Armed Conflict in Somalia
Reviewed From Armed Conflict and Peace Mission
Perspective

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ABSTRACT: *Somalia is a failed state that is unable to perform its security and defense functions. Military coups and uprisings could not be suppressed, instead causing international conflicts that penetrated the civilian realm. This conflict which led to violence did not discourage the warring parties to immediately stop their actions. Most of the victims who fell were civilians who did not even know what the real purpose of war was. The research methods and approaches used are qualitative and literature studies. After analyzing, the results of this study found that when viewed from the historical timeline of the conflict in Somalia, this conflict has been going on for quite a long time, from 1991 to the present. Then, referring to the type of armed conflict, the conflict in Somalia is included in the type of Non-International Armed conflict, this is based on Article 1 Additional Protocol II of the Geneva Conventions. Furthermore, the result of the conflict in Somalia has resulted in the emergence of structural violence and direct violence. Where the violence is triggered by the presence of actors who make the conflict more heated, these actors include provocateurs, functional groups, and vulnerable groups.*

KEYWORDS -*armed conflict, civil war, type of conflict, sources of conflict, conflict actors*

I.   INTRODUCTION

The high level of conflict vulnerability in the African region is caused by the selection of national boundaries in Africa that do not see the logic of ethnicity and ethnic separation, the divide et impera politics that still occurs in African countries, differences in political opportunities, high vulnerability to foreign interference, poverty, corruption and kleptocracy. The Horn of Africa region is one of the regions in Africa that is still experiencing prolonged conflict. Three of the four countries that occupy this region such as Eritrea, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Somalia are often in conflict with each other (Pramoda, 2014).

Somalia is one part of this prolonged suffering. The Democratic Republic of Somalia is a country located in eastern Africa, in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden. The country is bordered by Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya. The total population of Somalia is estimated to be around 6,000,000. The country also has the largest refugee population in the entire world. The country's ethnic groups include Somali (98%) and Arabs and Asians (2%). The most widely spoken languages are Arabic and Somali (both official languages), English and Italian. Islam (Sunni) is the main religion. The condition of the country located in the East African region is increasingly alarming. This poor country is filled with many sufferings and it seems that it does not stop being plagued by problems that come in succession. The increasing number of conflicts, such as the food crisis and civil war, caused Somalia to drastically experience social, economic and political instability (BBC News, 2011). Nevertheless, Somalia is a strategic land, which is a regional key. In addition to having natural resources, such as oil, gas and uranium, the coast of Somalia includes the Red Sea as an important international maritime transportation route (Sabrina, 2012).

In terms of population, Somalia seems to have a homogeneous population composition. Almost all of the residents are of Somali ethnicity, speak Somali, and embrace Islam. But in fact, Somalia has a much more complicated and diverse population composition because they are divided into a number of clans (groups of people who have the same lineage). The existence of clans in Somalia cannot be underestimated because the

Somali people tend to put the interests of their own clans above all else. In 1969, Muhammad Siad Barre who came from the Marehad / Marihan clan to become the new leader of Somalia through a military coup. During his reign in Somalia, Barre applied an iron-fisted style of government over his people. Barre also has aspirations to expand Somalia & had made a military invasion of Ogaden - an Ethiopian region with a Somali majority population - in 1977 (Eusocialist Tawon, 2015).

The civil war in Somalia has been going on since the fall of the Siad Barre regime in 1991. Siad Barre is a member of the Marehan clan, or sub-clan of Darood and served as president of Somalia on October 21, 1969 through a military coup. The coup came a day after the death of President Abdirashid Ali Shermarke. Siad Barre succeeded in establishing himself as the president of Somalia for the next several decades after carrying the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC).

After Barre's fall, the groups that were originally united are now be split in two because they both have ambitions to become the sole ruler of Somalia. As a result, the armed conflict continued into what we know as the Somali civil war. Somalia is now in turmoil on a national scale and each armed group has its own territory. The capital city of Mogadishu and the southeastern Somalia region itself is under the control of theUnited Somali Congress(USC) group led by Muhammad Farrah Aidid. Meanwhile in northern Somalia, Somali National Movement (SNM) declared the establishment of a splinter state called the "Republic of Somaliland". The deteriorating security conditions in Somalia due to the civil war have led to crop failures and famine throughout Somalia (Eusocialis Tawon, 2015).

II.   RESEARCH METHODS

The method used in this study is a qualitative research method. In qualitative research, the researcher is the main instrument in collecting and interpreting data, and other tools (if any) are only a tool for the researcher (Hardani, et al., 2020). This study is carried out by reviewing or interpreting written material based on its context. Written material in the form of published notes, textbooks, newspapers, manuscripts, articles and previous similar research. The stages of this research are choosing the topic to be studied, digging up information, determining the focus of the research, collecting data sources, reading data sources, finding relevant theories used to dissect the data obtained, analyzing based on relevant theories and data, and then drawing conclusions and recommendation.

III.   RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 History of Conflict in Somalia

Adnan in the quote (Sandiang, 2019) explains that after the end of the World War new conflicts emerged. Conflicts that often occur are no longer conflicts between countries but conflicts that occur within a country's territory in the form of armed conflicts, civil wars, separatist movements, and other domestic wars. Somalia's internal conflict is a chronic and deep-rooted conflict. After the cold war until entering the era of globalization, conflicts that occur are now more often found in countries in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. However, the number of conflicts that occur between these regions is dominated by the African region which has a conflict vulnerability level 3 times higher than other regions.

Ikoma and Hennida (in Sandiang, 2019) explain that Africa is a continent inhabited by 54 sovereign countries, 9 regions, and 2 independent countries with limited authority. Countries in Africa were formed as a result of decolonization after World War II, based on the principle of "uti possidetis juris", countries in Africa inherited the territorial boundaries set by European colonials. This was arranged during the Berlin conference of 1884-1885. Colonial governments determined the partition of African countries in the conference and determined ethnic groups to be dominant in certain areas.

At first, the African country was colonized by three European countries namely Britain, France and Italy. Then these three colonial countries divided the African region into several separate regions. The formation of British Somaliland and Italian Somalia was the beginning of the merging of territories into the Republic of Somalia. And since the formation of the Somali Republic, the emergence of ethnic movements demanding their rights to the occupied territories has become a triggering factor for conflict in Somalia (Elmi, 2011). Somalia has been in constant conflict since 1991 when the authoritarian Siad Barre government fell and since then there has been no government that has truly managed Somalia properly. Since the overthrow of the government of

Mohammed Siad Barre, Somalia continues to be plagued by conflict. Somalia has never had a functional government. Siad Barre's policy is known as 'Scientific Socialism' which aims to eliminate 'Clanism' in strengthening politics based on groups (Pramoda, 2014). Somalia is a country that is still 'less developed' where it is constantly experiencing conflicts both internally and externally with its neighboring countries, namely, Ethiopia.

The Somali invasion of Ethiopia ended in the defeat of the Somali side, but the Somali government continued to support the rebel groups in Ogaden. The Ethiopian government then responded by supporting groups opposed to the Barre regime. Entering the decade of the 1980s, Somalia's domestic conditions were deteriorating due to the country's economic decline and the Somali people becoming increasingly saturated with the Barre regime's authoritarian style of government. To maintain the continuity of his regime, Barre then formed a special force called Red Berets (RB; Red Berets; Duub Cas) in 1986. All RB members came from the Marehad clan & RB later became famous for its brutal actions against people from non-Marehad clans. The result was predictable. Instead of successfully quelling the resistance, those who opposed the Barre regime became even more persistent in their resistance by forming armed groups. Opponents of the Barre regime relied on clan fanaticism as capital to gain support for their respective groups. These groups include the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF; the Somali Salvation Democratic Front) from the Majertin clan, the Somali National Movement (SNM; the Somali National Movement) from the Isaaq clan, the Somali Patriot Movement (SPM; the Somali Patriot Movement). Who came from the Ogaden area, & United Somali Congress (USC; United Somalia Council) who came from the Hawiye clan. The many armed groups involved in the conflict to overthrow him made Barre even more cornered. Realizing that he had no other choice, Barre decided to leave Mogadishu in January 1991 before his opposing groups could occupy the capital. Barre himself is apparently still not willing to give up his reins of power. Not long after leaving Mogadishu, Barre & his followers formed a new group called the Somali National Front (SNF; Somali National Front) with the hope of being able to regain control of Somalia via armed struggle. The fall of Barre was at the same time the beginning of the start of the Somali civil war (Eusocialis Tawon, 2015).

In December 1992 the United Nations ordered the delivery of humanitarian aid & the formation of an international coalition force so that convoys carrying humanitarian aid in Somalia were safe from local militia attacks. The United States is the largest contributor to the United Nations coalition with more than 20,000 personnel. In October 1993, UN troops from the US were sent to Mogadishu to arrest Aidid because Aidid's troops frequently attacked UN troops. However, before successfully completing their mission, two US Black Hawk helicopters were shot down by Aidid's men. The UN then sent additional troops to rescue the surviving helicopter crew. Upon entering Mogadishu, they were immediately bombarded with gunfire from all directions. The helicopter crew who survived were eventually rescued, but the UN was forced to abandon its plans to capture Aidid. After the helicopter crashed in Mogadishu, there was pressure from the American people to stop their country from interfering in the Somali conflict. The US finally withdrew all its troops from Somalia in 1994. The US action was followed by other member states of the coalition forces. By 1995, all troops of the United Nations coalition forces had withdrawn Somalia. The presence of UN troops in Somalia managed to prevent mass deaths from starvation, but they failed to improve the security situation in Somalia and the Somali civil war continued after the departure of UN troops (Eusocialis Tawon, 2015).

3.2 Type of Conflict

International armed conflict in the Commentary Geneva Convention I 1949, the definition of international armed conflict reads "Any difference arising between two states and leading to the intervention of members of the armed forces is an armed conflict within the meaning of Article 2, even if one of the Parties denies the existence of a state of war. It makes no difference how long the conflict lasts, or how much slaughter takes place" (Pictet, in Mahfud, 2015), which can be said that international armed conflict is the same as war between countries where the subjects are states. In 1974-1977, a Diplomatic Conference was held which later resulted in two Additional Protocols to the 1977 Geneva Conventions.

The concept of war of national liberation is recognized as part of international armed conflict. According to article 1 paragraph (4) of Additional Protocol I, international armed conflict also includes colonial domination, alien occupation and racist regimes (which later became known as CAR conflict) in an effort to

exercise the right to self-determination of a nation. Thus, the understanding of international armed conflict becomes broader.

Pietro Verri categorizes the criteria for Internationalized Internal Armed Conflict, as follows: (1) the country in which the rebellion occurred recognizes the rebels as belligerents or warring parties, (2) one or more foreign countries assist the armed forces of the parties involved, and (3) two foreign countries intervene with the armed forces and assist the warring parties (Prajodi et al., 2015).

Based on the above description related to the type of international armed conflict, we can understand that the conflict in Somalia is a non-international type of armed conflict. We can understand this from the beginning when the Somali population tends to put the interests of their own clan above all else. Then in 1969, Muhammad Siad Barre who came from the Marehad / Marihan clan to become the new leader of Somalia through a military coup. Somalia's domestic condition is getting worse due to the declining economy of the country & the increasingly saturated Somali people against the authoritarian style of government of the Barre regime. To maintain the continuity of his regime, Barre then formed a special force called Red Berets (RB; Red Berets; Duub Cas) in 1986. All RB members came from the Marehad clan & RB later became famous for its brutal actions against people from non-Marehad clans. The result was predictable. Instead of successfully quelling the resistance, those who opposed the Barre regime became even more persistent in their resistance by forming armed groups. Opponents of the Barre regime relied on clan fanaticism as capital to gain support for their respective groups. These groups include the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF; the Somali Salvation Democratic Front) from the Majertin clan, the Somali National Movement (SNM; the Somali National Movement) from the Isaaq clan, the Somali Patriot Movement (SPM; the Somali Patriot Movement). who came from the Ogaden area, & United Somali Congress (USC; United Somalia Council) who came from the Hawiye clan.

The description above also answers the existence of elements of non-international armed conflict in Article 1 of Additional Protocol II, namely (1) the place where the conflict takes place is within its own internal, namely Somalia and involves the government armed forces with rebels, (2) rebel forces, namely those against the Barre regime, (3) rebel forces take control of parts of the rebellious country, and (4) rebel forces or groups formed control various areas in Somalia.

3.3Sources of Conflict

When viewed from the factors causing the civil war in Somalia, at least there are several things that cause civil war in a country to occur, especially for developing countries, especially Africa, the first is the process of state formation and national building, the rise of ethnicity and nationalism, socio-economic factors and the link between the arms race and conflict (Barbara, 2004). Somalia is a failed state which is not even able to perform its security and defense functions (Fortuna, 2005). Military coups and uprisings could not be suppressed, instead causing international conflict. Most of the victims who fell were civilians who did not even know what the real purpose of the war was "if we win then for what, if we lose then by whom?" when the international community began to repair war and the threat of nuclear war, failed countries still had to face threats and even threatened their own citizens, the beginning of the conflict was a crisis against the authority of all power organizations, each party, both the state and society, was in a circle of "fear" and "interest" (Buzan, 1991).

In addition, according to Johan Galtung in his book entitled Johan Galtung, Pioneer of Peace Research explains the forms of violence, including direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence. These types of violence can explain the source of the conflict in Somalia. Direct violence can be seen clearly as well as the perpetrators. Structural violence hurts basic human needs, but no direct perpetrator can be held accountable. Meanwhile, cultural violence is the legitimacy of structural violence as well as direct cultural violence. The following is an explanation regarding the structural and cultural violence that occurred in Somalia:

a. Structural Violence

Structural violence in Somalia is basically in the form of (a) First, Somalia's domestic condition is getting worse due to the decline in the country's economy, (b) Second, there is a condition where all regions in Somalia experience crop failures which result in famine (c) Third, people are increasingly saturated Somalia against the authoritarian style of government of the Barre regime, and

(d) Fourth, the existence of clans in Somalia which cannot be underestimated because the Somali population has a tendency to place the interests of their own clans compared to the common interests.

The existence of this structural violence can certainly cause other negative impacts. Violence, according to Johan Galtung, is a cycle, or better known as the concept of 'violence breeds other violence'. Structural violence can lead to direct violence, when parties who are unable to meet their basic needs due to structural violence try to get out of the 'structural cage' that holds them back (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). In Somalia, it is very possible that there will be prolonged violence due to the egocentricity of each clan which has an impact on the economy, politics, and socio-culture.

b. Direct Violance

Galtung explained that direct violence can be seen clearly as well as the perpetrators. (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). Based on the conflict in Somalia, this direct violence was caused by the emergence of ethnic movements that demanded their rights to the occupied territories, which became a trigger factor for the conflict in Somalia. Then in 1969, Muhammad Siad Barre who came from the Marehad / Marihan clan to become the new leader of Somalia through a military coup. During his reign in Somalia, Barre applied an iron-fisted style of government over his people. Barre also has aspirations to expand Somalia & had made a military invasion of Ogaden - an Ethiopian region with a majority ethnic Somali - in 1977. To maintain the continuity of his regime, Barre then formed a special force called Red Berets (RB; Red Berets; Duub Cas) in 1986. All RB members were from the Marehad clan & RB later became famous for its brutal actions against people from non-Marehad clans. However, opponents of the Barre regime relied on clan fanaticism as capital to gain support for their respective groups.

These groups include the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF; the Somali Salvation Democratic Front) from the Majertin clan, the Somali National Movement (SNM; the Somali National Movement) from the Isaaq clan, the Somali Patriot Movement (SPM; the Somali Patriot Movement). Who came from the Ogaden area, & United Somali Congress (USC; United Somalia Council) who came from the Hawiye clan. Barre himself is apparently still not willing to give up his reins of power. Not long after leaving Mogadishu, Barre & his followers formed a new group called the Somali National Front (SNF; Somali National Front) with the hope of being able to regain control of Somalia via armed struggle. Barre's fall also marked the beginning of the Somali civil war.

3.4 Actors of Conflict

Conflict assessment efforts are carried out by identifying actors or parties who play a role in the process of conflict occurrence. This is based on the analogy of conflict with drama, where each drama needs to be described by the actors involved in the conflict to be able to understand the conflict more comprehensively (Malik, 2017). There are 3 types of role division in mapping conflict actors, namely provocateurs, functional groups, and vulnerable groups. Conflict actors are depicted through a conflict mapping chart. The mapping of the conflict is described by the rules of hierarchical arrangement based on which are holistically united based on the symbol of the relationship between actors in the conflict as follows:
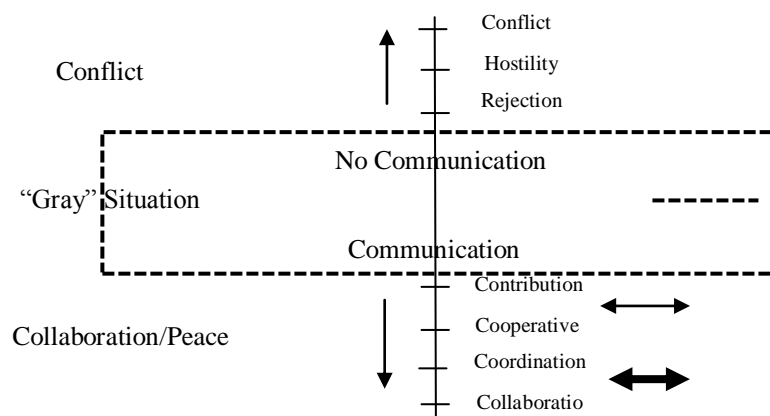
Figure 1. Symbols of Relationships between Actors in Conflict

Based on the description of cases of armed conflict related to the conflict that occurred in Somalia, the following is the conclusion of the identification of conflict actors mapping results:

a) Provocateurs: Siad Barre, Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF; Somali Salvation Democratic Front) from the Majertin clan, Somali National Movement (SNM; Somalia National Movement) from the Isaaq clan, Somali Patriot Movement (SPM; Somali Patriot Movement)) from the Ogaden area, & United Somali Congress (USC; United Somali Council) from the Hawiye clan, and the Somali National Front (SNF; Somali National Front) formed by Barre.

b) Functional Groups: Government of Somalia

c) Vulnerable Groups: People in Somalia, Ethnic Groups, Clans in Somalia

The following is an identification of actor mapping based on relationship analysis:
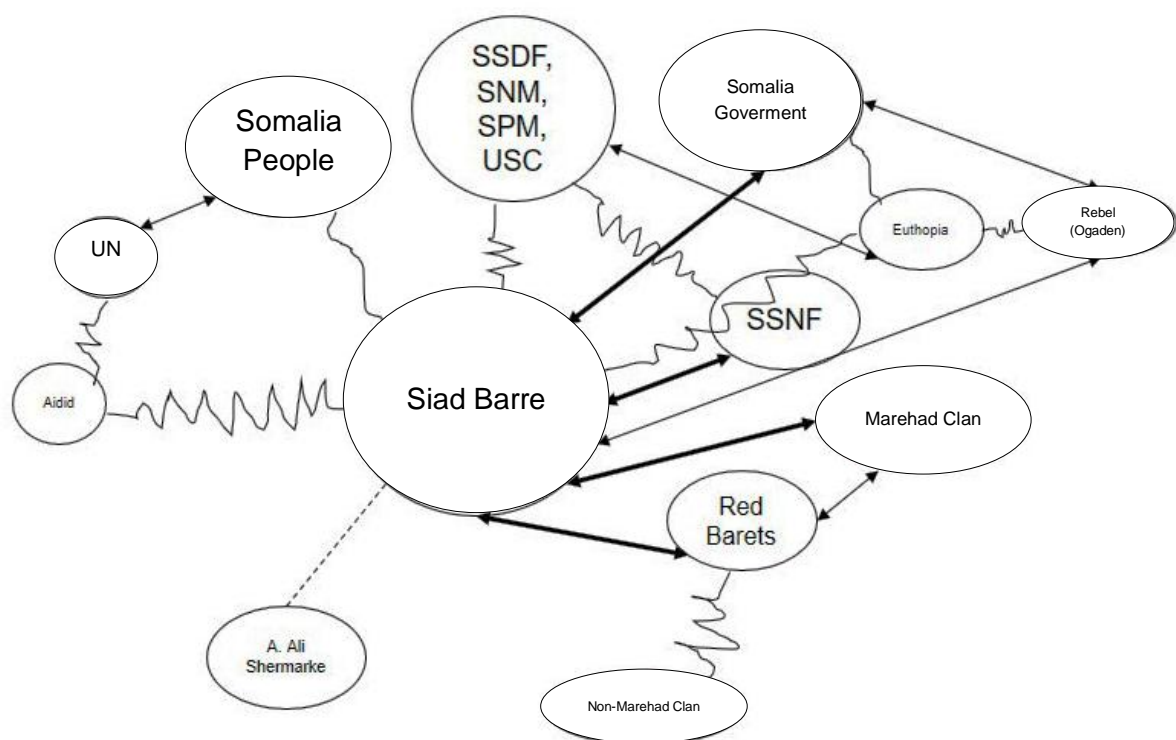

Figure 2. Identification of Actor Mapping Based on Relationship Analysis

IV.   CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusions

Based on the results and discussion above, the researcher noted that there are at least four (4) points that can be used as conclusions, namely:

1. Basically the civil war that has occurred in Somalia has been going on since 1991 or to be precise since the fall of the Siad Barre regime. Then, in 1992 the United Nations ordered the delivery of humanitarian aid & the formation of an international coalition force so that convoys carrying humanitarian aid in Somalia were safe from attacks by local militias. However, in 1995 all soldiers of the UN coalition troops had withdrawn Somalia. The presence of UN troops in Somalia succeeded in preventing mass deaths from starvation, but they failed to improve the security situation in Somalia and the Somali civil war continued after the departure of UN troops.

2. Based on the type of armed conflict, the conflict in Somalia is a type of Non-International Armed Conflict (KBNI). This is based on Article 1 of Additional Protocol II, in which the article describes several criteria if a conflict is to be categorized as an international armed conflict. The criteria are: (1) the place where the conflict takes place is within itself, namely Somalia and involves the government's armed forces with rebels, (2) rebel forces, namely those who oppose the Barre regime, (3) rebel forces take control of part of the territory of the rebellious country. , and (4) rebel forces or groups formed control various areas in Somalia.

3. Based on Johan Galtung's theory of violence, the conflict in Somalia has occurred in two types of violence, namely (1) structural violence and (2) direct violence.

4. Based on the theory of conflict actor mapping from Ichsan Malik, that in the Somali conflict, three (3) actors have been identified, namely provocateurs, functional groups, and vulnerable groups.

4.2 Recommendations

In an effort to create peace in Somalia, the researcher offers several recommendations that might be implemented, namely:

1. The Somali conflict should be designated as an International Armed Conflict, this is because the Somali federal government itself is unable to resolve conflicts in its internal territory, so there needs to be a third party such as the United Nations to take part in seeking peace in Somalia.

2. The African Union needs to re-evaluate the mandate of UN assistance, considering that the situation has changed a lot since the UN was brought down until the formation of the federal government of Somalia. Even though it has not succeeded in restoring security conditions in Somalia, the UN has had many positive impacts there. Adjustments to Somalia's conditions are needed if the UN wants to return to Somalia.

3. The withdrawal of UN troops from Somalia should be carefully considered and observe the development of Somalia. Seeing the current conditions, the Government of Somalia is still very dependent on the United Nations to ward off attacks directed at it. This is important to prevent the setbacks that have been attempted and make the conflict re-emerge in Somalia.

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