

TERRORISTS OR TROUBLEMAKERS? REGIME SURVIVAL AND INFLATING THE AL-QAEDA THREAT

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ABSTRACT

BRYCE LOIDOLT: Terrorists or Troublemakers? Regime Survival and Inflating the al-Qaeda Threat.

(Under the direction of Navin Bapat)

Literature discussing counterterrorism, and, more broadly, military assistance, argues that this aid is unconditionally helpful to recipient states. Yet, in this paper I contend that military assistance puts recipients in a dilemma. Whereas literature has established that donors are constrained in their ability to punish recipients who refuse to comply with their foreign policy objectives, I argue that recipients must strike a balance between complying with the donor's policy objectives and insulating themselves from domestic opposition. This paper focuses on how this dynamic is reflected in the recipient's willingness to employ public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism assistance. I argue that while public diplomacy can signal compliance with international donor objectives, it can also signal to domestic audiences that the incumbent may be weak and not responsive to its constituents. Through a mixed-methods research design that includes quantitative and qualitative analyses of Arabic and English language data from the Yemeni Arab Republic, I find some support for the argument that recipients are limited in their willingness to attract military assistance through public diplomacy by the activity of domestic opposition groups. Greater attention to the recipients' domestic level calculations and dilemmas may thus be warranted in the foreign aid literature.

For Larry "Dave" Loidolt

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Any omissions or oversights herein are those of the author alone.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	TERRORISTS OR TROUBLEMAKERS?	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Military Aid and Its Effects	4
1.3	The Domestic Costs of Public Diplomacy	5
1.4	Research Design, Data, and Tests	10
1.4.1	<i>Yemen as a Test Case</i>	11
1.4.2	<i>Data, Variables, and Statistical Tests</i>	13
1.5	Patrimonial Politics and Post 9/11 Yemen	21
1.5.1	<i>Time Period Selection Criteria</i>	26
1.5.2	<i>Post-9/11 Confidence (August-November 2002)</i>	27
1.5.3	<i>Fuel Riots and Regime Concern (April-July 2005)</i>	31
1.5.4	<i>On the Verge of Collapse (June-October 2011)</i>	34
1.6	Conclusion: Recipients and their Domestic Calculations	37
A	SEARCH AND CODING PRODECURES, OPPOSITION ACTIVITY EVENT	
	DATA	40
A.1	Search Procedure	41
A.2	Code Definitions	42
A.3	Actor	44

A.4 Target	44
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LIST OF TABLES

1.1 Annual Counts of Regular Issues for 26 <i>September</i> , July 2002-February 2012	13
1.2 Quantitative Results	20
1.3 Annual US Counterterrorism Aid Disbursements to Yemen, 2001-2012 . . .	26

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1 Arabic Search Terms	15
1.2 Loess Curve and Lineplot of CT Public Diplomacy	16
1.3 Scatterplot and Loess Curve of Opposition Activity	19
1.4 Fitted Values of Models 1-4	22
1.5 Opposition and Public Diplomacy (unfitted)	23
1.6 CT Public Diplomacy(Fitted) and Opposition Tactics (Log), Case Time Periods	27
1.7 Loess Curves of CT Public Diplomacy, Opposition Tactics, Case Time Periods	28

1 TERRORISTS OR TROUBLEMAKERS?

1.1 Introduction

Military assistance has long been a crucial instrument of foreign policy. During the Cold War, the United States funnelled military aid to anti-leftist regimes in order to strategically contain the Soviet Union. Since the Cold War, military aid has taken on a slightly different dynamic. Indeed, in the wake of 9/11, the United States disbursed military aid to build the capacity of states willing to combat al-Qaeda and its affiliates. Rather than being contingent on a state's ideological leanings, then, this assistance was given to states that were willing to cooperate with the United States to fight local al-Qaeda cells but were too militarily weak to do so on their own. The United States is not the only country to disburse counterterrorism aid. Australia, for example, provided millions of dollars in counterterrorism aid to the Indonesian government for similar purposes.

Scholars examining the effects of military assistance largely argue that it is unconditionally beneficial to the recipient state, and that it is not always a useful foreign policy instrument for donors. Donors use this assistance to gain policy concessions from the recipient (Alesina and Dollar 2000; Palmer and Morgan 2006). In turn, it strengthens recipient states, allows them to resist democratization pressure, and sometimes leads them to adopt more aggressive foreign and domestic policies (Levitsky and Way 2004; Diamond 2010; Bellin 2004; Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2007; Bapat 2011). This, of course, is of great benefit to incumbent regimes, but can also distort the utility of military assistance from the donor's perspective. Donors are further hampered by the lack of *ex ante* instruments available to them to enforce compliance, as they will need to ensure that punishing a recipient for non-compliance will not lead to state failure (White and Morrissey 1998).

By viewing foreign aid through the lens of the donor, this scholarship has not yet considered the dilemmas military aid can pose for recipients. Recipients of foreign aid

must indeed strike a balance between complying with the donor's foreign policy objectives and asserting their national sovereignty to maintain credibility on the domestic front. This points to a broader gap in the literature on military aid, as it has yet to consider how the domestic politics of the recipient can drive both recipient and donor behavior.

Because it ignores the domestic politics of the recipient, existing literature would expect recipients of foreign aid to constantly be demanding aid and, once they receive it, signalling compliance with potential donor objectives. A cursory glance at statements made by leaders of countries receiving counterterrorism assistance, however, indicates that they are inconsistent and even contradictory in their descriptions of terrorist violence. For example, Algerian President 'Abd al-'Aziz Boutefleka, a recipient of US counterterrorism aid, argued in August 2010 that terrorism in his country had "diminished....due to the support and efforts of the Algerian [armed] forces."¹ Yet, nearly a month later the President emphasized the danger that terrorist groups posed to the international community, paying particular attention to the need for using "modern methods" to combat it.² Given that the level of terrorist activity in Algeria was unlikely to change drastically within a month, what explains these contradictory statements? That is, why was Boutefleka eager to highlight the threat of terrorism in September, but not in August?

Drawing on a closer examination of the recipient's domestic calculus, this paper seeks to explain why recipients at times use public diplomacy to pressure donors into providing aid to fight terrorism, yet at other times restrain their demands and seek to create the perception of autonomy from their donor. I argue that public diplomacy -to include the employment of official media sources, speaking occasions, and other channels to influence the international community - serves as a signaling mechanism in two ways. First, it raises the costs of donor inaction and sends a costly signal to the international community. This renders public diplomacy a particularly useful foreign policy instrument the recipient can use to attract counterterrorism aid. Yet, counterterrorism-related public diplomacy also sends a signal to the recipient's domestic audiences. In particular, it

¹"Boutefleka Yu'akid Taqalas al-Irhab fi Biladihi," *Hespress*, 19 August 2010.

²"Butaflia Yahadhir min Tawzif al-Irhab li-Khara'it Google Earth," *Echoroukonline*, 28 September, 2010.

can signal the incumbent's need for foreign assistance, which could indicate weakness or vulnerability. Furthermore, because accepting foreign aid involves accepting the donor's policy objective, public diplomacy can further signal the recipient's non-responsiveness to its constituents and/or the opposition. By making the recipient appear to be a foreign "puppet," counterterrorism-related public diplomacy can also provide greater incentives for elites to challenge the regime from within by partnering with opposition groups.

Because of these domestic signals, it is the activities of the recipient's opposition that will shape its decision of whether or not to use counterterrorism-related public diplomacy. In order to assess whether or not it can or should signal compliance with the donor's policy objectives, the recipient will monitor the activity of opposition groups. When this activity is low, the recipient faces the very real possibility that the donor could punish them for not complying with their counterterrorism objectives. That is, because the regime is well-entrenched, the donor could punish the government without it leading to state failure. At the same time, the incumbent need not be concerned with the negative domestic repercussions of appearing weak or non-responsive to its constituents, because opposition groups do not pose a threat to the regime. Both of these factors will create conditions under which the recipient will be more likely to employ counterterrorism-related public diplomacy to signal compliance with the donor's demands and attract aid.

When opposition activity is high, the recipient faces the possibility of being abandoned by its donor. That is, the regime is at the point where it is losing control over its territory, which could cause donors to hedge their bets by engaging with and even supporting opposition groups. At the same time, signalling weakness to its domestic audiences would not deter the recipient, as in this case the regime is on the verge of losing power. This will provide incentives for the regime to signal compliance with the foreign donor's demands as a last resort to maintain power, as the incumbent will be unconcerned about emboldening an already very active opposition movement.

When there is a moderate level of opposition activity, incumbent regimes in recipient states will avoid publicly appealing for counterterrorism aid. In this case punishment from the donor might significantly jeopardize the incumbent's grip on power, and thus the incumbent has fewer incentives to signal compliance with the donor's objectives. Also, the incumbent will want to avoid encouraging domestic opposition groups and other elites

by signalling that it is losing its grip on power and/or is prioritizing the donor's objectives over the opposition's demands. Under these conditions the recipient will be less likely to employ counterterrorism-related public diplomacy. These hypotheses thus suggest that aid recipients can avoid or ignore pressure from donor states under certain conditions, and sometimes might benefit from the activities of opposition groups trying to replace them.

This paper proceeds as follows. First, I briefly review literature on military assistance, highlighting its effects on the behavior and survival of aid recipients. I then offer a theory to explain the conditions under which a recipient government would choose to attract counterterrorism assistance through public diplomacy, as well as testable hypotheses. I test my theory through a mixed-methods research design, and conclude with a broader discussion of the implications this research has for work on foreign aid as a whole.

1.2 Military Aid and Its Effects

Literature on military aid has traditionally focused on its determinants and effects, with a particular emphasis on the latter. This work argues that military aid is ineffective in terms of donor desires, but beneficial for recipient regimes. Donors use military aid to delegate a strategic task to the recipient or at the very least induce the recipient to cooperate with their objectives (Alesina and Dollar 2000; Palmer and Morgan 2006). Yet, due to the constraints of domestic political institutions and/or moral hazard, recipients may not be willing to make policy concessions to their donors (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2007; Bapat 2011). Further, donors lack effective *ex ante* measures to punish recipients who do not comply with their demands (White and Morrissey 1998).

With this in mind, military aid does not always have its intended effect. In some cases recipients may pursue more aggressive domestic or foreign policies due to the fact that they are insulated from the repercussions of doing so (Lake 1999). Other studies have argued that counterterrorism aid in particular can lead recipients to intentionally allow terrorist groups to survive on their soil, as eliminating them would jeopardize future aid flows (Bapat 2011).

Although military aid will not always be effective in terms of donor objectives, scholars have overwhelmingly argued that from the perspective of the recipient government, its effects are positive. Particularly durable authoritarian regimes have been recipients of

large amounts of military aid (Bellin 2004; Diamond 2010). The mechanisms for this are twofold. For one, military aid can strengthen the coercive capability of recipient states, allowing them to more effectively repress domestic opposition (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2007; Cingranelli and Pasquarello 1985). Furthermore, because military aid is typically given to states that are of some strategic value to the donor, the recipient can resist international democratization pressure (Levitsky and Way 2004). The Mubarak government in Egypt, for example, was long able to resist democratization pressure from the United States by arguing that democratizing would yield a government that would renege on the Camp David accords and be more hostile to US regional interests. Simply put, military aid is argued to be a boon to the survival of recipients.

Scholars have not yet considered that foreign aid also puts recipients in a dilemma. More particularly, foreign assistance places pressure on recipients to both make policy concessions to the donor while simultaneously saving face on the domestic front. Should it fail to do the former, it can sometimes be punished by donor states for non-compliance. If it fails to do the latter, it risks encouraging domestic opposition groups and providing incentives for elites to move against the incumbent. In the section that follows, I more fully explore this dilemma by focusing on why and when recipients will use public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid.

1.3 The Domestic Costs of Public Diplomacy

In this section I outline an informal theory to explain when a state would decide to appeal for counterterrorism assistance by publicly discussing the threat of al-Qaeda and other transnational terrorist groups. I will first briefly discuss the techniques states can employ to attract counterterrorism assistance, differentiating between private and public diplomacy. I will conclude that public diplomacy is an attractive and necessary instrument for recipients to solicit counterterrorism assistance from donor states. I next turn to a discussion of how domestic opposition can impact the incumbent regime's willingness to attract counterterrorism aid through this instrument. More specifically, I propose a curvilinear relationship between the activities of opposition groups and the use of counterterrorism-related public diplomacy. That is, when the regime perceives the opposition to be very active or dormant, it will be more likely to use public diplomacy to attract additional assistance.

There are two ways through which a potential recipient might try to attract counterterrorism assistance. In some cases, a recipient can resort to behind the scenes negotiations and bargaining through private diplomatic channels. In using this private option, the recipient would obviously avoid public scrutiny. At first glance this would appear to be the ideal approach for recipients of US counterterrorism assistance, who could avoid criticism altogether by keeping its relationship with the United States a secret affair. Yet, from both the perspective of the donor and the recipient, public diplomacy can also play a crucial role in attracting military aid for two reasons. For one, public diplomacy places additional pressure on donor states, who, seeking to avoid transnational terrorism at all costs, will err on the side of caution with respect to counterterrorism assistance. At the same time, because they might consider the recipient's use of public diplomacy to be a costly signal, a donor would be more likely to consider recipients who do so to be sincere in their desire to combat terrorist groups.

But, public diplomacy can also expose recipients to domestic criticism. It can indeed provide fodder to opposition groups who can claim that the incumbent regime is acting on behalf of foreign donors, rather than its constituents. Furthermore, trying to publicly attract counterterrorism aid can also make the recipient appear weak, because it carries the inherent message that the incumbent regime is unable to unilaterally assert its authority. I explore these dynamics more in-depth below.

In order to understand why a recipient would need to use public diplomacy in the first place, and, what might determine its willingness to do so, first consider the donor nation, who is persistently concerned with the political costs associated with failing to prevent terrorist activity on its soil. From the donor's perspective there are clear political benefits associated with being perceived by its electorate as proactive in combating terrorist groups (Berreby and Klor 2006; Campbell 2005). At the same time, the electoral costs associated with failing to "connect the dots" with respect to terrorist activity will lead the donor to take preventative, if not sometimes unnecessary, measures to protect itself (Kibris 2011). If a potential recipient of counterterrorism aid were to publicly declare that it was facing a threatening terrorist group and the donor ignored this, the incumbent regime in the donor state could be exposed to significant criticism if a terrorist attack were, in fact, to materialize. Political opposition within the donor state could reasonably question why

the incumbent ignored the very clear warning signs emanating from the recipient state, to include the recipient's own public discourse. Using public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid can thus raise the costs of inaction for donors.

Realizing this is the case, the recipient clearly has an incentive to use public diplomacy to attract assistance from the donor. That is, the donor's fear of ignoring the recipient and being attacked by a transnational terrorist group will trump these doubts. Should a transnational terrorist group strike from the recipient's territory, the incumbent regime within the donor state would face a great deal of criticism and possible replacement through elections. This will lead the donor state to disburse counterterrorism aid liberally so as to avoid the criticism that it ignored the alarming and very public communications from the recipient state.

At the same time, donors may also be more willing to view recipients who use public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid as sincere in their desire to combat transnational terrorist groups. We can consider the use of public diplomacy to constitute a costly signal, as it renders the recipient subject to increased international scrutiny and potential punishment (Fearon 1997). With respect to counterterrorism aid, these punishments can take many forms. For one, if a recipient successfully used public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid and then reneged on its promise to cooperate with the donor to combat terrorist groups, it would certainly jeopardize future aid flows from the donor and the broader international community. For recipients who are heavily-reliant on this assistance to maintain their ruling coalition, this could be devastating. More extreme measures are also possible, to include economic sanctions, as well as being listed as a state sponsor of terrorism. In making itself more vulnerable to these costs, a recipient who uses public diplomacy will thus appear to be more sincere in the eyes of the donor.

If we only considered the relationship between the donor and recipient, which is the focus of existing literature, we would expect the latter to constantly use counterterrorism-related public diplomacy to signal compliance with the donor. In turn, donor states trying to avoid a terrorist attack would assist the recipient's military by disbursing counterterrorism assistance. This would allow the incumbent regime to more effectively repress domestic opposition groups, resist international democratization pressure, and ultimately prolong its survival.

Unfortunately for recipients, using public diplomacy in this manner is also costly when we consider domestic pressures it may face. For one, it leaves the recipient government vulnerable to domestic audiences, which can challenge the ruling government and eventually pose a threat to regime survival (Fearon 1994; Schultz 1998; Weeks 2008). In the context of counterterrorism aid, this typically revolves around the correct notion that the donor is providing counterterrorism assistance in pursuit of its foreign policy. In accepting this assistance, the recipient is thus accepting an imported policy objective that may not align with the interests or priorities of its constituents or elites. As a result, domestic opposition groups can exploit the influence of foreign states on the incumbent regime as evidence that the regime is shirking its duties to its constituents.

A number of instances demonstrate opposition movements using the incumbent regime's relationship with the donor to pose a challenge to the regime. In the post 9/11 context, the bulk of this criticism has been directed towards recipients' security cooperation with the United States. Consider the case of Pakistan. Having received billions of dollars in US assistance, the government of Ali Zardari has faced considerable criticism from opposition groups who have harnessed domestic nationalist sentiment to challenge the incumbent regime. Most prominent has been cricket-star-turned politician Imran Khan, who claimed Zardari and his Prime Minister were "puppets of the United States ready to do anything at the dictation of their masters."³ In another case, the Aquino regime in the Philippines, also a recipient of millions in US counterterrorism aid, has faced similar responses from opposition groups regarding its status as a recipient of US assistance. In one case, for instance, the author referred to the relationship as a "puppet-master relationship," going on to call the incumbent regime a "US stooge."⁴ Further, in response to US military aid to the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF), an editorial in Hezbollah's journal argued that the US was attempting to shape and ultimately weaken the LAF to assert its regional interests, thus questioning the ruling 14 February coalition's responsiveness to Lebanese citizens.⁵

³"Zardari, Nawaz Puppets of the US: Imran Khan," *Pakistan Today*, 21 October 2011

⁴Marya Salamat, "Nothing to Celebrate, No Real Friendship in Master-Puppet Relations, Critics Say," *Butalit*, 4 July 2012.

⁵Musab Qashmar, "Tahqiq: al-Jaysh al-Lubnani wa Silah al-Amriki, Khubara' 'Askariyun: Amrika La

In each of these cases, the incumbent's compliance with foreign objectives was used by domestic opposition groups to question the regime's dedication to the national interest, and thus, its constituents.

Signalling a need for counterterrorism assistance also demonstrates to domestic opposition groups that the incumbent regime may be losing control. Because it carries the inherent message that the government is in need of foreign assistance, domestic opposition groups will become emboldened when a regime signals a need for counterterrorism aid. Unable to unilaterally act against its opponents, the incumbent regime appears weak and incapable. As such, domestic groups and elites seeking to replace the incumbent would become more assertive in their demands and activities.

When deciding whether or not to attract it through public diplomacy an incumbent regime will be constrained by the activities of the opposition within its territory. For simplicity sake, I assume that the government is agnostic regarding the source of opposition activity, thus allowing us to speak of the opposition as a unitary actor. That is, I assume that the government does not differentiate between groups based on their ideological goals, but rather is more concerned with the tactics opposition groups employ, the magnitude of their activities, and the broader demands they make on the incumbent government.

When there is a low level of opposition activity, the regime need not be concerned about the negative domestic consequences of signaling a need for counterterrorism aid. The regime calculates that encouraging dormant opposition groups by calling for foreign assistance would not undermine its survival. Yet, well-entrenched regimes in this case will be concerned with donor punishment for non-compliance. Donors could indeed punish well-entrenched governments to induce compliance without it leading to state failure. In this case, the recipient will thus need to signal compliance to avoid donor sanctions, and will do so without concern for domestic opposition groups. This leads to the following hypothesis:

Tabi' al-Jaysh al-Lubnani Siwa al-Kilam" (Investigation: The Lebanese Army and American Weapons, Military Experts: America Doesn't Sell the Lebanese Army [Anything] Other than Words), *al-Intiqad*, 15 February 2010; Author Unknown, "Hizb Allah: 'li-Tatahammal al-Hukuma wa Quwwa 14 Shubat Mas'uliya Makhatir al-Mashru' al-Amriki" (Hezbollah: The Government and Powers of 14 February Bear Responsibility [for] the Dangers of the American Project), *Now Lebanon*, 19 October 2007.

H1: When opposition activity is LOW, the incumbent government will be more likely to use public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid.

We should expect a similar result in cases where the opposition is extremely active. In this case the incumbent fears being abandoned by international donors. Indeed, high levels of opposition activity could allow donors to consider alternatives to the incumbent. Because the incumbent is on the verge of losing power the benefits of receiving counterterrorism aid outweigh the fodder publicly attracting it may provide for already emboldened domestic opposition groups, yielding:

H2: When opposition activity is HIGH, the incumbent government will be more likely to use public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid.

It is when there is a moderate level of opposition activity that the regime will avoid using public diplomacy in this regard. We would instead expect to see the government attempt to unilaterally divide, contain, or otherwise weaken the opposition. Signalling a need for counterterrorism aid would embolden the opposition and allow them to more effectively challenge the government. Further, donors will be less likely to punish recipients for non-compliance, for fear of destabilizing them. This creates conditions under which a recipient will be less likely to use public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid, and thus:

H3: When opposition activity is MODERATE, the incumbent government will be less likely to use public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid.

I test these hypotheses in the section that follows.

1.4 Research Design, Data, and Tests

In order to adequately capture the strategic calculus of the recipient state, I must take a number of factors into consideration in my research design. For one, the activities of domestic opposition groups can vary a great deal within a year, and thus aggregating this as an annual score would not be a satisfactory operationalization of this variable. Furthermore, because my theory highlights the domestic calculations of recipient states, I must hold the availability of counterterrorism assistance constant. That is, my theory assumes that a potential donor is always available to provide counterterrorism assistance to the recipient, and that this donor is persistently concerned about the threat of terrorist groups

more generally.

To test my theory, I assembled a data set on the Yemeni Arab Republic, capturing weekly data during the post 9/11 period to be used in a mixed methods research design. In this section I will first outline why Yemen constitutes an ideal case to test my theory, before turning to a description of my quantitative data. I will then use this data set to conduct a statistical test of my hypotheses, assessing whether or not the relationship between opposition activity and the use of counterterrorism-related public diplomacy is curvilinear. Finally, I will turn to a qualitative analysis by discussing the political context of Ali Abdullah Saleh's Yemen before considering specific time periods of Saleh's tenure as my qualitative cases. This will provide an in-depth examination of my theory and offer a deeper exploration of the contextual factors involved in the performance of my variables.

1.4.1 *Yemen as a Test Case*

The political practices, needs, and dilemmas of the Saleh government, as well as Yemen's broader role in al-Qaeda-inspired violence render Yemen a suitable case to test my theory. First, focusing on the post 9/11 period allows me to comfortably assume the existence of a donor (in this case the United States) willing to provide military aid to governments fighting terrorist groups. This donor is merely waiting for the recipient to signal that it has a terrorist problem, and that it is willing to fight them.

We can hold the availability of this assistance constant given Yemen's centrality in transnational terrorism. The country was touted by Usama bin Ladin in a document recovered in his Abbottabad compound as a "reserve force for the Mujahidin" and a "powerful tool for restoring the caliphate."⁶ The country has indeed served as a staging ground for al-Qaeda attacks on US targets, to include the October 2000 attack on the USS Cole, as well as an attempt to ignite explosives aboard a US airliner in December 2008. As such, Yemen-based al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula was described by former CIA director General David Petraeus as al-Qaeda's "most dangerous" franchise.⁷ This led to a "strong

⁶United States West Point Combating Terrorism Center Harmony Project, document number: SOCOM 2012 0000019.

⁷Author Unknown, 'Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula 'Most Dangerous'', Daily Telegraph, 13 September 2011.

partnership” between the United States and Yemen with respect to combating al-Qaeda, particularly after 9/11.⁸

A combination of the Saleh government’s unique method of quasi-authoritarianism and dwindling resources would also create a demand within the government for external support. In order to maintain political survival, the Saleh government distributed patronage through tribal and kinship networks, adopting a blend of democratic and authoritarian practices and procedures. This included the cooptation and repression of domestic opposition groups through modern and informal institutions and patronage networks (Phillips 2008). Yet, the Saleh government’s ability to continue its patrimonial practices was jeopardized as its resource base began to dry (Boucek and Ottaway 2010). The 9/11 attacks thus constituted an opportunity for the Saleh government to extract resources from donor states hoping to combat al-Qaeda.

Despite this opportunity, President Saleh’s tenuous grip on power would render him uniquely sensitive to shifts in the activities of domestic opposition groups. This included the umbrella political party, the Joint Meeting Parties, the Huthi rebels in Northwest Yemen, as well as the Southern secession movement. Furthermore, Yemeni public opinion was particularly unfavorable towards the United States and its policies.⁹ These factors should theoretically constrain Saleh’s willingness to attract counterterrorism assistance through public diplomacy, despite his importance as a US counterterrorism partner and desperate need for resources.

Thus, in the wake of 9/11 the US would come to view Yemen as a country of great interest due to its role in global terrorism. As such, the availability of counterterrorism assistance to Yemen in the post 9/11 period can be held constant. This allows me to hone in on the domestic calculations of the Yemeni recipient in deciding when to publicly request and attract this assistance. The Saleh regime’s patrimonial political technology would create a demand for external sources of revenue. Yet, the regime should be constrained in its ability to attract this assistance by domestic opposition and anti-US sentiment. The

⁸The White House Office of the Press Secretary, ‘Readout of the President’s Call with Yemeni President Hadi,’ 13 September 2012.

⁹2011 Yemeni Stability Survey, Gelvum Stability Assessment, March 2011.

ruling government would thus need to monitor the activities of the domestic opposition when deciding whether or not to attract counterterrorism assistance from the US through public diplomacy.

1.4.2 Data, Variables, and Statistical Tests

To test the hypotheses I present in this paper, I collected and assembled data that consist of two elements, which will measure the use of public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid, or *CT Public Diplomacy*, as well as *Opposition Activity*. To measure the former, I collected 587 issues of the Yemeni military's weekly Arabic newspaper *26 September*. In total, these newspapers contained nearly 60,000 Arabic language articles. To operationalize *Opposition Activity* I collected Newswire reporting of event data from Lexisnexis. I consider the processes and assumptions inherent in these data below.

To measure *CT Public Diplomacy*, I downloaded all available issues of the Yemeni military's newspaper from the online archives. This encompassed nearly 600 issues that spanned from July 2002 to February 2012. I truncated these data to include only regular issues, in contrast to those deemed "special issues" (*l'dad Khasa*), which are issued during national holidays in May and September. Table 1 below provides an annual count of the number of regular, weekly issues of the newspaper that I employ in my statistical analysis.

Year	Regular Issues
2002	24
2003	47
2004	53
2005	51
2006	50
2007	50
2008	50
2009	52
2010	52
2011	39
2012	7

Table 1.1: Annual Counts of Regular Issues for *26 September*, July 2002-February 2012

One could reasonably object that the Yemeni military's newspaper would not accurately reflect the sentiment of the Saleh government. That is, the Yemeni military might use this newspaper to communicate to a domestic audience, thus making it an inadequate data source to test my theory. More particularly, one might claim that the military would discuss the threat of al-Qaeda to influence the civilian government to increase its budget or gain other concessions. Yet, if the military were trying to influence government policy through this magazine, we would expect it to avoid using the post-9/11 lexicon of terrorism, extremism, and al-Qaeda, which would have little domestic play within the Yemeni milieu. Furthermore, the newspaper's editor in chief, Major General Ali Hassan al-Shatir, was a staunch supporter of President Saleh, allowing us to consider the periodical to be a mouthpiece for the regime.¹⁰

Furthermore, I do not contend that this newspaper is the *only* source that could be used to gauge official discourse from the Saleh government. The availability and subject matter of *26 September*, however, warrants its use for quantitative analysis in this paper. We should reasonably expect the military -an institution most likely to benefit from counterterrorism aid- to be the news source in which terrorism would be discussed, and one of the channels through which the regime would use public diplomacy to attract assistance.

Due to the volume of this material, to facilitate quantitative analysis I employed an automated text analysis tool to count various descriptors of terrorist activity in each of the Arabic language articles. This included the use of terms such as "sabotage" (takhrib), "criminal" (ijrami), or "rebellion" (tamarrud) to refer to violent and non-violent opposition activity. As we will see, I do not consider these terms to fall within the parameters of *CT Public Diplomacy* as they would not invoke the same alarm from western governments as other terms. These latter terms include "terrorism" (irhab), "extremism" (tataruf) or al-Qaeda (al-Qa'ida). These terms had indeed become mainstays in the political discourse of the United States and its counterterrorism partners after 9/11.¹¹ That is, referring to or

¹⁰Sasha Gordon, "The Parallel Revolution in Yemen," *American Enterprise Institute Critical Threats Project*, 6 March 2012.

¹¹Emblematic of this is the fact that despite Yemen's history that is rife with Islamist militancy and terrorist activity, "terrorism," "extremism," and "al-Qaeda" were very rarely mentioned in President Saleh's regularly scheduled speeches prior to 9/11. In fact, before 9/11 the President had not once referred to al-Qaeda in

discussing al-Qa'idist terrorism will invoke greater alarm from Western governments after 9/11 than describing opposition groups as criminals (Mujrimin) or saboteurs (Mukharabin). To measure my key dependent variable, *CT Public Diplomacy*, I thus rely on a sum of weekly counts of mentions of terrorism, extremism, and al-Qa'ida. That is, I contend that the use of this post 9/11 discourse constitutes an attempt by the incumbent regime to use public diplomacy in order to attract counterterrorism assistance and appear compliant to US CT demands. To provide further detail as to how these search terms varied over time, Figure 1 depicts the annual total, average, and per issue term counts for a number of Arabic phrases. Figure 2, which depicts a line plot and loess curve of these data, further highlights the great amount of variation of my *CT Public Diplomacy* variable over each weekly issue.

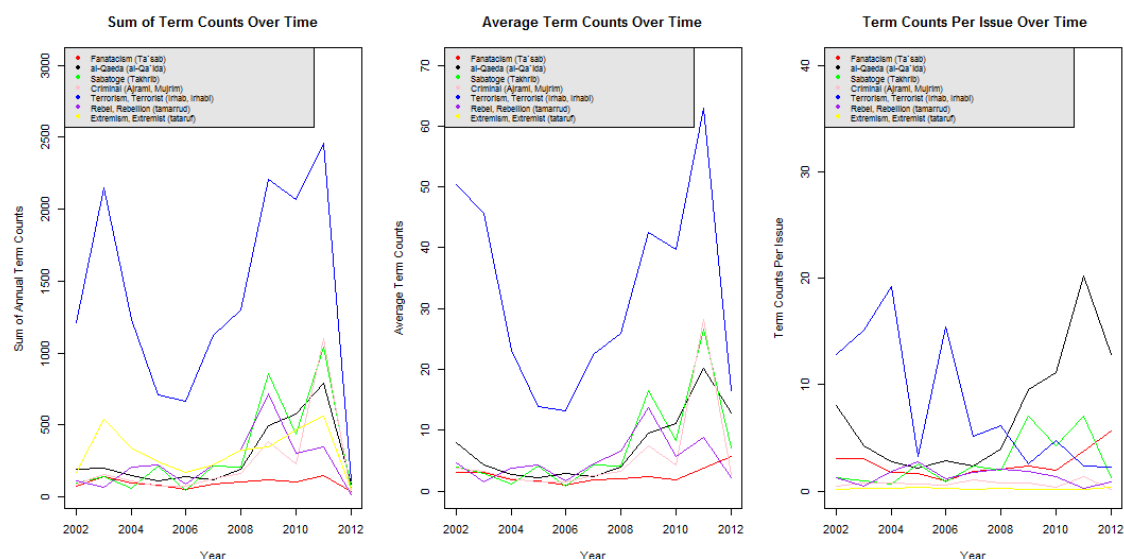


Figure 1.1: Arabic Search Terms

a speech, whereas terms such as “extremism” and “terrorism” were somewhat regularly used to describe Israeli policy. See, for example: “Khattab Fakhamat al-Ra'is fi Munasibat Shahr Ramadan” (The Honorary President's Speech on the Occasion of Ramadan), 26 November, 2000.

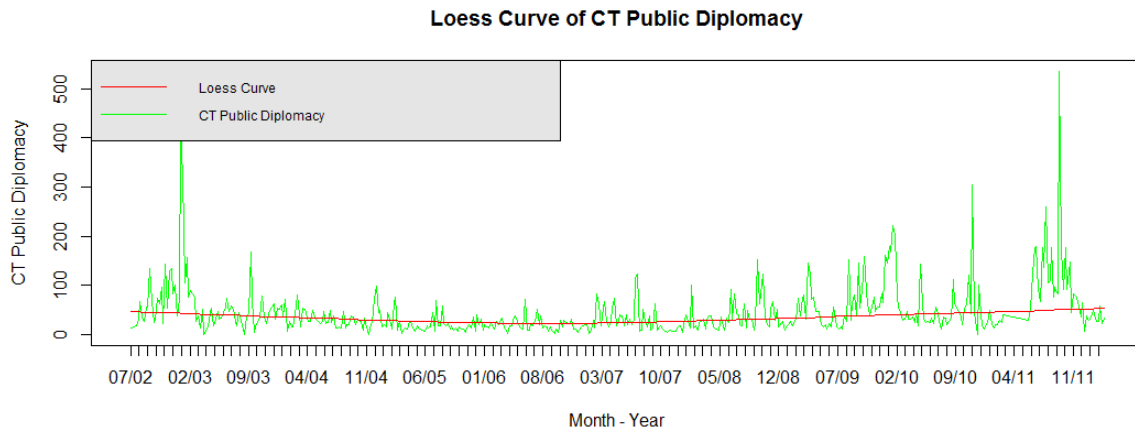


Figure 1.2: Loess Curve and Lineplot of CT Public Diplomacy

To further illustrate how closely this newspaper aligns with Saleh's own discourse, I will, however, analyze Saleh's official speeches and media statements when I turn to my qualitative analysis.¹² I retrieved these archived transcripts from the former President's on-line archive, located at www.presidentsaleh.gov.ye. For the post 9/11 period, this includes more than 600 transcripts. These data were in turn examined according to specific time periods of Saleh's rule, outlined in the qualitative section of this paper.

To measure my key independent variable, *Opposition Activity*, I collected and hand coded peaceful and violent contentious event data from Newswire reporting available through the Lexis Nexis archives. Before delving into the theoretical considerations behind how I coded this material to operationalize my key independent variable, *Opposition Activity*, I will first examine a few potential objections regarding the data generating process associated with event data more broadly.

The first objection one can make with respect to using international news event coverage is its scope (Azar, Cohen, Jukam and McCormick 1972). That is, to what extent

¹²The smaller amount of this material precludes me from analyzing them quantitatively.

does this coverage represent the actual universe of events? Reporting may indeed heavily focus on the capital city, or over-report violent events (Strawn 2008). In employing event data that focuses on the Yemeni Republic, I am under no impression that my data set is a complete population of events that took place in the country, or that reporting biases do not exist in international media coverage. However, because my interest in collecting this data relates to trends over time and I exclusively used Newswire reporting on a single country, I can reasonably assume that media bias is constant, and that my event data are a representation of the broader population (Koopmans 1999). If this is the case, the tendency of these sources to over-report on certain areas or types of events would remain stable, allowing me to evaluate shifts in opposition activity as demonstrative of actual changes, rather than a change in media source or bias (Koopmans and Rucht 2002).

The second potential concern relates not to the bias of the international media source covering the event, but the media environment in the country under examination. This problem is particularly ubiquitous within authoritarian contexts in which the ruling party's tight grip over the media will limit media coverage of opposition-related events. If this were the case, international media coverage would be repressed, and its reporting would not be representative of the actual level of opposition activity in the country (David G. Ortiz and Diaz 2005). My use of data related to Yemen, however, eliminates this concern. Indeed, the Yemeni Republic has been characterized as having a relatively free press in which the President and ruling party were quite often directly challenged (Wedeen 2008; Carapico 1998). As such, the Yemeni government did not have the amount of control over the media that might exist in other authoritarian contexts.

I now turn to my collection and coding of this material. As mentioned previously, I conducted a search of Newswire reporting available in the LexisNexis archives on information related to protests, strikes, demonstrations, and political violence.¹³ Although my independent variable *Opposition Activity* seeks to measure the observable activities of opposition groups, it is theoretically problematic to treat all opposition activity equally in a coding scheme. That is, existing literature on regime repression has clearly demonstrated that governments are more likely to repress events they deem to be more threatening to

¹³For a complete list of search terms, Newswire sources, and codes used, see Appendix A.

their survival (Davenport 1995; Gartner and Regan 1996). Indeed, the demands made by the opposition during the event, the magnitude of participation in the event, the use of violence, and other factors have all been shown to lead to increases in government repression (Davenport 1995; Gartner and Regan 1996). If this is the case, these empirical findings must inform how I measure and operationalize *Opposition Activity*.

In building this dataset, I employed a coding scheme that draws heavily on this literature and ongoing data collection efforts on political unrest (Salehyan and Hendrix 2011). Each opposition activity event, defined as a violent or non-violent act by a group or individual to challenge or otherwise voice discontent with a government individual or policy, was thus coded to capture the tactics participants used in pursuit of these demands, the magnitude of the event, as well as the nature of the demands that were made during the event. To capture the tactics the groups employed, I originally coded events to capture differences between strikes, demonstrations, riots, and organized violence. Yet, there would be far too many assumptions built into a decision to code one of these types of activities as more threatening to the government than others. With this in mind, I collapsed each event tactic as (0) Primarily peaceful (1) Disorganized violence, rioting, or escalated peaceful demonstrations (2) Organized violence against the state. By giving violent events a larger score than their non-violent counterpart, I thus operate under empirical observation that, holding all else equal, a pre-planned violent event where the group employing violence is organized is indicative of greater opposition activity (Davenport 1995; Gartner and Regan 1996). That is, the planning and execution of organized violence requires a more vibrant and active opposition than a disorganized riot.

The next two aspects of relevance are magnitude and demands. Magnitude seeks to capture the number of individuals involved in the event. This was coded as (1) if the event involved less than 10 individuals, (2) if it involved between 10-100 individuals, (3) if it involved between 100-1000 individuals, and so on. In building this indicator, I thus operate under the assumption that, holding all else equal, events involving more individuals indicates a higher level of opposition activity. Finally, although my original coding scheme captured a range of different demands opposition groups could make during an event, I chose to recode these as follows: (0) If the event was largely related to foreign affairs and did not carry an implicit or explicit criticism of Yemeni government policy (1) if demands

made during the event called for political or economic reform, or (2) for cases where the event involved calls for secession or regime change. Whereas reformist demands would seek to work within the existing system to gain political or economic concessions, revolutionary demands would seek to overthrow the system entirely.

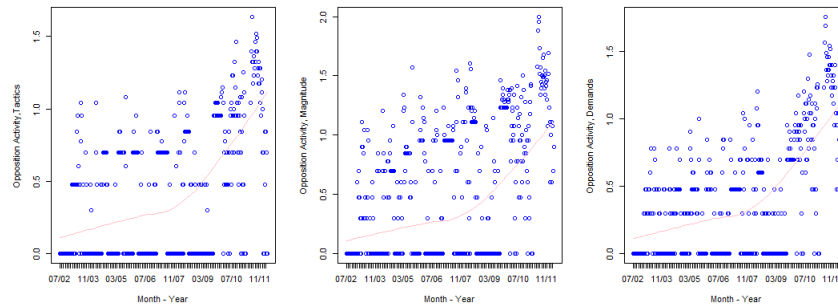


Figure 1.3: Scatterplot and Loess Curve of Opposition Activity

I thus summed each of these indicators for every event to produce a weekly measure of *Opposition Activity*, a plot of which is outlined for each dimension in Figure 3.¹⁴ Although each of these indicators is important, combining them into a single index is inherently problematic. For instance, it is difficult to argue that a non-violent protest with reformist demands and 250 people present, which would produce a combined index of “4”, is equally demonstrative of an “active” opposition than an event in which five individuals carried out an attack on a ruling party headquarters to protest economic inequalities. The scores for each indicator (Tactic, Magnitude, and Demand) are thus generated as separate variables.

To test the proposed curvilinear relationship between *Opposition Activity* and *CT Public Diplomacy*, I estimate a series of negative binomial models. I consider each dimension of opposition activity - tactic, demand, and magnitude- in isolation from one another, estimating separate negative binomial models for each. I then turn to a model that includes all three of these dimensions of Opposition Activity in the same model.

¹⁴In compiling these data, we at times had to make judgement calls with respect to ongoing conflicts, which at times would appear intermittently in reporting, with references to the fact that it was “ongoing.”

Table 2 below summarizes the results of each model, which assesses the relationship between the level of opposition activity and counterterrorism-related public diplomacy. Viewing the regression results on their own, all three hypotheses appear to be supported. For each dimension of opposition activity, we see a positive, statistically significant coefficient on my squared term, as well as a negative, statistically significant coefficient for the non-squared term, lending support to the hypothesis that there is a curvilinear relationship between the two key variables. I also estimate a model that includes each dimension of *Opposition Activity*, the results of which highlight the robustness of the relationship between the tactics involved in this activity and the Yemeni government's willingness to use public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
(<i>Intercept</i>)	3.65*	3.67*	3.70*	3.69*
	(3.55, 3.75)	(3.55, 3.78)	(3.58, 3.81)	(3.58, 3.80)
<i>Opposition Activity, Tactics(Log)</i>	-1.06*	.	.	-1.07*
	(-1.59, -0.53)	.	.	(-1.98, -.18)
<i>Opposition Activity, Tactics(Log)²</i>	1.48*	.	.	1.70*
	(1.00, 1.96)	.	.	(0.87, 2.52)
<i>Opposition Activity, Demand(Log)</i>	.	-0.53*	.	0.86
	.	(-1.01, -0.05)	.	(-0.71, 2.38)
<i>Opposition Activity, Demand(Log)²</i>	.	0.92*	.	-0.53
	.	(0.53, 1.33)	.	(-1.56, 0.53)
<i>Opposition Activity, Magnitude(Log)</i>	.	.	-0.73*	-0.74
	.	.	(-1.18, -0.29)	(-1.74, 0.30)
<i>Opposition Activity, Magnitude(Log)²</i>	.	.	0.80*	0.22
	.	.	(0.49, 1.12)	(-0.40, 0.83)
<i>N</i>	472	472	472	472
<i>AIC</i>	4459.87	4479.93	4493.78	4462.18
<i>BIC</i>	4526.39	4546.45	4560.29	4595.20
<i>log L</i>	-2213.94	-2223.97	-2230.8	-2199.09

Confidence Intervals in parentheses

* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

Table 1.2: Quantitative Results

Yet, when we view the fitted values produced by my model against my key independent

variable, the results lend less support to hypotheses 1 and 3. Below we see a scatter plot of predicted values of *CT Public Diplomacy* produced by each model for different values of *Opposition Activity*. My fitted values appear to take on a curvilinear shape, as the fitted values of *CT Public Diplomacy* gradually increase with a higher rise in each dimension of *Violent Opposition Activity*. Yet, at the low end of *Opposition Activity* there is only a slight increase in my dependent variable, indicating that the relationship between the two may be linear. When we view these fitted values in the context of Figure 5, which plots unfitted values of *CT Public Diplomacy* against *Violent Opposition Activity*, we see that *CT Public Diplomacy* varies greatly at the lowest level of my independent variable. This casts further doubt on hypothesis 1, as the statistically significant results could be driven by a small number of outliers.

My quantitative results have lent limited support to the theory that shifts in violent opposition activity have a curvilinear relationship with the *amount* of counterterrorism-related public diplomacy. Yet, this paper and my hypotheses relate more directly to attempts by the recipient to use public diplomacy in order to attract counterterrorism assistance. One could argue that merely counting mentions of terms such as terrorism, al-Qaeda, and extremism, omits the context within which these terms were used.

With this in mind, I next turn to a more in-depth exploration of the Saleh regime's post 9/11 calculations, and how these calculations manifested themselves during three time periods that have low, medium, and high measurements of *Violent Opposition Activity*. In the section that follows, we will see how variations in this variable lead to shifts in Yemen government willingness to attract counterterrorism aid through public diplomacy, with greater attention to the nature, rather than mere count, of the regime's use of terms such as al-Qaeda, terrorism, and extremism.

1.5 Patrimonial Politics and Post 9/11 Yemen

Before delving into specific time periods of President Saleh's post 9/11 tenure, one must first grasp the socio-political context within which he operated. In this section I do so by providing a brief political history of the Yemeni Republic, with a focus on the dilemmas that are inherent in maintaining regime survival in such a fractured and divided polity. I conclude this section with a brief discussion of the implications these factors

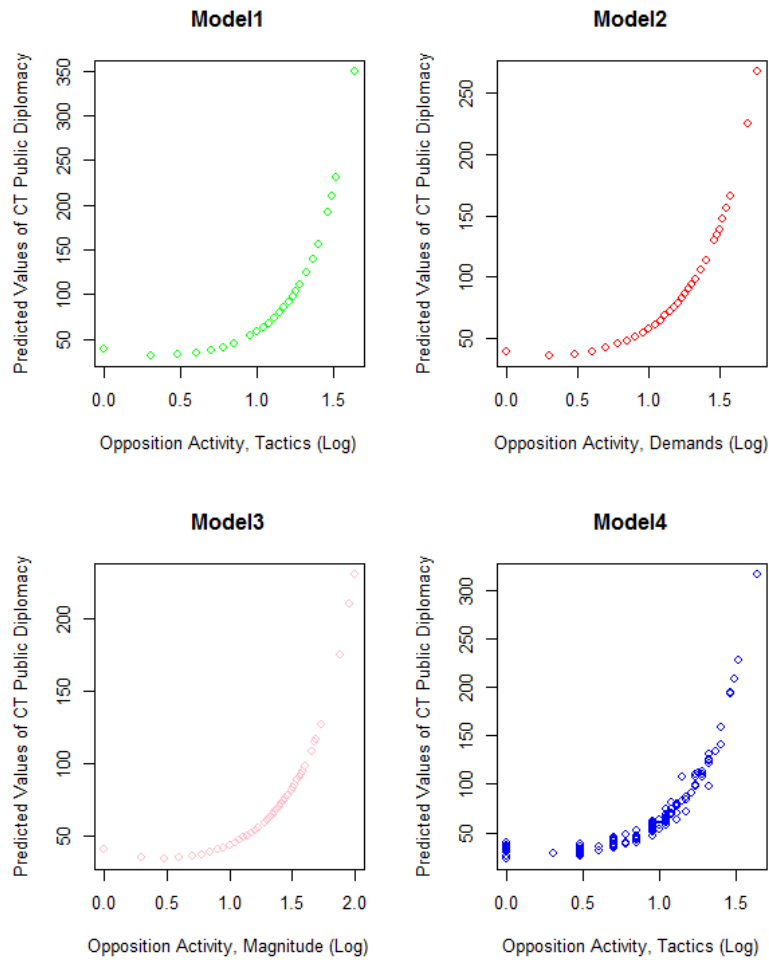


Figure 1.4: Fitted Values of Models 1-4

would have for President Saleh in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

As he assumed the role of the President of the Yemeni Arab Republic in 1978, very few would expect the 36 year old artillery officer 'Ali 'Abdullah Saleh to survive the year. Part of this relates to the fate of his predecessors. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Iryani, who ruled North Yemen from 1967-1974 was ousted in a “corrective” coup by Ibrahim al-Hamdi, who, along with his successor Ahmad al-Ghashmi, were assassinated soon after taking power. When Saleh took control of the fledgling Republic then, the average tenure of

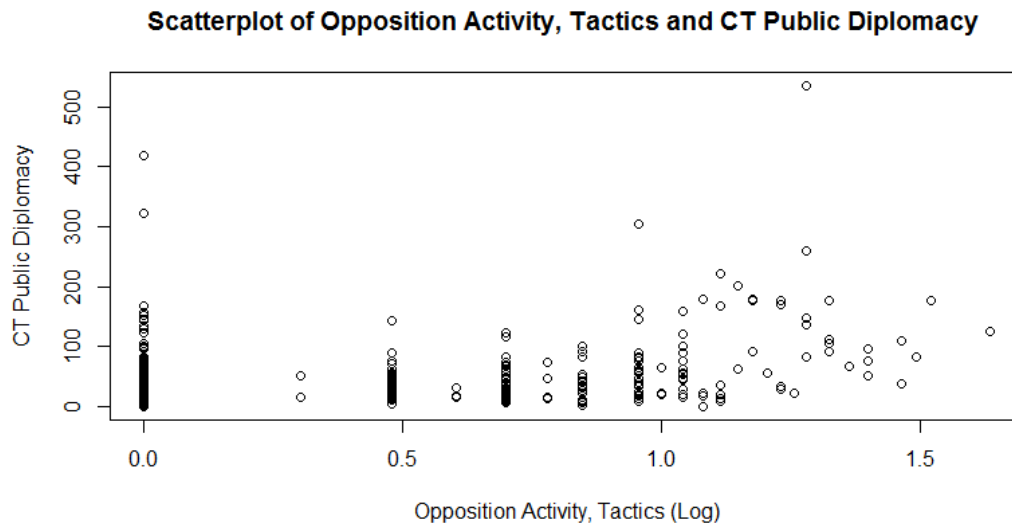


Figure 1.5: Opposition and Public Diplomacy (unfitted)

Yemeni Presidents was no more than a few years. Also, Yemen was at the time plagued by periodic armed uprisings. Indeed, the Northern Republic faced intermittent violence from forces loyal to the communist-led People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in the South, as well as tribal rebellions resisting the influence of the central state within its borders.

Beyond these conflicts, President Saleh had to govern amidst Yemen's many divides (Salmoni, Loidolt and Wells 2009). Within Yemen's Muslim community, this would include Zaydi Shias, Ismailis, as well as salafis. Furthermore, regional divides would come to dominate Yemeni political allegiances, particularly in the wake of unification in 1990. That is, the North-South divide, which was emblematic of a broader fissure regarding the characteristics and policies of governing institutions, would be a crucial fault line during Saleh's tenure. Beyond this, the divide between Yemen's urban elite and tribal periphery was also particularly salient, as the identity and allegiances of Yemenis varied accordingly.

Seeking to secure his position amidst such a tumultuous backdrop, President Saleh quickly began "coup-proofing" his regime. This included incorporating influential family members and tribal shaykhs into key military and security posts, having the dual effect

of ensuring the loyalty of the armed forces and including potentially recalcitrant tribal elites in the state bureaucracy. Saleh's cooptative practices were not limited to the security sector. Indeed, as Saleh developed the ruling General People's Congress (GPC), he was able to offer ministries, governorships and other political offices to potential challengers (Alley 2010). In addition to security and political posts, Saleh would also come to use state-controlled wealth and, eventually, private sector access to buy the loyalty of tribal shaykhs (Alley 2010). Yet, the political technology of the Saleh regime was not a purely cooptative arrangement. That is, actors would at times find themselves co-opted and, soon thereafter, coerced and repressed as the Saleh regime sought to avoid over-empowering social actors through this system (Phillips 2008; Alley 2010).

This need to maintain the flow of resources through patronage networks led the Saleh government to rely on a range of income sources. Key among these was foreign aid from Gulf States, which, by 1986 had comprised 90 percent of Yemen's state budget (Chaudrhy 1997). As the price of oil dropped, however, the Yemeni government moved towards a more comprehensive taxation policy, and, striking oil in 1984, it was able to draw on some indigenous funding sources.

It is the newly-united Yemeni Republic's response to the first Gulf War (Operation Desert Storm) that severely strained its relationship with foreign actors on whom it had come to rely for economic assistance. Seeking to remain neutral, the Yemeni government abstained from UN Resolutions 660 and 661, which called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait. As a result of its neutral position, the Yemeni government found its foreign aid drastically reduced. The Gulf states eliminated their foreign aid package for the country, which at the time amounted to 300 million USD, while the US decreased its aid from 42 to 2 million USD (Colburn 2002). At the same time, hundreds of millions of unskilled Yemeni laborers were expelled from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, placing an enormous strain on the Yemeni state.

As the Saleh government muddled through another civil war in 1994, faced widespread fuel riots in 1996, and reached the 21st century, then, there was a strong need for this patrimonial regime to build its domestic capacity. The 9/11 terror attacks provided this opportunity to the Saleh regime. Although long under US pressure to do so, a combination of the presence of more pressing threats to the already weak regime, the need to not appear

overly subservient to US interests, as well as salafi influence within ruling circles solidified Yemen's lukewarm desire to pursue Islamic terrorists prior to 9/11 (Salmoni, Loidolt and Wells 2009). Yet, after 9/11 the need for vigilance against Islamic terrorism would become far more pronounced, as a number of the hijackers had Yemeni backgrounds, and Yemen had been the site of previous al-Qaeda attacks on US targets and personnel.

It is amidst this environment of endemic political divides, historical memory of the disastrous results of proclaimed neutrality during the Gulf War, and the resulting need for authoritarian assertion that Saleh would view a post 9/11 US alliance as both a necessity and opportunity. In November 2001, President Saleh met with President George W. Bush at the White House to discuss security cooperation with the United States and pledge his support for the US-led Global War on Terror. A month later during a speech that marked the end of the holy month of Ramadan, President Saleh declared, "Brothers and sisters....the Yemeni Republic has suffered much from terrorism...[it has had] negative effects on the economy, investment, and tourism in our country."¹⁵ Most demonstrative of the Saleh regime's new outlook in the speech was the clear declaration that Yemen was an "important partner in supporting international efforts to combat terrorism."¹⁶

Although this new alliance with the United States certainly carried political and material dividends, the latter of which are depicted in Table 3, President Saleh would at the same time be constrained in his ability to draw attention to this alliance by using the post-9/11 counterterrorism lexicon in official state media. These constraints would manifest themselves in opposition movements who might view the Saleh regime's emphasizing al-Qaeda and its international cooperation in fighting the group as a sign of weakness or non-responsiveness to their demands. Chief among these would be the Huthi movement, which, although based in Northwest Yemen, drew the attention of international media when its supporters began chanting "Death to America, Death to Israeli, Curse Upon the Jews, Victory for Islam" in the grand mosque in Sana'a. At the same time, a diverse

¹⁵"Khattab Fakhamat al-Ra'is bi-Munasaba 'Aid al-Fitr al-Sa'id" (His Excellency President's Address on the Occasion of Eid al-Fitr), 15 December 2001.

¹⁶"Khattab Fakhamat al-Ra'is bi-Munasaba 'Aid al-Fitr al-Sa'id" (His Excellency President's Address on the Occasion of Eid al-Fitr), 15 December 2001.

Year	CT Aid (\$US Millions)
2002	\$.75
2003	\$.75
2004	\$0.00
2005	\$1.92
2006	\$4.51
2007	\$27.74
2008	\$.37
2009	\$66.91
2010	\$144.76
2011	\$1.83
2012	\$109.00

Table 1.3: Annual US Counterterrorism Aid Disbursements to Yemen, 2001-2012

movement in Southern Yemen that called for everything from political inclusion to secession would also prove to be a particularly contentious political movement, as would the umbrella political organization known as the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP). Other forms of disorganized and intermittent - but no less contentious- popular mobilization against Saleh policies would similarly drive the Saleh government's willingness to employ these terms. At the same time, US officials seemed to struggle with whether Yemen was going to be a "partner or target" in the US-led Global War on Terror, rendering punishment from the US donor to be a very real possibility at times (Hull 2011, 55). The threat of punishment came to its pinnacle in 2011, wherein the United States significantly decreased its counterterrorism aid to the Yemeni military amidst the popular uprisings against the Saleh regime.

1.5.1 *Time Period Selection Criteria*

Here I explore how activities of these opposition groups shaped the regime's willingness to resort to public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid. I will do so by conducting within case analysis, selecting time periods from Saleh's tenure to test and illustrate my theory. In selecting time periods I draw on Leiberhan's nested research design, wherein qualitative cases are selected based on their proximity to predicted values produced by the quantitative model (Leiberhan 2005). Figure 6 illustrates the relationship between my

selected time periods and the results of Model 1.

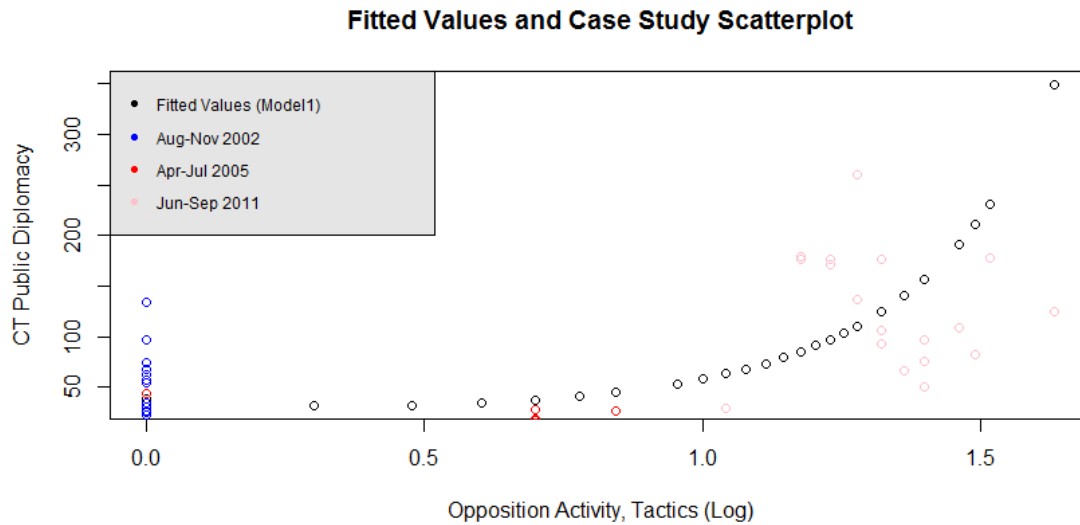


Figure 1.6: CT Public Diplomacy(Fitted) and Opposition Tactics (Log), Case Time Periods

I further select cases based on their variation on my key independent variable, *Opposition Activity, Tactics*, the values for which are depicted in Figure 7 for each time period. I thus consider the following time periods in the section that follows: 1) October- November 2002, during which the Saleh government would view the opposition as relatively weak, and used public diplomacy to signal its sincerity in fighting al-Qaeda; 2) April-July 2005, a period during which the Saleh government would view the opposition as moderate in strength, and thus avoid drawing attention to the threat of terrorism or its relationship with the US; and 3) June-September 2011, wherein the Saleh government faced continued protests, general strikes, and intra-government violence, leading them to relentlessly and very publicly emphasize the threat of al-Qaeda and their need for international assistance.

1.5.2 Post-9/11 Confidence (August-November 2002)

Between August and November of 2002, President Saleh was able to enjoy the benefits of his role as a partner in the War on Terrorism. Although in this section I focus on

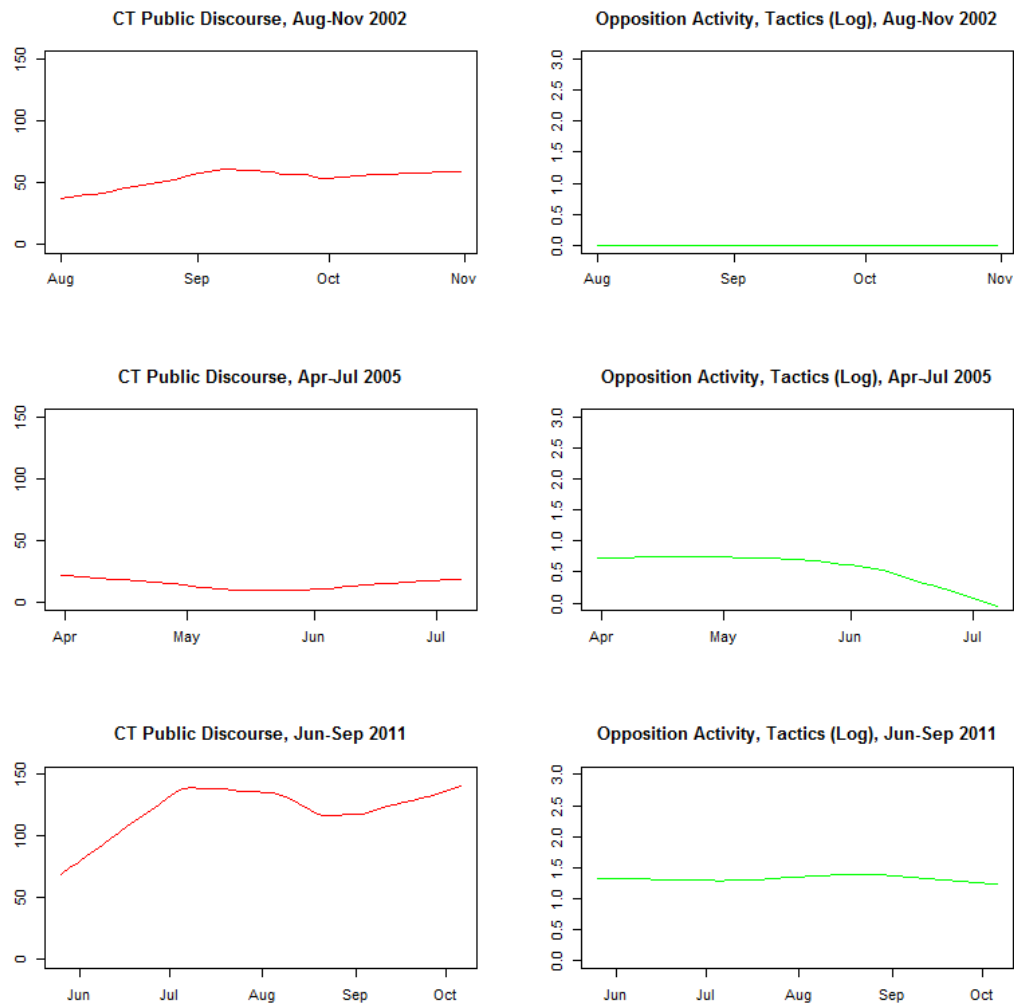


Figure 1.7: Loess Curves of CT Public Diplomacy, Opposition Tactics, Case Time Periods

the Yemeni government's discourse during this period, the President's actions further reflected autocratic entrenchment. On August 6 2002, President Saleh issued a Presidential decree to establish the Yemeni National Security Bureau (Jihaz li-l-Aman al-Qawmi li-l-Jumhuriya al-Yamaniya), a domestic intelligence agency tied directly to President Saleh and in part established due to pressure from the United States, for whom the alleged jihadi

and Islamist "penetration" of the existing domestic agency, the Political Security Organization, would be problematic.¹⁷ More than an institution that could act more decisively against al-Qaeda and its affiliates, the NSB could similarly be coopted by President Saleh to monitor and repress all political opponents. At the same time, the President attempted to more authoritatively assert his control over the Yemeni periphery and security apparatus, breaking ground on a Political Security building in the remote Sa'ada province, and reshuffling a number of key military posts.¹⁸

The once-embattled President also faced very little observable opposition activity, and the US had approved nearly 21 million USD in military assistance, to include Foreign Military Financing (FMF), Foreign Military Sales (FMS), and International Military Education Training (IMET) (Salmoni, Loidolt and Wells 2009). President Saleh further hosted US security officials, to include then-USCENTCOM Commander Tommy Franks.¹⁹ Although earlier in the year the President had endured protests decrying US-Yemeni security cooperation, the opposition movements appeared unable to harness this mobilization, as they were left on the political sidelines.

Perhaps because of this comfortable position vis a vis his domestic opposition, Saleh also faced a very serious threat of punishment from his US donors. Former ambassador to Yemen Edmund James Hull described the immense "growing pains" of the US-Yemen security relationship during this period, further discussing "semiserious" plans to invade Yemen (Hull 2011, 27,53). During this period the administration did at times carry out some minor punishments, to include delaying the disbursement of equipment for the

¹⁷ For an in-depth discussion of the founding of the Yemeni National Security Bureau, see: "Jihaz al-Aman al-Qawmi: Bayn Ijtihad al-Dakhil wa Mutatalabat al-Kharij, Ajhiza Muta'adada wa Iqtisad Ya'ani al-Rukud!!" (The National Security Bureau: Between Internal Needs and External Demands, Multiple Agencies while the Economy Suffers a Recession!!!), *the al-Jazeera Center for Studies and Research*, Undated Text.; For a discussion of Islamist penetration of the Yemeni Political Security Organization, see: Hussein al-Lisswas, "Mukhatir al-Sira' bayn al-Aman al-Qawmi wa-l-Aman al-Siyasi" (Dangers of the Conflict between National Security and Political Security), *al-Ishtiraki.net*, 12 January, 2009.

¹⁸ "Yawmiyat al-Ra'is 'Ali 'Abdallah Saleh," (President Ali Abdullah Saleh's Tenure), *al-Markaz al-Ma'lumat bi-Da'irat al-Tawjih al-Ma'nawi li-l-Quwwat al-Maslaha*, 2009, pp. 924-926

¹⁹ "Yawmiyat al-Ra'is 'Ali 'Abdallah Saleh," (President Ali Abdullah Saleh's Tenure), *al-Markaz al-Ma'lumat bi-Da'irat al-Tawjih al-Ma'nawi li-l-Quwwat al-Maslaha*, 2009, pp. 931.

Yemeni military (Hull 2011, 54).

The low level of domestic opposition activity and very real threat of punishment from its US donor rendered the Saleh regime willing to signal compliance with US counterterrorism priorities. Although some articles decried the use of terrorism as a pretext for a US-led invasion of Iraq,²⁰ writings in the military newspaper during this period overwhelmingly highlighted US-Yemeni security cooperation and portrayed terrorism as a pressing threat to the Republic of Yemen. In one article, for example, the author described terrorism as “among the most dangerous threats facing humanity in the third Millennium.”²¹ In a later issue in October, another writer similarly penned, “what bin Ladin and his al-Qaeda practice in the way of terrorism harms Arab interests more than anything, in addition to threatening Arab civilization...”²² In other cases it was Yemeni officials themselves, rather than the newspaper’s writers, that sought to appear dedicated to combating al-Qaeda by highlighting Yemen-US security ties. In one case, the head of the Yemeni Political Security Office, a domestic intelligence agency, openly declared “there is open cooperation between us and there is coordination in the area of combating terrorism.”²³

Despite a relatively low amount of opposition activity during this period, the Yemeni military’s magazine discussed at great lengths the threat of al-Qaeda and transnational terrorism, while simultaneously emphasizing its security cooperation with the United States. Terrorism was portrayed as a global threat to civilization. At the same time, Yemeni officials did not hesitate to highlight Yemen’s cooperation in the US-led War on Terrorism, despite the potential for opposition backlash. Both of these discursive trends constitute attempts to demonstrate the sincerity with which the Yemeni Republic took the threat of transnational terrorism, as well as their willingness to work with the United States to defeat

²⁰See, for example: Khayr Allah Kahyallah, “‘Alim Yataghayur - 11 Sabtambir wa al-Masalah al-‘Arabiya wa-l-Dafa’a ‘Anha,” 26 September, Issue 1026, 12 September 2002.

²¹Muhammad Ali Saleh, “Hudur Mutaqaddim li-l-Yaman fi al-Intisar li-l-Haqq al-‘Araby wa-l-Juhud al-Dawli li-Mukafihat al-Irhab,” 26 September, Issue 1024, 29 August 2002.

²²Alaskandar Asbahi, “Wamdat: Tahaluf al-Irhab,” 26 September, Issue 1036, 17 October 2002.

²³Author Unknown, “Ra’is al-Jihaz al-Markazi l-l-Amn al-Siyasi li-’26 Sabtambir’: 40 ‘Aman wa haj al-Thawra...Intilaqa wa Tahawwul Nahwa Mustaqbil Akthar Rakha’an,” 26 September, Issue 1027, 19 September 2002.

it. Thus, although they did not explicitly call for additional counterterrorism assistance, articles during this period did not hesitate to appear loyal and even subservient to US interests. President Saleh perhaps most eloquently reflected this in a November 2002 speech, during which he opined:

It is of the utmost importance that all regional and international efforts combine to address terrorism in all its forms and shapes..this is not the responsibility of one country on its own, or one international clique on its own, but it is the responsibility of everybody. Terrorism is a global phenomenon that is not limited by geographic, ethnic, or religious features, and undermines the entire world with its evil²⁴

Saleh's ability to signal compliance with US counterterrorism objectives would not always be so unconstrained. That is, as the Yemeni opposition grew more contentious and geographically diverse, and, consequently, the threat of US punishment less-pronounced, the Yemeni government would need to attenuate the extent to which it would discuss this "global phenomenon." I turn to a case where this occurred next.

1.5.3 *Fuel Riots and Regime Concern (April-July 2005)*

From May-July 2005 the Saleh regime endured a much more contentious opposition than it did in 2002. Although its domestic security apparatus remained in-tact, the Yemeni government faced the enormous task of having to cut fuel subsidies, an act that would have deleterious effects on the vast majority of the poverty-stricken country. As the Yemeni Parliament debated this issue, however, inklings of popular discontent began to emerge. Indeed, months prior to the vote, a number of Yemeni cities, to include Taiz, the capital city Sana'a, and others witnessed demonstrations and strikes in protest of the potential price hike. Despite this, the Yemeni parliament voted in July 2005 to cut these subsidies, sending the price of fuel sky-rocketing. Almost immediately, Yemenis took to the streets in protest, in what would evolve into continuous riots across the country for nearly a week. As clashes between protesters and military forces intensified and owners of fuel stations went on a countrywide strike, President Saleh made concessions to the protesters, to include a

²⁴"Khatab Fakhamat al-Ra'is bi-Munasaba Shahr Ramadan Karim," 5 November 2002.

smaller reduction in fuel subsidies, increased wages for civil servants, and lowering the sales tax. Months after this unrest, on 17 December 2005, Saleh pledged to never again run for President, a pledge on which he would renege.

Given that President Saleh was already under enormous pressure during this period, the US would be limited in its ability to punish him. Indeed, the country was at a high risk of disintegration, and thus donor sanctions would very likely lead to state failure (Phillips 2006). Indeed, as opposition to Saleh mounted during this period, US diplomats were careful in being too critical of the Saleh regime's counterterrorism cooperation, arguing, for example, that "the fight against terrorism is important....but that doesn't give any [government] the right to abuse its citizens."²⁵ Such rhetoric would serve as a signal to the Saleh regime that the US was encouraging reform, but would not seek its ouster or punish it for not making gains against terrorist groups.

Because the Saleh regime would naturally want to avoid encouraging this renewed domestic opposition movement by using public means to attract counterterrorism aid, articles in *26 September* reflected a much less alarmed tone with respect to the threat of al-Qaeda than they had in 2002. For example, an article reporting on a symposium held in the Hajja governorate proclaimed, "One can look at [the manner of] Yemen's dealing with terrorism, describing it as a paragon of the wise political approach that depends on dialogue as a way to eradicate the thorn of terrorism...without forgetting the importance of the military solution from time to time."²⁶ Another piece that was demonstrative of this trend in discourse was written in June, in which the author decried the conflation of terrorism and Islam, while arguing that terrorism was a result of a "lack of political and economic justice."²⁷ When writers in the newspaper did acknowledge the danger of terrorism, they only did so from the perspective that it would invite further attacks from the West on Muslim lands. In the wake of the July 2005 al-Qaeda attacks in the United Kingdom, for example,

²⁵Christian Chaise, "US Charges over Human Rights Upset Yemen," *Agence France Press*, 16 March, 2005

²⁶Author Unknown, "Fi Nadwa Nadhamatha 26 Sabtabir Wakilat al-Tarbiya wa al-Majlis al-Mahali bi-Muhafaza Hajja," *26 September*, Issue 1201, 26 May 2005.

²⁷Author Unknown, "Kalimat 26 Sebtabir: Mu'tamir al-Intilaqa!," *26 September*, Issue 1206, 30 June 2005.

a writer argued, “The only thing that things like this savagery achieve is an increase in aggression against Arabs, Muslims, and Islam as a faith.”²⁸ Given this aversion from directly discussing terrorism as a pressing threat to the Yemeni Republic or Yemen’s role as a US security partner, it should come as no surprise that the violence that occurred in July was described almost exclusively as “sabotage.”²⁹

These trends were also reflected in President Saleh’s speeches. Indeed, rather than depicting terrorism as a grave threat to the world and Yemeni Republic, the President juxtaposed terrorism with generic references to stability and criminal activity, while simultaneously emphasizing the Yemeni security force’s successes in this area:

We greatly appreciate all of the tangible efforts and successes that our security apparatus has achieved in executing the plan to spread security, maintain stability and security, fighting terrorism and organized crime, and arresting mischief makers and scoff-laws...³⁰

In this section I have explored how the Saleh regime adjusted its discourse with respect to terrorism as opposition to its policies became more pressing and thus, donor punishment less likely. Instead of emphasizing the threat of al-Qaeda as it had when opposition activity was low, in this case the regime avoided the term or downplayed the threat it posed to the Yemeni Republic, lest it appear overly reliant on US support. In discussing the Yemen Republic’s successes against terrorist groups, the Saleh regime attributed its success to its own domestic strategies and resources, rather than international support. In the next section, however, we will see how an extremely high level of opposition activity will drive the Saleh government to relentlessly invoke terrorist discourse to attract international support.

²⁸Yahya Abd al-Raqib al-Jabihi, “al-T’aid allati ta’d Sahibha,” *26 September*, Issue 1208, 14 July 2005.

²⁹See, for example: Muhammad ‘Abd al-Aziz, “Al-Muwajihat..Muhadadatha wa Dururatha,” *26 September*, Issue 1211, 28 July 2005.

³⁰“Khatab Fakhamat al-Ra’is fi al-’Aid al-Khamis ‘Ashr li-l-Wahda al-Yamaniya.” 21 May 2005.

1.5.4 *On the Verge of Collapse (June-October 2011)*

As the Arab Spring protests gathered steam across the Middle East and North Africa, students organized a sit in at Sana'a University, calling for a peaceful democratic transition from Saleh family rule. Soon thereafter, large-scale demonstrations erupted across the country, from the Southern governorate of Aden to the Northwestern Sa'ada governorate. At the same time, the militant Southern Secessionist Movement, as well as al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula, continued their armed campaign against government forces. By May, general strikes were called in a number of the country's major cities, including Aden and Ta'iz, and the opposition showed little sign of relenting. Throughout this period, however, President Saleh refused to make major concessions to the protesters. After initially pledging to not run for the office of the Presidency again, a promise he had made and reneged on years earlier, he resisted local and international efforts to foster a democratic transition.

It was amidst this high level of opposition activity that Saleh's delicate coalition began to unfurl. First came the 21 March defection of general Ali Muhsin al-Ahmar, a fellow Sanhani tribesmen and commander of Yemen's 1st Armored Division, who decried the Saleh regime's "policy of annihilation and marginalization" and deployed his forces to protect protesters who had gathered in the capital.³¹ This key military defection led to the defection of additional military commanders, including but not limited to Hamid al-Qashibi, the commander of the regime's military forces in the capital.³² The head of the Hashid tribal confederation, Sadiq al-Ahmar, though having resigned from the government in February, similarly abandoned his role as mediator between the protesters and the government, siding with the former. The decision of this tribal shaykh to no longer be neutral led many tribes to mobilize their constituents in demonstrations and militant activities against the Saleh regime.

The pressure of continued demonstrations, strikes, violent clashes, and defections all came to a pinnacle in May 2011, as the government began to lose control of state facilities in major cities and witnessed defections within the elite Republican Guard units. On top of this, oil production temporarily halted in early May, undoubtedly placing additional strain

³¹"al-Lahadha al-Hasima allati Hasamat Tarikh Yaman," *Youtube*, 21 March 2011

³²"al-Inshiqaq Yasra' Suqut Saleh," *al-Jazeera*, 22 March 2011.

on the regime's coffers. To reassert his authority, Saleh deployed loyalist forces led by his family members to put down protests, leading to clashes between Hashid tribesmen and forces loyal to General Ali Muhsin al-Ahmar on the one hand, and the Saleh regime on the other. As fighting increased in intensity in the capital city, on 3 June violence reached President Saleh's compound. When Saleh attended Friday prayers, he was wounded in an explosion, leaving him badly injured. Eventually seeking medical treatment abroad, President Saleh was forced to temporarily relinquish power to then-Vice President Abu Mansur Hadi. Although Saleh would nominally hold onto the reigns of power upon his return to Sana'a in September 2011, he formally accepted the Gulf Cooperation Council-endorsed transition plan and resigned on February 27, 2012.

For its part, the US gradually increased its support for the opposition's demands. Although initially the Obama administration expressed vague concerns over violence in the country and argued that Saleh was "the best partner we [the US Government] will have...,"³³ the US eventually helped negotiate his exit from power. That is, Saleh reached the point where the opposition posed such a threat to his regime that his US donors could no longer support him staying in power.

Both the intensity of opposition and fear of US abandonment would lead Saleh to consistently signal compliance with US counterterrorism priorities and demand additional assistance. This sense of urgency with respect to terrorism is clearly reflected in the pages of *26 September*. Although the newspaper's articles covered its campaign against AQAP-backed Ansar al-Sharia insurgents,³⁴ others would seek to emphasize the threat of al-Qaeda by linking it with the Yemeni political opposition. In one article, the author tied the Islamist Yemeni Congregation for Reform (Islah) with its more violent ilk, claiming, "al-Qaeda emerged from the same cloth as the Muslim Brotherhood (the Yemeni Congregation for Reform), the primary member of the [Joint] Meeting [Parties]...it[al-Qaeda] is

³³Laura Kasinof and Scott Shane, "Radical Cleric Demands Ouster of Yemen Leader, *New York Times*, 1 March 2011.

³⁴See, for example: Ahmad al-Habishi, "Abtal al-Quwat al-Maslaha wa-l-Aman...Yuwajihun bi-basala Fulul al-Irhabiyyin min Tanzim al-Qa'ida fi Zanjibar," *26 September*, 23 June 2011.

the criminal tool [the Joint Meeting Parties] use to implement their hellish plans.”³⁵ An article later in June echoed this sentiment, describing the danger both al-Qa’ida and the Joint Meeting Parties posed to the “unity of the state,” going on to cite Western analysts’ description of Yemen as an al-Qaeda “safe haven” (*miladh amin*).³⁶ In another case, a writer more subtly described the al-Qaeda threat as “al-Qaida, it’s armed men, and those political leaders who support them.”³⁷

Beyond the pages of the military’s newspaper, President Saleh too went to great lengths to emphasize the threat of al-Qaeda in his speeches, while simultaneously expressing support for the United States. On 14 May, for example, the President echoed the sentiment that would later be reflected in the pages of *26 September*, noting, “Unfortunately, elements of al-Qaeda are supported from some of the [political] parties, specifically the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Islah)....these elements [of al-Qaeda] that exploit the circumstances of crisis....in the protests side by side with the rebellious Huthist elements and Joint Meeting Parties...”³⁸ As fighting raged in Sana’a, President Saleh further addressed the Yemeni opposition directly in a speech:

Those seeking power who simply talk with the public as if the regime left, al-Qaeda would end: Yes, al-Qaeda would end because it would complete its control over Mareb, Hadr Mawt, Shabwa, Abyan, and Jawf...As for those [seeking power], they will not have control because they are not accepted. The sons of these governorates would be forced to accept al-Qaeda, and that is what we hope our friends in the United States and the European Union realize....it would be worse than it is now³⁹

³⁵“Masdar bi-Dakhiliya: Bilagh al-Mushtarak Hawwul Taslim Madinat Zanjibar li-l’Anasir al-Irhabiya Taghtiya ‘ala Mukhatatatha al-Takhribiya,” *26 September*, 1 June 2011.

³⁶Ahmad al-Habishi, “Lahdhat Huryia: Waqfa Sari’a Imam Murahanaat Tawwil al-Azma al-Siyasiya,” *26 September*, 16 June 2011.

³⁷Muhammad Hashim Munib, “7 Yuliyu...Yawm Intisar Iradat al-Dimuqratiya,” *26 September*, 6 July 2011.

³⁸“Nus Muqabalat Fakhamat al-Ra’is ma’ Sahifat ‘Ukaz al-Sa’udiya,” 14 May 2011.

³⁹“Kalimat Fakhamat al-Ra’is bi-Munasabat al-’Aid al-Watani al-21 li-l’adat Tahqiq al-Wahda,” 21 May

Just months before he would leave office, President Saleh returned to Yemen after recovering from the assassination attempt. As the President delivered what would be his last speech as President commemorating the overthrow of the Imamate regime on September 26, 1962, the date for which his military's newspaper was named, he went to greater lengths to highlight his relationship with the United States: "Thank you to our friends in the United States of America for their cooperation with us against the terrorist elements (the al-Qaeda Organization)..."⁴⁰

Just as he had in May of the same year and, nearly a decade earlier, the President thus clearly sought to publicize the threat of al-Qaeda violence and highlight his cooperation with the West.

In this section I have shown how the convergence of demonstrations, strikes, defections, and potential US abandonment led the Saleh regime to attempt to link al-Qa'ida with other domestic opposition groups, emphasize the immediacy of the al-Qa'ida threat, and highlight his cooperative relationship with Western donors. All of this would, of course, signal to opposition groups that he had lost control, but would also signal to his donors that he was willing to comply with their demands.

1.6 Conclusion: Recipients and their Domestic Calculations

In this paper I have argued that recipients of counterterrorism assistance will be more likely to attract military aid through public diplomacy when they perceive opposition activity to be extremely low, or extremely high. Through an in-depth examination of Yemen, I have offered limited statistical and qualitative support for my hypotheses of a curvilinear relationship between a regime's willingness to emphasize the threat of terrorism to attract counterterrorism support and the perceived threat of opposition groups. In this section I begin with a brief summary of my argument, before turning to a discussion of the implications and future questions these findings raise for work on military aid and its recipients.

2011

⁴⁰"Nus Kalimat Fakhamat al-Ra'is bi-Munasabat al-'Aid al-49 li-Thawrat al-26 min September," 25 September 2011.

Existing literature on military assistance largely assumes that foreign aid is unconditionally helpful for recipients. With respect to counterterrorism aid, donors provide military assistance to induce the recipient's cooperation in, and enhance their capacity to, fight terrorist groups. In turn, recipients can resist international democratization pressure and more effectively repress their domestic opposition. By making these arguments, however, existing literature fails to recognize the problems accepting this assistance can pose for recipients domestically. For one, because it involves accepting a policy objective from the donor, receiving foreign aid makes a recipient appear unresponsive to his constituents and elite coalitions. Further, attracting or demanding counterterrorism aid can be costly in that it makes the incumbent appear unable to assert its authority. Recipients can also face potential punishment should they refuse to comply with donor objectives.

These dilemmas should be reflected in the recipient's willingness to use public diplomacy to attract counterterrorism aid. If we only considered the donor recipient relationship as a principal-agent dynamic, we would expect the incumbent to relentlessly use public diplomacy to please its principal. Yet, incumbents will be constrained in their ability to do so by opposition activity. When the recipient perceives this threat to be very high or very low, it will emphasize the threat of terrorism in its public discourse. In the case of the former, it is on the verge of collapse and willing to shoulder the costs of emboldening opposition. Here the incumbent is trying to avoid abandonment from its donors. In the latter it need not be concerned with strengthening an extremely weak opposition, and, because it is entrenched, faces the possibility of being punished by the donor for non-compliance. It is when the regime perceives a moderate threat from domestic opposition that it will avoid attracting counterterrorism aid through public diplomacy.

Through a mixed-methods research design, I have offered limited support for these hypotheses. My large n analysis provides support to the hypothesis that at medium levels of opposition activity a recipient will be less likely to use counterterrorism public diplomacy, and at high levels of opposition activity it will be more willing to do so. I have found less support for the hypothesis that the incumbent will employ counterterrorism diplomacy consistently when opposition activity is low. My qualitative analysis of specific time periods of Saleh's post-9/11 tenure adds more support to my theory, as we are able to clearly see how changes in the activity of opposition groups led to shifts in official

discourse regarding the immediacy and urgency of terrorism, and the willingness of the Yemeni government to highlight its security partnership with the United States.

The limited support I find for my hypothesis speaks to what could be a broader gap in the burgeoning literature examining transnational donor-recipient relationships and foreign aid. By viewing these relationships through the lens of principal-agent dynamics, this literature has overwhelmingly focused on the perspective of the former. It has not yet considered that domestic contexts within the recipient state can have a mediating influence on foreign aid. Moving beyond regime type, this means an understanding of how bargaining between donors, recipients, opposition groups, and elite coalitions in turn effect aid recipient's activities. I have taken a first step in addressing this, but future work could more closely trace how shifts in ruling coalitions and domestic opposition interact in this regard. This requires abandoning the assumption that the recipient is a unitary actor.

This all points to the need for additional attention to the mediating effects that internal dynamics, characteristics, and calculations of recipients can have on international assistance. This would help scholars better understand when and where the perverse effects of military aid might be more pronounced. We might consider how varying levels of opposition activity within recipient states influences bargaining between donors, incumbents, and recipient security institutions.

In this paper I have argued, and found some support for, the theory that military assistance can pose dilemmas on the domestic front for recipients, and that these dilemmas are reflected in their willingness to use public diplomacy to attract it. Through the case of Yemen we observed how the Yemeni military and President Saleh adjusted their rhetoric based on shifts in domestic circumstances. With these findings in mind, additional inquiry into how domestic calculations, recipient characteristics, and international aid interact to drive recipient behavior and the overall effects of this aid may be warranted.

A SEARCH AND CODING PRODECURES, OPPOSITION ACTIVITY EVENT DATA

Introduction

The goal of this collection effort is to locate and code data on publicly observable dimensions of political activism in Yemen, to include everything from demonstrations and strikes to riots and organized violence. We will do this by collecting a series of variables on specific events of political activism (a demonstration, a riot, or a strike, for example).

Each event is to be coded according to twenty one variables, which are intended to capture five main dimensions of political activism in Yemen. The first relates to the **LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION** of the opposition activists involved in the event. That is, was this event carried out by a group with a clearly identifiable leadership structure such as a political party? Or, alternatively, was this an instance of spontaneous rioting or protest by a more unorganized political entity?

Second, events will be coded according to the **DEMANDS** made during the event. Were the activists calling for narrowly-defined concessions from the regime? Were they protesting a specific policy of the regime? Or, conversely, were they demanding for regime change?

Third, if available, the **RESPONSE** of the regime to the protests is of importance as well. Did the regime respond to the event with concessions, repression, or a mix of both? Did the regime have to deploy internal security forces?

The **TACTICS** employed by activists during the event will also be coded. Was this a case of terrorist violence against the state? Or, was it a primarily peaceful demonstration or march?

Finally, the **MAGNITUDE** of the event is the final variable that will be coded for each event. Did this event include thousands of protesters? Or, was it a small group of protesters

involved?

Because this project focuses on the Saleh regime in the post 9/11 period, the timeframe of interest is September 2001 1 March 2012.

A.1 Search Procedure

Open the LexisNexis Academic and use the advanced search interface

In the Add Index Terms Section, select Geography, then click the plus sign next to Middle East. Check the box next to Yemen.

In the Select Source section click Browse Sources -> News. At the top of this screen click Newswires and Press Releases. Select the following thirteen sources, and then click the red Ok -continue button:

- Agence France Presse - English - Middle East and Africa Stories
- ARABIA 2000
- Associated Press Online
- Associated Press Publications
- Associated Press Worldstream
- The Associated Press
- The Associated Press - Middle East and Africa Stories
- Emirates News Agency (Arabic)
- Inter Press Service - Middle East and Africa Stories
- News Bites - Middle East and North Africa
- States News Service Middle East and North Africa
- Wire Service Stories
- Xinhua General News Service - Middle East and Africa Stories

A.2 Code Definitions

ID Column: Lists the unique event number (NOTE: I will write these in)

Start Date: the day, month and year for when the event begins, in DD/MM/YYYY format. If it is difficult to ascertain the exact day a protest began, you can approximate it based on available information. The start year (stryear), start month (strmonth), and start day (strday) are in separate columns.

End Date: the day, month and year for when the event ends, in DD/MM/YYYY format. If it is difficult to ascertain the exact day a protest ended, you can approximate based on available information. The end year (endyear), endmonth (strmonth), and endday (strday) are in separate columns.

Duration: Total number of days the event lasted

Etype: The type of event based on the current coding scheme

- 1= Organized Demonstration: Distinct, continuous largely peaceful, action directed toward government authorities. Clear leadership or organizations can be identified
- 2= Spontaneous Demonstration: Distinct, continuous largely peaceful, action directed toward government authorities. Clear leadership or organizations cannot be identified
- 3= Organized Violent Riot: Distinct, continuous largely violent, action directed toward government authorities. The participants intend to cause physical injury or property damage. Clear leadership or organizations can be identified
- 4= Spontaneous Violent Riot: Distinct, continuous, and violent action directed toward government authorities. The participants intend to cause physical injury or property damage. Clear leadership or organizations cannot be identified
- 5= General Strike: Members of an organization or union abandon workplaces
- 6= Limited Strike: Members of an organization or union abandon work places in limited sectors or industries

- 7= Anti-Government Violence: Distinct violent event waged by a non-state group against government authorities or symbols of this authority. In this case the actor has a permanent militant wing.
- 8= Intra-government violence: Violent event between two armed factions associated with different elements of the government.

Escalation: Did the event change or evolve during its duration?

- 1= Organized Demonstration: Distinct, continuous largely peaceful, action directed toward government authorities. Clear leadership or organizations can be identified
- 2= Spontaneous Demonstration: Distinct, continuous largely peaceful, action directed toward government authorities. Clear leadership or organizations cannot be identified
- 3= Organized Violent Riot: Distinct, continuous largely violent, action directed toward government authorities. The participants intend to cause physical injury or property damage. Clear leadership or organizations can be identified
- 4= Spontaneous Violent Riot: Distinct, continuous, and violent action directed toward government authorities. The participants intend to cause physical injury or property damage. Clear leadership or organizations cannot be identified
- 5= General Strike: Members of an organization or union abandon workplaces
- 6= Limited Strike: Members of an organization or union abandon work places in limited sectors or industries
- 7= Anti-Government Violence: Distinct violent event waged by a non-state group against government authorities or symbols of this authority. In this case the actor has a permanent militant wing of organization
- 8= Intra-government violence: Violent event between two armed factions associated with different elements of the government.

- 9= Anti-Foreigner Violence: Violent event or kidnapping where foreign citizens are the primary target

A.3 Actor

Actor Huthi: Coded 1 if the event involved actors associated with the Huthi rebellion

Actor-Southern: Coded 1 if the event involved actors associated with the Southern movement

Actor JMP: Coded 1 if the event involved actors associated working under the banner of the Joint Meeting Parties

Actor- Islah: Coded 1 if the event involved actors associated with the Islah party

Actor Polparty: Coded 1 if the event involved actors associated with another political party not mentioned in 9 or 10.

Actor- Tribe: Coded 1 if the event involved actors who clearly identify with, and act on behalf of, a specific tribe

A.4 Target

Centgovtarget: Coded 1 if the activist demands and/or activities specifically targeted facilities, policies, or personnel directly associated with the central government in Sanaa.

Rgovtarget: Coded 1 if the activist demands and/or activities specifically targeted regional or provincial governmental facilities, policies, or personnel.

Issue 1: What was the first issue mentioned as the source of the tension/disorder?

- 1= elections
- 2= Jobs, economy (tax policy, etc.)
- 3= food, water, subsistence
- 4= environmental degradation
- 5= Tribal, religious, or ethnic discrimination
- 6= education

- 7= foreign relations/wars
- 8= domestic war, violence
- 9= human rights
- 10= democracy
- 11= Access to government patronage
- 12= other (write in)

Issue 2: What was the second issue, if any, that was mentioned as the source of the tension/disorder?

- 1= elections
- 2= Jobs, economy (tax policy, etc.)
- 3= food, water, subsistence
- 4= environmental degradation
- 5= Tribal, religious, or ethnic discrimination
- 6= education
- 7= foreign relations/wars
- 8= domestic war, violence
- 9= human rights
- 10= democracy
- 11= Access to government patronage
- 12= other (write in)

Issue 3: What was the third issue, if any, that was mentioned as the source of the tension/disorder?

- 1= elections
- 2= Jobs, economy (tax policy, etc.)
- 3= food, water, subsistence
- 4= environmental degradation
- 5= Tribal, religious, or ethnic discrimination
- 6= education
- 7= foreign relations/wars
- 8= domestic war, violence
- 9= human rights
- 10= democracy
- 11= Access to government patronage
- 12= other (write in)

IssueCTCoop: Coded 1 if the issue was related to the Yemeni governments post 9/11 security cooperation with the United States.

Npart: Approximate number of participants in the event

- 1= Less than 10
- 2= 10-100
- 3= 101-1,000
- 4= 1,001-10,000

- 5= 10,0001 to 100,000
- 6= 100,001-1,000,000
- 7= over 1,000,0000
- -99= unknown

Ndeathgov: Approximate number of government-affiliated actors killed in the event

- 1= Less than 10
- 2= 10-100
- 3= 101-1,000
- 4= 1,001-10,000
- 5= 10,0001 to 100,000
- 6= 100,001-1,000,000
- 7= over 1,000,0000
- -99= unknown

Ndeathopp: Approximate number of opposition-affiliated actors killed in the event

- 1= Less than 10
- 2= 10-100
- 3= 101-1,000
- 4= 1,001-10,000
- 5= 10,0001 to 100,000
- 6= 100,001-1,000,000

- 7= over 1,000,0000
- -99= unknown

Repress:Coded 1 if the government responded to the event with repression of opposition groups or activists

Deploy-riot:Coded 1 if the government response included the deployment of riot police

Deploy-para: Coded 1 if the government response included the deployment of paramilitary internal security forces

Deploy-mil: Coded 1 if the government response included the deployment of national-level military assets

Concession: Coded 1 if the government responded to the event by offering concessions to opposition actors

Eloc-town: Identifies the name of the town or city in which the event occurred (leave blank if unavailable)

Eloc-disctrict: Identifies the name of the district in which the event occurred (leave blank if unavailable)

Eloc-Province: Identifies the name of the Province/governorate in which the event occurred (leave blank if unavailable)

Notes: Any additional notes you would like to provide that might be of relevance

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