SOMALIA: A CASE STUDY IN NATION BUILDING

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MASTER OF SCIENCE
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SOMALIA: A CASE STUDY IN NATION BUILDING

By

AHMED HASHI ELMI

Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Degree of Master of Science in the Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia

August 2000
DEDICATION

To my parents,

My brothers and sisters, and my best friends
Among Muslim nations, few have achieved an international standard of good governance. Somalia, completely dismembered by European colonial power, and now reduced to nearly total anarchy by the generation of post-independence rule, is desperately in need of help. After a thorough analysis of recent aid efforts, it is concluded that only the Somalis can rescue themselves.

An in depth interview was conducted on a select group of Somali and Malaysian intellectuals and diplomats. A first-hand observation was organized into a chronology of events during the post-independence years, and then this data was analysed in detail. The thesis findings involve a two-fold failure. Almost unaccountably, President Siyad Bare’s post-independence rule quickly degenerated from an Islamic ideology expressed in “scientific socialist” political form, into a totally anarchy involving the worst forms of corruption, nepotism and tribalism. This is
The first failure in domestic nation building process. The second failure is the failure of the international community to render aid to the suffering and starving Somali people in any effective way.

The panels of informants have elucidated many factors contributing to both the domestic and international failures. From their comments and commentaries, it become clear that individual initiative and the African-based solution would is the only hope to resolve the problem of nation building in Somalia.

Free market initiatives from the people themselves, as well as self-help social and educational programs; have already begun to appear out of the chaos. Given time, patience, and non-intrusive support from others, the Somalian have the potential to make these programmes successfully for nation building.
Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Master Sains

SOMALIA: SATU KAJIAN KES PENBANGUNAN NEGARA BANGSA

Oleh

AHMED HASHI ELMI

August 2000

Pengerusi: Md. Bohari Ahmed

Fakulti: Ekologi Manusia

Di kalangan Negara Islam hanya segelintir negara yang mencapai taraf antara bangsa dari segi pemerintahan yang baik. Somalia dipandang sepi oleh negara-negara Eropah yang bernah menjajahnya dan kini menjadi sebuah negara yang anarki oleh pemerintah generasi selepas merdeka, berusaha mencari pertolongan. Akan tetapi sebenarnya selepas membuat analisis terhadap bantuan terbaharu, maka kesimpulannya, hanya Somalia boleh membantu dirinya sendiri.

Satu temuduga yang mendalam dibuat terhadap sekumpulan Somali yang tinggal di Malaysia di kalangan cendiakawan dan diplomat. Segala pandangan pertama mereka telah disusum mengikut kronologi dan dianalisa dengan mendalam. Penemuan tesis mendapati kegagalan dua belah pihak.


Pasaran bebas yang diusahakan oleh rakyatnya sendiri, termasuk sistem bantu-diri dan program pendidikan, sedia muncul di tengah-tengah kegawatan. Hanya masa, kesabaran dan tanpa gangguan dari yang lain, orang Somalia mempunyai potensi contoh demokratik yang boleh disebarkan ke bahagian lain Afrika, malah seluruh dunia.
AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the process of completing this thesis, I have been fortunate to receive numerous invaluable assistance from many people and institutions.

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Finally I would like to thank my brothers Yusuf Adarre, Abdi Shafeh, and my Uncle Ibrahim Hashim for their generous financial support and encouragement.
I certify that an Examination Committee met on 21 August 2000 to conduct the final examination of Ahmed Hashi Elmi on his Master thesis entitled “Somalia: A Case Study in Nation Building” in accordance with Universiti Pertanian Malaysia (Higher degree) act 1980 and Universiti Pertanian Malaysia (Higher degree) act 1981. The committee recommends that the candidate be awarded the relevant degree. Members of the Examination Committee are as follows:

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Date: 11 JAN 2001
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis is based on my original work except for quotations and citation, which have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted for any other degree at UPM or other institutions.

(Ahmed Hashi Elmi)

Date: 18 DEC 2000
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ABBREVIATIONS

FAPLA Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola
FNLA National Front for the Angola
MPLA Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
OAU Organisation for African Unity
UNITA National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNOSOM United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNITAF Unified Task Force
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
CNN Cable News Network
PDPA Party Democratic People of Afghanistan
PLO Palestine Liberation Organisation
SNM Somali National Movement
SPM Somali Patriotic Movement
SSDF Somali Salvation Democratic Front
USC United Somali Congress
SNA Somali National Alliance
IGAD Inter-Governmental Authority for Development
UNDP United Nations Development Program
UN United Nation
SRC Supreme Revolutionary Council
SDA Somali Democratic Alice
GDP Gross Domestic Product
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

Somalia (see Figure. 1) is located on the Horn of Africa, the point where the African continent stretches out towards the Arab world. It controls access to the Red Sea and is closely linked to the oil rich region of the Arab Peninsula and the Gulf.

By the eighteen-century, the Somalis had essentially developed their present way of life, which is pastoral and Islamic. During the colonial period beginning in 1869 with the opening of the Suez Canal, the Horn of Africa suddenly became strategically more important for the European powers. Between 1885 and 1908, Britain, France and Italy colonised and divided among themselves the long Somalia coast (see Figure. 2). During the period of colonialism the country was split into five parts, two under the British, and one each under the Italian, the French, and the Ethiopian.

The new Republic of Somalia (see Figure.2) was formed in 1960 and it consisted of only two out of the five parts of the previous Somalia. The two regions are British Somaliland, which achieved independence on
Figure 1: The Political Map of African Boarders

Sources: from http://www.yahoo.com (under search Map of Africa)
Figure 2. The Political Map of Somalia

Sources: from http://www.yahoo.com (under search Map of Somalia)
June 26 1960 and the Italian trust territory of Somalia that achieved Independence on July 1 1960.

The other three parts remained under foreign control. The Ogaden region, (Somali western part) which is under Ethiopian administration as well as Northern Front District (NFD), is under Kenyan administration. Djibouti that was under French but had achieved its independence in 1977 during the Ogaden war between Ethiopia and Somalia and became independent state, Republic of Djibouti not joined rest of the Somalia.

Somalia transition to independence differed radically from that of most African states. In 1950 the former Italian colony was placed under a United Nations trusteeship and administered by Italy. Although British Somaliland retained its colonial status until independence, changes instituted by the United Nations in the trusteeship territory influenced political developments there as well. As a result, Somalia’s independence as a unified state practising multiparty parliamentary democracy was attained relatively painlessly.¹

The early post-independence period was dominated by difficult in integrating the former colonial territories and in addition the new state had conflicts with Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti arising from Somalia’s Irredentism demands. Internal political conflicts revolved around methods

of handling these difficulties. Competition for electoral support widened cleavages within the nation as politicians sought the backing of rival regional and clan groups, there by often obscuring the country’s pressing need for development.

Somalia has a land area of 637,540 square kilometres, and a terrain that consists mainly of plateau and highlands. The weather is hot throughout the year, except the higher elevations in the north. Moderate rainfall is confined to the northwest, and particularly in the southwest, where the country’s two main rivers are found; in these region agriculture is practised.²

Somalia has a long coastline of about (3,025 kilometres). The coastline is important for trade with the Middle East and the rest of East Africa. The exploitation of the shore and the continental shelf for fishing and other purposes had barely begun by the early 1990s. Sovereignty was claimed over territorial waters up to 200 nautical miles. Somalis has four seasons, two rainy (gu’ and dayr) and two dry (jiilaal and hagaa). The GU rains begin in April and last until June, and dayr by the day rains from October to November.

Somali population is about six million and is made up of five major clans: Darood, Hawiye, Isaak, Dir, and Rahaweyn. (see figure 3.) Each

clan is then subdivided into six or more subclans and each subclans and farther subclans. All the lineage’s extended families and divided small groups which are known (jilib) whom are living same region or district, which pays and receives blood compensation in cases involving homicide. But in general Somali people share a common language, physical characteristic, religion, customs, and tradition.

Table 1. Somalian Clan Family

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<tr>
<th>Clan and subclan</th>
<th>Dir</th>
<th>Darood</th>
<th>Isaaq</th>
<th>Hawiye</th>
<th>Rhanwayn</th>
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<td>Ogaden</td>
<td>H.Awal</td>
<td>Abgal</td>
<td>Digil</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Issa</td>
<td>Mjerteen</td>
<td>Garhsjis</td>
<td>H. gidir</td>
<td>Mirifle</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gadabursi</td>
<td>dhulbahante</td>
<td>H.jeclo</td>
<td>Murursade</td>
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Somalia: After Independence from 1960-91

When Somalia was formed in 1960, it was adopted a Parliamentary democracy. It lasted from June to October 1969 in a constant state of confusion. There were up to 60 political parties. All expression of the various clans and sub-clans (see Table .1). But as soon as the elections
were over, they all allied to the dominant Somali Youth League (SYL),
the nationalist party that had been nurtured by British Military
Administration between 1941 and 1948. Since the SYL was the only
national party with a support that was relatively broadly based across the
clans, the various other parties, which were in fact clan-based interest
group, rallied to the SYL, dominated government in order to be able to
benefit from the state. Thus the country lived both with a myriad of
parties and a de-facto single party. This system led to massive corruption
and a strong disenchantment on the part of the public towards its
government. In October 1969, a group of military officers took power in
bloodless coup d'état.

The new government had all the trappings of the then fashionable
socialist military regimes: a single party, a single trade union, a strongly
controlled press, close ties with the USSR, and mass organisation for
women, youth and workers given the emphasis on the reunification of the
Somali people. It also had an aggressive foreign policy and spent massive
share of its budget on military expenses. Since regimes potential foes
Ethiopia, Kenya, and France were all, in the cold war context of the time.
Close American allies Somalia entered into the very close relations with
USSR and the government declared itself to be adherent of scientific
socialism to please its new Soviet friends. Progressive foreign
intellectuals duly tried to discover the social and economic basis for a