

“State failure in a time of terror”

- An analytical survey on the state failure of Somalia and the implications of terrorism

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Abstract

The paper examines the state failure of Somalia, seeking to enhance the understanding of the situation and how history, as well as colonial heritage, has affected the country. By embracing the theory of state building the concept of state failure will be analysed in a quest to understand what brought Somalia to fail so miserably. It also considers the controversial link made between terrorism and failed states that grew out from the events of 9/11, questioning how the new found interest for Somalia as a potential safe haven for terrorists has implicated on the humanitarian situation. The findings are that the concept of state failure suffers from analytical errors with a lack of common consensus regarding both definition and measurements, which severely limits the ability to respond to the phenomenon. Moreover, while international actor's remains caught up by fighting terrorism, the chronic humanitarian distress are converting into an acute one.

Keywords: Somalia, State failure, Terrorism, State building, Human security

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Abbreviations

TFG	Transitional federal government
ICU	Islamic courts union
UNOSOM	United nation operation in Somalia
AMISOM	African mission in Somalia
HI	Hisbul Islamiyya
SPM	Somali Patriotic Movement
SSDF	Somali Democratic Salvation front
SNM	Somali National Movement
USC	United Somali Congress

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1 Introduction

1.1 Research puzzle and purpose of the study

“From Africa to Central Asia to the Pacific rim, nearly sixty countries stand on the brink of conflict or collapse. These failed states are the perfect incubators for extremism and terror”

– Senator Obama, 2007

The war ridden country of Somalia illustrated the worst possible example of state failure in modern time. During the 90's UN and U.S made some attempts to restore internal order and put an end to the humanitarian distress within Somalia. However, as the war intensified and cost the life of some US rangers, the U.S withdrew from the country leaving the UN to follow. Since then, the interest for Somalia has been very modest. Than in the wake of 9/11, the international community suddenly began to take notice the country again, only this time it was a concern of international security.

Since 2001 there has been a clear increase of military foreign activity in Somalia, mainly from the US, and since 2006 the conflict and situation has intensified. Many anticipated the new gained international attention that occurred in 2001 would be Somalia's chance to finally be restored and to end the humanitarian disaster. Sadly, up till this day, every attempt to restore internal order has backed fired and the country has transformed into a lawless zone and a humanitarian nightmare that doesn't seem to change in the close future.

The dangers concerning failed states began to be expressed already back in the 90's, when some academics warned for the potential spillover that these countries could cause on even richer countries. Thus the majority continued to view the issue of state failure mainly as an internal problem linked to humanitarian issues. However, in the aftermath of the 9/11 the interest for failed states increased dramatically, as it became evident that Osama Bin Laden, originated from the failed state of Afghanistan. The issue reached the top of the international security agenda, and failed states began to be observed as potential breeding grounds for terrorism (Stewart 2011:18).

With the change of warfare and the emergence of new security threats, it has been affirmed that the most imminent threat to world peace no longer derives from rival military powers, but from the world's most exhausted, poor and conflicting - states. These are the countries that the international community frequently refers to as "failed states". Thinkers like Fukuyama has stated that "*Since the end of the cold war, weak and failing states have arguably become the single most important problem for international order*" (Fukuyama 2004:92). Likewise, Hillary Clinton states that the chaos that stems from failed states serve as breeding ground for terrorism, as its chaotic environment will allure terrorists to find refuge¹. This sudden interest for failed states has given rise to an array of interesting, although highly questionable, development on the field. In Patrick Stewart, *Weak Links*, he argues that the international community's assumptions on failed states are based on "anecdotal arguments" that lack systematic analysis (Stewart, 2010: 254).

The purpose of this paper is to investigate two separate developments. The first will concern the creation of Somalia as a state, where I will look at the historical context in order to see if that might reveal anything that could help one to understand the severe failure of Somalia. I will then investigate the relationship between state failure and the assumed connection to terrorism. Is there a connection between failed states, in my case Somalia, and terrorism? Hence, how has the uprising of terrorism affected the humanitarian situation in Somalia and the response taken by the international community on the issue? My aim is to shed some light on the ongoing debate concerning failed states and to question the conventional wisdom that connects failed states with terrorism. Moreover, I will place the humanitarian situation at the center of discussion arguing that the war on terror has been at the expense of the people in Somalia.

The findings and result of my paper will be valued for anyone that has an interest in the field and hopefully it will contribute to a more critical view of the current notion of state failure and serve as a reminder to not forget the people inhabit in these crushed nations.

1.2 Research question

The conventional wisdom holds that the environment in failed states attracts and breed terrorism, however, the amount of empirical analysis on the subject remains extremely vague (Stewart 2010:6). Therefore I have chosen to conduct a study where I will use Somalia, modern times worst example of state failure, in order to investigate the relationship between terrorism and state failure and if this development somehow could explain the worsening of the humanitarian situation that has occurred during the past 10 years. I also strive to enhance the understanding of the extreme condition that concerns Somalia today, therefore I will also reflect on historical

¹ Hillary Clinton, Testimony to senate foreign relations committee (January 13, 2009)

events prior to 2001 using the theory of state building in order to examine the creation and history of Somalia.

Question of research:

- *How is it possible to understand the severe example of state failure in Somalia deriving from the theories of state building?*
- *What are the relationship between state failure and terrorism in the case of Somalia and how has the humanitarian situation been affected by this rising notion?*

The first research question aims to examine the concept of state failure from a state building point of view, because I believe that it would be biased to discuss the links to terrorism and potential consequences, without stating the historical legacy of Somalia. The second question serve as the main research question, were I examine the recent development concerning state failure, namely that to terrorism. Where the aim is to examine what implications this connection has had for Somalia as a failed state, with the humanitarian aspect at the heart of the discussion.

1.3 Method and material

For this paper I will use descriptive and qualitative method were I will use one empirical case in order to approach my research questions. A study of multiple cases would provide a better possibility to generalize and look for potential patterns, but due to the limited amount of space and time, this was not an option. Also Somalia make a crucial case and the condition of the state are unique, therefore I wanted to have the opportunity to perform a deeper analysis on one case in order to describe the complexity and rareness of this case.

I will relay on secondary sources since I won't have the possibility to collect information from the field. In order to examine the extreme conditions of state failure in Somalia, I will relay on the theory of state building. The theories of Hollsti will serve as a foundation, combined with the Montevideo Convention that regulates the rights and duties of all states. Conflicting theories posed by both Stephan Kraissnr and Patrick Stewart will be presented in order to highlight the tensions concerning the concept of state building. Chapter two in the theory section concerns state failure and what brings states to fail. However, since no common consensus on how to define or measure state failure exist, I have chosen to highlight this issue by presenting different conflicting theories building on arguments from experts as Robert Rothberg, Robert Jackson, Patrick Stewart etc. The theoretical chapter will be concluded by presenting the theories concerning the connection between state failure and terrorism were the event of 9/11 serve as a bench marks for the "newfound" interest in failed states. Finally I will present

the concept of human security in order to shed some light on the humanitarian situation. For the analysis I will relay on arguments from Robert Rothberg discussing the difficulty and consequences that comes with the labeling of a state as failed. Patrick Stewart "*Weak Links*" provides a modern and unique approach to failed states and what potential threats they pose to international security, which will be useful in the analysis on state failure and terrorism. The arguments from Robert Jackson and Boås will also be useful in the attempt to explain the complex situation in Somalia.

The majority of material consists of academic texts and articles, but I will also attract some information from international organizations such as United Nation, Red Cross, Amnesty, failed states index etc.

1.3.1 Case study

Case study research enables an understanding of a complex situation and it might strengthen what is already known and extend the knowledge concerning the issue. A case study emphasizes details about a specific case and analyzes different events or conditions and the relations in between.

The state of Somalia creates in my opinion a crucial case, as the state appears on the top of failed states index for the fourth year in a row. Illustrating the worst possible example of state failure, Somalia is the given choice for this paper while the uniqueness and complexity behind the case righteous the need for the case to be examine on a separate base (Bryman, 2006:64). If the theories concerning state failure and terrorism, fails to prove a connection in the critical case of Somalia, they will probably have a hard time to hold up in other cases as well (Esaiasson, 2007:183).

1.4 Disposition

For my theoretical framework I have chosen 3 different theories in order to comprehend my questions of research. The first section in chapter 2 will present the theories of state building, were the creation and function of states will be discussed as well as the obligations that each state holds towards their citizens. This will be followed by section two that embraces the meaning of state failure and the conceptual errors that has occurred concerning the concept. This will continue by a discussion that reflects the notions of failed states as potential breeding ground for terrorism, were the event of 9/11 serves as a bench mark for this development. The final section in the theoretical chapter explores the theory of human security, mainly from a UN perspective since they are the founder of the concept. But Michael Sheehan and Amarta Sen's statements will also be useful for the theory. Chapter 3 concerns the historical and colonial legacy of Somalia, which is a crucial component since the actual state of Somalia only has existed since 1961. It presents different events that have had a direct impact on Somalia's

possibilities to from a peaceful state. Chapter 4 examines the development that has occurred in Somalia from 2001 until this day, were the war on terror and the humanitarian situation are being investigated and compared. This is followed by the analysis, were I confer the failure of state building and how historical events might explain for Somalia's miserably condition. Hence it also approaches the so called "conceptual failure of state failure", were the errors concerning the concept will be discussed and what impact it might have on Somalia. This is followed by a final discussion that concerns the up rise of terrorism and the possible links that Somalia might have to it. Analyzing the humanitarian development and how this has been affected by the events of 9/11. Finally, the concluding will reveal the validity of my hypothesis as well as providing the answer to my research questions.

1.5 Limitations

Due to the fact the no current measurement or common consensus on how to measure, or define, a failed state do exist to this day, it becomes problematic to discuss the issue in general and many states "fall" into the trap of category. However, it is not my aspiration to invent a scale or measurement on "state failure" and due to the severe condition of my case, believe that the rating of state failure becomes unquestionable. Furthermore the usage of one case comes with limitation and it will be hard for me to validate my results, however I believe that a case as unique as Somalia ought to be investigated on a separate base in order to provide a deeper analysis.

Moreover, it should be stressed that the current situation in Somalia have multiple explanations and the conflict is extremely complex in its nature and it would be impossible to include every aspect that could account for the current situation. This paper seeks mainly to emphasize the current link between terrorism and state failures were the humanitarian situation will be at the center of discussion.

2 Theoretical concepts

In order to analyze the potential connection between terrorism and state failure in Somalia I have chosen to incorporate three different theoretical aspects. The theory of state building will serve as a foundation for the understanding of states and the purpose of which they serve. The theories regarding failed states are diverse in their nature and a solid definition that counts for everyone, do not exist. Therefore I will use several different theoretical interpretations, aiming at presenting various alternatives, in order to understand state failure from a “case to case basis”, rather than through a “one shoe fits all” definition. I will then continue by present the present link between failed states and terrorism that was borne in the wake of 9/11. Much of the literature concerning state failure are revolving around the state as the main actor, therefore I have chosen to include the theory of human security as it is my aspiration to shed some light over the humanitarian situation in Somalia.

2.1 State building

In order to grasp the understanding of failed states one must be familiar with the history of the state and its creation. States has been present in our world for thousands of years and are our most powerful entities in the world system. Thus the creations of states are complex and state building has become a great challenge for many of today’s peace builders as to countries that are struggling with independence. For many communities, the history of state formation and the process of state building are marked by violent suppression of ethnic or religious identity, forced compliance with national laws and norms set by distant and unrepresentative élites, and enforced taxation with a minimum of services delivered in return (Fukuyama 2004:64)

The most common definition of a state could be summed up by four factors;

- 1) It has a defined territory on which it exercises internal and external sovereignty
- 2) A permanent population
- 3) A government
- 4) The capacity to enter into relations with other sovereign states.

All sovereign state enjoy the same rights and duties as they are considered persons under international law (Montevideo Convention, art 1:1933)

In 1919, in the aftermath of World War I, Woodrow Wilson uttered the principle of “Self – determination” as the key to rebuild post-war Europe. Self-determination would be the perfect match to democratic peace, after all, what could be more democratic than give the suppress people of Europe a voice- to

create “natural communities”? Although the self determination principle had some success as independence for ex Finland and Poland, it also left over 30 millions of people without a state of home. A fact that fueled tensions and aggravations of which later came apparent in the wars of 1920-1930. (Holist, 1996:53) State building also changed after 1945 only to reach a crisis in the early eighties when former colonies were relinquish from their colonial ruler. The charter of United Nations signed in 1945, emphasized the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention in founding the new post war order. In opposite to state creation in Europe, which was a historical project that aimed at creating a political organization resulting from war, taxes, and centralization? State building in colonial areas suffered from the lack of a history aiming at creating a state. Imperialism was driven by a range of different purposes such as trade and exploration of resources etc, hence it never included state-building. As Hollist states: “ *The colonial state had nothing to do with preparation of the ultimate statehood, and everything to do with economic exploitation, building infrastructure and communication, settling migrants, organizing plantation agriculture, and providing law and order so that this task could go unhindered*” (Hollsti 1996:62) Colonial boundaries were never created to suit the people rather they were artificial imposed, lacking reference to native concerns as well as any correspond to former political systems (Touval 1972:12). Another consequence of colonialism were the absent of nationalism, which many countries still are struggling with. Although some nationalism did exist in the pre colonial countries, these sentiments were destroyed by the harsh rule of colonialism. Most of the colonial units were as Holsti argues, fictions, nationalism had to be created. Hence, with the lack of a common consensus, or even an idea about *how* these states would look like, the mission became somehow impossible. The African countries came to suffer the most as many of their territorial lines did not correspond with a recognized community (Holsti, 1996:68). With a diverse set of language, traditions and cultures African leaders in the post colonial area were left to solve the issue of how to define their state, in an area were territorial boundaries never had been the glue of social construction. Some argued in favor of connecting the whole area into one “super state”, as the project of Pan-Africanism. While others, although few, argued for the dangers of building states on the European model as it would be foolish to believe that an African nation could be created in the same method. “. *To conceive of a nation as one people, speaking a common language, bound together by a common heritage and a shared historical experience. Africa must break loose from this alluring European model. It does not fit in with the social realities of the continent*” (Nyeree 1967:quoted in Langely 1979:453) Stephen Krasner continues to argue in the same direction, that the western model on sovereignty that is based on the principles and territory are not appropriate descriptions in our modern world. Many of those units that we today label as states, do simply not fit into this description which has been proven repeatedly throughout history and take expression in so called failed states (Krasner, 1995: 14)

By 1965 the number of UN member states had gone from 51 to 117, only to reach a number of 192 at year 2000 a rapid birth of states does not however implies the presence of sovereignty at all levels. Many states are merely as Robert Stewart states “*States by courtesy*” as their authority and ability to provide their citizens with political goods can’t be match to their membership in the

international community (Stewart 2011:23). He continues by stating that the colonial process is much to blame for the absence as it forced many regions especially in Africa to transform and become independent in an unreasonable amount of time. As a result the craft of state building became crushed when these states were trapped by sovereignty on a legal basis. Where territory and borders rarely considered the aspects of ethnic and political division, hence as a result, empirical statehood is absent in many regions (Stewart, 2011:25). Prior to 1945, it was not uncommon that states faded away and disappeared, but today states don't disappear, they remain- at least in judicial terms- regardless of strength.

2.2 State Failure

"Failed states" have a legal existence but not much political existence. They are political failures. The government has failed the citizens and maybe the citizens have failed the government too: to speak of "government" and "citizens" is misleading. In short, "failed states" are hollow juridical shells"
(Jackson, 1999:2)

States are generally assumed to represent security and stability as well as providing for their citizens, hence states also can be a source of insecurity. It is mostly states that make war, and since the founding of the United Nations, states have been responsible for more violent deaths than insurgents, separatists and terrorists together. States weakness or collapse can cause severe violent and collapse of basic services, causing direct and indirect harm to livelihoods.

In the post-cold war era and with the failure of the intervention in Somalia, the international interest for failed states has been modest. Though, after 9/11, failed states regained international attention as it became clear that these "lawless" zones gave homes to criminal activity, such as terrorism (Koskenmäki 2004:3). Academics have addressed the subjects of failed states, and its definition from a range of different angles, generally in the context of sovereignty, state erosion, or humanitarian interventions. As such the concept of failed states has been given many names "*Quasi-states, Weak states, collapsed, and fragile states* to mention some (an issue that will be further discussed later on). Robert Rotberg maintains that states fail when they are trapped by internal violence and as the state fails to deliver political goods to their citizens, hence the state loses its credibility as the citizens begin to question the legitimacy of the state (Rotberg, 2008:1:1). Political goods are thus hard to quantify and they may vary in importance, but states are responsible to respond to their citizens' demand on different levels. He also continues by claiming that the most important political goods for a state to provide are security, particularly human security. This is what he calls the prime goods of all states, preventing invasions, infiltrations, and domestic threats; uphold national order, social structure and prevent any crimes that might cause a threat to *human security*. (Rotberg, 2010:5). Without the establishment of security, the state can never provide for any other political goods because they will crumble in the absence of security and stability. A strong state manages to control their territories and deliver a full range and a high quality of political good

to their citizens. They also scores high on indicators such as GDP per capita, Human development index, and Freedom of the world rapport (Rotberg, 2010:2).

Robert Jackson also poses an interesting angel, he presents the concept of “*quasi – states*” and distinguish between positive and negative sovereignty. Quasi states are identified as states that lack the ability to manage without outside assistance and to contribute to international order; hence they are legally recognized through the United Nations. (Jackson 1990: 45) The term Quasi-states were created to describe those states that had been colonialized, or as Jackson put it, “internally franchised”, but still they possessed the same external rights and responsibility as all other states. For this reason, juridical statehood was created from the right of self-determination or as Jackson labels it, *negative sovereignty*. He defines this as the freedom from outside interference; a legal condition. The main problem for colonized countries is that they many times lack the institutional features of a sovereign state, in other words, they had no empirical statehood or so called positive sovereignty (Jackson, 1994:74) Positive sovereignty is when state exercise effective power over their people and territories. Jackson’s assessments are in many ways valid when investigating state failure since he has taken the principle of colonialism in mind, as the majority of all states that failed has had a colonial past it is of great importance to not overlook their history.

Although the phrase of failed state is frequently used by policy makers, a common consensus on how to define a failed state is lacking to this very day (Rotberg, 2010:2). This is of course problematic and the lack of definitions and guidelines make it hard for peacemakers to agree on a common agenda. Patrick Stewart also recon that although failed states has gained recent attention by international community, the concept remain “vague and imprecise” (Stewart, 2010:21). Problematic since, the up rise and fear of terrorism, has made international policy makers very keen to labelling states as “failed”, as it become common to assert that these countries pose severe security threats to international security, causing interventions to be justified on vague assumptions.

2.2.1 Failed states and the link to terrorism

Terrorism has emerged as one of our times most challenging threats to global security, although, terrorism in itself is nothing new. Guy Fawkes attempt to blow up the House of Parliament in 1605, or Gavrilio Principe assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, are both acts carried out with a political or ideological agenda. However, what has made terrorism so threatening in our time is globalization, which has transformed the concept of terrorism, both in power and scope. Today terrorist groups are operating not only on a local base, but on a global, hence challenging the entire world system. With the asset to high technology and weapons of mass destruction, the result has proven to be fatal (Stewart 2011:62).

Concerns regarding failed states were raised already during the 90’s, were some academics warned for the potential spillover effects that states might have, even on the richer countries. Yet, the warnings were dismissed and failed states continued to be regarded as primarily a humanitarian issue. The events of 9/11 serve as a bench mark for the conception of terrorism, when it became evident that not even the world largest military power could stop terrorist from entering their country. It also came to change

the perception concerning failed states. Prior to 2001, international community paid little attention to the phenomena of failed states. The attacks on Washington and New York placed the issue of failed states at the top of the security agenda, as it became clear that Afghanistan, a failed state, had provided Al-Qaida with a safe haven (Boås, 2005:386). The attacks resulted in the US announcement of a “war on terror”, a war that still is in the making. One of the arguments made by the Bush administration in the making of this war was that the war on terror would make the world a safer place. Yet the war on terror have been claimed to have the opposite effect by severely undermine human rights and international law. In a world report from Human rights watch they issue the anti-terrorism practice as an endless assault on the basic –principles of justice and the government accountability (Human rights watch: 2004). Concerns have also been raised about the potential implication that this war might have for the principle of interventions and sovereignty. Already during 2001 amnesty warned for the consequences by stating “*Some of the definitions of “terrorism” under discussion are so broad that they could be used to criminalize anyone out of favor with those in power and criminalize legitimate peaceful exercise of the right to freedom of expression and association*” (Amnesty international).

It is mainly this particular incident and the fear for al-Qaida that has produced a direct link between terrorism and failed states, especially within the US. Bruce Hoffman, who is an expert on terrorism states that Al-Qaida frequently seeks to exploit and destabilize failed states and other lawless areas that are suitable for their operations. Likewise, a study conducted by security official after 9/11 states that the most important lesson from the attack has been that failed states no longer is a matter of humanitarian concern, but also one of international security (Stewart 2010:6).

2.3 Human security theory

When a state struggles to provide the most basic needs, the people will be those paying the price. The fragile situation that failed states are in makes the state more receptive for catastrophes, both natural and those from mankind. In the analysis of failed states, the perspective on human security becomes crucial, as it is primarily the people within the states that become victims when a state fails to deliver the basic goods. By incorporating the theory into my paper I believe that it will be possible to examine the whole concept of state failure in a more comprehensive manner.

Human security is a way to understand and analyze war and conflict from an individualistic perspective. The commission on human security summarizes the concept well by stating: *People and societies are daily stroked by conflicts and threats that go beyond their control. It might be conflicts, financial crises, food shortage, terrorism,*

natural disasters, epidemics etc. ... as it became aperients that people, not state was turning in to the main objectives for archiving global security and stability (CHS: 2003: 4). Human security is a broad definition that includes human rights, the right to education, health and the possibility for each citizen to live out their potential. The phrase “*Freedom from want and freedom from fear*” was uttered by Kofi Annan in year 2000 with the establishment of the Millennium goals, which also encapsulates the ambitions of a more individualistic approach to security threats. Human security is also closely related to sustainable development and the protection of each individual and their right to a rich life (Kofi Annan, 2000, UNDR). The notion of human security came into discussion after the cold war as it became evident that the present concept of security failed to encapsulate the new kind of wars that appeared. Although, security issues always had been highly prioritized by governments in fact there are few questions that bring the same alertness and action in the political sphere as the one concerning security. Nevertheless billions of people continues to struggle for survival on a daily bases, for so called “existential survival”. Issues concerning healthcare, poverty, human rights, environmental degradation was not included in the traditional security approach and for that reason states struggled on how to secure their people. During the eighties there was a general strive among academics of the field to broaden the concept of security in order to embrace human security. Thus, skeptics such as Stephan Waltz argued that the concept of security would lose its intellectual coercion if it became too inclusive in the meaning (1991:213). On the other hand it became evident that existential survival was not enough, “*Human security is not a concern of weapons-it is a concern with human life and dignity*”, (Sheehan 2005:9). It became problematic to find a definition that included more than just human survival and at the same time not cause the concept to lose its value. In 1994 it became highlighted in a human development rapport were it was defined as a “concern with human life and dignity” including components of food, economy, health, and environmental security. Human security aims to protect vital cores of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. With the main objective to enable factors that will assist people in developing themselves (the international commission on human security).

Although, the concept has been strongly criticized for being too vaguely defined; it would be a fatal mistake to believe that peace and stability ever could be achieved without the securing of humans. The IMF concludes that fragile states are more than fifteen times more prone to war than OECD countries, and the violence are also predicted to stay and become more extreme than in other countries (Stewart 2010:41). Furthermore, the *legacy* of war is often far more persistent than the war itself also the presence of war often tend to place the country in a down going spiral of poverty (Collier, 2008: 21). The securing of food, and is another vital element when discussing human security. Starvation and famine are a serious threat in the third world, and each day someone dies as a direct result of starvation. The access to food are depending upon the production, and for countries that are stroked by war, production on soils and farms becomes scars as people become dislocated. Research concerning famine concludes that hunger is not an issue of not having any food to eat- rather people are not having *enough* to eat. Famine are frequently taking place were food reductions is good, and it has even occurred when food production was peaking (Sen 1999:161). Paradoxically, in most third world countries were starvation is at its worst; food production is the highest; obviously they are not the one consuming it (Sheehan 2005:79). Many failed states also suffer from structural violence, which causes the situation to become even worse. The absence of a functioning government are most

likely to cause institutions and social security lines to slowly decline, leaving people to without food, empty hospitals, schools without books etc. In other words, human security is not only a matter of existing; it is a matter of living.

3 Somalia- state building and the legacy of colonialism

3.1 Somalia – a never-ending conflict

“If Failed states index were a championship, then Somalia would be the undisputed four time champion,. Occupying the worst spot for the past four years straight..” (J.J Messner, Found for peace 2011)

The fate of Somalia is one that most country would want to avoid. With a history of starvation, violence and conflict that goes all way back to 15th century the land has been trapped in a vicious cycle. With the complete lack of government since 1991 the country remains an open battlefield, hence it has become our times most excellent case in illustrating state failure (Anderson 2009:2).

3.1.1 The colonial area 1890-1960

In order to truly grasp the complex situation that has steered the country into the catastrophic surroundings present today, one must go back in time. In terms of modern statehood the history of Somalia can be traced back to 1839-40, when the British established a base on Aden (the southern tip of what today is Yemen) in order to have a direct link to India. Northern Somalia became crucial for the British trading rout; hence in 1884 an Anglo-Somali treaty was established with the leading clans of the area. Somaliland was at the present consisting of three major clans: the Isaaq, the Darod and the Dir. In the 1890s Italy established a formal colony in the south of Somalia while Somalis in the west was brought under Ethiopian rule as the emperor Menelik established control over the Ogaden region (which today belongs to eastern Ethiopia).

Prior to the colonial area, no political unified Somalia existed and it was not until the late 90th century that a state structure began to take form as different parts of the region began to separate from each other. During this time Somaliland was ruled by the British but through an indirect rule, which means that local chiefs ruled by authorial system. Both Italian Somalia and British Somaliland was dragged into WWII, were Somalia for a short period of time came under military administration by the British, but the country was soon returned to Italy and under

a UN resolution Somalia gained its independence in 1960. Although the British had no intentions in returning Somaliland to begin with, the development trough Africa and the pressure from inside gave them no other choice than to relinquish their colony.

3.1.2 The creation of Somalia 1960-1991

The state of Somalia was established back in 1960 and consisted of a region that never prior to this date had had anything connecting it to a union. The Somalia that had been under Italian rule gained independence in July 1960, five days later the Somalia and Somaliland was blend into one entity- the republic of Somalia. The issues seemed to mountain from the beginning and the relationship between north-west and the rest of the country was tense. Many political institutions that had been established consisted of mainly southern Somalis that constantly held the power as prime minister or president as well as dominating and controlling the entire national army. Furthermore, the economy of the south grew while the north became impoverished, which continued to fuel the tensions between the two. The development of the new state was not as promising anymore and Somalia soon proved tendencies of corruption and greediness from clans and higher authorities causing foreign aid to vanish into the wealth of the rich (FOI).

Due to the issues of different clans raging in the area, the government established a strictly authorial and national agenda in order to avoid clans to take control over the area. Hence, the success was short lived, in 1961 the first war ranged into the “new-borne” country concerning a mass of land, prior belonging to the Somali people. Somalia lost the war as well as the one in 1964, still over the same landmass that they claimed their right to. This gave rise to a massive upgrading in military arms, supported by Soviet that saw a chance to gain influence in the area. The county’s influence and presence increased during the 1960 when Dictator Jaalle Muhammed Siad Barre came to power and Somalia turned into a puppet in the race between Soviet and the US during the Cold war. The US gave its support to Ethiopia as Soviet established itself in Somalia were both established a military base and a fleet. Although the presence of Soviet brought continuous conflicts to the region, the real issue arose when Ethiopia transformed to a socialist government in 1974 (<http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/PlainTextHistories.asp?historyid=ad20>). As US withdrew from the country Soviet suddenly decided to change ally into Ethiopia, leaving Somalia to face its own destiny in the middle of the war, the defeat was unavoidable. The lost led to political repercussion and the emergence of two major rebel groups in 1978. The year to come, Somalia was stroked by numerous coup de feat towards the regime, which led to the up rise of Somali Democratic Salvation front (SSDF) consisted mainly of the Darod clan. As a response Somali National Movement (SNM) was formed in the north- west, consisting of the Isaaq clan in former Somaliland. The Barre regime was openly oppressing the Isaaq while favoring the Darods by giving them special social service and providing them with military weapons that often were used towards the Isaaq people (Meredith, 2005:247). As the economy began to stagnate and as the regime lost its legitimacy, the tension between the clans escalated. Both SSDF and SNM were suffering heavenly under the Barre regime, yet they were most successful in establish a territory in the 1990s through Somaliland. Somaliland is

the part of Somalia that are functioning the best. The region has been pushing for independence, as the situation in the rest of Somalia is seriously undermines the region, but it has been rejected so far.

Under the rule of the Barre regime, Somalia became to be dependent on international aid as US and Italy provided the country with large amounts during the 80s. By the 90s the country was solely reliant on aid for survival. The civil war that raged between the regime and SSDF and SNM made the country especially reliant on military aid (Meredith 2003:468). The years of conflict shattered the already fragile country and in 1991, Somalia was stroked by more violence by the up rise of Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) and United Somali Congress (USC) that both opposed the regime. The regime responded with violent collective attacks on all societies that were sympathizing with any of the rivalry clans.

Finally, Siad Barre fled the country and went into exile, since then, Somalia has been unable to find peace.

3.1.3 International involvement and the increase of violence 1991-2001

After the fall of the regime, Somalia went into a problematic state and the fighting between the clans grew in intensity. Another issue that also arose in during the civil war was the rapid growth of plundering and banditry that raged along the country (and still remains an issue in Somalia). Much new conflict broke out between different smaller groups of clans that opposed their oppressor or that felt ill-treated in one way or another. Plunder and steeling became the everyday income for many of the inhabitant of Somalia, turning the country into a war economy. The situation became even worse as it was stroked by a famine in 1992 (Menkhaus 2003:410). During a ceasefire in 1992, UN managed to enter the country and the United Nation Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) was established as an attempt to rebuild the country and stop the humanitarian catastrophe. A special representative was working closely with UN, with the aim to address the clan system as well as reconsolidating the country. However, the program suffered from inefficiency and lacked both personnel and funding accurate to solve the case of Somalia. The lack of progress caused UN, as well as the international community, to opt for a military intervention in order to solve the crises. Resolution 794 gave UN security forces the mandate to secure the area in order to provide humanitarian relief. In total 38,000 soldiers were present during the operation (Hillen 2000:184). The first operation lasted for five months, and was than replaced by UNOSOM II, which included the aim of nation building, disarmament, security and political reconciliation. However, the presence of UN tended to intensify the conflict and eventually open war broke out between UN and Somali forces that continued on fighting in the quest for finding the leader of the militia. The fighting reached its peak after a black hawk was shooting down in Mogadishu, and 18 US rangers was killed. This lead to an immediate withdrawal

of US forces, and by 1994 all US soldiers had left Somalia, bringing the rest of the participants with them. By 1995, UN had left the country.

The international community ran out of ideas and without the incentives and support from USA, the mission of bringing back Somalia faded away. The intervention itself was a complete failure and the warlords that it was set out to vanquish, instead became empowered by the event. Since then, the country remains fragmented between different rivalry groups, all claiming governmental position (Luling 1997:228). Little attention has been directed towards the country until the events of 9/11 which threw Somalia back into the spotlight again.

4 Somalia after 9/11 - The war on terror and the humanitarian crises

4.1 Somalia and the growing concern for terrorism 2001-2012

“Somalia is one of the most challenging areas of the world... And it is an area that al Qaeda has tried regularly to exploit
- John Brennan²

The main concern for terrorism in Somalia has been connected to the extremist group Al-Shabaab, which has claimed affiliation with Al-Qaida. Al-shabaab used to be a quite small organization operating within ICU (Islamic Courts Union), but when Ethiopia, backed by US, intervened in 2006 with the mission to end ICU and replace it with the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) the extremist group rose to a full blown insurgency. The development concerned many in the west and Somalia began to be termed as the new Afghanistan (<http://www.cfr.org/somalia/terrorism-havens-somalia/p9366>). The Djibouti Peace Process sponsored by UN in 2000, led to the election of Shaykh Sharif Ahmad, a former operator within the ICU, as president of TFG. However, the election of Ahmad raised objections among the extremist and the majority saw him as an innovation of the west, therefore they rejected him. Instead a new extremist group was created, Hisbul Islamiyya (HI) that allied with Al-shabaab. The lawless condition of Somalia— with no government and the chronic humanitarian distress—made many in the west fear the country’s potential to become a safe haven for terrorism. During 2009 the TFG government declared a state of emergency and called for international support as oppositional rebels had sized most of Mogadishu, and were heading to the governmental building. They were stopped by AMISOM soldiers just in time. Al-Shabaab has been carried out numerous attacks on peacekeepers operating in the country but it remains unclear whether they have an aspiration to operate outside Somalia, or if they have purely national and local aims (Anderson 2009:3) A new rapport released at the beginning of

² (<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unsom1backgr1.html>)

2012 reveals material affirming the escalation of military activities and attacks towards possible terrorists within Somalia. The study confirm how military presence began only a few weeks after the events of 9/11, by the placement of Special Forces on Somali soil, fearing that the ragged country would turn into another Afghanistan. During 2001-2006 the activities were quite modest, consisting mainly of different surveillance operations; however during 2006 the US increased their military involvement. While Somalia was invaded by Ethiopia, US seized the opportunity to launch air, naval and ground attacks towards suspected Al-Qaida members. In 2007 the Special Forces carried out four different strikes on military camps, killing approximately 50 people, around half of them were civilians. During 2011 US turned their interest towards the Al-Shahab, launching their first drone strike towards a senior leader- the number of dead remains unclear. Since February 2012, between 4 and 12 drone strikes has been made. And since 2007 over 21 military strikes has been made in Somalia, killing more than 170 people, approximately 60 were reported to be civilians. (<http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2012/02/22/militants-and-civilians-killed-in-up-to-20-us-somalia-strikes-new-study-shows/>)

4.1 The humanitarian situation

The twenty years long civil war has undoubtedly crushed most parts of Somalia, causing great damage to both economy and infrastructure, hence those suffering the most are the people. Somalia rank as number one on the failed state index for the fourth year in a row and at the bottom of Human development index. Hundreds of thousands of people has been killed during the conflict and over two million people have been forced to leave their homes seeking refugees as internally displaced person (Amnesty international, <http://www.amnestyusa.org/our-work/countries/africa/somalia>). Somalia together with Iraq, Afghanistan, Burundi, DRC, and Sudan account for two third of the world's 11.4 million refugees, for those people that remain, the dry climate has worsened the situation and as late as 2011, UN declared that Somalia was to expecting a famine. An estimated 30,000 children has died from starvation only between May and July 2011, and the number is increasing each day. With the lack of central government humanitarian efforts becomes difficult and international aid agencies are having a hard time to reach regions in need due to armed groups and insecurity(Globalissues,<http://find.galegroup.com/gic/portalSearch.do?portalId=G1556&prodId=GIC&userGroupName=lununi&srchType=selected>).

Furthermore, in the conflict between central and south Somalia battling groups no distinction made between combats and civilians. Conflicting parties are frequently bombing and shooting in areas populated by civilians, causing thousands of casualties many of which are under the age of 14. Education suffers as schools are forced to close due to fear of attacks on both personnel and student. Besides from this many children also suffers severe risks of being abducted and forced to join

different armed groups as recruitment of child soldiers is a widespread issue among the country (<http://www.amnestyusa.org/our-work/countries/africa/somalia>).

State failure has enormous consequences for the inhabitants of the country, as well as for neighboring countries. Despite the burning need that these countries have - especially Somalia- failed states receive a much lower amount of aid per capita than other developing countries. Assistance also tends to be less reliable and concentrated in high profile or strategic countries, something that clearly enhances the problem (Stewart 2010:41).

5 State failure in a time of terror

5.1 The conceptual failure of “state failure”

In Somalia the legacy of Sierra Barre created a deep mistrust in state structures and government. Ironically, Barres aim was to establish a unitary state, were the clan structures could persist, instead the clans become the greatest working force against him and eventually placing Somalia in the failed state section (FOI). State building is an essential piece when trying to understand the complexity behind failed states, not only in the case of Somalia, but for most failed states. When analyzing the history of state creation; it is not that difficult to understand why Somalia ended up in disaster. Suffering from the legacy of colonialism, the state was never brought together by the sense of belonging causing an absolute absence of statehood. The creation of most colonial states never had the concept statehood in mind; rather it was a concern of economic exploitation, infrastructure and settling migrants (Hollsti 1996:62). Although this is acknowledged by the UN, it continues to base the criteria for state building on a western ideal. Stephen Krasner makes an interesting point when he states that the western model of state building, based on principles and territory, are simply not suitable descriptions in our contemporary world. Much of those entities that we today label as states, do not fit into this description, which has been proven repeatedly. The result of our ignorance takes expression in failed states (Krasner, 1995:22). If the analysis on state building and state failure continues to be built on the comparison between apples and pears, it will fail to determine why a specific state function as it does; hence the possibility to improve the situation becomes scarce.

This dilemma is also closely related to the issue of defining and measure state failure. As to this day, policy makers still are unable to reach a common consensus on the condition and as a consequent the west has been able to pose their own ideas about what it mean to being failed and according to whom (Stewart 2010:7). Surely most would agree that Somalia is a failed state, but the labeling does not tell us anything about the development within that state. And in several cases the line is not as “clear” as in Somalia, causing some states to become labeled on false premises. As a country is being labeled as failed it comes with great implications. A failed country has much more difficulties to develop and prosper since the term in itself could cause international interest to drop fall. Investors, business, tourism etc are most likely to fall because of the status. Therefore, it is problematic that the international community does not agree on a

common consensus since that could cause a direct damage on a country and their entire development are being jeopardized. The establishment on a common consensus for how to define and measure state failure is crucial; otherwise the term should not even be used since it poses tremendous implications for those states that fall into that category. (Jackson,1999: 94)

The majority of today's reports on failed states are printed in Western capital, hence reflecting a westernized notion on what ought to be a state and not. Moreover, it becomes evident in most policy and strategy documents that failed states are only a concern *if* they affect "our" security. This statement strongly oppose the whole concept of human security, of which the UN are assumed to be embracing, hence also undermines the organizations credibility by neglecting humanitarian issues that follows with state failure. It becomes extremely problematic if all states are to be viewed through the eyes and interest of the west, "*after all everyone and everything looks the same when you see yourself in the mirror*" (Boås 2005:388). The international community needs a new and more open thinking when it comes to state building, hence one must understand that the legacy of Somalia and the majority of failed states, are nothing like the European.

5.2 Somalia – Safe haven for terrorism or a humanitarian catastrophe?

The event of 9/11 has definitely changed the nature of international engagement in Somalia. The primary concern no longer revolves around the humanitarian distress; rather it is a matter of safeguarding international security and fighting potential terrorists. In many ways Somalia seems to provide the perfect climate for terrorism. With the lack of central government, poverty, conflict and a long unguarded coast line should make the lawless country a popular destination for terrorists to operate. As mentioned earlier in the paper, the assumption about the links between state failure and terrorism were born in the wake of 9/11. However, when observing statistics presented after the attack, this reveals that only *one* of the hijackers from 9/11 originated from a failed state (Lebanon), non from Somalia. In the case of Iraq, 312 foreign fighters were captured, nevertheless only 3 originated from a failed state, one from Somalia and the others from Lebanon. Out of the 759 prisoners held at Guantanamo, 34% came from a failed state. If one excludes Afghanistan, only 1.4% came from failed, one from Somalia (Simons 2007:388). Although this do not exclude a possible connection, between state failure and terrorism, it does weakens the thesis that terrorist are more likely to be "born" in a failed state. Academic Patrick Stewart also conducts an interesting survey where he examines the connections between failed states and

terrorism; he concludes that there is little evidence that supports the thesis that failed states makes attractive havens for terrorism³. In fact, it shows that failed states are less attractive havens, because failed states suffers from a number of issues such as security, geographic, and political constraints that makes them difficult environments, even for terrorists to operate in (Stewart 2010:93). This is further strengthen by Simmons that argues that the whole connection to failed states is a bit of an oxymoron, since the chaos in failed states , like Somalia, are simply too dangerous even for terrorists to operate in. The security dilemma would force them to seek protection for their own safety hence they are likewise to become drawn into the often complicated politics, causing them to lose objective (Newman 2007:464). Moreover, terrorist's attack like those in Madrid and London also proves that terrorist do not need to have a safe haven in order to plan and organize an attack, rather the technical advance and equipment viable in the west are more desirable. Additionally, statistics reveals that Al-Qaida recruitment is drawn in its majority from Western Europe and scholars have found evidence that over 87% of Al-Qaida members were recruited while living in the west, which further weakens the link between failed states and terrorism (Stewart 2010:74).

The general assumption is that Somalia's law -less condition, with the lack of central government, makes it a desirable haven for transnational terrorism. The fact is that Al-Qaida has tried to tie connection in Somalia during the 90s, but they failed to do so for mainly two reasons, one because they overestimated the amount of people that wanted to become jihadists and second because their closed clan system made it impossible for Al-Qaida to establish itself (Stewart, 2010:259). The former ambassador in Ethiopia describes the clan system as so closed that that there is no way that Al-Qaida could operate within them. The American senator Kerry reported that Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaida were perusing training camps in Somalia where advanced training in guerilla warfare and assassinations were taking place. But the evidence is vague, and the strongest tie that can be affirmed seems to be the ideological one. The international Crisis group states that the Al- shabaab is a "*self radicalizing movement, whose aims are local and national*", hence there are few indicators suggesting that they are aiming at striking transnational (<http://www.cfr.org/somalia/terrorism-havens-somalia/p9366>).

Still, the problem of state failure is two folded, on the one side is the question of international security where state becomes the main objective. On the other side is the humanitarian distress that is a direct result of this condition. Since the collapse of the Somali government in 1992, the country has arisen as one of the worst humanitarian crisis ever seen. The war and the famine have cost the life of more than half a million Somalis, and more than 1.5 million has fled the country while over 2 million remain displaced. The absence of a functioning government for almost 20 years has made humanitarian assistance extremely difficult and the situation has worsened. An estimated 30,000 children has died from starvation only between May and July 2011, and the number is increasing

³ The whole survey is available in "Weak links-Fragile states, global threats and international security" by Patrick Stewart, for those who wants to know more.

each day. Ironically, the main objective for international involvement has been to restore internal order, yet the result has been the opposite. Mark Bradbury, that makes an interesting point when he states that, two decades after the state collapse, Somalia has been stroked by a second wave of violence and war. A war characterized by a combination of conventional military fighting, indiscriminate violence, criminal disorder and both regional and international military engagement (Burrey, 2010:6). Since 2006 the conflict has intensified, turning the humanitarian crises into an acute one. In 2006 the number of displaced persons was 500.000; in 2009 the number reached 1.4 million. The people of Somalia are not only fleeing from the war itself, but also from starvation poverty and the impossible environment that Somalia poses for its citizens. The humanitarian need is bigger than it ever. In 2007 1.5 million people were estimated to need humanitarian assistance, the number had doubled in the beginning of 2010, reaching 3.2 million, approximately 42% of the population in Somalia (Burrey, 2010:8) International assistance has been incoherent and international attempts to peace building and state building has often been on the cost of the humanitarian need. The dangerous environment and repeated violence against humanitarian workers has led to a total absence of aid workers in the southern parts of Somalia since 2010. One theory about why hostage taking has been increasing is that it generates money, donor government pay ransom for the release of national held hostage, which has created a market for hostage taking. Other, points to the fact that humanitarian aid and aid operations has become the victims of the war fought by Islamic militants and western governments in the hunt for terrorists. The total lack of dialogue between the warring parties also severely limits any possibilities to rebuild humanitarian principles (Maletta, 2008:2).

The situation in Somalia is multidimensional and extremely complex which makes it impossible to isolate the impact of international involvement; however the event of 9/11 and the war on terror have definitely changed the situation in Somalia. Some might argue that this new interest in the country might lead to an increase in investment and aid that in the long run might assist Somalia to transform to a stable and peaceful state. What the impact of western military and the war on terror will bring in the long run, is impossible to tell at this moment. However, glazing back on the past 10 years, the development in Somalia does not look promising, at least not from a humanitarian point of view.

6 Conclusion

It is obvious that the issue of failed state in Somalia first and foremost should be viewed as a pure humanitarian issue. Although it would be unfair to say that nothing have been done to solve the humanitarian issue, it is fair to say that it have not been enough. For four year in a row Somalia tops the index of failed states and it does not seem to move from that position either (Messner 2011:4). Poverty, starvation and violence are the everyday for Somalis locked in this vicious spiral of state failure. Since the efforts during the 90s the interests have been extremely modest for the country, at least in the humanitarian section. The awaking of terrorism has undoubtedly shed some light on the country again; however the focus is mainly directed towards potential international threats rather than humanitarian. UN's embracement of human security could have one assumed that Somalia would be the first country to rescue, but still the international community remains passive. The uprising of terrorism has in many ways made the situation worse. Combined with the lack of analytical framework for the concept of state failure, Somalia along with other failing states, are at great risk for being exploited by foreign powers. After all, a state without a government is no state, at least not from a legal point of view. Furthermore there is little evidence that support the assumption that failed states should attracted terrorism or serves as potential safe havens. Rather these assumptions seem to be built upon biased arguments that lack systematic analysis.

To connect to the first research question that I asked in the wake of my paper, I would conclude that there are visible fragments of terrorism within the country, but in relation to the amount of attention that it has seized it becomes evident that actors like UN and US needs to rethink their prioritize. Somalia becomes extra sensitive for the discourse that has emerged since they lack a central government, which makes it possible to make an international intervention without any respect to the principle of sovereignty. It is evident that the international interest for Somalia has increased dramatically since 9/11 and it is also evident that military activities have risen. On the other hand, you can also see how the humanitarian situation are reaching its worst pikes ever, and since 2008 Somalia are holding the first place on failed states index. With that in mind, I believe that it would be fair to say that there has been an impact and it is not for the better. Although one could assume that new gained international interest and involvement could be Somalia ticket out from misery, it does not seem to be the case. Instead it seems as though the war on terror has made the humanitarian aspect of less concern, and those few actors fighting for the better sake of humans, are finding a hard time to work in the dangerous environment. The constant strive for international security has without question been at the expense of the humanitarian need. Although the

connections to terrorism are visible, they appear to be overestimated in comparison to the humanitarian distress, a development that could be extremely dangerous. As Stewart states “*Not every failed state is another Afghanistan in the making*” (Stewart, 2010:267) and if the international community continues to act like that this, it will be at the cost of fellow human beings.

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