transparency
International Organization (2011), Yemen has been ranked in 154th world position and 13th
position among Arab countries (Transparency International 2011). In this regard, Blaydes
expresses: ‘In addition to the supportive- follower links created by the government and thereby it
has succeeded to attract public votes in elections; wide individual networks are visible that they
are based on corruption and nepotism as well. According to statement from a member of
parliament, political corruption is expanded and public people congress makes no effort to fight
against embezzlement and illegal wealth. In fact, fighting against corruption is one of requests
given by protesters against government during Arab Spring in 2011 and also the revolt that was
formed by Houthi group in protest against government of Abdabbuh Mansour Hadi the fled
former Yemeni president. President and his family are involved in enormous economic and
commercial activities in this country and this issue has stimulated protest of Yemeni people who
are mainly poor. Nonetheless, it should be implied that those persons who established good
relationship with government may possess easily comfortable life.’ (Blaydes 2011, p.217) The
existing economic corruption in government and weakness of regulatory institutions may prepare the ground for terroristic groups such as Al-Qaeda to exploit from the created platform to earn income as well as for money-laundering.

Similarly, the factor of inefficiency and weakness of Yemeni government has caused the government to lose its dominance over Yemen country 20 years after unification of this country. As Zuhair Al-Harithi as a member of Saudi Arabian Parliament writes: ‘The confrontations in Saudi- Yemeni borderlines indicated explicitly that Sana’a could not extend its dominance throughout Yemen and national government has encountered crisis.’ (Al-Harithi 2010, p.80) This crisis of influence and lack of dominance over country is the same request for which terroristic groups such as Al-Qaeda have sought. In fact, this issue is also the reason for their presence in Afghanistan before 2001 and Iraq after 2003.

2-5- Civil crises of Yemen:

Yemeni government could undermine Al-Qaeda by the aid of USA in Yemen years after September-11. Since the end of year 2003, Yemeni government dealt with other exposed security threats and was focused on wide fighting against Al-Qaeda and campaign against Al-Houthi group at north, separatists in south, and Al-Qaeda as third priority. In fact, after wide blows which were led to stopping activity of Al-Qaeda in Yemeni land it was not anticipated this organization to be able again to act in this country soon (Yamani 2010).

Nonetheless, change in security preferences of Yemeni government in years later led to develop this analysis that the west and Ali Abdullah Saleh had no single enemy. Al-Qaeda is enemy of the west but Al-Houthi group and southern separatists are assumed as real enemies for Saleh. On the other hand, based on this paradigm the Yemeni opposition parties and statesmen assumed Al-Qaeda as puppet of the regime and they believe that the regime exploits from them to preserve the power and to escape from crisis. Consequently, after 2003, Yemeni government was mainly involved with two security challenges from Al-Houthi group and separatists more than Al-Qaeda. Within interval period (2003-2008), two major security challenges (Al- Houthi group and separatists) were expanded in Yemen and they prepared suitable ground for expansion of Al-Qaeda activity in this country (Shayea 2010, p.76).

Surely, transferring peacefully from a community to democratic trends requires the elements and conditions the Yemeni community lacks them. At first place, the presence of market and tax-centered economy is required in order to contribute to capability of economic forces and community versus political structure of power and secondly it needs the presence of democratic and pluralist culture to allow interference and enrichment of opposite values, which are considered as the main requirements to enter a community into democracy. Thus in accordance with these approaches, continuity of this kind of political and factional differences in Yemen may be due to absence of rich democratic culture and democratic values.
At next step, it necessitates for the community and system to agree unanimously and discursively in a series of common values and believes while due to presence of governance deep-rooted in dictatorship as well as partial and defective experience of nation-state building in Yemen, the political community lacks any rational and mutual relationship with plurality and diversity.

The political structure of a community directly affects on public culture of the governed people in such a way that it emerges proportional to type of political system, dialogue climate, and different value. Accordingly, similar to participation of citizens and media open climate, the public platforms are very dynamic in a democratic structure; however, in authoritative systems the community lacks public platforms. In such a structure, it is rarely possible to permit for exchange of thought and ideas, healthy competition, and participation and for this reason the community has no potential to be transferred into democratic norms because of weakness of civil institutions and public participations the day after collapse of such systems. The secret for continuity of insecurities and hostilities of post-revolutionary regimes such as Yemen is latent in this golden point that initially the political elites assume overthrowing of dictatorship regimes as a good event and promise the people for welfare, well-being, and comfort with respect to governing climate of excitation and feeling. Regardless of multicolored and sometimes contradictory layers of community, this range of elites prescribes a simple and at the same time ideal solution for the society. The developments in Yemen also move through this trend and along with the existing parallel streams of power, traditional and dictatorship-stricken community has hindered creating stability and political peaceful trend in the country (Ahmadian 2011).

Exactly under such a structure, two political poles are placed against each other in Yemen today. The Ansar Allah Movement is placed at one end of this spectrum where it tries to cut the hands of aliens and fight against Al-Qaeda terroristic elements and creation of national unification government with religious and Islamic claims and doctrines while the opposite side is not so inclined for presence and influence of Ansar Allah forces in power structure. Therefore, the governing state exploits from any opportunity and conditions to delete and leave away Ansar Allah forces from participation in power by supporting from Saudi Arabia.

In fact, instability, absence of a strong federal government and weakness of national military forces, and civil conflicts are the paramount factors that may pave the way for absence of Al-Qaeda and extremist Jihadi troops. Al-Qaeda may be assumed as similar to a hazardous virus that can penetrate very easily into weak body of patient and kill the human. Similar to a virus, this phenomenon has suitable platform for activity in unstable nations and it caused the political security and social solidarity of countries to be exposed to a serious risk and even disintegration. What we currently witness in Yemen, is a distinctive example of presence of extremist excommunicated forces and especially Al-Qaeda that caused Yemen country to be exposed to unprecedented risks. Yemen that was subjected to insecurity and anarchy after overthrowing regime of Saleh and escape of Abdrrabuh Mansour Hadi has removed any supervision and control over them now has been turned into a paradise and niche for Al-Qaeda (Ahmadian 2011).
3- Political-security challenges Yemen encounters

As whole, Yemen is exposed to four major challenges, which form stability and domestic security of this country and its influence over regional and international security. These four main challenges include the problem of Al-Houthi at north, separatism in south, rising activity of Al-Qaeda, and challenges in relations with Saudi Arabia.

According to attitude of some analysts, whereas the problems of Al-Houthi and Al-Qaeda are imported and not the main subjects thus the major problem is related to separatism in south that is a structural problem (Al-Syed 2010). But the other ones consider Al-Qaeda as the major future challenge in Yemen and rising trend of their activities in this country (Dwyer 2010). It seems that the second attitude is more close to the fact compared to the first group. The invasion of Saudi Arabia to Yemen titled ‘Resistance storm’ and using Al-Qaeda as instrument for suppression of Al-Houthi group submerges the Yemen in unrest than past time. Even though Saudi Arabia succeeds to resume Mansour Hadi to power in Saudi Arabia, return of security to this country will be totally impossible. Therefore, if the current status is continued one can describe arising of a new Afghanistan in this country.

Overall, one can summarize the main elements of modern strategy taken by Al-Qaeda for expansion, influence, and developing their activity in Yemen in the following items:

1- Conversion of Yemen into main base for Al-Qaeda activity in Arab Peninsula by establishment of Jihad Qaeda in Arab Isle;

2- Consolidation of Al-Qaeda relations with Yemeni tribes through marriage and joint economic activities as well as by gathering of members from Yemeni youths for Al-Qaeda;

3- Undermining Yemeni government and attempt to overthrow it;

4- To fan security challenges in Yemen (Al-Houthi group at north and separatists in south);

5- Proposing the alternate model of Islamic government through establishment of Islamic state and creating 12000- members army (Boucek 2010);

Jihad Qaeda in Arab Isle could upgrade the intensity and domain of its activity through benefiting from the complex civil status of Yemen and drawing clear strategy for furtherance of its objectives in this country during two years (2009-2010) in addition to organizational solidarity and development. The number of members of this organization was assessed from 100 to 300 members in Yemen in 2009 where this number increased to 3 thousand persons in 2010. Moreover, if quantity and quality of Al-Qaeda operation is considered inside and outside Yemen in years 2009-2010, the quantitative and qualitative improvement of these operations will be totally evident at present than in past. Furthermore, Al-Qaeda could influence noticeably in southern tribes and in alliance with them against Yemeni government. These conditions suggest
that the future days in Yemen will not be in peace and even if a strong federal government is established with the presence of Ansar Allah group, the next challenge will be fighting against Al-Qaeda where it is not clear how much this fighting may need to time in order to be accompanied to success.

Conclusion

During recent years, Al-Qaeda has been widely activated in Yemen. After restriction of the fields of its activities in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and noticeable blows that were inflicted to this organization in Afghanistan and Pakistan, making effort to develop operational range in other Islamic countries was noticed by Al-Qaeda leaders. With developing activity of Al-Qaeda in Yemen it could show its power for reproduction and dynamism to the adherents as well as enemies and provide a factor for strengthening of spirit and motive of its subordinates and thus activating them further. This point is deemed as important based on opinion of Al-Qaeda leadership from this viewpoint that after making attempt for several years and non-realization of main and institutional goals of this organization (expulsion of atheists from Arab Isle and establishment of Islamic caliphate), it could sell durability of Al-Qaeda activity and its invulnerability against the west as an alternative goal (and in fact biased) to the followers and members of this organization and receive their loyalty and persistent activity instead. Al-Qaeda activity was developed in Yemen with reliance on structural factors including social-tribal structure, ineffective economy, tremendous unemployment, and weakness in service-giving by government and rising corruption among officials of government and local institutions. Type of developing Al-Qaeda activity in Yemen is close to its pattern in Afghanistan and Pakistan in alliance with local tribes against government and gathering of members among the youths and thus conversion into a member and part of them and exploitation from supportive umbrella of these tribes versus government as well as alien forces. In other words, Al-Qaeda has been turned into a part of social and tribal structure in Yemen through marriage and business as well as gathering members from Yemeni youths. With respect to reliance of Al-Qaeda on structural factors in Yemen in its operational development in this country and also given the alliance among Al-Qaeda of Saudi Arabia with Al-Qaeda in Yemen within framework of Jihad Qaeda in Arab Isle that typically provides financial sources as well as the needed manpower for this organization more appropriately and by considering operational and organizational growth of Al-Qaeda it seems that undermining and defeat of Al-Qaeda in Yemen to be converted into a difficult and time- and cost-consuming problem. This requires wide investments in economic and social fields and improvement of life expectancy before Yemeni youths and reducing unemployment rate in this country. While it seems that in order to fight against Al-Qaeda in Yemen, dealing with factors for sociability and agreeableness of this organization among Yemeni community is also important. In other words, the beneficiary nations in security and stability of Yemen should deal with roots and fields for developing activity of Al-Qaeda in this country more than militaristic and informatics fighting against this country in order to uproot extremism and terrorism of some groups such Al-Qaeda inside Yemen. Under this condition, one may hope to fruitful outcome of this activity in these countries.
In International dimension, the international organizations such as Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and United Nations (UN) may create appropriate financial, cultural, and educational mechanisms for development and growth of retarded countries in Middle East. With development and advancement of these nations the suitable environment and ground will be removed for growth of radical and extremist streams and influence of these groups, particularly Al-Qaeda.
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