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Somali Irredentism: An analysis of its causes and its impact on political stability in Somalia from 1960 -1991

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Abstract

After Berlin Conference in 1884 to 1885, Somalia was partitioned into five parts by Britain, Italy, and French. In 1960 two parts gained independence and formed the Somali Republic, and since then successive Somali governments sought to incorporate the other three parts of Somali territories under Ethiopia, Kenya and French Somaliland known as Djibouti into Greater Somalia.

The aim of this study has been to explore and analyze the causes, and the impact of the Somalia' irredentism on political stability in Somalia. In more specifically, the main objective has been to critically examine how Somali irridentism policy has been pursued, what challenges faced and how it has affected the political stability of the post-colonial Somali state from 1960 to 1990.

The analysis presented in this study has shown that the causes of Somali irredentism are combined factors that helped rise Somali irredentism. The analysis has argued that Somalia's quest for irredentism policy had a huge impact on Somalia's political stability, including, but not limited to, creating enemies and alienating allies from neighbouring countries to western and eastern blocs, as well as interstate conflict with Ethiopia which ended with Somalia defeat. Finally, Somalia's defeat, which resulted from irredentism's venture, caused disunity among the national army, refugee crisis, financial burden and the rise of armed opposition movements that finally ousted the military regime led by Siad Barre. This was followed by state collapse and protracted civil war.

Keywords: Somalia, Irredentism, Colonialism, territory, impact, causes, Ethiopia, Kenya, independence, nationalism

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Chapter one: An introduction

Preface

Somalia's root causes of the current instability and turmoil could be traced back to external and internal factors including, but not limited to, colonial legacy and irredentist policy. The European colonialism in Africa left many deep-rooted legacies. One of salient legacy, which became the fault lines for instability and lasted to this day, is the borders drawn by the colonial powers as Afis has stated the demarcation of the borders has served as sources of many African problems(Afisi,(2009: 64), Thomson, (2010: 14). The Europeans simply divided Africa to avoid intra- European war without taking into consideration the indigenous interests.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Somalia was partitioned into five territories by British, Italy, French and Ethiopia and Somali people were spilt across borders. According to Mohamed Mukhtar (1989:75), "no other nation in Africa has been partitioned as many as has been the case in Somalia". Such partition has been a source of instability and conflicts as Nguendi(2012:1) aptly writes that many interstates, and intrastate conflicts in Africa "have been sparked by the forceful fusion of incompatible national groups into one state by the imposition of artificial boundaries by colonial powers".

Two parts of Somali territories gained independence and formed Somali Republic in 1960. The newly Somali Republic has inherited borders that had been randomly drawn decades before and Somali people left divided across Ethiopia, Kenya, and Somalia. On this regard, Somalia embarked on policy of irredentism, which is an attempt to redeem territories perceived as lost in other country/ countries and incorporate them into the irredentist state. Somalia's irredentism policy to unite the divided Somali people into Greater Somalia, stood not only against the OAU's charter but also against the great power's strategic interests (Danfulani,1999: 40). The Somalia's irredentism project was viewed also as threat by the neighboring countries and finally led to interstate war between Somalia and Ethiopia which had huge impact on Somalia's political stability.

This thesis critically examines the impact of Somalia's irredentism policy on the stability of Somali state. First it attempts to explore causes of irredentism by tracing the colonial partition of Somalia which helped the rise of irredentism and greater Somalia. In the second part, the thesis examines the dream of pan-Somalism and self-determination which has been too costly

in human, economic and political conditions. The final part will focus on to what extent impact has Somalia's irredentist policy on the instability of the post-colonial state in Somalia 1960-1991.

Objective and Research questions

The general objective of this thesis is to explore and analyze the causes, and the impact of the Somalia' irredentism on political stability in Somalia.

The study seeks to comprehend and analyze the consequences and the impact of Somalia's irredentist policy for the quest of unity, and more specifically, the study argues that the current political turmoil and instability owe much of its causes to Somalia's irredentist ambition of quest for uniting all Somali people in a single state. The main objective of the study is to critically assess how Somali irredentism policy has affected the political stability of the post-colonial Somali state from 1960 to 1990.

The study is intended to serve as contribution to the already extensive volumes of literature on irredentism and more specifically, to the less studies question of the impact of Somalia's irredentist policy on political instability

Research questions

In order to achieve the above-mentioned objective, the study will address the following three questions

- What are the causes of Somalia's irredentism?
- How has the post-colonial state from 1960 up to 1991 pursued Somalia's irredentism policy?
- How has such pursuit of Somali irredentism policy affected the political stability of the post-colonial Somali state?

Restrictions

The thesis examines the impact of Somalia's policy of irredentism on post-colonial state of Somalia. It focuses more on political aspects of the post-colonial state and its quest for Greater Somalia, excluding other spheres. The focus of an analysis will be limited to the

period from 1960, when Somalia gained independence, until the state collapse in 1991 when Said Barre was ousted.

State of research

Irredentism is derived from Italian irredenta, meaning "unredeemed", emerged in the nineteenth century, referred to the Italian national movement which wanted to incorporate ethnic Italians, who lived under the rule of Austro-Hungarian Empire, into a newly formed Italian state (Ambrosio2000: 2).

The concept of irredentism is a matter of debate as there is still lack of commonly recognized definition that would regulate approaches. Irredentism is one of the most problematic forms of conflict as it fuses interstate and intrastate conflict (Carment and James 1995; Moore and Davis 1998). Ambrosio (2001: 18) describes irredentism as "the most extreme manifestation of nationalism as it involves attempts to annex territory of another state in order to protect its co-nationals". Kornprobst (2009) also argues that many wars were driven by irredentism such as Serbian claims against Bosnia-Herzegovina and German claims against Czechoslovakia and Poland, and the former Yugoslav Succession in which Serbia desired to unite Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. He has also noted that there are cases where some states relinquish their claim of irredentism without resort to military means such the Federal Republic of Germany's claims in Eastern Europe against the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Ireland's claims to Northern Ireland.

The literature of irredentism has identified two types of irredentism. The first one is a situation where the irredentist state attempts to incorporate its kin and the territory they reside in a neighboring state/s into "the parent state, and/or to the demands made by the people involved that they be reunited with their kin across the border" (Horowitz, 1991). The second type is Horowitz 's definition that a "new state" can be described as a kind of irredentism but this received rejection by many scholars including Neuberger (1991) and Ambrosio (2000).

This study is in line with the dominant view in the literature that considers irredentism as an existing state attempting to "redeem territories and peoples if considers its own" (Neuberger 1991: 97). For the purpose of this study, Horowitz's first type of irredentism is an appropriate to Somalia's context where he defines irredentism as "a movement by members of an ethnic group in one state to retrieve ethnically kindred people and their territory across borders"

(Horowitz, 1991). This definition combines both of territory and people which is appropriate to Somalia's irredentism. To barrow Donald Horowitz's words, irredentism, in short, is "subtracting from one state and adding to another".

Horowitz (1991), Carment (1994), and Saideman (1998) argue that domestic political competition and the interaction between the masses and the elites play crucial role in allowing or restricting governments to pursue aggressive foreign policy. In similar manner, McMahon (1998) writes on the connection between the ethic ties and political leaders but more focus on the restraints imposed by the international system with consideration under what conditions permit state to seek irredentism or not.

On the other hand, David Carment (1993), using quantitative analysis and case studies, has attempted to focus on interstate ethnic strife by discovering the casual relationship between the ethnic and interstate conflict. He also identifies what causes irredentism and situations in which irredentism is more or less likely to occur. Weiner (1971), using Balkans as case study on ethnic minority, contended that external powers are crucial either in allowing to happen or preventing irredentism. In similar manner, Ambrosio (2000) argues that irredentism can be prompted by either top -down or bottom -up approaches and the collaboration between the political elites and the grassroots play crucial role. Ambrosio (p:11) also rightly maintains that domestic factors can only partially tell the events therefore he combines both the domestic and external factors which help cause and resolve the irredentist conflicts. Thus, the irredentist state, he argues, is confronted by two opposing forces: the domestic nationalism and the pressure from the external forces. Ambrosio's analysis on irredentism from both domestic and international level of analysis helps this study to examine the impact of irredentism on post-colonial state in Somalia through analysis of the effects by both domestic and international factors.

In Africa even though it has witnessed partition of territories, and people by the colonial powers, the number of irredentist claims is small. Benyamin Neuberger (1991) argues that Africa has few true nation states and that those divided African people are minorities in all the states in which they inhabit. "The multiethnic character of most Africa states and their internal lack of cohesion and stability are the prime reasons for their unwillingness to go irredentist, as they could easily fall victim to irredentist retaliation" (Neuberger1991: 106). In similar manner, Suuhrke and Noble (1977:13) maintain the multiethnic character of the majority African states feeling lack of unity "lead to a restrained policy toward boundary disputes".

Another reason is that the Organization of African Unity, which was established in 1963, objected any alteration of country boundaries in the African continent.

As aptly noted, Robert Jackson and Carl Rosebrg (1984:179) argue that the legitimation and enforcement of existing ex-colonial international boundaries in Africa is undoubtedly the supreme purpose of the O.A.U., but very few of those boundaries have substantial indigenous African referents". But Somalia and Morocco are among the few African countries that defied the borders delineated by the colonial powers at the end of 19the century.

In the analysis of Africa irredentist states, Neuberger summarizes that there are different types of redeemed state in Africa such as "nation-states (e.g., Somalia), quasi nation-states (e.g., Togo), historic states (e.g., Ethiopia), or plural states (e.g., Cameroon), (Neuberger 1991:104). Regarding the literature of Somali Irredentism, scholars are mainly divided into two: those who historically wrote about the partition of Somalia, the nationalism, and the challenges faced by the newly independent Somali state. And those recent works on Somalia's irredentism have focused on comparative case studies.

 Among the foremost scholars on Somali nationalism and irredentism are Saadia Touval,(1963) and I.M. Lewis (1963) who wrote about the misfortunate of the Somalia, which was arbitrarily divided into five parts, and the homogenous society with common culture, language and religion. They wrote about the dilemmas and challenges faced the new leaders in their search of nation and state buildings including Pan-Somalism. But most of these studies written in the 1960s and 70s lack the linkage between the past and present problems of Somalia's crises. In the late 1980s Laitin and Samatar (1987) wrote in depth about nationalism and the crises of post-colonial Somali state after independence. The works of Laitin& Samar, and Touval give great emphasis on the boundaries imposed on the country during the colonial era and the challenges resulted from such demarcation.

The second literature on Somalia irredentism is divided into two; those with less detailed irredentism accounts (Laitin &Samatar (1987), Schraeder (2006), Zoppi (2015) and those with focus on comparative case studies (Carment,1993; Saideman, 1998;). Detailed study on Somalia's irredentism explanations that linked past to present in general, the impact of Somalia's irredentism on political stability in particular, has received too little attention. This study, therefore, is to fill that gap by analyzing first the causes of irredentism, and the impact on Somalia's political stability. The thesis will undertake not only the task to build bridge between the interrelated problems posed by Somalia's irredentist project but also critically

analyze the domestic and external factors that helped the rise and the causes, as well as the consequences of Somalia's irredentism project on political stability in Somalia from 1960-1991.

Theoretical framework

This study defines irredentism as dominant ethnic state seeking to incorporate lost territory and people, who reside under other sovereign state, but these people have in common ethnic, cultural, religious, and historical ties with the parent state. These territories and ethnic people were lost by colonial powers.

Since the irredentism literature reveals the scarcity of helpful approaches for analyzing irredentism accounts, and since there is no single theory that is a robust enough to explain the dynamics of irredentism and ethnic conflict, this study will adopt multi-framework approach to produce balanced narratives that can provide us a comprehensive understanding of the analysis of irredentism, its causes, and consequences. Theoretical approaches that draw from this study are, primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism, as well as structural approach. Each of these theoretical approaches provides insight into certain aspects of irredentism explanations and contribute to the relevance of explanation the rise and enduring nature of nationalism in Africa generally and Somalia in particular.

According to primordialism approach, ethnic identities are profoundly rooted in historical experience of human beings which are fixed and natural, and that nationalism is natural product of historically founded and enduring effective ties in which individuals recognize their attachment to overarching ethnic identity (Geertz, 1973; Isaacs, 1975). Primordialism argues that irredentism claims are most likely to be made by the relatively homogenous states in favor of ethnic kin. Primordialism, thus, argue that Somalia's nationalism is a natural result from historically grounded homogeneous society which seeks unification of all Somalis under a single state nation drawing boundaries against other inhabitant ethnic groups in the region. Somalia viewed this as their right of national self-determination which is the UN principle (Touval (1963), and Lewis (1961).

On the contrary, instrumentalist approach, from rational choice point of view, argues that ethnic identity is a result of personal choice primarily independent from cultural or natural attributes. Ethnic identity, they argue, is like ideological briefs or party membership, and this ethnic identity can be a tool used by political figures and elites to mobilize people to attain

more political ambitions and goals such as self-determination and respect for groups identity. Instrumentalist scholars view that political elites may adopt aggressive policy to divert the attention of citizens from economic or political problems in the country by using nationalistic rhetoric to create an external enemy. Thus, they attribute irredentism to elite or group interest competition for economic resources and/or power (Smith 1998). In the case of Somalia, instrumentalist scholars who view that Somali nationalism/irredentism was initiated from the top by "a diverse group of Somali political elites who perceived the political benefits to be derived from creating a nation-state that transcended traditional clan differences among the Somali peoples inhabiting in the Horn of Africa" David D Laitin (1977), and Laitin and Samatar (1987).

Constructivism consider nations as primarily social constructions, and that ethnic identity is subjected to change that is neither fixed nor open. Ethnic identity is formed by social interactions between individuals and groups. Violent conflict is instigated mainly by social and political systems that conduct inequality and grievances (Smith (1998), Postner (2005). The constructivist approach justifies for ethnic identity groups with common culture in state to seek irredentist claims. The justification argument of constructivism defends Somali rights and obligation to protect its follow Somalis in Ethiopia and Kenya, when mixed with notion of Somali nation as defenders of their brethren against the Christianity helped fuel to quest for a Greater Somalia (Schraeder 2006).

These above-mentioned theories focus on ethnic ties and domestic political competition which play crucial role in explaining irredentist accounts. It is also important to acknowledge that these approaches cannot sufficiently analyze irredentism explanations as they fall short in explaining international actors. We need external dynamics such as structural approach which emphasizes the role of international context. This approach contends that international context is crucial in determining whether irredentist venture is allowed or rejected, (Weiner ,1971; Chazan, 1991; McMahon, 1998; Ambrosio 2001). For instance, if the international actors are unwilling to enforce the international law, then the irredentist state will pursue its irredentist project, and will not meet resistance from the international community (Ambrosio 2001: 51). Thus, this will adopt a multi theoretical approach to examine both domestic and international factors for Somalia's irredentism accounts.

Research Methodology

This study seeks to understand how Somalia's irredentism policy had affected Somalia's political stability from 1960 up to 1991. The study has adopted qualitative research approach for the exploration of the irredentism impact on Somalia's political stability.

A case study was regarded as preferable method for this study because it addresses the importance of contextual conditions and could be answered as" how" or "why" questions (Yin 2011). The main advantage of the case study is that it allows the researcher to explore and depict the complexities of the event in great depth., and traces the causal mechanisms involved which connect cause to effect (Creswell 2009).

Source material and Ethical considerations

I utilised both secondary and primary sources for the study. By using secondary sources, the study has used a wide range of date sources including archives, government records, journals published books, and internet sources. All materials of Somali and Arabic were translated to English by the author. A critical re-reading of the existing scholarship and the analysis of the secondary data was used for the on the topic under discussion.

Along secondary sources, I utilised elite interview for the primary sources, and the reason why I chose elite interview is that these selected interviewees are well-informed with the topic under study as they have diplomatic, military, and academic backgrounds. They are the persons who have been involved practically in diplomatic and political process in direct or indirectly or are fully knowledgeable on the political dynamics in Somalia and beyond.

The interview was semi-structured approach which the is appropriate for this specific study, as it provides a degree of freedom in departing from the questions to acquire more elaborated answers. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews are flexible and open in character, thus allowing further discussions and follow-up questions for a deeper understanding.

The semi-structured interviews which I collected consisted of five interviewees from different backgrounds and positions from diplomatic, to military and academics. Admiral Farah Ahmed Omar (Qare), a former chief of Somali navy, an academic and author of several books. Mustafa Abdullahi Feiruz, is a Director at Institute for Somali Studies (ISOS), Mogadishu University. Yahye Amir, a Prof. of Economics, a former dean Faculty of Economics and Management, Mogadishu University. Abdisalam Haji Ahmed, a former Ambassador of Somalia to Pakistan and Ethiopia, and finally Dr. Abdurahman Abdullahi

(Baadiyow), a historian and author of several books. He is also a former military officer in the Somali Military Army.

Before conducting the interview, I mapped out an interview guide questions which helped me direct the interview conversation toward the research questions. The interviewees were given space to openly give their thoughts. Before starting the interview, I started with a brief introduction and a general topic with the participant in order to her/him feel comfortable, then I informed them about my topic and that everything discussed here would be treated confidentially, or anonymity(where required) and that they are free not take part in the research project anytime without giving reason. Also, the right to be kept informed of any material changes to the study that may affect their decision to give ongoing permission

Although it is very useful and effective to record the interview as it allows the researcher to return, reflect, and correct the interviews, it can also be an inhibiting factor for some people to openly express their thoughts. Therefore, before recording the interview, I always asked the interviewee if it was ok to record or not. All the five interviewees had confirmed their permission to record their interviews. I also took notes on all the interviews in case something went wrong. Then I transcribed, structured, interpreted and analysed the information and the data of the interviews which I thought was relevant and applicable for my thesis, in a thematic and sincere manner.

The interview was conducted through online (three participants zoom, and two on Skype) and all the interviews were held in Somali language without hindrance as the researcher needed no interpreter. Finally, the interview was carried out individually in a quiet and private site, and each of the interview lasted for about 40 – 60 minutes.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE CAUSES OF IRREDENTISM

By contextualising Somali history, this chapter attempts to demonstrate a combination of elements that helped the rise of Somalia's irredentism project through tracing back to the pre-colonial Somali society, the colonial partition of Somali territories, and the rise of Somali nationalism.

2.1. Pre-Colonial Somali society

Even though Somali people have been inhabitants in the Horn of Africa for centuries, little is known about the origin of Somali people and where they are from as there are conflicting theories about this. According to Touval (1963:8), the earliest historical records of "what is now the Somali coast were found in ancient Egyptian inscriptions". The ancient Egyptians knew the Somalis, as the oldest manuscript on Egyptian Somali relations dates back to the period between (2763 - 2660 BC), when the Egyptians called Somalia as the Land of Punt or the Holy land or the Land of the Gods (Touval, 1963:8). Similarly, Greek, and Roman historians called Somalia as Barbaria, and the name was later transferred by the Arab historians into berber. Berbera is a town which is located to this day in northern Somalia (Ibar (2013: 32), Touval (1963: 8).

However, the conventional perception is that Somalis are from the Red Sea coast while others including Samatar and Laitin (1987:5) argue that Somalis are immigrants from southern Ethiopia. Still others, including Mukhtar, and Abdullahi contend that Somalis have been the indigenous inhabitants in the Horn of Africa for the last seven thousand centuries (Mukhtar (1995:1), Abdullahi (2017:65).

Despite the controversial versions on their origin of Somalis, Somali people are among the most homogeneous society in Africa in terms of ethnicity, language and religion as aptly writes that Somalis prior to the colonial powers "formed a well-defined geographical, linguistic, and cultural unit in the Horn of Africa" Lewis (1976: 104). In similar mode, Touval (1963: 29) has noted that "in the African context, the Somalis are a rare case of a homogeneous ethnic group, inhabiting a large territory, and united by culture, religion, and tradition". Such homogeneous people bonded by common culture, history, religion, and language, which made them distinct from other people in the region.

Even though Somalia was not a unified nation under state in the modern sense prior to the arrival of colonial powers, they had a "segmentary lineage" system in which each segment of Somali society was politically independent and had a virtual control of its resources. (Mahadallah,1998:43). This system, as Mahadallah describes," provided a mechanism to settle internal disputes and protect members' rights from outsiders". The system also provided "maximum individual freedom while guaranteeing a measure of external security for the wider community" (Mahadallah,1998:43).Thus, Somali society was a decentralized and egalitarian people who had some sort of system governed by traditional leaders in the inter-land of Somalia, while in the coastal areas were characterized by sultanates and city states (Lewis (1976), Samatar and Laitin (1987), Abdullahi (2017). Most Somalis were socioeconomically dependent on either pastoral nomadic or agricultural way of life and practiced a traditional customary law (or social contract), locally known as (Xeer) and sharia law for resolving disputes such as clashes among clans over resources of water and grazing land.

However, the lineage system had its weakness and division as Mahadallah (1998:44) has noted that since "politics in lineage systems was communal and exclusive to blood relations, it provided for no transcendental institutions or ideologies that could unify the inchoate groups and villages". Thus, it is Islam that plays substantial role in helping Somalis "transcend the narrow boundaries of lineage and clan associations" reinforcing wide consciousness among them (Mohamoud, 2002: 18). In similar mode, Lewis (1988: 16) writes that "Islam adds depth and coherence to those common elements of traditional culture which, over and above their many sectional divisions, unite Somalis and provide the basis for their strong national consciousness".

 Even though the introduction of Islam took place in the seventh century, it was during the Middle Ages that Islam spread throughout Somalia and several powerful sultanates such as Adal which emerged after the fall of Ifat and Ajuran sultanate which ruled large part of Somalia between the thirteen and seventeenth centuries (Abdullahi (2017), (Samatar and Laitin (1987). According to Samatar and Laitin (1987: 10) in the thirteen century, city states flourished more along the coastal areas "on the consequence of the settlement of Arabs and Persians on the Somali coast and the consequent Islamization of the Somalis". Notable city states include Adal, Harar, and Zayla and Berbera in the north, and Mogadishu, and Merka, and Baraawe (Brava) in the south" (Samatar and Laiten, 1987:10). Zeyla' was a centre for

commerce, and culture as well as a learning centre famous for its schools and mosques. Even though Mogadishu was a commercial and urban centre in the ninth century, it was in the fourteenth century that Ibn Battuta, a Muslim great historian traveller, visited Mogadishu, and gave a considerable description of the city. He noted that "the city had full administration ruled by a Berber (Somali) Sultan and his retinue of wazirs (ministers), legal experts, commanders, royal eunuchs, and assorted hangers-on" speaking two languages; Somali and Arabic with equal ease (Samatar and Laitin, 1987:10).

Samatar and Laitin (1987:17) also observe that the Portuguese from 1497 until 1728 "ravaged and pillaged one city after another from Kilwa [in present dayTanzania] to Zayla burning what they could not take as spoils". Later, the Portuguese were driven by Omanis who ruled "Somalia along with much of the East African Coast". The role of Omani rule in the coastal towns in southern Somalia such as Mogadishu, Merka, Baraawe was mainly conventional as the Omanis allowed the local people to run their internal affairs (Ibid:18). From the 19th century onwards, the influence of coastal city states diminished, and the influence of hinterland clan tradition leaders gradually rose. Part of the northern Somali coast including Zeyla' was then nominally under the Ottoman Empire, while the southern part of Somali was also nominally under the Sultan of Zanzibar. During this period the incursion of the colonial powers, which had huge consequences on Somali people and territory, began.

2.2 Colonial rule and the partition of Somali territories

Although the strategic location of the Horn of Africa has attracted foreigners for centuries, its geopolitical interest has increased after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 where the colonial powers such as Britain, France, and Italy indicated their interest in the region.

After the scramble for Africa in the Berlin Conference 1884-5, the European colonial powers carved up Africa among themselves without giving a consideration to the local ethnic components and geographic circumstances of the continent. The Europeans, who divided among themselves, had little knowledge of the African territories they divided as reflected by the British Foreign Secretary and prime minister, Lord Salisbury:

> We have been engaged in drawing lines upon maps where white man's feet have ever trod; we have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that we never knew exactly where the mountains and rivers and lakes were" (cited in Papaioannou &Michalopoulos (2011: 3)

During this period, Somalia was partitioned into five parts by French, Italy, and Britain along with Ethiopia. No other country in Africa has been dismembered into five colonial areas like Somalia and the " parceling off the country not only squeezed the grazing land of the Somali pastoral but also divided family members into demarcated colonial frontiers"(Mohamoud, 2002:104)

The colonial powers initially made incursions in the Somali territories "through guile and treaty" before the real invasion took place (Laitin and Samatar, 1987:49). France took over French Somaliland, (now known as Djibouti) while Italy colonized southern parts of Somalia. Britain colonized three parts of Somali territory: British Somaliland in northern Somalia, the Northern Frontier District (NFD) in Kenya, and Somali region (or Somali Western region) in Ethiopia. The last two parts were ceded to Kenya and Ethiopia respectively by Britain (Elmi, 2010:16).

France rapidly spread its influence along the Gulf of Tjura as she signed a Treaty in 1884 with the Sultan of Gobad, who accepted protectorate of France, and the following year, France signed a Treaty with clan leaders of Issa. Thus, France consolidated her colony over Obok and a Protectorate over Tajura and along with the adjacent territories which all became later known as Djibouti (Government of the Somali Republic,1962:21,22).

Similarly, Italy made penetration into southern Somalia from the Banadir coast and gradually moved towards the northern eastern sultanates of Hobyo and Majeerteen between 1885 and 1893 (Samatar and Laitin, 1987:51-52). Paolo Tripodi noted that Italy signed in 1889 a treaty with Yusuf Ali and Osman Mohamud, the sultans of Hobyo and of the Majeerteen respectively (Tripodi, 1999:26).

British interest in Somali was first prompted "by concern for the security of trade and communications with India" (Touval, 1963: 32). As Ottomans and Egyptian rule diminished in the northern part of Somalia, Britain made incursions into northern coastal Somali territories and signed treaties with local leaders in 1884 (Samatar and Laitin, 1987:49). In 1886 Britain also took control of the east African Coast including southern Somalia from Jubbaland, and the vast inland territory which later became known as the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of Kenya (Samatar and Laitin, 1987:49).

Ethiopia, on the other hand, had also "in the nineteenth century participated in directly with Britain, France, and Italy in the dismemberment of the Somali nation and its division into five colonial territories" (Lewis, 1988: X). Menelik, for instance, conquered Harar in 1887 after

Egypt withdrew the area as a result of pressure from Mahdi's revolt in Sudan ((Touval, 1963:35). In similar mode, David Laitin (1976:31) observes that both "the Italians and British had ceded away much land which was part of the Somali nomadic cycle to Menilik II in order to court his support". 1897 Britain ceded part of Somali territory to Ethiopia after signing a treaty with Menelik without the Somali people's knowledge or consent.

The occupation of Somali territory by Ethiopia was reflected by the British Secretary Bevin in the House of Commons on June 4, 1946:

> At about the time we [Britain] occupied our part, the Ethiopians occupied an inland area which is the grazing ground for nearly half of the nomads of British Somaliland for six months of the year. Similarly, the nomads of Italian Somaliland must cross the existing frontiers in search of grass. (Quoted in Touval,1963:79).

The British Foreign Secretary, Bevin, also proposed that all Somali territories, apart from French Somaliland, should be placed under British trusteeship. Bevin's plan, which raised the possibility of creating a Greater Somalia, influenced Somalis, and stimulated nationalist ideas among the Somali organizations to quest for the unification of all Somali territories under a single nation state. Failed to win the support of the other three powers of France, the Soviet Union, and the US to place the whole Somali territories under British trusteeship, Britain ceded Ogaden to Ethiopia in 1948 and the Haud in 1955 before its withdrawal the territory (Touval, 1963: 158-159). This sparked outrage and indignation from Somalis as "their territory had been ceded to Ethiopia without their knowledge or consent" (Drysdale, 1964:75).

After the cession of the territory, massive demonstrations took place across the Somali territories under colonial British rule to express the deep sense of their outrage. Somalia rejected to acknowledge the validity of Anglo-Ethiopian treaties defining Somalian-Ethiopian borders including Treaty 1954 about Haud and the Ogaden. They argued that the treaties such the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty in 1889, the Treaty with Italy in 1894, and the recent Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty in 1954 violated the previous treaties (1884-85, and 1886) between Britain and Somali local leaders as these agreements included "not to cede any portion of the territories inhabited by them" (Drysdale, (1964:75), Touval (1963:159). The Somalis also sent delegates to New York and London, presenting their petitions against the cession but all their petitions ended with no tangible results (Lewis, 203:211). According to Laitin and Samatar (1987:132), "British diplomats knew that they had been guilty of double/dealing in the nineteenth century. They had signed treaties of protection with Somali leaders and then signed

a treaty with Menelik II putting their 'protected' peoples under the jurisdiction of the Ethiopian emperor".

During the UN Trusteeship under Italian administration, the United Nations urged Italy to engage negotiations with Ethiopia and that the dispute in question "shall be fixed by the international agreements and ... shall be delimited in accordance with a procedure approved by the General Assembly" cited in Drysdale, 1964:89). However, ten years of UN trusteeship under the Italian administration ended without finding a solution to the Somalia Ethiopian border disputes.

In 1960, however, two parts -British Somaliland, and Italian Somaliland, gained independence and formed the Republic of Somalia which attempted to seek the lost territories and people in The western region of Somalia in Ethiopia, and the Northern Frontier District (NFD) under the British Protectorate in Kenya. Even though the partition of Somali territory had served as a source of inspiration of pan-Somali nationalism, it had huge consequences on people and territory as the colonial powers influenced the nature of Somali boundaries which became the fault lines for instability and conflict in the Horn in general and Somalia in particular. The quest for Greater Somalia by the republic of Somalia will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

2.3 The rise of Nationalism and the idea of Greater Somalia

The internal common factors behind the rise of nationalism in Africa are "social and economic changes, the appearance of an educated elite, and grievances against colonial rule or against a settler minority" (Touval, 1963:84). Even though Somalis share some of these factors with other Africans, the roots of Somali nationalism, as Touval writes, "stems from a feeling of national consciousness in the sense of 'we' as opposed to 'they' which has existed among the Somalis for many centuries". Touval (1963:84), who wrote in depth about Somali nationalism, contends that the existed national consciousness was "nurtured by tribal genealogies and traditions, by the Islamic religious ties, and by conflicts with foreign peoples". In similar manner, Lewis (1963:147-48) contends that Somalis had "a common sentiment of Somali-ness, accompanied by a virtually uniform national Somali culture, and reinforced by the strong adherence of all Somalis to Islam". The Somali cultural nationalism existed for centuries but "what modern nationalism did was to politicise an existing cultural

phenomenon: cultural nationalism became political nationalism in the modern sense" (Lewis, 1983:9).

In contrast, Mahadallah (1997: 101) maintains that "the doctrine of Somali nationalism was derived from the oppression suffered by the masses under European rule rather than from abstract principles of ethnic nationalism". Likewise, Kusow (2004:69) argues that even though Somali nationalism "indebted to the ethno-cultural characteristics of Somali nation", it was not related to "an organic nationalist conception" but rather to anti-colonial phenomenon, whose ultimate aim was to overthrow an unjust system of government". Unlike Touval and Lewis, Kusow argues that Somalis are not indifferent to other African people and that "their nationalism is akin to the continental variety" (Kusow, 2004:70). In this regard, Kusow is in line with Ibrahim Abu-Lughod who contends that African nationalism succeeded in flourishing without religious, historical, linguistic territorial or ethnic contends, and instead, it stemmed from "the dictates of the map, a shared label of Africanness, colonial legacy and a common cause of political independence" (cited in Kusow, 2004: 70).

However, the modern Somali nationalism in the twentieth century became mature "as a result of external influences - the establishment of alien governments, the impact of the Second World War, and the example of the struggle for independence in other countries" (Touval, 1963 :84). Somalia's experience with the Christian colonial domination and oppression not only from the white European but also from the African Ethiopian Christian, which the latter has been historically and traditionally enemy in the eyes of Muslim Somalis, triggered the anti-colonial sentiments (Issa-Salwa, 1996:46). After the humiliation and subjugations under the imperialist powers, resistance struggles led by religious leaders erupted sporadically in many parts of Somalia. The most notable anti-colonial struggle erupted in northern Somalia led by Sayid Mohamed Abdullahi Hassan in northern Somalia. Although Sayyid Mohamed and his movement were finally defeated by the British colonial power, the political nationalism ignited by Sayid spread throughout Somali territories. Some scholars have in common that Sayid Mohammed was the leading father of modern nationalism. Farah, for instance, argues that the Dervish movement led by Sayid Mohamed:

> had three major accomplishments: first, it set the stage for Somali consciousness against colonial rule. Secondly, by attracting large followers who supported his religious (Islamic) teaching and holy wars (jihad), Sayid Mohammed established what became known as pan-Somalism. Finally, the Dervish was seen by Somalis as a national figure who appealed to the patriotic sentiments of both Somalis and Muslims (Farah,2020: 60-61).

Similarly, Lewis and Samatar (1987) view that Islam was the cause of political nationalism while Mahadalle (1997) argues that Islam only reinforced the political nationalism but not the cause factor. However, the political ideology of nationalism introduced by Sayid and his Dervish movement, in my view, was developed in a secular manner by the educated elite who established political associations which emerged in the post-Dervish movement.

From 1941 to 1950, Britain - through British Military Administration - occupied the whole territory of Somalia, and during this period, the British rule in the whole Somali territory created favourable conditions for the rise of political parties led by Somali elites who promote nationalistic sentiments to foster a sense of national unity and overcome the weakness of traditional clan loyalty (Cedric Barnes, 2007:280). Among the dominant political organisations, Somali Youth Club (1943) which later (1947) became Somali Youth League (SYL), Somali National League (SNL) 1935), and Hizbia Digil and Mirifle (1947). The Somali Youth League, (SYL), for instance, "organised their party to resume pressure for the unification of all Somaliland's to be replaced under the United Nations Trusteeship" (Drysdale, 1964:69). SYL, which enshrined pan-Somali nationalism in their constitution, stood for the peaceful struggle against colonial rule to promote pan-Somalism movement throughout Somali territories. SYL also opened its branches throughout the Somali territories. Drysdale (1964:69) has noted that SYL's membership "spread to the British Protectorate, to Jigjiga and the Ogaden, and to the Northern Frontier District of Kenya".

Somali nationalism was thus encouraged by Somali elites who promote nationalistic sentiments to foster a sense of national unity and overcome the weakness of traditional clan allegiance. Along with political elites, there were also social groups such as "religious groups, labor unions, veterans' groups, agricultural associations, student organisations, women's groups, and language and literary societies" whom influenced by education and urbanisation helped push "the articulation of national ideals" (Mahadallah, 1997: 109). In the early 1950s, the expressions of national ideals and independence reached in the rural dwellers who also aired their common interests for independence. During this period, clan allegiances weakened as people were preoccupied with the anti-colonial struggle to achieve national independence (Ibid:110).

Furthermore, the other external factor that helped Somalia's nationalism and struggle against the colonial powers was from the Muslim World. In the 1950s Egypt, for instance, played active role in spreading nationalistic sentiments "through radio broad casts in the Somali

language and through the dissemination of propaganda by Egyptian teachers in Somalia and by Pan-Islamic organizations" (Touval, 1963: 81,82).

The pan-Somalism was a politically motivated project to unite all Somali people and territories under a single nation state. Greater Somalia was inspired by the idea of a nation-state that is based on the belief that every nation should have its own sovereign state since Somalis share common language, creed and kin. Thus, the Somali nationalism movement was from nation to state, unlike most African nationalism movements which were from state to nation (Lewis, 2004: 493). Even though Somalis were not politically under state in the modern sense before the arrival of colonial powers, Somalia's homogeneity of culture, history, language, and religion have provided them a unifying force among Somalis as a nation that differs from others with territory.

To sum up, the emergence and the causes of Somalia's irredentism project, in my view, is a result of combination of several factors. These factors include Somalia's homogeneity with distinct identity from other people in the region, the partition of Somali territories by the colonial powers with humiliation and subjugation, political religious sentiments prompted by Sayyid Mohamed Abdullahi and his movements, the Benvin's proposal of unification of all Somali territories, and the rise of educated elite. All these factors had led to the causes and the emergence of pan-Somalism and the unification of all Somali dismembered territories under a single state – a Greater Somalia- This Greater Somalia or irredentism remained as a central issue in the politics of the post-colonial state of Somalia after the independence of two parts of Somali territories that formed the Republic of Somalia. This topic will be explored in detail in the next chapter.

3 Irredentism under post-Colonial State of Somalia 1960- 1990

3.1 A Civilian Government and Irredentism 1960 -69

Since independence, the Somali foreign policies of successive governments gave top priority to incorporate the other three parts of Somali territories (under Ethiopia, Kenya and French Somaliland known as Djibouti) into Greater Somalia. This chapter will focus on how the successive governments have pursued to regain the lost territories, and what challenges they have faced in attempting to attain such aspiration during this period from 1960 up to 1990.

Although attempts for the unification of all Somalis were made even before the independence, an active strive for Somalia's unity at national level began only after the independence in 1960. The unification of the former Italian Trust Territory of Somalia and the former British Somaliland Protectorate was regarded as the beginning of Somalia unity which would complete to include other three Somali speaking territories under a single nation state with one flag. Thus, the unification of the two Somali territories presented officially the irredentist policy of state mother which sought the amalgamation with their separated Somali peoples and territories in Ethiopia, Kenya, and French Somaliland under a single nation state of Greater Somalia.

Unlike most African states, which were mainly preoccupation with nation building policies to develop common values and ideas for their citizens of the new state after the independence, Somalia needed not to create a common identity "within their new boundaries because one already existed" (Samatar and Laitin 1987: 129). Therefore, the problem of unity that Somalia faced was a different one: the quest for the unification of its co dismembered territories ceded by the colonial powers to Ethiopia and Kenya respectively (Samatar and Laitin 1987: 129). Somalia's plight of the inherited boundary, which resulted from the colonial powers, was eloquently described by then prime minster Abdirashid Ali Sharma'arke in January 1962:

> Our misfortune is that our neighbouring countries, with whom, like the rest of Africa, we seek to promote constructive and harmonious relations, are not our neighbours. Our neighbours are our Somali kinsmen whose citizenship has been falsified by indiscriminate "boundary arrangements". They have to move across artificial frontiers to their pasturelands. They occupy the same terrain and pursue the same pastoral economy as ourselves. We speak the same language. We share the same creed, the same

culture, and the same traditions. How can we regard our brothers as our foreigners? (The Somali Peninsula: a new light on imperial motives 1962: VI)

Sharma'arke also stated that Somali's quest for unity should not be regarded as act "expansionism" or anything like that but rather a self-determination which positively contribute to peace and unity in Africa (The Somali Peninsula: a new light on imperial motives: 1962: VI).

In similar manner, Adan Abdulla Osman, the first president of Somalia (1960-67), stated that Somalia's "problem becomes unique when it is realised that no other nation in Africa finds itself totally divided along the whole length of its borders from its own people" (cited in Isse-Salwe 2000:81).

To indicate Somalia's ardent commitment to seek the unification of all dismembered territories, pan-Somalism was enshrined in the Somali constitution which clearly states that the " Somali Republic shall promote, by legal and peaceful means, the union of Somali territories and encourage solidarity among the peoples of the world, and in particular among African and Islamic peoples"(Somali Constitution,1961). The pan-Somalism was also clearly indicated by the national flag with its five-pointed star in the centre, representing the five areas where Somali ethnic group has traditionally resided (namely Djibouti, the North Eastern Province in Kenya, the Ogaden region in Ethiopia, British Somaliland, and Italian Southern Somalia) prior to independence. Mustafa has noted that the struggle against the colonial powers before the independence was based on two concepts; to liberate Somalia from the colonial powers, and to establish a single state for all Somali speaking people. Therefore, the quest for the unification was not a kind of expansion but reunification of the dismembered Somali people (Interview: Mustafa, Nov.23,2020)[1].

The quest for pan-Somalism to unite all Somali speaking people under a single state had not only become the most political issue which preoccupied political leaders but the dominated popular opinion as well. As Admiral Farah Omar (Qare), a former chief of Somali navy, responded in an interview question about whether political leaders adopted pan-Somalism to divert domestic problem stated that "the quest for the unification of all Somali people was

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[1] Mustafa Feiruz is a Director at Institute for Somali Studies (ISOS), Mogadishu University, interviewed on November 23, 2020.

public opinion by the ordinary Somali concern and it was inescapable commitment that the political leaders could not ignore as Somalis in Ethiopia and Kenya had been subject to suppression and oppression and wished to join their Somali brethren in the Republic" (Interview: Farah Omar December 17, 2020). Likewise, Prof. Yahye Amir, stated that "the quest for the reunification was bottom up pressure by the ordinary people on the political leaders to use by any means to regain the missing territories populated by their kin Somalis" (Yahye Amir December 19, 2020)[2].

Farah, in a similar line of thinking, has noted that from Somalia's perspective, the quest for the incorporation of the other three Somali territories into Somalia was not viewed as "a foreign policy but rather as sacrosanct national duty, an irreversible territorial cause and a means to complete the independence of Greater Somalia" (Farah, 2020: 50). Somali government was also "under heavy pressure from its co-nationals" in Ethiopia and Kenya (Lewis, 2008: 43).

In this regard, the reunification of the missing territories became the key driver of the Republic of Somalia's foreign policy which overrode other urgent social and economic developments where Somalia's resources, spirit and energy were put on the quest for the unification of its remaining kinsmen in the lost territories. Throughout the 1960s, Somalia attempted to incorporate the lost territories into Somalia through different strategies by initially seeking through diplomatic means to reach agreements with neighbouring countries.

In Ethiopia, Somalia rejected to acknowledge the validity of Anglo-Ethiopian treaties defining Somalian-Ethiopian borders including Treaty 1954 about Haud and the Ogaden .Somalia's refusal of these treaties was based on three points: that the treaties breached agreements made Somali clan leaders with the British , and that Somalis were not consulted on the terms of the treaties between the Britain and Ethiopia, and finally that such treaties violated the self-determination principle (Samatar and Laitin(1987), Touval (1963), Lewis (1988).

The Somalia's quest for unification of the Somali 'lost territories' in neighbouring countries triggered concern from Ethiopia and Kenya who "had shown no enthusiasm for the Somali cause" (Lewis, 1988:179). As the tide of Somali nationalist struggle grew across all Somali territories, Ethiopia, for instance, took severe policy towards Somalis in the Haud and Ogaden

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[2] Yahye Amir, a Prof. of Economics, former dean Faculty of Economics and Management, Mogadishu University, interviewed December 19, 2020.

regions. All activities and expressions indicating nationalist sentiments were firmly dealt with by the Emperor. Besides, the situations were "exacerbated by the failure of the two countries to reach agreement on their mutual frontier which, in practice, remained the provisional administrative line left by the British in Somalia in 1950" (Lewis, 1988:182). As a result, clashes broke out between Ethiopian forces and insurgents who demanded to reunite with their co-ethnic Somalis in the Republic. Haile Selassie rejecting their demand, used brutal repressive crackdowns against the Somalis in the Ogaden region, finally caused clashes between Somali and Ethiopian forces in 1964 as Ethiopian warplanes raided locations inside Somalia "at the heart of the country without any risk", and Somali government, despite being weak, had felt obliged to response by supporting its brethren under foreign subjugation and siege. The war exposed Somalia's weakness in the face of Ethiopia which demonstrated their superior powers (Mohamoud, 2002:108).

In the case of Northern Frontier District (NFD) in Kenya, the Somali government attempted to seek negotiations on the issue of NDF with Britain prior to Kenyan independence. In 1962 Abdirashid Sharma'arke, then prime minister, clarified the position of his government laying the responsibility on the shoulder of United Kingdom:

> The British government alone carries the responsibility to do what is just to the people of the NFD and to put into practice the principle of self-determination. By so doing the British government will avoid repeating the grievous errors of the past; when, for example, she twice handed over Somali territory to Ethiopia, thus compromising the relations between these two countries (cited in Drysdale 1964: 120).

In similar manner, Ali Mohammed Hirave, then minster of Information stated that "we have a constitutional obligation to assist our people to reunite and we shall not shrink from this obligation" cited in Drysdale 1964: 120).

In response to Somali governments' statements, British Government suggested to hold referendum in the part of NFD, and this proposal was welcomed by both Somalis in NFD and the Somali government in Mogadishu. Likewise, Somalis in the different regions of the Somali Republic held demonstrations to express their moral support and solidarity with their brethren in the Northern Frontier District in Kenya (Interview: Ambassador Abdisalam Haji Ahmed, Jan. 7, 2021)[3].

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[3] Abdisalam Haji Ahmed, a former Ambassador of Somalia to Pakistan and Ethiopia, interviewed on 7 January 2021.

The findings of the Commission Report which resulted from the referendum of the NFD inhabitants indicated an overwhelming majority to unite with their brethren Somalis in the Somali Republic, but British Government rejected the outcome. The disregard of the referendum's outcome by the British Government triggered outrageous protests which erupted in major towns throughout the Somali territories on successive days (Interview: Abdisalam January7, 2021). In similar mode, Lewis has noted that Britain's rejection of self-determination of NDF Somalis for separation from Kenya and union with the Republic caused "great sentiments among the Somali population of Northern Kenya and led to the Somali guerrilla campaign … which paralysed the region from 1963 -1967" (Lewis 2008 :36).

Furthermore, in response to Britain's decision on NDF, the Somali Government broke its relations with the British government after the Somali Parliament had passed a motion in favour of breaking off UK's relations by a majority of 70 votes against 14(Drysdale,1964: 144).

Finally, the question of border disputes with Kenya and Ethiopia was taken to the Organisation of African Unity. Discussing the frontier problems to the Conference of Heads of State held in Addis Ababa in May 1962, President Adan Abdulla Osman, stated that:

> we seek in the friendliest spirit the indulgence of this great Assembly for a better understanding of the territorial problems which face the Somali people. In doing so our purpose is not to promote discord or hostility between states involved, but to seek a recognition of the fact that the problems deserve the attention in the whole family of African nations (cited in Drysdale, 1964:148).

The President continued his speech by arguing that Somalia's case was unique that

> no other nation in Africa finds itself totally divided along the whole length of its borders from its own people. … the people of Republic cannot be expected to remain indifferent to the appeal of its brethren. … If Somalis in those areas are given the opportunity to express their will freely, the Government pledges itself to accept the verdict" (Ibid: 1964:148).

As the tide of Somali nationalist struggle grew across all Somali territories, French Somaliland, known as Djibouti, was no exception. French colony which viewed Pan-Somali movement as a threat that must be resisted as firmly as possible, adopted divide and rule policy by undertaking measures to promote the Afar and marginalised Somalis in an effort to diminish their influence (Lewis 1988).

In 1966, mass demonstrations took place as President of France, de Gaulle visited Djbouti and this caused violent clashes " instigated by Somali nationalists who were pressing for a true test of self-determination" French colony began to bring together all Somalis who "did not have adequate papers to prove themselves citizens " by sending them "either to detention camps or expelled them from the territory completely" (Samatar and Laitin, 1987: 137). The Somali government had exposed in press and radio the atrocities, irregularities and injustice committed by French colony against the Somali people in Djbouti (Samatar and Laitin, 1987: 137).

However, referendum organized by French was held in 1967 without International supervision such as the United Nations, or the Organisation of African Unity, and the result, which was announced by the French administration, was 60% voted to remain under French colony. The referendum was accused of being manipulated by France to determine the outcome and "rioting broke out, and again the security forces had justification to supress the riots with bloody methods" Issa-Salwe, 1996:58).

According to Samatar and Laitin, "Somalis made every diplomatic effort they could in order to bring to the world's attention the complexities of their dilemma" arguing that Somalis inhabitants in the NFD, and Ogaden have the right of self-determination. In this regard, attending at OAU Conference in 1963, the Somali foreign minister requested "the self-determination of the inhabitants of the Somali areas adjacent to the Somali Republic" (Samatar and Laitin, 1987: 138). However, all such efforts fell on deaf ears as the philosophy of Somalia's nation building which is based on nation state collided with the philosophy of most African states including Ethiopia and Kenya which are multi-ethnic states. Through historical accounts and through the lens of nation state, Somalis viewed the unification of all Somali speaking under a single state as "self-determination of the subject peoples" but such aspiration of Greater Somalia was seen in different way by many African countries who "have rejected Somalia's pleas in large part because of their own problems of unity; they tremble at the idea that all who share a culture should live under a single flag " (Samatar and Laitin, 1987: 130) These African states feared if Somalia's case succeeds, many African minority groups within African states could make similar claims for their secession. Nigeria, for instance, argued that "to accept Somali claims for unity would be to accept the principle that Igbos had a right to their state of Biafra" and thus, for many African countries Somalia's quest for unity has "ominous implications on the other African states"(Ibid:130).

Another challenge faced by Somalia was the Ethiopia's strong diplomatic position which used the OAU's headquarter as tool to exercise its influence of gaining support against Somalia's aspiration of Greater Somalia.

For these reasons, OAU's Charter of article III was adopted by the OAU in 1964, which states that African states shall have "respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity for each state" (cited in Touval 1967: 104). They also adopted the article VI which demands the non-interference in the internal affairs which indicate a clear acceptance of colonial inherited boundaries and rejection of Somalia case (Samatar and Laitin,1987:138).   But at the same time, the African states have rejected "to apply the other relevant principle in the Somali case [which states that] "absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent" (Samatar and Laitin 1987:131). According to Samatar and Laitin, the reason that OAU members rejected is that this "would expose the founding member state [Ethiopia] as an imperialist power" (Samatar and Laitin 1987:131).

In response to OAU's rejection, the Somali National Assembly "passed unanimously its own resolution declaring that the OAU stance" is not obliged to Somali Government. Thus, Somalia's struggle to reunite with its brethren in NDF, Ogaden and Djibouti caused diplomatic isolation from the continent (Samatar and Laitin, 1987:138). In this regard, then prime minister Abdirashid Ali Sharma'arke, describing the Somalia's situation, stated that "the plain truth is that bad borders make bad neighbours and this is a regrettable post-independence legacy of colonialism which we African peoples have to resolve as a prerequisite to regional and wider political associations" (cited in Drysdale, 1964:147).

However, Somali leaders wanted to pursue its quest for unity peacefully, "but they and their people were ready to go to war to fulfil the goal of a united Somalia" (Samatar and Laitin, 1987: 151). After failing diplomatic efforts to resolve the border issue and the perceived rights of Somalis under Ethiopia and Kenya, the Somali Republic started indirectly supporting their brethren.

Furthermore, the war in 1964 exposed Somalia's weakness in the face of Ethiopia, and in this regard, Somalia sought to develop its military power by approaching first the West to provide military aid. The US and the Europeans, fearing that strong Somalia will seek to reclaim the lost territories, offered military assistance of trainings several thousands of armed forces, but Somalia showed no interest in this offer as Somalia was aiming to receive a military aid that

can build up more twenty thousand forces to safeguard the country. Furthermore, US was an important ally of Ethiopia. In response to that, Somali turned to the East by approaching the Soviet Union which accepted to build Somali army (Admiral Omar December 17, 2020)

During Prime Minster Egal, under President Abdirashid, marked a slight shift of Somali Foreign policy towards the issue of Pan-Somalism struggle, as Egal adopted a moderate policy towards pan-Somalism to approach western block and attempted to deal with Kenya and Ethiopia. During this period, he made agreement with Kenya, even though the agreement did not solve the question of the NDF and Somalis in NFD continue its close ties with their brethren in the Somali Republic (Yahya Amir December 19,2020). French Somaliland, Djibouti, Prime minister of Somali Republic, Igal also declared that French Somaliland people must negotiate with France for their independence (Issa-Salwe 1996: 69).

The moderate policy adopted by Egal met stiff resistance at home and he was accused of selling out the question of unification struggle by normalizing relations with the "enemies of the Somali nation" while ignoring the oppression and marginalisation of the ethnic Somalis in Kenya and Ethiopia(Issa-Salwe 1996:69). This shift of foreign policy "was one many factors that contributed to the eventual downfall of Prime Minister Egal and his replacement of military rule" (Lewis, 2008: 37).

During this period, the political elite put more emphasis on party politics and personal power rather than on public interest. The clan loyalty instead of state loyalty dominated the Somali politics during this period on an unprecedented scale. This political competition between the political parties mixed with clan affiliation caused social, economic, and political decay in the country (Samatar and Laitin, 1987:76). The situation was eloquently described by Trunji that the 1969 elections, there were "sixty-four political parties representing sixty four clans and sub-clans, most of which were created just before the poll and all seeking a slice of national pie, entered the field, with 2,214 candidates for the 123 available seats" (Trunji, 2015: 525). During this period, Abdirashid Al Sharma'arke, the president of the Somali Republic (1967 -96) was assassinated in 1969, and the country was seized by military regime which ruled it for the next 21 years.

3.2. Military government and Greater Somalia 1969 -1990

During the first five years of the military rule, Somali foreign policy pursued a policy of restraint towards pan-Somalism aspiration, while the military government focused on the internal affairs such as "the local development and the consolidation of the regimes authority" (Lewis 2008:42). During this period, regime also promoted literacy by introducing the Somali script. From 1974, the military government had increased its diplomatic efforts as Somalia joined in the Arab League, Somalia chaired the summit of the Organisation of African Unity which was held in Mogadishu, Somalia. The same year, Somalia also signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with Soviet Union which lasted until 1977, and during this period, Somalia "built up a substantial armed force that could stand up to any army in black Africa, Furthermore, almost two thousand Somali solders were sent to Soviet Union for training and many soviet military advisers were sent to Somalia (Samatar and Laitin, 1987: 139).

After 1974 military government began diplomatic manoeuvring and rhetoric of pan-Somalism was resumed, and this coincided when Haile Selassie was overthrown by Ethiopian military leaders led by Colonel Mengistu who had shown devotion to the revolutionary socialism which led to have close relations with the Soviet Union. During this period Ethiopia was also experiencing economic crises and the political turbulence as a result of nationalist movements in Eritrea" (Farah 2020:85). From vantage point of Somali military government, the balance of power presented Somalia with an opportunity to realize its aspiration of regaining its missing territory in Ethiopia. The military regime attempted to attain this dream by helping first Somali guerrilla forces known as the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) in Ogaden, Ethiopia. In 1976 Somali President, Siad Barre sent delegates to Ethiopia in an attempt "to negotiate with the new military leaders on the question of autonomy for the Ogaden" Lewis, 2003 :232).

The Soviet Union saw an opportunity to spread its ideology in Ethiopia as military regime took the power. The Soviet Union wanted to expand its "influence by creating a Pax-Sovietica Federation based on Marxist -Leninist ideology among Somalia, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen" Issa-Salwe 2000: 141). In an attempt to realize this goal, both presidents of Cuban and Soviet Union separately visited the region in 1976 to resolve peacefully the disputes between Somalia and Ethiopia but plan did not work when president

Siad Barre insisted on solving the Ogaden question before any federation was to be establish. According to Admiral Omar, the preparation of the Somali-Ethiopian War in 1977 continued 7 years by Revolutionary Party led by major general Mohamed Said barre. The regaining missing territory was one of the main goals of the Revolutionary Socialist Party. 1976 at a congress meeting of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, Ismail Ali Abokar, who was a vice political affairs, delivered a long speech and said 'we have fulfilled all the thirteen aims of the party except one which the National Army will realize it, and that is the quest for the reunification of all Somalis under a single administration" (Admiral Omar December 17, 2020).

The most significant change in Somalia's foreign policy took place in 1977 when President Siad Barre, thinking that balance of power is on Somali side, attempted to regain the lost territories that was captured by Ethiopian Emperor in the 19th century. Before the war," the Soviets warned him that they would abandon their alliance should Siyaad's forces make moves in the Ogaaden" (Samtar and Laitin, 1987:.141). Despite the opposition of its ally, the Soviet Union, Somalia engaged in conventional war with Ethiopia to liberate its lost territory in Ethiopia and initially its forces made glorious victory inside Ethiopia, capturing almost the Somali habitant territory including major towns such as Jigjiga, Godey, Dhagaxbur and Dire Dawe (Salwe 2002:142). National sentiments during the Ethiopian-Somali War reached its climax as Lewis has noted that the " fighting in the Ogaden , in which many were directly and all indirectly involved, had become a national obsession" affecting almost all aspects of life in the Republic (Lewis, 2003:236).

Unfortunately, the Somali victory turned to defeat, in a short time, when the Soviet Union which halted all military assistance to Somalia, began to deliver substantial quantities of arms by land, by sea and by air to Ethiopia including "400 tanks, 200 other armoured vehicles, 300 heavy guns, about 75 modern MIG fighter bombers, and 200 military helicopters" (Issa-Salwe 2000:144). Moreover, the Soviet sent more than thousand military advisers, some of whom were directedly moved from Mogadishu taking with them virtually all the Somali maps of the region to Addis Ababa (Samatar and Laitin, 1987:142). The soviets also "reinforced the Ethiopian army with 18,000 Cuban soldiers, along with Yemani and Est German technicians" (Issa-Salwe,2000:144). Meanwhile , the United states, which had implied to provide Somalia military aid prior to the expulsion of the Soviet Union from Somalia, failed to do so after the war erupted as US and other western countries argued that no military assistance "unless

Somalia was prepared to cease supporting the Ogaden nationalists and renounce her Pan-Somali commitments" (Lewis, 2003:237). Thus, Soviet's military support turned out to be the decisive factor in the war as Somali forces were driven back in a retreat.

For this reason, in the eyes of many Somalis, the dream of regaining the lost territory was close to realisation during the Ethiopian -Somali War in 1977 had not been intervened by the Soviets and the Cuban. Thus, Somalia's irredentism was rejected by external structure both at international and regional level which saw that the Horn of Africa would be stable if irredentism is restrained. This is in line with what Ambrosio (2001), and Weiner (1971) have acknowledged that the international actions can trigger to escalate or de-escalate the irredentism aspirations.

At international level, the superpower actively took part in containing Somalia's irredentism aspiration as the Soviet Union along with Cuba militarily involved in Ethiopian-Somali war to halt Greater Somalia, whereas America and the West rejected to provide Somalia military aid until Somalia withdraw its forces from the Ogaden in Ethiopia. Likewise, at regional level, the Organisation of African Union rejected to defy the inherited colonial boundaries. Thus, despite being a victim of colonial inherited boundaries, the Somalis were portrayed as " the aggressors brazenly invading Ethiopian territory, when in reality it was Somali settlements whose independence was being restored – with help from the armed forces of the Somali republic" (Lewis, 2003:243).

In the case of French Somaliland, during the Siad Bare rule, was in the process of decolonisation and Somali government welcomed this approach by using "its role as a peaceful observer. Djibouti finally gained independence in 1977, while NFD and Ogaden remained in Kenya and Ethiopia respectively. Furthermore, "after Somalia's defeat, which divided the military army, Somalia was at war with itself instead of fighting Ethiopia.as Ethiopia succeeded in arming and supporting the armed opposition groups which finally toppled the military regime"(Interview: Abdullahi, Feb. 8, 2021). [4]

To sum up, after independence, the successive Somalian governments – both the civilian and the military – pursued an irredentism policy to incorporate the lost territories and people in the neighbouring countries into a Greater Somali state. Such an irredentist venture not only failed

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[4] Dr. Abdurahman Abdullahi (Baadiyow), a historian and author of several books. He is also a former military officer in the Somali Army.

to realise the aspirations of the governments, but also has had a significant impact on the political stability of both foreign and domestic affairs of Somalia and helped trigger the civil war. This impact will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

4. The Impact of Somali Irredentism on Political Stability in Somalia - 1960 -1990

The unfortunate partition of Somali territories by colonial powers drove Somalia to adopt irredentism agenda which led to conflicts with Ethiopia, and Kenya. This irredentism policy caused external impact on political instability such as creating enemies and alienating allies. It also caused internal impact including political problems that threatened the stability of post-colonial state.

4.1. The external impact on political stability

At the dawn of its independence, the Republic of Somalia faced many problems inherited from the colonial legacy including the border disputes with its neighbouring countries. The quest for reunification of Somali territories under the Somali flag became the preoccupied issue in the Somali foreign policy. Mukhtar best described, "Somalia has since its dependence engaged in at least 'four wars of liberation,' in addition to numerous border clashes, which all failed and eventually caused the dissolution of the state itself" (Mukhtar 2003:181).

As Laitin and Samatar have aptly put it the quest for national reunification "has entangled the republic in unfortunate disputes with its African neighbours, principally Ethiopia, but also Kenya" (Samatar & Laitin, 1987: 68). The Somalia's irredentism ambition collided not only with its neighbouring countries but also with the most newly African independent states which were ethnically heterogeneous that found themselves in boundaries linked "to external shell of the state" (Touval, 1972:30). They viewed that their survival is "linked to protection of the shell" which means retaining the *status quo* (Issa-salwa, (2000: 20), Touval (1972:30). Therefore, "most OAU members were alienated by Somali irredentism and feared that if Somalia were successful in detaching the Somali populated portions of Ethiopia and Kenya, its example might inspire their own restive minorities" (Turunji, 2015:446). Thus, Somalia paid a high cost to uphold the principle of self-determination and the reunification of Somalis in neighbouring countries as Farah has noted that Somalia's foreign aggressive policy caused concern from Ethiopia and Kenya which signed defence military pact in 1964 to resist Somalia's irredentism(Farah,2020:66). The defence pact was renewed in 1979, and 1989. Kenya had also campaigned actively in the Western countries against providing Somalia with military aid as this might be used against it in supporting the secessionist ethnic Somalis in

the Northern Frontier District, Kenya (Ododa, 1985: 290), while Ethiopia, according to, Yinhun, employed destabilising strategies towards Somalia to weaken it as not to claim territories under their sovereignties, and this had a huge implication on Somalia's political stability(Yinhun,2014:684).

Somalia's greater venture prompted constant tensions on the land borders that Somalia shares with Ethiopia and Kenya (total of 2324 km sq.) which had also impact on the national security, and on the government budget. Due to the constant tensions many avenues for economic cooperation between Somalia and its neighbouring countries were closed off or kept in very low level (Interview: Mustafa, Nov.23,2020).

Because of Somalia's quest for reunification, the Somali Republic following stubborn foreign policy ruined its relations with the western countries by making rapprochement with Eastern blocks during the Cold War competition. Somalia also cut all its ties with Britain in 1963 because of Northern Frontier District case, and this had negative impact on both economic and political stability of Somalia (Interview: Abdullahi, Feb. 8, 2021). In similar mode, Mohamoud notes that when British government unilaterally decided to let Kenya annex the Northern Frontier District inhabited largely by Somali nationals, Somalia broke off its diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom, which, in turn, responded to cut its budgetary aid (£1.3 million per year) to Somalia. Even though the country was in a desperate need of assistance and economic development, Somalia's concern on the issue of economic development was in the secondary place comparing to the issue of Somali reunification that "Somali government was deeply preoccupied with in order to unite all the ethnic Somalis in one country"(Mohamoud,2002:109).

Furthermore, the Cold War exacerbated the Horn of Africa when superpowers viewed the region as a strategic zone where US provided military aid to Ethiopia in exchange for access to Kagnew station in Asmara (Lefebvre,1998: 625). In a Similar move, the Soviet Union, challenging the western hegemony in the region, offered military and economic assistance to Somalia (Lefebvre,1998:625).This competition between the superpowers ignited an arms race between Ethiopia and Somalia as well as proxy war between the superpowers. Also, Somalia's redeem for lost territories caused arms race in the region as Farah writes because of its policy "Somalia not only bought a massive number of weapons, but it also kept huge and well-trained armed forces, a military capability many envied. This, in turn, invited the same

reaction from Somalia's neighbours, allowing them to counter Somalia's actions if the need were to arise" (Farah,2020:66).

The Somali constitution mandate for a Greater Somali aspiration, according to Abdullahi "was peaceful means and respect of the international law, intended to encourage Somalis under the rule of Ethiopia, Kenya and France to seek their self-determination rights during the civilian government of Somalia from 1960 to 1969" (Interview: Abdullahi, Feb. 8, 2021).But Somali irredentism policy shifted from peaceful and diplomatic means (1960 -1976) towards reckless and aggressive manner when the military regime went war with Ethiopia in 1977-78. Siad Barre with no friends and rejecting his close ally's advice, the Soviet Union, went war with Ethiopia, which caused the defeat of Somalia and unleashed domestic instability in Somalia.

Somalia was also accused of violating the international law and not respecting the UN Charter which states that all nations should refrain from hostile policies and military intervention in other countries, and the OAU charter which calls African countries shall "respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity for each state" (cited in Touval 1967: 104). According to Lewis, Somalia's defeat was attributed to two reasons; the way Siad Barre managed the military operations of the war and the way he conducted foreign policy towards the case of Somalis in Ethiopia as Lewis writes that "if the government had spent a minute fraction of its military budget on professional public relations campaign it might have been easier to convince outsiders of the justice of the Somali case for self-government in the Ogaden"(Lewis 202:242). And during the Soviet-Somali relationships, Said Barre failed to "prudently continued to cultivate a few friends in the Western bloc [that] it might have been easier to switch sides when the time came" (Lewis 202:243). According to Zeleke, the Ethiopian-Somali War in 1977 was caused by "three legacies of the past namely, European colonial rule; Somali irredentism; and superpowers intervention" (Zeleke, 2018:55).

4.2. Domestic impact on political stability

Somalia's irredentism policy to quest for national reunification had also impact on domestic political stability. Somalia's irredentism had received an excessive portion of "the nation's attention, thereby draining energies and resources badly needed for internal development into fruitless external ventures" (Samatar & Laitin, 18987: 68). In a similar manner, Trunji has noted that "Much of the hope with which Somalis greeted independence in July 1960 had evaporated: too little had changed for better. Political leaders focused on the conflict with

neighbouring countries, relegating social and economic problems to the bottom of their priorities list" (Trunji,2015:535)

The new government did not give enough consideration to the domestic affairs such as the issues of internal development and the integration of the two different colonial systems: the union of the ex-Italian Somaliland and former British Somaliland. In this regard, Trunji writes that post-colonial Somali state, which preoccupied with Greater Somali aspiration, marginalised the issue of integration whether it is the issue of amalgamation of the north and south as they had two different colonial system or the issue of differences existing within the Somali society, such as clan divisions and strengthening a national sense of common interest (Trunji,2015:440).

The northerners, who brought the union for the cause of Greater Somalia, felt betrayed by the southerners, who held the influential positions such as the president and the prime minister. The officers were also outraged by the appointment of southern officers to the high-ranking positions Metz,1992:27). Lewis reflected the discontent felt by the northerners towards the "irresponsible actions taken by the government in distant Mogadishu" as this heightened an abortive military coup attempted by a group of military officers from the north to secede Somaliland from Somalia in December 1961 (Lewis 1988: 173).

Instead of focusing on domestic development and strengthening national cohesion, Somalia adopted irredentism policy which drove Somalia to embark on program of military build-up, and this derailed the country's scant financial resources as Calchi Novati writes that the "government expenditure for agriculture during the period 1964 -69 oscillated between a minimum of 0.7% and a maximum of 2.3%, against 3.4% for public health, 2.9% for education and 16.7% for defence" (cited in Trunji,2015:524 -525). In this regard, huge amount of resources that could have been invested in the development issues were diverted into military expenditure. Similarly, Mukhtar writes that " Ordinary Somalis also paid dearly in terms of lives, material resources in senseless conflicts that could well be said to have destroyed the economy, as every penny went into the army"(Mukhtar 2003:182)

But the huge impact of Somalia's irredentism policy came when Somalia attempted to regain its lost territories in Ethiopia by violent means, which led to Somalia's defeat, and the country descended into crisis and instability. Laitin and Samatar have aptly described that the "1977-78 Ogaadeen debacle struck Somalia with considerable force, plunging the nation into a morass of purposelessness and inaction. Somalia slipped from a nation on the move to a

nation a drift. Plagued by internal opposition, [and] by lack of a reliable foreign patron" (Laitin and Samatar 1987:155). In similar mode, Lewis,has written that Somalia's defeat in the war with Ethiopia in 1977-78 "shook the Somali government to its foundations" and the internal instability increased as it caused disunity among the Somali National Army, unleashed influx of Somali refugees, and large-scale of armed opposition groups, as well as the bankruptcy of pan-Somali struggle (Lewis, 2008: 44).

First, the Somali-Ethiopian War caused the influx of Somali refugees, which was estimated "more than a million, entered Somali because of the war as well as fear of Ethiopian retaliation" (Issa-Salwe,2002:169). Likewise, Galaydh described the consequences of the war was huge and incalculable not only on Somalia but also even on Somalis inhabited in the contested area (Galaydh 1990:18). The government responded quickly by setting up "a National Refugee Commission (NRC) and hastily establishing a string of refugee camps in the north, centre and south of the country" (Lewis, 2002:246).

During this period refuge question became an important factor in Somalia's foreign relations and funds for supporting the refugees came mainly from "the United States and the European Economic Community. Other significant sources have been Canada, China, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Sweden" (Ododa, 1985: 295). Even though the Somali government launched appeals for the international aid in which donors came for help, the refugee situation remained an intractable problem (Laitin and Samatar p.154), as the refugee crisis caused financial burden and serious domestic concern because of the limited financial and national resources in the country which drove the government "to accept an IMF package of economic liberalisation measures" (Lewis, 2002: 258).

During the military period (1969 -1991), Siad Barre seemed to marginalise the economic development of the country as he focused on military build-ups. Metz has captured Somalia's military build-ups of its armed forces which which grew from 5,000 troops at independence to 65,000 in 1990, also sapped Somalia's economy; for example, 30 percent of the national budget went for the military in the mid-1980s" (Metz,1992: xxvi). In this regard, " military build-ups normally do not contribute to the wellbeing of the people," as Khapova, writes, but " they bleed the countries , they retard economic development, they tempt increased use of violence against domestic populations, and they make regional armed conflict not only more likely but also more bloody and more deadly, if it occurs" (Khapova,1982:30).

The Second impact resulted from the defeat was an increased opposition to President Siad Barre emerged , and this opposition was " expressed in three main forms: an attempted coup, defection of government officials and military officers and the emergence of political organizations" (Ododa, 1985: 285).

The first form of opposition took place a month right after the Somali defeat in the Ogaden war, as several dissident military officers, who were demoralised by the humiliating defeat in the war, attempted an abortive coup to overthrow Siad bare, who was reported to have executed a number of officers who had opposed to the way Siad Barre conducted the Ogaden war. Several military officers, who involved in the coup, were jailed and some of them were even executed while the rest escaped to abroad (Ododa, 1985: 285).

The Second form of opposition to Barre was a group of government officials from diplomatic and military services, who defected from Siad Barre regime. The most notable figures include Hussein Dualeh, Somalia's ambassador to Kenya, Abdullahi En Laye, the consul in Djibouti, and Mohamed Warsame Ali, a Somalia's ambassador to Washington. Dualeh defected in 1978, while Laye and Ali defected in 1980 (Ododa, 1985: 285-6).

The third form of opposition was organized armed opposition movements who were established outside the country to topple Siad Barre's regime by force. The defeat had caused disunity among the national army, which led finally to the formation of armed opposition groups based mainly on clans. The most notable armed opposition movements were the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (1978), Somali National Movement (SNM), and later United Somali Congress (USC). Former colonels from Majeerteen clan, who escaped and fled abroad, formed the Somali Salvation Front in 1978 and later changed its name to the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) in 1979. Th movement, which was first organised armed rebel wanted to topple Siad Barre by force, sought an operational base in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. (Mohamoud,2002:129, Metz,1992: xxviii)

 This was followed by the establishment of another armed opposition movement named Somali National Movement (SNM in 1981). SNM was formed by Isaaq clan dissidents to liberate Siad Barre by force from Ex-British Somaliland. A year later the movement moved "their headquarters to Dire Dawe, Ethiopia, form where they conducted guerrilla raids against Somali Government held territory" (Metz,1992: xxviii).To destabilize Somalia, Ethiopia helped these opposition groups established headquarters inside Ethiopia and provided an

"assistance on the form of money, arms and diplomatic support" Liatin and Samatar 1987:157). Both the SSDF and SNM "heavily exerted a destabilising pressure on the state" as they "started launching violent attacks and causing increased security problems both in the border areas and inside the country" (Mohamoud, 2002:130).

In response to the armed opposition rebels, Siad Barre targeted not only the opposition movements but also the regions inhabited by their clans. Both Majeerteen and Isaaq clans were targeted. As Metz has noted " Siad Barre's campaign against the Isaaq was particularly bloody; it included the 1988 destruction by bombing of Hargeysa, Somalia's major northern city, causing the flight to neighboring countries of tens of thousands of refugees" (Metz,1992: xxviii). Siad Barre used brutal and repressive methods to control and discipline the population as his main concern since 1978 seemed to cling to power at all cost (Laitin and Samatar 1987:155). He also adopted "divide and rule "policies that deliberately pitted clan against clan (Schraeder,2006.:132), while he heavily depended on a more restricted circle of clan relationships that revolved around the clans of his father (mareehaan), mother (Ogaadeeni), and wife (Dhulbahante)" (Lewis, 2002:122). However, In1987, United Somali Congress (USC), a third armed opposition movement dominated by Hawiye clan was formed which played a leading role in removing Siad Barre from the power.

To ease the mounting pressure from armed opposition groups, Siad Barre signed non-interference agreement with Mengistu in April 1988 as both sides had been supporting each other's armed opposition groups with " political support, weapons, and covert support to charges of direct military involvement in the operations of these groups" (Ododa, 1985: 289). The agreement also included that both states should end supporting for the armed opposition of the other (Issa-Salwe,2000: 170). Haile Mariam ordered to stop supporting the Somali armed opposition movements of SSDF and SNM, while Siad Barre, on his part, "withdrew support from the Western Somali Liberation Front(WSLF) and Somali Abbo Liberation Front(SALF" (Issa-Salwe,2000: 173). The Western Somali Liberation Front ,which continued its struggle of liberation against Ethiopia in the Ogaden region even after the defeat of Somali forces in Ethiopia, " saw the peace accord as back-stabbing by the regime of which they were one of the pillars" (Issa-Salwe,2000: 173).

Even though SNM was ordered to leave the country, Ethiopia gave it "a golden handshake in the form of land cruisers, artillery, and automatic weapons and sent off to northern Somalia to launch attacks on government installations" (Yihun, 2014:684).

But Siad Barre's "extrajudicial executions waged against the Majeerteen and Isaaq clans between 1978 -1988 had considerably eroded support for his government among Somali people," so his peace agreement with Ethiopia had no any tangible impact on the domestic political stability as military operations waged the clan-based armed opposition movements including the USC escalated. However, January 26, 1991 Siad Barre was ousted by the United Somali Congress (USC) and what followed this was the protracted civil war that ravaged the country. As Yihun writes, this was "seen as a victory for Ethiopian diplomacy" (Yihun, 2014:686).

Somalia expanded its armed forces "from 5,000 troops at independence to 65,000 in 1990" which drained its economy as "for example, 30 percent of the national budget went for the military in the mid-1980s" (Metz,1992: xxvi).In this regard " military build-ups normally do not contribute to the wellbeing of the people," as Khapova writes, but instead " they bleed the countries, they retard economic development, they tempt increased use of violence against domestic populations, and they make regional armed conflict not only more likely but also more bloody and more deadly, if it occurs" (Khapova,1982:30).

May 17,1991 SNM leadership in the former British -Somaliland, declared secession from Somalia, which "signalled the decline both nation-building and the irredentist dimensions of the pan-Somali nationalist project". This secession resulted from accumulated grievances including power grab by the southerners who dominated the successive governments from democratic government (1960 -67) and the authoritarian regime (1969 -1991) which adopted policies of suppression (Schraeder, 2006 :130).

Finally, Somalia's aspiration for Greater Somalia did not contribute to the reunification of all Somalis under a single state as many Somalis had expected. But it rather contributed to the decline of Somali irredentism, the disintegration of Somali state, and the session of Somaliland. In this regard, Lewis (1989:578) had noted that the "Pan-Somali ideal founded on a *cultural* identity rather than *the political* unity, which was so strong in the 1950s and 1960s, has taken a severe battering".

5. Conclusions

The European colonialism in Africa left many deep-rooted legacies. One salient legacy, which became the fault lines for instability and lasted to this day, is the borders drawn by the colonial powers. During the colonial period Somalia territory was partitioned by Britain, Italy, and French, together with Ethiopia five parts. The struggle against the colonial powers before the independence was based on two concepts; to liberate Somalia from the shackles of the colonialism, and to establish a single state for all Somali speaking people. Therefore, based on Somalia's argument, the quest for the unification was not a kind of expansion but reunification of the dismembered Somali people.

At the independence, the Republic of Somalia, which resulted from the unification of the former Italian Trust Territory of Somalia and the former British Somaliland Protectorate, sought to incorporate the other three parts of the lost territories in Ethiopia, Kenya and French Somaliland (later known as Djibouti) into Somalia. Pursuing a Greater Somalia, which was inspired by the idea of nation- state, was based on the belief that every nation should have its own sovereign state since Somalis share common language, creed, and kin. Furthermore, according to Somali argument, the quest for the unity was not a kind of expansion but rather reunification of the dismembered Somali people as the struggle against the colonial powers before the independence was based on two concepts; to liberate Somalia from the shackles of the colonialism, and to establish a single state for all Somali speaking people.

The aim of this study has been to explore and analyze the causes, and the impact of the Somalia' irredentism on political stability in Somalia. More specifically, the main objective has been to critically examine how Somali irridentism policy has been pursued, what challenges faced and how it has affected the political stability of the post-colonial Somali state from 1960 to 1990. To reach this goal, the study raises three questions, according to first question." *What are the causes of Somalia's irredentism?*

Before answering such question, the study first has attempted to trace the historical background of colonial legacy resulted from partitioning Somalia into five parts by Britain, Italy, and French. Then Britain ceded parts of the Somali territories into Ethiopia and Kenya before its departure. This became the root causes of the problems faced by the newly

independent post-colonial state. After these historical accounts, the study, in the second section of chapter two, has explored to answer the first research question about the causes and the factors that helped rise Somalia's irredentism. In this section, the case study has argued that Somali nationalism was not a mere result of Somali's homogeneity as primordialism argued, or even a mere result of political elites who emerged during the 1950s and 1960s as instrumentalists contended. It was rather combined factors, including Somalia's homogeneity, partition of Somali territories by the colonial powers, political religious sentiments, and the rise of educated elites all these factors caused Somalia's nationalism and irredentism.

Regarding the second research question which is *"How has the post-colonial state from 1960 up to 1991 pursued Somalia's irredentism policy?,* the study, in chapter three, has focused on how has post-colonial state pursued irredentism policy by attempting to regain the lost territories ceded by Britain to Ethiopia and Kenya. The study has found out that the post-colonial state, during the periods of both civilian and military governments from 1960 up to 1991, faced daunting challenges including, but not limited to, Somalia's isolation and rejection of its irredentism not only from Ethiopia and Kenya, but also from the OAU and the superpowers. In order to indicate its commitment for unifying all Somalis into a single nation state, the republic of Somalia enshrined the irredentism policy in Somalia's constitution and presented it in the national flag, which featured a five-pointed star representing the five parts partitioned by colonial powers.

In this chapter, the study has also discovered that Somalia's irredentism was not pursued only from the top by political elites, as instrumentalist scholars had argued in the Somali studies' literature. Even though the instrumentalist claim is valid , to some degree, that political elites played significant role in prompting irredentism policy to retain their positions and strengthen national unity and cohesiveness, the study, in accordance with the interview's responds, revealed a mixture of both prompted from top-down by political elites and reinforced from the bottom by the public ordinary Somalis. This was clear during 1967- 69 when Egal, then prime minster, who attempted to renounce or at least soften Somalia's irredentism policy, faced pressure both from the members of the parliament and from the ordinary Somalis who held mass demonstrations throughout Somali territories. He was even accused of been a traitor who sold out Somali territories. The study also indicated that from the late 1960s and 1970s to the early 1990s, the political elites, along with nationalism and irredentism, seemingly engaged in clan-based political struggles which caused inconsistency to Somalia's

irredentism because of dual clan and Somali identities. In this case it is in line with constructivist argument that ethnic identity is subjected to change that is neither fixed nor open, and that Somali identity has also sub-division ethnic identity which has weakened Somalia's homogeneity.

The second section of chapter three, the study has found that, unlike the civilian government that pursued peaceful means for its irredentism policy, during the military rule, irredentism policy shifted from peaceful and diplomatic means (1960 -1976) towards reckless and aggressive manner when military regime led by Siad Barre went war with Ethiopia in 1977-78 which caused Somalia's defeat and unleashed domestic instability in Somalia. In this defeat, the study discovered the structural approach that emphasizes external dynamics and the role of international actors which can trigger to escalate or de-escalate the irredentism aspirations. In this regard, Somalia's case, international actors particularly the superpowers actively took part in containing Somalia's irredentism aspiration as the Soviet Union along with Cuba militarily involved in Ethiopian-Somali war to halt Greater Somalia, whereas America and the West rejected to provide Somalia military aid until Somalia withdraw its forces from the Ogaden in Ethiopia. Likewise, at regional level, the Organisation of African Union rejected to defy the inherited colonial boundaries.

In chapter four, the thesis has explored the impact of Somali irredentism policy on the political stability where the study critically examined by answering the third question of "*How has Somalia's pursuit of irredentism policy affected the political stability of the post-colonial Somali state1960 -1991*? The study first has looked at the external impact caused by the quest of irredentism policy on political instability including creating enemies particularly the neighbouring countries, alienating allies from western countries to eastern bloc, dependency of foreign aid and finally interstate conflict with Ethiopia. The pursuit of irredentism policy also caused internal impact including political problems that threatened the stability of post-colonial state, and military build-ups that sapped the country's meagre economy. For instance, Somalia's defeat by Ethiopia and its destabilisation policy towards Somalia had a huge impact on domestic political instability. The defeat caused disunity among the national army and refugee crisis which, in turn, caused financial burden and serious domestic concern because of the limited financial and national resources in the country. The defeat also unleashed armed opposition groups that finally ousted the military regime led by Siad Barre.

To sum up, the case study has offered tentative conclusions for the theoretical approaches employed in this study to understand the causes and the fall of Somali irredentism adventure. Primordialist arguments is relevant as it explains the nature and the causes of Somali irredentism as a result of the homogeneity of Somali people while constructivism offers that identity is subjected to change as in the case of Somali society divisions based on clan identity which has sub-division identity that has weakened Somalia's homogeneity. Furthermore, instrumentalist argument partially offers that political elites played significant role in prompting Greater Somalia to gain support and strengthen national unity and cohesiveness to overcome social divisions.

In terms of Somalia's irredentism containment and decline, the structural theory has argued that Somali's irredentism was halted by international and regional forces, no matter how Somali's zealous quest for irredentism was. Thus, the thesis has adopted multi-framework approaches that produced balanced narratives to produce a comprehensive understanding of the analysis of irredentism, its causes, and consequences.

The study has concluded with argument that Somalia attempt the reunification of their co-nationals in neighbouring countries, faced challenges from both the regional and international actors. Somalia's call for redrawing the colonial boundaries not only fell on deaf at the OAU but at the UN as well. Furthermore, regarding its co-nationals in Ethiopia and Kenya, Somalia maintained its argument on UNs principle which gives people the right of self-determination to freely determine their political states in relation to becoming an independent nation while Ethiopia and Kenya argued the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of their states. In this regard, Somalia's quest for a Greater Somalia, instead of attaining reunification of all Somalis under a single state, as many Somalis had expected, it paid a high cost of political instability and contributed to the decline of Somali irredentism, the disintegration of Somali state, and the session of Somaliland from Somalia. Even though Somalia's irredentism is in decline and is in weak condition, Somalia needs to sit with its neighbours and resolve border dispute lines based on justice and dignity for all its people. This helps to promote stability and cooperation of the region and beyond.

The study recommends further research in the durable peace options between Somalia and its neighbours, as well as domestic inclusive political reconciliation between the Somalia and Somaliland

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Appendixes

Appendix A. List of individual participants

Abdisalam Haji Ahmed, a former Ambassador of Somalia to Pakistan and Ethiopia, 7 January 2021.

Dr. Abdurahman Abdullahi (Baadiyow), a historian and author of several books. He is also a former military officer in the Somali Military Army, 8 February, 20.

Farah Ahmed Omar (Qare), a former chief of Somali navy, an academic and author of several books, 17 December 2020.

Mustafa Abdullahi Feiruz, is a Director at Institute for Somali Studies (ISOS), Mogadishu University, 23 November 2020,

Yahye Amir, a Prof. of Economics, a former dean Faculty of Economics and Management, Mogadishu University, 19 December 2020.

Appendix B. Map of Somali Irredentism

Somali Irredentism

Source: DIIS Report 2009:3

Appendix C. Guideline questions for the semi-structured interview

1. What are the causes of Somalia's irredentism or, in other words, what are the factors that helped to raise Somali nationalism?

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2. Was the quest for unity and Greater Somalia rational or irrational? If yes, or not, please, give reasons in what way?

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3. Was the irredentism pressured from below by the society or from the top by the elites to gain legitimacy and support for holding positions? Or both?

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4. What role did the international actors have on Somalia's irredentism or quest for unity in terms of restrains/objection Somalia's irredentism or support?

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5. Has the pursuit of Somali irredentism policy a negative impact on political stability? If yes, in what way.

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6. What was the political impact of irredentism policy in general and Ethiopian-Somali 77 War on political instability in Somalia?

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7. Why the interstate conflicts occurred in Ethiopia, but not in Kenya?

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8. Was the attack on Ethiopia rational decision and right action or wrong?

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9.   What are the reasons behind Siad Barre declaration of war on Ethiopia in 1977?

    - Was it because balance of power was in a favor for Somalia? or

- Did the Siad Bare regime want to divert the attention of the population from the domestic problems? Or
- Were there any other reasons you can provide ?

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10. What role did the regional actors like OAU and neighboring countries have on Somalia's irredentism in terms of supporting or objection? Or How had the international community affected the outcome of Somalia's pursuit of Greater Somalia?

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11. Why did Somalia fail to predict American's support to counter Ethiopian massive support from the Eastern bloc during the 77 war?

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12. What are the factors that contributed to the decline of Somalia's irredentism?

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13. To what extent can the pursuit of pan-Somalism be attributed to the current crises of the civil war/state collapse?