



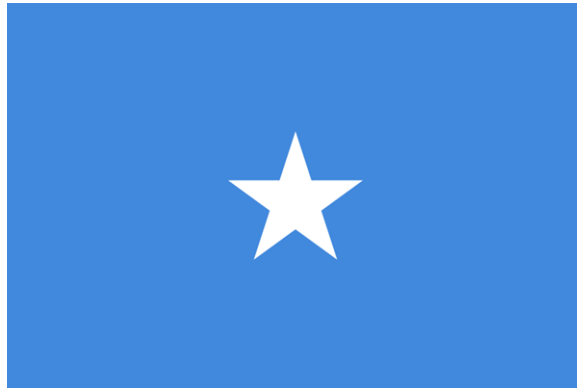
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# Somalia

## A Risk Assessment Brief

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## Background on Somalia

Somalia has had no effective government since 1991. According to the UN refugee agency, UNHCR, Somalia is the most pressing humanitarian emergency, even worse than the crisis in Darfur, Sudan.<sup>1</sup> The current instability in Somalia is rooted in many factors such as war, famine, corruption, warlords and external interventions. The Somali society is based on a patriarchal lineage system, in which the origins of all Somalis can be traced back to six principal patriarchs. Competition for water and grazing lands has often been the source of conflict among clan families.<sup>2</sup>

In 1991, after the collapse of the Said Barre regime, the northwest part of Somalia unilaterally declared itself the independent Republic of Somaliland. Fighting between the factions turned Mogadishu into a war zone and other groups refuse to rally around the interim government established by the United Somali Congress (USC) in 2004. Civil war continues between numerous clan-based parties.<sup>3</sup>

In May 2006, Somalia's worst outbreak of violence in 10 years started with the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC), an Islamist militia, seizing control of the capital Mogadishu and most of the southern and central regions.<sup>4</sup> In December 2006, a transitional federal government (TFG) backed by Ethiopian troops threw out Islamists from Mogadishu, but fighting has continued. TFG in its more than four years of existence, was unable to provide a moderate security, and, even with international financial and military support, it only controls small territory.<sup>5</sup> In April 2008, US launched missile strike on southern town of Dhoble targeting a suspected al-Qaeda member. It killed Aden Hashi Ayro, a leader of al-Shabab, the military wing of UIC.<sup>6</sup> Al-Shabab, was considered a terrorist organization by the United States. Most Islamist groups are opposed to the presence of Ethiopian troops and, to some extent, to African Union peacekeepers on Somali soil.

In 2008, EU Called for international efforts to tackle piracy of the Somali coast after a series of hijackings and attacks on vessels. The UN Security Council unanimously voted to allow countries to send warships into Somalia's territorial waters to deal with pirates. In October, NATO agreed to dispatch a naval force to patrol the waters off Somalia by the end of 2008, in order to control piracy. On January 2<sup>nd</sup> 2009, Ethiopian troops left their bases in the capital Mogadishu.<sup>7</sup> This withdrawal encouraged many civilians to stop supporting Islamist groups.<sup>8</sup> The African Union has deployed troops to replace the Ethiopian troops. AU troops complain they are under-funded and under-staffed.<sup>9</sup> Presidential elections were scheduled for January 26<sup>th</sup> 2009, but as all Ethiopian troops left Somalia on that day, hardline Islamists Al-Shabab, seized the seat of Parliament, Baidoa,<sup>10</sup> Presidential elections are now running.

## Stakeholders

### Main Actors: Internal

| Key Actors / Stakeholders  | Positive/Negative/Mixed Effects | Interest / Grievance   |
|--|---------------------------------|--|
| Transitional Federal Government (TFG)  | Positive                        | Prevent insurgency; talk with opposition   |
| Somaliland   | Mixed                           | Functioning government but economic problems   |
| Puntland   | Mixed                           | Stop piracy and corruption   |
| The Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS)  | Mixed                           | Has based on Djibouti; United with TFG and opposes al-Shabab <sup>11</sup> ; ARS leader aims for presidency <sup>12</sup>  |
| Diaspora leaders; Warlords; Islamist groups such as al-Shabab group (military wing of UIC) | Negative                        | Trying to control the capital; some accused of terrorist links; imposed Sharia law during the second half of 2006; al-Shabab already seized Baidoa <sup>13</sup> |

### Main Actors: External

| Country / Organization | Positive/Negative/Mixed Effects | Interest / Grievance  |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Ethiopia               | Mixed                           | The complete Ethiopian pull out created a security vacuum <sup>14</sup> and left AMISOM unable to defend itself against powerful Islamist-led insurgency; used to provide stability in their bases, but is accused of war crimes. <sup>15</sup> |
| Kenya                  | Mixed                           | Transit way; refugee assistance   |
| Djibouti               | Positive                        | Receive refugees; has US and French troops fighting terrorism   |
| Yemen                  | Positive                        | Receive refugees  |
| Egypt                  | Undetermined                    | Somali piracy devastated Suez Canal income  |
| African Union          | Positive                        | AMISOM preventing the escalation of violence; refugee assistance <sup>16</sup>  |
| The United Nations     | Positive                        | UN aid and resolution/ no forces  |
| The United States      | Mixed                           | Support transitional government and some fighting groups; counter-terrorism operations <sup>17</sup>  |
| The European Union     | Positive                        | Stopping piracy; receive refugees   |

## History of Armed Conflict (CIFP average score 6.93 or moderate to high)

### Stabilizing

- In Jun 08, the Transitional Federal Government signed a deal with some opposition groups calling for UN peacekeepers' deployment.<sup>18</sup>
- In Aug/ Oct 2008, Alliance for Reliberation of Somalia (ARS) signed a peace deal with TFG to cease armed confrontation between them.<sup>19</sup>
- Some Islamists are turning on al Shabab who supports al-Qaeda and a strict version of sharia shunned by traditionally moderate Somalis.<sup>20</sup>
- In Dec 08, Kipruto arap Kirwa was appointed by the government of Kenya as the facilitator for the Somalia Peace and Reconciliation under Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a body created in 1996 to help development and drought control in East Africa.<sup>21</sup>
- In Dec 2008, the United Nations Security Council authorized countries fighting piracy to take forceful action in Somalia & its airspace.<sup>22</sup>
- On 2 Jan 2009, Ethiopian troops quit their bases in Mogadishu.<sup>23</sup> Out of 170,000 IDPs from Mogadishu, hundreds returned home.<sup>24</sup>
- This withdrawal encouraged many civilians to stop supporting Islamists fighting groups.<sup>25</sup>
- In Jan 2009, Burundi and Uganda requested from African Union to extend their troops' mandate to attack "insurgents".<sup>26</sup> USA and France already have Troops in Djibouti to fight terrorism.

### Destabilizing

- Since the ousting of General Barre from power in 1991, clan rivalries and violent warlordism ensued.<sup>27</sup>
- In 2006, the USA supported an Ethiopian invasion, which expelled Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) and intensified fighting.<sup>28</sup> Since then, Islamists, clan militias and nationalists, have been battling Ethiopians and the Transitional Government.<sup>29</sup>
- Islamists control southern & central Somalia; TFG holds only the capital, Mogadishu.<sup>30</sup> On Jan 26<sup>th</sup> 09, all Ethiopian troops left suddenly.<sup>31</sup>
- Al-Shabab, the hardline military wing of UIC, rejected peace deals with TG,<sup>32</sup> and on Jan 26<sup>th</sup> 09, it seized the seat of parliament, Baidoa.<sup>33</sup>
- Since the fighting began in early 2007, more than 16,000 civilians have been killed, over 30,000 injured and a million displaced.<sup>34</sup> Civilians are still caught in the crossfire between Islamist groups and between the Islamists and the Ethiopian troops. Thousands continue to flee<sup>35</sup> to Yemen,<sup>36</sup> Europe,<sup>37</sup> and Kenya.<sup>38</sup> Many drown, get abused or killed in the process.

**Assessment:** The Ethiopian withdrawal and the TFG's attempt to include Islamists can solve some root causes of the conflict.

## Governance and Political Instability (CIFP average score 9.25 or high)

### Stabilizing

- TFG tries to exercise control under interim President Madobe. A Somali Constitution & electoral and parties law are being drafted.<sup>39</sup>
- Presidential elections, which were scheduled for Jan 26<sup>th</sup> 09, have now started to replace Madobe.<sup>40</sup> Members of Parliament were only coming from 4 major clans and an alliance of minority clans.<sup>41</sup> However, after all the Ethiopian troops left on Jan 26<sup>th</sup> 09, the Somali Parliament met in Djibouti and decided to double its size and invite 200 members from moderate opposition groups to join.<sup>42</sup>
- Committee of the Djibouti Peace Process proposed a government of national unity and 2 year extension of the transitional period.<sup>43</sup>
- Djibouti wing of moderate ARS-D is maintaining law and order.<sup>44</sup> On Jan 31<sup>st</sup> 09, Its leader, Sheikh Sharif Ahmed, won 1<sup>st</sup> round of voting for presidency and PM Adde withdrew from the elections.<sup>45</sup> Ahmed split with ARS hardline Islamist leader, Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweys.<sup>46</sup>
- Puntland, a self-declared autonomous region with a constitution since 1998, elected President Farole to fight piracy<sup>47</sup> and end rule of Adde, who encouraged piracy, opposed legislators & TFG and granted lucrative oil exploration contracts to foreign companies in land and at sea.<sup>48</sup>
- Somaliland, self-declared republic in 1991, has functioning executive & legislative governmental branches and is clearing road mines.<sup>49</sup>
- Two days after China started an anti-piracy mission, the US declared plans to launch a specific anti-piracy coalition naval force.<sup>50</sup>
- Media (TV and radio) is operating in Mogadishu and Puntland offering news and talk shows.<sup>51</sup>

### Destabilizing

- Anarchic Somalia has had no effective central government for 17 years.<sup>52</sup> The TFG is unpopular, powerless and lacks internal unity.<sup>53</sup>
- President Abdullahi Yusuf resigned in Dec 08 after stalling one UN-hosted peace process and being threatened with sanctions.<sup>54</sup>
- USA planned to make PM Nor Adde president,<sup>55</sup> which upset ARS leader who in turn announced his candidacy for president raising the number of candidates to eleven.<sup>56</sup> However, on Jan 26<sup>th</sup> 09, the seat of parliament Baidoa was seized by al-Shabab after all Ethiopians left.<sup>57</sup>
- UN neutrality is questioned after it financed a TFG police force similar to a warlord militia.<sup>58</sup>
- Due to the upcoming Mar 2009 presidential election in Somaliland, internal splits emerged within its biggest opposition party, Kulmiye.<sup>59</sup>
- Piracy off the northern coast of Puntland & in Gulf of Aden affects many countries.<sup>60</sup> NATO anti-piracy operations failed to stop piracy.<sup>61</sup>
- TFG & the Ethiopians are accused of many abuses: indiscriminate attacks, killing, rape, use of civilians as human shields, and looting.<sup>62</sup>
- The Ethiopian and TFG's war crimes are ignored by the US whose air strikes targeting terrorism suspects mostly kill civilians.<sup>63</sup>
- There are no institutions to provide social services, employment or security.<sup>64</sup> Most people rely on aid. UN workers are attacked by militias
- Somali Journalists are being killed even in Mogadishu and Puntland. Foreign journalists are being kidnapped. Many stopped working.<sup>65</sup>

**Assessment:** The UN, AU and the US focus on containment rather than the actual transformation of living conditions and root causes but internal reconciliatory steps taken by some Somali leaders are promising.

## Militarization (CIFP average score 1.00 or low)

### Stabilizing

- Ahlu Sunna Waljamaca, a moderate government-allied Sunni Islamist group, is fighting against the extremist al Shabab group.<sup>66</sup>
- The African Union military presence is seen by the Somalis as less hostile than the Ethiopian military.
- The Union of Islamic Courts took the security over the vacated military bases of the Ethiopians in Mogadishu.<sup>67</sup>

### Destabilizing

- Since Jan 1991, the Somali National Army (SNA) and all the military and security forces have disbanded. Since then clan militias and regional forces took over.<sup>68</sup> Equipment of Somali Air Force and the Navy has been nonoperational for several years.<sup>69</sup>
- Madobe declared that Somalia needs money to build up security forces especially following the Ethiopian withdrawal from Mogadishu.<sup>70</sup>
- The Foreign military selective support of some groups causes more instability. The AU forces have limited mandate and popular support.<sup>71</sup>
- Some pirated ships carry ammunition and oil products, which can fuel armed conflict.<sup>72</sup>

**Assessment:** Rivalry among non-state actors and the foreign selective support of groups is increasing instability, which is exacerbated by the TG's illegitimacy problem and lack of security forces.

## Economic Performance (CIFP average score 8.00 or high)

### Stabilizing Factors

- Somalia has maintained a strong informal economy which consists mainly of remittances, livestock and telecommunications.
- Somalia has maintained a steady growth rate of approximately 2.5% since 2003. GDP per capita rose from U.S. \$ 272 in 2003 to U.S. \$ 291 in 2007.<sup>73</sup> Yet, GDP is one of the lowest in the world.

### Destabilizing Factors

- Most infrastructure has been destroyed by civil war, which has caused a decline in the industrial sector.
- Most citizens are semi-pastoralists or nomads. The economy is largely dependant on agriculture, with livestock accounting for 40% of GDP and approximately 65% of export earnings.<sup>74</sup> There is a very small manufacturing sector based on agriculture.
- In recent months agricultural activities have been adversely affected by poor main *Gu* (March – June) season rains, which has resulted in “below-normal local cereal problems and deepening water availability problems in pastoral areas”.<sup>75</sup>
- Duty and tax collection form the basis of formal economic policy. In Somaliland, the duties levied at Berbera Port account for 85% of government revenue.
- The worsening humanitarian crisis has been aggravated by poor economic performance. The UN’s Food Security Analysis Unit (FSAU) reports that in September 2008 3.25 million people, about 41% of the population, required humanitarian assistance until the end of 2008. This represents a 77% increase since January 2008.<sup>76</sup>
- Piracy is growing and supported by Puntland’s regional administration. In 2008, over 55 attacks occurred off the coast.

**Assessment:** Economic normalization is difficult due to Islamist “clampdowns” on trade activities, as well as continuing regional support of piracy. Assessments of economic performance are impossible due to the absence of formal economic data and the civil war.

## Environmental Stress (CIFP average score 7.13 or high)

### Stabilizing Factors

- Somalia has the longest coastline in Africa, with rich fishing grounds.
- 60% of the country is covered in Savannah woodlands, which are used as rangelands and a main source of fuel. However, uncontrolled deforestation of juniper and acacia forests for timber and charcoal trade has resulted in a depletion of resources.

### Destabilizing Factors

- Most of Somalia is a semi-desert, resulting in a constant threat of drought. In 2008, poor rain during *Gu* caused a continuing escalation in food prices and hyperinflation.<sup>77</sup>
- Somalia’s marine resources are being quickly depleted, primarily by foreign trawlers, due to a lack of coastal security.
- The 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake caused massive damage on the north eastern Somali coastline. The UN reported that the tsunami worsened the humanitarian situation in that area following four years of drought and famine.<sup>78</sup>

**Assessment:** Degradation of resources requires strong government oversight. Proneness to drought and famine a major concern. Inefficient use of resources and lack of capacity building have resulted in food and human insecurity.

## Human Development (CIFP average score 8.59 or high)

### Stabilizing Factors

- Somalia has low prevalence of HIV/AIDS compared to its neighbours. According to 2001 data the adult prevalence rate is 1%.<sup>79</sup>
- Although there is no national education system in Somalia, NGOs are assisting local administrations re-establish primary schools.<sup>80</sup>

### Destabilizing Factors

- Health standards in Somalia are some of the worst in the world. Somalia has no ranking on the HD Index due to lack of data.
- Contaminated drinking water is a major health concern. Less than 20% of Somalis have access to safe water.<sup>81</sup>
- Cholera, tuberculosis, malaria and acute watery diarrhoea (AWD) are prevalent in both urban and rural areas. In 2008 about 299 cases of AWD were reported in the Luuq region and 477 cases in Beled Weyne regions of Somalia. Efforts to send medical supplies are limited due to lack of roadways and blockades and attacks by armed Islamist militias.<sup>82</sup>
- Since 2006 about 2.1 million people have been affected by severe drought, with a displacement of almost 400,000 people. Malnutrition rates surpassed the international minimum level for nutrition.<sup>83</sup> 1 in 6 children under five years is malnourished.<sup>84</sup>
- Maternal and infant mortality rates are among the highest in the world with 111 deaths for every 1000 live births.<sup>85</sup>
- Jan 2009 Humanitarian Action Report launched by UNICEF includes Somalia, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe as areas with emergency needs.<sup>86</sup>

**Assessment:** Infant and maternal mortality rates are dangerously high, and the lack of data prevents accurate assessment of the gravity of the situation. Attacks on aid workers by Islamist factions add to the human suffering and insecurity in the region.

## Population Heterogeneity (CIFP Average Score: 3.00 or low)

### Stabilizing

- Religious diversity is a non-issue as Somalia’s population is religiously homogenous (Sunni Muslims).<sup>87</sup>
- Nearly ethnic homogeneity: 85% Somali, 15% Bantu and other non-Somali including 30, 000 Arabs<sup>88</sup>; Somalis are one of the few ethnic groups that define a nation<sup>89</sup>; Somali society is comprised of a clan arrangement based on a patriarchal lineage system.<sup>90</sup>

### Destabilizing

- Ethnic minorities were targeted in the early 1990s when their lands were seized by the larger clans.<sup>91</sup>
- There were past problems between warlords and Islamic militants.<sup>92</sup>

**Assessment:** No real risk of ethnic clashes/rebellion—underlying problems historically stem from genealogical clan-based conflicts.

## Demographic Heterogeneity (CIFP Average Score: 6.13 or medium)

### Stabilizing

- Somalia has a moderate population estimated to be 9 558 666<sup>93</sup>; the 85<sup>th</sup> largest population in the world<sup>94</sup>
- Life expectancy: 47 years (men), 51 years (women)<sup>95</sup>

### Destabilizing

- 1.1 million (12%) internally displaced people, 457,000 (5%) refugees from Somalia, 3.2 million (33%) in need of humanitarian aid<sup>96</sup>

- Somalia has a high population growth rate estimated to be 2.82% in 2008 and is projected to remain constant through to 2025<sup>97</sup>
- Somalia's population is projected to more than double by 2035<sup>98</sup>; Somalia is expected to be the 61<sup>st</sup> most populous country by 2050<sup>99</sup>
- There is a large youth bulge in Somalia: 44.7% of Somalia's population is under 14 years of age<sup>100</sup>
- Somalia has one of the highest maternal and infant mortality rates in the world<sup>101</sup>

**Assessment:** An increasing population in combination with a deteriorating public infrastructure, water scarcity, worsening droughts and floods, and a record high in food prices, may increase the chances of internal unrest and internal conflict.

### **International Linkages (CIFP Average Score: 7.12 or high)**

#### **Stabilizing**

- Somalia is a member of 39 international organizations.<sup>102</sup> Within Africa, Somalia is a member of the IGAD<sup>103</sup> and African Union.<sup>104</sup>
- A number of international aid agencies provide services through Somali staff and local partner agencies.<sup>105</sup>
- Some countries and their navies are interested in safeguarding sea lanes against Somalia's pirates.<sup>106</sup>

#### **Destabilizing**

- Initial intervention to eliminate Islamic militancy supported by the US has ultimately led to more than a million Somali casualties, homeless or starving<sup>107</sup> as well as a drastic increase in Islamist extremists.<sup>108</sup>
- UN Security Council refuses to send U.N. peacekeepers to Somalia fearing their efforts will be futile under current conditions.<sup>109</sup>
- Attacks on humanitarian staff since 2007 has resulted in restricted humanitarian access to certain areas of the country<sup>110</sup>; Puntland is excluded from aid due to the kidnappings of international aid worker<sup>111</sup>; Somali pirates disrupting food aid shipments arriving by sea.<sup>112</sup>

**Assessment:** Ineffective regional and international peacekeeping and continuous attacks on international aid workers diminish humanitarian aid, maintain instability and deteriorate living conditions for Somalis.

### **Possible Scenarios for the next five years**

#### **Best Case Scenario**

- The election will run and bring a legitimate president who convinces most groups of forming a unity government based on power sharing.
- The TFG will not receive an international stabilization force or a UN peacekeeping operation but AU will develop a sufficient force.
- The government will gradually rebuild its institutions and start providing security and basic social services.
- The Ethiopians will not return but fighting will continue among Islamists and between al Shabab and AU forces. The US will continue to interfere but will allow for some state building by the Somalis and make its support of the government conditional on power sharing.
- Somaliland will continue to suffer economic and development problems but members of Kulmiye will reconcile before the elections.
- The civilians' support of extremists will decrease with the Ethiopian departure, which will motivate them to join talks with the government.
- Puntland, Somaliland, and the central government will start transforming the living conditions and reduce the corruption that fuels piracy.
- The UN will encourage regional diplomacy (especially involving Kenya, Sudan and Eritrea) and focus on mediation and reconciliation among different groups, which might correct the Somalis' perception of western intentions.
- The media will be used to promote reconciliation and basic democratic principles.
- Trade routes will be secured leading to economic revitalization, the depletion of resources will be reduced by means of stringent environmental regulations, and humanitarian access will improve with extra protection provided to aid workers.

#### **Worst Case Scenario**

- The elected president will be assassinated. Talks between the TFG and opposition will collapse resulting in worse anarchy.
- The TFG will not receive UN forces and the AU forces will neither be enhanced nor its mandate extended to fight when necessary.
- The government will continue to be incapable of rebuilding its institutions or providing security or any social services.
- War crimes committed by TFG will continue. Ethiopian troops will return, which will intensify fighting.
- Ethiopia, Eritrea and the US will continue to interfere in the internal Somali affairs and will support some groups at the expense of others, which will prolong the rivalry among these groups. Anti-American sentiments and suspicion of western intentions will rise.
- Civilians will continue to support extremist groups, which will fuel conflict.
- Piracy will increase and the oil and weaponry captured will be used to fuel conflict, which will bring more foreign anti-piracy rival missions and raise tension with Egypt.
- Violence against civilians and the humanitarian crisis will continue as well as a massive surge of refugees to Yemen, Europe, and Kenya.
- The problems of Somalia's neighbours will spill over into Somalia. Ethiopian separatist rebels ONLF will intensify the conflict in Ogaden, at Somali borders. In Dec 08, Ethiopian former PM Layne, who has close ties with the current PM Zenawi, was released after 12 years in prison on corruption and abuse of power charges.<sup>113</sup> The droughts and diseases in Kenya will extend to Somalia.
- The media use will be devastated. It will remain very limited within Puntland and Mogadishu and journalists will continue to be attacked.
- Islamists will clamp down on informal economy.
- Environmental degradation will increase drought and famine, and increased attack on aid workers will minimize humanitarian access.

#### **Most Likely Case**

- Ahmed, ARS leader will be president and the transitional period extended but hardline Islamists will exacerbate conflicts.
- Some Ethiopian troops will return, which will intensify fighting and limit prospects of talks between opposition groups and the TFG.
- UN will continue to neglect Somalia to focus on Sudan and Congo. No international stabilization force or a UN peacekeeping operation will be provided. The AU forces will increase but will remain insufficient in number, equipment and mandate.
- Ethiopia, Eritrea and the US will continue to interfere in the internal Somali affairs and will support some groups at the expense of others, which will prolong the rivalry among these groups to control the central government. In addition, state building and reconciliation will be very limited and Somalis will continue to view western and US intentions with suspicion.
- Some reconciliation effort will be initiated by local clans, businessmen, civil society members, Islamic leaders, and regional actors.
- Corruption will continue and the government will provide, at best, limited social services but not security, which will leave civilians unsafe and dependent on outside aids. The parliament will remain symbolic rather than functional.
- Piracy will continue for, at least, a couple of years, which will bring more foreign anti-piracy rival missions and raise tension with Egypt.
- The use of media will remain limited to Mogadishu and Puntland and journalists will continue to be targeted by militias for some time.
- The strong informal economy will continue to be the main source sustaining the population.

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