The Collapse of State in Somaliaa Model for the Unsuccessful State

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Abstract

Somalia is considered a model for the failed state due to the collapse of its government since the suggestion of such a term in the Clinton administration based on the indicators suggested by the Fund of American Peace and Journal of Foreign Policy to describe some states showing inability in fulfilling their basic duties. Failed states are also characterized by the presence of armed militia that are out of control by the central government. Therefore, failed state lacks the ability to achieve stability or to control regions within the borders of the state. As Somalia enjoys a strategic geographical location in the African Horn, this study aimed to identify the main reasons for the collapse of the Somali government and the decline in legitimacy of the governing power in this state, the division of Somalia into small regions ruled by the militias. The study concluded that lack of central governmental control , the inability to secure political stability and the strong rivalries on the available resources were the main cause for the civil war in Somalia and has turned this country to a rich environment for terrorist groups. In light of these results, some recommendations were suggested.

Keywords: Failed State, Fund of American Peace, Armed Militias.

Introduction

The concept of the failed state has been one of the common notions in the political and academic fields as the intersections between the internal and external conditions became inevitable. The performance of the governing regimes, what happens in any given state is highly related to the threats faced by the international society and the regional arena.

The indicators for classifying any given state as unsuccessful depend on specific criteria while the state's ability to fulfill its basic responsibilities is one of the most contributing factors for being a successful or an unsuccessful state. The special annual scale (2010) has indicated that the first ten states were Somalia, Chad, Zimbabwe, Congo, Afghanistan, Iraq, Central Africa, Guainía and Pakistan, acknowledging that these ten states have not been out of the most fifteen unsuccessful states in the states since the publication of the first report in 2005. They belong to the exhausted countries. The journal indicated that the fail in this case is chronic in the state (Foreign Policy, 2014).

Based on the results reported in studied examining the future of the unsuccessful state, these studies have agreed that the chronic failure will eventually leads to the collapse of the state as various factors interact in this respect such as the regional and international environment, several internal factors such as the failure of the political regime in containing the escalated violence, the inability to meet the demands of the opposing internal political groups, achieve political stability and the increase of the wealth in specific geographical regions in the state. The question is to how extent these states can stay in the swirl of the failed state? This issue will eventually lead to the collapse of the state as the internal factors leading to collapse are present and interactive at all levels, whether at the security level or at the economic one, but the regional and international resistance of such collapse as they wish to redraw their authority regions and to and to force submission on other states for political purposes by influencing the various aspects in these regions without the use of military force.

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Problem of the Study

The problem of the study stems from its attempt to examine the causes leading to the collapse of Somalia, which can be attributed to political, economic and social reasons, which may be the reasons for the collapse or the division of this state as it is one of the first ranking states in failure indications on the annual scale of failed states in the world.

Significance of the Study

This study provides a comprehensive analysis for the failed state concept as a new model in the contemporary international relations. In addition, this study may enrich the scientific research in providing models of Horn of Africa states.

Objectives of the Study

A- To examine the concept of the failed state.
B- To investigate the indicators of the failed state.
C- To study and examine the political regime in Somalia.
D- To identify the factors leading to the dissolution of Somali state.

Hypotheses of the Study

1- Military coup d'état and lack of political stability will lead to the dissolution and collapse of the state.
2- Corruption and struggles on authority are the main reasons for the dissolution of the state.

Design of the Study

The study employed both the descriptive, analytical and historical narrative design.

Keywords: Failed state, Radical parties, State collapse, National unity.

Chapter One

Failed State

The political literature has begun addressing the term failed state in the early 1990's of the 20th century especially after the Bill Clinton administration began using this term to describe some the state that were no longer able to fulfill their basic responsibilities and functions, especially related to security issues, particularly those threatening the international security. Several scholar cite two main studies that have played a pivotal role in the emergence of the failed state countries, the first was Gerald B. Helman, and Steven R. Ratner study published in the American Foreign Policy Journal in 1993, while the second was William I. Zartman study addressing the collapsed state in 1995 (Charles, 2008).

As such, the United States is the pioneering state in using this term on the security, political and academic levels. There were other equivalent terms such as the collapsed state, the crisis state, vulnerable state, loose state, or fragile state; leading to misconceptions in the right term able to describe this phenomenon exactly (Abu Amra', America and the Failed State, 2014). Therefore, the term failed state did not emerge from the thin air, but it was carefully studied and examined by several official and non- official bodies and systems, which led to that the media tools in the western countries have begun in promoting this term accompanied by the public attitude represented by the diplomatic, media and security and military operations. Additionally, there were problems related to the concept of failed states such as the use of terrorist or rogue (https/Neelwafurat.com). Then, the American Scholar Noam Chomsky employed the term Failed State as the tile of his newly published book. Using this title, he wished to criticize the American state as being unable or unwilling to protect its citizens from violence and destruction; a state considering itself as being above the law (Chomsky, 2007).

Considering that the state with adequate sovereignty is the key player in the international system, it is expected to assume limited functions according to the Viber State model to secure the welfare and security of its citizens. Those states unable to fulfill these responsibilities are called several terms and names, including the use if vulnerable, fragile or colapsed state (Omar, 2011, p.93). In fact, these terms are just embodied under the umbrella of one single terms, which is the state's inability to fulfill its commitments and responsibilities, which are to provide the basic needs for the majority of its nation (Sonja, 2014, p.199).

Section One

The Concept of Failed State

Failed state is defined as the one losing control on the valence tools outside the legal frame. Then, it becomes unable to achieve stability and peace for its people, in controlling its lands. As such, failed state cannot secure the economic growth of the fair distribution of the social commodities. It is usually characterized by lack of economic fairness accompanied by fierce competition on the available resources (Rose, 2005). Another definition of the failed state considers it as the state unable to maintain itself as one nation- unified state, either due to internal problems threatening its cohesion while presenting external and internal challenges. Others see the failed states as those witnessing serious problems on the political level, and these may include losing control on borders, significant increase in criminal and political violence rates, rise of hostility and aggression between the religious, ethnic and cultural groups, civil war, terrorism, weak institutions, weak or inappropriate infrastructure, high levels of administrative and political corruption, collapsed health system, high rates of children mortality rates, low immortality rates, low GPD per capita and high inflation rates (Robert, 1996, 2002).

The definitions of the failed states agree that this concept includes the following (Omar, 2011, p. 95):

1-The decline of laws and order in the state, as the public institutions lose their monopolist control in the legitimacy of using violence; being unable to protect its citizens or these institutions are used to oppress citizens and intimidate them.
2-Vulnerable or fading ability to meet the needs and desires of citizens, providing public service for them and ensuring the welfare of the citizens.
3-On the international level, the state loses its credibility among the other states.
4-It seems that all the above definitions of the failed state implies that the state is no longer able to assume its basic obligations and responsibilities.

But, the concept of the failed state was criticized as it faces several analytical problematic issues due the ambiguity of this concept from one side, the multidimensional employment of such a concept while being obscure from the other side (Abdel Wahhab, 2011, 201). In this respect, Charles T Cal describes the use of failed state concept as being useless to a great degree, and should be abandoned unless it implies the total decline of the state as there is no more an internal recognition of the power of state, nor there is an external recognition by the international society of the power of the state, and this is found only in one state, which is Somalia. It seems that this definition intersects between the concept of the declined state and the failed one, and cannot differentiate between the two concepts.

In addition, some scholars finds it necessary to distinguish between the concept of the failed state and other similar concepts such as weak state and declined state (Robert I, 2014). In this respect, Edward Newman claims that weak state is the one that the central government is unable to control the public order within its borders, or the one unable to maintain its control on the border, cannot ensure that the citizens are provided with trustworthy institutions, have the survival features and able to provide public services to the citizens, which has an effect on the economic performance of the state and welfare of citizens. While the concept of the failed states implies that the central government- if present- is hopeless in maintaining the public authorities or institutions. In addition, the failed state lacks central control on the lands governed. Then, the failed state is really absence of authority by the central government on the lands (Edward, 2007,465). As such, to distinguish between the failed state and the weak state depends on the presence of latter, but they are weak. As for the failed state, it is described as such as it is unable to maintain control on the institutions governed by the state, and then, it loses all forms of sovereignty on its lands Caty Cement developed a three model diagram illustrating the state of governments an stated in the different regions of the world, which are relatively strong state, states in crisis, and declined state. She uses two almost identical concepts (state in crisis) and failed state as the latter is a state proceeding the decline of government. These are as follows (Caty, 2005)

Relatively strong state	State in crisis	Declined state
The state is able to control the internal struggles and impose security. The infrastructure is able to provide basic services on the majority of sovereign regions for a permanent time period.	The state is unable to control the internal struggles and impose security. The infrastructure is able to provide basic services on the limited sovereign regions for a short time period.	The state is unable to control the internal struggles and impose security. The infrastructure is unable to provide social services on the majority of sovereign regions for a permanent time period.

As seen in the above table, the concepts of failed state, weak state or the declined can be summarized in the inability of the state in providing the basic service for the majority of its people (Sonja, 2014, 199). The difference between these concepts is the chronological order of each. The weak state, in the case of increased levels of weaknesses and decline, may become with time a failed state. The latter, in the case of sustainable failing, may become a declined state. But, the differences between the failed state and the declined state is the former implies the existence of a political power, but, it suffers from political, security, social and economic crises, while the latter refers to the decline of the political power (Robert I, 2014).

Section Two

Failed State Indicators

Since 2005, the Fund for Peace, with the collaboration with Journal of foreign Policy, embarked in issuing annual reports concerning the failed state. Several standards were developed based on a well defines scientific method that uses some complicated and advanced software that surveys thousands of news sources for collecting information and analyzing them. These criteria were framed within the (12) sub indicators addressing the social, economic, political and military aspects. The value of each individual sub- indicator ranges between 0-10. As the state scores higher on the scale, the more it is described as a failed state (Fund for Peace, 2014). The indicators used for judging the status of the state are listed in the following:

- **The political indicators:** These include the legitimacy of thepolitical regime, the forms of political elites in the state. This indicator represents the ability/ inability of the state in providing the public services for the citizens, includes the weakness of lack on implementation of the law and order enforcement, the prevalence of human rights violations, the inability of the state in controlling violent acts, lack of political stability, and the increased levels of foreign intervention in the government work, whether by a foreign country of by some individuals, parties, …etc.
- **The economic indicators:** The instability in economic development rates, the increasing levels of the national economy with gradual, but steady or severe rates, the increasing rates of poverty , corruption and lack of economic development, the declining prices in the national currency, and the dependence on foreign aides.
- **Social indicators:** The increasing level of demographic pressures which means uncontrolled increase in population numbers, the decline of individual share in the society in the distribution of the basic needs, the increases in immigration rates abroad, the immigration of human capital, the migration of people from one region to another, lack of social integration, the increasing levels of ethnic conflicts, and the decreased rated in cohesiveness in the economic and their production bodies.

In most cases, the failing of the state comes on parallel levels, as the cause of the fail and the consequence of it cannot be clearly identified. On the social level, the fail becomes the cause of the economic fail. As such, the political institutions are unable to recover the consequences and precautions resulting from the fails found in the last two aspects. This escalates the intervention of foreign powers in the affairs of government. The circle of fail may take an opposite direction as the external variables may be the starting point in the fail. Either the external variables may be the cause of fail, or they reinforce the latent fail factors in the various bodies and institutions of the state; the symptoms of fail appear on the social, political, economic and instructional levels. This is a very wide perspective which includes several and intertwining aspects, and that ensures judging the state as being failed. This may be an arbitrary and subjective judgment as this dictates the need for developing a set of indicators to be used in judging the status of fail in the state, to how extent is this fail rooted in the institutions and organizations (Journal of International Policy, 4/8/2013).

Chapter Two

The conflict in Somalia and the dissolution of the state

The factors leading to the dissolution of the state in Somalia can be divided into two main factors:First: External Factors.

Second: Internal Factors

The conflict in Somalia began in 1854 between Britain,, France and Italy when Britain conquered the Somali port, Barbara. France was present in Somalia when it bought Obouk port- known now as Djibouti- from heads of Somali tribes. Then, Djibouti and Tajoura' were occupied officially in 1884,1885 and 1888 based on the claim that these states wanted to secure their ships passing by Bab al-Mandab (Abdullah, 1988, 55).

Souktera was occupied in 1507 by the Portuguese, then was left by them in 1511 due to the hard living conditions in this island. In 1925, Britain and Italy occupied Somalia and each part of this state was known by the occupying state. The name of English Somali, and its capital was Harjeesa, while the Italian Somalia took Mogadishu and the French Somalia and its capital Djibouti (Abdullah, 1988, 49).

The Italian, English and French occupations were faced by the revolution headed by Mohammad Abdulla Al Hasan, whom his followers were called al Daraweesh. He took the same route taken by Mohammad Ahmad Al Mahdi in Sudan in that date. His war against the British, Italian and Ethiopian troops lasted for more than 21 years beginning in 1900 and ending in 1921. Is effort to unify Somalia failed. This war has led to draw borders that has divided the same people to 5 parts. Thus, the existence of several forms of occupation and external dominance on the Somali people has resulted in catastrophic consequences that their effects remained even after the end of the colonization. Until this date, the struggles in Somalia are still present and the increasing intervention by the two superpowers has aggravated these conflicts (Hitti Philip – 1967).

After the end of World War II, and the defeat of Italia, the Allies decided to divide the regions affiliated to the Italian government between them. The Soviet Union suggested to put the Italian colonies, which were the Italian Somalia and Eretria under the Soviet custody, but the Allies disapproved this suggestion (Abdullah, 1988, 142). Since then, the Soviet Union approached to Somalia from different angles since 1960 by providing economic and military aids.While the Soviets were arming the Somali army and training it, the United States was doing the same with the Ethiopian army. Thus, both superpowers escalated the struggle as they were deeply involved in the struggles in the African Horn.

The relationship were very close between Somalia and the Soviet Union from 1960 to 1976. Somalia remained a main interest for the Soviet Union until the Marxist regime came the dominating power in Ethiopia in 1976. After that, the Soviets turned their interest to Ethiopia which was more populated and represented a more progressive and revolutionary political regime.

As for the United States, after the collapse of Mohammad Seyyad Barry regime in 1991, the military struggle between the Somali military wings escalated, chaos dominated all parts of this country. Mogadishu became a ghost city and the sights of hyenas, dogs and cats was a common scene. As the United States always takes the role of the leader of the free world, its main concern is always on international stability and the protector of democracy, it became more interested in maintaining the status quo. It headed with its military force to Somalia, imposed itself as the international police who works in keeping security and stability in the different countries all over the world. It is well known that the entrance of the American troops has achieved nothing for the United States and Somalia. the real situation is that when the United States realized that the members of its military troops were killed daily in the streets of Mogadishu, it fled quickly defeated from Somalia as it was the case previously in Vietnam.

Somalia has long borders stripe with Ethiopia, which extends for more than 300 km. These long borders carry with them complicated tribal relationships across the lines connecting Ethiopia and Somalia due to the common neighborhood filled with conflicts. Thus, we find that the Ethiopian role in the Somali internal policy is always ambiguous and is characterized with opportunism due to the bitter conflicts between the two states based on religion across the various eras of history. The pentagon Somali flag symbolizes the three parts of Somalia, British Somalia, Italian Somalia and French Somalia in addition to Auqaddin region, which is now an Ethiopian territory and the north eastern part of Kenya, which was once a Somali territory.

Somalia was not pleased with this dissolution and attempted to regain its lost regions. It started war with Ethiopia in 1977 to restore Auqaddin region. The Somali army regained more than 90% of this region. Then, this military confront attracted other external forces such as the Soviet Union, Cuba, Eastern Germany and Israel. These provided huge military aids to Ethiopia such as advanced weapons and military experts and even Cuban soldiers. Thanks to these efforts, Ethiopia regained the lost territories in Auqaddin region. But, after the collapse of the former soviet Union, the west did provide Somalia with any forms of aids; leading to a very strong conflict.

The Arab countries tried to reduce the level of conflict between the two countries. There was a meeting with the presence of both countries in addition to a mediator from the Arab League as the Saudi representative in the league assumed this role. A relatively satisfactory agreement was reached in 1979, despite this agreement, the tensions between the two countries remained as Somalia was the victim in this agreement as the borders between the two states divided the same tribe into two separate entities, removed precious regions from Somalia. The borders between the two countries is a gun barrel ready to explode at any time. When the internal situation in this country becomes stable, and the current internal conflict ends, as the Somali people is scattered between the neighboring countries such as Sudan, Yemen, Tanzania. Kenya and Ethiopia due the collapse in the political regime in this country, lack of stability in this state. Other external factors have emerged into surface; causing the crash and decline of the Somali society and its transmission to some form of genesis.

The struggle in Somalia has turned to be an international and regional issue; leading to the entry of several international troops to disarm the militias, which happens for the first time in the history of the International Security council without the demand of a specific party.

Second: External Factors

1- The Civil Rule Stage

The internal Somali conflict is rooted in some tribal variables as the failure of the civil government in Somalia, which began in 1960 and ended in October, 1969 because it depended on the tribal faith. The civil rule was in the hands of Majertan Tribe as this form of being I power was based on tribe. This form of rule was very weak in the public institutions. The divisions and struggles emerged, and there were no social equity. Injustice and corruption dominated, and this was also true for chaos. President Abdel Rasheed Ali SharekMarki was assassinated on 16/10/1969. Thus, the civil rule experience in Somalia failed due to the opportunism of the political leaders and weakness of parties, which were unable to express any comprehensive and thorough national ideology (Khalid, 1960, 136).

2-The Military Rule Stage

This stage began with the coup d'état led by Mohammad SeyyadBarri on 21/10/1969 and his rule lasted to January, 1992. This military rule came as a response to the increasing corruption and to achieve social justice for the Somali people. But, this rule lead to the fall of the whole Somali society. It is responsible of the creation of this disperse of Somali citizens for the following reasons:

A- Themilitary rule fought any tribal act and it declared that such acts are totally forbidden. But, the military rule worked on dedicated the institutions of the government for the service of Al Mraihan tribe and strengthen its members. The hostile confrontation between this tribe and Al Majertan, Al Hawwayya and Al Issa tribes started. The military rule considered that members of these tribes as its political rivalries and they are disowned of their political rights. It must be acknowledged in this respect that Al Mamjran tribe was the one with the civil rule in Somalia. This confrontation escalated the tribal conflicts in Somalia.

B- Seyyad Barry declared his commitment and membership to the Arab countries and that Somalia is an active member in the Arab League. But, in fact, he was working on destroying the Arab identity in this country. He ordered that the Somali language must be written in Latin letters. He even issued a decree on 12/1/1973 that the elementary Somali schools use Somali language instead of Arabic in teaching. He also ordered that one of the public journals (Najmat October) to be issued in Somali instead of Arabic. The cultivated elite in Somalia claimed that Mohammad Seyyad Barry is similar to Ataturk in Turkey as both of these leaders have directed their public regimes towards the west, left both Arabs and Islam, wrote the languages of their people using Latin letters.

3-The struggle between Somali troops for power

This conflict became stronger since 1978 after the defeat of the Somali troops in Auqadeen War. One of the most allies for this war were Isaq tribes in the north and Al Majertan trine. Whom see that Mohammad SeyyadBarryy is the only responsible of creating this conflict and promoting the tribal hatred. He also encouraged the fight between the supporting tribes to fight the opposing tribes. Some military organized wings appeared in Somalia against president Mohammad Seyyad Barry. Some of these wings that helped in escalating this conflict were:

A- In 1981, , an opposition group from Isac tribe appeared in the north of Somalia. This group was an anti-group to the rule of the Somali government and this movement was welcomed by Ethiopia which provided military and logistic support. It also provide training centers for the soldiers in this opposing group in addition to providing a radio station (Atef&Saqer, 1996, 11). Isaq tribe constitute 60% of the population in north Somalia.

Conclusions

By studying the roots of conflict in Somali and the reasons behind the decline of the state, the study concludes to the following:

1. The reasons for struggle in this state are tribal in nature with some external interventions.
2. The American intervention under the umbrella of the United Nations was not for humanitarian reasons, but to take over the natural resources in this African country.
3. The famine in Somalia was not of natural causes, but because this country changed to a battle field.
4. The opposing Ethiopian position against the Islamic movement in Somalia has greatly contributed in the current status.
5. As the various regions in the country has claimed for independence, this was a major factor in the dissolution of this country.
6. The discharge of the Somali national army after the civil war has turned the country to a battle field between the different military groups.
7. The Somali conflict in 2006 between the transition government supported militarily by Ethiopia and the Islamic groups supported by the Eretria the main reason for the war between the two parties and an agency war for these two states.
8. The reasons for the state dissolution was due to lack of strong legitimacy for this state as it is unable to provide the elements of social contract.

Recommendations

The only means for resolving the conflict in Somalia is to support the return of the Somali government and to add legitimacy to the elected government no matter what is the party in power. The democratic process in this country must boosted and encourages, and the reasons behind the political and social conflicts must be resolved. There is a need for more focus on the national integration approaches to surpass the tribal divisions between the different tribes in a step for reconstructing the public institutions in Somalia. There is also a need for tribal merge within a cohesive government structure so as the faith is centered on state in the first and last place.

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