TC

ATILIM UNIVERSITY

GRATUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTERNATIONAL RELATION GRATUATE PROGRAM

DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN SECURITY IN SOMALIA 1991-2000

Master's Thesis

Ibrahim Ali ABSHIR

Ankara, 2016

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Ibrahim Ali ABSHIR

Supervisor:

Asst. Prof. Dr. Cenk Aygül

Ankara, 2016

APPROVAL

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APPROVAL

This is to certify that this thesis titled "Dimensions of Human Security in Somalia 1991-2000" and prepared by Ibrahim Ali Abshir meets with the committee's approval unanimously vote as Master degree of International Relations at The Atilim University following the successful defense of the thesis conducted in [05.09.2016].

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ETHICAL DECLARETION

I hereby declare that:

- I prepared this thesis in accordance with Atılım University Graduate School of Social Sciences Thesis Writing Directive.
- I prepared this thesis within the framework of academic and ethics rules.
- I presented all information, documents, evaluations and findings in accordance of scientific ethical and moral principles.
- I cited all sources, to which I made reference in my thesis.
- The work of art in this thesis is original; I hereby acknowledge all possible loss of rights in case of a contrary circumstances. (In case of any circumstances contradicting with my declaration)

05.09.2016

Ibrahim Ali ABSHIR

DEDICATION

This thesis is heartily dedicated to my mother and father who died long time ago and May the Almighty God richly bless both of them.

ÖZET

SOMALI' DE INSAN GÜVENLİĞİNİN BOYULARI: 1991-2000. Somali bağımsızlığını 1960 yılında sömürgeci devletler olan İtalya ve İngiltere'den kazanmıştır. Bağımsızlıktan sonra Somali'nin 9 yıllık demokrasi deneyimi olmuştur. 1969 yılında Tümgeneral MohamedSiadBarre tarafından askeri darbe gerçekleştirildi.Kendisi sivil hükümeti yolsuzluk, yandaş kayırmacılık ve taraflı olmakla ve de Hükümet ve kurumları halkın beklentilerini karşılamakta ve toplumda hızla yayılan fakirleşmeyi kontrol etmekte başarısız olmakla suçladı.

Tüm siyasi partilerin faaliyetlerini askıya aldıktan, anayasayı ortadan kaldırdıktan ve ulusal parlamentoyu feshettikten sonra askeri rejim durumu daha da kötüleştirdi ve önceki hükümetin Başbakanını tutukladı. Rejim kendisini bilimsel sosyalizm sistemi olarak ilan etti. Askeri hükümet ülkede klan sisteminin kaldırıldığını ilan etti, ancak tam tersi yönde uygulamalar yaptı.

1970'li yıllarda rejim işkence yapan, muhalefeti susturmak için tutuklayan ve insan haklarını kesintiye uğratan uygulamaları kullanan bir istihbarat örgütü kurdu. 1977 yılında rejimOgaden bölgesi için Etiyopya ile savaşa girdi ve bu Somali sınırında yüzbinlerce Somalilisığınmacı ile neticelendi. 1978 yılında hükümet başarısız darbe girişiminde bulunan on yedi subayı idam etti, kaçmayı başaran bazı subaylar daha sonra hükümetin askeri gücüne karşı askeri hareket başlattı. 1978 ile 1988 yılları arasında askeri hükümet bazı muhalif liderlerin bu bölgelerden gelmesi nedeniyle ülkenin kuzeydoğu ve kuzeybatı bölgelerine saldırdı, binlerce kişiyi öldürdü ve binlerce masum insanı yerinden etti.

1991 yılında muhalifler askeri rejimden iktidarı almayı başardılar. Farklı kabilelerden diktatörler arasındaki güç mücadelesine binlerce sivil Somalili yaralandı ve öldürüldü. 1992 yılında ülkenin birçok bölgesinde kuraklık ve kıtlık başladı. İç savaşın ayak izleri hala mevcuttur ve kolayca görünmektedir, binlerce masum insan öldürüldü ve diğerleri de yerinden edildi. Somali'nin bağımsızlığını kazandığı günden bu yana insan güvenliğinin ihlali söz konusudur ve 1991'de Somali'de insan güvenliği önceki hükümet dönemlerine göre daha da kötüleşmiştir. Pek çok masum insan hayatını kaybetti ve yerinden oldu, halen insan güvenliği açısından korkudan ve yokluktan kurtulmak gibi temel konulardan yoksunlar.

ANAHTAR KELİMELER: Somali'de İnsan Güvenliği, İnsan Güvenliği, Somali İç savaşı, Somali'de Kıtlık Nedenleri, Somali Devletinin Çöküşü

ABSTRACT

In 1960, Somalia got its independence from the colonial countries of Italy and British. After the independence Somalia was experienced nine years of democracy. In 1969, military coup led Major General Mohamed Siad Barre was happened in the country, and he accused the civil government for corruption, nepotism, bias and the government and its institutions failed to meet the expectations of the people and also government failed to control the increasing poverty in the society.

The regime was made the situation worse after they suspended all political parties, outlawed the constitution and dissolved the national parliamentary, and arrested the Prime Minister of the previous government and the regime also announced scientific socialism system. The military government declared the elimination of clan system in the country but they did the opposite.

In 1970's, the regime introduced an intelligence agency which used torture and detention to suppress opposition and curtail civil rights. In 1977, the regime entered war against Ethiopia for Ogaden region but the consequences hundreds of thousands of Somali refugee over the border into Somalia. In 1978 government executed seventeen military officers who organized the failed coup, some officers manage to escape and later create military movements against military of the government. In between 1978-1988, the military government attacked northeast and northwest regions of the country and killed thousands and displaced other thousands of innocent citizens because of some of opposition leaders were from those areas.

In 1991, oppositions manage to oust the power from the military regime. Power struggle between the warlords of the different clans killed and wounded thousands of Somali civilians. During 1992, drought and famine began in the most regions of the country. A footprint of the civil war still remains and can easy see in the country, thousands of innocent people died and other displaced. As we can see since the day Somalia got its independence there was violation in human security, and in 1991, the situation of the human security in Somalia became worse than the previous governments. So many innocent people died and misplaced and still they don't have all basic thing of human security such as freedom from fear and freedom from want.

KEYWORDS: Human Security in Somalia, Human Security, Somali Civil War, The causes of Famine in Somalia, Somali State collapsing.

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Besides my advisor, I would also like to thank for providing me the opportunity taking part of the Master of International Relations Program Prof. Dr. Hassan Ali Karasar and Prof. Hassan Ünal their professionalism, help, and valuable guidance through to my entire program. I would also like to thanks my girlfriend and my future wife Amina Mohamed Mohamud for providing me continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis.

I would also like to thank manager of the dormitory Enes Sönmez for his help and kindness that he showed me while I was living there. I would also like to thank the president of the dormitory Mr. Hakan Kayakökü who welcomed and helped me very good since I was in dormitory.

I would like to thank my family: my parents Ali Abshir and Fadumo Ayanle Barre, for their love and giving birth to me at the first place and supporting me spiritually throughout my life and May the Almighty God richly bless both of them. I would also wish to express my sincere thanks also goes to my Sister Farhiya Ali Abshir who filled out the position of mom and dad after they died. Finally, I would like to thank my brothers and sisters and their children for their encouragement and cheerfulness.

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LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
APCT	Alliance for restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism
ARS	Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia
CHS	Commission of Human Security
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DIIS	Danish Institute of International Studies
ICJ	International Court Justice
ICU	Islamic Court Union
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGADD	Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development
KDF	Kenyan Defense Forces
MOD	Mareehan, Ogaden and Dhulbahante
NFD	Northern Frontier District
NSS	National Security Service
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
SNM	Somali National Movement
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
SRC	Supreme Revolutionary Council
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TNG	Transitional National Government
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UNITAF	Unified Task Forces
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNSOS	United Nation Support Office in Somalia
USC	United Somali Congress
WSLF	Western Somalia Liberation Front

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Introduction

Somalia is situated in eastern Africa. It is bordered by Djibouti to the northwest, Ethiopia to the west, Gulf of Aden to the north, Indian Ocean to east and, Kenya to the southwest. This region is known as the Horn of Africa. Somalia has an area of 637,657 km^2 and it also has the longest coastline in Africa. The coast is about 2 500 kilometers (350 miles) with 1,000 kilometers (539 miles) bordering the Gulf of Aden after 1500 km (km 809) overlooking the Indian Ocean.[1]

Somalia colonies were divided into five parts. On 1 July 1960 two states, Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland got their independence and joined together to formed Democratic Republic of Somalia, 'the other Somalis who live the outside of the Republic were very close to the others who are in the Republic, because they were all Somalis related ethnicity, practice same culture and religion and they speak same language and follow same occupation and same political heritage.[2]

Somalia population's estimated to be around10 million. Around 85% are residents of ethnic Somalis, who have historically inhabited the northern part of the country. The rest of the ethnic minorities are concentrated largely in the South. The official languages of Somalia are Somali and Arabic. Most people in the country are Muslims, most of whom are Sunni Muslims.[3]

Before any discussion about Somalia's current situation, it would be necessary to comprehend the traditional history or "dynamic nature" of Somali people. The Somali people were lived in difficult and arduous conditions under the both democratic era and military regime, and they also suffered long periods of repression and violence at the hands of their fellow Somalis. In

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[1] http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Somalia.aspx a.d (4/6/2015)
[2] Margaret Castagno, African historical dictionaries No. 6, the scarecrow press Inc. Metuchen, N.J. **Historical dictionary of Somalia,1975** , Pg xiii
[3] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somalia From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, a.d(4/6/2015)

1960-69, after the independence and newly created institutions failed to meet the aspirations of the people, poverty has increased and security conditions deteriorated and corruption, nepotism and patronage infested state institutions. In 21 October 1969, the situation of the country became worse, after the military regime took over the power from the civic government and started to rule the country. The military government led by Mohamed Siad Barre used indiscriminate killings, the burning of villages and torture as a tool of censorship and the armed factions led by the different warlords uses the same tactics. As result of war and war-related causes, hundreds of thousands of Somalis were lost and other millions became internally and externally displaced.[4]

Somalia is one of the most homogeneous nations; with nearly 9 to 10 million people share the same language (Somalia), the same religion (Sunni Islam), the same culture and the same race. Before the colonials entered to Somalia the elders of the clans were leaders of the country. Somalis divided themselves into clan families and that clan family has sub-clans, etc.[5] and every clan has their own leader which was called the clan elder and most of the clan members must be loyal to the elders. Some people start misusing the power of their clan. And in Somalia everything based on clan power, there are basic clans in Somalia who share the power and the ruling of the country till now these clans are Darood, Dir, Hawiye, Rahanweyn, the rest of the people they call minority. This ugly reality is the basis of the many evils case in the community. After the civil war broke out Somalia, the nation has fallen into deep chaos where leaders and warlords' works imposed on the landscape through a complete mess. This ugly reality is the basis of the many evils case in the community.

The Somali civil war was created one of the largest refugee camps in the world. Those who are unable to leave the country in a large number of those who were unlucky death ended as a

[4]Jeffrey Gettlemn **The Most Dangerous Place in the World**, September 30, 2009 http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/09/30/the-most-dangerous-place-in-the-world/
[5] Ibid, September 30, 2009

result of willful killing and hunger due to drought and malnutrition. In general, Somalia has a population of more than 9 million[6]. It is believed that more than two million of the Somali diaspora living outside the country. Most expatriates live as refugees in neighboring countries Kenya, Ethiopia, Yemen, Uganda and Djibouti. Others resettled in the West, including Europe, America, Asia and Australia.

[6] Ibid, September 30, 2009

The Research Question

The research will be based on personal experience and to understand and know the human security development issues in Somalia. In order to do that I have to determine and focus on the study of the theories that guide me to the situation and the development issues in Somalia particularly the situation of the human security[7].

The research will consist of primary and secondary resources which will collect and analyze to guide us the information of the human security in Somalia. To understand Somalis natural and cultural behavior would be considered, it will help us to analyze vital core and the roots of the problems of human security in Somalia.

My research questions regarding to this topic will be the following questions:

"How the colonials partitioned the unitary of Somalia into five parts influenced the human security in Somalia? And how can we develop and improve the current situation of human security in Democratic Republic of Somalia?"

[7] Anonymous*(Human_security_-_In_Nigeria*)

Methodology

The objective of this project will be based on the problems that Somalian people experienced after the collapse of the central government of Somalia.

In Somalia there was central government since the military regime was ousted the power in January 1991, and the country entered into a civil war which affected all the country, and the civilians tested the bitter taste of the war and they lost everything and the war Somalia entered was what we can call total war because when one clan attacks another clan there were no prisons of war and they were killing every member of that clan which they get or they catch either war or not in war.

The objective of my research will focus on or will be based on the human security in Somalia and how Somali people get justice and total human security which I mean economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and the last not the least political security[8]. To reach that goal we have to look at the root of the problem that paralyzed a country like Somalia.

As we know Somalia is clan based community and every community has their own clan elder which they take order from, so in my research I want to try to interview some of the clan elders of different clans who have the history of Somalia and the causes of the problems which Somalia put them down and made partitions of states which we can call clan based state, and also I would like to interview some current and former politicians and also some others who were on the Somali army before the collapse the central government.

[8]From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_security#UNDP.27s_1994_definition

Literature Review

The beginning of the research will focus on the reviewing of the literatures on human security and it will be primary resources of the research that will be used to construct theories of the study.

The field of the human security was considered as millstone in 1994, so the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) realized the only way to deal with the problems of the universal insecurity is to ensure "*the freedom of the want*" and "*the freedom of the fear*" to every person on the earth[9].

As we know most of African country's leaders are dictatorships and such leader guide to their countries in justice insecurity, as the UNDP's human development reports definition of human argues that the scope of the global security should be expanded to include threats in seven areas which are: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and the last one is political security.

Mahbub El-Haq was the first person who presented the concept of the human security which attracted the attention of the world in the United Nations Development Programme in 1994 in Human development Report and influenced the UN's world summit on social development in Copenhagen in 1995.[10]

The study of my research will rely heavily on the network resources run by the international organizations primarily the United Nations and the non-governmental organizations working on the related areas.

[9] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_security#UNDP.27s_1994_definition a.d(4/7/2015)
[10] Ibid, a.d(4/7/2015)

1 Historical Background

Somalia is a country in Africa, and it is in the easternmost tip of Horn of Africa.

Figure 1 Map of Africa and the Location of Somalia in that Map.

It has a land of 637,450 km2. Somalia terrains consist mainly of plateaus, plains, and highlands.[11] It is bordered by Ethiopia, to the west Djibouti to the northwest, Gulf of Aden to the north, Indian Ocean to the east and, Kenya to the southwest. It also has the longest coastline in Africa.

Sources: http://www.sciencekids.co.nz/pictures/maps/somalia.html

Figure 2 The Current Somalia Map.

Sources: http://www.sciencekids.co.nz/pictures/maps/somalia.html

[11]Moshe Terdman, **Somalia at war-between radical Islam and Tribal Politics**, Research Paper No. 2, March 2008

The climate is the most basic of the Somali life; dry, hot and warm weather is seen throughout the year except the higher elevations area in the north. The environment of Somalia is semi-arid and arid, which is suitable for the nomadic pastoralists that the most of the country population practices. Agriculture is practiced in the northwest and in the inter-riverside areas of south.

Somalia has two rainy seasons; the first one is the spring season (*Guga*) which starts from April to June, and the second rainy season is fall (*Dayr*) which starts October to November. Every two to three years in the spring season, and eight to ten years in the spring, and fall season both of them usually occurs droughts in the whole country.

The coastal towns of south Mogadishu and Kismayu have extra additional showers rainy in July and August. The temperature average of the Southern cities are within the range of 20°C to 34°C between February and April, while the areas of the Gulf of Aden are the hottest places in the summer in the range of 40.5^{o}C and 25.5^{o}C in the winter. The climate of the northern mountain regions are between 18°C in the winter and 25.5^{o}C in the summer.

Somalia has two rivers Juba and Shebelle, both of which originate from Ethiopian highlands, and enter Somalia from the southern cities of Luuq and BeledWeyn which are near the Ethiopian border. The Shebelle River is longer than Juba about 1800 km, while Juba is 1000 km. The combinations of the water of the two rivers are the most important irrigation source for agricultural production in the country.[12]

During the antiquity Somalia had trading relations with the nations of merchants. Those relations made Africa an important continent in the ancient world. Among the others, cinnamon trade in Europe was highly valued in former Greece and Roma. Most of cinnamon

[12]Diana Briton Putman and Mohamood Cabdi Noor, **the Somalis Their History and Culture**, Refugee Fact Sheet N0.9. Published by Center for Applied Linguistics The Cultural Orientation Project, Washington DC, 1993: Pg-3-4

was found in the east, especially in India. Although there were several sultanates, in Somalia it was remained as central commercial and culture in that period. In the ancient times Somalia was known as the kingdom of Punt, and also they were having contacts with the other important kingdoms in Africa such as Egypt, Nubian, and Ethiopia. As a result, parts of Somali culture and the forms are closer in the Pyramid-of Egypt and other neighboring countries.

Somalia was strongly affected by the Arab culture. This African community came from the extraordinary combinations of the Arabs and Africans. Somalia came to Islam around the 825A.D. The status of Somalia in the African continent led or caused the close relationships with the Ottoman empires.[13]

The European interests of the Somalia started in 1839, after the British came to use the south coast of Arabia, especially in Aden coast as coaling stations of their ships on the road to India. The garrisons of the British required meat and the easiest source that they can get meat become the Somali coast. Similarly, France and Italy are also required coaling facilities to their own ships.

France established stations in the northern region of the Somalia which is known as Djibouti. The Italians are little more up to the Aseb in Eritrea. When the Europeans started occupation of the Africa in 1880's, three powers were competing on the territory of Somalia, and when the Menelik II became emperor of Ethiopia in 1889, Ethiopia started to interest of the Somalia's territory and joined the three powers that are competing on the Somalia's territory.

After brief and serious conflict between France and Britain, they agreed in 1888 on marking the line between their shares of the coast. The northern Somalia region (Djibouti) became known as the Cote Françoise des Somalis (French Coast of Somali's commonly known as

[13]Strategic Geopolitical History Of Somalia History Essay,**http://www.ukessays.com/essays/history/strategic-geopolitical-history-of-somalia-history-essay.php** a.d(18/11/2015)

French Somaliland). It was remained under the France protector until got its independence and became the Republic of Djibouti in 1977. During the 1880s the coastal area around Zeila and Berbera was influenced by the British with a series of agreements of promising to protect signed with the chiefs of the northern Somalia region clans. So that region became under the colony of the British and it is known as British Somaliland.[14]

Before Italian administration, Somalia did not exist as one single country. There were smaller sultanates in Somalia who were recognized in a various area around the world such as Ottoman Empire. At the time Italians started a serious interest of the region it was already under nominal sovereignty of the Sultan of Zanzibar who was controlling the most of the east African coast.[15]

The Italians agreed placing the borders between the British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland in the west of Bender Cassim (Bosaso) with sphere of influences amicably with British in 1884. At the beginning Italy was relatively congenial to Ethiopia, until the Treaty of Uccialli about Eritrea in 1889. The treaty immediately soured the relations between Italians and Ethiopia after disagreement over the actual meaning of Eritrean. In 1896's disagreement between the two countries resulted and led to war and overwhelm of the Italians at the Aduwa.

Despite the fact that, these incidents were associated with only to Eritrea, but it is also undermined the Italian position in the Western region of Somalia. There are larger Somali region (Ogaden) located between Ethiopia and part of the other Somalia, where the Italians are active. After the defeat of the Aduwa, Italy was not in a position to resist against Ethiopian claims to it. New settlement agreements was signed between the powers in 1896-7,

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[14]**Colonial Competitors: 1839-1897**, http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad20 a.d(18/11/2015)

[15]**Italian Somaliland - A History**, http://italianmonarchist.blogspot.com.tr/2012/08/italian-somaliland-history.html a.d(18/11/2015)

the southern strip of British Somaliland and Ogaden region was annexed and granted to the Ethiopia. These agreements between the colonials and Ethiopia made many Somalians permanently live under Ethiopian colony. These agreements hold good colonial compromise until 1920's, when they were upset by the aggressive energies of the Italian fascist.

In the process of the biggest collapses in the British Somaliland was when Dervish (Darwish) uprising resistances led by the Sayid Mohamed Abdullah Hassan (known to the British at that time "Mad Mullah") conduct religious war against Ethiopians, Italians and British from 1899 to 1920.[16]

In 1920, the British were defeated by the resistance of the Sayid Mohamed Abdullah Hassan after well organized army forces and air strikes of the British hit the Dervish (Darwish) settlements, Sayid Mohamed Abdullah Hassan army suffered great losses then they fled to the Ogaden region of Somalia. In December 1920's Sayid Mohamed Abdullah Hassan died at the age of 64.

In 1941, Italian Somaliland was under the rule and control of Italy as their part of the African Empire including Ethiopia and Eritrea. During the World War II British army occupied these areas as protectorates and military rule until 1949. At the time the newly formed United Nations annexed over the Italian Somaliland to Italians as trusteeship, and the British Somaliland granted as trusteeship to the British.[17]

On June 26 1960's, after 10-years of trusteeship under the British, the northern Somali region gained its independence from the British. On July 1 1960's, just after five days the Southern Somalia also got independence from the Italy and joined together and formed Democratic Republic of Somalia. They elected President to Aden Abdullah Osman Daar and Abdirashid

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[16]**Colonial Competitors: 1839-1897**, http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad20 a.d(18/11/2015)

[17]**Colonialism: 1840-1960**, http://www.enoughproject.org/blogs/somalia-colonialism-independence-dictatorship-1840-1976 a.d (19/11/2015)

Ali Sharmarke as a Prime Minister and 123 members of parliamentary who represented the two regions of Somalia gained their independent from Italy and British.[18]

Reuniting with the other three large parts of Somalia was the major political theme of the independent Somali Republic, the French Somaliland, Ogaden, Haud, Reserved district in Ethiopia and Northern Frontier District (NFD) in Kenya. Due to the western support for Kenya and Ethiopia made Somalia to failure for progress of that issue.[19]

Adan Abdullah Osman Daar was ruling the country from 1960 to 1967. After his Prime Minster Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke was succeeded him in the election of 1967. Mr. Sharmarke was ruled the country only two years until his assassination on October 15 1969. While the President Sharmarke paying an official visit to the northern town of Las Anod and was shot to dead one of his bodyguards.

In the 21 October 1969 was the day that Somalia Lost for their nine years of experiment of the post-colonial democracy, after the Major General Mohamed Siyad Barre staged a bloodless coup, a day after the funeral of the assassinated President of the country Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke.[20]

Barre and his regime was suspended the constitution and dissolved the parliament of the country and put the whole country to martial law, and arrested all the members of the previous government specially Mohamed Ibrahim Igal who was the Prime minister of the assassinated President Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke. Barre was announced a military council which consisted of twenty members from the Army Forces and five from Police Department, at the same time appointed himself as the leader of the military council. This council was

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[18]**Independence and Early Years, 1960**, http://www.enoughproject.org/blogs/somalia-colonialism-independence-dictatorship-1840-1976 a.d (19/11/2015)
[19]**Somali Conflicts: 1960-1999**,http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad20 a.d (19/11/2015)
[20]**Independence and Early Years, 1960**, http://www.enoughproject.org/blogs/somalia-colonialism-independence-dictatorship-1840-1976 a.d (19/11/2015)

known as the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), (Golaha Sare ee Kacaanka). Within a short time he aligned with the Soviet Union, and he convinced them that he was a true follower of scientific socialism and they welcomed him with open arms, because the Soviet Union was looking for having a military bases in Indian Ocean.[21]

Publicly, Barre declared that he eliminated the clan system, but the regime practically did the opposite. The inner circle of the regime, Barre promoted some members of his family's clans, and his government earned the code name of M.O.D. which stands for Mareehan, Ogaden and Dhulbahante. In 1970's, Barre established a new intelligence Agency consists of members of his clans, and it was known as the National Security Service (NSS). The National Security Service (NSS), was responsible for Intelligence and internal security, including monitoring security "offences" a secret police force that used torture and detention to suppress opposition and curtail civil rights.

The restoration of the ethnic Somali region of Ethiopia was one of the Barre's policies. At the right time to fulfill this policy was when Haile Sellasie's Emperor of Ethiopia fallen in 1974. After three years Somali National Army invaded and tried to annex the ethnic Somali region of Ethiopia (Ogaden). This has proved that it was not a good idea and it was fatal miscalculation. The Barre's regime was betrayed by his chosen superpower, the Soviet Union which backed and preferred the new Ethiopian government, and withdrew the support from Barre's regime.[22]

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[21]Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, **Struggle and Conspiracy: a Memoir**, *(Halgan iyo Hagardaamo: Taariikh Nololeed)*, ScanSom Publishers. Pg 89-91
Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed was one of the Colonel Somali National Army's (SNA) and he was also one of the founders of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) which was one of the oppositions groups, as well as the Puntland State of Somalia, where he served as the autonomous region's first President. In 2004, he also helped establish the Transitional Federal Government, which he led as President of Somalia from 2004 until 2008, and He died in 2012.

[22]**Turning Point: The Ogaden War with Ethiopia**, http://www.cja.org/article.php?list=type&type=287 a.d(20/11/2015)

Early in 1978, the Ethiopian army recaptured the Ogaden region by using the Soviet Union equipment and reinforcement troops from Cuba. This caused a major exodus of hundreds of thousands of Somali refugee over the border into Somalia.[23]

In 1978, some military officers from the Majeereen clan led by Colonel Mohamud Sh. Osman (*Irro*) launched a coup attempt. But that coup did not succeed and resulted the execution of seventeen military officers while 15 of them from same clan of Majeerteen. The special forces of military, the Red Beret, responded the failed coup by destroying water reservoirs in northeastern regions of Somalia. As a resulted an estimated two thousand Majeerteen clan died of drought. Military was deployed to area and it resulted to raise a campaign of sexual violence against northeastern women.[24]

Several colonels who were part of the failed coup managed to escape to the neighboring country of Kenya. One of these members who had escaped was Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, who became the founder of the first Somali liberation Movement. In 12 September 1978, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed formed a guerilla Movement called the Somali Salvation Front (SSF), but later in 1979, renamed as Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF). The SSDF was one of the first several opposition groups dared to remove power from Barre.[25]

In 1981, Somali National Movements (SNM) was formed and Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud (Silanyo) became the chairman of SNM. "Between" the 1980 to 1989, so many liberation movement groups were formed such as United Somali Congress (USC), the Somali Patriotic

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[23]**Somali Conflicts: 1960-1999**, http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad20 a.d(20/11/2015)
[24]**Uprising in the Northwest 1978-1982,** http://www.cja.org/article.php?list=type&type=287a.d (20/11/2015)
[25]Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, **struggle and Conspiracy: A Memoir**, *(Halgan iyo Hagardaamo: Taariikh Nololeed)*, ScanSom Publishers. Pg 123-129,

Movement (SPM). In 26 January 1991, after so many armed conflicts between the Somali military and liberation movements are managed to oust the Barre's regime.[26]

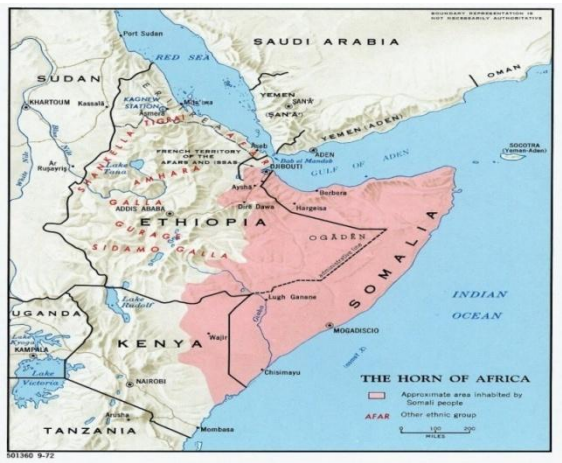
[26]**Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamics** (2005), http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTSOMALIA/Resources/conflictinsomalia.pdfa.d (20/11/2015)

1.1 Brief History

Geographically, Somalia is located in the horn of Africa, Bordered by Kenya in the North, Ethiopia in the West, Djibouti in the Northwest, the Gulf of Aden in the North, and Indian Ocean in the East. Somalia covers an area of 634.540 Kilometer Square (km^2); the population of Somalia estimated 10 million. Somalia communities culturally, linguistically and religiously are homogeneous people they are Sunni Muslim, clan lines are the only things which divided. The Somali people consists so many clans and sub-clans. Traditionally, Somali people are nomadic-pastoralist in the north, and agricultural pastoralist in the south, Somalia has two rivers Shebelle and Juba.

Somalia's maritime area is one of the main arteries and routes in the world, because it is a strategic location, which connects the Middle East and Europe with the Far East, and also its shores of Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean.[27]

Figure 3 Map of Somalia before Colonial Divided.



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Somali_map.jpg

[27]Moshe Terdman, **Somalia at war-between radical Islam and Tribal Politics,** Research Paper No. 2, March 2008: Pg 4-5

In the 19th century, colonials were partitioned the unitary of the Somalian community and they divided in to five parts, the northern Somali region became under the administration of the British and was known as British Somaliland, southern Somali region became under the Italy administration and known as the Italian Somaliland, northwest Somalia (Djibouti) became under the French administration and known as French Somaliland, Ogaden region became under the Ethiopia, and Northern Frontier District (NFD) became under the Kenya.[28]

In 1 July 1960, the northern part of Somalia known as British Somaliland and Southern part of the Somalia known as Italian Somaliland joined together and formed the Democratic Republic of Somalia. In 1960, Somalia were elected their first President Aden Abdullah Osman, and ruled the country from 1960 to 1967, after that Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke was succeeded the led the country only two years until one of his bodyguards assassinated him 1969, while he was official visit in the Northern part of the country at the town of Las Anod.[29]

The unitary of all Somali regions were the polices of the new Republic of Somalia and Pan-Somalism was risen the whole country and led them to build a military forces to return the missing territory to form the Great Somalia, those territories are Djibouti which was under the French administration, the French Somaliland, Ogaden of the Ethiopia where this regions life's Somali ethnics, Northern Frontier District (NFD), in Kenya.[30]

Somali leaders, were preferred and decided to be neutral at the International foreign Policies, however, that led them to have a close relationship with Soviet Union and China. During the 1960's, the Soviet Union gave them both military and economic aids, while China helped them the development assistances of the country. The Prime minister visit United State in 1960's and asked President Kennedy to help them military assistances and training the army

[28]http://www.cja.org/article.php?id=436a.d(22/11/2015)
[29]**A Post-Colonial Experiment: 1960-1969**, **http://www.cja.org/article.php?id=436** a.d(22/11/2015)
[30]Diana Briton Putman & Mohamood Cabdi Noor, The **Somalis: Their History and Culture**, , Refugee Fact Sheet N0.9, Published by Center for Applied Linguistics, The Cultural Orientation Project, (1993): Pg-7-8

forces, but United State was not ready to help Somalia building military forces but Mr. Kennedy told to Mr. Sharmarke they are ready to help them with development assistances and a small army for the police, because Ethiopia was the close allied with the United States and Ethiopia did not want Somalia to have a military forces and United States believe same as the Ethiopia. After that Sharmarke visit to the Soviet Union and they accepted to build the Somali Military forces and give them both military and economic aid. [31]

By the late of the 1960's, the government was accused of corruption, inefficient and also improvement of the relationships with Ethiopia which is against the Pan-Somalism. In 1969, the Major General Mohamed Siyad Bare staged a bloodless coup, after one of the president's bodyguards assassinated the President. The regime established the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), and adopted something called "Scientific Socialism", and changed the direction of the country's foreign policies, and allied closely with the Soviet Union.

The regime was arrested the Prime Minister and suspended the National Assembly and constitution and also banned all the political parties and the country became under the dictatorship rule, and that was the end of the nine years of pro-colonial experiment of democracy in Somalia[32].

In 1977 and 1978, Barre's regime invaded the Ogaden region of Somali ethnic of Ethiopia, and a small period of time Somalia manage to seize most of the Ogaden region, Somali army forces were well equipped and two times more than the Ethiopia, but the regime was betrayed by their chosen superpower the Soviet Union, and turned off both the military and economic aid that they were giving to the regime, and backed to the Ethiopia. With the help of military equipment and reinforcement of the Soviet Union, Ethiopia manages to regain the control of

[31]Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, **Struggle and Conspiracy: A Memoir**, (Halgan iyo Hagardaamo: Taariikh Nololeed), ScanSom Publishers: Pg 37-40

[32]Diana Briton Putman & Mohamood Cabdi Noor, **The Somalis: Their History and Culture**, Refugee Fact Sheet N0.9, (1993), Published by Center for Applied Linguistics, The Cultural Orientation Project, (1993):Pg 8-9

the Ogaden region. Somalia lost the war as well as most of the life of their military, equipments, economic and still the border situation was as before the war "Status quo ante bellum".

In 1978, some senior military officers led by Mohamud Sh. Osman (*Irro*), from the Majeerteen clan attempted coup, most of the coup organizers were arrested and later executed, while some others are managed to escape to the neighboring country and formed the first liberation movement called Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and based in Ethiopia. With the help of the Ethiopian army this movement managed to carry out guerilla warfare around the border. The reasons behind of forming such movement came after the coup attempt how the government treated with Majeerteen clan in the northeast.[33]

In 1981, other movement was formed called Somali National Movement (SNM), by a businessmen, and some former officers from the Isaaq clan. SNM also started the warfare against the Somali military forces. In 1987 to 1989 another movements were established such as United Somali Congress (USC), Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM). After two to three years war against the national army, they managed to oust the Barre's regime. Soon after Barre's regime became out of the power, civil war started from Somalia after the USC started what they called cleansing clan and revenge from the Darood clan.[34]

The civil war affected the whole country, but USC started to expand its power to the whole country and the reasons behind their expansion was to cleanse the Darood clan from whole country. It was impossible after they got a strong resistance from the Darood clan. Again

[33]Ismail I Ahmed and Reginald Herbold Green, **The heritage of war and state collapse in Somalia and Somaliland: local-level effects, external interventions and reconstruction**, Third World Quarterly, Vol. 20, No 1, 1999: Pg-118-119.
[34]Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, **Struggle and Conspiracy: a Memoir**, *(Halgan iyo Hagardaamo: Taariikh Nololeed)*, , ScanSom Publishers: Pg 181-183

USC itself are turned against each other after of the USC leaders were elected as interim president of Somalia.[35]

[35]Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, **Struggle and Conspiracy: a Memoir**, *(Halgan iyo Hagardaamo: Taariikh Nololeed)*, ScanSom Publishers: Pg 188-191.

1.2 The Role of External Actors

In this section we will emphasize the role of the actors or motivators of the Somalia's conflicts. According to the Bjorn Moller through to the Danish Institute of International Studies (DIIS), report published in 2009, the external actors are divided into four categories: neighboring countries, international organizations, foreign states and variety of non-states actors. There are a numerous states in the region and members of the sub-regional organization IGAD states which are playing a major role in the Somalia's conflict. First of all, in this section we will discuss the sub-regional organization IGAD and the four of its constituent states, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya and Djibouti.[36]

In 1996, was the year that the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), was created to replace another intergovernmental which was called Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) that was created in 1986, after the chronic droughts and severe of the other natural disasters of 1974 and 1984 caused widespread starvation, ecological deterioration and economic difficulties in the Eastern Africa regions. In April 1995, the Assembly of Heads of States and Government met in Addis Ababa and decided to modernize and enlarge the collaboration between the member states. Again the Assembly of Heads of States and Government signed "Letter of Instrument to Amend the IGADD Charter/ Agreement" that is changing the name of Organization from IGADD to IGAD. In 25 November 1996, the Assembly of Heads of States and Government launched the modernized IGAD with its new organizational structure and extended areas of regional collaboration in Djibouti.[37].

[36]Bjorn, Moller. **The Somali Conflict, The Role of External Actors**. Danish Institute for International Studies Report, Copenhagan, Danmark: DIIS Publications, 2009: Pg-25
[37]IGAD 2010, http://igad.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=93&Itemid=124 (24, 12, 2015)

According to Hudda Ibrahim 'many Somalis are of the opinion that IGAD has always represented the interests of the Ethiopia and Kenya rather than that of Somalia. In order to brush aside these allegations, IGAD underlined that security in Somalia was its first priority. The questions whether the IGAD member of the states whose troops are contributing to AMISOM mission is to wage war to maintain peace and stability in Somalia. In order to answer this question we need to explore the effectiveness and credibility of the IGAD to maintain lasting peace[38].

In 2006, the situation and security of the Somalia much improved under the Islamic Court Union (ICU), until some of the IGAD member states interrupted it. As Jeffery Gettleman describes the situation in Mogadishu at the time when the ICU controlled most of the south and central of Somalia:

> **"I saw it with my own eyes. I flew into Mogadishu in September 2006 and saw work crews picking up trash and kids swimming at the beach. For the first time in years, no gunshots rang out at night. Under the banner of Islam, the Islamists had united rival clans and disarmed much of the populace, with clan support of course. They even cracked down on piracy by using their clan connections to dissuade coastal towns from supporting the pirates. When that didn't work, the Islamists stormed hijacked ships. According to the International Maritime Bureau in London, there were 10 pirate attacks off Somalia's coast in 2006, which is tied for the lowest number of attacks this decade."**[39]

Almost all of the reconciliations conferences sponsored by IGAD and held in Kenya and Ethiopia have some common elements. Those two IGAD member states regularly supported the warlords, whose aspirations were to serve their own interests instead of the traditional elders and other civil society. Particularly, Ethiopia armed some of the warlords as if it did not want peace and stability not to take root in Somalia. Since the beginning of the faction strife, IGAD was involved in Somalia and so far it has been unsuccessful in resolving the conflicts.

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[38]Hudda, Ibrahim. **IGAD their Hidden Interest in Somali Politics**, 2015, http://www.somalicurrent.com/2015/01/12/igad-their-hidden-interest- in-somali- politics/a.d (24, 12, 2015).
[39]Jeffrey, Gettleman. 30 SEPTEMBER 2009. http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/09/30/the-most- dangerous-place-in-the- world/ a.d (23, 12, 2015)

Many Somalians political analysts have been debating about the prospects for IGAD in conflicts prevention, management and resolution in Somalia. They reveal that IGAD organization lacks the experience in conflicts resolution, logistics, resources and the effectiveness of the coordination within its member states. For example, competing national interests between the members states made it difficult for the IGAD to play an active role in Somalia.[40]

1.2.1 Ethiopia

'Ethiopia has several reasons to take whatever happened in Somalia very seriously[41]'. There is longtime hostility between the two countries. According to the Bereketeab, Somalia and Ethiopia had hostilities and the two countries are arch-enemies, because of Somalia's ambition to establish a Greater Somalia and uniting all the Somalis under one state, which entails claims of Somali ethnic region in Ethiopia. The two countries fought twice, one of them was in 1964 and other one was 1977-78 even if none could be taken as large scale wars. During the Ogaden war (1977-1978), the two sides wanted to interfere with the internal affairs of their counterparts. First of all, Somalia supported the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) as well as Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF). Similarly, the Ethiopia supported all of the opposition groups of Somalia which were instrumental in overthrowing the Somali government in 1991. Ethiopia did not stop supporting warlords of Somalia; and this support was no less than providing arms and munitions to these warlords. Therefore Ethiopia has not refrained from throwing gasoline to the ravaging fire in Somalia.[42] From 1960 and 1978, Somalia and Ethiopia have fought three wars over the dispute of the ethnic Somali region (Ogaden) which is under the Ethiopian control. In each of these wars, the states

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[40]Hudda, Ibrahim. **IGAD their Hidden Interest in Somali Politics**, 2015, http://www.somalicurrent.com/2015/01/12/igad-their-hidden-interest- in-somali- politics/a.d (24, 12, 2015).
[41]Bjorn, Moller. **The Somali Conflict, The Role of External Actors**. Danish Institute for International Studies Report, Copenhagan, Danmark: DIIS Publications, 2009
[42]Bereketeab, Redie. **The Horn of Africa: Intra-State and Inter-State, Conflicts and Security**. London: Pluto Press, 2013: Pg-179

had direct contacts with the armed groups of the other state. Ethiopia dared to support the armed opposition groups of Somali National Movement (SNM), Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), United Somali Congress (USC) and also Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) which overthrew Siad Barre's regime, Ethiopia also politically supported, the warlords and politicians in Somalia. Since then, Ethiopia became the most active player in Somalia's conflict in Horn of Africa. This led many observers to accuse Ethiopia wanting to deliberately weaken and divide Somalia.[43]

Although it is difficult to foresee a Somalis attack on Ethiopia in the foreseeable future, this cannot fully be refuted in the long term prospect. Therefore, Ethiopia does not want Somalia to become a strong and powerful state and it needs Somali to continue to be dependent on them. The Ethiopian concern is quite clear and understandable; it wants to control the political situation of Somali by way of steering the disputes of the enclave region between the two countries. Somalia on the other hand, wants to reclaims the ethnic Somali region of Ethiopia, secession of which in reality was accepted. A powerful state of Somalia may foment unrest between the different ethnic groups in Ethiopia, and particularly, the Somalis.[44]

Ethiopia was responsible for undermining the Transitional National Government (TNG) that emerged from Arta conference in Djibouti in 2000, and accused the TFG as an Islamic movement which in turn led the USA's denial to recognizing the TNG. This contributed much to its ineffectiveness and the TNG was ousted in October 2001. To replace the TNG, Ethiopia and members of IGAD organized and opened another conference held in Eldoret in Kenya in 2002, but later moved to Nairobi. After two years, this conference led to the establishment of

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[43]Katabaro, Miti. **Somalia: The Endless Search for Peace**. Pretoria: AISA POLICY brief, Africa Institute of South Africa, Political Science, University of Pretoria, 2010:Pg-4

[44]Bjorn, Moller. **The Somali Conflict, The Role of External Actors**. Danish Institute for International Studies Report, Copenhagan, Danmark: DIIS Publications, 2009:Pg-20

the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) on basis of tribe quotas. The TFG remained in Kenya until 2006, before it moved to Baidoa[45] instead of Mogadishu.

According to Jeffrey Gettleman in Mogadishu there are warlords as well as money lords, since the business community in Mogadishu observed existing opportunities. In despite the fact that, the warlords were tearing the country a part, there was other group who were playing major role to keep the country together by providing most of the necessary services that governments provides to their population such as health care, electricity stations, and communications and those are the owners of the big-business in Somalia. Of course they are providing these services to make profit. In the post- 11 September period, terrorism in Somalia became one of the major concerns in the world. There were fears that Somalia could thrive in the Jihad business just like Afghanistan did in the 1990s, when Al-Qaeda led the global war against Western countries 'but before Al-Qaeda turn against Western countries, Al-Qaeda receive support from CIA in order to combat against Russia who invaded Afghanistan in between 1978 to 1989'. However, some of military analysts from Western informed to the policy makers that Somalia was in state of complete confusion and disorder and it was impossible for anyone to establish a base there. However, the Bush administration developed a strategy on a cheap way to eradicate the Islamists in Somalia. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agents assigned the same criminal warlords who have been predatory among the population in Somalia for years, to fight against the Islamists. As Jeffrey Gettleman is reporting:

> **"According to one Somali warlord I spoke with in March 2008, an American agent named James and another one named David showed up in Mogadishu with briefcases stuffed with cash. Use this to buy guns, the agents said. Drop**

[45]Katabaro, Miti. **Somalia: The Endless Search for Peace**. Pretoria: AISA POLICY brief, Africa Institute of South Africa Political Science, University of Pretoria, 2010:Pg-4

us an e-mail if you have any questions. The warlord showed me the address: no_email_today@yahoo.com." [46]

By June 2006, the Islamic Court Union (ICU), took over Mogadishu after they defeated the warlords and the city tamed by the ICU.

In 2006, Ethiopian troops invaded Somalia with the support of the United States of America. The US provided political and military assistance to the Ethiopia, in order to assist the TFG against the powerful Islamic Court Union (ICU).[47]After the ICU militias were weakened, the Ethiopian troops were faced with an uprising which was led by the Islamists reinforced by the widespread hatred between Somalia and Ethiopia. Over two years of fighting caused the displacement of hundred thousand of civilians, as well as the death of more than 1600 civilians.[48]

The Bush administrations publicly supported the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia as proxy war on behalf of the US. But as the Ann Talbot quoted from Centcom Officials that, Abizaid was well aware about Ethiopian invasion in Somalia and he also warned about the humanitarian crisis that the invasion would create across the Horn of Africa. Frazer who was the United States Assistant Secretary of State also conceded that there will be massacre (bloodbath), if this issue goes to military invasion or the solution of this issue becomes military fight.[49]

The Ethiopian Government believes that any threat from Somalia can mean an end of the situation which rendered Somalian people divided and weak. So many years Ethiopia

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[46] Jeffrey, Gettleman. http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/09/30/the-most- dangerous-place- in-the- world/ 30 SEPTEMBER 2009: a.d (23,12, 2015)
[47]Braden, Civin. **Ethiopia's Intervention in Somalia, 2006-2009**: University of Texas: Pg-121
[48]The Guardian, 26 January 2009. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/26/ethiopia-ends-somalia-occupation a.d (January 04, 2016)
[49]Ann, Talbot. 28 December 2006. https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2006/12/soma-d28.html a.d (January 04, 2016)

anticipates keeping the Somali territory which had been colonized, and aims and plans to sign agreements with tribe chiefs to have or gain unlimited access to Somali ports.[50]

The most vital issue undermining the peace-building efforts in Somalia is Ethiopia which receives political and military support from US. Most of Somalis believe widely that Ethiopia has green light from the US government to spoil peace efforts in Somalia. It would solve the problems in Somalia, if the Washington force to Ethiopia to stop supporting the warlords and also to stay out of Somalians' the internal affairs. In conclusion the hostile policies of Ethiopia, warlords' aversion to the popular will and lacks of resources cause the perpetuation on Somali conflict[51].

1.2.2 Eritrea

The breakdown of relations between the Ethiopia and Eritrea in 1998 contributed to the destabilization of Somalia. It introduced a new element of proxy war to an area which is already crowded, after when Eritrea supported Somali factions against those that were aligned with Ethiopia.[52] Despite the fact that the amicable relations between the two countries step by step deteriorated, it nevertheless, come as a wonder that a genuine war broke out between the two countries in 1998 and continued until 2000.[53] In 2006, the Ethiopian military intervention in Somalia was motivated by the rise of the Islamic Court Union (ICU) in Mogadishu. Ethiopia and Somalia have an extended historical hostility and the two nation states fought highly priced or costly wars in 1964, 1977 and 1982. The Asmara administration had used Somalia as a useful theater of proxy war against Ethiopia. It supplied training, military equipments, and other different supports to military facilities of the Union Islamic Courts

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[50]Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr Abdullahi Barise, **The Somali Conflict: Root causes, obstacles, and peace-building strategies**, 2007:Pg-42-43
[51]Ibid, 2007:Pg-44-45
[52]Mark Bradbury and Sally Healy, Whose peace **is it anyway? Connecting Somali and international peacemaking, Endless war a brief history of the Somali conflict**. Report for Somali peace processes, London: Conciliation Resources, 2010: Pg-12
[53]Bjorn, Moller. **The Somali Conflict, The Role of External Actors**. Danish Institute for International Studies Report, Copenhagan, Danmark: DIIS Publications, 2009: Pg-29

prior to 2006 and the establishment of the opposition Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS) and hosted in Asmara.[54]

In preference, the two countries appear to have been waging proxy wars towards each other ever since 2000, instead of direct war between the two nations, and Somalia became one of the essential battlefields of the these countries. As the Addis Ababa administration was supporting the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) while Eritrea were providing training, arms and other military facilities to Islamic Court Union (ICU), who are the oppositions of the TFG and fighting against the TFG and Ethiopian troops Who invaded the Countries in 2006.[55] In conclusion, the policy of the Asmara administration was to put pressure on Ethiopian troops who are invaded Somalia in December 2006, to fight against the ICU.

1.2.3 United States

The Washington administration's announcement of the war on terror made Somalia one of the most countries influenced by the Jihadist groups such as Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab. According to the Gen. Wesley Clark after 11-September the Pentagon was planning to take out seven different countries within five years and one of those countries was Somalia.[56] As argued by Jeffrey Gettleman, in 1992, the US President G. H. Bush decided to assist by sending in Somalia thousands of marines to ensure security of the ships that are delivering humanitarian food aid. It was the ending of the Cold-War, while many considered and believed that the US devoid of adversary superpower could guide the world proceedings in a new and morally righteous way. Somalia verified to be a completely horrific and abominable start. The US president G.H Bush and his advisors misapprehended the tribe panorama and did not understand how brutally and ferociously Somali people can be loyal to their tribe

[54]Ulf Johansson, Dahre. The **Role of Democratic Governance versus Sectarian Politics in Somalia**, Proceedings of the 9th Conference on the Horn of Africa, Lund, Sweden: Publisher and Distribution Media-Tryck Lund University, 2011:Pg-8
[55]Bjorn, Moller. **The Somali Conflict, The Role of External Actors**. Danish Institute for International Studies Report, Copenhagan, Danmark: DIIS Publications, 2009: Pg-29
[56]General Wesley, Clark. 2 March 2007. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5a6VUo4VSTQ a.d (10, 01, 2016)

leaders if there is an aggression from external enemy against them. When there is an internal dispute, Somalian society can be divided to infinite pieces, however, when it comes to deal with or threaten from an outside enemy it fast bands together. The United States learned about that in a hard manner, when its forces attempted apprehend the warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid. The consequence became the well-known as "Black Hawk Down" event in October 1993.[57]

The US government has continued to interfere in the internal affairs of Somalia, since the aborted occupation of Somalia by the US forces during 1992 to 1994. Since then, the US decided to reverse its loss and regain control of the country, which is rich in oil and as well as other raw materials. Somalia is situated at a strategic area zone, and it is on one of the world's main routes of trade. The oil pipelines of the Gulf and North Africa lies off in its sea lanes, and its airspace connects different countries and regions together. Control of Somalia is significant objective of the United States if it is to sustain the world hegemony against rivals such as China. Since its defeat in 1994, Washington learned to approve different techniques.

Since 2006, the US increasingly has been using proxy forces in Africa; US backed Ethiopian's military invasion in Somalia in order to inaugurate the TFG as its puppet regime. At the point when the Ethiopian troops pulled back, AMISOM changed them. Uganda and Burundian troops are the dominant forces of AMISOM, and they have been prepared, trained and equipped by the US military.[58] However, while this overwhelming military being there by the Pentagon, the CIA, and associated with African states alongside the EU, the circumstance within Somalia stays insecure.[59]

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[57]Jeffrey, Gettleman. 30 SEPTEMBER 2009. http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/09/30/the-most- dangerous-place-in-the- world/ a.d (23, 12, 2015)

[58] Susan, Garth. 6 August 2011, http://www.globalresearch.ca/us-prepares-for-military-intervention- in-somalia/25968 (10, 01, 2016)

[59]Abayomi, Azikiwe.09 September 2014. http://www.globalresearch.ca/us-counter-terrorism- in-somalia-alleged-al-shabaab-bomb-attack-against-african-union-mission-amisom-four-u-s-personnel-killed/5400402 a.d (11, 01,2016)

1.2.4 Other Countries

There are various factors that keep on supporting the underlying causes that intensifies the conflict in Somalia. These factors should be deeply identified and analyzed to come up with a proper solution. The international and regional actors associated with internal actors in Somalia help carry on the conflict. External actors motivate and add fuel to the fire to achieve their interest. Every region in Somalia has invited external actors, who are friendly to their causes such as Ethiopia in Puntland and Somaliland and Kenya in Jubaland. These diverse relationships and animosity exacerbates the political strife in Somalia.[60]

In spite of the fact that the whole territory of Djibouti is also enveloped by Somalia and most of citizens of Djibouti are Somali origin, there is no actual antagonism between the two countries. The small neighbor country has attempted many times and played an important role to restore peace and stability to its kinship country and tried more than one event to host conferences dedicated to Somali peace-building. Most recent event was the reconciliation between the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and those other groups of Alliance Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS) which resulted in the Djibouti accord[61], and the election of the new President of Somalia. The fact that there is a heated territorial dispute between Djibouti and Eritrea might cause the former to incline more towards Ethiopia and, through implication, the TFG, but this does not seem to be important that much yet.

The role of the Sudan is also worth mention here. It appears that they have a minor but in general a constructive role, which stems from the Islamism of the government. Khartoum has consequently remained impartial during the conflict in Somalia, but played an important role

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[60]Joseph Kioi, Mbugua. **Drivers of Insecurity in Somalia: Mapping Contours of Violence**. Occasional Paper Series 4, No3, Karen, Kenya: International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC), 2013:Pg-20

[61]Bjorn, Moller. **The Somali Conflict, The Role of External Actors**. Danish Institute for International Studies Report, Copenhagan, Danmark: DIIS Publications, 2009: Pg-30

by convincing the TFG and the ICU to negotiate their differences and Sudan wanted these organizations reconcile their differences in Khartoum.[62]

While Kenya has been an anchor of stability in the region since its independence, this situation has changed recently. In the past, Kenya was the target country of around 462,970 refugees from Somalia, but eventually it curbed that mobility because of the alleged Islamism of the refugees as well as their irredentism.[63] It has been more than four years since the Kenyan Defense Forces (KDF) crossed the border into Somalia, and Kenyans have the right to ask what exactly the troops were still doing there. The official justification was not quite convincing. The initial objective of military intervention was to isolate the country from the conflict in Somalia.[64]

If the Operation Linda Nchi really was to wipe out Al-Shabaab as the President Kibaki stated, it has been an astounding failure. More than 400 Kenyans died in Kenya, because of this operation at the hands of the terrorist group since 2011. Even if the situation has reached national emergency levels, the government in Kenya seems to be unable to convince even the media and the citizens in Kenya as to what Kenyan forces were doing in Somalia. The KDF was not achieving anything in Somalia but they were only committing human right violation and illegal commercial activities. The case of the human right violations that the KDF are accused of consists of: - rape, disappearances and indiscriminate killings of civilians during airstrikes.[65]

Even though both the United States and France have denied involvement of the Kenyan Defenses Forces in the invasion of Somalia, Eastern Africa region witnesses acceleration of

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[62] Ibid , 2009: Pg-30

[63]Bjorn, Moller. **The Somali Conflict, The Role of External Actors**. Danish Institute for International Studies Report, Copenhagen, Danmark: DIIS Publications, 2009: Pg-30

[64]Simon, Allison. 7 December 2015. https://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/think-again-who-profits-from-kenyas-war-in-somalia a.d (01, 14, 2016)

[65]George, Kegoro. **Black and White Kenya's Criminal Racket in Somalia**, report was researched and written for JF Justice, Nairobi, Kenya: by Journalists for Justice, a project of the International Commission of Jurists, 2015:Pg-5

tensions because of Kenyan involvement.[66] Without doubt human right violations occur during every military intervention. The question is how bad it is. There is ample documentation that shows the atrocities and indiscriminate punishment committed by Kenyan military. We have seen how the Kenyan security forces treated their citizens even in the full glare of the media spotlight[67]; so how will you expect them to treat other countries' citizens which they don't care about, and do not have a government to protect and advocate the human rights of its citizens.

The Kenyan Defense Forces intervention in Somalia is based on paving the way for oil exploration in Somalia's coastal line near the town that the KDF are controlling and ruling which is Kismayu. According to Lucky star Miyandazi, the explorations of oil are continuing alongside the country's coastal area. Apparently, some of the areas where exploration is ongoing are situated in Somalia's waters, mentioning that Kenya's military invasion in Somalia might have been intended at securing these sites to ensure Kenya's smooth and uninterrupted exploration.[68]

[66]Abayomi, Azikiwe. 01, November 2011, http://panafricannews.blogspot.com.tr/2011/11/kenyan-invasion- of-somalia-part-of.html a.d (14, 01, 2016)
[67]Ben, Rawlence. 4, December 2014. http://africanarguments.org/2014/12/04/kenya-kdf-must-review-somalia-strategy-to-tackle-al-shabaab-by-ben-rawlence/ a.d (15, 01, 2016)
[68]Luckystar, Miyandazi. **Kenya's military intervention in Somalia: An intricate process**. Policy & Practice Brief, Knowledge for durable peace, Umhlanga: ACCORD, 2012:Pg-3

Figure 4 Kenyan and Somalian Maritime Dispute

Source: http://yusuf-garaad.blogspot.com.tr/2015/06/soohdinta-badda-soomaaliya-iyo-kenya.html

In 2009, Somalia and Kenya signed a memorandum of understanding about sea borders but it was rejected by the parliament of Somalia.[69] As the Attorney General of Somalia Ahmed Ali told to the BBC that his government was going to present a 150-pages document arguing its case at the International Court Justice (ICJ), which is UN's top judicial body based in The Hague. The Attorney General of Kenya also informed the BBC that, its Kenya's territorial water and Somalia had no right to argue or claim it. He also confirmed that some foreign companies have been given permission to explore oil and gas. The application came days after the Kenyan government said it had received confirmation or assurance form Mogadishu that it wanted to resolve the issue outside of the court. In 2004, the ICJ gave green light to Somalia to file the case after failed efforts to settle the dispute out of court. The ICJ asked Kenyan government to respond by May 27 2016, and then begin formal hearings. It may take several years before the court rules on the matter.[70]

As seen in Figure 4, The maritime boundaries between the two countries, Kenya prefers and wants the sea border to go in straight line east which Kenya will give a more see territory, while Somalia expects and needs to be continue along with the land border in the southeast of

[69]Hussein, Farah. 31 July 2015. https://horseedmedia.net/2015/07/31/why-somalia-has-to-withdraw-case-against-kenya-at-the-icj / a.d (15, 01, 2016)
[70]BBC, 13 July 2015. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-33505310 a.d (01, 16, 2016)

the country. If things go the way in Somalia desires, Kenya will have a small triangle in the Indian Ocean for mining rights, and it will lose at least seven oil blocks offered explorers. In 2012, Somalia blamed on Kenya by illegally granting oil and gas exploration blocks to a group of multinational companies led by Total and Eni. The accusation has been rejected by Kenya. [71]

In conclusion the intervention of the Kenyan Defense Forces was not just more than paving the way for oil exploration in Somalia's coastal line near the town Kismayu where the KDF are based at the moment and intended to secure these sites to ensure Kenya's smooth and uninterrupted exploration.

[71]Allan, Odhiambo, 25 October 2015. http://www.businessdailyafrica.com/Somalia-- Kenya-s-objection-in-border-row/-/539546/2929812/-/pvu218z/- /index.html a.d(16, 01, 2016)

1.3 The Relations between Diaspora

Somali diaspora significantly contributes to the Somalian economy and livelihood through the money they send to their family and relatives back home. Besides that humanitarian assistance and the participation of recovery and reconstruction efforts also contribute to the Somali economy. The country's economy survived with that support and otherwise it would have collapsed[72].

Somali migrations were started after the clash between Somali government and militias of the opposition rebels in 1980's in the northern country, but the mass migration was started in 1990's soon after the central government collapsed and emerged signs of the prolonged civil war between the Somali clans. By the way we can argue that the conflict-driven mass migration from Somalia began 25 years ago, but there are large waves of economically and security driven migration come into existence after.

The original root of the Somalis is nomadic pastoralists in which movement is a fundamental feature of the culture and the way of life. In pastoralist life movement is necessity for economic purposes to look for pasture and grassing land, water for their livestock for quality production in the pastoral economy. In previous times, seeking peace and economic opportunities was based on the movement itself. Violent conflicts and drought was another feature that forces the nomads to move from their territory to neighboring clan's territory and as soon as these issues finished the migration reverses and they return to their original territory. In addition to these temporary migration within Somalia, and footprints of the Somali immigrants in the different regions around the world, especially, in the Arab Gulf and

[72] Hassan Sheikh and Sally Healy, **Somalia's Missing Million: The Somali Diaspora and Its Role of Development.** A Report for UNDP, 2009: Pg-6

the nations of western colonial powers that occupied Somalia in nineteenth century and twentieth century[73].

The Somali diaspora were spread around the world which makes Somali people became globalised. The largest number of diaspora is found in the horn of Africa, as well as the UK, Italy, Scandinavian countries and other Western countries. The Somali diaspora not only provides links with Somalia, but also with the other diaspora groups in various countries.[74] An estimated 14% of the Somali populations are diaspora, moved in to this primary region: the horn of Africa, Yemen, Gulf States, Western Europe and northern America. The Somali diaspora significantly contributes to both conflicts and peace building. In the times of the conflict, the diaspora's financial commitments to support the clans in time of conflict may last. However, the participation of the diaspora and their support of local reconciliations and building local state is key element of success, as it has been the case in Somaliland and Puntland.[75]

1.3.1 Economic Sector and Diaspora Contribution

At the time of the collapse of the central government in 1991, mass population fled the country due to the insecurity threats emerged, those moved to Europe and America came the donors of those not able to move the country, their contribution contribute to development and service delivery by establishing and supporting local institutions in the home region, district or village. Long-term, systematic support typically involves paying salaries for teachers and health workers and support for orphanages[76].

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[73] Ibid Pg-11

[74]Meeting Summery, **Cash and Compassion: The Role of the Somali Diaspora in Relief, Development and Peace-building,** https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Africa/070312somalidiaspora.pdf Pg-2

[75] Hassan Sheikh and Sally Healy, **Somalia's Missing Million: The Somali Diaspora and Its Role of Development.** A Report for UNDP, 2009: Pg-4

[76]Mahdi Aadam, **Somali Diasporas' contribution to relief & development,** No 6 in a series of essays addressing current issues in Somalia. Pg-1

As local people argue Somalis in the diaspora play a major role for the economic development and the security as well, for the economic Somali diaspora invested in the economic sectors in the country and provided 80% of the start-up capital for small and medium enterprises (SMEs). For-profit activities contribute to economic recovery and improving livelihoods. Returnees establish businesses individually or as a group and pool resources or manage business at the executive level. Investment is spread over various sub-sectors such as small scale industries, telecommunication, remittances and trade[77].

1.3.2 Political Engagement

"Rag Siyaasi Wada Noqoy"

As I quoted from Mohamed Ibrahim's (Hadraawi) poet in 1997 while he expressed his understanding of Somali man engagement of politics, he said "Rag Siyasi wada Noqoy[78]", which means that all Somali people whether they are educated or not, have a common intelligence relating to their understanding in politics, everyone can express his position for the current issues relating with how to lead the country. Therefore, because of that, also Somali diaspora have their political engagement for the current and future agenda of Somali peace process and state rebuilding, for example The Somaliland diaspora has always been play an important role for the state building and restructuring the political system if the country, the numbers of the Somali diaspora who are part of the political institutions and holding leadership positions in the cabinet ministers is clear proof and illustration the importance of the diaspora and their role of the restoring the country's peace and stability.

In Puntland state of Somalia was founded in 1998, after the traditional leaders, local civic actors and diaspora were collaborated together to establishing their own governance structures

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http://www.worldg18somalia.org/pdf/somali_182%20Mahdi%20Somali%20diaspora%20revised.pdf

[77]Hassan Sheikh and Sally Healy, **Somalia's Missing Million: The Somali Diaspora and Its Role of Development.** A Report for UNDP, UNDP, 2009: Pg-5
http://www.undp.org/content/dam/somalia/docs/undp_report_onsomali_diaspora.pdf

[78]http://wayeel.blogspot.com/2010/11/rag-siyaasi-wada-noqday.html

and to return the law and order to that specific area of the country. In 2000's reconciliation conference held in Arta offered the real opportunity for Somali diaspora and the other civic actors to play a major role in Somalia's national politics. . The civil society in common and the diaspora in particular were able to be seen in the parliament, cabinet and top leadership of the state, the first Prime Minister of the Transitional National Government (TNG) was a diaspora politician and so were several members in the parliament and cabinet. To my conclusion the last ten years, Somali diaspora were playing major role on the country's politics and currently managed to an end the dominance of warlords in country's political and they also managed to empower the Somali civilians who are unarmed.[79]

1.3.3 Diaspora Engagement for the Livelihood Development

A part from their political difference, Somali diaspora take part the livelihood of Somalis and they are also the main contributors to the economic recovery and development in general. According to Healy (2009), in 2004, the Somali diaspora around the world was estimated to send remittances worth between $750 million and $1 billion to Somalia each year, which made the country the fourth largest remittance dependent country in the world. As the UNDP/World Bank (2003) identifies, the remittances represent about 23% of the Somali household income, although they are unequally distributed across the country. People living in towns are more likely to have relatives living abroad and benefit excessively from diaspora assistance[80].

1.3.4 Education Sector

The only positive contribution of Somalia diaspora is their participation of child education up to university. Since Somali central government collapsed in 1991 Somali education is managed by the civil society and international organizations together with the Somali

[79]http://cmsny.org/wp-content/uploads/Abdirahman-Ahmed-Mohamed-Somali-Diaspora.pdfa.d(28/05/2016)
[80]Hassan Sheikh and Sally Healy, **Somalia's Missing Million: The Somali Diaspora and its Role of Development**. A Report for UNDP, UNDP, 2009: Pg-18-19

diaspora in North America and Europe. Each clan diaspora established an organization working the improvement of education and health up to their ability. They built class rooms, paid the salary of the teachers, contributed to the fund-raising of universities and secondary schools rebuilding, Hassan from the ministry of education argue that without Diaspora children cannot get the chance to attend classes[81].

In conclusion presumption and attitudes towards Diaspora role are different depending on the local believes, some regions regarding positively while other regions were regarded as the evils. local people weighted Diaspora contribution the role they played during the last two decades, to the Somalia state building, civil war continuation, education and peace building, therefore, majority of the local community alleged that the Diaspora are the fueling once for the civil war continuation, civil war would not continue until today if they did not play such role, they collect the budget, they financed the continuation of the civil war, they mobilize the clans in the Diaspora and in the local to fully participate the war and to defend their land.

Sometimes Diaspora are directly involving the war mobilization, they come in the home and mobilize their clan to come against the administration telling that their clan dignity is humiliated and were given non suitable share, this resulted a clash between the clan and the administration.

However a part from that, there is a positive contribution, they contribute education and health voluntarily, building schools and health centers through fundraising is what local people have accredit to the diaspora presence in the abroad, although there is no statistical proof how Somali community in the diaspora invested in the education and small business in the country but there is a local community impressions how they are happy about the presence of the diaspora contribution for the education and health.

[81]Hassan Mohamoud, educationist, BBC Interview, 2013

2 Security Studies Literature

2.1 Theory of Security Studies

2.1.1 What is Security Concept?

The security concept was one of the essential arguments that was discussed in the period of the post Cold-war in the field of international relations to the security studies, and so many different scholars participated and demonstrated their ideas concerning redressing of security concepts. These scholars intended to develop the definitions of the security further under the new international conditions. In this part of the research we will evaluate some of the scholars' definitions and what they said about the concepts of the security until it became what nowadays called 'Human Security'.

During the Cold War, essays by Arnold Wolfers' classic of 1962 begin this section, provide an insight and established into competing descriptions of security. Wolfer's main point is that despite the fact that security is an essential concept in international relations, it is also enormously subjective in nature. States and nations will have a tendency to perceive diversity of their 'acquired value' and the level of the danger they confront 'core' and 'marginal' values, exchanging resource of trade; and how to provide security, starting from alliance or coalition and arms races to impartiality and a peaceful resolution of the non-use of force. Therefore, Wolfers recommended that it is a 'sweeping generalization' that all states have a propensity to go after a 'uniform and imitable policy of security; in addition highlighting the pliability of the terms and how it is critical to know about the term's control by the policy-makers.[82]

[82]Christopher W. Hughes and Lai Yew Meng, **Security Studies A Reader**. Edited, New York: Routledge, 2011: Pg-1

David A. Baldwin argued that, Wolfers' article in 1952 has not started and ended the conceptual analysis of the security and saying that it would be flattering-'but not much of one'. In 1973, Klaus E. Knorr started an overview of the field by expressing his goal to "deliberately bypass the semantic and definitional problem generated by term 'National Security' ". In 1975, Richard Smoke observed that the field 'gave careful consideration to the scope of implications of "Security"'.[83]

Richard Ullman wrote a letter at the period of cold war, he was arguing that the concept security had been limited and military-oriented. He also mentioned that security was not the only necessary and outright value, but it should be adjusted against other key values, such as potential infractions of freedom in the name of the security. Ullman mentioned some of the non-military threats such as the scarcity of resources and other basic human needs, which later became the focus of the post cold-war security agenda. Nevertheless, Ullman argued that the achieving of this redefinition of security can only be possible by changes of the conceptual thinking of the policy-makers and allowing the involvement of the civil society[84].

In the early post-cold war Barry Buzan argued in debate on security that, although security is a crucial debated concept, it should be deeply analyzed and categorized and he also presented a list of security categories which are: Military, Political, Economic, Environment and social security. He also insists that, these sectors are inter-related or dependent to each other, and warned the security of one part to regard as single strip or reference in isolation from the others[85].

In 1991, Ken Booth wrote about the concept analysis of security by developing further new meanings of security, although shunning the term of post cold-war and opted the

[83] DAVID A. BALDWIN, **the Concept of Security**. Review of International Studies, British International Studies Association, 1997:Pg-8
[84] Christopher W. Hughes and Lai Yew Meng, **Security Studies a Reader**. Edited, New York: Routledge, 2011: Pg-1
[85] Ibid Pg-1

‘interregnum’, pointed out the decrease in between inter-state conflict but yet the continuation of intra-state violence. Therefore, he argued that, the security should be accepted as the term of ‘emancipation’ freeing from people from all kinds of pressure or restraints on their freedom, along with not only war but also other issues relating to poverty, education and political oppression[86].

J. Ann Tickner suggested another correction of the traditional concept of security by introducing the importance of considering the views of feminism. Tickner demonstrates that the international relations and security is a male-centric with limitation of women’s experience. She requested that, these favoritism or preferences should be changed by the grasping the oppressed voices of others including women, which caused by militarism and other types of violence[87].

Ronald Paris argued and tried to redefine the security and its objective references before wondered the current concept of the human security. Paris is doubtful to some extent from the concept of the human security is often more extensive than necessary, but still demonstrates the importance of having a new research agenda dealing with non-military threats to safety of society, groups and individuals.[88]

In conclusion these scholars are not the only ones who tried to expand the meaning and the importance of the conceptual analysis of security in international relations. There are some other scholars who demonstrated their opinion about expanding the meaning of security, these scholars are: Amitav Acharya, Jessica Tuchman Matthews, Stephen Walt, and Ole Weaver. Most of the scholars agreed that, the concept of the security is not only military-oriented, but there are some other things that need to be considered as necessary for security, such as environment, poverty, education, diseases and oppression. While Stephen Walt believes

[86] Ibid Pg-1
[87] Ibid Pg-2
[88] Ibid Pg-3

adding this topic into security would be over-expanding, I believe all these topics are necessary for the people to feel safe and secure.

2.1.2 What is Human Security?

The concept of the human security tries to transform the traditional concept of the security, framed in terms of national and regional cohesion, the stability of the political, economic system, and focuses on the human being. This means that the main threats to be dealt with are no longer the preserve of the military. Considered as preliminary internal threats: economic failure, violation of human rights and political discriminations, thus the national security guarantee is no longer lies solely in military power, but in the social, political, economic conditions, the promotion of human development and protection of the human rights.[89]

The definitions of the human security includes protecting people from whatever is harmful to their daily life, such as hunger, infectious diseases, political oppression and etc. There are so many different definitions of human security but we will take some academic definitions which are: the Commission on Human Security's defined human security is that to protect the basic freedoms of the human being and also enhances human freedoms and their fulfillments. Human security prevents the people from serious and pervasive threats, it empowers and aspirations to the people. It also creates environmental, social, political, military, economic and cultural systems that collectively allows and protects people's life and their dignity. [90]

Some members of the United Nations also defined the human security, such as Ramesh Thakur, Vice Rector, Peace and Security, United Nations University: human security indicates to the standard of the life of the community or political. Anything thing that threats

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[89]Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou. **Human Security: Concepts and Implications with an Application to Post-Intervention Challenges in Afghanistan**. Report, Les études du CERI, 2005: Pg-4-5

[90]UN. http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdfa.d (22, 03, 2016)

or demeans their quality life, whether it is diminished access to or stock or resources, demographic pressure and etc would be security threat. On the other hand, anything that upgrades and improves their quality of life such as improved access to resources, economic growth, or political and social empowerment would be known as enhancement of human security.

Finally the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), mentioned that Human Development Programme argued that human security has two main important pillars, firstly, freedom from chronic threats such as diseases, repression and hunger. Secondly, freedom from all existent fears and to protect from the sudden and harmful interruptions in the patterns of daily life, whether they are in job, in home, or in community.[91]

In conclusion there is a multiplicity of definitions which attested to the fact that the human being needs to be secured from all kinds of the harm and terror in their jobs, home, and all social environments as groups or individuals.

[91] http://www.gdrc.org/sustdev/husec/Definitions.pdf a.d (22, 03, 2016).

2.2 Human Security

Human Security is an amalgamation of threats related with war, genocide and the displacement of people. At least, the basic meaning of the Human Security is freedom from violence and fears.[92] The human security is also known to be people-centered, general actions that can assist governments and societies to remote early warning about threatening crisis, identify everything that can causes of insecurity, and finding a way to finalize policy gaps. The causes of the people's insecurities related to three main important pillars of security, development and human rights[93].

Human security concept started as a wide development, detailed in the UNDP Human Development Report of 1994, just four years after the first report was introduced. The succession was the brainchild of the Mahbub Al Haq who was the leader of the authors of the report in 1994. The report of the 1994, became one of the most important reports that HDR launched and is was positive and created competitive discussions between the UN and World Bank, as shown in the way of the human security was characterized, in light of Bank's focus on economic growth as the main objectives of the development. Mahbub Al Haq argumentatively placed individual welfare as the major objective and offered to human security as its theoretical derivative. The wide definition of the parameters defined only freedom from want, fear and freedom to essential right.[94]

Human Security concentrates basically on ensuring and preventing people from what is harmful to them, while advancing peace and guaranteeing developments to other basic things of the life. The expression of the human security was diffused by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in the early of the 1990s. It was created in the Post-Cold War

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[92] http://www.hsrgroup.org/press-room/human- security-backgrounder.aspx (26, 01, 2016)
[93]UN. 04 06, 2012. http://www.un.org/press/en/2012/ga11246.doc.htma.d (08, 02, 2016)
[94]Astri, Suhrke, **Human Security 15 Years after Lysøen: The Case against Drone Killings**. Asian Journal of Peace building Vol. 2 No. 2, 2014: 185-198

period as a way to deal with the various humanitarian, economic and social issues to alleviate human suffering and guarantee security. [95]

Regarding the prompt Post-Cold War period and new improvement programs, in 1994 was the year that the main legitimate description of human security declared or announced when Mahbub Al Haq popularly drew world attention regarding the idea in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report. Beyond the military and territorial concerns, the report argued that the human security is commonly concerns about human life and its respectability. According to the UNDP, human security implied safety from endless and constant threats such as diseases, hunger, and repressions and it also implied preventing from sudden and pernicious interruptions in the arrangement of the daily life. Additionally, human security has been summarized in the aphorism policy of the "freedom of fear" and "freedom from want". [96]

According to the Human Development Report in 1994, there are always two main components in human security which are "freedom from fear" and the other one is "freedom from want", but the later conception was slanted in favor of the first. The organizers of the United Nations, while considering security, have always given equal weight to the territories and to the people. In 1945, the US secretary of state informed his government on the outcome of the conference in San Francisco that created in the United Nations. He focused on this point and said, In order to insured peace; two sides have to be succeeded. The first side is the security where freedom from fear is sought. The other one is the economic and social side where people should be free from want. Being successful on both sides can only assure a

[95]**Human Security Initiative**, 28 February 2011. http://www.humansecurityinitiative.org/definition-human-security (26, 01, 2016)
[96]Catia, Gregoratti, http://www.britannica.com/topic/human-security a.d(26, 01, 2016)

complete peace for the world. Neither law written in a charter nor the Security Council can prevent wars unless peace is assured for every human being in this world. [97]

Now, it's time to move on from the narrow concept of national security to a holistic concept of human security. There are two main parts that human security consists, these parts are the following: first, safety from threats such as chronic hunger, disease and oppressions. Secondly, this means getting protection against sudden and everything which is harmful to their everyday life, whether they are in home, in job and even in the community. There can be such threats at all levels of national income and development.[98]

As most of African leaders are dictators who do not care about their people and the development of their countries and as the African continent is the periphery of the periphery according to the dependency theory, there will be fear and want. Africa has always been dependent on the western countries and the western colonizers designed this system to colonize the Africans psychologically and to lock them in a reliance position. Physically Africa is independent but psychologically is not because African leaders cannot consult their futures without the western interventions.

At the end of the Cold War some horrible internal conflicts claimed the lives of so many people in different areas around the world such as Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe. These series of horrendous conflicts consisted of genocides, ethnic cleansings, failed states, and also created gigantic numbers of refugees all of which necessitated an organized worldwide reaction. The concept power of human security is most indisputable when it is appeared differently in relation to the conventional concept of national security. The human security

[97] **Human Development Report**, New York: the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP),1994:Pg-24-25
[98]**Ibid:** 1994:Pg-24-25

policies are more important for and benefit the human beings around the world rather than military objects and strategic interests of a specific state.[99]

Human security approach promotes upward people-centered, which focuses on needs, abilities and the skills of individuals in the field. It has been widely applied in many areas such as peace-building, humanitarian assistance, development, education and health. The human security methodology would empower orderly information sharing; arrangement of the normal activities needs evaluation and better coordination of feedbacks and gives assistance. The prospective of human security encourages us to contemplate the protection of the most vulnerable segments of the people, such as women, children and the elderly. Human security likewise underlines strengthening strategies, empowering both people and communities.[100]

The president of the United Nations General Assembly Nassir Abdul-Aziz Al-Nasser believed that human security concerns are not new; civilizations past and present put survival, livelihoods and dignity of their people in the vanguard of their objectives. "The greatest threats facing the world today cannot be solved in isolation," he added that the international community was aware that the well-being and dignity of the people was the key to the long-term security, peace and development. Until now, the world has becoming increasingly interrelated; main events gravitate towards impact of the human insecurities across the countries. Routinely thwart of the aspiration of the people and left unfulfilled economic and financial crisis, natural disasters and violent conflicts, as well as with other hardships, such as health challenges, human trafficking and the huge displacement of the population. Continuing, he said that such threats could also turn to a wider and incurable crisis that often moves from levels of the national and regional to the international security challenges."The

[99]Walter, Dorn. http://walterdorn.net/23-human-security-an-overview a.d (02, 02, 2016)

[100]Madoka Futamura, Christopher Hobson and Nicholas Turner, 29 04, 2011, http://unu.edu/publications/articles/natural-disasters- and-human- security.html (02, 03, 2016)

contemporary challenges facing us are the very issues that we have at the top of our agenda in the General Assembly, ”He also uttered, noting that recent discussions on those issues had made it clear that nature of temporary challenges require a comprehensive and integrated solution and more sustainable.[101]

In the conclusion the most of the African countries have human security problems because the people always face such problems if it is robbing, harassment from the enforcement of the government, ethnicity, poverty, diseases and so on. The reasons that African continent is not developing is that most leaders of the countries are self-seeking and they always think about only their own interest instead of the people. The western countries act like that they are cherishing human rights, human security and development but that is not true, because they can always interact with the African dictators as long as they are getting what they dictate to these dictators.

That is why most of the African countries are not developing and always dependent on the western countries' donations. Africa is a continent which could be self-sufficient if the African leaders wanted to develop the continent; provided that the colonial legacies in the continent are solved. Colonials designed the continent not to be stable, and always rely on the western countries, for example most of the African countries are dependent on their former colonial masters. The African leaders are always hungry for more power and they do not do enough to improve their country. They choose to be authoritarian while their citizens suffer from hunger, all kinds of fear, environmental and health problems. As long as the leaders of the continent are slaves of the former colonial masters and authoritarians nothing will change in the realm of human security, development and human rights in Africa.

[101]UN. 04 06, 2012. http://www.un.org/press/en/2012/ga11246.doc.htm a.d (08, 02, 2016)

2.3 The New Human Security

According to Emma Rothschild, in 1990s, the concept of the "extended" security became widespread idea, and the new principles of the extended security had four major forms. Firstly, the concept of security expanded downwards, from the security of states/nations to the security of groups or individuals. Secondly, it extended into upwards, from the security of the states/nations to biosphere, international system or the physical environmental of supranational. In both cases of extensions are in the types of entitles that whose security is to be protected.

Thirdly, the concept of security horizontally expanded, from military to political, economic, social, environment, or "human security" of different entities (such as " individuals, states" or "systems"), that should not be required to be secure or insecure at the same way. Lastly, the political responsibility for protecting security to individuals "responsibility to protect", it spread out into the every directions, from higher to the lower positions containing from national states to international institutions, local government or regional, and obliquely to the NGOs, to the media and the public opinion and to the conceptual forces of nature or of the market.[102]

According to the Commission of Human security, the definition of the human security arguments focus from the border security to lives of people and communities within and across those borders. People-centered, state security focuses on other countries with aggressive or hostile plans. States build strong security structures to defend themselves, their borders, institutions, values and numbers. Human security changed to focus from external aggression to protect people from a range of threats. Empowerment, securing people always requires the empowerment of people and communities. In many case, people can directly

[102]Emma, Rothschild, **What is Security?** The MIT Press on behalf of American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Daedalus, Vol. 124, No. 3, The Quest for World Order (Summer, 1995), pp. 53-98, 1995:Pg-55

contribute to the identification and implementation of solutions to the entanglement of insecurity.[103]

Human security is also to strengthen the capacity of people to act their own behalf, empowerment of the people can demand respect for their dignity when they rights are violated it. It also helps to the people can also find new opportunities for action to address many local problems. The second main objective of human security is to empower people and give ability to act their own behalf and on the behalf of others, enhancing this capacity distinguishes between human security and security of the state of humanitarian action, and so much of development work[104].

In conclusion, an integral part of traditional concept of security was based on army forces, Defense Corporation, and military laboratories, ministries of foreign affairs and defenses, and professional structures. And that is why any other alternative seems idealistic.[105] But human security and security of the state are commonly revitalized and dependent on each other. Without human security, state security cannot be achieved and vice versa.[106]

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[103] United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, **Human Security in Theory and Practice: An Overview of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security**, Human Security Unit, United Nations, New York: Pg-5-7

[104]Commission on Human Security, **Human security Now**, New York: Commission on Human Security, 2003: Pg-11

[105]Mary, Kaldor. **Human Security in Complex Operations**, A Journal of the Center for Complex Operations, 2011: 3-14. Pg-13

[106] Human Security Now, Human Security Report, New York: Commission On Human Security, 2003:Pg-6

2.4 The Relations between Human security, Human Rights and Human Development

As we all know, there are relations between human security, human development and human rights, and they are dependent on each other and one of them cannot be developed without the others. According to the message of the former United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan in Human Rights Day, human security, human development and human rights are interdependent. In the present day, security, development and human right are interconnected to each other and one of them cannot vastly improve without the other ones. Actually, any person who talks emphatically about the human rights yet does nothing about human security and human development - or the war around- equally undermines his reliability and his cause. He asked the audiences to raise their voice to support these three issues equally, to ensure that freedom to live in dignity, freedom from want and freedom from fear to those who are in need.[107]

According to Des Gasper that, in the definition of security, it is important to know that human security cannot be compared to human development. Human development is a wider concept, and in the previous Human Development Reports, it was defined as a process of expanding range of the people's choices, while the human security is the process that the people can exercise these choices freely and safely.[108]

Human development is the process of expanding the choices of the people, and it is closely linked with work. The clear contact between human development and work goes in both directions. Human development and work influence each other through numerous channels:

Income and livelihood: basically, people work to achieve a better than average way of life, in a market economy generally does so through wages or self-employment. In more classical and

[107]UN. 10 12 2006. http://www.un.org/en/events/humanrightsday/2006/sg.shtml a.d (05, 04, 2016)
[108]Oscar A. Gómez and Des Gasper, **Human Security: A Thematic Guidance Note for Regional and National Human Development Report Teams.** United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report Office:Pg-3

livelihood economies they earn their living through specific course of activities. Work also can be the main reason providing decent economic growth and poverty reduction.

Security: by working people can build a solid foundation for their lives; enable them to make long-term decisions and set priorities and options. It also can maintain stable families, especially if they use properly or wisely their income on food, nutrition for their families, for education, health for their children or savings.

Women and empowerment: Women who get salary from work frequently achieve greater economic independence and power to make decisions within families, workplaces, and communities. They likewise gain confidence, security and flexibility.

Participation and voice: by cooperating with others through work, people determine unified decision making and gain voice. Workers also experience new ideas, information and collaborate with people from different backgrounds and can engage more widely in civil cases.

Dignity and recognition: great work is calculated by colleagues, peers, and others, and it gives a sense of achievement, self-respect and social character.

Creativity and innovation: work unleashes innovativeness of the human and has produced endless developments that have revolutionized many parts of human life such as, health, education, communication, and environmental sustainability. Workers can also take advantages of high human developments and performing through to the multiple channels.

Health: the workers must be healthier to become more productive and have more options in home and abroad.

Knowledge and skills: the workers with better education and training can do varied work with highest standard and are more creative and innovative.

Awareness: fully performing workers within their communities are capable of negotiating to work for better conditions and standard of supreme work, which they will make it more efficient and competitive industries.[109]

The importance of the human rights are the privileges to things of the necessary for a proper standard of the living, food, health care, opportunities for education or decent work, not to be subjected to discrimination, these points are what the most world's poorest needed. However, by the righteousness of the weak status, they were the slightest ones ready to accomplish or protect such "universal" rights. Thus, human rights are endangered wherever and whenever a man, women or child suffer extreme poverty.[110]

Like rights and security, development and security run as inseparable from each other. Contemporary evidence demonstrates and provides that lack security in the history of the mankind caused violence or deprivation, which in turn further prevents development. Hence, development brings in opportunities and better conditions for the people to recognize their freedom.[111] According to Jakkie Cilliers, if human development is freedom from want (a procedure of expanding the range of people's choices), human security can be understood as the capacity to go after those choices in a safe environment, and on an equal basis with others. On the other hand, human development contributes to human security to addressing the structural causes of the long-term conflict and strengthening the capacity of the communities to deal with the conflict in a peaceful manner.[112]

As the Human Development Report (1994), mentions, human security stands for people to feel "free from fear", "free from want" and it also concerns with human life and their dignity.

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[109] Human Security Report, New York: the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2015:Pg-32-33

[110]UN. 10 12 2006. http://www.un.org/en/events/humanrightsday/2006/sg.shtmla.d (05,04, 2016)

[111]Nguyen Hong Hai. **Human Rights, Human Security, and Human Development: Assessing the inter-relationships of human development, human security and human rights in poverty reduction in Vietnam**. report, 2007: Pg- 10

[112]Jakkie, Cilliers. **Human Security in Africa, A conceptual framework for review**, Report, the African Human Security Initiative, 2004:Pg-10

Human security is to make the people deeply feel “free from fear” whether they are in home, at the job or in the society. Development helps the people to feel “free from want” and to have a high quality life with the basic life necessities such as, food, education, healthcare centers. In this manner, they can make free choices about their lives and can build the type of life they want. Lastly, human rights concerns the human life and their dignities, people not to feel any type of oppression, discrimination, whether they are in jobs places, in home and in the community, and they have to get equal opportunities in everything such as, food, education, healthcare and all types of public services and the jobs.

All this leads to that, human development, human security and human rights are the foundation aims to ensure the quality of life and the empowerment of people to recognize their potentials, while in the meantime protecting people from vulnerabilities that emerge in their daily lives. These three pillars are in complementary relationships, like a tripod. As one of these three pillars becomes absent or is lost, the remaining two can barely stand firmly on their feet, and the survival of people will be at risk.[113]

[113]Nguyen Hong Hai. **Human Rights, Human Security, Human Development: Assessing the inter-relationships of human development, human security and human rights in poverty reduction in Vietnam**. report, 2007: Pg-10

2.5 Threats to Human Security

Human security is something relevant to all people everywhere, whether they are in rich or poor countries. The type of the threats may become different, hunger and disease in poor countries and drag and crime in rich countries, but all of these are real and growing threats. In fact, all countries have certain common threats such as job insecurity and environmental threats. Naturally, most of the people understand what security really implies. It prevents from the consistent threats hunger, diseases, crime, and oppression. In the shape of our daily life, it also protects us from unexpected harm and disruptions, whether we are in our homes, in jobs, in our societies or in our environment. These persistent and real threats of poverty affecting all human lives around the world, whether in rich or poor countries, There are no protections against these real threats to human security around the world. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) displayed a list consisted of seven types of threats to human security that are considered as the main categories[114]:

- *Economic security*
- *Food security*
- *Health security*
- *Environmental security*
- *Personal security*
- *Community security*
- *Political security*

Economic security: Economic security requires a guaranteed of essential income for individuals, more often from the productive and remunerative work or as a last option financed by the public sector safety. In this sense, approximately quarter of the world's

[114] Human Development Report, New York: the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1994: Pg-23-25

population is currently economically secure. Despite the fact that the problem of economic security is more serious in developing countries, there is also concern in developed countries as well. Unemployment problems are important factors behind the political tension and ethnic violence

Food Security: it means all the people at all times have the right to have adequate economic and physical access to basic food. As the United Nations conceded that, the availability of food is not a problem, but the problem often is poor distribution of food and lack of purchasing power.

Health Security: security aims to ensure a minimum of protection from disease and unhealthy lifestyle. In developing countries, infectious and parasitic diseases were traditionally main causes of death, while in the industrialized countries, the leading cause of death were diseases of circulatory system. According to the United Nations, in both developing and industrialized countries, children, especially if they are poor and live in rural areas, are usually facing greater health threats. They tend to suffer more from malnutrition and inadequate access to health services, clean water and other basic necessities.

Environmental Security: the objective of the environmental security is to conserve the people from short-term and long-term devastations of nature, man-made threats in nature and degradation of the natural environment. One of the greatest environmental threats in the developing countries is the lack of access to clean water resources, while air pollution is one of the major threats of the industrialized countries. Global warming is another environmental issue caused by the discharge of greenhouse gases.

Personal Security: the main objective of the personal security is to protect people from all types of violence, whether it’s from internal or external states, ethnic tensions from groups of people, power abuse from sub-state actors, and other crimes and street violence from

individuals or gangs, and so on. Al of these types can cause personal insecurity and it needed to be protected from the people around the world to stay safe and secure.

Community Security: the aim of the community security is to protect people from any disruption against their long-standing relationships and values, and from ethnic and racial violence. Particularly, protection of minority groups who are often threatened and prevent any discrimination either in the working places, home or in the community they are living with.

Political Security: political security focuses on ensuring the basic human right and the right to live in society without political oppression and human rights violation. According to Amnesty International, "political oppression, systemic torture, ill treatment or disappearances" are still being practiced in 110 countries. At times of political unrest, the likelihood of human rights violation and repressions against individuals or groups increase tremendously.[115]

Finally, these are the seven main categories of the human security threats. In order to reduce these threats, there is a need to develop a strategy to do away with the factors that perpetuate wars that devastated a lot of countries and killed so many people around world. Negotiations can pave a way to the peace, security and stability while fights can cause only death and devastations. Aftermath of 11/9 changed the face of the world; the war on terror started in Afghanistan and spread to rest of the world and so many areas of the war zones witnessed a lot of human rights violation. After the Afghanistan war, many countries became politically instability including Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, and South Sudan. Somalia is unstable for almost near three decades. The UNDP and Commission of Human Security (CHS) analyze and demonstrate the causes of these wars and suggest to United Nations to oppose and stop

[115] http://www.hsa-int.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=31&Itemid=59&8334001a37cb01e2392d29564433ac35=5d43eb33c76c80f13bb300aba1d4ade7 a.d(26, 03, 2016)

the aggressiveness of so-called superpowers countries for their aggression against the other countries that are against their political agenda.

2.6 How Human Security Achieved?

In the early 1990's, was emerged the concept of the human security and since that time it was developed in two different directions. In the first direction the concept of human security emphasized its original nature, which is a security context "*freedom from fear or threats*" and other direction that the concept of human security developed is "*freedom from want*" which is in a sense of development, and these ideas was presented by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1994. A decade after the UNDP report, the Commission of Human Security (CHS) revival and reviewed the concept in its general and wide frame[116].

The main aspect of human security is to protect people. In spite of the multiple, considering views that emerged on human security since it became famous in 1990s, extending from review human security as radical departure from "traditional" security structure, by focusing on conservative change to the existing security framework and its mandate, an essential feature of most arguments dealing with the way to alike protect and empower people[117].

Human security is crucial component in the political agenda and development of the world; it has two important main ideas: firstly, protecting the individuals is the source of strategic concern to citizens as well as the international security. Secondly, the necessity of security conditions for the development of the people on the traditional defense and national law and order issues, but includes all political, economic and social issues which allows free from any threats and the fear of life. In spite of the general idea on the basis of this concept, which is a controversial definition of human security currently does not exist[118].

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[116]Astri Suhrke. **Human Security 15 Years after Lysøen: The Case against Drone Killings**. Asian Journal of Peace building Vol. 2 No. 2, 185-198.2014:Pg-185-186

[117]Owen, P. H. Liotta and Taylor. **Why Human Security?** The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations, 2006: 37-54

[118]Karim Hussein, Donata Gnisci and Julia Wanjiru, **Security and Human Security: an Overview of Concepts and Initiatives What Implications for West Africa?** Issue Paper. Paris: 2004. Pg-8

The Commission of Human Security proposed three basic ways to restore the concept of the human security and they are:

- To stay away from the traditional concepts of state-centric, which focused on the security situation and mainly the safety of states from military aggressions, to one which focused on the security, protection and empowerment of the people
- Highlighting the many threats that converge with the various forms of human life and thus to highlight the relationship between security, development and human right.
- New promotion of integrated, coordinated and people-centered way to advance peace, security and development within and across the world.

Protecting and empowering people are the building of these two blocks in order to achieve the goal of the human security. As clearly expressed by the CHS, protection and empowerment are commonly reinforcing and cannot be dealt as in isolation. Protecting and people empowerment both are required in almost all cases of human insecurity although their form and balance will vary considerably across conditions.[119]

Mary Kaldor believes that all human being are same, so the whole world must have same security, the type of security that the Europeans and Americans want to enjoy in their home countries must spread to the rest of the world. Mary Kaldor admitted and said that our part of the will not remain safer while we overlooking other place. The universal is interconnected through transportation, social media and basic human sympathy. In other words, human security is at lack of clarity in domestic and international levels. It is about a worldwide form of the type of law-based security that is typical of well-ordered communities, a law model rather than a war model.

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[119] UN, http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf, a.d (22, 03, 2016)

According to Mary Kaldor, implementation of human security is almost same as the making law enforcement rather than the classic combat operations. She also argued that local emergency services should be needed in around the world; these services should be included competences of the civilians as well as the military ('police, humanitarian services, engineers and firefighters, legal experts, and the military'), but they will operate quite different from the traditional military operations, it has principles to cover both ends and means. Recently, there have been much discussion about the "responsibility to protect" and the circumstances that is right to use military forces.[120]

According to the Liotta and Owen, in 2003, regarding the conflict in Iraq, those postmodern values do not seem to postmodernism, which will be globally shared or even understand. However, part of that confusion lies with the need to differentiate between the threats and vulnerabilities and their individual and concerted effects on the human security.[121]

In conclusion military intervention on a sovereign country does not bring peace and stability to the human security around the world, but increases globally insecurity. Humanitarian interventions can be accepted. The interventions must be analyzed and also categorized; and the idea behind the intervention should be studied and analyzed and must be universally shared, whether it is humanitarian or oil and other political agenda. We have seen enough consequences of the invasion of sovereign country, human security can be achieved by cooperation between the states, sharing data information, and jointly prevent any thing that causes disruptions to their own security development whether they are individuals or groups.

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[120]Mary, Kaldor. **Human Security in Complex Operations**, A Journal of the Center for Complex Operations, 2011: 3-14: Pg-5-6

[121]P. H. Liotta and Taylor Owen, **Why Human Security?,** The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations, 2006: 37-54:Pg-44

3 Human Security in Somalia

In 1960, British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland gained their independence, and unified to form the Republic of Somalia. The country experienced nine years of multi-party democracy, but that democracy was lasted until a bloodless military coup staged by the Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre in 1969 who declared the new state to be a socialist state. According to Elmi and Barise, the governments in 1960-69 and its institutions failed to meet the expectations of the people, increased poverty rates, and caused even more deterioration of security, corruption, nepotism, and cronyism in the state institutions[122].

In 1969, the military started to rule the country which was proclaimed to be a socialist state. The regime leader Mohamed Siad Barre declared a new governing body called, the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and detained and arrested all the members of the previous government bodies including the Prime Minister Igal, and also banned all political parties, disbanded the National Assembly, and abolished the constitutions. The new system's goals included to finish the "tribalism, nepotism, corruption, and bad governance" and to honor the existing treaties, but the regime increasingly lost the support of larger segments of society including the Somali unification and national liberation movements.[123]

In 1970, Barre founded a new intelligence agency called National Security Service (NSS), which was responsible for intelligence and internal security, which was notorious for torture and arbitrary detention of dissident civil rights defenders.[124] On May 1971, the regime arrested the second vice president Major General Mahammad Ainanche, and a fellow SRC member, Lieutenant Colonel Salah (Salad) Gaveire Kedie, who was the Minister of Defense and later as secretary of state for communications, along with several other army officers all

[122]Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr Abdullahi Barise, **The Somali Conflict: Root causes, obstacles, and peace-building strategies**, 2007:Pg-33
[123]Helen Chapin Metz. **Somalia: a Country Study**. Federal Research Division Library of Congress, 1992: Pg-36-37
[124]CJA, 2009, http://www.cja.org/article.php?list=type&type=287 a.d (12, 04, 2016)

of whom were accused of an assassination attempt towards the president Mohamed Siad Barre, and after a lengthy trial they were executed.[125]

In between 1977-78, the Ogaden war between Somalia and Ethiopia was fought causing massive refugee inflows into Somalia, which had to call for increasing levels of humanitarian aids necessary for economic survival. Losing the war depressed the mood in the country as well as in the army. Organized oppositions groups started to appear who were against the Barre's regime and its political repression, by using jailing, torture, and indiscriminate killings of dissidents and collective punishment of clans. The collective punishments occurred in the northeast Somalia such as, Galcaio, Garowe and Jerriiban, estimated 2000 innocent people died for thirst, after the military forces of the government destroyed their reservoirs in that areas in order to deny water, and military forces also harassed civilians, raped large number of women, and took their livestock.[126]

In 1988, Somali National Movement (SNM) launched an army attack in the northwest and captured part of the second capital city of Somalia Hargeisa and Burao city. After that the military forces of the government with the help of airstrike caused the death of estimated five thousand people, and more than three hundred thousand people fled to Ethiopia.[127] In 1991, the opposition groups managed to oust the government, but they put the country under a situation which is worse than the people they had before, because the country entered into a civil war.

According to UNDP, the civil war that took place in Somalia caused the destruction of the social and economic infrastructure, asset stripping, forced displacement, disruption of food supplies and famine in common rivers between riverine areas in the southern regions of Somalia. In addition, two million people became internally displaced, while another one and

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[125] Helen Chapin Metz. **Somalia: a Country Study**. Federal Research Division Library of Congress, 1992: Pg-40

[126] Helen Chapin Metz. **Somalia: a Country Study**. Federal Research Division Library of Congress, 1992:

[127] http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/somalia5.htm a.d (12, 04, 2016)

half million (1.5) million people fled the country.[128] At the same time, Mogadishu entered into a state of chaos as the rival warlords battled for the control of the city. The confrontations between militias of warlords spread throughout the country and caused serious food crisis which finally an ill-fated international humanitarian intervention.[129]

According to the BBC, the drought and war combined together as the main causes of the famine across the country in 1991-92, which caused more than 200,000 people.[130] The international community responded against the famine in southern Somalia by military intervention and humanitarian aid, but failed to arbitrate an end to the fighting or generate the process of national reconciliation. The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) has been engaged in the conflict but critics argued that, the crisis deepened with the support of the power structures of the warring factions. The situation of the civil war increasingly became worse and the levels of the violence declined by the time UNOSOM withdrew from Somalia in 1995[131].

According to the UNDP's Human Development Report 1994, human security is defined as a process of freeing the people form constant threats such as, hunger, diseases and oppressions. Human security is also linked to the comprehensive protection from sadden and hurtful disruptions in their daily life, whether they are in home, in job or in the communities, and it should be founded for all income levels and national developments. On the other hand, state security was defined as state of being free from internal and external danger or threats.[132] Somalia is recovering from the catastrophe of the civil war, and it is also one of the most undeveloped countries around the world. So, human security is crucial in order to revive and support economic and social recovery.

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[128]HDR in Somalia, **The 2001 Human Development Report Compiles and Analyses the Latest Available Data on Somalia**., Nairobi: United Nations Development Programme, 2001: Pg-49

[129]**The collapse of the Somali State: 1991:2012**, http://cja.org/where-we-work/somalia/a.d (12.04. 2016)

[130]BBC, 5 09 2011, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa- 14785304 a.d (13,04, 2016)

[131]HDR in Somalia, **The 2001 Human Development Report Compiles and Analyses the Latest Available Data on Somalia**., Nairobi: United Nations Development Programme, 2001: Pg-49-50

[132] Human Development Report, New York: **The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1994:** Pg-3-4

Although, the perceived involvement and support of the international community are considered as necessary, it became a problem while the country's security, institution-building and decision-making are still in the hands of foreign bodies. Some people can argue that the international community and their growing influence, aim to create a continuing reliance of Somali on these foreign powers, rather than to help Somali to create its own reliable and accountable government. It is clear that Somalia is in dire need of good economic planning, effective institutions, good governance and leadership, but it will not help to recover from the damages of the civil wars and secure the human security in the current reliability of international support.[133]

Somalia in order to stand on its feet needs to get a strong Somalia National Army, but the international community and neighboring countries do not want Somalia to have a strong army. Under the current system which is preferred by the international community, it is not possible to establish lasting peace and stability in the country. To create a secure and return human security in Somalia, it depends how the international community make consultations with the different parts of the society, instead, they are consulting with some of the self-interested Somali politicians who are corrupted leaders and have a mentality to gain cash. As Abukar Arman acknowledges that, Somalia needs a leader who can lead the country in the best interests of Somalia and its people, and also the country needs politicians or someone who can manage or control ethically and justly, but this country does not need these so-called leaders who are self-interested and hungry for power.[134]

Reconciliation is the infrastructure of building sustainable peace. Somalia is a broken state, which is traumatized by generations of shocks and bloodsheds. As opposed to the conventional wisdom of the political elites and power brokers in Somalia, reconciliation does

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[133]Farhia Ali, Abdi. 8 March 2014. http://www.raxanreeb.com/2014/03/reconciliation-and- human-security-prospects-of-somalia-unity/ a.d(10,04, 2016)

[134]Abukar Arman. 13 August 2015. http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2015/08/13/somalia-no- political-legitimacy-without-genuine-reconciliation/ a.d (15,04, 2016)

not consist of reconciliation ceremonies, synthetic data and opportunities for taking pictures in the banquet halls. Instead, deliberate systematic process and the organization led by comprehensive strategic plan fully understood and implemented by Somali people, is necessary. Reconciliation is necessary because the narrative of awful mistrust among the clans and hostility itself turns out to be the chronic problem. It opens a new page to compromise in terms of the social contract that allows for coexistence. It also allows the center and the parties recognize their interdependence. Reconciliation plays a major role in the education of future generations to impunity and the usual practice of sweeping big problems under the carpet only makes matter even worse.[135]

As Abdi acknowledged Somalia will not achieve the empowerment of human security, and became a united nation unless it figures out how to detach itself from such a clutch, and to focus on solving its interior problems. It is true that the country cannot work without installing security forces and, at the meantime, foreign troops and aid could not guarantee national or human security, but only Somalia is capable of doing that. The poor infrastructure, limited financial resources and difficult situation of security blocked economic recovery in Somalia. Still Somalian economy heavily depends on the high level of aid and remittance.[136] But Turkish governments are trying to increase financial resources of Somalia, by managing, and reconstructing the Mogadishu Port and Aden Ade international Airport, which were modernized into international standards.

In 2011, Turkish government interfered in Somalia on humanitarian grounds and helped a lot in many sides. Turkish companies are now reconstructing one of the main sources of income of Somalia such as Mogadishu port and Aden Ade International Airport; as well as hospitals,

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[135]Abukar Arman. 13 August 2015. http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2015/08/13/somalia-no-political-legitimacy-without-genuine-reconciliation/ a.d (15,04, 2016)

[136]Farhia Ali, Abdi. 8 March 2014. http://www.raxanreeb.com/2014/03/reconciliation-and- human-security-prospects-of-somalia-unity/ a.d(10,04, 2016)

schools and Mogadishu roads. According to Gurhan, two Turkish companies are finalized a contract with the Somali government. One of these companies will manage, reconstruct and modernize Mogadishu port, while the other one will manage and rebuild the Aden Ade international airport in Mogadishu. These projects will be benefiting the Somali government as well as Turkish side. That means Mogadishu sea port will be expanded and will become a conduit for the Turkish industries products supplied from Turkey to other African countries, which Somali people will also benefits from each transaction.[137]

In conclusion Somalia requires structural transformation, improvements, social movement and increased productivity, but all that will not happen without an effective government with good leaders, and also the country needs strong law enforcement. Somalia also needs strong army forces to fight with the terrorist groups and anyone who instigate problems. A foreign army cannot help Somalia to reach its goal which is becoming a strong nation, getting back human security, and also to dispense with the ministrations of the United Nations organizations and other countries which they call humanitarian aid. Somali people need to rely on their own resources instead of outward ones. The economy of the country depends on agriculture and livestock, and the government must give a moral support to those people, and help them establish a market to sell their produce, and also big companies need to invest in those area. The government of Somalia must define and analyze the problems of the country, how this all happen, and what caused all this to happen? After that the government can make real reconciliation between the clans of Somalia to achieve a long lasting peace and stability.

[137]Farhan Gurhan. 27 January 2016.
http://www.hiiraan.com/op4/2016/jan/103818/is_somalia_heading_to_a_trusteeship_rule_again.aspx a.d (15, 04, 2016)

3.1 The Somali Conflicts

In the last decades, the Horn of Africa captivated international communities. In this territory numerous conflicts had occurred because of territorial disputes, competing strategic interests and also there are ancient rivalries between the countries in that area. At any analysis about Somalia conflicts we must account the internal and external actors, which would be regional and international. Internationally, the Horn of Africa is situated in a strategic area for maritime route through to the Suez Canal and connects to the Arab Peninsula, which makes it very important for oil transportation.[138]

According to Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr. Abdullahi Barise, the colonial legacy is one of the main factors that caused Somalian civil war. The European powers (British, France, Italy), divided Somalia into five parts. British took two, France one, Italy one. The final part of Somalia was given to King MenelikII by the European powers to appease him. The colonial legacy and struggling for power and resources, military oppression were the main reasons that caused and perpetuated the conflict of Somalia. Additionally the availability of army in the hand of civilians, misusing of the tribe identity and unemployment in the community and some Somali culture that reward the use of violence significantly played major role to perpetuate the Somali conflicts.[139]

The main causes of the Somali conflict can be classified into three, which are colonialism, Cold War international conjuncture and Barre's dictatorship[140]. In 1960's, two parts of Somalia got their independence from Italian and British colonials and decided to join together and create new Democratic Republic of Somalia. To unite with the other three large parts of

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[138]Rossella Marangio, **The Somali Crisis: Failed State and International Interventions**, Istituto Affari Internazional, IAI Working Papers 12-15 May 2012: Pg-2

[139]Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr Abdullahi Barise**, The Somali Conflict: Root causes, obstacles, and peace-building strategies**, 2007**:**Pg-36

[140]**Context: Understanding Clan Violence**, http://www.cja.org/article.php?list=type&type=287 a.d(11/12/2015)

Somali regions, Ogaden and Haud (annexed by Ethiopia), French Somaliland (today's Djibouti), and Northern Frontier District (NFD) in northern Kenya was their most important for the Pan-Somalis newly independent Somalia. With the support of western countries to Kenya and Ethiopia caused Somalia turned to Soviet Union,[141] to get from them economic and military items.

Between 1960 and 1969, Somalia was practicing democracy and managed to establish the state institutions. But it had failed to meet the expectations of the people. The government also failed to reduce the poverty, security deteriorated and to fight against the corruption, bias and cronyism in the states institutions[142].

In 1969, the President of Somali Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke was assassinated by one of his bodyguard officers. While he was paying an official visit to the North of the Somalia the town of Las Anod. A bloodless coup was led by Major General Mohamed Siad Barre was staged. The military took the office and announced a new body called Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC). The SRC arrested and detained members of the civil government specially the Prime Minister Mohamed Igal and banned the National Assembly, dissolved the Parliament and suspended the political parties. The new regime declared that they will fight against tribalism, nepotism and misrules.[143]

The combination of internal and external factors caused of the collapse of Somali State, according to Bradbury and Healy, the fall of the Somali state can be reasoned into External and Internal factors. The External reasons include the European colonialism effect to the region, and how they paralyzed the Somali people by dividing them into five different states. It also includes the fights against neighboring states, in 1977-78 Ogaden war with Ethiopia is

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[141]Cecilia Hull, Emma Svensson, **African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM),** Exemplifying African Peacekeeping Challenges, October, 2008, Defense Analysis, FOI, Pg-15

[142]Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr Abdullahi Barise, **The Somali Conflict: Root causes, obstacles, and peace-building strategies**, 2007:Pg-33

[143]**Siad Barre's regime**, **1969 coup d'état**, https://www.un.int/somalia/somalia/country-facts a.d(15/12/2015)

an example, and were big dismaying aftermath. Internal factors contain centralized state authority, tribe related problems and the Somali rural culture, which all took their huge part to utterly deteriorate the power.[144]

As we all know Somalia invaded Ethiopian territory of Ogaden in 1977. First of all, in 1976, the Siyad Barre's regime tried to negotiate the matter of the Ogaden region with the Ethiopian authorities, by sending Somali representatives to the Ethiopia, but the negotiations and efforts were not succeeded. The Ogaden resistance organization called Western Somalia Liberation Front (WSLF) started to step up its military activities against Ethiopian troops and managed to capture the most of countryside of Bale region[145].

In 1977, Ethiopia entered in the disorder situation after the fall of Haile Selassie and Somalia National Army attacked Ogaden region in Ethiopian. Within short time the Somali army besieging the city of Harar and most of the region. The Somali government was betrayed by Soviet Union who backed Ethiopia was betrayed But the president Siad Barre was betrayed by chosen as a superpower. The Soviet Union considers a potential client is more important in Ethiopia. Early in 1978, Ethiopian Army well equipped by the Soviet Union with the reinforced Cuban troops and some other communist nations are managed to remove Somalia National Army from the Ogaden region[146].

In April 1978, after the defeat the war against Ethiopia, some of army officers led by Mohamud Sh. Osman were organized a coup against the Barres's regime. Although the coup failed but it caused the execution of seventeen members who were organized the failed coup as well as collective punishments to their clan. But some of them were managed to escape to

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[144]Mark Bradbury and Sally Healy, **Endless War: A Brief History of The Somali Conflict, from Cold War to Civil War 1988-1991**, Pg-10

[145]Brigadier Joseph K. Nkaisserry Kenya Army, **The Ogaden War: An Analysis of Its Causes And Its Impact On Regional Peace on The Horn of Africa**, Distribution Statement A: Approved For Public Release. Distribution is Unlimited, USAWC CLASS OF 1997, Pg-13-14

[146]**Somali Conflicts: 1960-1999,** http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad20 a.d(17/12/2015)

neighboring countries and later founded an armed liberations movements against the regime, one those escaped was Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed[147].

In 1988, the second massacre happed, after Somali National Movement (SNM) which belongs to Isaaq clan occupied northern part cities in the country such as Hargeisa which is the second capital city of Somalia, Burao and Berbera. The regime's military using aircrafts attacked and bombarded those cities which was resulted the death of hundreds of innocent people and thousands of displacement[148].

All these collective punishments, indiscriminate killing, against innocent civilians and imprisoned caused the people to support the rebel groups who are against the military regime[149]. In 1989, other two oppositions movements which are United Somali Congress (USC), and Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) were joined the war against military government in Somalia[150].

The these rebels were attacking the government military from different directions of the country, the rebel forces managed to oust the Barre's regime in 26 January 1991, when the USC managed to control the capital city of Somalia Mogadishu. Barre fled form Mogadishu, later went to Nigeria and after four years he died there.[151] The ouster of the Barre's regime without any other alternative replacement government caused to prolong the period of anarchy and conflict warfare. From 1991 to 1992, armed conflict based on clanism spread across southern Somalia. The reason for conflict between the clans was militias based to control the valuable towns, power and resources.[152]

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[147]**Prelude to the Somali Civil War**, https://www.un.int/somalia/somalia/country-facts a.d(17/12/2015)
[148]Ibid, **a.d(17/12/2015)**
[149]Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr Abdullahi Barise, **The Somali Conflict: Root causes, obstacles, and peace-building strategies,** 2007:Pg-35
[150]**The Collapse of the Somali State: 1991-2012**, http://www.cja.org/article.php?list=type&type=287 a.d(17/12/2015)
[151]Ibid, a.d(17/12/2015)
[152]**Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamics,** The Report has not undergone review accorded to official World Bank Publications, 2005, Pg-11

The most important thing caused the clan-based conflict is struggle for power and resource. As we all know, in Somali there were conflicts and clashes between the clans in the countryside which is based on water resources, areas of the pasture (land of grazing), and robbery of the livestock (camel, goat, sheep, cows). Additionally, Somalia has traditional legal system widely accepted and respected in the whole country, which is called Heer. The elders and leaders of the clans sit together and discuss the matter and settle the conflicts. So these conflicts among the clans and militia groups are caused largely by the competition for power and resources.[153] But this time is not in the countryside, it affected the whole country.

Historically, Somalia and Ethiopia had hostile relations, so the armed struggle among the opposition groups and Somali's military regime started from Ethiopia. All of the headquarters of the opposition groups were in Ethiopia, when Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), and Somali National Movement (SNM), United Somali Congress (USC), Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), founded, trained their militias, organized their military activities and started fighting against the military regime from Ethiopia. After the opposition groups faced repression and oppressions from the military regime they fled to neighboring countries. Ethiopia welcomed and armed them to fight against the military regime. Somali's military regime deprived the people the opportunities to participate in managing the government. So, the power-hungry opposition leaders resorted to violence to change the military government by getting help from a hostile country. [154]

As the evidences confirmed competition for power and resources are background caused Somali conflicts among the tribes and militia groups. Every single one of the wars between these clans Hawiye, Darood, Isaaq, Digil and Mirifle were caused because of competition for

[153]Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr Abdullahi Barise, **The Somali Conflict: Root causes, obstacles, and peace-building strategies,** Pg-33
[154]Ibid, 2007: Pg-35-36

power and resource motivated conflicts. Historically, some clans such as Abgal and Habargidir had never fought before and both belonged same clan Hawiye.

However, civil war based on power struggle broke out between Aidid and Ali Mahdi after Mogadishu fell to United Somali Congress (USC), to which they both belonged. In additionally, the clashes between Hawadle and Habargidir clans began over the Kismayu port controlling while United Somali Congress (USC) were controlled city and the conflict spread to the other cities they were in.

The same kind of events occurred between the Darood clans. Firstly, Absame and Harti fought over the controlling Kismayu city. Secondly, the confrontation between Harti and Mareehan over controlling the same city Kismayu, and additionally, in 2001 another war happened in Puntland between the Majeerteen sub-clans which was also motivated by struggle of power and resources. On the other hand, same events occurred in Hargeisa and Burao between Isaaq sub-clans and Bay and Bakool region clashes between Digil and Mirifle.[155]

On the whole of these evidences confirm the background causes for the protracted Somali conflicts are colonial legacies, military repression, and misuse of the clan identities for struggle power and resources. The purpose of the power-hungry leaders was not only civilians to be the victims of clan-based violence but also bloodshed and organized civilians to become perpetrators of such violence.

[155]Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr Abdullahi Barise, **The Somali Conflict: Root causes, obstacles, and peace-building strategies**, 2007:Pg-34-35

3.2 Impact of the Coup d'état in 1969

October 15, 1969, was the day that the President Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke was assassinated by one of his bodyguards while the President was paying official visit to northern Somalia. The Prime Minister Mohamed Ibrahim Igal was also out of the country. The Prime Minister returned to the capital city of the country Mogadishu to arrange for the selection of new President according to the National Assembly. Though the president was a member of Darood clan-family while the Prime Minister was Isaaq clan-family and he was preferred to select a member of Darood clan as president. He met critics from government, especially, a group of army officers; who argued that there is no hope for improving the country's situation by these means[156].

A bloodless coup was led by Major General Mohamed Siad Barre was staged. The military took the office and announced a new body called Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC). The SRC arrested and detained members of the civil government specially the Prime Minister Mohamed Igal and banned the National Assembly, dissolved the Parliament and suspended the political parties. The new regime declared that they will fight against tribalism, nepotism and misrules.[157] The Barre's regime created a group called the National Security Service (NSS), which consists of men from army and police. The responsibility of the National Security Service was socialization process and also direct report to the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC).[158]

Barre's regime suspended the National Assembly and constitution, and also banned any form of the political association and arrested the members of the previous government specially the Prime Minster Mohamed Ibrahim Igal. All of these actions proved that the pro- colonial

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[156]Helen Chapin Metz. **Somalia: a Country Study**. Federal Research Division Library of Congress, 1992: Pg-36
[157]**Siad Barre's Regime in 1969 coup d'état**, https://www.un.int/somalia/somalia/country-facts a.d(15/12/2015)
[158]**The Republic of Somalia and its quest for nationhood,** http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/1845/8/08_chapter%203.pdf a.d(16/12/2015) Pg-139

experiment of the democracy had ended, and the country became under the dictatorship rule.[159]

On May 1971, the group of the military Army who disposed the civilian government were started to turn against each other. Lieutenant Colonel Salah (Salad) Gaveire Kedie, who was the Minister of Defense and later as secretary of state for communications, and the second vice president Major General Mahammad Ainanche along with several other army forces was arrested by the regime and they were accused of planning an assassination towards the president Barre, and after a lengthy trial they were executed.[160]

The military regime that ousted democratic civilian government was introduced Marxist revolution not only as a new political system, but they also suggested radical transformation in the Somali society through the application of what the new regime referred to as "scientific socialism". In spite of the existence of soviet advisers with army forces, but there was no single evidence indicates that the coup was inspired by the Soviet Union, although this was suspected in the West at the time it happened[161].

The implementation of the death sentences against to the senior public figures have became common in Mogadishu. In 1975, the military regime executed ten Muslim scholars who condemned the Presidential Decree concerning on equality of women and men and argued that the Presidential Decree and the United Nations General Assembly's declaration of the International Women's Year are against the Islamic law. This rushed executions of scholars of religion without legal justification put the military regime political confusion with the Muslim countries especially Arab nations condemning the killings without justification or merit. The

[159]Diana Briton Putman & Mohamood Cabdi Noor, **The Somalis: Their History and Culture**, Refugee Fact Sheet N0.9, (1993), Published by Center for Applied Linguistics, The Cultural Orientation Project, (1993):Pg 8-9

[160]Helen Chapin Metz. **Somalia: a Country Study**. Area handbook series, Federal Research Division Library of Congress, 1992: Pg-40

[161] Harold D. Nelson. **Somalia: a Country Study**. Area handbook series, Federal Research Division Library of Congress, October 1981: Pg-46

killing and arresting oppositions and innocent civilians became prevalent these incident caused that thousands of educated elites, fearing the military rule's dreaded jails, sought refuge in neighboring countries, in the West, and in the Middle East. [162]

The military regime was aimed to eliminate the influences of descent groups at all levels and elites in public life based on tribal affiliation. Although the power was shared collectively by the members of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), Barre has emerged as the strongest man in Somalia, spokesman and the leader of the revolution. In 1971, the regime Leader declared that the regime's objective to eliminate military rule after the founding of a political party whose central committee would finally succeed the SRC as a policy and decision making body[163].

One of the positive objectives of the revolutionary regime was the implementation of a standard of orthography of Somali language. Since the independence the official language of the government administrations and instructions of the Somalia schools was Italian and English, so that system allowed the regime government to make the Somali language as an official language of the all departments of the government administrations as well as the instructions of the schools of the country. The SRC declared that the Somali language would be a Latin Alphabetic and from the January 1973, it would be used throughout the country. The regime also started to fight against illiteracy in Somalia. The first part of an intensive campaign of literacy happened in the urban areas and it was going on three consecutive months. More than 8 thousands of teachers were recruited from among the staff of the Government, members of the armed forces, secondary school students whose classes were

[162]Adan Makina, **Supreme Revolutionary Council of Somalia: Harbinger of Social Injustice and Collapse of State Institutions**. 2013:Pg-3

[163] Harold D. Nelson. **Somalia: a Country Study**. Area handbook series, Federal Research Division Library of Congress, October 1981: Pg-46

suspended for the duration of the school year and other States were participated the program[164].

In 1972, the Somalia literacy was estimated only five percent. After these campaigns that the regime declared to fight against the illiteracy which so many people from different ranks such as teacher, employees of the government, members of the army forces and secondary schools students were participated to educate their people in the rural area and the other small towns. This campaign helped so many people to learn reading, writing their language and reduced the rate of illiteracy in country.

[164] Harold D. Nelson. **Somalia: a Country Study**. Area handbook series, Federal Research Division Library of Congress, October 1981: Pg-53-4

3.3 Post Coup of 1969

The accession of Somalia to socialism became officially on the first anniversary of the military coup in Somalia, after the regime leader Barre announced that the country is socialist state, although the country has no history of conflict in the Marxist sense class. The main reason of Marxist analysis, therefore, it was the tribe equivalent with a class in the society struggling to liberate itself form distinction imposed by lineage group affiliation[165].

The declaration of the president Barre for joining socialists made the country closely with the communist countries and led to repeated accusations from critics that country became a soviet satellite. But this ideology made the country to be dependent economically and military aids to Soviet Union[166]. In 1970, Barre founded a new intelligence agency called National Security Service (NSS), which was responsible for intelligence and internal security, which was notorious for torture and arbitrary detention of dissident civil rights defenders.[167]

In the early 1970s, the Soviet Union gave the most generous bilateral technical and economic assistances to Somalia, focusing mainly exports-oriented and agricultural industry based on meat and fish. Chine also stated the main road-building projects and assisted the Somalis in the introduction of the cultivation of rice and tobacco. The United State became the second largest donor from western countries after the Italian abolished its aid program in Somalia in reprisal for the merchant vessels flying of Somalia that carried cargoes to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The UN agencies promised to Somalia Grant, credits and loans and also to fund the other agricultural development projects such as irrigations and to relieve pressure

[165]Harold D. Nelson. **Somalia: a Country Study**. Area handbook series, Federal Research Division Library of Congress, October 1981: Pg-51
[166] Ibid, October 1981: Pg-51
[167]CJA, 2009, http://www.cja.org/article.php?list=type&type=287 a.d (12.04. 2016)

on Somalia's foreign exchanges. By the mid of 1970, Somalia increasingly became dependent to financing projects from Arab Countries[168].

In 1977, Somalia army invaded Ethiopia while there was a political ferment between the Ethiopians after the fall out of the Haile Selassie. Soon after attack Somalia army are captured the city of Harar, but the Soviet Union betrayed the Barre's regime and backed and supported the Ethiopians. Early in 1978, Ethiopian army equipped by the Soviet Union and with the contribution from troops from Cuba and some other communist States are managed to defeat Somalia army and forced to pull out of the Ogaden region[169].

In April 1978, after a bitter defeat of the Ogaden War, a group of army officers attempted a coup against Barre's regime led by Mohamud Sh. Osman. Yet, the coup failed and seventeen officers were arrested and summarily executed. But some of the officers who helped the coup managed to escape to the neighboring country, one of these officers were Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed the founder of the first liberation movement which was called Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) against Barre's regime[170].

After the coup failed the Barre's regime reacted and responded to a collective punishment, indiscriminate killings, raping women, robbery and taking the cattle's, and destroying the reservoirs in the area of the clans officers who attempted the failed coup, (most of the officers belonged to Majeerteen clan). The second liberation movement against Barre's regime formed in London on April 1981, called Somali National Movements (SNM), which was the organization of Isaaq clan. In 1988, Somali National Movements (SNM) occupied the northern part of Somalia cities, Hargeisa which was the second largest city of Somalia, Burao, and Berbara which belongs to the Isaaq Clan. As the Barre's regime always does, the military

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[168] Harold D. Nelson. **Somalia: a Country Study**. Area handbook series, Federal Research Division Library of Congress, October 1981: Pg-56

[169]**Somali Conflicts: 1960-1999,** http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad20 a.d(17/12/2015)

[170]**Prelude to the Somali Civil War,** https://www.un.int/somalia/somalia/country-facts **a.d(17/12/2015)**

forces of Somalia using aircrafts were assaulted against the Somali National Movement (SNM) and destroyed the Hargeisa this was the second collective punishment of the regime did thousands of innocent people are died the indiscriminate killings done by the army forces of Somalia in the area of the these two clans and other hundred thousands are displaced[171].

The large the number of innocent of civilians killed or imprisoned by the military and the leaders of the regime, the more people turned out being revolutionary and joined the rebel groups and opposition forces[172]. After all these events, the opposition movements against the regime were increasing day after day. In 1989, another two opposition movements were founded which are United Somali Congress (USC) and Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM). All these opposition movements against the military regime were united only for their desire to remove the power from the military government and there was no agreed plan between those oppositions to save the country after they oust the power from the regime.

In 1991, it has emerged that there was no alternative plan to protect the solidarity of the country. After the Barre's overthrown the power, the opposition leaders were turned against each other for struggling power and resources. The enter into a civil war that destroyed everything that the country had and killed the lives of many innocent people and displace hundred thousand internally and externally.

[171]**Ibid, a.d (17/12/2015)**
[172]Afyare Abdi Elmi and Dr Abdullahi Barise, **The Somali Conflict: Root causes, obstacles, and peace-building strategies,** 2007:Pg-35

3.4 International Military Intervention in Somalia

After Barre's regime was ousted in 1991, power struggle between the warlords of the different clans killed and wounded thousands of Somali civilians. During 1992, drought and famine began after the militias of the warlords destroyed the water sources, burning crops and killing livestock. So famine began and situation of the country attracted the attention of the world. United Nations decided to interfere and send humanitarian workers to distribute food. Unfortunately, Aidid doesn't want humanitarian food aid to reach his enemies, and were able to interrupt food shipments to prevent aid from his enemies. Bush authorized US military to start delivering and transporting the food aid by using planes, airlift supplies directly to the stricken areas to avoid where the militias of the warlords can easily stopped or raided. Aidid claimed the humanitarian missions were foreign invasions of his territory, and threatened to fire on UN personnel[173].

The United Nations multinational forces known as the UNOSOM and they were influenced in Somali politics for the next three. UNOSOM operation in Somalia has turned the world's attention to neglected crisis and helped save lives securing food supplies. Some local agreements made it easier to improve security and reopening Mogadishu Seaport and airport, and support to recover the basic services and creation local Non-government organizations[174].

Within a short time period more than 100,000 live got humanitarian food aid. But the situation of the Somalia didn't change. Several peacekeepers were killed and convoy planes shot at, the warlords were unwilling to see their own people feed by the western aid. Death toll of the peacekeepers continuing to spiral, so United Nations decided to take further action. In December 1992, it passed Resolution 794, which urged member states to contribute troops

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[173]Sean Munger, **The hunger of war: The Somali famine of 1991-92**,http://seanmunger.com/2015/02/25/the-hunger-of-war-the-somali-famine-of-1991-92/ ,posted February25 2015, a.d (20/12/2015)

[174]Healy, Mark Bradbury and Sally. **Whose peace is it anyway? connecting Somali and international peacemaking, Endless war a Brief History of the Somali Conflict.** Report for Somali peace processes, London: Conciliation Resources, 2010:Pg-11

to Unified Tasks Forces (UTF) to create a secure environment for the delivery of food. After 43 peacekeeping forces of different countries like Pakistan, United State, Australia, Italy and other countries were killed and two Black Hawk Down helicopters were shot down, the United Nations peacekeepers decided to retreat and changed the mission.[175]

The international community did not learn any lesson what happen in 1992- 1995, but they still continued the interventions of Somalia. In 2006, after the Islamic Court Union (ICU) come up and defeated the warlords that US and its allies were failed to defeat in 1992-95. The US and its Allies such as EU backed Ethiopia for the invasion in Somalia.

In November 2006, Ethiopian parliamentary approved a resolution allows the government "to take all necessary steps to ward off attacks by the Islamic council in Somalia." This was a metaphor for Ethiopian troops to invade Somalia and crossed the border between the two countries, which they did later December 2006. The United States and Ethiopia's security apprehension in Horn of Africa has become tangled with a common suspicious of Islamic-backed militia gain the domination of war-torn in Somalia[176].

In December 2006, the Ethiopian troops invaded in Somalia to eliminate the Islamic Court Union (ICU) who was the rulers of south and central of the country. Ethiopian troops managed to oust the power from the ICU easily, but the situation of the country became worse after uprising groups started to fight against Ethiopian troops in the capital city. An estimated sixteen thousand innocent people were died at that war and more than hundreds were displaced[177]. Without ensure of their intent and their goal the Ethiopian troops withdrawn the country in 2009.

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[175]Ibid, a.d (20/12/2015)
[176]Napoleon A. Bamfo, **Ethiopia's invasion of Somalia in 2006: Motives and lessons learned**, African Journal of Political Science and International Relations Vol. 4(2), pp. 055-065, February 2010: Pg-59
[177]**Ethiopia ends Somalia occupation,** https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/26/ethiopia-ends-somalia-occupation a.d (28/07/2016)

In February 2007, the deployment of the African Union peacekeeping mission in Somalia (AMISOM) was authorized and approved by the United Nations Security Council to support the Transitional Federal Government (TFG).[178] Twenty two thousand military troops from different nations such as Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya, Djibouti and Burundi are in Somalia in the name of AMISOM which is a peacekeeping mission, but the reality is different than that. In January 2015, AMISOM soldiers killed seventeen innocent people and injured another fourteen in Marka city in Somalia. These brutal killings occurred for revenge for a grenade attack from Al-Shabaab militia. In 2014, the Human Right Watch accused to AMISOM troops gang-rape women and young girls at age of 12years, again in the same year the Human Right Watch reported that six people were injured when the AMISOM troops opened fire[179].

AMISOM troops were enter to Somalia as peacekeeping and to fight with the terrorist groups in Somalia but they are become the part of the problem in Somalia. Whenever the Al-Shabaab attack to AMISOM bases or Camps and hurt them, they come to revenge to civilians instead to attack back to groups who are against them. The last incident happened 29 July 2016, after the Ethiopian troops killed fourteen innocent civilians in Wardinle village.[180]

In conclusion the international community and these power hungry leaders in Somalia if they do not come up with plan to stop the enmity of the these so-called AMISOM it will cause the civilians will back with the groups who are against the government and African troops in somalia and the situation of the country will return as it was years ago when the Ethiopian troops were forced to withdraw the country.

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[178] http://amisom-au.org/about-somalia/brief-history/a.d(28/07/2016)
[179] Mark Piggott, **African Union troops 'massacre 24 unarmed civilians' in Somalia,** July 21, 2015 http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/african-union-troops-massacre-24-unarmed-civilians-somalia-1511933 a.d(28/07/2016)
[180] **AMISOM to probe 'civilian massacre' in Somalia,** July 19, 2016, http://www.shabellenews.com/2016/07/amisom-to-probe-civilian-deaths-in-somalia/a.d(28/07/2016)

3.5 Human Security as a Pretext in Intervention

In January 1991, the day of the Somalia's government collapsed, and the country entered a civil war between the different clans in Somalia. The civil war was engulfed the capital city Mogadishu as well as the rest of the country. The military regime led by Mohamed Siad Barre was forced the power and ousted from Mogadishu. After that they ousted the regime from Mogadishu the oppositions were turned against each other, and caused a long period of violence chaos and war.

As a result, the country found in a full-scale of civil war, with widespread famine, displacement and violent atrocities resulted. In the absence of the defense forces and national police resulted to create a crowd of civilians and local militia who are defending and protecting the interest of their clan.[181] The different warlord's armies went around to the villages and destroyed water sources or reservoir, burning crops, killing livestock, so all these activities were enough to trigger a disaster of incredible proportions. The agriculture sector of the country did not bring enough food during the harvest season in 1991. Without getting enough food, destruction of villages, water sources and reservoirs and killing cattle, all these things made the population of the rural areas began dying of hunger. In the next year 300 thousand people died, Somalia became a wasteland of dried, encrusted well dried up and bleached skeleton that many people around the have seen the pictures at that time.[182]

In July 1992, The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I) sent a small number of peacekeepers, and they failed to be become effectual because of Gen. Mohamed Farah Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohamud were struggling to control the capital city Mogadishu. In December

[181]Jan Tijmen Ninck Blok. **State Failure in Somalia, Causes of Instability and Insecurity**, This article is written in a personal capacity., 2010: Pg-2
[182]Sean Munger.25 February 2015. https://seanmunger.com/2015/02/25/the-hunger-of-war-the-somali-famine-of-1991-92/ a.d (04 20, 2016)

1992, the Unified Task Forces (UNITAF) was introduced after the UNOSOM I was failed, this interventional operation led by US with troops from different other countries.[183]

Somalia has become a laboratory for a new form of the clashes when the international community has responded the humanitarian and military intervention on an unprecedented scale. In December 1992, the US administration authorized before the deployment of the US troops to support the United Nations Mission in Somalia. Under the US leadership, the United Nations mobilized some of multinational forces of 30 thousand in Somalia. Evidently, the intervention was not launched for humanitarian reason only, but it was also respond to the challenges that the collapsed Somali nation posed to supposed 'new world order', declared by the US president George Bush at the end of the cold war.[184] As Anna Simons who is an anthropology professor noted that the next warfare that US will be forced to fight in the future will quite possible to start with humanitarianism. Anna Simons said in her article that Somalia is a poor and undeveloped nation that would be the most ideal place to exercise this type of aggressive intervention. The situation in Somalia offers the whole country in which to establish and exercise or implement the new world order."[185]

Bush authorized the US Military transports to start delivering food and aid. The US military could use the aircraft carrier directly supply to an affected areas, rather than the use of truck convey that were easily stopped or raid by the armies of the warlords. Conceitedly, Aidid claimed that the humanitarian mission were a foreign invasion of the territory and also threatened that he will fire on UN personals.[186] According to Lee Wengraf admits that Mohamed Farah Aidid was not eager to dealing with the U.S troops shortly after their

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[183]Markowitz, Mike. 4 June 2013. http://www.defensemedianetwork.com/stories/task-force-ranger-20th-anniversary-the-battle-of-mogadishu-oct-3-1993/ a.d (27, 04, 2016)

[184]Mark Bradbury and Sally Healy, **Whose peace is it anyway? Connecting Somali and international peacemaking, Endless war a brief history of the Somali conflict.** Report for Somali peace processes, London: Conciliation Resources, 2010:Pg-10

[185]Anna Simons. 3 JANUARY 1993. http://allafrica.com/stories/200101080503.html a.d (25, 04,2016)

[186]Sean Munger.25 February 2015. https://seanmunger.com/2015/02/25/the-hunger-of-war-the-somali-famine-of-1991-92/ a.d (20, 04,2016)

invention, the food distribution was weakened the resolve of the US to defeat Aidid by strengthening the forces loyal to the west, such as self-declared Ali Mahdi Mohamud (in 1991, a conference held in Djibouti was elected Ali Mahdi Mohamud as an interim president of Somalia but Aidid boycotted that conference and also not recognized the result of that conference).[187]

In March 1993, UNOSOM II was created in conformity with Security Council resolution in 814 (1993), to change the Unified Task Forces (UNITAF), which the Security Council was authorized to create security environment for the humanitarian aids operations in Somalia. The UNOSOM II was authorized to use all necessary means, including enforcement measures, to create a security environment throughout Somalia for the humanitarian relief. In addition to that, UNOSOM II was had to complete the disarmament of the warlords and reconciliations mission initiated by the UNITAF for the restoration peace, stability, law and order.[188]

In the mid-Feb 1993, the multinational forces led by the US faced its major challenges after militia forces loyal to General Mohamed Hirsi Morgan attacked and occupied Kismayu and ousted the militia of General Mohamed Farah Aidid and his group Somali National Alliance (SNA) forces, while the United Nations multinational forces decided not to interfere between these two militias. Mostly, the US and Belgium troops were the United Nations forces who supposed to control the city, instead they preferred to do nothing and sat their sandbagged emplacements, and it is true that, the interference meant of killing or wounding Somali militias and take casualties, but the failure of the US was hardly an encouraging of the precedent. Soon after the attack was reported on the BBC, the crowds in Mogadishu immediately made demonstrations against the US and United Nations, and peacekeepers

[187]Lee Wengraf. **Making Somalia's nightmare worse, "Operation Restore Hope," 1992-1994**, May 2011. http://isreview.org/issue/77/making-somalias-nightmare-worse a.d (24, 04,2016)
[188]UN. 2003. http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unosom2mandate.html a.d (27, 04, 2016)

opened fire which caused some injuries. Oakley remained in his headquarter, without an attempt to reassure the crowds to explain the US inaction as support for Morgan.[189]

On 5 June 1993, Somalia militiamen launched an attack against UNOSOM II forces, which looked as if it were planned and premeditated, on 6 1993, the Security Council announced its resolution 837 (1993) that the General-Secretary was allowed under resolution 814 (1993) to take all necessary action all those who were responsible for the ambushed attack on the Pakistani and those who were encourage the attacks against UNOSOM II throughout Somalia, including to ensure the investigation of their actions and their arrest and detention for prosecution, trail and punishment.[190]

In between 12 June and 16 June, the UN and United States forces were attacked targets in Mogadishu which related to Aidid. On June 19 1993, Admiral Howe requested to arrest Aidid and also offered $25,000 reward for information leading to it. On July 12 Cobra Helicopters attacked and destroyed several buildings in Mogadishu where some clan leaders were meeting many Somali people died at that attack and as well as destruction of several buildings. On August 8, four US military police died after a land-mine exploded by militias, the next two weeks other six soldiers were injured. At that point, the situation needed to deploy Task Forces Rangers; on 29 August Task Forces Rangers of 440 elite troops from Delta Forces led by General William Garrison were deployed to Somalia with the purpose of capturing General Aidid. On October 3, 1993, the Task Forces Rangers searching for Aidid suddenly attacked Olympic Hotel in Mogadishu, and this attack caused to start the bloodiest and longest battle for the US soldiers had since Vietnam War. The battle was lasted seventeen-

[189] Alex de Waal. 28 Feb 2007. http://hornofafrica.ssrc.org/de_Waal3/printable.htmla a.d (27, 04, 2016)
[190] UN, 2003, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unosom2mandate.html a.d (27, 04, 2016)

hours and eighteen US soldiers died and also eighty-four soldiers were injured as well as thousands of Somalis were also died.[191]

According to Lee Wengraf the battle in Mogadishu which was portrayed in the film Black Hawk Dawn was killed eighteen US soldiers and estimated one thousands, although dead US soldiers dragged through to the Mogadishu streets were reporting international media but no one talk about the thousands of innocent people who were died at that war. Three months before the US battle in Mogadishu the helicopters of the US launched a missiles attack which killed fifty to seventy people which consist of the different parts of the community such as clan leaders and intellectuals who were trying to broker a settlement on the war. In summer of 1993 alone, the official estimated casualties were six thousands to ten thousands Somalis, two to third of that casualties were women and children.[192]

On the October 7 the President Clinton has ordered the US troops withdraw from Somalia, after they failed to capture General Aidid.[193] Some countries such as Canada, Italy and Belgium are investigated their troops from Somalia and charged human rights violations such as torture, committed murders but the US troops never charged them the indiscrimination killings they did in Somalia. The $ 1.5 billion funded for humanitarian intervention only ten percent of that fund was spent for humanitarian aid, while the rest was spent the 28,000 troops that were invaded the Somalia for deploying their all necessary equipments.[194]

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[191]R. Snyder. **Operation Restore Hope/Battle of Mogadishu in 1993**, August 2001, http://novaonline.nvcc.edu/eli/evans/his135/Events/Somalia93/somalia93.html a.d (05, 02, 2016)
[192]Lee Wengraf**. Making Somalia's nightmare worse, "Operation Restore Hope," 1992-1994,** May 2011. http://isreview.org/issue/77/making-somalias-nightmare-worse a.d (24, 04, 2016)
[193]R. Snyder, **Operation Restore Hope/Battle of Mogadishu in 1993**.August 2001. http://novaonline.nvcc.edu/eli/evans/his135/Events/Somalia93/somalia93.html a.d (05, 02, 2016)
[194]Lee Wengraf**. Making Somalia's nightmare worse, "Operation Restore Hope," 1992-1994**, May 2011. http://isreview.org/issue/77/making-somalias-nightmare-worse a.d (24, 04, 2016)

The US citizens were told that the invasion of Somalia was based to restore peace and stability, feeding the people who are dying for starving. On December 4, 1992, the US president George H. W. Bush in a speech televised address to nation:

> **"I want to talk to you today about the tragedy in Somalia and about a mission that can ease suffering and save lives. Every American has seen the shocking images from Somalia. The scope of suffering there is hard to imagine. Already, over a quarter of a million people--as many people as live in Buffalo, New York--have died in the Somali famine. In the months ahead, five times that number, 1.5 million people could starve to death…There is no government in Somalia. Law and order have broken down--anarchy prevails."**

But Keith Yearman argue that the whole Africa has the same crises were caused a lot of destructions and ruin, however, US marine has not sent to deal with humanitarian crisis. Keith mentioned some countries that needed help at that time, but questioned the reason Somalia was chosen over Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia and too many other countries.[195]

The intervention of Somalia were not based on humanitarian aid or feeding the people who were dying for starving, but the aim of the intervention was based on controlling natural resource , such as oil and natural gases. According to the an article published in Los Angeles Times states that the regime government led by Mohamed Siad Barre permitted four main US oil companies to make exploration and exploitation tens of millions acres in Somalia countryside. The LA Times had obtained a document which describes that, in the time of Somalia's pro-US president Mohamed Siad Barre administration, a large portion of Somalia (almost two-thirds) was set aside to the American oil giants like Conoco, Amoco, Chevron and Phillips. In January, 1991, the country went into war, and the Bush administration decided to send US troops to Somalia claiming that they will guard aid shipments.

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[195]Keith Yearman. **The Conoco Somalia Declassification Project,** 24 June 2007.http://narcosphere.narconews.com/notebook/keith-yearman/2007/06/the-conoco-somalia-declassification-project a.d (03, 05, 2016)

Interestingly, industry sources disclosed that some those American oil companies were hoping that the US troops would also protect their multimillion-dollar investments in there.[196]

In 1991, after the regime was ousted the power and the country entered to chaos and civil war was started which made all foreign companies to pack their items and get out of the country, but there is only one company stayed the country and that was one of the US oil companies which were permitted to explore oil and natural gases in Somalia and that was Conoco. According to Karamatullah K. Ghori the Houston-based Conoco for reasons they did not want to leave the Somalia easily because of largest investment of money in Somalia and their best friend George H. W. Bush was in white house at that time. Conoco bribed the civil war combatants to attack their huge compound in Mogadishu and they remained the city, they were expecting that there will be a time that they will regain or recoup their losses and that time will come whenever somalia recover from the civil war and restore peace and stability.[197]

In 1992, the US troops invaded in Somalia in a mission called "Operation Restore Hope", and Conoco's compound in Mogadishu became the operational headquarter of that mission, but the State Department insisted that they had leased with Conoco that their compound to serve as a new diplomatic mission and the State department would pay $ 41,260 for six month rent. The U.S invasion in Somalia was described as the restoration of the law and order, to a country devastated by anarchy as well as feeding the people of the country who were dying for starving. The reality of that mission was totally different, those US troops they invaded in Somalia to protect the interests of Conoco in Somalia, and the US troops were died and some

[196]Mark Fineman. **COLUMN ONE : The Oil Factor in Somalia : Four American Petroleum Giants had Agreements with the African Nation before its Civil War Began. They could Reap Big Rewards if Peace is Restored.**18 January 1993. http://articles.latimes.com/1993-01-18/news/mn-1337_1_oil-reserves a.d (04, 05, 2016)

[197]Karamatullah K. Ghori. **The Name of the Game in Somalia is Oil.** http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/15032002/1503200246.htm a.d(05, 05, 2016)

of them were dragged in Mogadishu streets, lastly, the US troops withdraw but the elite U.S oil companies are still hungry for Somali crude.[198]

The arrogant and colonial behavior of the US soldiers made them enemies of all warring Somali groups, especially Aidid. Dozens of them were killed in hand to hand conflicts, and Clinton decided to totally withdrawal of his forces from Somalia. The behavior of the US soldier and the debris of were buried the Conoco's dreams of striking rich in Somalia. Additionally, Bush sent a political tribune of his trust to deal the situation a diplomatic way and to pave way Conoco to get their oil gears out of the field.[199]

From1991 to 2006, the warlords and clan leaders failed to restore the country's peace and stability, so many reconciliation meetings were held in a lot of different countries and all of that were not successive to create a central government. In 2004, a reconciliation hosted in Kenya was establish a Transitional Federal Government, some of the warlords who were member of that government come back to Mogadishu and with the help of the US they created an organization called the Alliance for restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (APCT), after this organization was announced the Islamist groups who were in Mogadishu with the help of the civilians were opposed these organization and fight against them, the Islamic Court Union(ICU) managed to seized the capital city and they later controlled the most of the south and central of the country, and they restore peace stability.

In the late of 2006, a fifty thousand Ethiopian troops invaded in Somalia, and faced difficulties to progressive to their agendas' of the invasion in somalia, after they confronted much fiercer resistances than they had expected as Somalis of all strips put aside their differences to stand together against their long-lived enemy who invaded the country.

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[198]Keith Yearman, **the Conoco Somalia Declassification Project**. 24 June 2007.http://narcosphere.narconews.com/notebook/keith-yearman/2007/06/the-conoco-somalia-declassification-project a.d (03, 05, 2016)

[199]Karamatullah K. Ghori. **The Name of the Game in Somalia is Oil.** http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/15032002/1503200246.htm a.d(05, 05, 2016)

According to Rob Prince, Ethiopia were not expected to invade Somalia in 2006 accordance to the cable released by the Wikileaks, but the US administrations were bushing behind scene and encouraged/ pressured Ethiopia to invade Somalia to eradicate the Islamic court Union (ICU) who were getting stronger at that time in Somalia. The 2006 war in Somalia did not go as they were expected either US or Ethiopia. As the state department spokesperson Donald Yamamoto recently admitted that the entire idea was "a big mistake" indirectly, admitted that United states responsible for the invasion. The invasion of Somalia result a predictable political outcome, generally ousted the power from the moderate of the Islamic Court Union (ICU), but at the sometime, Islamic militant groups who are more radical and also openly anti-American agenda was replaced by the moderate Islamic Court Union in Somalia.[200]

[200]Rob Prince. **Wikileaks Reveals US Twisted Ethiopia's Arm to Invade Somalia in what appears to be another US proxy war.**8 December 2010.
http://fpif.org/wikileaks_reveals_us_twisted_ethiopias_arm_to_invade_somalia/ a.d (05 05, 2016)

Conclusion

Somalia is a country that is situated in the horn of Africa and got its independence in 1960. During the nine years of multiparty democratic system, until a military coup led by Major General Mohamed Siad Barre in 1969, Somalia managed to produce two civil governments formed by two democratic elections. The military accused the civilian government arguing that they were corrupted, unjust, and nepotistic. Also the military argued that the civilian governments signed some agreements which were against the unification of Great Somalia, a fundamental political theme of Somalia. Twenty two years of military regime that ruled the country, brought nothing but worse. The military performed even worse than the civilian governments on all counts that they introduced.

The military regime started to rule the country with a dictatorial system, and began to arrest anyone who they think was threatening to their ruling system. They suspended the national assembly, all opposition parties as well as the constitution of the country. The rule of the dictatorship began to oppress the people, arresting the politicians who were against their socialist ideology. The Somali civil government leaders were accused of corruption, nepotism and some other similar things that were easy to change, but in the military regime the civilians lost their freedom of speech and other civil and political rights.

The positive things that the regime accomplished during their time in power were adopting Latin alphabet which was more appropriated for the Somali language, fighting against ignorance, and making the country as one of the strongest military powers and developmental states in Africa. In 1977, the regime organized a war against Ethiopia which did not fully consider the consequences, the impacts and the nationwide affects. After the military government failed to conquer the Ogaden region, which was the main target, some military generals led by Mohamud Irro tried to stage a military coup but failed. Most of the attempters were arrested and later executed.

Some of the generals who managed to escape the country found shelter from Ethiopia and created rebel groups. The first military opposition was the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) which was founded by Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed in 1978, after the coup failed and the organizers were executed and this colonel created a military opposition against the government and started to attack the resident areas of the clans that belonged to most of the failed coup organizers. The military attacks that the government conducted against these clans caused the death of the thousands innocent people, rape and displacement of other thousands.

The second opposition was the Somali National Movement (SNM), which was founded in London in 1980s. These two military oppositions started to attack the military of the Somali government, and the government responded against these attacks by way of indiscriminate killings towards the clan peoples in their regions. In 1988, the SNM launched an attack against the government military and tried to conquer the Hargeisa and Burao, two cities situated in northwest Somalia, but the responses of the government military again caused thousands of innocent people die and hundred thousands of displacements. Thereafter, two other opposition groups joined the battle field of the country which was the United Somali Congress (USC) and Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM).

In 1991, these opposition groups finally managed to oust the military regime from power, but they did not come up with an alternative plan to save the country from chaos and disarray. Instead of building a government, the militias started to fight against each other and their fighting was based on cleansing the clan of the regime leader, and the country entered into chronic civil war that caused the death and starvation of hundred thousands, and the displacement of millions of people. In the rural areas, Somali people were always fighting for pasture area, livestock water resources, as well as for livestock robbery. Against these problems, however, in the end always a solution would be found without the need for taking recourse to any foreign reconciliation or foreign interference.

After the opposition overthrew the dictatorial government led by the Mohamed Siad Barre, they turned to each other to struggle for capturing the capital city to claim the control of Somalia, and that is how the civil war had started and spread to the whole country and resulted in extreme humanitarian crisis, including starvation, chronic outbreak of diseases such as cholera, displacement of millions of innocent people who fled their homes to the neighboring countries and became refugees. All these actions are the evidences that the opposition leaders lacked any clear plan after they ousted the military government from power, which was highly necessary to save the country from destruction.

The civil war of Somalia caused secession from the country in 1991 of northwest Somalia (Somaliland); which declared independence from the rest of the country. In 1998, the northeast of the country established state administration to achieve peace, security and public support in their territories, both Somaliland and Puntland managed to achieve significant degree of security in their territories, although there was a controversy or dispute between the two administrations in the areas of Sool and Sanag. The militia factions between the clans reached its highest level after the warlords of the clan internally turned against each other into sub-clans for struggling supremacy, and these sub-clan wars divided Mogadishu into so many parts.

In 1992, UN multi-military forces led by the US entered in Somalia for humanitarian aid and relieving famine; at least they reduced to relieve the famine and starvation but failed to restore the stability and security, after some series of battles against the warlords who were controlling Mogadishu. At that time the UN troops finally withdrew from the country and Somali civilians lost the hope of restoring the stability and peace in the country. So many reconciliation conferences between the warlords were held outside the country, mostly in the neighboring countries none of them succeeded, and the nearest one to succeed was the reconciliation effort that was held in Djibouti in 2000, and elected Abdikasim Salad Hassan as

interim president but the international community did not support him because they see him as a pro-Islamic figure. In 2002, during another reconciliation conference held in Embakasi, Nairobi between the Somali warlords, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed was elected as interim President of Transitional Federal Government (TFG).

In late 2005, according to Jeffrey Gettleman two CIA agents appeared in Mogadishu and provided the warlords money to buy arms and ammunition and gave them email to leave what they want. But the plan backfired, as the warlords announced an organization called Alliance of Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT), and they started to target the religious scholars. In 2006, after these barbaric actions the civilians and some religious scholars managed to prevail against the warlords and removed them from most of the country.

Islamic Court Union (ICU) then came out and restored the peace and stability of the south and central of the country. The ICU managed to unite the rival clans who were living in southern and central regions, and the people of those areas were feeling comfortable, peaceful and stabile. They also created at least an administrative system that protected the life of the civilians while earlier the lives of civilians were in constant danger, because the warlords and their militias were killing and robbing as they wished. The international community including the US was watching what the warlords were doing in Somalia and the neighboring countries were giving them arms and ammunitions while there was something called embargo of ammunition and arms in Somalia.

The operation that the ICU attained in Somalia deserves to be praised and not opposed, because the AMISOM I and AMISOM II led by the US failed to do the same operation which secured Mogadishu within a few months. After the people of south and central regions of the Somalia began to feel that they were protected from everything that was threatening to their life and they were freed from the problem that they had with the warlords, international

community including US backed Ethiopian military invasion in Somalia and also gave them military equipment and the African Union was sent to Somalia in a form of peacekeepers. All of these actions mean nothing but the postponement of Somalia people to resolve the issues among themselves because after the Islamic Court Union (ICU) controlled most of the south and central of the country the Government of Sudan tried and held a reconciliation conference between the TFG and ICU. Reconciliation did not succeed and each side blamed the other side for the reason that reconciliation not succeeded.

In the late of 2006, Ethiopian troops backed by the US invaded Somalia and they violated human rights by killing, disappearing so many innocent people, and raping women. Finally after the situation of the south and central became worse than before, the warlords took that area under control, Ethiopian troops withdrew from the country, and AMISOM was assigned to be the peacekeepers and since then there was neither peace nor stability in that area. The mandate of AMISOM was changed from peacekeepers to peacemakers.

According to the UNSOS report of 2015, AMISOM military are 22,216 troops from different countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Burundi, Djibouti and Nigeria plus 10,900 Somali National Army (SNA), the total number of the troops from that operations are 33,116 and the area that the operation is going on is almost the whole of the country. AMISOM troops are numerically are superior to Al-Shabaab and they are also better trained, well equipped and well paid. The international community and the EU backed them but they still cannot beat a small number of the opposition groups who are against them. That shows all of us that they are not honest in this operation and if you talk to Somali people about this they doubt that if AMISOM really wants to defeat Al-Shabaab in Somalia.

International community and neighboring countries do not need to build the Somali National Army (SNA), in order to control the country, to protect the borders of the country, to return

the law and order and to create peace and stability environment to Somali people. Since the 1977 -war between Somalia and Ethiopia, these neighbor countries did not want to see a stable Somalia and each of them created puppets in the country that were enforcing their agendas.

The people of the country worry about the independence of the country, and they argue that this country needs again to be freed from these puppets that act in the country on behalf of foreign interests. These puppets are also obeying the commands of the international community including those hostile towards Somalia and they try to keep the country in this critical situation while their citizens are the victims. Somalia politicians showed that when they call Ethiopia is a brotherly State of Somalia while all Somali people know that the only and historical enemy they have is Ethiopia and they will never be a brotherly state to Somalia.

Ethiopia is a land-locked country while Somalia is located on a strategic area for trade and it has one of the biggest shores in Africa. Ethiopia is struggling to get free access to these shores and want to install its puppets in every state in order to gain access to ports that it needs. Ethiopia wants to divide the country and rule it state by state and most of its plan succeeded, as we know Ethiopia and international community controls all the politicians in the countries and dictates what to do.

In conclusion, the operations of peacekeeping will not succeeded unless the Somali people support it. Since Ethiopia and Kenya are participating countries, the Somali people have scruples about these peacekeeping operations, because there is a fear that both countries serve only their interests and they benefit from the continuation of the civil and political strife in Somalia, including the civil war. The international community has to stop to interfere with the internal affairs of Somalian government.

The political leaders have to understand and do what the Somali civilians want and not what the international community and these self-seekıng neighboring countries want. The leaders of the country have to come up with a plan to tide Somalia over the current situation of instability, and to focus on solving its internal problems, and also to revise for their prejudicing of other countries which are not happy to see the restoration of the peace and stability of the country. Somali politicians are to be alerted against the traps of the historical enemies of the country and not to perform only the interests of these countries; they have to serve the interest of the country instead of their own interest and the hostile ones.

Final Notes

1. The current government or the one which will be elected in the late of this year 2016 has to establish a committee that analyze the problems of the country and come up with plans to create a genuine reconciliation between the clans of the Somalia without foreign interference.
2. Almost three decades of international intervention made Somalia to fail, so they have to stop interference with the internal affairs of Somalia. They are serving the interests of the Somali enemies but not the interests of the Somalis. They have to help Somalia to building Somali National Army that is capable of securing the whole country's borders as well as return of the law and order of the country, and able to protect the interest of the civilians and protect their people from every threat whether it arises from internal of external.
3. UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II led by the US have failed to establish peace and stability in Somalia, so the international communities should have learnt a valuable lesson from the previous peacekeeping efforts in Somalia and understand that AMISOM operation cannot restore the law and order and cannot create an environment of peace and stability. If the international community and the western countries truly need to restore peace and stability in Somalia as they claim, the only way to restore law and order and peace and stability is to train Somali military and give them the equipment that they require to restore the security of the country.
4. Somali politicians have to understand that they are the leaders of Somalia and they have to serve the interests of the country and have to perform their duties in the line with the Somali people expect from them. They have to understand Somalia is a sovereign country, so they have to come up with agendas which do not allow foreign countries to impose their interests on Somalia, as Ethiopia does.

5. The population of the country had to decide for the future of the country and the type of government they prefer, whether it should be federal government or central government. The people of the country should be considered as the fundamental pillar of the ruling system, and they should be given the chance to vote for their representatives in the government.
6. The government of Somalia has to come with a plan to refrain from being dependent on foreign aid, so it has to improve and foster the economy of the country by investing in the areas that the country's economy has relative advantages such as industrialization of agriculture, livestock and fishing, as well as build the seaports and the airports.
7. Government should know that depending on foreign aid, would not improve the situation of the country and the international community would dictate what they had to do and they would not have any choice but to develop the economic sources of the country.

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ANTI-PLAGARISM REPORT

Turnitin Orijinallik Raporu

Tez İbrahim Ali Abshir tarafından

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