

ATILIM UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MASTER'S PROGRAM

THE MILITARY COUP DE'TAT IN SOMALIA AND ITS RULE 1969-1991

MASTER'S THESIS

FATIMA SHIEKH MUKHTAR ALI

ANKARA-2016

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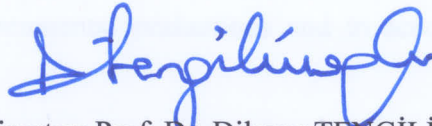
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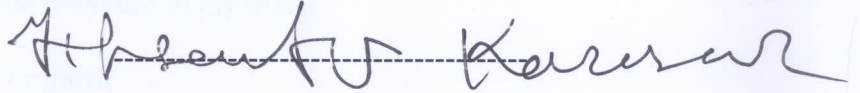
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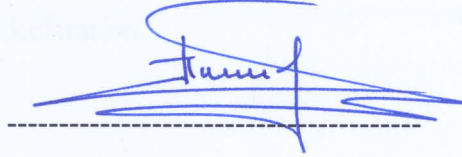
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- I prepared this thesis in accordance with ATILIM UNIVERSITY Graduate School of Social Sciences Thesis Writing Directive,
- I presented this thesis within the framework of academic ethics rules,
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16-06-2016.....

Name, Last name: Fatima Sheikh Mukhtar

## ÖZ

**ALI, Fatima, Somali'deki Askeri Darbe ve 1969-1991 Yılları arasındaki iktidar dönemi, M.A. Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü, Ankara.2016.**

Türkiye'nin Africa Kıtasıyla olan ilişkilerinin tarihçesi çok eskiye dayanmakla beraber son zamanda Türkiye ile Alt Büyük Sahra Afrikası arasında şimdiye kadar görülmemiş yeni bir etkileşim seviyesi gözlenmektedir. Türkiye'nin dış politikasında batı dünyası dışındaki dünyanın giderek artan önemi böylece başlamıştır.1990'lardan sonra Alt Büyük Sahra Afrikası, Türkiye'nin ilişkilerini yoğunlaştırdığı bölgelerden birisi olmuştur. 1998'de hazırlanan Afrikaya açılma planı, diğer planlara kıyasla Türkiye'nin alt büyük sahra Afrikasına yönelen dış politika inisiyatifinin katalizörü olmuştur. Başlangıçtaki hedeflere ve elde edilen sonuçlara bakıldığında Türkiye'nin, 1998 planından net bir başarı kazanmış olduğunu savunuyorum. Hem Afrika'nın milletleri ve hem de Afrika ülkeleri bazında.

Ancak, Türkiye ve Somali ilişkileri, 19 Ağustos 2011'de başlamıştır. Dört Türk bakan ve Türkiye'nin kültür ve iş dünyasının çok sayıda seçkin mensuplarından oluşan bir delegasyon Başbakan Sn. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan başkanlığında Mogadişu'ya gitmiştir. Ziyaretin resmi niteliğinin yanında gıda yetersizliğinin giderilmesi amacını da taşımaktaydı. O zamanlarda Somali'de günde 10,000 yetişkin olmak üzere 2.8 milyon kişi ciddi ölüm tehdidi altındaydı. Bazı bölgelerde kötü beslenme ve açlık oranı %38'in üzerindeydi ve bu durum, tüm Somali nüfusunun %20'sinin gıdasız kalmasına neden olmuştu. Durum o kadar vahim ve acildi ki, 1984'ten beri ilk kez birleşmiş milletlerde açlık ilan edilmişti.

### **Sözcükler.**

Türkiye Alt-Büyük-Sahra Afrikası, Türk Dış Politikası, Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri, 1998 Eylem Planı.

## ABSTRACTS

**ALI, Fatima, the Military Coup D'etat in Somalia and Its Rule 1969-1991,**

**M. A Thesis, Ankara, 2016.**

even though Horn of Africa relationship Turkey with continent have had a long historical an preference point, of communication is lately individual experimental involving Sub-Sahara Africa and Turkey, starting the mounting significance of non-western humanity in Turkish foreign strategy A part since the 1990s, Sub-Saharan Africa go round out to be one of the area anywhere Turkey strengthen Its relationships into the African opening plans that was organized the 1998 had been to catalyze into the Turkey foreign policy proposal toward Sub-Saharan African all the way through compare to a plans early objective by the outcome, I argued to Turkey get a apparent victory beginning its 1998 plan That to the African people also African state.

Although Turkey and Somalia relationship starting on the 19<sup>th</sup> of Augusts 2011 a designation collected of four Turkish ministers and more than a few member of Turkey's educational and trade most excellent compensated a trip to Mogadishu below into the management of Prime Minister Mr.Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. In adding to its administrator measurement the vacation was expected at bring food dearth, at the point in time 2.8 million people were less than grave was danger of death at a rate of 10,000, adults per days in Somalia. Starvation exceeds 38% a number of area which absent 20% of the complete Somalia people without food; the state of affairs was so sensitive that food crisis was stated in the stated nations for the very foremost time since 1984.

### **Keyword.**

Turkish Foreign Strategy, Turkey Sub-Sahara Africa, Turkey Africa Relation, the 1998 Opening Action Plan.

## **DEDICATION**

This Thesis is dedicated to my parents and all my family members and friends for their endless love, support and encouragement and also special dedicated my beloved Father.

*Dr. Mukhtar Ali Aadan.*



## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First of all, I thank **ALLAH** for inspiring me with strength and energy to achieve this modest study., A number of individuals have helped me to make this thesis normality without their encouragement material and moral support this work could have not been accomplished.

My deepest gratitude and appreciation go to my supervisor **Dr. Hassan Ali Karasar** whose unlimited patience and careful advice over the year have made this dissertation worthwhile experience in supervising I deeply appreciate everything he has done for me.

I am grateful to the **Dr.Sermet Cetin** and my beloved father **Mukhtar Ali Adan** for providing generous financial support for this work.

I also extend my thankful to my Mother **Amina Ali Ahmed** and my Aunts **Nurto Said Nucman** and **Hindiyo Aadan** who had the greatest role of being reaching this position and that in no doubt they made a difference in my life as a person and my community.

I am grateful my friends provided moral support, valuable backing and logistical support , **Na'ima Abdi Anod, Abdullahi Mukhtar Ali, Maxamud Axmed Ragge, and Abdikarim Isak Abdi, Abdisamed Abokar Dhaaha.** Deserve to be mentioned in this regard, there are also many friends and colleagues whose acquaintance provided immeasurable support and encouragement all thanks.

I am also grateful for the encouragement and assistant I received from all my **Family and brothers and sisters.** Shares much temperament with me.

Finally, I did save the best for last I am very grateful for my sister-in low **Shankaron Abbas Ali**, her firm and compassionate personality has affected me so many ways, the hardships and sacrifices she confronted for my wellbeing are surely un-compostable but will be remembered, and I also grateful for the encouragement and assistant my big brother Dr. Mohamed **Mukhtar Ali**

Last but not least only replacing my beloved father **Mukhtar Ali Adan** also instilling in me importance for an education for his encouragement and the peaceful atmosphere that he had given me during may study thankful my dear dady.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATION**

SRC	Supreme Revolutionary Council
SRSP	Somalia Revolutionary Socialisty Part
SSDF	Somalia Salvation Democratic Front
SNM	Somalia National Movement
USC	United Somalia Congress
DRS	Democratic Republic of Somalia
WSLF	Western Somalia Liberation Front
CSS	Council of the Secretaries of State
SNA	Somalia National Army
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
SDM	Somali Democratic Movement
SDA	Somalia Democratic Alliance
SMG	Somali Manifesto Group
OAU	Organization of African Unity
UNSOM	Unite Nations Deelopment Program
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
NFD	Northern Frontier District
UN	United Nations.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

Somalia is the part of East Africa called Horn of Africa; its population is 90% ethnic Somalia. Following the European (French, British, and Italian) and African (Ethiopian) colonization's the Somalia population found itself distributed into five different political realms; Italian Somalia, British Somaliland, the French coast of Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya at the end of the colonization period. This thesis discusses the decent and collective justice issues that the distraught Somali nation from 1969 until 1991, when the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) acted as the only political individual in the country. Two main aspect, moral principles and social justice that had been enormously undermined and physically abused by the state, plunge the Somalia nation addicted to Its in progress state of statelessness. Ethics and social justice is two interconnected subject that have been used interchangeably in permissible matter and in community association.<sup>1</sup>

By the side of with the intention of time Somalia, a country in the Horn of Africa on the border of Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean was feint by a forces regime that was headed by main general Mohamed Siyad Barre. for the period of the SRC's rule the concept of human rights, equal opportunity, justice and independence get trampled on by the revolutionary party therefore affect the lives of a homogeneous nation under enemy control primarily by nation whose livelihood depended on livestock breeding.<sup>2</sup>

proclaim independence and simulator-democracy in 1960, the first of its breed in Africa, after the amalgamation of the Northern British Somaliland protectorate and the Southern Italian colony of Somaliland, Somalia's political lack of restriction and deteriorate after the martial invasion of the 1969, 9 years into independent law into supporting countryside slanted in the direction of the armed ruling through of the unexpected killing of leader Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke. The succeeding overthrow orchestrate by means of martial law comprise twenty five

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<sup>1</sup> Adan Makina, "Supreme Revolutionary Council in Somalia: Harbinger of Social Injustice and Collapse of State institution", *Journal Wardheernews*, 2013, pp. 2-8, [https://d383x9er2dcb4o.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Somali-Supreme-Revolutionary-Council\\_Makina.pdf](https://d383x9er2dcb4o.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Somali-Supreme-Revolutionary-Council_Makina.pdf) (a. d. 19.01.2016)

<sup>2</sup> Githau Muthuma, "Clans and Crisis in Somalia," *The Guardian*, May 6, 2007. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2007/may/06/clansandcrisisinSomalia> (a. d. 19.01.2016)

martial officer lead into disintegration of the on advantage democratic and parliamentary institutions. The throw in the make dry of democratization and the stand up of militarism give labor to socio-political injustice that the integrated ethnic control, supporting irredentism, nationalization of personal institution, unnecessary dishonest practice, make the most of offices partiality as well as harassment of the clergy. Political opponent sense a rule rout out later than the unexpected leaving into the assassinate leader from the political distribution associate of the SRC determined to enormous comprehensive operation that resulted into the human rights violation. Leader Shermarke was gunned downhill through a close comparative on October 15, 1969 at the same time as on excursion to the north of the country.<sup>3</sup>

Although into the SRC spearhead enormous militarization and development of state economic structure on a grand scale in its initial years of governance, the sudden turn of political event in the country accelerated the collapse of state institutions, consequently spearheading the disintegration of social equality and decline of economic independence. Unethical running of state institutions by corrupt military faction primarily from the SRC and their instantaneous relatives who espouse militaristic and authoritarian leadership styles opened a path for an atmosphere of disobedience, distrust and insubordination. The absence of responsibility to the community brings about conflicting loyalty or conflicting responsibility remorselessly revolving into state of virulence. In this case the SRC was to responsibility for the justification of state dictatorship and propagation of out of control corruption committed in its name by state mechanism.

## **1.1 The Land:**

Somalia is in East Africa, sometimes called as Horn of Africa. Its neighbors include Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti. It has shores to the Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean as well. It has more than 600 thousand square kilometers of land.

### **1.1.1 Population:**

In the population, number there is different statistics although there is no accurate data collected after 1991 and the last cense was in between 7.8 million and 8 Million. Collecting data in a chaotic regions is not an easy tasks but the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) done

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<sup>3</sup> Adan Makina, pp. 2-8.

a yearly censuses in the whole regions of Somalia although it is not easy to refer as an accurate data. The report shows that the populations' growth shows a different year by year<sup>4</sup>.

### **1.1.1. Colonial Occupation:**

As historic people argue the opening of Sues canal encourages the expansion of European powers in the Horn of Africa in 1869, Somali were divided into three boarder regions under the rule of three British, Italy and French, while Ogaden region were hand over into the Ethiopian law later than the First World War.

#### **1.1.1.1. Independence:**

During 1960s, the two regions of North and South became independent and united in one unit of the Somalia democratic system as a result of the purpose to employment the association of all Somalia regions under the overseas direction. almost immediately after the independence Somalia took the democratically selected arrangement and united system, 1960 up to 1969 two ballot vote took place and two-president give up the control in a nonviolent way, but a martial revolution take place in the late of 1969, and the armed heads approach addicted to the place of work through strength, the reason in the rear the revolution was tribe organization abolition. The martial assert with the intention of the election empower in the tribe scheme and give the possibility used for the clanship, which afterward results more than hundred political part into form the sum of tribe authorizes representative.<sup>5</sup> The method of the evolutions and growth since into tribe scheme of the inhabitant's aggravation the place, one year later the martial announce with the intention the administration would be a federal government lined through the five upper martial cream of the crop in the control of the martial president Mohamed Siyad Bare

## **1.2. Background of Somalia**

To accelerate the support into autonomy, in the nine-year national management that goes behind the country's liberty, starting the 1960-1969 previous into martial law 1969-1991 didn't efficiently create realistic attempt into the association believable national services machines. That was following with additional two decades of the martial regulation as well as adjacent additional or fewer dysfunctional state machines by the war complex with the inadequate

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<sup>4</sup>UNDP DATA 1991

<sup>5</sup> UNDP, DATA 1991.

transitional administration, the general services in Somali residue inactive or quite almost nonexistent. The government fall down in the 1991 as well as the political confusion in addition to unrelenting war that followed contain cause Somali community parts go through starting massive disadvantage into human resources through death, intelligence people or older age into this system Somali gone its gifted national servant in the two decades advantage conflict with lack inside administrative expert and technical workers crossways the countries.<sup>6</sup>

Somalia was situated in Horn of Africa, with its hostile neighbor of Ethiopia, Somalia was under the brutal civil war for the last 25 years while mass of the local population were on move to the Gulf of Aden, Horn of Africa, Europe and America, to escape to undistinguishing killings and drought. The civil wars into the Somali with the succeeding fall down in middle administration and it's some association gone, Somalia become one of poor country in the Somalia citizens and world were alienated at this time civil wars took place, villages and city were arbitrarily bomb with the loot and essential armed forces when the health care, education and water, collapsed. Through 1998 the averages human being expectation of Somali was forty three years and the humanity speed designed for children's fewer than 5 exceed 25% previous into the wars Somali have one of lowly grown person literacy rated into the around the world position to be forward exacerbate with the continuous unsteadiness.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Lewis, I. M. **A Modern History of the Somali: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa** (2 Ed.). London: Longman 1980.

<sup>7</sup> *Somalia Human Development Report*, 2012, [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/242/Somalia\\_report\\_2012.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/242/Somalia_report_2012.pdf) (a.d.19.01.2016)



*Map 1: Somalia and Horn of Africa.*

The country was constituted from the alliance of the previous British protectorate and Italian trusteeship direction that the gain independence in 1960. On the other hand this state completely collapsed in 1991 after 30 years ushering into disjointed. Society, clan wars, gross violation of human rights, huge nation less crisis and the emergence of clannish and Islamic revolutionary. Paradoxically Somalia is the longest failed state in the contemporary era even through it was known as one of the early democracies in post-colonial Africa and was created under the assumption of unifying factors such as common race, language and religion. Somalia ethnics probable to be more than 20 million people are there scatter in four Horn of Africa

countries Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya. In addition more than one million Somalia lives in the Diaspora generally in Europe and Northern America.<sup>8</sup>

The history of the post-colonial Somalia state is usually studied in two consecutive phases. The first phase is known as civilian rule and begins in 1960 with independence and ends in 1969 when the Somalia army took over state power from the democratically elected government in a bloodless coup d'état. During this period the state was characterized by emerging democratic culture, low economic performance, scarcity of trained human resources and strong influence of the Cold War super power rivalry. The second phase known as “military rule” started in 1969 when the military took over the state and continued until its total collapse in 1991.<sup>9</sup>

During this period the military regime curtailed freedoms and banned all social and political organizations moreover the regime embracing and implementing rigorous socialist and nationalist programs developed close relations with the Soviets initiated the application of clan-loaded socialist programs. Consequently, identity politics based on political claims strengthened while Islamic revivalism received new impetus with the emergence of Islamic political movements strengthened after the execution of the Islamic scholars in 1975. Thus traditional pillars of Comeliness, Islam and clan were employed in combination or separately as the ideology of resistance to the military regime and gradually were pushed to extremism, fragmenting the social fabric of Somalia.

However the defeat of the Somalia army in the Ethiopian and Somalia wars into 1977-1978 was started the downfall of the Somalia state and withering of the basic tenets of Somalia nationalism. The “Greater Somalia” the implications of the war with Ethiopia were disastrous creating irreparable conflict between political elites and polarization of society into primordial lines. Clan attachments were excessively employed as the political tool for both the ruling clique and armed oppositions that finally collapsed the state in 1991.

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<sup>8</sup> *Somalia Human Development Report*, 2012, [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/242/Somalia\\_report\\_2012.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/242/Somalia_report_2012.pdf) (a. d. 19.01.2016)

<sup>9</sup> M. I. Lewis, *Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002, p. 20, [https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=IhFUR0QW8JAC&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=IhFUR0QW8JAC&source=gbs_navlinks_s&redir_esc=y) (a. d. 19.01.2016)

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The most important objects of this thesis is to appreciate and study the central aspect and challenge of the effect of military rule in Somalia through interested in account the most recent and continuing efforts in the easily broken state of Somalia of the source, process and state collapse and military coup. These subjects include in:

1. To examine the Supreme Revolutionary Council in Somalia.
2. Effects of military rule on the society and challenges to the regime.
3. The regime's foreign policy Somalia and the Arab world.
4. The implications of the Ogaden war.

### **1.4. Limitations**

There were a number of the problems in conducting to the researcher face some problems in the process of conducting this study; to start by, the active environment the security situation to the in attendance day in Somali, thing are for all time altering into span the little phase of time. Thus, had to the features from time to time few the sample writings. Next, the biased nature of the accessible literatures for the most part, information as the Websites, journalist and media is prone to particular, religious, political, or revolutionary regime bias.

### **1.5. Methodology**

I assume that the majority of the investigate learn resolve be inclined to use writing desk base study, import secondary information. In the retire parts, I include into the suitable in the two wide perspective to the examiner and study in the problem of lack of state security in my case study, in attendance day Somalia. I had moved out literatures under into the issue the disagreement, negotiation and involvement completely used with a focus on the Somali military understanding especially those connected to the post-colonial period. Since my focus is on the Organization African Unity and particularly on the most recent one, the African Union, I had left throughout every one the less important facts include Books, articles, papers, Journals etc. within adding together, unpublished functioning, periodical, discussion Journals, and in the internet's.

I include second-hand confrontational discussion investigation process in the way I try to appear in the deepness of the unreliable assumption and influence by admiration into the subject of the coup d'états intervention in part of Africa and continuing development in attendance day Somali. This have help me assess of the level to which these influence can moderately with the correctly make clear the place militarily coup d'état in Somalia.

I suppose I had try since a large amount a probable in to be impartial in the investigate to the special opposite viewpoint beginning side of the stakeholders which would to end with allow me to approach with an important educational labor. Dissimilar view there is resolute base under their natural source and the politicalization and ideological vision of the writer. Therefore, look at them make it motivating to contain an in detail thoughtful and inspect the reliability of unlike argument resting on the location in the part on Horn of Africa.

## **1.6 Definitions**

Somalia is countryside of 246,200 square miles; curve like figure seven approximately the Horn of Africa. The Indian Ocean lies off its eastern coast by way of the Gulf of Aden to the north. Recent estimate of the totality population be different from 8 million to 8.8 million soles. used for a lot of centuries the particular Muslim people have been nomadic tribe's pastoralist, herd goats, camel and sheep, in the semi-arid grazing land of come again is now Somali, the investigate designed for graze take them crossways modern limitations interested in the neighboring Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya as well. Even though herders may also produce up continuation crop, the north suffer starting extremes of temperature and low rainfall and Somalia agriculture is mostly experienced in the fertile Southern land connecting into the Juba and Shebelle river.

A decade before, a number of 25% the population was farmers, but 60% on the other hand there were pastoralists. Even though modern Somali has a growing town population similar to a lot of non-industrialized society, in the row between city and countries is leaky. Inner-city families often have heard in rural areas, and a lot of townswomen have spent fraction of their youth herding livestock. A large amount of the subsistence and cash economy is still based on the camel and Somalia poets celebrate the nomadic system of life which falsehood deep in the national culture.

The inquisitive figure of Somalia's official boundaries and the existence of a quantity of three million Somalia inside eastern Ethiopia and northern Kenya are due to the fragmentation of Somaliland through the "scramble for Africa" with the European power. The areas' geopolitical position completed it attractive both for strategies and commercial purpose especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1969, by the finish of the nineteenth century, France had annexed Djibouti and British colonial Kenya claimed Somalia country along its border

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORY OF SOMALIA UNTIL 1991

#### 2.1 Political Developments in Somalia after the Independence

Through the behind 1960 the administration be realize since ineffective furthermore dishonest with be present accuse of humanizing relationships by Ethiopia on the expenditure of its state pledge to pan-Somalia thoughts. Within October 1969 individual with the leaders guardian aggravated with tribe hostility assassinates of the leader. A only a quantity of being later on, at the same time as politician were busy with matter the succession in the armed forces under, General Mohamed Siyad get over. The innovative central body the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) name Mohamed Siyad Barre leader. He was directly related with the Soviet Union, his governments adopt as its ideology scientific socialism base on three elements, society development through self dependence, and modification the socialism based on Marxist principles and Islamic.

To grow of the economy, the administration launch a succession the extravagant run into program as well as well-conceived development project in Communications, Health and Education. The communalist governments sought after get better the position of minorities and women. After introduced the Somalia writing systems the 1972, the regime start a country-wide literacy movement.<sup>10</sup> Most of this activity has popular supporting. However, there are growing opposition to the rule among Islamic scholar in a Somalia and out of the country when an effect of the agreement for the Somalia writing of the Latin alphabet with the opening of the commandment with the intention of were see to there an disagreement by Islam rule. The Islam resistance is packed down through the armed as well as a numeral of Islamic cream of the crop is performing. Regardless of the original regimes' reputation, it almost immediately become obvious with the aim of Somalia experimentation by means of democratic state have broken in a moment following attractive more than president Mohamed Siyad.

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<sup>10</sup> M. I. Lewis, *Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002, pp. 24-95, <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=8552> ( a.d. 20.01.2016)

He eliminates on the countrywide congregation, balanced to the establishment, banned several appearances of the supporting relationship and positions a number of one popular officer with associated of the preceding regime into custody. In a while beneath Soviet subjugation, the government created to the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) which replaces, when the Supreme Revolution council power within the state. The Soviet Union which previously has a footing into the armed forces inside 1960 became the central foreign effective for the duration of the 1970s. Has equipped, qualified along with give expansion support in the direction of the Somali, which become further pro-soviet and its relationships by way of the United State become stressed. Within the near the beginning on 1970, the United State balanced support to Somali. Through the drop the Emperor Haile Selassie (of Ethiopia) during 1974 the supporting actives inside the province distorted.<sup>11</sup>

Mohamed Siyad continuous in the direction of thrust the innovative martial cream of the crop within Ethiopia designed for organizes more than of the country within the Somalia-inhabited Ogaden area. The 1977, Somali invade Ethiopia the hold up the Western Somalia freedom facade, Somalia revolutionary association support within Ethiopia with the intention of required after freeing of charge Ogaden and joining it by means of Somalia. For the meantime the Soviet Union and its partners, Cuba, Libya, and South Yemen, attempt ineffectively toward adjudicate involving Ethiopia and Somali. The constant thrust of the Somalia armed military along with their imprison of a good number of Ogeden required the Soviet Union to select side; its hack rotten each and every one armaments shipments to Somalis and provide Ethiopia with huge martial support.<sup>12</sup> By spring of the 1978s as an outcome the Soviet budge of the maintain on the way to Ethiopia, Somalia mislaid each and every one the country its have win gratitude to Soviet space control Cuba with Yemen troop. In November 1977s, Mohamed Siyad excluded the Soviet form Somalis. Abandoned through the Soviets, Mohamed Barre turned towards the west.

Since 1978 onwards he had established earlier ties through Europe and the United State while with Arabs country. Great amount of distant assist flows inside some of it into the appearance of the armed equipment. The crack involving Somalia's with the Soviet Union and

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<sup>11</sup> M. I. Lewis, *Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002, pp. 24-95, <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=8552> (a.d. 20.01.2016)

<sup>12</sup> Henry Bernstein, "Modernization theory and sociological study of development," *The Journal of Development Studies*, vol.7, Issue 12, 1971, pp. 141-160, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00220387108421356> (a.d. 20.01.2016)

the innovative association stuck between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia encouraged westerns nation in the direction of hold up Somali inexpensively and militarily. The United States result into start on found resting on a martial support agenda within Somalia was precipitate with the drop of the Iran, and Shah, the US's neighboring alliance within the Gulf. During swap designed for suspicious martial tools, Somali settled to supply the US by means of admission to Somalia port and airfield into Kismaayo, Berbera and Mogadishu, the last year of the Mohamed Siyad Bare government. The US, later on, decrease it martial and growth assist program while the government becomes ever more exploitive with involve with human being violation.<sup>13</sup>

Through the fall of Emperor Haile Salassie the 1974 political dynamic into province changed. Abandon with Soviet, General Mohamed Siyad government turned towards the West. Mohamed Siyad regimes enjoy many reputation and broad bottom of the support still for the period of this epoch, on the other hand their parts of struggle resist in the midst of martial and police force officer had into the Supreme Revolutionary Council. In 1979 the vice leader of the SRC was imprisoned and several prominent Supreme Revolutionary Council member be execute. Except the initial efficient resistance do not approach pending April 1978 following the military embarrassing overcome within the Ogaden. While a number of tribe officer prearranged an ineffective coup d'état, contemporary historical the Somali country and state into Horn of Africa has changed. A quantity of revolution organizer escape to the Ethiopia anywhere they prepared the primary resistance maneuver that comes to exist recognized when the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF). The groups have burly subsequent the middle and Northeastern region and were support as a result of Ethiopia and Libya.<sup>14</sup>

The society provides leader Mangiest of Ethiopia by means of a wonderful-haired chance to strike back against Mohamed Siyad for his sustain used for the Eritrean Liberation Front, the Oromo Liberation Front, Western Somali Liberation Movement, extra antagonism assembly within the Ethiopia. Intended for opposite his government Mohamed Siyad imprisoned some martial and resident cream of the crop with the removed a lot of other starting their duty therefore begins a circulation the favoritism. When the regime just the once base on a wide tribe

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<sup>13</sup> M. I. Lewis, *Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002, pp. 24-95, <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=8552> (a.d. 20.01.2016)

<sup>14</sup> M. I. Lewis, *Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002, pp. 24-95, <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=8552> (a.d. 20.01.2016)

hold up begin in the direction of rely resting on incomplete figure of clan which were careful trustworthy. Devotion to Mohamed Siyad replaces occupation requirement because principle designed for administration meeting. Through a smaller quantity capable social servants and martial officer touching addicted to position of importance, the problem of the direction deteriorate. This, in revolve, resulted in extensive disappointment.<sup>15</sup>

The difficulty is the complete inferior as a result of rule participation into financial actions such as banks and trade. Administration dishonesty jointly by means of favoritism, incompetence and a lack of responsibility consequence within aggregate inequalities across the nation. Itinerant Somalia whose society is democratic, establish the rising inequalities into Somalia culture were in particular difficult to recognize. Dissidents as of the clan of Northwestern Somali shaped a “Somalia National Movement” (SNM), the London and almost immediately received residence into Ethiopia figure; they might start on revolutionary interested in assault Somalia.<sup>16</sup>

During 1989, a number of clan within middle Somalia created their possess antagonism movement. The United Somalia Congress (USC) moreover recognized revolutionary basis into Ethiopia. In the mean 1980 administration and resistance actions were tribe base, when the power of the disagreement activities augmented, the administration retaliates with ruthless methods against country it supposed be proscribed with the resistance. The administration misses quite a few opportunity of settlement and the civilization become polarized addicted to tribe group. In the 1988, the SNM launch a victorious revolutionary assault adjacent to control military in the Hargeisa and Buramo within North. The administration armed forces present were clever to get back the two city merely through in huge strength as well as aerial bombardment. Far above the ground national wounded and the migration of refugee to Ethiopia additional estranged the North.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ahmed Samatar, *Socialist Somalia: Rhetoric and Reality*, London: Zed Press, 1998, p.137-140. Quoted in *World Bank Report on Somalia*, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTSOMALIA/Resources/conflictinSomalia.pdf> (a.d. 21.01.2016)

<sup>16</sup> Said S. Samatar, *Somalia: A Nation in Turmoil*, London: Minority Rights International Report, 1991. p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> Ahmed Samatar, *Socialist Somalia: Rhetoric and Reality*, London: Zed Press, 1998, pp.137-140. Quoted in *World Bank Report on Somalia*, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTSOMALIA/Resources/conflictinSomalia.pdf> (a.d. 21.01.2016)

The government attempted to undertake some reforms. It reintroduced cooperative system, adopted the innovative establishment and call intended for election. The resistance, on the other hand, didn't reliance the administration and sustained to combat in cooperation into the North and the central region. Through on finished the December 1990s, the disagreement has increase to assets Mogadishu. January 27, 1991 Mohamed Siyad government distorted. President Mohamed Siyad flees established and Mogadishu based in the southwestern area of Gedo. Following double deteriorating to recover control, he absents the state in the early on the 1992. Mohamed Siyad subjugated tribe rivalry, pits one clan adjacent to an additional as a method to hang about into control.<sup>18</sup>

## **2.2 Military Coup D'état in Somalia**

The collapse of the young democratic administration in the Somali is a disappointment in the Horn of Africa. Because in the post colonial efforts to establishment their territorial integrity, these countries have experienced difficulties. Somalia maintains parliament institution as well as an independent judge. These liberated institutions survive amounted into unsuccessful combat with Ethiopian and Kenya the come together of Somalia country all through on Horn of Africa. Obviously whether or not the killing of the leader Mr. Shermarke, was straight associated by increasing resistance, his loss bring problem into the country.<sup>19</sup> For the duration of the election in March, a follow of electors petition next to dishonesty there are surprisingly dismiss with the Supreme Court behind a respected Italian adjudicator have been retire.

The administration of the Mr. Ibrahim Egal positively seemed to be over reaching itself in it's to inclination continued in the control. Admittedly the electors system about invited the government to use repression. Although following the accusation of chains, there was small option of investment election intended for an innovative head which would have been established as fair. In the Somali, the leader has a number of very important administrative duties. Haji Muse, whose name was mention often as Mr. Shermarke descendant, was recognized as and relate of Ministers of center for a occupation with the military and police (since in the

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p. 134.

<sup>19</sup> David D. Laitin, "The political Economy of Military rule in Somalia," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 14, No. 3, September 1976. p. 452.

anti-Nkrumah revolution they work together).<sup>20</sup> This has provoked a popular movement against the ruling group to have deserted the system of fair play as the Somalia clan lost their admiration for them.

The innovative government would have been reformist. Fortunately mineral resources development assures original wealth to this very much poor land. Really this view might have tempted, Mr. Egal regime to cling to control. Other than the complete government needed overhaul and Somalia go back the democratic system could have taken a long time? Its value note to in Africa military rules tend to be an interval. The officers suitably chastened for their hubris are allowable reverse designed for their technological skill, while the officer observes that their accepted help has evaporated. The armed force in a lot of African state is into intelligence a choice control rather than the supposed supporting resistance. In the meantime revolutionize was the space in the middle of Somalia neighbors, the Horn of Africa. There was uncertain who would follow the some control in the appreciated although President Kenyatta of Kenya and old Emperor of Ethiopian when together country were endangered by interruption in Eritrean and Ethiopia secession.<sup>21</sup>

Also Kenya was instable with anti-Kikuyu (most important ethnic groups). Sentiments there were also secessionist movements in Sudan. In the middle of such uncertainties Somalia may have been lucky with its military leadership based on their Russian equipped army. While a worker of additional embassies was refuse consent to leave to that their office or to the go away, condition they were previously in the, Soviet diplomat have free association all through the resources. Political source disclose that it was originally unspecified to the martial takeover there was stimulated with the communist. Other than at the present there were unwilling to verify to the estimation. The Somalia military can't control with no the Russian advisor. As well as in that casing they might immediately had been responsibility their works.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> John Kamau, "How Kenya Avert War with Somalia," *East African Standart*, January 18, 2004, <http://www.somalilandtimes.net/2003/105/10518.shtml> (a.d. 22.01.2016)

<sup>21</sup> C. Legum and B. Lee, "Conflict in the Horn of Africa" *Journal of Peace Research*, September 1979, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 189-196, <http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/16/3/189.full.pdf> (22.01.2016)

<sup>22</sup> Ralph Hawkins, "Soviet Advisors' Role in Somali Army," *The Times*, October 26, 1969, quoted in [http://www.biyokulule.com/view\\_content.php?articleid=2250](http://www.biyokulule.com/view_content.php?articleid=2250) (22.01.2016)

The twilight by the rebellion the decision “Somalia Youth League” groups meet into stopped up congress and established Hajji Musa, when the party nomination intended for the empty government. Armed forces informer in the interior the conferences disclose that the Ibrahim Egal, the major minister, intent in direction of hurry throughout the elections at a in particular called summit of the National Assembly, troop went into the actions. They bounded as well as capture the police force head office, take more than in the radios position and department of Information’s, bordered added community building, and sever telephoned wires internal ,external Mogadishu. General Korshel, the police force commander, was supposed into include win his liberty, past capture, through guarantee polices hold into the revolution. Ibrahim Egal and his breakfront were round up down by temporary leader, Sheik Mukhtar. Ibrahim Egal is now beneath important protector inside his harbor house. An armored troop’s transporter block in previous entry, as well as an additional guard to the back.<sup>23</sup>

Troop have preserved off street approximately into residence. It’s extensively alleged in Mogadishu these days to the military encompass exposed, 500,000, shortages in a particular Governments description conduct Somali lubricate deal. This weekend President, Barre Commander into Chief of the military, with presenter the (SRC) meet the depress for the first point in the time. Into the officer society by the military command center, in outer edge of Mogadishu, President Mohamed Barre assurance in innovative government to the go on gracious relationships by neighboring country. Major Mohamed Barre isn’t attention, with a lot of observer in the actual control at the back the uprising. A groups officer of position of colonel-lieutenants, are thought to have been responsible for the preparation of the overthrow, except Mogadishu itself was existence running with captain and major who have took over dissimilar minister with come into view they have complete power.<sup>24</sup>

The expression of the political affairs there was to talk of national irredentism. Mohamed Hajji Egal the prime minister of Somali in 1968 and Prime Minister Mohamed Ibrahim Egal un belligerent head take offices in the 1967 July,5 straight away position concerning reduced the tension between Somali and it is neighbor which have resulting in the succession the assumed boundary war. Succeed in the effective out of a Djibouti and Kenya as lately previous months are

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<sup>23</sup> Ralph Hawkins, “Soviet Advisors’ Role in Somali Army,” *The Times*, October 26, 1969, quoted in [http://www.biyokulule.com/view\\_content.php?articleid=2250](http://www.biyokulule.com/view_content.php?articleid=2250) ( 22.01.2016)

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

conferred by Emperor Haile Selassie in difficulty the Ogaden wasteland of the Ethiopia. at the present every one of this effort had be sweep absent and it's appear probable what news warfare determination poisonous in the district which was agreed large planned importance through its location on the mouth of Red Sea crossways starting Aden. 15 of October 1969 a gentleman in the policeman's standardized shooting and murder the leader Abdirashid Ali Sharmake he was visit Anod region the excessive Northeastern parts of the countries, which had been confounded with a stern 2 years dearth's. It was the third political taking out in the East Africa that year.<sup>25</sup>

Powerful Mr. Ibrahim Egal, when of the offices and impressive him and others minister. The country given name was right away changing into the "Democratic Republic of Somali" a formulation to in Africa typically except not forever signify a purpose to move to the gone. It is not obvious whether there was some association relation the murder and the overthrow and the country innovative leader have completed small into lean their give, except the martial and police force officer have to praise Mr. Shermarke, an unchanged irredentist, and protected up Mr. Egal, the speaker.

But renews martial in the Somali is dreadful reports for the neighbor country, it's evenly unlucky intended for the Somalis people themselves, although a Soviet civil servant who was the behind the scene in support of the revolution thought that it.<sup>26</sup>The motive that continuous distraction of the country incomplete income keen on martial expenses, with no some actual expect of the battleground victory, be able to postpone Somalia unimportant opportunity of financial growth, a large amount have been completed of the deposit of uranium concerning 200 miles from the Mogadishu, so that still it is not clearing if determinate be commercially utilizable. In the mean time, Somalia financial system depend on top of the exports of bananas to Italy a buy and sell to have been complete extra not easy with the concluding of the "Suez Canal" The unpleasant countrywide produce workings outs about \$55 per capita, in adding next to the solid scratch standard the Horn of Africa. Despite abundant help from the East and West,

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<sup>25</sup> David D. Laitin, "Somalia's Military Government and Scientific Socialism," in G. Rosbery and M. Thomas Callaghy (eds), *Socialism in sub-Saharan Africa: A new assessment*, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California Press, 1979. p 29.

<sup>26</sup> <http://somalisufisam.wordpress.com/2011/03/16/history-of-somali-sufisam/> (a.d.23.01.2016)

by a number of estimating, Somali has established additional assist for each capita in the lastly decades than any states in the world.<sup>27</sup>

The countryside yet lacks schools, hospitals, water, home, education roads, port facilities, and the almost everything else. On everyday view in Mogadishu serve on the way to place the sight, but for those who are rich, the capital, and 200,000 people have to disburse pay money for a waters, time to time, form peddler who guide mules manner aluminum can throughout the full street.<sup>28</sup> He was himself remark in relation to 2 month ago to his instance was incomplete, that he has created peaceful. A number of gauge the affluence comparatively fast, and the coup maker might have been feel that was further than his reach out. He was as well exciting by corruptions or voting deception, although to unaccompanied occasionally had been sufficient into transport down an African system.

In some happening, he appears a lot of foreigner to be the competent man on prospect, and forever emerge as the original burly willpower be locate as not easy he did the reality of run the countries, complementary the interest of Somalia dozen of arrogant and aggressive clan, effective away a modus Vivendi by its neighboring, and judgment a number of means to the create it's sand and scrubbed, the feasible situate to living. The associate at the turn of the century, Said Muhammad Cabrillo Xansa led a 21-year battle against foreign colonialists in the Somali lands<sup>29</sup>

Followed by British airplane cruelly bombards his most important fortress on Tales in the 1920, and he died a little month later on, his martial armed forces in complete confusion. The president General Mohamed Said, Barre when he is recognized, is not any the smaller amount considered minister of contemporary Somalia independence. Martial overcome did not ruin the luster of this hero's feat. In the 1970s the Somalia was over again occupied inside a complete struggle, this time against the 'colonialist' Ethiopians in the Ogaden.

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<sup>27</sup> David D. Laitin, "Somalia's Military Government and Scientific Socialism," in G. Rosbery and M. Thomas Callaghy (eds.), *Socialism in sub-Saharan Africa: A new assessment*, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California Press, 1979. p 29

<sup>28</sup> Said S. Samatar, *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: The Case of Sayyid Mahammad Abdille Hasan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. pp.131-135.

<sup>29</sup> Said S. Samatar, *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: The Case of Sayyid Mahammad Abdille Hasan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. pp.135-138.

When in the casing of the president Mohamed Siyad Barre., there was early on and glorious victory follows eventually through overpower. Except into this conflict, present have been a chief dissimilarity. President Mohamed Siyad, Secretary-General , Somalia Revolutionary Social Part and leader the “Somalia Democratic Republics”, the manager of the country throughout this epoch, have not approach absent of the overpower while a brave. The importance the President Siyad Barre has be question quite than reaffirmed as a result of defeat. In April 1978, a number of ten months following the huge invasion of the guerrillas as of the Somalia democracy interested in the Ogaden wasteland, and follow their draw back into the Northern area, the command of General Mohamed Siyad Barre was almost topple.<sup>30</sup>

A figure of important officer at the back the attempt coup d'état established hold up as of military close to the resources; hundreds of miles from anywhere the military have retreat. Their achievement crystallized the profound division inside the equipped forces following their disadvantage at the hand of the joint Cuban, Ethiopian, Russian martial attempt. The leaders of the plot was Mohamed Cismaan Cirro, and one of his Lieutenants, Abdullah Yusuf Ahmed, eluded to Kenya and spoke out in public next to the leadership of Mohamed Siyad Barre whose, he claim, have in the slums of Mogadishu throughout of the attempt rebellion, and afterward had killed a lot of his enemy, whether or not they were involve. His unsuccessful overthrow is just the majority obvious pointer of the President supporting location, and through itself do not indication his tropical humiliation intended for the General Mohamed Siyad Barre.

The epoch between the two World war was one of grow agreement and power of the Somalia people, most important up to independence in 1960, whereas the years follow the 1978.<sup>31</sup> Collapse of the Ethiopian previous could well be an era of on the way out wish and chance. Even though a number of Somalia historians and patriot have sharp to unconstructive aspect of the Sayid's role that he build support by constructs alliance base resting on labor quite than by articulate a broader, a smaller amount clan-oriented foundation intended for Somalia

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<sup>30</sup> Abdisalam M. Issa-Salwe, “The failure of the Daraawish state the between Somalia clanship and State System,” *Paper presented to the International Congress of Somalia Studies*, Thames Valley University, London, December 1993. p. 301.

<sup>31</sup> Bereket H. Selassie, “Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa,” *Newyork Times Monthly*, 1980, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/9856956?selectedversion=NBD1745989> (a.d.23.01.2016)

patriotism, the mainly pressure in Somalia historiography adulate the supposed of the Ogaden war.<sup>32</sup>

### **2.2.1 The Regime's Foreign policy Somalia and the Arab world**

The relationship between Somalia with Arab world stemmed on the least from four major premises Firstly, the hold a common Islamic faith, Islam reached the Somalia coast before its reached Egypt Secondly, the geographical proximity involving Somalia and Middle East is close. Thirdly, commerce between the Somalia military coast and the Arab world exists for the long time. Fourthly, the birth of Somalia's nationalism and liberation struggle was very much to the Arab world, particularly Egypt. The Gulf countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, have been the recipients of Somalia livestock, and there have always been a lot of Somalia workers in these countries whose remittance back home played the important role in the local economy.

Somali become a associate of the Arab groups 1974 to support all these relations. On the whole the military regime did not make much use of this important relationship. Economic and financial assistance from Arab countries for the period of the military regime went into the pockets of Siyad Barre's family and cronies.<sup>33</sup> Egypt which was involved heavily in Somalia since the 1950s maintained a close relationship with the Military regime. Boutros-Ghali the previous Egyptian minister of foreign relationships who has later become the General Secretary of the UN was a consistent supporter of the military regime. His ill advice played a significant role in the Somalia crisis during the so-called, "Operation Restore Hope" Arab countries were unreservedly on the side of the military regime. For example while Siyad Barre forces were bombarding the Somaliland towns such when Hargeysa and Burco in 1988 and western human rights organizations were critical of these atrocities. Not single Arab countries withdraw its support from the government. In The fact that the Arab countries are by majority undemocratic and violations of human rights are common in their countries. Introduce these center countries

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<sup>32</sup> Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Read Tears: War Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1989. pp. 61-62.

<sup>33</sup> Said S. Samatar *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: The Case of Sayyid Mahammad Abdille Hasan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. pp.138-142.

gives us a image not only of the foreign policy of the regime but also the level of involvement of these countries in Somalia affairs and their diverse interests.<sup>34</sup>

Although it's not regards while the writer of the martial take over military leader, President Mohamed Siyad unspecified management of the officer who's depose the inhabitant administration. The innovative major stiff the Supreme Revolutionary Council install Mohamed Siyad at the same time as its president, the SRC under arrest in addition to in custody at the presidential fortress most important member of the independent government together with Igaal. The SRC prohibit supporting party abolished of the National Assembly and balanced the establishment the original government objective incorporated an ending to "tribalism favoritism dishonesty and misrule" Existing the treaty were to be honor other than countrywide liberation actions and Somalia amalgamation there were to the support. The state was renaming the Somalia Democratic Republics.<sup>35</sup>

### **2.3 The Implication of the Ogaden war**

The Ogaden war between Ethiopia and Somalia 1977-1978 occurred more than a 25,000 sq mile of Territory, mainly occupied by the Somalia tribes. Ogaden territory was a British trusteeship which was ceded to Ethiopia in 1948 after the integration and independence of Somalia in the 1960. Somalia laid claim to the land of Ogaden since Ethiopia had accepted the majority Somalia, inhabitation in the Ogaden it rejected the claims of Somalia and Ethiopia mention that like many further states in Africa it was a multi-national state endorses the limitations at the time of independence.<sup>36</sup>

Ultimately Ogaden emerged as abodes of contention between the two most important states the Horn of Africa as a result for Ethiopia. The ogaden conflict was a secessionist association while for Somalia it was as expression of its nationalism which aimed to integrate the people of Somalia starting point from Ethiopia and Kenya there for to analysis the mind of the problem, The Ogaden is necessary to understood the political dynamics of Ethiopia and Somalia

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.17

<sup>35</sup> Said S. Samatar *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: The Case of Sayyid Mahammad Abdille Hasan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. pp.138-142.

<sup>36</sup> Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears: War Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1989. pp. 61-65.

the two parties in the fray.<sup>37</sup> The Ogaden conflict precisely for the reason that the Ogaden province of the Ethiopia be mutually the major reason and location of equipped disagreement in relation to 200.000 square kilometers, 125.000 square miles' in amount the Ogaden is mainly wasteland simply thorn plants thrive and subversive water is most important resource of the existence except for productive better downstream basin anywhere the imperfect inactive being exist. It is unproductive and dreary land scope of level topped hill and waterless plains that steep-slope southward starting with Harare region of Ogaden platters height 2.000 meters and make bigger to the Somalia boundary in anywhere the elevation drop to 500 meters to the west, the Ogaden is bound with the river Shebelle which separate it starting the agriculture area of Bale, supposed to the arrangement of the Oromo people but the southern part of which are as well in habited by a Somalia population that comprises many clans, on the whole the WSLF (Western Somalia liberation front), during the guerilla of the conflict didn't have the heavy weapons required to breach the defense of the Ethiopia garrisons and contented themselves which preventing the Ethiopia soldiers from venture out of their stronghold to protection however the invasion by the Somalia regular army in July changed this dynamic and many garrisons including the airfield at Gedo quickly fell to the invaders it seemed likely that the insurgent with the addition of direct Somalia assistance would succeed in an nixing the Ogaden region into the Somalia republic.<sup>38</sup>

Large Soviet and Cuban involvement swigged the balance of forces in the Ogaden back in attitude of the responsibility and insurgent receive comparable levels of the assistance from their respective, supporters. The course of the civil war during this phase underwent revolutionary transformation. The WSLF, strategy unit formation and general conduct involved into patterns characteristic of conventional conflict. In response, the responsibility ceased countering urgency operations again the WALF, and engaged them in major conventional confrontation, before ultimately defeat to the insurgent at Harar and Jijiga.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Read Tears: War Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1989. pp. 65-70.

<sup>39</sup> David D. Laitin, "The Political Economy of Military rule in Somalia" *the Journal of Modern Africa Studies*, 1976, pp. 449-468. (a.d. 24.01.2016)  
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=2564612&fileId=S0022278X00053519>

In the 1977 Somali invaded Ethiopia hopeful to seize the Ogaden, and Ethiopian region predominantly populated in ethnic Somali's. Histories of this event are unusual and focus completely on the political and martial aspects the conflict. This is not surprising given the Cold War back fall of the conflict. This article, however, shifts the focus away from the political toward the personal. Focus here is on the different roles Ogadeni women took up in the Somali-Ethiopian war, also known as the Ogaden wars".<sup>40</sup>

Through interview the previous actors in the conflict become clear that women occupied a range of roles in the war, varying from victims or care-givers to active participants in militias and front-line combat. In conflict today, Somalia women still retain many of these roles. Moreover a number of Somali's did opposes this condition of affairs, today most appear to have accepted the phenomenon of female actors in the Ogaden war, even though that approval can be connected with a political agenda. Both Ogadeeni and Somali women were active in the war, transcending Somali clan lines along the way. Accounts of the women dialogue to illustrate the effect of the option to participate in the Ogaden combat.

The Horn of Africa approximately covers a region of two million square kilometer and is frequently understood in the direction of include Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Somalia. It's a region environmental area declining inside that Horn-Shaped portion the North-Eastern African to protrude interested in the Indian Ocean, accurately similar to Horn Africa. The Kenya, Sudan, Red Sea and Indian Ocean are significant national of that planned area. Horn of Africa had incompatible educational and religiousness' society and have be a ground of continuous equipped clash meant for a lot of decades previous toward the Ogaden conflict. These clash roots within historical and natural features have be motivated through external involvement for numerous years and in the 1970 as a result of the called "superpower" on compassion issue basic the Ogaden Wars, into Horn of Africa lied, three legacies of the history Europeans royally law Somalia "Irredentism and Superpower" involvement or penetration, by Ethiopia as the most important:

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<sup>40</sup> David D. Laitin, "The Political Economy of Military Rule in Somalia," *the Journal of Modern Africa Studies*, 1976, pp.449-468.  
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=2564612&fileId=S0022278X00053519>  
(a.d.24.01.2016)

### **2.3.1 The legacy of the European Colonial rule:**

The majority of African states are international, non-natural creations for the most part the creation of the European move quickly for the Horn of Africa in the 1880s. The royal power alienated the popular into the territory there are claim for the most part for their possess administrative expediency in general ignore pre-colonial community or supporting Organization and arrangements. As consequence, throughout the imposing era. African citizens of the especially different culture were unnerved collectively in innovative political affairs contain national.<sup>41</sup>

### **2.3.2 The legacy of Somali Irredentism.**

These might be rate when single the majority central of the Three legacies it's track right to the Somalia citizens are not the only one separated awake addicted to country claims with disparity colonial power.<sup>42</sup> primary in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, royal leader Menelik of Ethiopia take profited of European opposition to expand the boundaries of this territory at the expenditure of the Somalia communication, to the people of Ogaden, The ultimate separation of borders connecting Ethiopia and the European royal power compulsory an simulated division between personally associated Somalia people who never recognized the power of the colonizers. Ethiopia power over the area, forever unsubstantiated was disrupted throughout Italian invasion of Ethiopia (starting Eritrea and Somalia) during the middle 1930 follow by British freedom and assignment. The going away of the British beginning the Ogaden into 1948, and its following re-occupation as a result of Ethiopia with no owing stare into desires of the neighboring Somalia twisted the Horn of Africa, a determined region the argument.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> I. M. Lewis, "The Politics of the 1969 Somalia Coup," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 10, issue. 3, October 1972, pp. 383-408.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Robert G. Patman, *the Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa: The Diplomacy of Intervention and Disengagement*, London: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 415-417.

### 2.3.3 The Legacy of Superpower Completion and Intervention

Though a significant root the marital and provincial conflict the Africa, an innovative measurement was extra throughout the cold war. In the 1970 with 1980 the two main world blocs were a great deal caught up, at the bottom of patrons in Horn of Africa. In the procedure of pursue, they well thought-out their possess very important the superpower contribute to increase an area weapons contest. It is the standard throughout these eras that the Soviet and the American to confirm every one, Ethiopian and Somalia try outwit one an additional, one mainly unconstructive effect intended for in Horn of Africa was the ruin at the present recognized in the name the Ogaden conflict in the 1977-1978.<sup>44</sup>

On compassion of issue that motivate the Ogaden combat present be the Three legacies specifically European colonial law, Somali irredentist claim and the superpower's participation and involvement into the Horn of Africa. Other than the conflict in addition was owing to grave in choice decision Somalia selected. As attacker, Somali perception be precise simply by respects into continuation of a limited control inequity, about prediction of the outside hold up intended for its irredentist claim, Somali overrated a quantity at latent Western supporting and underestimate a probable strength of Soviet and Cuban supports designed a Ethiopia. Here are extra area confined and intercontinental factor to contribute the outbursts into disagreement in addition precisely amongst there were the household insecurity of Ethiopia, the increase of the Somalia control, and the unclear signal as a result of western country relating to possible support designed for the Somalia<sup>45</sup>

Although concentrated labors commencing the soviets UN, OAU and US, to hold downward them, the Somalia's would not be in agreement to a nonviolent resolution of the fight. This expensive conflict did not achieve a goal any concrete activist product since remote as the Horn of Africa it is anxious. Indeed in the extensive sprint it's contributes the fall down of Somali government the 1990 situation, yet right as this printed the 1997. Basically, Ogaden and other borders issue involving Somalia, Ethiopia and other regional fellow citizen remain

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid,17

<sup>45</sup> M. Abir, "Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa," *Cambridge History of Africa*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 537-577.

unresolved a quantity of Nineteen years after the Ogaden wars. The clash can be view as a worthless calamity intended designed for citizens in the Horn of African. <sup>46</sup>

## **2.4 The Rise and fall of Mohamed Siyad Barre**

In 1969, General Mohamed Siyad Barre, a member of the sub- clan of Somalia of Darod seized power in a martial revolution and renames the states the Somalia Democratic Republic, base taking place systematic communalism. This successfully aligned the nation by the Cold War in the Soviet Union. He outlawed clans and their structure, but concentrated political power in his Sub-clan his maternal Ogaden sub-clan and Dolbahante Sub-clan of this principal son in law.

The political cabal based on clan patronage and lineage was known by the acronym MOD for Marehan ogaden- Dulbahunte in political circles in Somalia. The initial stage of Siyad Barre rule may be described as period characterized by a concentration of problem such as local development and the consolidation of the regimes. Political exclusion of other clans and a crackdown on the religious establishment soon became a source of conflict between the regime and those excluded from the mainstream politics, economics and social spheres of the country. The sense of discontent and frustration was by no means limited to members of the non-clans.<sup>47</sup> Other sub-clans within the Darod clan also experienced frustration mainly due to political marginalization by the dominant MOD cabal.<sup>48</sup>

Discontent with the Supreme Revolutionary Council completed it accomplished cleared the Major President Mohamed Siyad speech was rule and brooked no defiance or disagreement, Repression within the ruling cabal was also prominent as indicated by the public execution of two general accuse of machinations to the overthrow Mohamed Siyad government in the 1972s. The execution of ten religious leaders in 1975 had wider and more serious repercussions and touched a deeper nerve in the Somalia society Said Barre's failure to respect the institutions of Somali's Islamic faith contributed to the general public's resentment of the regime thus it became more and more alienated from society. When Siyad Barre assumed authority in the 1969s, he declared that his systematic communism was fully compatible with the Somalia

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ali A. Abdi, "The Rise and fall of Somalia Nationalism: from Traditional Society to Fragile Nationhood to past State fiefdoms," *Horn of Africa Journal*, vol, 3 (4). pp. 35-72.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

Islamic value system even though his activities almost immediately prove the contrary. The period leading up to the 21 October coup by General Mohamed Siyad Barre was characterized by the ideological nature of the then parliamentary system, which was largely secular and was also characterized by the shifting pendulum of clans and pan- Somalia nationalism.<sup>49</sup> It is important to point out that the weak government of second president of Somalia Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke bears the hallmark of a failed state typified by corruption, nepotism and clan loyalty and patronage the post-colonial state formation and consolidation was another contribution factor leading to General Siyad Barre seizure of power.

During the era when the majority of the former colonial territories became independent in the first two decades after world war II. These underlying problems of state maintenance were largely marked by the assumed universality of statehood and by the continued ability of hegemonic powers to intervene when their interests were threatened the former colonial powers chose not to intervene and prevent General Mohamed Siyad Barre from seizing power from the democratically elected government of the president Sharmarke forcefully since their interests were not threatened by the Junta. Siyad Barre promised economic development and national unity by espousing the ideology of “Scientific Socialism” and by outlawing the nation of clan and political Islam He took measures that led to the radical regimentation and militarization of the Somalia society and the imposition of secularism. Supporting and financial power were mainly within the hands of MOD to the exclusion of the other clans. This did not resonate well with the excluded clans and settled the stage for continued confrontation along the clan divides.<sup>50</sup>

The military regime was challenged by non-clans clan and Islamic leaders, driven mainly by the exclusion policies of Mohamed Siyad Barre’s military regime Said Barre then launched the Ogaden war as a means of reasserting his political grip, while exploiting the Somalia’s desire to achieve the ideal of a greater Somalia which encompasses Djibout, Ogaden, Somaliland, the NFD of Kenya and southern Somalia. The desire to reunite the country on this basis was a common denominator among the Somalia. The turning point against Siyad Barre’s military

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<sup>49</sup> Ali A. Abdi, “The Rise and fall of Somalia Nationalism: from Traditional Society to Fragile Nationhood to past State fiefdoms,” *Horn of Africa Journal*, vol, 3 (4). pp. 35-72.

<sup>50</sup> M. I. Lewis, *Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002. p. 347.

regime was the overcome in the Ogaden wars in 1978. It led to a national introspection about the higher number of casualties and the resulted in increase questions about the legitimacy of the Mohamed Siyad Barre regime”.<sup>51</sup>

## **2.5 The Collapse of the Central Government of Somalia.**

In the 1960s Italian Somalia and British Somaliland gains autonomy beginning their colonizer and connected collectively type the Republic of Somalia. Coup d'état in the 1969 lead with the president Mohamed Said Barre, conquests of the independent regime to the rules Somali given that freedom. General Mohamed Said Barre leave on the take authority and recognized a repressive martial despotism. He was reined for the 21 years pending 1991 after Somali rule collapse with statelessness ensue. In the 1970s in the effects of the Soviet Union, general Mohamed Said Barre changed is martial despotism into a communist single”.<sup>52</sup>

Complete level middle preparation pursue below in the government strategy of “Scientific Socialist” brutalize of Somalia citizens. The government’s slaughters civilian who pose threat the government strategy otherwise political authority use coercive threats into the generated fake supporting intended for its behavior with compulsorily relocate other the additional in the political or economics finished off the president Mohamed Siyad with an associates. “Together in the town inhabitants as well as nomad livelihood a country side there were treated with the summarily killing, illogical capture custody into the equalizing condition, to torment raping cripple, constraint on the liberty the association groups expression, in addition to a outline of the psychological warfare threat” (African Watch Committee, 1990s).The government mercilessly suppress liberated of articulation as well as restricted every one form of in order accomplishment Somalia.(Only one was formally acceptable with the States), televisions or radio that were completely suppressed as well as disagree in a some forms of restrain by power”.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> A. A. Mohamoud, *State collapse and post-conflict development in Africa: the case of Somalia (1960-2002)* Chicago: Purdue University Press, 2005, p. 47-50.

<sup>53</sup> African Watch Committee, *Somalia: A Government at war with its own people Africa*, New York: African Watch Committee Report, 1990. [https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/Somalia\\_1990.pdf](https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/Somalia_1990.pdf) (a.d.25.01.2016)

In Somalia National Security rule become a capital offense, twenty others essential civil liberty relating speech association and organization also accepted the death punishment. The government invested aggressively in to structure its martial structure of the household oppression. The States be created a top intricate police force team call the “National Security Service” but the paramilitary part called “Victory pioneer” both had legal discretion into hold attack kills and torture at the state’s order. The created a twofold terrible effected for the growth in Somali. Other hand over it gone a small number of capital used for asset into the community good, like, transportation infrastructure, health, educations and communication. It is particularly so in countrified area anywhere the majority Somalia lives other hand General Mohamed Siyad, martial despotism eliminate some leftovers the control into the government premature capability, and repeal in a establishment and every part of autonomous check. There is no election meant for some political position every one selected as a result of leader, Mohamed Said. The martial containment prevents accepted revolution. Ever disagree during liberated look was eliminate. Administration was allowed lenient the pillage and abused people intended for the ending of political rules.<sup>54</sup>

The state was notoriously corrupt and violent, political actors and bureaucrats abstracts the state funds extorted and murdered weak portions of the inhabitants and engaged in aggressive asset strips of the state-owned firms. As the UN development program characterized “the 21-year regime of major Mohamed Said Barre had one of the worst human rights records in Africa.”<sup>55</sup> In the 1975 all ground is public sector down by way of almost every one main industry and economics division. These facilitate government capability the expropriated citizen’s material goods on behalf of the state projects like massive state-operated farms and for politico’s personal use.

Unpopular alternative groups such as the Gosh there were particularly easy prey. In the 1970 and 1980 Siyad Barre expropriated Gosh occupied land to create state-owned irrigation schemed that the benefited his partners. Furthermore his minions expropriated land for their particular use making Gosha serfs on their be the owner of property. The government control of production in Somalia created inefficiencies like in the Soviet Union. Between 1984 and 1988,

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<sup>54</sup> A. A. Mohamoud, *State Collapse and Post-conflict Development in Africa: the case of Somalia (1960-2002)* Chicago: Purdue University Press, 2005, p. 50-54.

<sup>55</sup> Peter D. Little, *Somalia: Economy without State*. London: International African Institute, 2003. pp.121.

for example the government owned Kismayo meat factory was open only three months per year, and the government also owned tanneries. Government also remained involve in most other important economic<sup>56</sup> sectors. Livestock and pastoral-product exports have long been critical to Somalia's economy. In the 1980 Government limited import or export and introduce a confusing selection off system. Foreign swap control was in addition severe, in the 1980s. The State curved in the price rises the economics its dishonest and insolvent project between 1983 until 1990, standard yearly reduction in the Somalia money next to the Unite State was above 100%, the early 1980, saying a provisional spiked in the government's expenditure in the material like educations and healthy, but in the late 1980 the heaviness the almost 20 years out of the controlling dishonesty, oppression and government controls have summary Somalia interests states into dreadfully law of level.<sup>57</sup>

Well previous to the government fall down of undeveloped financial system was in mess and undernourishment, hunger that were general position, Samatar, 1987 until 1980 Somali have one of the lowly per capital caloric in takes in the worlds. On the finish of decades government's used up less than one percent GDP an economics and societal service, whilst martial and government consumes 90% of the state whole consumed with expenses. Government's consistently used state resources to privilege members of Mohamed Siyad Barre's clan at the expenditure of others. Said Barre regime awards certain client groups special access to arable land and water, Indeed the Somalia case is a good example of ethnic and clan favoritism where private land-grabbing in the Juba and Shabelle valley favored the late president's clan the Marehan, while alienating other groups. The fall of the Mohamed Siyad Barre regime in 1991 had unintended consequences on the Somalia state institute to the fall of a government does not necessary signal the collapse of state in democratic societies?<sup>58</sup>

The basic supposition in that threat of state collapse unsurprisingly arises in countries in which the preconditions for state formation and maintenance were most uncertain in the first place and derives from the relatively recent supposition that the entire world should be divided into states. When Mohamed Said Barre takes hold of power in a military coup in 1969, the

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<sup>56</sup> Peter D. Little, *Somalia: Economy without State*. London: International African Institute, 2003. pp.125.

<sup>57</sup> Gary D. Payton, "The Somalia Coup of 1969: the Case for Soviet Complicity," *Journal of Modern Africa Studies*, vol, 18 (3). pp. 493-508.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

Somalia state was nine years into its formation with visible structural weaknesses. The military government destroyed even the rudimentary structures of functioning state such as the legislature, judiciary and the civil Services.<sup>59</sup> Thus, it can be stated that the states collapse was triggers when the Mohamed Said Barre government fell in 1991 when the Somalia state collapse in 1991, there was no redoubtable political formation capable of filling the vacuum left by the weak government of Mohamed Siyad Barre. The country was fragmented in terms of clan extraction and patronage and the devastating dearths and ensuing famine introduce food security as a source of conflict.

Another part consistent with the concept of a stubborn conflict concept was introduced, change goalpost in the life cycle of such a conflict. A lack of political vision and the politics of exclusion became the ingredients for the current civil war in Somalia. The absence of a political formation capable of channeling the annoyance of the Somalia to change the disagreement resentment of the Mohamed Siyad Barre regime constructively was another factor in Somalia".<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> US Library of Congress, *Country Studies: Somalia*, 2006, <http://countrystudies.us/Somalia/> (a.d.26.01.2016)

<sup>60</sup> US Library of Congress, *Country Studies: Somalia*, 2006, <http://countrystudies.us/Somalia/> (a.d.26.01.2016)

## CHAPTER 3

### SUPREME REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL IN SOMALIA

#### 3.1 Supreme Revolutionary Council in Somalia

The ethical and social justice issue that afflicts the Somalia country beginning 1969 to 1991 when The Supreme Revolutionary Council “SRC” take action as the only supporting element into the country, two most important aspects: Ethics and Social justice that have immeasurably destabilized and ill-treated with the situation, force in a Somalia state the pits in progress state the nongovernment. Ethical and community impartiality there is two consistent subjects those had been used interchangeably in legitimate matters within the societal association. On the time Somali, country the Horn of Africa boundary, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Indian Ocean and Red Sea and the rule as a result of a martial government that was headed by President Mohamed Siyad Barre. For the period of SRC’s elevation of power the concept of human beings equality, justice, and liberation got compressed primarily by means of peripatetic citizens whose source of revenue depended resting on domestic animals rearing.<sup>61</sup>

Proclaiming autonomy and a pseudo-democracy in the 1960s, the first of its type in Horn of Africa, following the unification of the Southern Italian dependency of Somaliland and Northern British Somaliland, Somalia’s political autonomy was UN proportion after martial takeover in the 1969. 9 years into the democratic law, the political countryside turned to martial law by the unexpected murder of leader Abdirashid Ali Shermarke. The subsequent overthrows masterminded through a military rule comprised 25, martial officer led into disbanding the earlier democracies and parliamentary institution.<sup>62</sup>

End the democratization and the increase the military give labor with social political injustice so as to include ethnic control, political irradiating, nationalization on the personal institution extreme dishonest practice, mistreatment the offices, partiality harassment the clergy political opponent, sense a rule space behind in the unexpected leaving the assassinate leaders

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<sup>61</sup> Adan Makina, “Supreme Revolutionary Council in Somalia: Harbinger of Social injustice and Collapse of State Institution,” *Journal Wardheernews*, 2013, pp. 13-22, [https://d383x9er2dcb4o.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Somali-Supreme-Revolutionary-Council\\_Makina.pdf](https://d383x9er2dcb4o.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Somali-Supreme-Revolutionary-Council_Makina.pdf) (a.d. 19.01.2016)

<sup>62</sup> Adan Makina, pp. 13-22.

from the supporting band, member of SRC resolute to enormous comprehensive operation that this resulted in human rights violation.<sup>63</sup>

The Supreme Revolutionary Council in addition give precedence to prompt economics and community development throughout accident programs efficient and responsive administration and conception of a ordinary on paper figure of Somalia as the country's solitary spokesperson language. The rule pledge continuation of area détente in its strange relationships with no renouncing Somalia claim to uncertain territory. The Supreme Revolutionary Council domestic agenda recognized when the First agreement of the Revolution appear in the 1969, alongside with the rule numeral one enable gadget promulgate taking place the day of the armed occupation to primary contract provide that institutional and ideological structure the fresh administration, the rule assign to the Supreme Revolutionary Council all function before perform as a result of the leader, the national meeting with a committee the minister a lot of the duty the judges.

Responsibility of 25, associate martial rules that the managerial groups to completed decision plus have accountability of devise and implement strategy. Events were base on majority take part in an election other than contemplation hardly ever was available. SRC member assemble in specialized committee to direct administration operation in known area. A subservient, fourteen man a top secret that the called "Council Secretary of State" function like a breakfront with a dependable designed a day to day government's action, even though it's lack supporting control. The Council Secretary State consists for the majority element of civilians except until 1974 numerous type ministries were head by martial officers who were contemporaneously member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council. In 1960 the era of colonialism in Somalia would end the British Somaliland and the trust territory of Somali united and formed the Somalia Republic "although inside borders haggard by means of Britain and Italy. The new regime was created by members of the former trusteeship and protectorate establishments. The first elected Somalia president was Aden Abdulle Osman (Aden Adde) and the first elected National Assembly consisted of 123 members with a Five-year term, representing both territories. A new constitution was ratified by referendum.

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<sup>63</sup> George James, "Somalia's Overthrown Dictator Mohammed Siad Barre, is Dead," *New York Times*, January 03, 1995, <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/01/03/obituaries/somalia-s-overthrown-dictator-mohammed-siad-barre-is-dead.html>

This period from 1960 to 1969 was the only time in Somalia historical where democratic procedures took place and government succession occurred peacefully practically, the governments of that period had a difficult task since the two united territories of the north and south had two separate organizational systems left by Britain and Italy respectively which made unity process considerably slower. Furthermore, the country was in a dire economic state and clan rivalry had magnified significantly.<sup>64</sup>

A counter weight of this situation was the goal of national amalgamation through the government promotion of greater of Somalia through the main context of Pan-Somalis. This idea resonated with the people and even became the symbol of the national flag. The five point star indicates five Somalia two independent and united in 1960s, and three that were parts; French Somaliland, Ethiopian Somaliland and Kenyan Somaliland. On the other hand this vision was the reason for a new round of disputes between Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia over the Somali-inhabited areas of the last two countries. The failure of two consecutive governments to fulfill this vision of Pan-Somalis dissatisfied both intellectuals and armed forces alike. In 1969 the newly elected president of Somalia, Abdirashid Ali Shermarke was assassinated. The parliament was unable to agree upon a successor, which provided the perfect opportunity for the frustrated armed forces. The start Somalia army overthrew the government and seized power without encountering any opposition which is why those events are now known as a bloodless military coup d'état.<sup>65</sup>

Immediately after its rise to power the army installed the new governing body the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the major General Muhammad Siyad Barre became its president. The SRC started by suspending the constitution abolishing the National Assembly and banning political parties, President Barre remained president of Somalia for 22 years until January 1991. Under his instructions the SRC proclaimed "scientific socialism" as the official

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<sup>64</sup> M. Abir, "Ethiopia and the horn of Africa," *Cambridge History of Africa*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 537-577,

<sup>65</sup> Yonas Kebede, "The legal aspect of the Ethiopian Somali Dispute," *Journal of Horn of Africa*, no.1 March, 1978. pp. 26-31, <http://www.everythingharar.com/publication/Legal%20Aspects%20of%20Ethiopian-Somalis%20Dispute%20-%20Abdi.pdf> (a.d.26.01.2016)

ideology of the renamed Somali Democratic Republic in parallel with the expansionist Somalia nationalism which continued to be promoted the concept of.<sup>66</sup>

His own starting of the population growths support on the principled of independence a form of the socialism based on Marxist ideology and Islam. The regime introduced a 13-point program know as the First Charter of the Supreme Revolution that promised to end “tribalism nepotism, corruption and misrule” and provide a highly interventionist government internally with a more progressive stance internationally. During this first period of his rule (1969-1976) Barre focused on completing the framework of changes within the state in accordance with the charter. In internal matters, the regime introduced large nationalization programs of land and the industry militarized public administration including the justice system by appointing officers with no relevant training engaged in a widespread illiteracy campaign and abolished the Diya as part of the efforts to reduce the power of the clan system and clan-based politics in the Somalia society. Although most of the changes had a positive effect in the country the Siyad Barre regime was always in control. In international affairs Siyad Barre emphasized Somalia’s traditional ties with the Arab world a policy that proved successful by the entrance of Somalia the Arab League in 1974 and presidency of Mohamed Siyad Barre in the association of the African Union the same year, on the same point to regime associated itself with the Soviet Union during the Cold War, mainly due to the vast military and economic aid which the country received.<sup>67</sup>

In 1976 the Supreme Revolutionary Council was disbanded by Barr and was replaced by the Somalia Revolutionary Socialist party, which marked the change from a military regime to one-party government Somalia base on Scientific socialism Barre was immediately appointed president of the SRSP. The second period of the regime begun after the invasion of the Ogaden regime of Ethiopia by the Somalia National Army (SNA) in 1977. The Ogaden war was the realization of Pan-Somalis vision which Barre promoted during his rule but waited to accomplish until the SNA was properly staffed and trained, courtesy of the Soviets funds. The war ended in 1978 in favor of the Ethiopians who were funded by the Soviets against Somalia Consequently, Barre immediately cut ties by the Soviet Union. when product of combat, crushed people’s dreams of creating the Greater Somalia and marked the slow downfall of the Barre regime After

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<sup>66</sup> The BBC *country profile on Somalia*: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14094503> (a.d.26.01.2016)

<sup>67</sup> *CIA World Factbook on Somalia*. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/so.html> (a.d.27.01.2016)

the war the regime sought to form ties with a rather reluctant west, which is largely the reason why Barre introduced a new 1979 constitution granting many basic rights to the people including the independence of speech, religion and congress although the remained focus to many qualifications. Eventually the United States decided to re-establish connections with Somalia.

Current Political Situation between 1978 and 1991 different anti-Barre military groups emerged and attempted unsuccessfully to overthrow the government most of these groups where clan-based its members were disappointed by the loss of war and most importantly by Siyad Barre policies against tribalism and clans.<sup>68</sup>

The Most Notable Groups were.

1. The Somalia Salvation Front (SSF-1978), later on named the Somalia Salvation Democratic Front SDDF created in the 1978 and affiliated with the some clan Majeerteen.
2. The Somalia National Movements SNM. Created in 1981 and affiliated with the same clan Isaaq,
3. The United Somalia Congress USC created in 1987 and affiliated with the Hawiye clan.
4. The Somalia patriotic Movement SPM Created in 1989 and affiliated with Ogaden clan. Along with them Non-violent political opposition were created such as:
5. The Somali Democratic Movement SDM Created in 1989.
6. The Somalia Democratic Alliance SDA Created in 1991.
7. The Somalia Manifesto Group SMG.

In dealing with these coup d'état attempts the government became increasingly totalitarian and responded to its opponents with harsh reprisals against the clans, which involved many human right violations, using repented and ruthless assaults, Siyad Barre started efforts to progressively alienate every clan that opposed him.<sup>69</sup>

First the Majeerten then the Isaaq clan the Hawiye and lastly the Ogaden clan that once supported him. Barely survived the reprisal of the regime only to retaliate by waging warfare through their opposition organizations against the national army. They also took control over government areas where their clans were historically based. For instance the SNM controlled

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<sup>68</sup> Mohamed Haji Mukhtar, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*. London: Scarecrow Press, 2003. p. 53.

<sup>69</sup> Mohamed Haji Mukhtar, *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*. London: Scarecrow Press, 2003. p. 60.

northwestern Somalia, while the USC controlled the central regions and the SPM operated in the southern part of Somalia.<sup>70</sup> In 1990, after a brutal massacre of 450 people in Mogadishu by the national army leaders of all clans united in their efforts against the government by creating the council for National Reconciliation and Salvation, This council issued a manifesto which demanded Siyad Barre resignation and the emergence of democratic procedures in the country.

By the end of 1990 the General Mohamed Siyad Barre regime had control only over the capital and the adjoining regions. On the eve of the civil war, the economy was in dire situation and all state institutions had stopped operating. Since the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 1991, when Siyad Barre was officially dislodged from the capital, Somalia has fallen into unmanageable violence and chaos. In February the Hawiye-led United Somalia Congress had control over Mogadishu and single-handedly divulged a provisional government in the midst of this storm, in may the Somali National Movement created by Isaaq-clans members in the northern part of Somalia has separated itself from any reconciliation effort happening in Mogadishu and has stated the creation of the Republic of Somaliland.<sup>71</sup>

### **3.2 The Revolutionary Regime**

Through a lately 1960 the government's was distinguished the same incompetent corrupt and was accuse the humanizing relationships with the Ethiopia by the expenditure of its state obligation toward Pan-Somalis. In the October 1969s, one of the leaders guardian aggravated through some tribe hostility assassinate the headed. A few days later while official there were demanding with matter of sequence the armed forces below main president Mohamed Siyad take over. The innovative central dead bodies, the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), named General Mohamed Siyad, president, directly associated by the Soviet Union the government

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<sup>71</sup> Peter J. Shraeder, "From Irredentism to Secession: the Decline of Pan-Somali Nationalism," in Lowell W. Barrington, (ed.), *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Postcommunist States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan press, 2003, pp. 107-137, <https://www.press.umich.edu/pdf/0472098985-ch5.pdf> (a.d.27.01.2016)

accept as its faith “Scientific Socialism” base on three fundamentals, society growth through nature dependence alternative of collectivism base on Marxist values and Islamic<sup>72</sup>

In the direction of develop the financial system the regime launch a succession of improvident “Accident program” as well as well-conceived growth project into transportation, healthiness and education. The collective government sought after to surpass the position of minorities of women and after introduce a Somali writing system in 1972 launch a general literacy movement. In the October 1969s, the armed forces below Major-General Mohamed Siyad take over. The majority of these actions have prominent support. Though, there was mounting antagonism toward the government in the middle of Islamic scholar in Somali and out of the country as a result of the adoptions of the Latin alphabet for the Somalia writing and the introduction of law with the intention of were see to be into disagreement with Islamic law. The Islamic opposition was packed down by the martial and a number of Islamic selected were execute.<sup>73</sup>

Regardless of the original government popularity almost immediately become understandable with the intention of Somalia’s experiment with the democratic system had broken. In a while after attractive over, Mohamed Siyad, abolish the National Assembly, balanced the establishment, banned some figure of supporting confederation and place a number of important politicians with member of the prior administration addicted to supervision later on. The underneath Soviet union force the command created the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party (SRSP), which replace the SRC as the supreme Revolutionary Council ability in the country. The Soviet Union which previously had a footing in the military in the 1960s becomes the central foreign influence in the 1970s. It equipped trained and give growth support to Somali. When Somalia becomes more pro-Soviet its relationships with the United States became stressed and in the early 1970s the United States balanced assist in the direction of Somalia<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Tom J. Farer, *War Clouds on the Horn of Africa: the Widening Storm*. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1979, <http://www.abebooks.co.uk/servlet/SearchResults?isbn=9780870030130> (a.d.27.01.2016).

<sup>73</sup> M. I. Lewis, *Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002.

<sup>74</sup> United States Department of Justice Paper Alert Series, *Somalia: Things Fall Apart*. Washington DC: Department of Justice Report AL/SOM/93.001, 1993. <https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/ins/somala93.pdf> (a.d.28.01.2016)

With the drop of the Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974s, supporting Dynamics in the area changed. Mohamed Siyad sustained on the way to depress the novel martial selected in the Ethiopia for power over the country in the Somali-inhabited Ogaden area. In 1977, Ethiopia started to support a revolutionary organization called Western Somalia Liberation front. During the same time, Soviets, together with Cubans, Yemenis and Libyans tried to mediate between Ethiopia and Somalia. Somalian military success over the Ethiopians and the occupation of Ogaden made Soviets to put their weight on the Ethiopian side. They have sent Libyan and Cuban troops to Ethiopia and provided air support to them against Somalia.<sup>75</sup>

In November 1977, Siyad Barre was expelled the Soviets from Somalia. With the spring of 1978 as a result of the Soviet shift of support to Ethiopia, Somalia lost all the territory it had won. Unrestrained by the Soviets, Siyad Barre turned toward the West. From 1978 onward closer ties were created with Europe and the Union States as well as with Arab countries. Large amounts of foreign aid flowed in some of it in the form of military equipment. The break involving Somalia and the Soviet Union and the new relationship between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia prompted Western countries to support Somalia economically and militarily.<sup>76</sup>

The United States choice to begin a military assistances program in Somalia was precipitate by the fall of the Shah of Iran, the United States closest friends in the Gulf. In Exchange for paranoid military equipment, Somalia agreed to provide the United States with Access to Somali small part and airfields in Berbera, Mogadishu and Kismaayo. In the last years of the Siyad Barre government, the United States reduced its military and development assist programs as the regime became increasingly repressive and guilty of human rights violations.<sup>77</sup>

### **3.2.1 Challenge to the Regime**

The Supreme Revolutionary Council, announce on two instances to it have open conspirator in the take action of initiate coup d'état attempt. In cooperation case caught up SRC member in the 1970s April, Qoorshel the primary associate leader was under arrest with the

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<sup>75</sup> A. A. Mohamoud, *State Collapse and post-Conflict Development in Africa: the case of Somalia (1960-2002)* Chicago: Purdue University Press, 2005, p. 47,

<sup>76</sup> A. A. Mohamoud, *State collapse and post-conflict development in Africa: the case of Somalia (1960-2002)* Chicago: Purdue University Press, 2005, p. 50.

<sup>77</sup> I. M. Lewis, "The War in the Ogaden: Implication for Siyad's Role in Somalia History," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 17, no. 1, March 1979, pp. 95-115, <http://www.afrikafocus.eu/file/9> (a.d.28.01.2016)

exciting by sedition, Qoorshel represent the further traditional police and armed forces basics as well as a result opposite into the collective direction of the greater part of the Supreme Revolutionary Council member; he was convicts of sedition in a experiment earlier than the (National Security Court) and sentence toward a jail phrase. In the 1971 May, the next associate leader, Mohamed Siyad Barre and a elements SRC member , soviet-trained replacement colonel Salah Gaveire Kedie who had serves when beginning of the department of the security and afterward as secretary state designed for transportation there were in detention along with more than a few other military officer in support of plotting Mohamed Siyad, assassination the conspirator who had wanted the hold up of tribes that had lost power with the 1969 defeat of the independent command appear to have been provoked with a individuals rivalry quite than with the principles. Accuses of conspired to assassinated, the president, the two key in facts in the scheme and an additional armed forces official were execute following a lengthy trial<sup>78</sup>

through 1974 the SRC feel adequately safe to liberate Qoorshel and the majority of the heads of the autonomous system who have been in custody since 1969 revolution d'état, Egal and four additional former minister were accepted expected from the general pardon, on the other hand and were sentence to lengthy top-security prison terms Egal established three year intended for misappropriation and plot again of the government.<sup>79</sup>

### **3.3 The Role of Natural Resources in Somali.**

Somalia's natural resources drop addicted to three wide category, maritime income such as fish and salty; outside resources which included forest and forest goods such as the perfumed extract of the frankincense as well as exterior water and subsurface resources such as rocked and mineral deposits remnant fuel and ground water, numerous of them have been directly or indirectly impacted by the comprehensive social argument, other than opposition for admission to some resources have been and continue to be a foundation of disagreement aid itself. In the nonattendance administration, a lot of conventional form of ordinary reserve organization control systems have been discarded or are at the moment disregard into more than a few instances, this

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<sup>78</sup> A. A. Mohamoud, *State collapse and post-conflict development in Africa: the case of Somalia (1960-2002)* Chicago: Purdue University Press, 2005, p. 50.

<sup>79</sup> I. M. Lewis, "The War in the Ogaden: Implication for Siyad's Role in Somalia History," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 17, no. 1, March 1979, pp. 95-115, <http://www.afrikafocus.eu/file/9> (a.d.28.01.2016)

has resulted within obviously indefensible utilization, a tendency which might establish not easy to turn around.<sup>80</sup>

Despite the country's long coast, Somalia are not usually a fish-eating people even though some little coastal community include into the past had been occupied in continuation fishing, Somali have one of world lowly catch fish use duty in the worlds, by immediately two percents proteins eating come to the from fish's. Fishing was though powerfully promoted by government during the 1970s, in part in reply to the severe drought of the 1973-1975 after the coastal growth assignment resettled 14,000 traveling people starting internal region into the coastline. In 1984 it was probable with the intention of a million people live in the Somali beach of which about 10 percent were directly or indirectly concerned into artisanal fishing, Bihi, 1984. Preparation and apparatuses were provided and many fisheries cooperative recognized, however the chance of this planning is now for the majority fraction indefinite.<sup>81</sup>

Natural resources from a basic the countryside livelihood in the Somali was somewhere else in a Sub-Saharan African such as water for household used water livestock's, irrigation pasture intended for graze farm animals, medical with safe to eat planted go fishing and tresses for the petroleum the timber and construction pastoralist in a most important grounds the Somalia. Correctness the summation date, the livestock was uncertain in the furthestmost, nevertheless, a 1991 is probable those Somali, 4.8 million cattle's, 13.2 million sheep's, 19.7 million goats, and over 6.6 million camels, allocation the herd be changeable. Somali ruler's sell abroad all the livestock's and these make earth used for livestock grazed dangerous into sustainability's the pastoralist systems with livestock export.

In attempt the synchronize the Economics and agricultural a Somali, the government of Mohamed Siyad Barre the 1975 introduce the new country register rules, which was meant for Legislate land distribution and make legal innate claims by a registering procedure. Unfortunately instead of simply legalizing the claims of local clans or peasants, all land was considered as previously unclaimed and state property. The state suddenly emerged not only as the center of politics but also as the center of economic activity. The majority local farmers

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<sup>80</sup> H. Mogaka and G. W. Tumushabe, *Multi-stakeholder partnership in natural resources conflict management*. London: Mimeo, 1997. pp.101-115. (a.d.28.01.2016)

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

inherited the land from their ancestors or were given land by local clan elders simply could not afford the expensive bureaucratic process of registering their claims with the authorities hence making their claims practically illegal. As might have been hope the government did not responded to this difficulty by altering the process or giving local tenants more rights.<sup>82</sup> Even in cases where local farmers managed to raise the money indispensable to register their land, competing claims by more influential civil servants, businessmen or politicians of the Marehan, Ogaden and Dhulbahante-clans often prevailed. Here in general, Somalia strength serve up as an example of land tenure reform in Africa as it should not be carried out. Challenging claims made local land rights less secure for local smallholders and turned the Somalia land reform from a designate program in essence into a redistributive ground reform at the expense of local smallholders, instead of making land rights secure the reform fostered, a system of unfair and exploitative social structures. A furthermore, practical problem arose from the inability of a lot of local tenants to properly identify their land; the make use of mathematical items such as hectare was simply unusual to many of them.<sup>83</sup>

The emerging pattern was that registered landlords and local tenants laid claim to the similar piece and of land the local population, however, had no legal course of action once claims had been registering their land was local usual tradition. As pointed out above conflicts were traditionally mediated a system that worked as long as the state did not obstruct. For this reason smallholders lacked motivation to register their land as long as a local consensus existed in which the traditional system served their welfare. As long as they didn't perceive state intervention as a danger to their claims, they had no motivation to challenge their traditional customs of land use by participating in a land reform that would put their claims in jeopardy. Robert E. Smith, 2004 point out: "A title is a legal instrument that is worth no more or less than that is worth no more or less than the quality of guarantor offers, one form of guarantee may prejudice another."<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> H. Mogaka and G. W. Tumushabe, *Multi-Stakeholder Partnership in Natural Resources Conflict Management*. London: Mimeo, 1997. pp.101-115.(a.d.28.01.2016),

<sup>83</sup> Helander Bernhard, "The Hubeer in the Land of Plenty: Land, Labor and Vulnerability among a Southern Somalia clan," in Catherine Besteman and Lee V. Cassanell (eds.), *The Struggle for land in Southern Somalia: the War Behind the War*. London: Haan, 2003. pp. 61-63.

<sup>84</sup> Robert E. Smith, "Land Tenure Reform in Africa: a Shift to the Defensive," *Progress in Development Studies*, 2004, vol. 3, no. 3. p. 213

For example, obtaining a title might alienate a smallholder from the local polity that backs customary land rights, therefore making the title actually less secure. The situation was even more severe for those who didn't farm, but also or exclusively raised cattle. Somalia in large part is a livestock economy and herds had to be moved according to seasons or available land. Factor in economic survival and as a result of the land registration law, the most valuable land was concentrated in the hands of businessmen or civil servants from Mogadishu pastoralist who lacked close up ties to the political scene in the capital originate it is difficult to find places where they could move their herds to, many herders moved to grazing lands in neighboring Kenya in what led to stressed relationship between Nairobi and Mogadishu, a problem amplified by overgrazing in Somalia.<sup>85</sup>

The second result that shaped the country's future and accelerated the process of land alienation was the devastating Ogaden war which erupted in the 1977. The Ogaden region belongs to Ethiopia, although was inhabited mostly by Somalia. The Somalia elite had been advocating the unification of all Somalis in a single state since its independence calling for the "liberation of Somalia in the Ethiopian Ogaden , the Kenya Northern Frontier District and parts of Djibouti an ideology referred to as the Greater Somalia shortly after Ethiopia's emperor Haile Selassie was ousted by a coup d'état and the country afterwards switched sides and became a Soviet ally Mohamed Siyad Barre ,himself a Soviet friendly at the neighboring country as a window of opportunity to incorporate the Ogaden into Somalia and in doing so make tighter his grip on the country and enhance the legitimacy of his rule by expanding Somalia's influence and uniting Somalia.<sup>86</sup>

Despite initial successes the Ethiopian military regime managed to win Soviet support and with the help of Cuban troops and Soviet Military support, finally defeated the Somali forces. With defeat in the Ogaden, Barre's popularity on the way out in economic crisis as home due to increase, the Ogaden war, the regime buying military equipment as well as a livestock ban on Somalia cattle by Saudi-Arabia in 1983, the regime resented to an old-fashioned politics of divide at imperia along clan lines. The defeat in the Ogaden, brought the seeds of war back home

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<sup>85</sup> Dustin Deherez, "The Scarcity of Land in Somalia: Natural Resources and their Role in the Somali Conflict," *Bonn International Center for Conversion Occasional Paper*, April 2009. p. 67.

[https://www.bicc.de/uploads/tx\\_bicctools/occasional\\_paper\\_III\\_04-09.pdf](https://www.bicc.de/uploads/tx_bicctools/occasional_paper_III_04-09.pdf) ( a.d. 29.01.2016)

<sup>86</sup> Peter T. Leeson, "Better off Stateless: Somalia Before and After Government Collapse," *Journal of Comparative Economics*, vol. 35 (2007), p. 214. [http://www.peterleeson.com/Better\\_Off\\_Stateless.pdf](http://www.peterleeson.com/Better_Off_Stateless.pdf) ( a.d. 28.02.2016)

of the regime that had never found a way to participate in the wealth generated by local businessmen from livestock and Khat export, now considered the land resources as a primary instrument to payment political loyalty. The resource politics that reward politics that emerged allowed for the part of the political elite to raise proceeds and political weight in advance to gain control of the resources they would later claims.<sup>87</sup>

The economic marginalization of clans already residing in the productive riverside areas of the lower Shabelle and Jubba valleys is particularly instructive when considering how the regime of Siyad Barre used the land resource as a means of its domestic power politics. The Geedo region, located along the northern part of the Jubba River, for example, is extremely dry up and hot but due to its climate the region belongs to the few places where the tsetse-fly cannot survive. Animal husbandry hence was more productive and the families belonging to the Rahanweyn clan that were residing in this region had historically been considered relatively rich. While the Rahanweyn settled on the eastern bank of the Jubba, the western bank was inhabited by members of the Darod clans who commanded much more influence in Somalia politics.<sup>88</sup>

Environmental pressures finally led the Rahanweyn to develop an irrigation system whereas the Darod responded to that pressure by regular incursions into the region occupied by the Rahanweyn using their political and military dominance, these conflicts were no longer mediated by clan elders or clan legislations, they quickly turned violent and those clans marginalized by the government were often on the losing end. Other developments of the 1970s and 1980s. Put additional stress on local tenants. Population which development, famines, land speculation, and a quick urbanization of Somalia cities led to an increase in demand of agricultural products and as a result rural land became more valuable during the 1970s and 1980s. Land remunerative becomes a lucrative starting place of income. Here again the case of Somalia can serve as an example of how population growth and a high population density in relation to limited cropland can contribute to potential conflict, a conflict that might even become inevitable if the regime uses the scarce land resources to buy political loyalty.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Macartan Humphreys, "Natural Resource Conflict and Conflict Resolution," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 49, no. 4. (2005) pp. 509-513. [http://www.columbia.edu/~mh2245/papers1/MH8JCR05\\_paper.pdf](http://www.columbia.edu/~mh2245/papers1/MH8JCR05_paper.pdf) ( a.d. 29.01.2016)

<sup>88</sup> Goran Hyden, *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2005. p. 31.

<sup>89</sup> Henrik Urdal, "People vs. Matus: Population pressure, Environmental Degradation, and Armed Conflict Revisited," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 42, no. 2. (2014) p. 421.

### 3.4 The Grabbing, Somalia Under Government.

The 1960 Italian and British Somali gain independences starting their colonizer and attached collectively into the “Republic of Somalia”. A bloodless revolution d’état the 1969 lead with president Mohamed Siyad overthrow of a independent administration that feint Somali given that sovereignty general Mohamed Siyad leave into get control in addition to recognized in domineering martial despotism. He reigns for the twenty one year’s pending 1991, after Somalia administration collapses and without states ensue. The 1970s, below of the power of Soviet Union, General Siyad Barre distorted him martial despotism in the socialist single. Complete middle plans pursue beneath the government strategy the systematic socialist, hat brutalize these Somalia citizens. In the government’s slaughter civilian whose pose threat into government planning or supporting control second-hand threats the make reproduction hold up intended for its actions as well as compulsorily relocate other the additional the economic political and economy tops the General Mohamed Siyad in addition to his associates and “ together the town inhabitants with nomad livelihood in the landscape subject to summing up killing, chance capture, custody into dirty situation, raped, torment, crippled constraint on the independence to society and appearance a outline of psychosomatic threats. The state callously concealed free speech and controlled all forms of information accomplishment Somalia, newspapers (only one was officially permitted by the government) television with radios, completely censored and dissent in any form the squelched with power. The state invests insistently into construction it’s martial. In addition armaments with troop for native resistance, enormous possessions were loyal to military structure of domestic suppression”.<sup>90</sup>

“Administration be created a clandestine force group called “National Security Service” with paramilitary parts called the “Victory pioneer” the intelligence with eliminate dissenter, in cooperation had legitimate judgment to keep in custody invaded assassinate and punishment by the situation command. (Africa Watch Committee, 1990) This creative a twin terrible consequence designed for expansion in Somalia; on the one hand, it absents a small number of

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<sup>90</sup> Peter T. Leeson, “Better off Stateless: Somalia Before and After Government Collapse,” *Journal of Comparative Economics*, vol. 35 (2007), pp. 692-4. [http://www.peterleeson.com/Better\\_Off\\_Stateless.pdf](http://www.peterleeson.com/Better_Off_Stateless.pdf) ( a.d. 28.02.2016)

resources for investment in public goods, similar to Health, Education, or Transportations communications. This was specially so in countrified area where nearly everyone Somalia live.<sup>91</sup>

On the other hand, General Mohamed Siyad Barre's military dictatorship eliminated in the least all democratic on the government's predatory power. There were no elections for any political positions all were appointed by Barre, military suppression prevented popular uprising. Yet dissent through free expression was eliminated. Government was let loose to plunder and abuse citizens for the ends of political ruler. The state was notoriously corrupt and violent. Political actors and bureaucrats embezzled state fund, extorted and murdered weak portions of the people and engaged in offensive asset stripping of state-owned firms. As the UN development program characterized it" the 21- year regime of the Mohamed Siyad Barre had one of the worst human rights records in Africa, the 1975 all earth be publicly owned down the almost every one chief industry and the economic parts. That facilitate government capability the expropriated national material goods for government's project similar the massive state operate farm and used for politics private employ, disliked underground group when the Gosha, was chiefly simple quarry Africa.<sup>92</sup>

During the 1970s and 1980s, General Mohamed Siyad expropriates Gosh-occupied grounds the creating nationalized irrigation scheme those benefit his partners. The additional cases his minions' expropriate earth intended for their personal employ creation Gosh serf on their possess belongings situation organize the industries in the Somali to be creating incompetence similar to the Soviet Union, between 1984 and 1988 used for case the governmental own Kismayo. Animal protein plant was opened just 3 month per years. Administration too owns tanneries. Motivation to be creative, remain which cost downs, and provide the customer demand be almost not present plant manager care simply in relation into the assembly quota. These direct them the pursued extravagant actions, such as purchase input worth many since rare resources than the production they produce. A number of public sector enterprise there urban only in the profit political rules and there for the instanced, regime produced the Water growth agenda to support financially personal water hole intended for the livestock's of general Mohamed Siyad Barre associates. In the 1970s Barre deserted full-scale

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<sup>91</sup> Peter T. Leeson, "Better off Stateless: Somalia Before and After Government Collapse," *Journal of Comparative Economics*, vol. 35 (2007), pp. 692-4. [http://www.peterleeson.com/Better\\_Off\\_Stateless.pdf](http://www.peterleeson.com/Better_Off_Stateless.pdf) ( a.d. 28.02.2016)

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

communalism into draw support beginning the International Monetary Fund, foreign aid was channeled through state institutions and the state remained sole arbiter in the allocation of profitable contracts. Private sector autonomy was further curtailed by political patronage, which was the easiest way to access resources controlled by the state.<sup>93</sup>

Starting in 1980s there is simply single Banks in the Somali, condition own and operates. Administration uses in the direction of stay floating deteriorating community firm and in recompense political groups, only condition enterprise or politically well-connected Somalia be capable to the get loan (Mubarak, 1997). Administration too remain involve the the majority additional significant financial sector. Livestock and rural creation export include extended dangerous in the Somalia economic. The 1970, major Mohamed Siyad Barre state-owned the majority of this operate and sustained to manage during the 1980s.

### **3.5 Opposition to President Mohamed Siyad.**

Throughout its early years, Mohamed Siyad regime enjoys significant status with a extensive based the hold. Still this period however had its contribute to of control struggle amongst martial with police force official in the SRC. In 1970s associate leader, Supreme Revolutionary Council was jailed and in 1971, quite a lot of important SRC member were execute, although the primary successful adversary didn't approach pending April 1978. Afterwards the defense force embarrassing overcomes in the Ogaden while a number of Majerteen clans officer planned an ineffective revolution. A quantity overthrow organizer runaway the Ethiopia there anywhere planned to primary conflict groups. Had a forceful followed in the middle with northeastern region in addition to was support through Ethiopia and Libya. The association provide leader Mangiest of Ethiopia with a golden-haired occasion to hit back against General Mohamed Siyad, for his hold up for the "Western Somali Liberation movement" a variety of "the Oromo Liberation Front ,Eritrean liberation front's, with additional conflict grouping in Ethiopia.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Abdi Samatar, "Merchant Capital, International Livestock Trade and Pastoral Development in Somalia," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, vol. 21. (1987) pp. 355-374. <http://anothersample.net/merchant-capital-international-livestock-trade-and-pastoral-development-in-somalia> (a.d. 29.01.2016)

<sup>94</sup> Ahmed Samatar, "Conflict in Somalia: Drivers and Dynamics," *World Bank Report*, January, 2005. <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTSOMALIA/Resources/conflictinSomalia.pdf> (a.d. 29.01.16)

In support of opposite his government, General Mohamed Siyad singled elsewhere the Majerteen tribe punishing several Majerteen armed with inhabitant cream of the crop with removed a lot of starting their duty. Therefore begin a sequence of favoritism when a regime one time base on large clan hold up begins in the direction of rely resting on an incomplete numeral of clan measured faithful. Faithfulness to head Mohamed Siyad replaces occupation requirement as a criterion for government appointment. With less competent civil servants and military officers moving keen on position of importance the quality of government deteriorate. This inside turned resulted during extensive dissatisfaction. The harassment was completed worse through rule taking part into financial actions such as bank with trade.<sup>95</sup> Administration corruption, together with favoritism incompetence and refusal of responsibility resulted in gross inequity all through the state. Nomadic Somalia whose society is democratic establishes the increasing inequity in Somalia culture specially complicated to believe. Dissident starting the Isaaq clan of the northwestern Somalia shaped the “Somali National Movement” (SNM) in London and soon found a home in Ethiopia as which they might open revolutionary raid into Somalis. In 1989, some clan in middle Somalia shaped their possess antagonism groups; the “United Somali Congress” (USC) moreover recognized revolutionary basis in Ethiopia. Through the mid-1980s administration with antagonism.

The regime missed more than a few opportunity, at the settlement and the the social order become polarized into tribe group.<sup>96</sup> In the 1988, the “Somali National Movement” launches a successful revolutionary attacked next to control forces in Burao and Hargeisa in the north. The government armed forces there were capable to get back the two cities only through use huge power counting mid-air bombardment. Elevated national wounded with the evacuate of the refugee to Ethiopia more estranged the north. Under rising force, the government attempts a number of reforms. The government re-introduced cooperative systems, adopt a new establishment, and called for elections. The conflict however did not trust the government and continued to fight together into the north and in the middle region. Next to the end of December 1990s, the disagreement had increase to the capital, Mogadishu. On January 27, 1991, Siyad

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<sup>95</sup> Laitin, David D, “The Political Economy of Military Rule in Somalia,” *Journal of Modern African Studies* Cambridge vol. 14, no.3, September 1976. pp. 449-468,

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=2564612> (a.d.29.01.2016)

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, p. 468.

Barre's government collapsed. General Mohamed Siyad, flees Mogadishu and established a base in the southwestern region of Gedo.<sup>97</sup>

### **3.6 The Effect of Military Rule of Society.**

In the early hours of October 21, 1969 with backing from the police the military engaged enter point all the way through the Capital. A bloodless coup d'état took place and member of the administration with additional most important officer and personality had been arrested, into constitution that was it suspended the National Assembly disbanded the Supreme Court abolished and political parties declared illegal. A Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) collected of 25 martial and control officers under the presidency of General Muhammad Siyad Barre was named as the new political force in the country. Siyad Barre, "man of average intelligence and no formal schooling."<sup>98</sup>

Started his career in the Italian colonial police force and rose initially through the ranks of policies Africa Italian, the through that of the British military administration and finally under the *Amministrazione Fiduciarie Italian Della Somalia*. When Somalia created a national army in the early 1960s Barre transferred like numerous police officers to the military to form the officer corps. At the time of the coup d'état he was commander of the military the second officer in rank through not in age. It soon turned out the Siyad Barre not only chaired the SRC, but was determined to remain firmly in command of the government. He managed to maintain his personal rule and ascendancy for the 21 years. He not only steered the country's politics but was able to influence the perception of Somalia citizens.<sup>99</sup>

The new regime declared that it would rid the country of social ills, eliminating corruption and tribal nepotism. Awareness agreed the financial and societal improvement used for everyone and the restoration the immediately as well as honorable civilization. The external affairs the unification struggle were supported Catchwords were poverty disease and ignorance, the people's real enemies to the combated of state be renamed the "Somali Democratic

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Said S. Samatar, "Somalia: A Nation in Turmoil," *Minority Rights Group Report*. London: MRG, 1991. pp. 34-39.

<sup>99</sup> Abdi Ismail Samatar, *The State and Rural Transformation in Northern Somalia: 1984-1986*. Madison: the University of Wisconsin in press, 1989. p.93.

Republic”. Following to frustration over in last government’s failing many Somalis initially saw the coup in a positive light. The new government successfully started its ambitious task from the outset. An internal administrative reform took place and public work projects were introduced recruiting those who.<sup>100</sup>

Calls “unemployed urban tribal drop outs”. As part of the strategy to abolish traditional clan divisions the death sentence was reintroduced to replace blood compensation (diya), there with introducing individual responsibility for any actions a practice which was uncommon to the traditional nomadic society. It later became illegal to speak about clan issues and even a new form of greeting was introduced. However it soon became apparent that Major Mohamed Siyad builds his control. through manipulate tribe and implement typical plans of divided and law, this development accompanied militarization and a rise of military ethos (Militarism) in society, for example the proportion of military spending increased in the Somali government’s budget and a military training became a requirement for school and college graduates as well as civil servants.

At the first anniversary following the coup “Scientific Socialism” there was officially adapted, this signaled a significant drift from a pro-western position to a close relationship with the Soviet Union. Lewis 1993, states that this has reflected the military increasing reliance on Russia and idealistic direction of the youthful intellectual. Latin and Samatar, 1987 nevertheless conclude that many Somalis, both urban and rural were disillusioned with the Union State and didn’t need to be prodded by Soviet propaganda, it later became apparent how much Somalia became caught up in the cold war. Firstly, Siyad populism and socialism unleashed latent ideological energies, the new socialist vocabulary, Jaalle for comrade set signals that socialist comradeship would surpass kinship and helped to raise popular consciousness. All the same Siyad Barre had to face the fear of many nomads that they would lose their herds as a result of the translation sociality as socialism which means “wealth sharing” with the connotation of livestock sharing<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> I. M. Lewis, *Understanding Somalia: Guide to Culture History and Social Institutions*. London: Haan Associates, 1991. p.11.

<sup>101</sup> Peter J. Schraeder, “The Horn of Africa: US Foreign Policy In An Altered Cold War Environment,” *Middle East Journal*, vol. 46, no. 4. Autumn, 1992. pp.579-590. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4328494> (a.d.30.01.2016)

Laitin and Samatar 1987 conclude that Siyad Barre achieved two major political goals between 1970 and 1974, language reform with Laitin since the officer writing for the Somalia's tongue in addition to Maxa-Somalia of Republic, and the overcoming of societal inequalities. The adapted language put the northern nomadic societies at an advantage even it is had in theory positive effects on the possibility of political participation by the people speaking Maxa as their Mother tongue. Islam in Somalia society however the setting of an official language was a crucial point for the state.<sup>102</sup>

It was important for the functioning of administration and trade. As I have argued before the overcoming of societal inequalities hardly took place as the whole system was biased towards nomadic and the neglect of agriculturalists and minorities. However over time it became apparent that Somalia practiced Scientific Siyadism rather than Scientific Socialism. A personality cult around Barre was established the ruling style became more oppressive and the National Security Service began to encroach on the privacy of virtually all Somalis.<sup>103</sup>

Somalia citizens lost their de facto right to free expression. Many people were disappointed with these developments such as the writer Nurudin Farah, who had in the burst of revolutionary enthusiasm returned to Somalia to teach literature( Latina and Samatar 1987) unfortunately the brutality insensitivity arrests and intrigues were not temporary occurrences but worsened over the time taking unbelievable dimensions. Here people painfully experienced a gap between official ideology and reality. In the absence of legitimate forums to express their opinions people got caught in a highly compartmentalized clan system which led to additional fragmentation within society, the mid-1970s brought a second period of General Barre military rule, and holding his powerful position his action had a major impact on Somalia's development.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> I. M. Lewis, "The Ogaden and The Fragility of Somalia Segmentary Nationalism," in Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja (ed.), *Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, Atlanta, GA: African Studies Association Press, 1991. pp. 89-91.

<sup>104</sup> Said S. Samatar, *Oral Poetry and Somali Nationalism: The Case of Sayyid Mahammad Abdille Hasan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. p. 39.

In 1974 Somalia joined the Arab league and both hosted and chaired the Organization of African Unity Heads of State meeting. The earlier focus on internal problems thus shifted towards a greater involvement in external affairs Lewis 1988. Laitin and Samatar 1987 write that Barre a military man, was reluctant to rely on intellectuals or even on the vagaries of democratic institutions .Despite the launching of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Part with great fanfare in 1976, Siyad Barre lost interest in Socialism and its emphasis on class struggle he instead turned his attention to the possibilities of national struggle.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> I. M. Lewis, "The Ogaden and the Fragility of Somalia Segmentary Nationalism," in Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja (ed.), *Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, Atlanta, GA: African Studies Association Press, 1991. pp. 89-91.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 4.1 Conclusions

The Supreme Revolutionary Council unsuccessful unhappily in to political power such that after twenty one year of martial law the state until now remnants the state describe with the medium and politically scholar while without state the problem creating in the Supreme Revolutionary Council, might have been avert but the social gathering following usefully practical “distributive justice, procedural justice and interactional justice”. The remaining political divide into nation is spearheading with the social gathering the control. Social gathering apparatchik have the accountability to the succeeded more than the extend the community inequity and community justice into the country so far carelessly gone thing in the direction of the acquire absent of give the front elevation the quantity of tribe more than additional tribe spearhead detestation and schism the most magnitude. The Supreme Revolutionary Council might achieve victory to work place condition it’s have remunerated exacting thought for light community impartiality and societal justice; one other fact the social gathering management would has scrutinize cautiously entail custody an look at on practical fairness which was formative trade allocation. Since of extensive abused in the place of work as well as absences the international justice, Somali below Supreme Revolutionary Council become a position wherever person self-respect is not agreed the value it’s deserve.

Despite large quantity of natural resources and untapped mineral wealth, the excess of societal injustice and unprincipled misdeed perpetrate in the Supreme Revolutionary Council, finally gone the Somalia country give way method in the dearth’s and hardship and prolong dependence the foreign assist. Fundamental returning round the aggression plain in the nation as the down of middle regime the 1991. Might credited the history injustice perpetrate in the careless “SRC” system of government and its revolutionary to spitefully fleece the financial system intended for self-centered measly gain.

The worldwide community adamancies in restrictive the erratic twice contact the Supreme Revolutionary Council and it’s mistaken ideologist principle give General Mohamed

Siyanda Bare and his confidant to stride a pathway a irreparable annihilation. Lack of possible justice, liberty human right, and impartiality destabilized the party struggle to imposed plane power.

After twenty one years of military rule and dictatorial repressiveness most observers agree that the country is on the verge of collapse, there is no comprehensive policy in store and possibly not even any documentation on the question of the missing territories. Today there are several opposition groups some of whom are engaged in armed struggle against Siyanda Bare, they are the SUM “Somali National Movement”, USC (United Somalia Congress) and the SPAM.<sup>106</sup>

One may the 19<sup>th</sup> 1990, a peaceful manifesto signed by one hundred and ten Somalia old statesmen intellectuals businessmen and clan chiefs joined voice demanding that Siyanda Bare the pace downhill the favors the professional governmental. Quite predictably Siyanda Barre has remained impervious to these demands and is still hanging to power. The history of the Somali people and their long struggle has been reviewed here with the intention of throwing light on to their present dilemma. This has naturally cast a shadow and hopes for Somalia to survive as a united nation seem remote at present. The sufferings of this testing time are experienced by the whole of the Somalia nation. When accounts of sufferings reach the various ears throughout the land then the dream of pan-Somalis lives in their hearts.

#### **4.2 Recommendations**

We can see the unwillingness the intercontinental society to connect among the Islamic resistance. In the direction of these days present is no extra realistic course than to accomplish away to its selected into the attempt in the direction of become stable the defense location through a armistice with then move about on with a development that address the root cause of the clash.

First, more than any solution, priority must be given to the political settlement, after traditional monitoring role to play. The internal dynamics of the Somali socio-cultural fabric is

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<sup>106</sup> M. I. Lewis, *Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002. P.39

crucial as to identify a long-term resolution a problems therein. There are no guarantee but that a political settlement is achievable but they are still the Somalia themselves that could save their country. The timing is vital; they should work hand in hand amongst themselves to resolve their problems in peaceful manner than resort to armed struggle which so far taught everyone that there are no gains at all. In this regard Somalis in the Diaspora, the Somali civil society associations and most importantly, the leaders and elders of the different clan faction have a great stake to share.

Second, though there is no assurance that the insurgents would stop carrying out the fight against the new federalism of President Hassan Sheikh Mahamud and the chances of negotiation seem to be minimal, it make intelligence intended for the international community to make use of the inducement of the global identification and large hold up for such a government to create sure that it draw in the wider sweep and private army parts, together with not only ARS-A other than they also Al-Shabaab element, compliments the defensive truth of its neighbors, together with Ethiopia, and the internationally guaranteed rights of its people; and renounce some connection with the so-called ‘international terrorists’.

Thirdly, I argue also that the AU, UN and other Islamic states should have their own stake in helping Somali political forces come to peaceful reconciliations. The AU can work in connivance with the UN which must speedily establish an international relations process to the holdup completion of a grave end of hostilities concord, the primary pace in the direction of an authentic biased resolution to replace the AMISOM. In addition, those different actors mainly Ethiopia, Eritrea, the US and other stakeholders, other than focusing on their respective interests which is sometimes mutually exclusive, should commit themselves to make sure that a steady and peaceful Somalia would be creative. That ultimately create a productive position to reduce eliminate’ extremism in all of its form and resolution the present day plight of security and humanitarian crises particularly upsetting the vast majority of the civilian Somalis and of course the Horn of Africa.

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