



Armed Conflicts Report

Somalia (1988 - first combat deaths)

Update: January 2009

Summary

Type of Conflict

Parties to the Conflict

Status of the Fighting

Number of Deaths

Political Developments

Background

Arms Sources

Economic Factors

Summary:

2008 Violence continued almost daily throughout 2008 as the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) and its backer, Eritrea, continued its insurgency against the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and its associates, including the African Union troops deployed in Somalia and the Ethiopian troops backed by the United States. The capital, Mogadishu, was almost entirely deserted at the end of 2008, with more than 2 million of the country's residents displaced and 3.5 million surviving on food aid. The UN, despite calls for international assistance, did not mandate a peacekeeping and stabilizing mission to Somalia in 2008. A peace deal between the TFG and the Alliance for the re-Liberation of Somalia (ALS) was signed in June, however it was unsuccessful. The militant wing of the ICU, al-Shabab, refused to acknowledge any deal until Ethiopian troops were out of the country and pledged increased and continued violence. Throughout 2008, the United States bombed locations throughout the country where alleged Al-Qaeda insurgents were hiding, leading to protests by civilians within Somalia. Ethiopian troops began pulling out of Somalia in December as the ICU took control of two port cities, rural areas and most of Mogadishu. According to the UN, nearly 15 000 members of Somalia's police force and military deserted in December. Furthermore, in 2008 piracy increased along the Southern coast and in the Gulf of Aden, with approximately 27 ships being attacked and held for ransom. With 33 aid agency workers killed in 2008 -- including the Somali head of the UNDP -- and 13 more kidnapped by insurgents, most international aid agencies are no longer operating in Somalia. At the end of 2008, the crisis in Somalia is still the worst humanitarian crisis in the world with 3.5 million in need of assistance and approximately 40 000 children close to death from starvation. The civilian death toll from conflict in 2008 is pegged at approximately 3 500. Unknown numbers of militant deaths and civilian deaths due to epidemics and starvation would increase the total substantially.

2007 Violence escalated throughout the year as the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) continued its insurgency against the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and Ethiopian troops. This led to extremely high civilian casualties, and more than one million residents of capital Mogadishu being displaced. The United Nations declared Somalia the biggest humanitarian crisis facing Africa, but has been unable to send in peacekeeping troops due to the level of violence. The African Union mandated a peacekeeping force at the beginning of the year, but to date, only approximately 2,000 troops of a planned 8,000 have been deployed. Ethiopia and Eritrea continue to be involved in the conflict, with Ethiopian troops on the ground defending the TFG while Eritrea provides refuge to leaders of the ousted SCIC. An attempt at reconciliation failed in July with a national convention, as the SCIC refuses to discuss peace agreements while foreign troops remain on Somali soil. Regional disputes between Somaliland and autonomous Puntland flared up towards the end of the year.

2006 Despite the reunification of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), fighting in the capital of Mogadishu and surrounding areas between warlords and the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) resulted in upwards of 300 casualties, most of which were civilian. The TFG remained powerless and isolated in the provincial town of Baidoa. Ethiopia and Eritrea have also become involved in hostilities between the TFG and

the SCIC with Ethiopia sending troops to protect the TFG and Eritrea sending military supplies to the SCIC. The United States backing of the Alliance for Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT), a warlord group, as well as the presence of Ethiopian troops have led to outrage from the SCIC, who declared jihad against Ethiopia in October. Many reportedly fear that escalations of hostilities as well as the imposition of fundamental Islamic law will cause an eruption of violence that could engulf and destabilize the entire horn region.

2005 The Transitional Federal Government split into two rival factions that threatened to go to war with each other raising the spectre of renewed fighting on a large scale. Inter-clan violence and fighting between rival warlords continued while piracy off the coast of Somalia hampered international shipping.

2004 The Somalia National Reconciliation Conference made significant strides towards a comprehensive peace with the formation of a Transitional Parliament and the election of a President. Despite these developments incidences of fighting continued. The new government received international recognition and sought financial support and peacekeepers for the reconstruction and security of Somalia.

2003 Rival clans and armed factions clashed throughout Somalia, with most reported deaths occurring in Mogadishu. Although it faced various setbacks throughout the year, the Somalia National Reconciliation Conference Kenya produced a transitional charter, outlining the structure of the future Somali Government. In May, the African Union made initial preparations for a military observer mission to Somalia.

2002 Fighting involving rival factions and transitional government forces continued in many parts of Somalia. The Somalia National Reconciliation Conference opened in mid-October in Kenya with representatives from a number of rival clans, the Transitional National Government (TNG) and various communities in attendance to discuss peace, stability and governance issues.

2001 Rival clans continued fighting throughout Somalia, with the most intense fighting in years taking place in Mogadishu. According to reports more than 400 people were killed this year, mostly civilians due to stray fire. In January, the United Nations agreed to send a peace-building mission and accepted that there was a government in Somalia.

2000 Fighting among rival clans continued in central and southern Somalia, mainly in Mogadishu following the creation of a new government in neighbouring Djibouti. At least 200 people, including local humanitarian workers, were killed by the end of September, up from the estimated conflict deaths in 1999.

1999 Inter-clan fighting continued in 1999, with most attacks and counterattacks taking place in the central and southern regions of the country. More than 100 people were killed in various clashes, a decline from the previous year.

1998 Clan fighting continued in 1998, concentrated in certain regions of the country.

Type of Conflict:

State control/ Failed state

Parties to the Conflict:

1) The Transitional Federal Parliament/Transitional Federal Government

In August 2004 the Somali Transitional Federal Parliament was formed. Each of Somalia's four major clans has 61 seats in the parliament while an alliance of minority clans has 31 seats. However, rising tensions led the interim government to split in two competing parallel administrations in 2005, each one representing rival alliances of warlords. The two factions were:

a) Jowar-based faction led by President Abdullahi Yusuf (himself a warlord) and backed by several other warlords;

b) Mogadishu-based faction led by parliamentary speaker Sharif Hassan Sheikh Adan and backed by an alliance of Mogadishu warlords including Mohammed Qanyare Affra, Osman Ali Atto, Muse Sudi Yalahow and,

separately, by Baidoa warlord Mohammed Habsade among others.

In January 2006, the two factions agreed to unite the government by convening the 275-member clan-based Parliament. In February 2006, the TFP moved to Baidoa and held its first session. Through 2007 and 2008, the TFP remained in Baidoa while the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), the executive branch of the government including the presidency, was located in Mogadishu. Two other entities (together with the TFP) now make up the former Somali state: the self-declared Republic of Somaliland in the northwest; and the semi-autonomous region of Puntland in the northeast. [US Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, Somalia, 2006-2008*]

Allied with

a) In February 2006 a group of ministers of the TFG, businessmen, and faction leaders announced the formation of the Alliance for Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT) to fight terrorism and stabilize the country. [US Department of State, March 07, 2007]

b) It is reported that this group has come under scrutiny as a front for United States involvement in the country as it accepts US funding as well as military training.

"The Islamists say the warlords, who recently formed the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism, are being funded by "non-Muslim foreigners", taken to mean the US anti-terror force based in neighbouring Djibouti. The US authorities have not commented on those latest allegations. They have previously said they had "no information" on widely accepted reports that warlords had kidnapped terror suspects in Mogadishu and handed them over to US agents to be flown abroad for questioning." [Canadian International Peace Project, March 26, 2006]

"Dramatic evidence that America is involved in illegal mercenary operations in east Africa has emerged in a string of confidential emails seen by the Observer. The leaked communications between US private military companies suggest the CIA had knowledge of the plans to run covert military operations inside Somalia, against UN rulings, and they hint at involvement of British security firms. The emails dated June of this year [2006], reveal how US firms have been planning undercover missions in support of President Abdullahi Yusuf's transitional federal government, founded with UN backing in 2004, against the Supreme Islamic Courts Council, a radical Muslim militia." [The Observer, September 10, 2006]

c) The Ethiopian government who deployed troops to Mogadishu in late 2006 to remove the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) from power and to support the Transitional Federal Government.

"Ethiopian motives are obvious: it wishes to remain the dominant power in the Horn of Africa; it has traditionally sought to influence Somalia and contain radical Islam there; and it fears Islamist aspirations in its Ogaden ethnic Somali region." [Reuters, July 24, 2006]

"Ethiopia is prepared to invade neighbouring Somalia to defend its UN-backed government against what appeared to be an imminent attack by Islamist militiamen, a government spokesman said." [The Associated Press, July 20, 2006]

"Hundreds of Ethiopian troops in armored vehicles rolled into Somalia to protect their allies in this country's virtually powerless government from Islamic militiamen who control the capital." [The Washington Post Online, July 21, 2006]

Versus

2) Various Islamic opposition groups.

a) The main opposition to the government consists of the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) also known as the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), Joint Islamic Courts, Union of Islamic Courts (UIC), or the Supreme Islamic Courts Council (SICC), a group based on fundamental Islamic law that is attempting to wrest formal administrative and governmental control from the TFG as well as impose a system of Shari' a law upon the country. The group's aim is to bring order to the chaotic region that has been without a central government since 1991. A more radical faction of the SCIC has emerged throughout 2007 and early 2008 – al Shabab,

which literally means 'the lads' in Somali. The United States has said the group has links to Al Qaeda.

"Members of antigovernment and extremist organizations like al-Shabaab, some of whose members were affiliated with al-Qa'ida, committed numerous human rights violations, including killings of TFG members and civilians; kidnappings and disappearances; restrictions on freedom of movement; displacement of civilians; and attacks on journalists and human rights activists." [U.S. Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - Somalia 2007*, 11 March, 2008]

"Fundamentalist Islamic clerics have increasingly sought to set themselves up as an alternative to the clan-based fiefdoms and the transitional federal government that is struggling to assert its authority. But the new alliance, which formed last month, describes the clerics as terrorists and accuses them of killing moderate intellectuals, Muslim scholars and former military officials in a string of unexplained murders." [*The Seattle-Post Intelligencer*, March 22, 2006]

b) Eritrean militias, who have formally acknowledged their role in sending forces to back the Supreme council of Islamic Courts in their efforts to wrest power from the TFG who is backed by Ethiopian troops.

"While Ethiopia is apparently spoiling for fight, warning it will crush the Islamists if they attack Baidoa, another regional player, Eritrea, is playing a lesser-known but also influential role on the other side, analysts and diplomats say. Already criticized by the United Nations for funneling arms to the Islamists during their rise to power in Mogadishu earlier this year, the Eritreans are continuing to supply weapons, funds and personnel, the experts believe." [*Reuters*, July 14, 2006]

"It is purely to obstruct Ethiopia that the Eritreans are getting involved in Somalia, they don't have big past links or interests," said an African diplomat who tracks the Horn." [*Reuters*, July 24, 2006]

"Somalia's Islamists said they would not attend peace talks with the interim government until Ethiopian troops left their soil, and for the first time acknowledged Eritrean backing of their cause." [*Mail and Guardian Online*, July 25, 2006]

c) The Alliance for the Liberation of Somalia (ALS), a cross-section of groups from Somalia as well as the diaspora including leaders of the SCIC, parliament members, clan heads, intellectuals, community elders and religious leaders that formed after a meeting in Eritrea. Main goal is to remove Ethiopian forces from Somalia by negotiation or war if necessary.

"More than 300 delegates, including Islamist leader Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweys, have approved a constitution and central committee. A spokesman said the new movement will be called The Alliance for the Liberation of Somalia. It aims to remove the Ethiopian-backed government by negotiation – or war." [*BBC News*, 12 September, 2007]

"The Alliance for the Liberation of Somalia (ALS) was formed at a meeting in Eritrea. The cross-section of groups from inside Somalia as well as the diaspora includes leaders of the UIC, parliament members, clan heads, intellectuals, community elders and religious leaders. They agreed to form a common front to mount a two-pronged attack on the transitional government – diplomatic negotiation alongside military action to force the Ethiopian troops in Somalia to withdraw within months." [*BBC News*, 26 March, 2008]

Other important alliances include:

a) The Group of 8 alliance is part of the Mogadishu-based faction of the TFG and is composed of factions from all over Somalia, including:

- United Somali Congress (USC) led by the Mogadishu-based warlord, Mohamed Kanyare Afrah
- United Somali Congress/Somali Salvation Alliance (USC/SSA) led by Omar Mohamed

b) The Somali National Salvation Council (SNSC) is part of the Mogadishu-based faction of the TFG and includes the following major armed groups:

- Lower Shabelle Administration, led by Yusuf Indha'ade

- Juba Valley Alliance led by Col. Bare Hirale
- Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA/SNSC) led by Mohamed Ibrahim Habsade
- United Somali Congress/Somali Salvation Alliance (USC/SSA) of Muse Sudi Yalahow

c) The Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) is part of the Jowar-based TFG faction and includes:

- Middle Shabelle Administration
- Puntland Administration
- Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA/SRRC) of Mohamed Nir "Shari dadud"
- Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM/SRRC)

Other prominent factions within Mogadishu and supporters of the Mogadishu-based TFG faction include:

- the USC/Somali Salvation Alliance, led by Umar Finish and;
- the Somali National Alliance (SNA), led by Usman Hasan Ali Ato.

Additional warlords in the conflict include:

- Gen Ade Muse Hirsi and Jama Ali Jama, who have been in conflict over control of the self-declared autonomous region of Puntland.
- Ali Dheere and Rer Ahmad forces who support the Jowar-based TFG faction
- Abdinur Ahmed Darman, leader of the United Somali Republic Party (USRP)

Other clans, sub-clans and/or factions which were militarily active throughout 2004-2005 include:

- General Morgan and his forces
- Dabare and Luway subclans both from the Digil-Mirifle clan clashed.
- An alliance of the Marehan subclans of Hawarsame Rer Hasan and Habar Ya'qub .
- Militia of the Abgal clan allied to two rival businessmen from the Warsangeli and Wabudan subclans clashed with each other.
- Murusade and Duduble sub-clans, both from the Hawiye clan, clashed.
- Militia of the Galje'el and Jalele subclans clashed.
- Militia of the Gare and Marehan clashed
- Clashes took place between the Saad and Seleeban clans, both of the Hawiye clan
- Clashes occurred between rival factions of the Marehan clan

Status of the Fighting:

2008 Throughout the year, violence continued in the capital and also throughout parts of Southern Somalia and along the coast. The TFG, the AU peacekeepers and the Ethiopian forces continued to try to restore peace and eliminate the insurgency threat but to no avail. Al-Shabab, the militant wing of the ICU, continued to attack the capital, particularly in the Bakara market area and spread the violence to other areas of Somalia. The spread of violence caused increased and repeat displacement, with citizens who had already been displaced from the capital moving further away multiple times as the violence from the capital came closer to the displacement camps. Children continue to be recruited into the war with some entering the war voluntarily, claiming that there is no better option.

For many disgruntled youth in possession of weapons, piracy has become a very lucrative opportunity within Somalia. Throughout 2008, approximately 28 ships were taken hostage according to independent media reports. These ships were all ransomed off for anywhere up to 1\$M USD. The pirates, who now number approximately 1000, use some of their millions to back both insurgent and government groups involved in the conflict.

Throughout 2008, 33 aid workers were killed in Somalia, and an additional 13 were kidnapped. As a result, most international agencies have completely stopped aid efforts in Somalia, or replaced international staff with local staff. Near the end of 2008 as Ethiopian troops withdrew, the ICU took control of the port towns of Kismayo and Merka and began to let food aid flow back into the country.

The humanitarian crisis continued with approximately 2 million Somali's in displacement camps and an additional 3.5 million in severe need of food aid. Many displaced continued moving from the 'war

zone' near the capital to the 'hunger zone' further south. As a result, it became increasingly difficult for the remaining aid agencies to reach them and worsened the humanitarian crisis.

2007 On December 24, 2006 Ethiopian troops entered Somalia in an effort to reinstall the transitional government of President Abdullahi Yusuf in Mogadishu. The US-backed troops claimed to be rooting out Islamic terrorism in Somalia by removing the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) from power. As a result, the SCIS declared that they would participate in a terrorist campaign consisting of suicide bombings, and roadside attacks against their opponents. Rape has become part of the war in Somalia with many women and children suffering abuses at the hands of all parties involved in the conflict. Children are also being recruited into the war.

The situation in Somalia has become so dangerous and volatile that most aid agencies have had to withdraw, and peacekeeping forces are unable to enter the capital city Mogadishu. Some of the bloodiest fighting was seen in Mogadishu in April where two separate incidents, one lasting four days and the other lasting nine, saw the deaths of thousands of civilians as the Ethiopian-backed government forces battled Islamic insurgents and members of the Hawiye tribe for control of the capital. The Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) refuses to end the fighting until all foreign troops leave Somalia, but the African Union has only been able to send a 1,600 person strong convoy of peacekeepers to the warring country, leaving Ethiopian troops unable to disengage. There have been more than one million residents of Mogadishu displaced around the country, which has led to one of the biggest humanitarian crises in Africa. Crowded internally displaced persons camps are lacking basic supplies, and death tolls will rise if aid is not available. In a separate conflict, regional tensions between Somaliland and Puntland intensified over the disputed region of Sool. This led to the displacement of thousands and the deaths of approximately 30 others.

"On Tuesday, the US and the AU warned Ethiopia not to withdraw its troops from Somalia before peacekeepers are deployed to replace them. AU commission chief Alpha Oumar Konare said it would be a 'catastrophe' if Ethiopia pulled out too soon." [BBC News, 16 May, 2007]

"All sides have committed war crimes in Somalia's conflict this year, according to lobby group Human Rights Watch. It says the worst abuses have been by Ethiopian soldiers, who are supporting the government against insurgents. Ethiopians have often indiscriminately attacked civilian areas and looted hospitals, its report says. While insurgents have fired mortars into residential areas and executed civilians, since Islamists were driven from power in Mogadishu last December." [BBC News, 13 August, 2007]

"Deploying a United Nations peacekeeping operation to Somalia is not realistic or viable given the war wracked African country's security situation, the intensifying insurgency and the lack of progress towards any political reconciliation, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon says." [AllAfrica, 12 November, 2007]

"Stretched to the limit trying to patrol Somalia's capital under an African Union (AU) mandate that called for four times as many soldiers, the 1,600-strong Ugandan force has been pushed to the fringes of the chaotic, labyrinthine city." [Reuters, 9 July, 2007]

"Initially ANISOM was to have comprised 8,000 troops, but only 1,600 Ugandan and 200 Burundian soldiers have so far been deployed." [All Africa, 21 February, 2008]

"Top United Nations officials who specialize in Somalia said the country had higher malnutrition rates, more current bloodshed and fewer aid workers than Darfur, which is often publicized as the world's most pressing humanitarian crisis and has taken clear priority in terms of getting peacekeepers and aid money." [The New York Times, 20 November, 2007]

"Islamist-led rebels attack the government and its Ethiopian military allies almost daily. Rampant insecurity has forced many aid agencies to quit Somalia, leaving the United Nations and a few other groups to run limited operations." [Reuters, 26 October, 2007]

"A report by the United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon, on children in Somalia, estimates that more than one-third of the people who were killed and injured in fighting in 2006 were children, with violence in southern and central Somalia characterised by grave child rights violations. In addition, he says, continued fighting in and around Mogadishu, the capital, between

the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and remnants of the Union of Islamic Courts forces has resulted in more casualties and violations against children in 2007. 'The recruitment and use of child soldiers by the TFG and other armed groups is a significant concern,' he says." [IRIN, 15 May 2007]

"Increased tension between the self-declared republic of Somaliland and the neighbouring self-declared autonomous region of Puntland over the disputed region of Sool has led to the displacement of up to 20,000 people from the area..." [Reuters, 22 October, 2007]

"Troops from the breakaway Somali republic of Somaliland on Monday seized a village inside a rival region loyal to the interim Somali president, killing at least 10 people, witnesses said." [Reuters, 15 October, 2007]

"Rival sub-clans fought over access to wells in central Somalia on Saturday, killing at least 20 people and wounding several others, elders said, as the countryside sank into a vortex of violence." [Mail & Guardian, 19 August, 2007]

2006 Massive outbreaks of fighting erupted in the capital city of Mogadishu when warlord-backed gunmen attempted to set up a checkpoint and were attacked by militiamen belonging to the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC). Some say this has been the worst violence the country has seen since the early 1990s. The fighting lasted about two months and resulted in hundreds of deaths, most of which were civilian. The clashes ended with the Islamic militia declaring victory and ultimately seizing control of the capital, its sea ports and airstrips. The SCIC continued its campaign northward seizing strategic areas such as Siisii, the port of El Maan, Balad, Hobyo, Harardheere, Burr Hakaba, Eldher, Bandiradley and Jowhar. As of December 31st, 2006 the SCIC was in control of virtually all the major cities in the country and had established a military-enforced system of Shari'a law. The TFG remained isolated in Baidoa, protected by Ethiopian military forces, much to the dislike of the SCIC. As a result, the SCIC boycotted peace talks with the TFG and declared jihad against Ethiopia for its role in protecting the virtually powerless TFG.

"An Islamic militia said it has seized Somalia's capital after weeks of some of the bloodiest fighting in 15 years of anarchy in the lawless Horn of Africa nation. Sheik Sharif Ahmed, chairman of the Islamic Courts Union, said his forces have fought off a secular alliance of warlords who have been trying to retain their grip on Somalia. The militia appeared in control of the capital." [Associated Press, June 5, 2006]

"Islamic militia members, who have expanded their control of Somalia's capital in fighting that has killed some 300 people, began pushing north of Mogadishu in a campaign to capture more territory. The latest battleground in the third and fiercest bout of fighting since the turn of the year between militia linked to Islamic courts and a self-styled anti-terrorism coalition of warlords was near the town of Balad. Balad is controlled by a warlord from the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT)." [Reuters, June 01, 2006]

"Although also fuelled by commercial and political motives, the fighting in and around Mogadishu is seen by many Somalis as a proxy war between Islamists and Washington. Residents say it has involved some of the worst violence ever seen in Mogadishu." [The New York Times, June 06, 2006]

"The African Union and the United Nations said they would send teams to Somalia to assess the possibility of deploying a peacekeeping force in the country, where Islamic militia have imposed Shari' a law and warned of bloodshed if Ethiopian troops move in." [Agence France Presse, June 19, 2006]

"Ethiopia's Prime Minister has for the first time admitted to having soldiers inside Somalia. Meles Zenawi told parliament that he had sent military trainers to the beleaguered interim government. But he denied sending a fighting force, despite several eyewitness reports of hundreds of troops." [BBC News, October 19, 2006]

2005 Deadly inter-clan fighting in south and central Somalia over resources and control of land took place throughout the year. Minor clashes were reported between warlords and clans siding with opposing factions of

the transitional government and both sides were reported to be stockpiling weapons. The three main Mogadishu warlords merged militias to create a united force in the city. A disarmament program in Mogadishu failed to achieve any significant disarmament while the self-declared autonomous government of Puntland began its first disarmament programme. The UN Security Council rejected President Yusuf's request to end the arms embargo on the Transitional Federal Government. Pirates continued to operate off the Somali coast hijacking several large ships.

"The fighting broke out on Monday...when militias from the Galje'el and Jajele sub-clans clashed on the west side of the town...The fighting was reportedly triggered by a land dispute and revenge killings for the deaths of two Jajalel men last week and one Galje'el man on Sunday." [*Reuters*, June 7, 2005]

"Five people were killed and over a dozen injured on Monday in fighting between rival factions [of the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA)] in the Somali town of Baidoa, 240 km northwest of the capital, Mogadishu, local sources told IRIN...Baidoa is one of the towns to which the TFG wants to relocate on a temporary basis until Mogadishu is secured. The Shatigudud/Madobe alliance supports the interim government's position, while Habsade is opposed to it. 'The fighting in Baidoa is another manifestation of a widening rift within members of the TFI [Transitional Federal Institutions],' a regional analyst told IRIN." [*IRINNews.org*, May 30, 2005]

2004 Inter-clan fighting continued in 2004 in various regions of the country. In the latter part of the year violent confrontations occurred between rival factions in the port town of Kismayo. Despite the signing of a ceasefire agreement by the Somali Transitional Parliament in September fighting erupted in the north between Puntland and Somaliland.

"Fighting has erupted between the forces of the self-declared Somaliland Republic and those of Puntland, an autonomous region of Somalia... The clashes broke out on Wednesday near the town of Las Anod in Sool, one of two areas claimed by both regions." [*BBC*, September 23, 2004]

2003 Fighting between rival factions continued throughout 2003, in spite of ceasefires signed in late 2002. While Mogadishu witnessed most conflict, the Mudug region of central Somalia, the southern city of Baidoa and the self-proclaimed sovereign state of Puntland, also experienced violence. Most violence was the result of rival clans and factions competing for control of local areas, but there were also reports of clashes amongst nomadic groups over water and grazing land. The presence of "freelance militias" – fighters not-aligned with any faction nor bound by any organizational structure or authority – further contributed to the conflict in 2003.

"Heavy fighting has again broken out in the Medina district of Mogadishu, according to sources in the Somali capital. The fighting pits militias loyal to faction leader Muse Sudi Yalahow against those led by his former right-hand man, Umar Mahmud Muhammad Finish. ... Yalahow and Finish both belong to the Da'ud subclan of the Abgal, and the fighting is said to be a struggle between the two to gain supremacy within the subclan." [*IRIN*, March 19, 2003]

"Fighting resumed in the southern town of Baidoa on Wednesday when forces loyal to the Rahanweyn Army (RRA) chairman, Hasan Muhammad Nur Shatigadud, attacked troops loyal to the RRA faction of Shaykh Aden Madobe and Muhammad Ibrahim Habsade, his former deputies. ... The fighting in Baidoa was caused by a split within the senior ranks of the RRA, which controls much of the Bay and Bakol regions of southwestern Somalia. The town changed hands numerous times between July and December last year." [*IRIN*, January 30, 2003]

"Fighting has again broken out around the villages of Jadid and Qararsoor in the Qardho area ... of the self-declared autonomous region of Puntland, according to local sources. The fighting pits forces loyal to Col Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmad against those of Jama Ali Jama, both of whom claim to be the legitimate president of Puntland." [*IRIN*, January 2, 2003]

2002 Fighting continued among rival clans and government forces. Sixty people were killed in Mogadishu when fighting broke out between transitional government forces and those loyal to faction leader Muse Sudi Yalahow. The Baidoa, Puntland and Gedo regions also experienced outbreaks of intense violence.

"The bloodiest fighting in Somalia in the last few years erupted on Tuesday morning after militia, reportedly loyal to Mogadishu faction leader Muse Sudi Yalahow, clashed with forces of the Transitional National Government (TNG) in north Mogadishu... Hospital sources said most of the dead and wounded were civilian non-combatants hit by stray bullets, and included 'women and children' wounded by mortar fire." [AllAfrica.com, May 29, 2002]

2001 Ongoing clashes between rival clans continued throughout Somalia. Heavy fighting took place in Mogadishu in May between militia loyal to the Transitional National Government (TNG) and factions loyal to Hussein Aideed. Numerous other clashes between pro-government militia and other militia forces were also reported in Mogadishu.

"Heavy fighting has been continuing in Mogadishu, as militia loyal to faction leaders Husayn Aydid clashed with militia loyal to the Transitional National Government (TNG), local sources told IRIN. Militia loyal to Ato on 15 July tried to loot a convoy of trucks carrying relief food donated by Saudi Arabia, at a checkpoint south of Mogadishu on the Afgoi road controlled by Ato's militia. The fighting which started on the morning of 15 July, died down as darkness fell, but resumed in earnest on the Monday morning. Dr. Shaykhdon Salad Ilmi, director of Medina hospital, told IRIN that his hospital had received 60 wounded since 15 July. 'My information is that all the hospitals in Mogadishu are full of people wounded since July 15.' Most of the victims were civilians hit by stray round fired from heavy weapons being used by the combatants. There were no accurate figures for the death toll, with estimates varying from 50 to 100. The fighting is the latest in a series of confrontations between various groups in Mogadishu." [IRIN, July 16, 2001]

2000 Fighting among rival clans continued in central and southern regions, sometimes with the involvement of religious groups. The RRA and its ally, the Digil Salvation Army, clashed with Islamic court militiamen loyal to Hussein Aideed in the early part of the year for the control of Qoryooley in the lower Shabeele region. Mogadishu saw heavy fighting after the election of Abdulkassim Salad Hassan as president, as local militia groups fought against armed groups sympathetic to the new government.

"Militiamen loyal to warlord Hussein Mohamed Aideed attacked a neighbourhood called Bermuda with heavy artillery, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons. The area is reported to a stronghold of Mr Aideed's rival, Ali Mahdi Mohamed ... The latest fighting is seen as a major setback to efforts by the new interim president Abdulkassim Salat Hassan to restore normality in the capital." [BBC News, September 22, 2000]

1999 Inter-clan fighting continued in 1999, mostly in the central and southern regions of the country. Although possessing no internationally-recognized authorities, the northern regions saw some degree of stability. On several occasions the Ethiopian army crossed into Somalia to pursue guerrilla forces fighting the Ethiopian government and there were reports that the army used excessive force against Somali civilians.

"Serious interclan fighting occurred in part of the country, notably in the central regions of Bay and Bakool, in the southern regions of Gedo and Lower Juba, and around Kismayo. Hussein Aideed is the leader of the Somali National Alliance (SNA), which continued to assert that it was the government of the entire country. There were occasional skirmishes between the SNA and other militias, including with forces supporting the breakaway former financier of the Aideed faction, Osman Atto, and with the Somali Salvation Alliance (SSA), led by Ali Mahdi. On June 11, Marehan and Habr Gedr militiamen captured the southern town of Kismayo from a rival militia led by General Morgan of the Majereteen subclan. Also in June the Rahanweyn Resistance Army regained control of the Bay and Bakool regions from Hussein Aideed. No group controls more than a fraction of the country's territory. International efforts to forge a peace accord achieved little during the year. There is no national judicial system." [1999 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, Somalia, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, US Department of State, February 25, 2000]

1998 The fighting continued between rival clans. Hussein Aideed's United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance (USC/SNA) and the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) clashed in Bay and Bakool, and in the southern regions of Gedo and Lower Juba. Around Kismayo and Mogadishu there was fighting between the USC/SNA, Ali

Mahdi's Somali Salvation Alliance (SSA), and other factions of various loyalties.

Number of Deaths:

Total: Independent media reports estimate that close to 410,000 Somali lives have been lost due to armed conflict.

2008 Approximately 3, 500 civilians were killed in the conflict throughout Somalia this past year, with an additional million displaced. These counts do not include military deaths or civilian deaths from starvation or epidemics, which would increase the total number of casualties.

"After 17 years of civil war, Somalia's violence seems to be driven not so much by clan hatred, ideology or religiosity but by something much simpler: survival" [**New York Times**, March 29, 2008]

2007 More than 6,500 civilians are estimated to have been killed in the conflict in Mogadishu just last year, with more than 8,500 wounded. These counts do not include military deaths which would likely increase the total number of casualties significantly.

"In his first comments to Reuters since going into hiding a year ago, Muktar Ali Robow said al-Shabab had killed nearly 500 Ethiopian soldiers and would fight until foreign troops left the Horn of Africa country. [*Mail & Guardian*, 16 December, 2007]

"According to estimates, at least 1,000 people died and 4,000 more were wounded in the latest fighting...a medical source told IRIN that about 40 percent of the wounded who made it to the hospitals were children. 'Most of them were school-age,' he added." [*IRIN*, 15 May 2007]

2006 As many as 300 civilians were killed and close to 1700 wounded during fighting that erupted in the national capital of Mogadishu and subsequently spread throughout the country. However doctors in the region claim these numbers should be much higher as many civilians have no access to medical care. Deaths also include casualties from a car bomb meant to assassinate TFG President Abdullahi Yusuf and the assassination of Constitutional and Federal Affairs Minister Abdallah Issaq Deerow.

"As the death toll in the factional fighting in Mogadishu mounts, lethal weapons continue to flood into Somalia, despite a 15-year arms embargo imposed by the United Nations. With at least 130 dead in the latest fighting in the Somali capital, a United Nations report revealed that arms and other military material flow into Somalia "like a river." "[*IRIN*, May 12, 2006]

2005 At least 200 people were reported killed this year mostly in inter-clan clashes over land and other economic resources. The actual number of deaths is likely higher. Most of the fighting was unreported due to a lack of access by journalists to many parts of Somalia. Nearly 1 million people were in need of humanitarian assistance by the end of the year.

2004 Independent reports estimated that over 520 people were killed in conflict.

"About 100 people were reported killed on Saturday in fighting between Puntland and the rival Somali territory of Somaliland." [*Washington Post*, October 31, 2004]

2003 According to independent media reports, approximately 150 people were killed as a result of the fighting. Many were civilians caught in the crossfire.

2002 At least 500 people were killed in the first ten months of 2002. Many of those killed were civilians.

"At least 22 people were killed in southern Somalia Monday in the latest spurt of violence between feuding militiamen, witnesses said. Another 35 people were injured in the clash between supporters of Transitional National Government (TNG) Interior Minister Dahir Dayah and warlord Mohammed Dhere outside El-baharaf village, about 95 miles north of the capital Mogadishu." [*CNN*, June 17, 2002]

2001 According to media reports, at least 400 people were killed this year as a result of the fighting, the majority of whom were civilians killed by stray bullets.

"At least 17 people were killed and over 20 wounded when fighting erupted in the Sanaa market area in north Mogadishu, local sources told IRIN. A battle-wagon belonging to the Eli sub-clan was passing when it came under fire by a Warsangeli militia, from a five-story building at the Sanaa crossing. Local sources said the battle-wagon that came under attack responded with indiscriminate fire at the area around the building. A humanitarian source said 11 people were killed on the spot. Six others later died of their wounds. The area is one of the most crowded parts of Mogadishu, with small traders selling their wares around the main Sanaa road. Three of the dead were militia, the rest were traders and civilians from the market, hit by stray bullets." [IRIN, June 22, 2001]

2000 At least 200 people, including local humanitarian workers, were killed in fighting by the end of September.

"At least 25 people were killed and 18 others injured in a new outbreak of fighting between rival clans in Somalia. Heavily armed militiamen from the Hawadleh and Galjel sub-clans clashed on Monday in the Shabeele region, nearly 90 km (55 miles) north of the capital Mogadishu ... As many as 20 people were killed last month in clashes between the two rival sub-clans." [BBC News, September 5, 2000]

1999 More than 100 people were killed in various clashes during the year.

1998 The number of deaths for 1998 was at least 230, consisting mostly of unarmed civilians caught in the various inter-clan conflicts.

Political Developments:

2008 In May, peace talks between the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the Alliance for the Liberation of Somalia (ALS) in Djibouti began. Although a peace agreement was developed between the government and the ALS, the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) and al-Shabab vowed to violate any terms of a peace agreement, rendering it useless. Violence actually increased due to the peace agreement, with the ICU and al-Shabab requesting Ethiopian troops to withdraw. United States bombings of areas of Somalia sparked political protest from civilians, who felt the brunt of the attacks. It is unclear whether or not the TFG was aware of the United States intent or if it was permissive of the attacks. The UN Security Council extended the African Union (AU) peacekeeping mandate amidst calls for help for funding and supplies from the AU on the ground in Somalia. In 2008, the AU forces were still only at 2600 troops out of a mandated 8000. Although at the end of the year Ethiopia claimed they were facilitating the withdrawal of the AU troops, Burundi and Uganda denied those claims and reinforced their intent to maintain an AU presence in the country. The UN Security Council unanimously approved a resolution stating that neighbouring countries are able to chase pirated ships back into the coastal waters of Somalia in order to minimize the effect of the piracy on trade. The terms of the arms embargo continued to be violated throughout 2008. In December, Ethiopian troops withdrew and the ICU maintained control of much of the country at the end of 2008.

2007 In early November 2007, Prime Minister Ali Mohamed Ghedi stepped down from his position due to pressure from within Somalia and the international community. His successor is Nur Hassan Hussein who is a former policeman and head of local humanitarian organization, the Somali Red Crescent. The international community began expressing concern towards the end of the year, with regards to the exorbitant number of civilian deaths in Somalia. Government-backed Ethiopian troops are being accused of war crimes by many in the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) that once supported them wholly. Many are also condemning US support of Ethiopian troops in the face of such accusations. After being twice-delayed, Somalia held a national reconciliation conference in July. No real progress was made as the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) refused to attend proceedings, but more than 1,000 delegates from various tribes throughout the country did attend.

"The deputy prime minister of Somalia's transitional federal government (TFG), Hussein Mohamed Farah Aideed, has accused Ethiopian troops of committing 'genocide' against the Somali people during recent bouts of heavy fighting with warlords and Islamists in the capital, Mogadishu. Aideed was one of the staunchest supporters of Ethiopian involvement in Somalia, and even called for the unification of the two countries when Ethiopian troops first arrived in Mogadishu last December. But now he is accusing Ethiopian troops of 'war crimes' and calling on them to leave." [*Mail & Guardian*, 8 May, 2007]

"The civilian death toll has led Europe to break ranks with the US and call for an investigation of possible war crimes by Ethiopian and Somali forces in their recent onslaught on clan insurgents in the seaside city of two million." [*ISN*, 10 April, 2007]

"The United States and Ethiopia, Somalia's neighbour and rival, quickly labeled the Islamists a threat and accused them of harbouring terrorists from Al-Qaeda...American military commanders funneled key satellite imagery to Ethiopian troops as they rolled across the Somali border; American planes bombed fleeing Islamists. One American official said the operation was considered an antiterrorism success." [*The New York Times*, 20 November, 2007]

"The fragile Somali government, which has UN backing, has been shaken by an insurgency of Iraq-style roadside bombings, assassinations and suicide attacks since it routed a hard-line Islamist movement in January with the help of Ethiopian tanks and warplanes." [*Mail & Guardian*, 30 October, 2007]

"American diplomats had mostly shied away from Somalia since the infamous 'Black Hawk Down' episode in 1993 when Somali militiamen shot down two American helicopters and killed 18 United States soldiers. But now the Americans are involved again, driven by a counterterrorism agenda and armed with a pledge of \$100 million to rebuild the country." [*The New York Times*, 25 April, 2007]

2006 In January, 2006 the transitional government led by President Abdullahi Yusuf, reunited and was moved to the provincial town of Baidoa. The capital, Mogadishu, fell to the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) who asserted control through Shari' a law in June. The Ethiopian government and Eritrean militias also became involved with Ethiopia backing the TFG and Eritrea, the SCIC. In June the TFG and the SCIC signed a peace agreement stipulating mutual recognition of the other as legitimate authority, but this agreement quickly deteriorated. Reported United States involvement through the Alliance for Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT) came to light when internal correspondence suggesting covert military operations was leaked to the press. The SCIC who effectively controlled all the major cities in the country was against international presence and has boycotted peace talks with the TFG until all international troops (especially those of Ethiopia) are removed from Somali soil. An assassination attempt of President Yusuf resulted in the death of five. On the other hand, the TFG has also boycotted talks with the SCIC sighting that the SCIC is intent on overthrowing their leadership. In addition, Constitutional and Federal Affairs Minister Abdallah Issaq Deerow was murdered outside a local mosque. In July the United Nations eased a 15-year-old arms embargo against Somalia in preparation for an African Union peace force, much to the dislike of the SCIC. As a result of renewed violence, many fear that the powerlessness of the TFG coupled with Ethiopian and international involvement against the wishes of the SCIC will result in full-scale war.

"The Islamists say the warlords, who recently formed the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism, are being funded by "non-Muslim foreigners", taken to mean the US anti-terror force based in neighbouring Djibouti." [*Canadian International Peace Project*, March 26, 2006]

"Cash, amounting to several hundred thousand dollars, was delivered by former US military and intelligence officials on at least two occasions to Mogadishu warlords in January and February, sources in Somalia told AFP. The ARPCT was formed shortly after the second injection of US funds, in a bid to curb the growing influence of Mogadishu's 11 Islamic courts. Some believe the courts are protecting Muslim extremists, including Al-Qaeda operatives." [*Agence France Presse*, May 11, 2006]

"Parliament's approval of Yusef's plan to bring in African peacekeepers from around the region

sets the government up for a confrontation, possibly violent, with the Islamic Courts Union, which has repeatedly rejected the idea of foreign troops in the country. Sudan and Uganda have already agreed in principle to send forces to try to help the government restore order." [*Associated Press*, June 14, 2006]

"Somalia's interim government and the Islamic faction that controls the country's capital signed an agreement that calls for an immediate cease-fire and confers mutual recognition on the warring parties. The delegation from the Islamic Courts Union, the militia that controls Mogadishu, the capital, and most of southern Somalia, agreed to recognize the legitimacy of the interim government, which is based in Baidoa. The UN-backed government "recognizes the reality and existence of the Islamic Courts." [*The Washington Post Online*, June 23, 2006]

2005 The newly-formed transitional government split into rival factions led by President Abdullahi Yusuf and by Parliamentary Speaker Hassan Sherriff Aden, both supported by rival warlords. The split came as a result of disagreements over the potential presence of African Union peacekeepers in the country and over the future seat of the government. In May, Parliamentary Speaker Hassan and the 130 MPs allied with Mogadishu's warlords relocated to the city while the President Yusuf-led faction of the TFG relocated to Jowhar in June. Parliamentary elections were held in the self-declared independent republic of Somaliland in September.

"Powerful Somali warlords controlling the capital Mogadishu started surrendering weapons, for the first time in 14 years, in a major disarmament programme aimed at restoring stability in the lawless African nation." [*Agence France Press*, May 14, 2005]

"The Mogadishu warlords are opposed to a peacekeeping force, with the proposed inclusion of Ethiopian troops proving controversial...The transitional government is under pressure from foreign donors to relocate to Somalia. But Somalia's political leaders and warlords are divided over where in Somalia the administration should be based." [*BBC News*, May 10, 2005]

"On Monday, seven African nations agreed to send a 6,800-strong regional force to Somalia at the end of April, ahead of a fuller African Union peacekeeping mission, to provide security for the new government. The announcement sparked a warning of bloodshed from the self-declared governor of the Somali capital, Mogadishu, if troops deploy." [*Associated Press*, March 15, 2005]

2004 The Somali National Reconciliation Conference (SNRC) made great strides towards a comprehensive peace in Somalia with the formation of a Transitional Parliament and the election of a President, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed. The President named Ali Muhammad Gedi as transitional Prime Minister and despite early objections his appointment was endorsed by the Parliament. While the new government received international diplomatic support it continued to seek financial assistance and peacekeepers to ensure security and disarm militias. In November, the European Commission pledged over €1.9 million to support the new Somali parliament and the African Union announced in early 2005 that it would send a peacekeeping force to Somalia.

"The European Commission (EC) has approved a project to support the newly constituted Parliament of Somalia...An EC official told IRIN that the two-year project will cost €1.9 million (US \$2,476,502). The project will be implemented by the Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA), an international parliamentary organisation based in Europe." [*IRIN*, November 18, 2004]

"Yusuf has asked the African Union (AU) for between 15 and 20,000 peacekeepers to help restore order in Somalia." [*IRIN*, October 26, 2004]

"Eastern and central African leaders said on Friday they would recognise "with immediate effect" the new government in Somalia, which will be led by the newly elected President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed and urged the UN to send a mission to the Horn of Africa country." [*IRIN*, October 15, 2004]

2003 The Somali National Reconciliation Conference (SNRC), which brought together the Transitional National Government (TNG), the various Somali political factions, and community leaders, continued in Eldoret, Kenya throughout 2003, although numerous violations of 2002 ceasefire agreements between the TNG and the various factions, and the withdrawal of key parties from the proceedings, hindered the work of the conference.

In September, the SNRC succeeded in adopting a transitional charter, outlining the future government structure. However, President Abdiqassim and faction leaders who had withdrawn from the conference refused to recognize the document. Moreover, when the TNG's mandate expired in August, President Abdiqassim Salad Hassan fired the Prime Minister and controversially declared his intention to remain in power until new institutions had been formed.

In the self-declared Republic of Somaliland, Dahir Riyale Kahin was reelected as president following May elections. Through 2003 the Somaliland Government continued to refuse to attend the Somalia reconciliation talks in Kenya, claiming the conflict and peace process did not involve them. In a further step towards international recognition, Somaliland Government officials held talks with international donors and with the United Nations. In the self-declared autonomous region of Puntland, Col Abdullah Yusaf, the region's disputed leader, in May signed a power-sharing agreement with one of his main opponents in the region, Gen Ade Muse Hirsi.

Also in May, the World Bank resumed operations in Somalia after more than a decade and an African Union/Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (AU/IGAD) fact-finding mission was sent to Mogadishu to pave the way for an AU military observer mission.

"Delegates at talks meant to end more than a decade of violence and chaos in Somalia adopted a transitional charter that outlines a future government for the troubled African nation. ... Somalia now has one week to select members for a 351-seat transitional parliament, based on the country's complex clan system. Legislators will then elect a speaker and president, who will name a prime minister." [*Associated Press*, September 16, 2003]

"The World Bank has resumed operations in Somalia for the first time since ... the 1991 civil war. In a statement, the Bank said it would now assume a leading role through the 'Low-Income Countries Under Stress' initiative, which supports countries 'with very weak policies, institutions and governance' where lending might not be an option." [*IRIN*, May 28, 2003]

"[Mission leader Major-General] Musomba said the aim of the [AU/IGAD fact-finding] mission was to collect and verify information on the general security situation, aimed at planning the demobilisation of militias and weapons collection. ... "The mission would also help prepare the ground for the eventual deployment of African Union military observers..." [*IRIN*, May 23, 2003]

2002 The Somalia National Reconciliation Conference sponsored by IGAD (Inter-Governmental Authority on Development) and supported by the United Nations opened in Eldoret, Kenya in October. The conference brought together the heads of Somali factions, members of the Transitional National Government (TNG), and community leaders to discuss the cessation of fighting and the creation of a broad-based government. Several factions, including leaders from Somaliland, refused to attend the talks. In spite of the absence of certain parties, the conference made immediate strides towards peace. On October 27, the various political factions and the TNG signed a ceasefire agreement and on December 3, Somalia's TNG and five Mogadishu-based factions signed a declaration committing themselves to ending violence within the city.

"Somalia's Transitional National Government (TNG) and five Mogadishu-based factions have signed a joint ceasefire declaration committing themselves to ending violence in the Somali capital." [*IRIN*, December 3, 2002]

"The authorities in the self-declared republic of Somaliland will not attend the upcoming Somali reconciliation talks, Somaliland's Information Minister Abdullahi Muhammad Du'ale told IRIN on Monday. He said it was well known that the government's policy was not to participate in such conferences... He stressed that Somaliland was a 'sovereign state with de facto recognition' and did not need talks about peace and reconciliation 'which the country already enjoys.'" [*IRIN*, September 9, 2002]

2001 In January the United Nations Security Council agreed to send a peace-building mission to Somalia that would include political officers and aid agency officials, but not military forces. A representative for the Secretary General announced the international community recognized the interim government in Somalia.

"The United Nations Security Council has backed plans to send a peace-building mission to

Somalia, nearly six years after UN troops were pulled out. The UN special representative to Somalia, David Stephen, said the mission would include political officers and aid agency officials, but not military force. The Security Council has asked UN Secretary Kofi Annan to prepare a proposal for a peace-building mission aimed at ending a decade of turmoil in Somalia. 'There will be no huge mission or massive ambitions in Somalia,' Mr. Stephen said, describing any future venture as 'modest and practical.' " [BBC News, January 12, 2001]

2000 Abdulqassim Salad Hassan was elected as president in August by an exiled transitional parliament inaugurated in neighbouring Djibouti in the same month. Prominent Mogadishu warlords and leaders from Somaliland and Puntland refused to recognize the new government. The new president committed himself to proceed with a disarmament program for militia groups in an effort to advance peace.

"The new parliament and president already have the support of the business community and Islamic courts within the country, and much regional and international backing. But rival clan-based militia have carved up much of the country between themselves and many [mostly Mogadishu-based] are opposed to the new parliament and president, chosen without their involvement. The leaders of Somalia's two northern regions - Somaliland and Puntland - also remain strongly opposed to the new authority." [BBC News, August 31, 2000]

1999 While giving a speech before the UN General Assembly in September, the President of Djibouti Ismail Omar Guelleh announced the 'Djibouti Initiative' aimed at bringing about peace and reconciliation in Somalia. Under the aegis of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the initiative calls for the warlords to step aside and allow representatives of Somali civil society groups to administer the war-ravaged country.

"These proposals differ from previous attempts to promote peace in Somalia, in that they seek to convene a wide ranging, broadly representative and legitimate group of Somalis (elders, religious groups, the business community, women and intellectuals -- in short, what is inclusively called the 'civil society!') to establish a national framework of governance, whereas previous process concentrated on power sharing among faction leaders, based upon clan hegemony. For essentially the first time, there is an alternative in sight to self-anointed proxies of the people. It will be power to the people!" [The Djibouti-led IGAD Peace Process for Somalia, Djibouti Government, 2000]

"Tens of thousands of Somalis have been staging demonstrations in the capital, Mogadishu, and other cities in support of new peace proposals made by the president of Djibouti, Ismael Omar Guelleh. Speaking at the United Nations General Assembly last week, the Djibouti leader urged Somalia's faction leaders to step aside and let others run the country." [BBC News, September 30, 1999]

1998 The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a group of international organizations and regional ambassadors, met in October in a first stage attempt to broker peace between the multiple clans, though the faction leaders were not present at the meetings.

Background:

Although armed opposition to the government of Mohammed Siad Barre had existed for many years, the war began in earnest in May 1988 when the Somali National Movement (SNM) began fighting the government in northwestern Somalia. Other armed opposition groups, mainly clan-based, arose over the next few years in southern Somalia, and in 1991 the Barre regime was deposed and the capital city, Mogadishu, was occupied by the United Somali Congress (USC). Shortly after, the SNM declared the northwest independent, although "Somaliland" has not been recognized by the international community. Since 1991 Somalia has been without a central government.

The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) was initially established on a small scale in 1992 to help rescue the country from famine and clan violence, and was augmented later in that year by a 37,000-strong US-led international force. However, the operation lost local and international support when troops became embroiled in clashes with Somali militias after they launched an unsuccessful manhunt for one of the most prominent warlords, Mohammed Farah Aideed. UNOSOM ended in 1995 without a national political settlement

or any process for re-establishing a national government. In 1996, General Aideed died, and was replaced by his son Hussein Aideed. In 1997, following unsuccessful attempts by the Arab League, the Organization of African Unity, and the UN to end the fighting, over 20 clans signed the Cairo Declaration to establish a 13-person Council of Presidents, a Prime Minister, and National Assembly, institutions that were never realized. Clan leaders in the northeast proclaimed the formation of the "Puntland" state in mid-1998, though it was not regionally or internationally recognized as sovereign.

After numerous failed peace efforts, Djibouti President Ismail Omar Guelleh announced at the UN General Assembly in September 1999 his initiative to bring about peace and reconciliation in Somalia. Under the aegis of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the initiative called for the warlords to step aside and allow representatives of Somali civil society groups to administer the war-ravaged country. In August 2000, a transitional parliament, based on clan representation, was formed in Djibouti and a new president Abdulqassim Salad Hassan was elected by parliament members, but without the support of key Mogadishu warlords and the leaders from Somaliland and Puntland.

The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)-sponsored Somali National Reconciliation Conference (SNRC), which began in 2002, experienced some success in bringing together the various Somali stakeholders. However, it was not accepted by all factions and government officials as being legitimate. In 2004 the Somali Transitional Federal Parliament was formed but by 2005 the Transitional National Government (TNG) had split into rival factions based in Mogadishu and Jowar.

In 2006 the TFG reunited and moved to the provincial town of Baidoa. However, the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC) emerged to expel controlling warlords from the capital, Mogadishu, as well the other major cities in the country. The United Nations Security Council voted to weaken the 15 year arms embargo in preparation for an African Union peace force, to which SCIC is strongly opposed. The SCIC is also fundamentally against the involvement of the United States, who is reportedly backing the Alliance for Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT) with funding and military training.

In 2007, with the help of Ethiopia, the TFG was able to repel the SCIC and take back control of Mogadishu. Heavy fighting erupted with the SCIC declaring an insurgent war against its opponents. Almost daily suicide bombings and roadside attacks have left more than 6,500 civilians dead, and more than one million displaced. This has led the United Nations to declare Somalia the worst humanitarian crisis in Africa, but highly volatile conditions leave aid agencies unable to provide any support. The SCIC refuses to discuss a peace agreement until foreign troops leave the country, however a lack of peacekeeping troops has made it impossible for Ethiopian troops to withdraw.

In 2008, the TFG and Ethiopian troops lost control of Mogadishu and surrounding area. Fighting erupted almost daily, with an increase in violence after the Djibouti peace agreement was made between the ICU and the ASL. An additional 1 million were displaced this year, with 3,500 civilians left dead from the fighting. Somalia continues to be the worst humanitarian crisis in the world, and was also cited as being the worst place in the world for children. The continued lack of support for civilians has the country spiralling into a deeper crisis that the UN says could leave the majority of the population starving. Ethiopian troops withdrew in December despite claims they were staying until the government was stable due to domestic pressures within the country. At the end of 2008, 15 000 members of the police and military forces deserted, leaving the ICU in control of most of Somalia and a weakened TFG maintaining minimal power and a stronghold in parts of Mogadishu. A call to the UN for additional peacekeeping troops went unanswered.

"But what the world does know is that when it turns its back on humanitarian and political crises there can sometimes be consequences. Like the Rwandan genocide in 1994. And, some would say, like 9/11." [BBC News, April 7, 2008]

Arms Sources:

In 2002, the United Nations Security Council agreed to tighten the arms embargo on Somalia by setting up a three-person panel of experts to investigate violations of the embargo. This panel of experts issued several reports in 2003, citing numerous states who reportedly supplied weapons to Somalian fighters. In 2005, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan called for a tougher arms embargo citing "large scale violations of the arms embargo, not only by extremist groups and militias, but also some members of parliament." [Al Jazeera, March

2, 2005]

In 2005 the U.N Security Council accused Ethiopia, Eritrea and Yemen of violating an arms embargo on Somalia imposed by the UN Security Council in 1992. In the recent past offenders Libya, Iran, Lithuania and Poland were also suspected of supplying arms to groups within Somalia. Many weapons also found their way into Somalia via private weapons dealers. The former government in Somalia was equipped during the Cold War with weapons from the US, the USSR, Iraq, and Italy.

In 2006, a United Nations report was leaked to the press and cited at least 11 countries such as Syria, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Egypt, Eritrea, Djibouti and Saudi Arabia as principal arms traders to the SCIC and the TFG. The widespread proliferation arms continues and reports of marketplaces flooded with weapons and increased demand for guns such as AK-47s are rampant. In July, a cargo plane from Kazakhstan containing a shipment of military hardware for the SCIC flew from Asmara, Eritrea, and landed in a Mogadishu airport.

There have been accusations against Eritrea by Ethiopia that the former is supplying weapons to insurgents in the conflict in Somalia. Eritrea vigorously denies this claim. There are said to be more weapons in Somalia right now, than at any other time since the beginning of the civil war in 1991. After taking back the capital of Mogadishu the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) with the help of Ethiopian troops, began a door-to-door weapons retrieval, but a black market still exists for those who wish to acquire weapons.

In 2008, accusations that Eritrea is backing insurgents and the United States is backing Ethiopia have continued. In addition, weapons and funding are being supplied to either side by pirates who are operating on the southern coast and the gulf of Aden. Also, al-Shabab claims to be backed by Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, and there are suspicions that al-Qaeda is providing funding and weapons to the insurgents. Finally, in December, the UN estimates that 15 000 Somali police officers and army officials deserted, taking with them their weapons and military vehicles.

"Islamic insurgents have enough surface to air missiles, suicide vests and explosives to sustain their war against the internationally backed Somali government, largely due to secret shipments from Eritrea, a U.N. monitoring panel said in a report. The report obtained Thursday by The Associated Press, said Eritrea has shipped a 'huge quantity of arms' to the insurgents, known as the Shahab. The shipments continued despite U.N. efforts to bring peace to Somalia and the deployment of African Union peacekeepers."

"There are more arms in Somalia now than at any time since the country's civil war broke out in 1991 and 'there is no clearly established authority that has the capability of exercising control over a majority of the arms,' the report found."

"Arms prices in Somalia have skyrocketed with the growing Islamic insurgency against the government, the experts found. Warlords were the most important buyers as the country appeared to be descending back into chaos."

[Source: *The Associated Press*, 26 July, 2007]

"UIC leader Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmad said the report's claims are false. 'We have not received any weapons from Eritrea. Weapons are in abundance in Somalia,' he said to the BBC's Arabic service." [*BBC News*, 31 July, 2007]

"'If we can't seal the frontiers of Somalia, we're never going to stop the flow of fresh weapons and thus never going to broker a lasting peace,' said a UN official." [*Times Online*, 15 July, 2007]

"Somalia's infamous warlords have begun rearming themselves, buying weapons at Mogadishu's main weapons bazaar, known as Irtokte, according to arms traders. 'Brokers representing five warlords...have been buying weapons from here for the last two months,' said arms dealer Socotoy Sheikh Mohamed. 'They bought more than 300 heavy machine guns, rocket-propelled grenades and other weapons,' he said." [*The Associated Press*, 20 February, 2007]

"An explosive UN report on how foreign arms supplies are accelerating Somalia's slide to war has exposed splits among Western powers and raised questions about why it was leaked. Regional analysts and diplomats broadly backed the report's conclusion that a web of Muslim and pro-

Western nations are pouring weapons into Somalia to strengthen powerful Islamists on one side and a shaky interim government on the other." [Reuters, November 22, 2006]

"Militant groups and 11 countries are funnelling the military aid needed for a full-scale war into Somalia, widening the threat of conflict into the Horn of Africa and beyond, sources said a UN report will say. Syria, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Egypt, Eritrea, Djibouti and Saudi Arabia have all provided weapons or supplies, including food, uniforms, fuel and doctors, to the Islamists." [Reuters, November 13, 2006]

"Yemen and Uganda have given weapons and other support, including about 100 soldiers in Uganda's case, to President Abdullahi Yusuf's government." [Reuters, November 13, 2006]

"A fresh supply of light weapons from Jowhar city [middle Shabeelle Region] have arrived in Mogadishu's Cirtoogate arms bazaar. The market, which is the largest arms bazaar in Mogadishu, has become very busy following the arrival of the new weapons, A trader at the market told HornAfrik that the weapons were mainly AK-47 assault rifles...the weapons, which are in the hundreds have made a big impact in the market in the past two weeks." [BBC Worldwide, March 14, 2006]

"Traders in the city's Cirtogte market, said there had been a surge in demand for AK-47 rifles, rocket-propelled grenades and anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles. Gun prices have doubled." [Reuters, April 03, 2006]

"Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Italy, Saudi Arabia and Yemen provided military equipment and supplies to the Somali warring groups during the later part of 2005 and the first quarter of 2006. Eritrea and Ethiopia were accused of supplying arms, ammunition and other military equipment to different groups, while Djibouti and Yemen are said to have provided military uniforms and vehicles to the Transitional Federal Government (TFG)." [IRIN, May 12, 2006]

"According to a report the Somali Justice Advocacy Center received from Somalia, there has been a constant delivery of arms and military experts from Eritrea to train the militia of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU). A cargo airplane from Kazakhstan, former Soviet Republic, flew from Asmara, Eritrea to Mogadishu to deliver arms to the Islamic Courts Union on July 25, 2006." [US Newswire, July 26, 2006]

"Military supplies from Eritrea have reached Mogadishu, they include explosives, mines, hand-propelled grenades, bazookas and anti-tank/aircraft missiles," deputy information minister Salad Ali Jeeley told reporters in Baidoa, the temporary base of the government, about 250 kilometres northwest of the capital." [Agence France Presse, July 26, 2006]

"Releasing an official statement, the Yemeni government confessed that it had supplied weapons to Somalia early this year...The Yemeni official was reacting to a report released by a UN designated team authorized to monitor Somali arms embargo, saying it had been violated by Yemen, Ethiopia and Eritrea." [BBC News, October 11, 2005]

"Less than a day after the U.N. Security Council condemned huge violations of a 13-year-old arms embargo on Somalia, Somali witnesses on Oct. 15 made fresh allegations of illicit weapons entering the lawless country. Residents of villages around the town of Jowhar, the disputed seat of the Hort of Africa's transitional government...reported seeing truckloads of weaponry arrive there from neighbouring Ethiopia." [Defense News, October 18, 2005]

"United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has named a four-man panel of experts to monitor the arms embargo against Somalia, UN News reported on Monday. The re-establishment of the monitoring group follows reports that various armed Somali factions were still receiving weapons from various sources." [Reuters, April 12, 2005]

"The weapons are said to have been donated by the Ethiopian government to the president of the self-declared regional state of Midland, Abdikarin Farah Laqanyo, who has been in Ethiopia for a week...This consignment of weapons violates the UN weapons embargo of 1992, which calls on Ethiopia not to send weapons to Somalia." [BBC Monitoring International Reports, April 4, 2005]

"Reliable reports we have obtained from important sources close to the colonial Ethiopian military say that the government has donated another consignment of arms and ammunition to Abdinur Ahmad Darman (Mogadishu-based faction leader), who recently visited Gode town (southern Ethiopia) where he met with Ethiopian officials...the consignment consisted of guns, ammunition, and mines. Transported by many vehicles, the arms were given to Darman to sabotage the new Somali government set up in Nairobi. The arms consignment has since been confirmed to have arrived in Mogadishu." [BBC, October 23, 2004]

"The [UN panel of] experts found Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, the Sudan, Yemen, Egypt, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Kuwait have been giving arms, equipment, money or training to Somali factions - in violation of the embargo." [All Africa, October 1, 2003]"

"In August 1998, Hussein Aideed made a visit to Ethiopia, but failed to extract the concessions he wanted, or expected. By contrast, in February this year he returned from a visit to Asmara with three plane-loads of weapons." [BBC News, July 23, 1999]

Economic Factors:

Due to the large number of Somali armed factions which require money to pay their fighters and purchase arms, coupled with the lack of a central government outside of Mogadishu, a war economy has developed within Somalia. A large portion of money which fuels the conflict is raised through "taxing" a variety of infrastructure such as airports, bridges and roads throughout the country. Trade with neighbouring states has also served as a source of revenue for armed groups. The miraa trade which exists between Somalia and Kenya is the most striking example of warlord-controlled trade. . In 2008, the drought coupled with the de-valuing of the Somali shilling has increased the economic crisis twofold. Food prices have skyrocketed and civilians are almost entirely dependent on food aid. Piracy has become the most lucrative trade in Somalia, with pirates generating approximately 23\$M USD in 2008.

"The various warlords must continuously struggle to raise sufficient money to pay their militia and obtain arms and, more importantly, ammunition. Fighting is no longer about higher ideals, such as nation-building. It is about the advancement of personal material interests ... Kenya is not mentioned as a sanctions buster. But the [UN panel of] experts say it contributes to the financing of the factional fighting through its miraa trade with Somalia. This trade 'is a significant source of revenue for the Somali warlords'. Miraa use increased dramatically after the outbreak of the civil war. Militia members typically chew the substance to combat fear and fatigue. The trade is associated with a war economy. Its import and distribution is linked to airstrips and the rival militias that control them. Warlords rapidly developed interests in the trade. It helps to finance their weapons purchases and keep their troops loyal. They import between 5,000 and 7,000 tons of miraa yearly from Kenya." [The Nation, October 1, 2003]

Project Ploughshares
57 Erb Street West
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada N2L 6C2
tel (519) 888-6541 fax (519) 888-0018 Email: plough@ploughshares.ca