

The Somalia Civil-War from 1988-1991

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Abstract: Somalia's defeat in the Ogden War strained the stability of the Siad regime as the country faced a surge of clan pressures. An abortive military coup in April 1978 paved the way for the formation of two opposition groups: the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), drawing its main support from the Majeerteen clan of the Mudug region in central Somalia, and the Somali National Movement (SNM), based on the Isaaq clan of the northern regions. This paper argues that following the fall of Mohammed Siad Barre's regime, leaders of different opposition groups mobilized the government, military, and clan structures towards their own political ends, leading to renewed conflict. As groups with various interests/agenda emerged; I intend to explain how the faction leaders functioned as political entities and how the civil war was occurred and to give a brief in sight of the Somalia civil war from 1988-1991 including its origin, course of the war and consequence over the Somalia people by analyzing different written sources.

Keywords: Military Coup, Civil War, Faction Leaders, Political Entities, Majeerteen clan.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Somalia is found in the north eastern tip of the Horn of Africa with a single ethnic group, common language, pastoral economy, an adherence to Islam and clan based political system. The Somali speaking people form one of the largest ethnic groups in Africa, living dispersed throughout the Horn, from the Awash valley, through the Ethiopian Ogaden and in to Northern Kenya. Although Somalis are united through common descent, the Somali, 'nation' did not constitute a unitary state before colonialism. Political organization and identity was based on kinship. So, the Somali people formed their political organization from their own clans. Accordingly, Somali people were belonged to one of the six Kin-based 'clan families'; these were Dir, Issaq, Darad, Hawiye, Digil and Rahanweyne (Knife, 2002). In 1885 Somalia as other African countries had been a victim of colonialism. Its land was divided by Great Britain, France and Italy. Primarily, this land was essentially ruled by clans until Great Britain took the Northern territory while Italy was granted southern Somaliland. The French also took what is to day known as Djibouti (French Somaliland) (Lewis, 1969). As Stlftung (2008) argued that the British and Italians had different strategies and interests in Somalia. Britain was interested in Northern Somalia mainly as a source of livestock for its colony in Aden, its principal supply route to Indian Ocean through the Suez Canal. On the other side, Italians, wanted to establish huge plantation farming in Somalia. As a result, the colonial powers competed over the Somalia Peninsula which was very significant place for their own strategic interest.

However, after World War II situations were changed as a result of Italy's nominal role in the Horn of Africa. Due to this, except the French Somaliland, the Somalia region came under British administration. Accordingly in 1946 Great Britain proposed the reunification of all the Somali sub territories under the specified administration. However, this was rejected by France, USA and the Soviet Union. According to Stlftung (2008:16) one reason for this was the fear that the unified Somalia would be "De facto fall to Great Britain as a new large colony". And the second reason could be Ethiopian interest to secure Ogaden under its territory; Emperor Haile Selassie, asked the government of United States to ensure that Ogaden would remain under Ethiopian territory. Finally, in 1954 the government of USA agreed with Haileselassie regarding the establishment of US military base in Asmara Qagnaw territory in return to Ogaden ownership. In fact, USA agreement was clearly emanated from its own strategic interest over the region in general and Ethiopia in particular. Then Great Britain realized its position was hopeless and ultimately agreed to let Ogden to Ethiopia.

Eventually, on 26 June 1960 Britain granted independence to the Somali land protectorate. Four days later again the Italian administered UN Trusteeship territory of Somalia which was given by UN in 1949 after World War II also achieved independence. On 1 July 1960 the two territories joined to form Somalia Republic. Also, French Somali land, which today forms the Republic of Djibouti, the Northern frontier district, which formed part of Kenya and Ogaden became an integral part of Ethiopian territory (Dersso, 2009). After

independence Somalia held a presidential election and it was the first state in Africa while many African states were still under colonial administration (Prunier, 1995). Therefore, Aden Abdullah Osman Dear elected as a president and Mr. Abdirshid Ali Sharma'arke as prime minister for the newly independent Somalia Republic. Again in 1967 another election was undertaken and Abdirshid Ali sharma'arke the prime minister became president. Meanwhile, however, this newly elected government was not effective to administer Somalia people rather nepotism, corruption and clan competition were rapidly eroding the Somalia young democracy and undermined all economic and all social developments of the country. Gradually, the government's action led the public into demonstrations, clashes and inter-clan violence. Finally, on 15 October, 1969 the second president of Somalia Mr Abdishid Ali Sharma'arke was assassinated by one of his guards. As a result these Violence and mass movement had created a golden advantage for the military to take power. As Mohammad (2009) summed the situation "The civilian government's unpopularity encouraged the army to stage a blood less coup on 21 October 1969."

Ultimately, the Military took power under the leadership of General Mohamed Siaad Barre. In its initial period the government was welcomed by many Somalia's but it was short-lived. Meanwhile, the government adopted Scientific Socialism, nationalized all major private corporations, prohibited political parties and shut down the parliament. (Bradbury, 1997). Generally, as Bradbury (1997) expressed, for the regime of Siaad Barre nation-building consisted of creating complicated network of security structure to maintain political control rather than investments in the social or Economic developments. So, the army became the most powerful institution in the country and most of the budgets were allocated to strengthen the military. Apart from these, he had also an intention to be super power in the horn of Africa and to this end; he had formed an alliance in the beginning from Soviet Union and later from the United States. Accordingly, with Soviet finance Somalia built one of the most powerful armies in sub Saharan.

With this force Barre took in to war with Ethiopia over the Ogaden region. However, the Somalia army lost the battle and it was a turning point for the region and the beginning of the demise that led to Somalia civil war (Mesfin, 1964). Apart from Ogaden war, Siaad Barre's repressive nature of governance, inequalities between members of various groups and patrimonial rule had further aggravating the civil war and opened the way for the formation of various clannish based armed political organizations. However, the Ogaden war was concluded in 1988 peace agreement by recognizing Ethiopian control over Haud .

II. ORIGIN OF THE CIVIL WAR

2.1 The colonial administration system

The colonial administration in Somalia was mainly depending on division into various Sovereign territories. This has a direct impact on the domestic politics of Somalia and its relations with neighboring countries. This was clearly reflected after its independence by Somalia leaders to create "greater Somalia" which was formerly forwarded by Great Britain that encompasses the former colonial administrative zones from Ethiopia, Djibouti and Kenya (Dersso, 2009). Accordingly, as in the other parts of the continent, colonial rule institutionalized a centralized state system in the image of the European nation-state. This introduced political and social relations unknown to Somalia religious and clan based political tradition and social organization and undermined and transformed such indigenous structures. In addition to this, Somalia inherited separate colonial traditions became a source of tension for elites from the Italy Somali land Britain protectorate. This was because the colonizers had different administrative system so that the integration was controversial.

The administrative system of Italy was also another legacy for the outbreak of Somalia crisis. The Italians involved in the recruitment and elevation of the members of local clans. This promotion of clan members from the selected regions enforced the exploitative and extractive practices of the colonial and the post-colonial states. The ruling political elite of post colonial Somalia has been come predominantly from these clans (Dersso, 2009). The people in the North were not only marginalized but they were also subjected to repeated violence and repression by the state. As a result, the inequality inherited from colonialism has further been established in post-colonial Somalia and created inter clan mistrust and hostility and it could be taken as among the central factors that have contributed to fuel the Somali crisis.

2.2 The clan system and clan based political organizations

The most important social structure organizations in Somali society is the clan. It is the single most important element that has historically defined the identity and social relations of Somalis for centuries. Most of Somalis identify themselves in terms of their lineage or clan. Therefore, the people of Somalia belong to one of the six kin-based clan families namely the Dir, Issaq, Darood, Hawiyee, Digil and Rahanwein which are again divided patrimonial in to smaller sub-clans (Knife, 2002).

The clan system played its major role in catastrophic civil war. To this effect, Kassim argued that since Somalia attained state hood, private interest and strong competition over the resources of the country have been a marked feature among Somali elite behavior. Kassim also summed up "every elite person within the

government believed he represented the interest of his particular kinship and lineage members” Accordingly, every clan representative thought that any income obtained through any means including foreign aid was considered as a resource in which all Somalis fiercely competed and “even they considered the state resource as a gift from Allah”.

During the region of General Siiad Barre, clan divisions were manipulated and further established as some groups dominated Somalis politics and others were neglected and subjected to harsh and even violent treatments and this situation left a legacy of deep inter-clan hostility and resulted in a number of clan-base insurgencies (Dersso, 2009). Political organizations are also associated with certain clans or sub clans but they are not all territorially distinct besides some have changing alliances between groups due to internal conflicts especially Somalia attained its statehood. These opposition groups mainly organized against Siiad Barre’s government and after independence we have seen more than twelve political organizations (Knife, 2002)

Following the disastrous defeat of the Somali army in the 1977/78 Ogaden war against Ethiopia two liberation movements emerged in the north of the country. The first organized armed group was the Somali Democratic Front (SSDR) formed by Majeerteen clan official who escaped arrest following abortive coup of April 1978. It was led by Colonel Addillahi Yusuf, and backed by Ethiopian army (Menkhaus, 2008).

The second was the Somali National Front (SNF). This was not unlike the other fronts, an organization formed to fight against Barr’s regime because it was closely identified with the Marehan clan (Siiad Barre’s clan). In the other hand, Somalia National Movement (SNM) formed in exile in 1981 by members of the Isaaq clan. Its armed wing defeated the Siiad Barre army in the north-western region in 1991. The SNM became the leading group in the self-declared Republic of Somali land in May 1991 (Knife, 2010). In the fourth place we are found in the Somali Democratic Movement (SDM) – created in 1989, it was an anti-Siiad Barre front of sorts represent for the Digil and Rahanweyn clan Families.

The Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) - is also another clan based political organization created at the initiative of colonel Omar Jess early in 1990s, when he realized that the Siiad Barre regime was going to fall the SPM is the political expression of the Ogaden clans. The Southern Somali National Movement (SSNM) – This is essentially a Bimaal front (the area directly north of Kisimayo which was created in 1991 under the sponsorship of General Ayddeed to support colonel Omar Jess in his fight against the SNF in the area. The United Somali Front (USF) – This is a marginal front which appears to be the political expression office Issa clans. Based on the extreme North West it is supported by the Republic of Djibouti which is also politically dominated by the Issa clan. The Somali Democratic Alliance (SDA) – This is a fighting front representing the north western Gadabursi clans. During the civil war, it fought on the government side against the SNM. The united Somali party (USP) – The USP is not a fighting front but a political party of very old standing. The USP was created in the late 1950s, in British Somali land by the northern populations belonging to the Darod clan family. The Somali National Democratic union (SNDU) – This is a very small front created in 1992 to represent the two small Lakasse and Ortoble clans (Darod clan family) of central Somalia. The Somali African Muki organization (SAMO) – This is a defensive front created by the Southern Negroid people who live in the Juba and Wabishebele valleys.

The Somali National Union (SNU) – Like SAMO-this is an organization of non-Somali people of the lower Juba, it is led by Mohamed Rajis Mohammed and Saaid Omar, Marino. (Prunier, 1995). Generally majority of these organizations was set up against Siiad Barre’s dictatorial rule but there have been also an organization that supports the regime especially from his own clan and his family’s clan. Therefore, the emergence of these clan based political organizations can be taken as one major and root factor for the outbreak of civil war in Somalia.

2.3 The impact of Cold War

During cold war Somalia was one of the strategic importance for the two antagonistic super powers of USSR and USA .These countries by the time had their own interest over Somalia especially to secure Gulf of Aden (Mohammed, 2009). Indeed, Siiad Barre government formed an alliance from both countries in different time. In return Especially the USSR as well as the east block until 1977/78 Ogaden war provided different modern weapons and make him one of the owners of Africa’s largest standing armies. However, by 1985,100 percent of the state’s development budget and 50 percent of its recurrent budget was funded by foreign aid. Accordingly, as Menkhaus (2008) summed up the situation “When aid was frozen, the Somali states capacity quickly evaporated.” Therefore, army without economic development is meaningless so that this can be also taken as a major factor for the collapse of Somalia state. Apart from these, weapons were used to arm some of the clans and there was a high traffic of different weapons in Somalia under different factions. So, this can be taken as, “adding fuel to the fires.”

2.4 Repressive nature of the Government of Siaad Barre

From its beginning, Siaad Barre's government came to power in 1969 using a military coup by overthrowing the government that had been established through election. In fact, the civilian government had been also its own defects. Although Barre's advent to power gained the support of the public in its early years owing to the revival of the economy and the policy of national unity, the government soon became despotic and authoritarian. In fact, Barre's authoritarian regime sustained itself both politically and economically through external military and Economic growth. Because, one of the main characteristics of Barre's government was, its huge reliance on external resources and its failure to build an internal Economic basis. The state was for most of its activities dependent on aid from its cold war Ally's. However, the resources were mostly used to reward supports of the region and to expand the security apparatus of the government, particularly the military. As a result, when at the end of the cold war the sources of external donation dried up, then the state was left without the necessary means to support itself (Ismail and Green 1999).

Another character of Barre's regime was corruption and patrimonial system of governance. To this effect, Deresso (2009) Stated that:-

Not withstanding its initial policy of national unity the regime resorted to clan politics to entrench its grip on power. It promoted members of the Darood clan family with the structures of the states and elites from this group controlled all levers of the economy as well. The representation of members of Barre Darood clan in the cabinet rose from 32 percent to 50 percent during his regime.

As a result, this patrimonial system of governance created socio-economic inequality between members of various clans. And it could be also a reason that for the emergence of clan based armed organizations. Furthermore, another important and an immediate cause for the civil war in Somalia was "Somalia's irredentist foreign policy," principally that aspect of it aimed at Ethiopia. These two countries were involved in supporting rebel groups fighting against each other. Ethiopia provided military support and a base for Somali opposition movements, which in turn Siaad Barre's regime armed and deployed Somalia armed groups in Ogaden region fighting against Ethiopia. Thus, the devastating aspect was opened in 1977 known as Ogaden war. (Mesfin, 1964).

The Ogaden war had been takes place in 1977/78. But the cause of the war started since Somalia independence. The new Republic of Somalia was very ambitious to build "Greater Somalia and adopted a five pointed star symbolizing the five territories which Greater Somalia wanted to possess with this objective. And the Somalia government rejected all treaties concerning the boundaries between Somalia and Ethiopia. Even in 1964 the Somalia leaders began a series of clashes along Ethio-Somalia border but the Somalia army was defeated. Nevertheless, like his predecessors Saaid Barre revived the policy of unifying all Somali claimed territories and to achieve this end in 1977 Somalia led to "a war of aggression" against Ethiopia to reclaim the Somali Ogaden for Somalia, However, in 1978 the Somalia army defeated by the soviet and Cuban backed Ethiopian army. Defeat was a turning point for the Barre regime, and the beginning of the demise that led to the Somali Civil War. (Bradbury, 1997).

III. COURSE OF THE CIVIL WAR

The Ogaden war was concluded in 1988 peace agreement between Somalia and Ethiopia. The peace agreement recognized Ethiopian control over Haud rather than creating greater Somalia. In addition to this, Somalia defeat in Ogaden also resulted a mass movement of Ogadeni refugees in to the north of Somalia and this created another tension over the land of Northerners. This causes a violent attack by the SNM on the Northern cities of Burco and Hargisa in May 1988. These proved to be the opening of Somalia civil war (Stftung, 2008:19). In fact, there was a coup attempt before the SNM opposition against Siaad Barre's government by the Somalia Salvation front (SSDF) in 1978. The SSDF was supported by the Ethiopian government. This was basically because of the cold war rivalry between the two countries over Ogaden region. Accordingly, the SSDF in the early 1980's managed to control some border territory in Mudug region, home of the SSDF leader Abdillahi Yusuf's sub clan (prunier, 1999).

In return, In order to reverse this threat from the majeerten attack Siaad Barre government used his clan and his family clan members mainly on three clans. These were the Marhan, his father's clan, Ogaden (his mother's clan) and Dolbahante, his own clan. The patronage system was nick named MOD (for Marehan-Ogaden-Dolbalante), and all these clans were belong to Darod clan family. (Ibid: 5). So, the response of Saaid Barre's government was very harsh more than 2,000 majeerten clan members were died in Mudug region (Bradbury, 1997).

The Somalia National movement (SNM) was the first armed group after the coup of SSDF to start opposition against Siaad Barre's government. Accordingly, it started its official opposition in 1980. It was founded by business men and religious leaders in London under Issaq clan members. Thus the immediate cause of the conflict was the enormous number of Ogaden refugees movement and control of the land of Issaq clan;

however, in adequate distribution of development resources and government's business regulation particularly the livestock and 'Qaat' trade initiated Issaq clan against the regime (Bradbury, 1997).

Nevertheless, before Somalia independence the Issaq clan made up the majority of the population in British Somaliland. However, after Somalia independence there was a feeling that political representation in Somalia's affairs resembled to Southerners. This was because major governmental positions were held under Southerners. Therefore, the SNM leaders had wanted to control and hold key government positions.

Another important factor was the government control of Northern port of Berbera a major outlet to the Persian Gulf and regulates a livestock trade. (Menkaus, 2008). This port was very important port especially for Issaq clan members as a source of income from the livestock trade to the Gulf countries. Furthermore, in 1983 the Saaid Barre's regime also refused to allow on Qaat cultivation which flourished in the North West. By this time, the Issaq members considered as an attack against their business. As a result, in May 1988 the SNM attacked and captured Northern cities of Burco and Hargisa. But the response of the government was very savage. It ends with a massive and indiscriminate attack against the entire Issaq clan and resulting in 50,000 casualties and 400,000 refugees. However, this mass killing was further worsened the situation in Somalia and popular grievances against the government increased across the country.

Although this brutal attack had been supported by civilians in all parts of the country, the third organized war was undertaken with the Ogaden clan which is known as Siiad Barre's mother clan and formerly organized under MOD. In the beginning this group was organized for the support of Barre's regime since it was his mother's clan. However, the growing power of the Marehan, his father's clan within the military than the Ogaden caused the soldiers to fight against Barre's government. This was further worsened in April 1989 when Barre dismiss his defense minister Colonel Omar Jess from work by suspecting as an actor of a rebellion in Ogadeni soldiers. Then, Colonel Omar Jess formed the Somalia patriotic movement in the early 1990 (Prunier, 1999). Indeed, as Bradbury (1995) noted that the rebellion in Kismayo was also extended between Marehan and Ogaden pastoralists over the pastoral resource of Juba region. Therefore, this situation clearly showed that the breakup of the (MOD) alliance that had dominated the ruling group in Somalia. Again after this dispute in June 1989, a second Ogaden front was formed under Colonel Omar Jess in the Southern front particularly a Hargisa.

Finally, Barre's down fall was caused by the emergence in 1989 of a Hawiye-based military force, the united Somali congress (USC) in Somalia's central range lands (Peter Halden, 2008:26). The USC had been formed as an answer to communal punishments of Hawiye civilians by the Barre regime. In October 1989 Hawiye soldiers mutinied in the town of Galkiyo. And from this town, later fighting quickly spread through the regions of mudug, Galgaduud and Hiran. However, the government responded by heavily massacres and bombing villages finally in December 1990, having agreed a joint campaign with the SNM and SPM, USC took the war into Mogadishu. Similarly, in 1999, the Digil and Rahanweyne, sub-clans formed Somalia Democratic Movement (SDM) in order to remove Barre's government but they had been played a limited role. In addition to SDM in the same year a Dolbunte based Somali united front and the Gadabursi based democratic alliance were formed. But they also played in significant role for fighting against dictatorship (Bradbury, 1997).

Ultimately, in July 1989, a mass movement or popular protests erupted in Mogadishu against the Barre's authoritarian government. This was first begun by the assassinations of the Catholic Bishops of Mogadishu and the arrest of religious leaders. Because the SNM was funded by religious leader's so that his attack had firstly gone to religious leaders. Like other fronts the government killed 450 people and also took a mass arrest especially from the Issaq clan which was the main core place of SNM. At this moment, in May 1990 more than 100 famous Somalia citizens signed an open letter condemning the regime's policies and calling on it to accept a process of discussion with the opposition groups to bring about a solution to the political turmoil. Among these 100 prominent Somali citizens, the government arrested 45 of them and charged with treason (Simons, 1994) and this situation create another big mass demonstration against the action of the government and also fastened the fall of Siiad Barre.

Generally, as Prunier(1999)noted that "towards, the end of 1990, the government did not control more than 10 or 15 percent of the national territory doom was in the war." In turn, the rest of the country was in the hands of a variety of clan-based political movements, the SNM in the Northwest, a revived SSDF in the North East, the USC in the Center and SNM in the South. Finally, the factions hold Mogadishu in January 1991, then Barre fled Mogadishu on 26 January 1991 to his home area in South-West Somalia, There he try to reconstitute his army under Somali National front (SNF) and twice attempting to recapture Mogadishu. In April 1992 Barre fled Somalia to Kenya and eventually moved to Nigeria where he died in January 1995. Besides this, the SNM controlled the North – West and declared independence as the republic of Somaliland in May 1991. The SSDF also gained control over the North-East. However, in the South the USC soon split in two different Hawiye factions, each based on different clans. The Habar- Gibir under Aideed, and the Abgal under Ali Mahdi Mohammed. These two factions fought each other in a sense of antagonism. From this on ward a new era was about to start. (Peter Halden, 2008)

3.1 Early Attempts at National Reconciliation before the fall of Saaid Barre

Although the Siaad Barre government had tried to introduce Somali political reforms especially after roots in Mogadishu, the opposition against the government had not been cool down. Rather all the opposition groups had rejected the reforms forwarded by Siaad Barre and they considered as an ordinary means to stay on power. (Bradbury: 1995). Therefore, to bring final peace agreement the African leaders discussed in Djibouti on 11 January 1991. The aim of this conference was to resolve the outgoing crisis in Somalia and brought the various groups into agreement. Accordingly, the conference adopted different declarations.

Accordingly, Somalia groups meet again in Djibouti between 15 and 21 July 1991. In this meeting the participants were more in number than the first meeting; It includes inter-governmental leaders and also representatives from Germany, the United States, France, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Yemen, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Kenya ,Uganda, the Sudan, Oman. USSR, China, the Arab league, OAU, OIC, EEC had been participated. Ultimately, the conference was concluded to work towards the establishment of a cease-fire among the movements involved in the fratricidal war, with effect from 26 July 1991. Control of respect of the cease fire and the restoration of peace throughout the country which shall be the responsibility of a Somali Committee composed of representatives of the movements and of the provisional government. In turn, the provisional government shall have the power to take appropriate steps to safeguard the peace and security of the country (Knife, 2002).

The conference had also established provisional government- The provisional government had also guaranteed to take appropriate steps to safeguard the peace and security of the country. To this effect, Mr, Ali Mahdi Mohammed from Hawiye clan appointed as president of the republic of Somalia for two years on 18 august 1991. However, general Aided did not accept Ali-Mahadi's presidency, as a result the two factions came to struggle. Finally, thousands of citizens flee into the neighboring countries and Mogadishu again becomes the battle ground. Including these two Djibouti reconciliation conferences there had been 14 peace conferences to bring an end to the fighting in Somalia since the early 1990s. Some were held under the auspices of United Nations or governments in the Horn of Africa. However, these all efforts have largely failed to bring about the lasting peace in Somalia. (Dagne,2008).

IV. CONSEQUENCES OF THE CIVIL WAR

4.1 Lose of Life and Displacement of population

The number of deaths in the Northern towns has been estimated at around 100,000 up to 50,000 people are believed to have lost their lives in the capital city, Hargisa, as a result of summary executions, aerial bombardments and ground attacks carried out by government troops (Ahmed and Green, 1999).

4.2 Lose of Livelihoods

The exact number of animals lost is still unknown but it is estimated that more than half of the country's total livestock population was killed. In addition to these the troops also destroyed water sources by blowing up or drawing water reservoirs. Apart from these, crop production was also devastated by the war since all farmers were forced to abandon cultivation for the years of conflict.

4.3 Social and Economic Costs

The war destroyed market centers- while transport routes virtually shut down. Rattler the government owned port Berbera used as the only line to export livestock's. So that during this time market exchange through this port was the only means of survival for the rural formalin people. Because the local markets for meat had been collapsed and it had a devastating effect, forcing many to dispose of large number of their animals.

4.4 Impact of Famine

Even after their defeat the remnants of Barrie's forces maintained a strong base in the inter-riverine region for nearly a year, destroying villages and crops, animals were killed or stolen and also forcing hundreds of farmers to flee to the neighboring countries. As a result, the inter riverine people were trapped between Aideed's forces in the North, Barrie's in North West, and Morgan's- Barrie's son in law in the South, in what became known as the "triangle of death". Generally, at the height of civil war in 1991-92 a major drought hit the area, leading a devastating famine which killed between 300,000 and 500,000 and affected as many as three million (Ahmed and Green, 1999).

4.5 Population Displacement impacts

The war in the south created a huge displacement of people, and it estimated 1.7 million over one third of the entire population in the south. As many as quarter of a million people from rural areas flow in to Mogadishu, where aid agencies had set up "relief camps". As the war in Mogadishu and the surrounding areas intensified, most of the city residents and internal refugees were displaced, again creating massive flows of moving

population. In the other hand the residual services and institutions that had survived the radical erosion of the late Barr's years collapsed in the ensuing civil war. Key infrastructures, such as water and power generators, refineries air and road were destroyed or ceased to function because of non-maintenance. Schools and hospitals were targeted during the initial functional fighting in Mogadishu and surrounding areas.

V. CONCLUSION

At independence Somalia was considered unique in Africa, being a state founded on a single ethnic group. However after independence especially from 1988 onwards it has been worked by internal conflicts. The major causes for such internal conflicts were the legacies of European colonialism a kinship system, cold war Geopolitics, militarization, the abuse of power, corruption and human rights violation; all has been played their impact for the crisis in Somalia. Finally, the authoritarian regime of Siaad Barre became overthrown by different functions. Nevertheless, Somalia became a `failed state` anarchy, chaos and instability replaced the central government. Two blocks were emerged between to functions general Mohamed Farah Aydeed and Ali Mahdi Mohammed from the Hawiye clan. As a result Somali went back to traditional clan warfare.

During the civil war and after the civil war there were attempts to resolve the conflict and to establish central governments but all reconciliation meetings were failed. In fact, there had been also efforts to establish Transitional Government from different clan baled opposition parties. However, it was not accepted by all warlords. As a result, Somalia still now lived without a central government. Even there was also an attempt of humanitarian intervention by the government of USA under UN resolution. But it was not also successful except the dying of many people from both sides.

In this case many Somali intellectuals, politicians and the international community generally, have argued that regulation and security can be provided only by re-established a strong state authority. However, doing so would have to contest with political, social and economic forces that continue to promote statelessness. These include interests that profit from the economy of plunder, militia leaders whose power base rests or mobilization and fear, and entire clans that benefit from the occupation of valuable real estate in Mogadishu and the riverine valleys.

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