

CHAPTER III

THE ROOT OF CONFLICT AND CRISIS THAT DRIVES TO INSECURITY IN SOMALIA

This chapter will focus on examining the causes of conflicts that appear in Somalia. Where the existence of conflict will drive the security problem in a country. Then, the security crisis is regarded as the major threats and challenges for human security. In other hand, this chapter also examines the root of problems that appear in Somalia and what does the impact of the problems toward the local community of Somalia.

A. Introduction to Clan-Based Conflict in Somalia

The conflict in Somalia can be tracked to the days of colonialism in Somalia. Where Somalia is divided into several parts namely, British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland (South-Central region) and French Somaliland (Djibouti). The establishment of three divisions does not only impact to the planted seed of centric division but also brought the inequality among clans (World Bank Group, 2005). The separation of Somalia came from colonial heritage especially European power and it affects to the Somali people. Regarding to Hadrawi, a great poet from Somalia, he argues through his poems that describe most of the unpleasant feeling in Somalia today originate from the impact of colonial system. Hadrawi claimed that the colonial powers destructed Somalia's socio-economic system.

The effects of divisions continue to haunt Somali people it is because the other two Somalia regions under the control of Ethiopia and Kenya. Ethiopia actually was the Ogaden Somalia territory, but the colonial power gave that territory to the King Menelik of Ethiopia and later became

an integral part of the Ethiopian territory. While, the northern frontier district later become Kenya's colony. In addition, the two regions that formulate the independence of Somalia are suffering serious problems and the northern region (the British Somaliland) wants separate themselves to south.

Somali social identity has historically been rooted in patrilineal (*Tol*) descent which is carefully enshrined in genealogy (*Abtirsiiinyo*, 'ancestral calculation'), which determines the exact place of each individual society. Then, at the top of this structure was the 'clan family'. Then, the genealogies of Somali people can be classified into clans and sub-clans. Traditionally, there are majority clans and the minority who formed the Somali community. The majority clans consist of Darod, Dir, Hawiye, Issaq, and Digil /Rahanweyn (also known as Digil Mitrifle). The first four, which have historically been dominated by nomadic pastoralists that are considered as 'noble' (Bilis) clans. While the Digil /Rahanweyn is regarded as cultivators and herders who occupies the second level in Somali society. Then, the third level also exists in the Somali social hierarchy, which consists of minority clans such as Bantu Barawans and Bajuni. Historically, the minority whose members are collectively known as Sab, and carried out work such as metalworking and tanning. Sometimes, the noble clans looked down on these minority clans which caused a clash of clans. In addition, despite the major clan and minority clan above, there are many other subs clans more who lived in Somalia (Hesse, 2011)

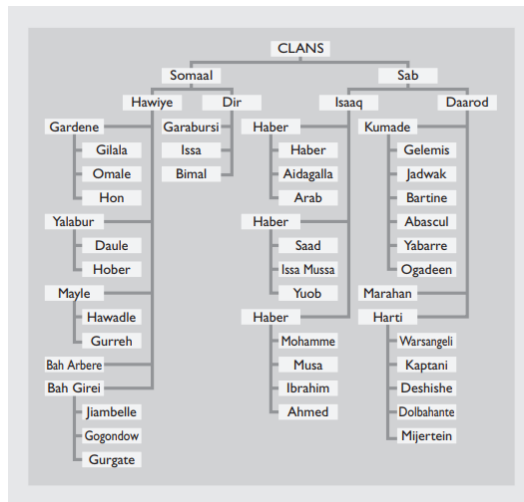
In addition, the existence of migrant workers was worsening the condition of Somalia at that time. The migrant workers left their home to seek for economic opportunities in new areas. At the same time, the refugees and poor people struggle to seek the refuge in regions for

certain period of time. In addition, there are many groups who voluntarily migrated to traditional area in order to avoid the conflict. For instance, Puntland, where a lot of clan members who lived in there were transit in Yemen to settle in Australia, US, and Scandinavia (World Bank Group, 2005).

Basically, the civil war that happen in Somalia is a continuation of civil war in the past. The past civil war in Somalia happened because of the struggle for power among Somali clan. Where the powerful clans have forcibly occupied urban real estate and valuable agriculture. Then, the clan settlement patterns have changed especially in urban areas and fertile areas such as lower Shabelle, Juba valley, and Mogadishu. These areas have faced major changes due to the invasion of non-resident clans which is supported by their militias. In the other hand, south central Somalia is occupied by armed clans. Where armed clans have taken over the valuable agricultural land, city, port and real estate for economic opportunity. While, the agricultural and indigenous group must be displaced due to the expropriation of agricultural land and real estate conducted by the stronger robber clan and made displacement or even slavery toward people who live within the region. The displacement forced them to move out into new areas that cause the change of demographic constitutions.

To describe the structure of clan who live in Somalia, here the writer gives a diagram of the clan structure in Somalia as below:

Figure 3.1 Clan Structure of Somalia



Source: Bjorn Moller – “The Somali Conflict: The Role of External Actors”. Published at Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen. [report source].

Thus, the conflict that appear in Somalia basically is a competition for power and resources among clan. This can provide a common understanding that anyone who controls the country will control country’s resources such as admission to government resources, to recruit civil servants, to control foreign aid, to control country natural resources, and to access rural grazing problems. Indeed, it describes the chance to misuse the power by political leader which cause corruption, nepotism, and collusion. Somali journalist, Mohamed Jama Urdoh also revealed his observation report that more than 70 percent (51 of 71) heads of police stations were members of the same clan as the police chief at that time (Barise, 2006). In addition, besides the appointment of political patronage as the

characteristics of civil services, the corruption is affected in all levels within government departments.

Thus, the competition to struggle for power and control the resources has long emerged in Somalia and it significantly has resulted the changes in clan settlement pattern and boundaries in many parts of the country since there was invasion conducted by powerful clan to consolidate their position on the new land that they occupied. Therefore, it is possible that one of difficult problems that must be faced by Somalia government is the influence of change in the clan distribution of country structure and community relation which has potential trigger to formulate new conflict.

Somalia has experienced a prolonged conflict that has never happened since 1991. Actually, at first, from 1960 until 1969, Somalia first government implemented democratic system, but in October 1969 everything is changed since Siad Barre took power the government. During the first few years, the revolutionary council formed new institutions and new government structure in Somalia. However not long afterwards, Somali people were aware about the Siad Barre's obsession to control and to consolidate his power for the benefit of his clan members. Opposition groups are banned and no one can criticize the political leader.

However, during general Mohammed Siad Barre administration, Barre planted the seed of conflict that formulate current conflict. The Barre government was characterized by discrimination, violence and dictatorship. Then, in 1980s, a lot of armed rebel groups started to oppose his rule. Then to respond it, Barre built the largest army in Africa to fight against the opposed-group but later his army

used to kill the Somalian and commit human rights violation. (Mbugua, 2013).

Since the elites of certain group controlled all the access of country and economic power, a lot of opposition leadership of clans took advantage of this opportunity. Precisely after the event of 1977/1978, a war between Somalia and Ethiopia, many number of military officers tried to take over the government, Majarteen clan (a clan which mostly consists of military officer) was one of the clans who tried to coup the government. However, when the coup is failed, the regime power of Siad Barre began to use his excessive force to avenge the resistance carried out by the Majarteen clan. This incident is a sign of the beginning of the civil war in Somalia (Barise, 2006). In addition, at the same time, the other clans such as Isaaqq, Ogaden, Hawiye, Digil and Mirifle also started to oppose the government and try to seize the power. The event of competition for power and resources between Somalia clans was the leading of the cause of conflict among clans and militia groups and as result of the conflict will lead to the civil war in Somalia.

Besides clash among clans, country oppression conducted by the military regime is the second leading cause of civil war in Somalia. At least, the Somali people have faced 21 years under the control of repressive military regime since 1969 until 1991. The repressive military regime used the excessive force and collective punishment to fight against the opposition group. Somali people have no mechanism to express their dissatisfaction with the regime. This is because there is no power and opportunity for Somali people to have voices and role in the contribution of decision-making process and policies on important issues. So, the system of Somalia government at that time did not provide space to oppose the government.

For instance, when in 1978 several military officers of Majerteen clan tried to overthrow the Siad Barre regime, to respond it, Barre used his national army and police to punish civilian members of the Majerteen clan. Then, later the military was involved in killing the civil society, mass persecution and destruction of the areas that occupied by the clan.

Then in 1991, Barre was overthrown from his power as the result of human right violations. Since Barre felt from his regime, there is no a dominant group that attempts to exert government authority over Somalia. As a result, in the last two decades, Somalia has been bitten by chaos without a central authority

Therefore, the separation from colonial heritage, competition for power and resources, and the military oppression regime are a long term cause of the background of the conflict in Somalia. In addition, the abuse of clan identity, the availability of weapons, a large number of unemployed youth, and some features of Somalia culture such as violence are significantly contributing to the formation and the escalation of conflict in Somalia. So, the writer consider these factors are the causes of the Somalia conflict

B. Governance Crisis and Fragile State

One factor in the conflict in Somalia is the collapse of the country. Barre's dismissal in 1991 caused the destruction of all remaining structures of authority in Somalia country. The result of political vacuum will trigger the emergence of destruction of law and order. Besides that, the political vacuum also highlighted the destruction of social coherence and harmony among various community who live in Somalia. It is because Somalia was in fragile

situation. In the other hand, most of development agencies broadly describe fragile countries as a country's inability to guarantee basic security, to maintain the rule of law and justice, and the inability to provide basic services for economic opportunities for their citizens (Jones, 2013).

Generally, the people who live in this fragile situation will be affected more than twice by the example of experiencing malnutrition, the spread of chronic disease and lack of the availability of water compared to the people who live in other developing countries. The children who live in fragile country are very affected and have twice possibility to die before five years old and has less possibility to go to school. Then as a result, the people of Somalia tend to use their group membership (in this case is their clans and sub-clans) for security and other subsistence needs. Unlike other conflict like in Sudan, in the case of Somalia conflict there is no government to discuss and deal with. Conflict seems to occur in civil society which involves many actors who are usually organized according to clan lines.

In the late 1980s, after the war of Ogaden, Barre launched the policies that resulted the dissatisfaction for Isaaq clan that occupied the north side. The Isaaq clan was one of the largest clans who live in the northern region of Somalia. However, the Isaaq clan feels isolated from current politics and country resources. One of Barre's policies was seen as detrimental to Isaaq clan which is resettling Ogadeen refugees in the north. This was seen as a southern effort to subvert the northern interests where the Isaaq clan lived. As a response, there was rebellion led by Isaaq clan in northern Somalia to fight against Barre. Then, to response the rebellion, Barre commanded his army to bomb the northern cities, villages and even rural camps of

Isaaq clan. Then, slowly, the rebellion against Barre spread to the south.

As a result of the riots, Siad Barre fled from Mogadishu and was chased by troops commanded by general Mohamed Farah Aidid. Meanwhile, Ali Mahdi Mohamed, a rich entrepreneur in Mogadishu declared himself as a new president and established a new government of Somalia. While in the north, the Isaaq clan formed an independent Somaliland. However, the claim of Ali Mahdi power was not recognized by the international regime.

As a result of the fight of power struggle between two clan kings Mohammed Farah Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohamed, thousands of Somali civilians were killed and injured. In 1992, there were 350.000 Somali civilians died of disease, famine, or as the direct victims of civil war. To respond it, the UN Security council approved a military mission called 'Operation Restoration Hope' and entrusted the US with the task of protecting food shipments from warlords. The international aid operation turns to a part of the economic war, where the militias group fought with warlords to take over the commodities which were diverted to fund war. Then in 1993, Somali rebel group shot down the two US helicopters which killed 18 US soldiers and a Malaysian soldier. The fierce fighting took place and claimed the lives of hundreds of Somali civilians (Vanugopalan, 2017).

The expulsion of the Barre regimes was not replaced by the surrogate government, but it was followed by a period of anarchy and prolonged violence and war. In 1991 and 1992, Armed conflict raged throughout southern Somalia, with battles between militias and clans aimed at controlling valuable cities, ports, and environments. At first, the war began as a struggle to control the government but the war

quickly turned into looting, bandits, predatory, and the occupation of valuable real estate by conquering clan militias. A number of young armed men fought to secure the spoils of war. Strong traders and warlords are also involved in this economic war. The main victims of this violence were weak agricultural communities and coastal minority group trapped in the midst of fighting where their assets were seized by war criminals (World Bank Group, 2005).

The 1991-1992 war also produced a variety of strong interests in perpetuating violations of law and violence and obstructing Somali reconciliation. During the war there were illiterate gunmen who made war as a way of livelihood to fulfill their needs by looting and extortion. Some entrepreneurs are enriched by criminal activities related to war such as arms sales, transfer of food aid, drug dealer, and export of scrap metal. In addition, there are many of the valuable real estate in cities and rivers have been forcibly taken over by perpetrators of war in which civilians lost their homes and their peaceful settlements (World Bank Group, 2005).

Since Barre overthrown from his power in 1991, most Somalia central governments have not functioned as well. Government institutions are weak and fragile. In addition, the government does not have the financial resources to pay salaries for the civil servants, more over to build government institutions. As well as in Somaliland, the basic services over there are provided by the private sector than government institution. In other hands, the government failed to achieve and to maintain peace and security within the country's borders. Moreover, the existence of Al-Shabaab worsen the condition of Somalia region. As the main Islamic militant group that active in Somalia, Al-Shabaab has big role in expanding its territorial control that

relatively quick. At least, in some regions, Al-Shabaab is able to provide law and good order to the Somali people after years of chaos.

In contrast, in northwest and northeast Somalia, the collapse of central government did not trigger the kind of war and looting as well as that occurred in the south. Indeed, the clashes between clan did occur in Somaliland which resulted in the occurrence of two serious wars in 1994 and 1996. However, the clashes could be avoided because of the stronger authority from traditional clan elders, where there was political cohesion between clan elders. In addition, the support of employer to establish peace and subsidize demobilization help the creation of the effective political leadership that able to minimize acts of anarchy and general violence. Then, Somaliland is gradually starting to build simple capacities to govern and the national assemblies of traditional clan elders help to manage peace and keep the young gunman under control. In the other hand, in the northeast, the chronic inter-clans tension was also overcome by traditional clan elders. In both regions, the simple economic recovery triggered the activities of export-import through their ports which help them to divert energy towards trade and avoid from war. Here, the role of the clan elder is immense so, they could manage their region to be saved after the collapse of central government.

The lack of national vision and identity is one of the factors that prevents clans from involving themselves and contributing together with the national government. This is because there is no common vision between the Somali government and the clans. The clan centric remains as an obstacle to national integration and stabilization in realizing good political order. The military government of Siad Barre used the excessive force and collective punishment for those clans who opposed his reign. It is because the

opposition movement who against Siad Barre basically clan-based that want revolution in Somalia but the entrance of Siad Barre did bring significant changes for Somalia condition to a better one.

The insecurity in Somalia and lack of government administrative capacity have contributed to low tax revenues. The tax ratio to Somalia GDP is very low under 2.8 percent (Hersi, 2018). Then, many of government operations are funded by external actor as well as the case in Somaliland where the availability of basic services are provided by the private sectors. In addition, the corruption among government officers is deeply rooted. Indeed, Somalia is well-known as the most corrupt country in the world. The government has no political will and capacity to overcome this specter, and the government misuse and mismanagement the public funds and made Somalia a country that has poor population among poorest people in the world, where half of the population lives below the international poverty line.

Therefore, Somalia remains a failed state. The central government is largely dysfunctional and has little authority and legitimacy in this country. Violations of law in the country have made it a breeding ground for terrorism and other illegal activities, including smuggling and piracy, and those who benefit from illicit activities have a great interest in perpetuating Somali instability.

C. Environmental Degradation

Currently, there are several prominent environmental security problems that occur in Somalia such as global warming which leads to climate change, water pollution which contributes to human health problems, deforestation which results in desertification, species destruction, ozone

depletion, increased urban and industrial waste and many others (Barise, 2006).

Since the beginning of the Somali conflict in 1991, the country has estimated that Somalia has lost around 14% of its forest and about the 87% people of Somalia live depend on wood-based fuels. Then, the number of land mines in Somaliland is estimated at around 12 million and 25-50 thousand in Puntland. There are also more mines land planted during the Ogaden war along the unopened Somalia/Ethiopia border. In 2002, it was estimated that fishing in Somali waters has reached 60.000 tons, but about half of the fishing was taken by foreign fishing vessels. In addition, there are a lot of hazardous waste also stored along Somalia coastline, and most of those toxic waste materials come from the western industries countries where some of them taking advantage of the fall of the Somalia government to dispose those toxic waste (Barise, 2006).

The crisis in Somalia is also caused by natural disaster. In 2010-2011 the Horn of Africa region experienced a crisis of food scarcity that afflicted 13 million people. At that time the Somali government even for the first time officially declared hunger status (famine). Somalia is a country affected by the worst drought. The lack of water supply and the fall in crop yields have reached their worst point in the past 17 years. The low yields of crops, especially corn and wheat, have resulted in high prices of cereals. This has resulted in a high number of malnourished children, difficult livelihoods, and many have even lost their lives. More than half of Somalia's population is affected by the drought. Somalia's death rate is even estimated to reach 260,0000 between October 2010 and April 2012. The droughts and famines occur due to ecological degradation which results in reduced access to water and grasslands during the dry season in places like Somalia (Barise, 2006).

So, the natural disaster which caused the drought has resulted in high prices of staple foods so that people with middle lower income are highly affected. The failure of crop production which resulted in high food price inflation further worsened the Somali people condition. Moreover, the limited access to the distribution of humanitarian aid by Al-Shabaab has resulted in a large number of unsuccessful relief efforts (Barise, 2006).

Despite the large number of casualties and starvation, the crisis in Somalia also resulted in a high wave of Internationally Displaced People (IDP). At least, since 1995 there has been a wave of large-scale displacements in Somalia. It is estimated that there are ten thousands of residents relocated annually due to the civil conflict that occurred in Somalia. At the end of 2005, the UN estimated that there were internal displacements reaching 375,000 to 400,000 Somali people. Many IDPs do not live in refugee camps and are scattered everywhere. They live in uncertain conditions in barren rural areas. About 2/3 of the population lives nomadically and semi-nomadically, they move with groups. According to a 2010 UNHCR report, it is estimated that more than 200,000 Somali people must be relocated from their homes. The conflict between the TFG government and opposition groups that year was also estimated to have resulted in 60 people being killed and 50 others injured (Qiswian, 2016)

At the end of June 2011 UNHCR estimated that around 800,000 Somali refugees were scattered in several other countries such as Kenya, Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Tanzania and Uganda. In addition, there are almost 1.5 million Somali people who must be relocated to other domestic areas, the majority of which are in the South and Central regions. This year, an estimated 2.8 million Somali people are affected by the crisis, where one in 3

people needs help. Their health conditions are very bad because of the difficulty of getting food, water and health services. Many of them also suffer from outbreaks of acute diarrhea and smallpox.

In addition, the security situation and the bad humanitarian crisis are exacerbated by the many social irregularities, especially for women and children. In 2002 the UN estimated that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the displaced population in Somalia was in a vulnerable condition. Immoral acts such as rape are often used as a tool for militant groups in order to retaliate and insult an ethnic group. The threat comes all the time even when they are walking long distances to find sources of water or firewood. IDPs also tend to have little access to work, education and other facilities and they live in the poverty line. Then, the lack of resources has brought into the prolonged conflict in Somalia. Somalia has never had an independent and effective government, where most of the country's resources come from foreign aid, especially through bilateral or multilateral assistance. Civil war not only destroys internal domestic resources which have an inadequate income, but civil war demands the Somali government to rely on foreign aid and remittances (Barise, 2006).

The situation in Somalia has reached a precarious condition for its people. This is due to three things, namely Somali people who are unable to fulfill their daily needs because agricultural production is unable to meet basic needs for food and drink, second, the majority of Somali people do not have access to official government, and the third Somali does not have the power to calm conditions of their own difficulties.

D. Religious Fundamentalism and Group of Terrorist and Piracy

Islam is the main religion most widely adopted by Somali people and Islamic leaders are recognized for contributing a lot to peace efforts and reconciliation efforts in the country. Initially, radical Islamic groups began to emerge in the 1980s in Somalia as a result of state failures in 1991 and also the existence of external interventions from the United Nations, the United States and Ethiopia in Somalia. However, the emergence of radical religious groups with competing ideologies is one of the factors that has led to the current conflict in Somalia. These radical groups have tried to plant a false religious ideology for Somali society. The ideology of religion in Somalia conflict is dominated by the power of Al-Shabaab which has full control in various regions of Somalia. The existence of Al-Shabaab itself is one of the terrorist groups that are in Somalia and is recognized as a threat that causes insecurity for Somalia. In the other hand, Al-Shabaab is also a product of the export of Al-Qaeda's ideology to Somalia (Hansen, 2013).

In addition, there are other Islamic groups operating in Somalia such as AlSufiya, Al-Tahad, Tabliiq, Al-Islah, Ahlu-Sunnah Wal jama and Al-Ictism. Here, Hizbul Islam is not regarded as the Islamic extremist ideological group, but as the groups which supports the government. On the other hand, the adoption of Islamic law around the areas that governed by the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) have a good record of significant security improvements. Meanwhile, Al-Shabaab imposed strict Islamic law on Somali residents such as prohibiting TV broadcasting, radio, Western music, books, and sports (Mbugua, 2013). So, the emergence of religious extremism has become one of the risk factors for violent conflict. Civilians are often being the target and

victims of violence acts of extremist group who sometimes use weapons and suicide bombers.

There are many claims about how Harakat Al-Shabaab began. Roland Marchal pointed to the formation of the Mu'askar Mahkamat (Islamic Court Camp). According to him Mahkamat later changed its name to Jama'ah Al-Shabaab (Youth Group), and this was the origin of Al-Shabaab. Al-Shabaab is known as an Islamic group that controls about half of Central and South Somalia, which is estimated to have 7,000 until 9,000 fighters, recruited from Somalia to the west country (Hansen, 2013).

Al-Shabaab initially emerged as a remnant of al Itihaad al Islamiya (AIAI), a Wahhabi Islam terrorist organization that emerged in Somalia in the 1980s with the aim of replacing Mohammed Siad Barre's regime with a country that implements Islamic law. In 2000, the remnants of AIAI were mostly young so they were reformed into Al-Shabaab groups and some were included in the ICU as radical youth militias. Then, in the 1960s during the appearance of Sayyid Qutb who wrote about radical anti-Western Islamic militants affecting this group to carry out cross-border attacks on Ethiopian forces with the help of Oromo Liberation Front (OLF, Ethiopian ethnic Somali separatist group). The ICU was established in 2000 after AIAI suffered significant losses during a confrontation with Ethiopian troops. AIAI is believed to be a supporter of Al-Qaeda and was designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) by the US State Department.

The presence of the ICU was considered as the beginning of a better change in Somali political direction. However, the emergence of the new Government which became the opposition of the ICU was the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) which would be an obstacle in

efforts to achieve the ICU's mission. TFG was established in 2004 in Nairobi, Kenya because at that time Mogadishu's condition was unstable and unsafe. Then in early 2006 the TFG was transferred to Baidoa under the supervision of Ethiopia. The TFG is the Government of the Somali republic recognized by the United Nations (UN), the African Union, and the United States. The TFG was established based on the Transitional Federal Charter adopted in November 2004. The Charter functions as the Somali constitution. The constitution explains the procedures for operating the Somali government.

ICU and TFG are two groups that are not in line. The ICU prioritizes a constitution that is guided by Islamic Shari'a, while the TFG is more directed towards a constitution formed by the West. This incompatible understanding makes the vulnerability of conflict between the two groups. TFG has sought to establish a relationship with the ICU by involving it in sharing policy forums. However, the TFG policy caused dissatisfaction with the ICU because each TFG policy was always under the influence of the west country. The beginning of the conflict both ICU and TFG occurred is when the TFG accused the ICU of having links with international terrorists. This caused a battle between the two. In 2006 peace negotiations were held to resolve the conflict between the TFG and the ICU called the Khartoum negotiations led by the Arab League and America, but the battle between the TFG and ICU is still ongoing. Until June 2006, the ICU had taken control of much of the southern region of Somalia and Mogadishu.

Seeing the enormous strength of the ICU, the TFG asked Ethiopia to help fight the ICU. In December 2006, Ethiopia invaded Somalia with US support to bring down the ICU. TFG forces with Ethiopian military support finally

defeated the ICU. However, Ethiopia's presence has incited a new rebellion and the situation has changed out of control. Among them, the young ICU militia or Al-Shabaab carried out a rebellion and greater resistance to the TFG. As a result of the unstable situation, the TFG requested that Ethiopian troops remain in Somalia for fear that the ICU would regain control of Somalia as before the invasion from Ethiopia. Ethiopia finally agreed to only withdraw after the multinational peace mission came to Somalia. The helplessness of Somalia has invited the world's attention, foreign intervention which increasingly raises new fragmented groups, trying to dominate Somalia. Al-Shabaab who resides in Somalia is the main reason for foreigners to launch their soldiers to destroy Al-Shabaab and its affiliates as well as an effort to prevent a safe heaven for terrorism.

Since 2009, Al-Shabaab's relationship with Al-Qaeda has become more harmonious in its structure and operational strategy. First, Al-Shabaab affiliation with Al-Qaeda significantly changed the component of its leadership. After the death of its leader, Aden Hashi Ayro in May 2008, the command structure of Al-Shabaab was filled by a number of core Al-Qaeda members who took part in the leadership of the Al-Shabaab group. Secondly, until 2008, Al-Shabaab took advantage of relatively conventional guerrilla tactics in attacking Ethiopian troops in Somalia. Then in February 2012, Al-Qaeda announced that Al-Shaabaab leader Ahmed Abdi Aw-Mohamed (Godane) had promised to obey Ayman al-Zawahiri (Osama bin Laden) and Al-Qaeda. Even Al-Shaabaab has also developed relationships with AQAP and AQIM (Pasaribu, 2015).

E. Piracy in Somalia

Somali piracy began around the 1950s and it began to develop into activities in the late 1980s. However, this problem is still categorized as a domestic issue, so it has not been highlighted by the outside world. The act of piracy began to flourish after Somalia experienced political upheaval and civil war during the collapse of the dictator regime of Siad Barre in January 1991. Somalia waters are acknowledged have the widest coastline in Africa which is a place for world fish stocks that are truly under-fished. Somali fisheries potential is one of the best in the world where various species of tuna, swordfish, sharks, marlin and including lobster are commodities that attract foreign fishing vessels, especially Japan, Spain, Yemen, Korea, India, Pakistan, and Italy to come to this region.

Another report from Ocean Training and Promotion (OTP) said that since 1991 more than 200 foreign vessels were involved in illegal fishing where each ship in only 75 days could capture up to 420 tons of fish with a value of 6.3 million dollars. Fishing activities by foreign fleets carried out by Illegal Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) are estimated to cause losses of between \$ 4-9 million every year. Without effective authority over the territorial waters of Somalia, foreign fleets have controlled 3,300km of territorial waters off Somalia with abundant marine products. It is estimated that annually around 700 international vessels illegally operate in the Somali sea territory by exploiting high-value species such as deep-sea shrimp, lobsters, tuna and sharks (Al-Akram, 2018).

Despite illegal fishing, there are also illegal dumping practices of industrial waste carried out by various foreign-flagged vessels. Although there is no valid data regarding the amount of dumping waste in Somali waters, based on

the results of an investigation from the Italian government, it was found that there were around 35 million tons of waste that had been disposed of with an estimated value of \$ 6,600,000,000. The cheap costs incurred for exporting waste are a rational reason for foreign companies, most of whom come from Europe, to dispose of waste in Somali waters. Another report from UNEP in 2006 stated that it would cost at least \$ 250 per ton to dispose of waste in Europe compared to the very cheap cost of dumping waste in Somalia worth \$ 2.50 per ton (Al-Akram, 2018)

In carrying out the action, Somali pirates originate from ex-militias, local fishermen and unemployed youth that fell to the sea to ask for levies from a number of ships suspected of carrying out illegal fishing and waste disposal around Somali waters. Along with the activities of those who continued to pirate trawlers and dispose of the passing waste to be subject to fines, then the pirates became increasingly accustomed to carrying out the action. This is because the captured ship owners also facilitate the action of piracy by choosing to pay fines so that their exploitation activities do not get legal problems and international attention.

The first stage of the activities of Somali piracy began in the 1990s until the mid-2000s. During this phase the level of piracy activities carried out is still relatively low and is mainly concentrated in the Gulf of Aden which is indeed a strategic route for maritime shipping traffic crossings. The highest number of attacks in this period recorded only around 14 attacks from 1994 to 1999. While in the period between 2000-2005 the number of attacks began to experience a slight increase but still not alarming (Al-Akram, 2018). This may be due to piracy still being carried out in the first stages or not yet having sufficient strength and resources. In addition, the low incentives obtained

compared to the risks that must be received by pirates make piracy in the first phase show no significant improvement. Piracy is carried out merely to survive in the midst of the condition of a country that has fallen or only seeks to protect marine resources exploited by ships from other countries.

The second phase occurred in 2005, where there was a higher frequency of attacks carried out off the Somali-Indian Ocean coast by larger and more organized groups of pirates. There were 35 attacks were reported in Somali waters, as well as 10 attacks in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. The cause of the increase in the number of attacks as much as 350% is related to political conflicts and civil war which are heating up again between the ruling factions in several regions. As a result, opposition groups tried to find greater financial resources, including building piracy businesses. Piracy business development is carried out with the support of international criminal syndicates who are interested in piracy activities (Al-Akram, 2018). The second stage marks the change towards the development of piracy action activities and the existence of greater efforts in organizing management and piracy business.

While the third stage began in 2007 when Somali pirates had equipment support and increased intensity of attacks. Increases occur both in the number and range of attacks. The manifestations at this stage are a sign of the increasing existence of piracy activities in the Horn of Africa which have affected global security problems and have received great attention from the international community. This drastic increase then began to get international attention, including the International Maritime Council which warned ships to avoid sailing within a 100 nautical mile radius of the coast of Somalia (Al-Akram, 2018).

In addition, the existence of strong pirate networks in central and northeastern Somalia has become an immense threat to the international shipping industry and has the potential influence for local stability. The International Maritime Bureau reports that the number of pirate attacks has increased rapidly, from 10 in 2006 to 31 in 2007 and 111 in 2008, although there are still fewer than 22,000 ships crossing the Gulf each year. A well-coordinated international naval response did small number of effort to prevent attacks which impact to the increase number to 214 in 2009. Combined Task Force 151 Task Force US Navy Central Command, European Union Operations Atalanta, Operation Allied Protector from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the national independent navy currently has about thirty ships patrolling the Gulf of Aden. The only good news is that, even though the pace of the attack has accelerated, recent steps taken by the shipping industry to improve security measures on board have been rewarded with a decline in arrest rates (Bruton, 2010).

In 2009, there were reports that there were 220 pirate attacks, and 52 successful piracy. In 2010, the number of piracy reached 219. In 2011, the ransom paid reached US \$ 135,000,000. The number of pirates operating on the coast of Somalia is estimated to be between 1,500 and 3,000 people. Until now, the operational coverage area of Somali pirates is no longer only in the Gulf of Aden, but up to the Indian Ocean. This even led to the thought that this Somalia pirate could become a king in the Indian Ocean. This type of piracy carried out by Somali pirates is also different from the way traditional hijackers take goods and ships that are hijacked, namely asking for ransom for ship owners, businesses, or families of hijacked crew members. Pirates usually move using small boats containing 4-6 people, and armed with SALW (Small Arms Light Weapons) such as AK-47 to RPG. But there are also those who use hijacked

ships as a base of operations at sea, so the duration and reach of pirates can be wider.

Somali pirates are very big problem for the world economy. 90% of goods traded in the world, transport by sea, and 40% of the movement of goods, through the Indian Ocean, Gulf of Aden, and the Arabian Sea. This is certainly very worrying with the proliferation of piracy, especially since the hijackers began using ships that have been hijacked as aircraft carriers for piracy, making almost no routes that can be used by ships to rotate to avoid pirates (Widhasmara, 2012).

Somali pirates also have the potential to create destabilization in the region. This can be seen from the increase in crime and violence as a consequence of the diaspora of Somalia and the significant amount of money flowing into the diaspora. Pirated money is also suspected of being a source of funds for terrorist activities. There are some observers stating that the ransom money flows to the Al-Shabaab group which is associated with the Al-Qaeda terrorist network. Al-Shabaab, as we know, is a group that fights TFG. This will certainly be a very important consideration regarding the importance of creating peace and stability in Somalia. One of the efforts to realize stability in Somalia is through the enhancement of state institutions. The presence of strong state institutions such as the police and the army effectively can reduce the threats of sea piracy (Widhasmara, 2012).

F. The impact of crisis, war and conflict towards humanitarian crisis in Somalia

The impact of the Somali conflict can be seen from a variety of events: family destruction, economic destruction, cultural erosion, community destruction, poor hygiene and

the health sector, economic collapse, sub-clan divisions, divisions within the sub-clan, destruction of institutions government, law violations, religious divisions, division of Somalia into various regions and general uncertainty. In addition, armed conflict in Somalia destroys the prospect of life for more than two decades through the destruction of institutions, encouraging human and capital flight, damaging investor confidence, spreading disease and disrupting trade.

The humanitarian crisis is interpreted as a situation with a high human suffering level where basic welfare for humans is in risky conditions on a large scale. There are several types of humanitarian crises based on the source of the cause. First, humanitarian crisis which is caused by natural disaster. Second, Man-made emergencies that are caused by humans such as civil conflict, rebellion, and war. Third, complex emergencies that are the combination of natural and man-made elements such as food insecurity, armed conflicts, and displaced populations. The humanitarian crisis that occurred in Somalia is the third type, namely complex emergencies because it is caused by two causes.

The humanitarian crisis that occurred in Somalia resulted in a domestic situation that was not conducive. Many Somali people died both because of war and violence, and because of hunger caused by drought. In addition, the crisis in Somalia also resulted in a high wave of refugees, especially IDPs. The crisis in Somalia is categorized as complex emergencies, which is a combination of the existence of man-made crisis in the form of civil war and natural disaster, namely drought that has hit for decades.

Most of humanitarian problems that have arisen in Somalia are refugees, the absence/difficulty of obtaining

goods, very high human rights violations, and the absence of legal certainty and protection of life and ownership rights and others. The effect of the prolonged conflict will trigger the prolonged insecurity as well, especially human security. Of course, the negative impact of prolonged insecurity can be seen through economy, education, social services, infrastructure. In addition, currently Somalia is well-known as country with the lawlessness, piracy, fundamentalist group, poverty, source scarcity, illegal immigration and the spread of chronic disease.