

# The European International Model United Nations 2018



United Nations Security Council

*Topic A: Conflict in Somalia*



Hassaan Khan Sudozai and Radu Tasca

## Welcome Letter

Dear delegates,

During the 2018 TEIMUN Conference you will be tasked with finding a solution to what has been described as the world's longest running civil war, the internal conflict of Somalia. A troubled colonial past has compounded with multiple failed attempts at a centralized government and ethnic tensions. These are but a few of the factors that have allowed the war to continue since 1948 into the modern day. Yet despite the longevity of the conflict, it was only recently due to the plight of the Rohingya people that the desperate situation within the country caught the attention of the international community. Finding a solution to a decades' long conflict between many parties with deep-seated reasons for hatred will not be easy. A success here will not only save uncountable lives from death and persecution – it will also represent a great success for the Security Council's role as peacemaker and perhaps be a victory for self-determination globally. We urge you to try your best to use your diplomatic powers for this purpose.

Helping you along the way will be your two humble but experienced chairs, Radu Tasca and Hassaan Sudozai. Our hope is that we will make TEIMUN 2018 an unforgettably fun and educative experience that will stay with you forever!

Any questions about the Conference or the Security Council will be answered swiftly, so feel free to ask! We look forward to meeting you in the Conference Chambers.

Diplomatic regards,

Hassaan and Radu

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## **The Security Council**

### *Introduction:*

Security Council (SC) is one of the six main organs of the United Nations (UN) under UN charter<sup>1</sup>. There are 15 members of the Security Council: 5 are permanent and 10 change every two years. The permanent members are China, France, Russia, United Kingdom and United States of America. The non-permanent members are Bolivia (2018) Côte d'Ivoire(2019), Equatorial Guinea(2019), Ethiopia(2018), Kazakhstan(2018), Kuwait (2019), Netherlands (2018), Peru (2019), Poland (2019), Sweden (2018).<sup>2</sup> The Mandate of the UN Security Council comes under the charter of UN, which gives the Security Council the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, meeting whenever that peace is threatened. Decisions made in the Security Council are binding to all members states of the UN, giving the council unprecedented (potential) power in international relations. Most organs of the United Nations make non-binding recommendations to member states, but only the Security Council has the power to make decisions that member states are then obligated to implement under the Charter of UN.<sup>3</sup>

Under the United Nations Charter, the functions and powers of the Security Council are:

- to maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations;
- to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction;
- to recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement;
- to formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments;
- to determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken;
- to call on Members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression;
- to take collective military action to ensure peace, where necessary;
- to exercise the trusteeship functions of the United Nations in "strategic areas";
- various administrative duties relating to the UN and ICJ.<sup>4</sup>

## **The Somalia Conflict**

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/sc/members/>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/un-charter-full-text/>

The conflict in Somalia has been ongoing for decades, with the most recent phase of the conflict beginning in 2009. It is characterized by violence concentrated in the southern region of the country between the Federal Government of Somalia and various factions of radical Islamist groups. The Somalia conflict is a very vast topic that includes a myriad of aspects pertaining to the embattled country. A variety of problems co-exist in the east-African state, notably including terrorism, a border conflict with Ethiopia, the Puntland-Somalia dispute, a civil war and the iconic piracy issue in the Somali Waters in Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. This study guide serves as a brief overview of these issues, and provides a starting point for you as a delegate to do your own research on your specific country's views on the matter. It thus contains a lot of information regarding the conflicts themselves, but refrains from delving into possible solutions, as this is what you will need to come up with over the course of the conference. You can use the QARMAs at the end to guide this process.

**Introduction:**

Somalia is a country on the easternmost part of the African continent, and places 2<sup>nd</sup> in the fragile states index<sup>5</sup>. Somalia has suffered from long-term political instability, without having any official, democratically elected government from 1991 to 2017, since the regime of Siad Barre was overthrown in 1991. Simultaneously, an ongoing civil war has terrorized the state. Furthermore, famine and drought plagued Somalia multiple times in the last decade, including the ongoing one since 2017, which is being called the worst drought in recent Somalian history. The complexity of the situation and instability of the government has worsen the issue and hence the global community has been called upon to find a comprehensive solution to ongoing tensions.

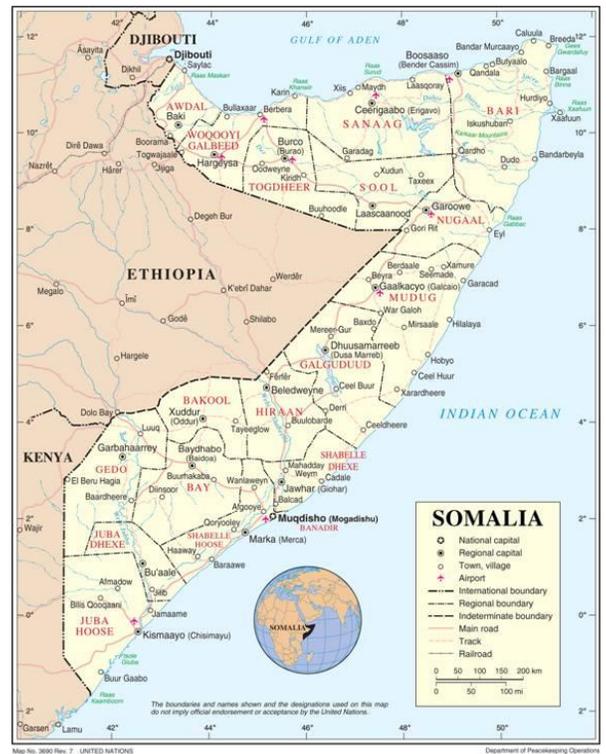


Figure 1 Map of Somalia, Human Rights Watch, April 19 2010, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2010/04/19/harsh-war-harsh-peace/abuses-al-shabaab-transitional-federal-government-and-amisom>

**Definition of Key Terms:**

The following are the definitions of key terms relevant to the topic and recurring in this paper:

1. **Armed Conflicts:** Clashes between two parties (states, militant groups, etc.) involving the use of weapons and arms. Both inter-state and intra-state armed conflicts are subject to international humanitarian law, specifically the Geneva conventions. These provide strict limits to the use of violence, such as the non-involvement of civilian populations.<sup>6</sup>
2. **Territorial Disputes:** Disagreement over the possession of land between two or more parties,

<sup>5</sup> <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.icrc.org/en/war-and-law/treaties-customary-law/geneva-conventions>

specifically states and state-like actors.

3. *Horn of Africa*: Easternmost area of Africa, comprising of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia.<sup>7</sup>
4. *Terrorism*: as defined by Britannica: “[...] the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective”.<sup>8</sup>
5. *Al-Qaeda*: An international terrorist network, which operates in multiple bases. It was founded in Afghanistan by Osama Bin-Laden, who intended to have the organization continue spreading the jihadist ideology around the world with the aim of eliminating the secular Western influence in the world (especially Muslim countries) and establish fundamentalist Islamic regimes. It is responsible for some of the most notorious terror attacks, including the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center.<sup>9</sup>
6. *The Sharia Law*: The Sharia Law is the Islamic religious behavioral code, based on the Quran. It includes guidance regarding religious, legal and social or familial matters.<sup>10</sup>
7. *ICU*: The Islamic Courts Union was a group of Sharia courts that united themselves to form a rival administration to the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia, with Sharif Sheikh Ahmed as their head. They were also known as the Joint Islamic Courts, Union of Islamic Courts (UIC), Supreme Islamic Courts Council (SICC) or the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC). After its eventual defeat in 2006, the military division of the group transformed itself into the militant organization of Al-Shabaab.<sup>11</sup>
8. *Al-Shabaab*: Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen (= Movement of Striving Youth) is a jihadist group emerging from the young militant division of the ICU in 2007. It is formally labelled a terrorist organization by the UK and US, and strives to impose a strict version of Sharia law onto Somali governance.<sup>12</sup>

### **Historical Background:**

Before 2000, Somalia struggled with a number of small warlords vying for power, calling themselves ‘Islamic Courts’. The primary objective of these ‘Islamic Courts’ was to achieve an organized position in Somalia through decisive action in particular regions. The actual governors were warlords, and the courts were not connected to each other initially, battling amongst themselves to govern territory in Somalia. This changed in 2000, when they jointly established the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) with the help of their civilian militias. The ICU began adopting a position of genuine power over the whole of Somalia, conquering Mogadishu, Somalia’s capital city, and even developing infrastructure like hospitals and schools

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<sup>7</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Horn-of-Africa>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/terrorism>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/al-Qaeda>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/explainer-what-is-sharia-law>

<sup>11</sup> <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/107>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-15336689>

by around in 2004. On the other hand, a Transitional National Government (TNG) was being instituted, with the specific goal of decreasing the ICU's control over the country. However, this effort was largely in vain.<sup>13</sup> In 2004, another attempt at dethroning the ICU was made by the Transitional *Federal* Government (TFG), working out of exile in Kenya. Claiming rightful links to the preceding formally elected government, the TFG launched military operations against the ICU with the aid of Ethiopia, and other neighboring states. In 2006, the ICU was thus removed from power.<sup>14</sup>

At this point, what remained of the ICU's military branch split away and renamed itself al-Shabaab, "The Youth". Al Shabaab kept up resistance to the Ethiopian-TFG intervention<sup>15</sup> and relied for the most part on guerilla strategies to attack the new government forces. Aside from this resistance effort, the al-Shabaab leadership envisions the foundation of an Islamic State under strict Sharia law. They consider it their religious duty to execute and attack anyone who does not fit the standards they have set by themselves, especially individuals or groups advocating a western secular ideology. Al-Shabaab operates primary from bases in Somalia, with branches in small areas in the outskirts of Ethiopia and Kenya. Likewise, the organization is not only active in Somalia, but also carries out operations in neighboring states. The organization is most active along the borders between Somalia and Ethiopia, which has worsened the political situation in the region.<sup>16</sup>

### **Recent Developments:**

The loss of human life and infrastructure caused by al-Shabaab activities is ever-growing with the passage of time. Their deadliest attack yet was one in 2017, with more than 500 casualties in a truck bombing.<sup>17</sup> A coalition of the African Union, US forces and Somalian government troops are fighting against al-Shabaab and related groups and fending them off. The lack of government's capability to establish itself effectively, producing continuous instability and leaving control over multiple areas to al-Shabaab, makes Somalia an ideal location for a 'terrorist haven', according to the US. This is one of the main factors that lead the United States to intervene in the situation in 2013, providing training and logistical support to the new government.<sup>18</sup> They work closely with the African Union, who launched the 'African Union Mission in Somalia' (AMISOM) in 2007 to assist the TFG is establishing itself, and now provides peacekeeping support, protecting key infrastructure, providing humanitarian assistance, and removing al-Shabaab threats.<sup>19</sup>

Before long, al-Shabaab made AMISOM and the TFG its primary targets. The main al-Shabaab assault outside of Somalia was in Kampala, Uganda, with 74 casualties<sup>20</sup>. Uganda is the principal state in the African Union to send troops to Somalia, and the assault was a clear message that al-Shabaab would not

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<sup>13</sup> <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/107>

<sup>14</sup> <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/107>

<sup>15</sup> [https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2006/12/the\\_tfg\\_and\\_ethiopia.php](https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2006/12/the_tfg_and_ethiopia.php)

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/al-Shabaab>

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/15/truck-bomb-mogadishu-kills-people-somalia>

<sup>18</sup> <https://abcnews.go.com/International/inside-us-militarys-mission-somalia/story?id=47239816>

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.africportal.org/documents/3007/No20Aug2010Somalia.pdf>

<sup>20</sup> <https://web.archive.org/web/20100718085541/http://www.mediacentre.go.ug/details.php?catId=4&item=922>

hesitate to assault any powers, national or outside, that interfere with them and the realization of their goal. Another case of the al-Shabaab activity was the Westgate Mall assault in Nairobi, Kenya in 2013, which is known as the most bloodiest attack in the nation's recent history. It left 67 individuals dead in addition to 175 individuals wounded. Some were also abducted after the mass shooting. It was said to be retaliation for the Kenyan troops sent as a component of AMISOM.<sup>21</sup> Despite these controversial blows, AMISOM has been quite successful, seeing as it has regularly triumphs, with as a matter of first importance compelling al-Shabaab out of Mogadishu in 2011.

The Somali president Mohamed Abdullahi Faramajo, who was democratically elected and put into office in February 2017, made declaring war on al-Shabaab one of his first activities in office. However, before taking part in the struggle against the militant network, he gave them 60 days of reprieve, in which any individual from al-Shabaab wishing to surrender would be offered business, instruction and preparing. Al-Shabaab turned down the offer quickly, and nobody from the gathering actually surrendered.<sup>22</sup>

### **Al Shabaab operations:**

Al-Shabaab, faithful to its name "The Youth", for the most part enlists children and youngsters. Many young Somalis are enticed to join such an association in light of the political and socioeconomic instability and poverty. Lack of employment is another key contributor to this trend. As expressed by a former recruit, "(they) used to let us know: 'Rather than sitting in the ghetto doing nothing, it's smarter to train and battle for your religion, you'll go straight to heaven.'" Young women are also among those enlisted, notably to become brides to male al-Shabaab warriors, among other motives. Women were also kidnapped and forcefully put into subjection.<sup>23</sup>

The preparation lasts a half year and recruited people are instructed through "perusing and translating the Koran, physical exercise, and weapons training," according to the FBI. Thereafter, they get the chance to pick in which division they wish to be included, be it infantry, making bombs or the suicide unit.<sup>24</sup>

Recruitment occurs in Somalia, as well as Kenya, Ethiopia, and even the US, in the states with large Somali populaces. The media al-Shabaab utilizes for recruitment and propagation of its values is extensive, ranging from propaganda videos to social media to custom rap and hip-hop music.<sup>25</sup>

Al Qaeda and Al-Shabaab both are listed in the UN terrorist sanctions list<sup>26</sup>. Both of them remain directly and indirectly involve in terrorist and extremist activities in and around the region and have a strong involvement in the Somalian conflict. Al-Shabaab formally announced its alliance to al-Qaeda in February 2012, though judging from the acclaim al-Shabaab got from al-Qaeda after their assaults in Ethiopia, there appear to have been existing ties between the Islamic associations from much earlier.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/20/nairobi-kenya-westgate-mall-attack-al-shabab/>

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-39527226>

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-24263357>

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.channel4.com/news/al-shabaab-somalia-kenya-westgate-al-qaeda>

<sup>25</sup> <https://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/omar-hammami-releases-al-qaeda-rap-songs/story?id=13358038>

<sup>26</sup> [https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267/aq\\_sanctions\\_list](https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list)

<sup>27</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-16979440>

### **Previous Actions of the UN:**

As far back as 1992, the Security Council moved to formally impose an total arms embargo on Somalia in resolution 733.<sup>28</sup> This was followed up in resolution 751 with the establishment of the United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I), which ran from April 1992 to March 1993.<sup>29</sup> This was followed up with UNOSOM II, which ran until 1995.<sup>30</sup> Both peacekeeping missions served primarily to ensure humanitarian aid and reduce risk to the civilian population, thus being far less active in their mandate than AMISOM, which directly involved itself in the conflict. In 2007 the Government of Somalia began to stabilize, at which point the UN partially lifted the arms embargo. A major problem was the establishment of an underground black market for arms, notably from Eritrea. This enabled weapons to reach not only the government, but the militants as well.

In June 2013, the UNSC took action once more in resolution 2102, establishing the non-military United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM). This mission, still ongoing, serves a political purpose, advising the Somali government and promoting stronger democratization measures. It also helps coordinate international donor funds, reducing corruption and improving socio-economic conditions in the region.<sup>31</sup>

In November 2017, in resolution 2385, the Security Council re-imposed extended arms sanctions on Somalia (as well as it's regional neighbors) and the approval for maritime prohibition of unlawful arms imports and charcoal exports until 15 November 2018.<sup>32</sup> Emphasizing that the arms ban on Somalia did not make a difference to the attainment of military merchandise for the elected security forces, the underlying motivation was to keep such weapons out of the hands of different militants groups through use of strict rules by the Government and its accomplices.<sup>33</sup>

The Security Council also formally approved of the African Union's activities in the region, with the most recent mandate for AMISOM established in resolution 2372 in 2017.<sup>34</sup>

### **Key international players involved in the conflict:**

The conflict in Somalia doesn't only affect the peace and stability of the country and national economy, but it also impacts the regional, and to an extent global community as a whole. The terrorist organization

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<sup>28</sup> [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/733\(1992\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/733(1992))

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unosomi.htm>

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unosom2b.htm>

<sup>31</sup> <https://unsom.unmissions.org/mandate>

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc13065.doc.htm>

<sup>33</sup> <http://webtv.un.org/meetings-events/watch/the-situation-in-somalia-security-council-8099th-meeting/5643399472001/?term=&sort=date>

<sup>34</sup> <http://amisom-au.org/amisom-mandate/>

working in Somalia does operate in other states as well and thus harms their interest as well. Likewise, many other states are involved in the conflict for a variety of reasons, as outlined below:

#### *African Union (AU):*

The role of the African Union mainly revolves around Kenya and Ethiopia, as they have been the main actors from the beginning of the Somali conflict with al-Shabaab. It is currently the collective forces of the AU that play the most crucial role in fending off al-Shabaab in Somalia, in the form of the UN-approved AMISOM<sup>35</sup>. The AMISOM missions include both victories, with al-Shabaab retreating entirely from specific cities, as well as many casualties and losses from attacks aimed at the AU troops. AMISOM current stands at a force of over 22,000 troops and is very active in supporting the TFG while targeting Al-Shabab strongholds.<sup>36</sup>

#### *Ethiopia:*

Ethiopia has been on both the giving and receiving end of the conflict. A strong supporter of the TFG in its early stages, Ethiopia has great stakes in the conflict, being a direct neighbor of the war-torn Somalia. Al-Shabab has launched a series of attacks on Ethiopian targets, viewing them as a critical enemy in their fight.<sup>37</sup> Ethiopia has recently dramatically expanded its forces in the region, sending several thousand troops over the border in an attempt to root out al-Shabab positions.<sup>38</sup>

#### *Kenya:*

Much like Ethiopia, Kenya is deeply involved in the ongoing conflict. Housing the TFG during its exile until 2006, Kenya borders Somalia in the south, close to Al-Shabaab hotspots. As a result of this, it has suffered significant terror activity in its own territory, notably in the Westgate Mall shooting and the constant targeting of non-Muslim school teachers by the militant organization.<sup>39</sup> Like Ethiopia, Kenya contributes significantly to the AU operation in the region, though its troops, the Kenyan Defense Force, is largely occupied with rooting out al-Shabaab's activities in its own territory.

#### *United States of America*

The USA had decided not to get involved in Somali affairs after the casualties of USA troops in 1993, when the USA tried to put an end to the Somali civil war, resulting in the historic failed attempt known as "Black Hawk Down". However, the 2006 Ethiopian Intervention in Somalia against the ICU was US-backed, with support for the decision and in the form of training and funding to regional troops. The USA continued this form of support with funding, providing weapons and training later on, when the AMISOM troops took over peacekeeping operation in Somalia in 2007. Since then, the US intervention in Somalia has been more active, in the form of targeted airstrikes, notably the assassination of the former leader of al-Shabaab, Aden Hashi Ayro.<sup>40</sup> In 2017, President Trump has decided for the US to play a more active role in Somalia,

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<sup>35</sup> <http://www.amisom-au.org/>

<sup>36</sup> <http://amisom-au.org/frequently-asked-questions/>

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-36487435>

<sup>38</sup> <https://www.news24.com/Africa/News/thousands-of-ethiopia-troops-enter-somalia-to-hunt-al-shabab-20171102-2>

<sup>39</sup> <https://www.news24.com/Africa/News/teachers-flee-schools-close-in-kenya-with-al-shabab-attacks-20180503>

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/aden-hash-i-ayro-militant-islamist-leader-in-somalia-820385.html>

sending the first US intervention on ground since 1995. This happened after he approved a Pentagon plan to intensify the operations against al-Shabaab in Somalia.

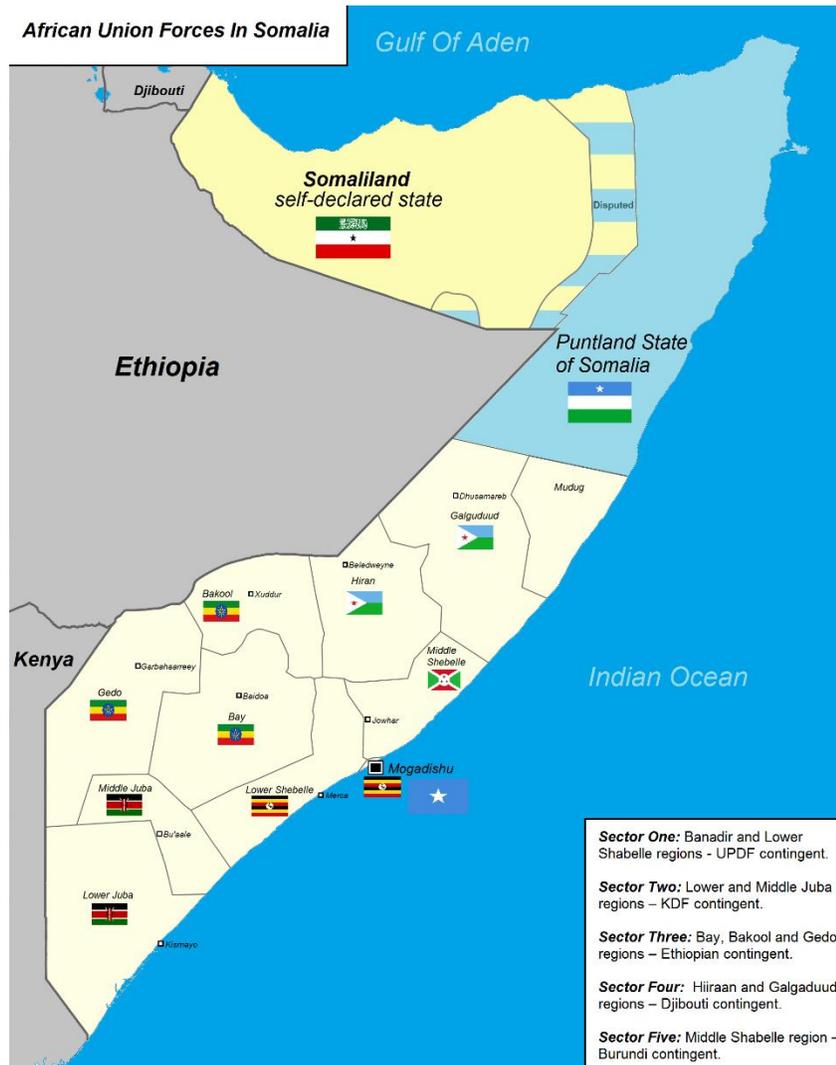
**Conclusion:**

The ongoing conflict in Somalia is been an issue the world community has been facing for more than a decade now. The conflict is not easy to resolve and achieve sustainable solutions for. Thus, the need of the hour is to take appropriate actions to curb the ongoing conflict and approach a future with Somalia and the region free from all kind of terrorist activity. To this end, the Security Council called upon to provide fresh options to bring a speedy but thorough end to the violence and suffering in the region.

Three broad approaches need to be considered, though they are hardly mutually exclusive: The first is the option of coercion, namely through military and hard economic means. The SC could modify or expand the existing peacekeeping efforts in the

region, or impose strategic sanctions beyond the existing arms ban, in an attempt to weed out the resistance and restore peace by active removal of the problem.

The second approach is the socio-economic one. The sources of the continued conflict are deeply rooted in poverty, insecurity and overall societal instability. A targeted campaign of economic support, education, infrastructural improvement and political maneuvering could help to establish a more sustainable, fruitful ground for long-term peace in the region. Finally, there is an urgent need for immediate humanitarian aid to those citizens affected by the conflict. This includes both the securing of funding and resources, as well as the safeguarding of channels of transferring aid to the high-risk regions. Anti-corruption measures may also be necessary to ensure the safe and effective arrival of aid to



those who need it most. In conclusion, military solutions can be an option to overcome the problem, with aid provided for the victims, but to resolve the issue in the long run and gain a suitable solution it is very important to aim at the root cause of problem as well.

### **Question a Resolution Must Answer (QARMAs):**

1. What can be done to curb the rise of extremism and especially radical islamist groups in the region?
2. What measures should be taken to empower the federal government of Somalia, if at all?
3. How can peacekeeping measures rapidly and comprehensively bring an end to the violence?
4. How can the arms embargo be implemented more effectively?
5. Which measures should be taken to safely transfer control of areas secured by AMISON, to prevent the resurgence of radical groups there? How to maintain sustainable peace after AMISOM withdraws?
6. What can be done to safely provide humanitarian relief, especially to those in high-risk areas?

### **Useful Additional Resources:**

- To keep up to date on recent developments: AMISOM News and Press Statements, <http://amisom-au.org/topics/amisom-news/>.
- Alvi, Suroosh. "Terror, Episode 2: The Rise of al Shabaab in Somalia", <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt6320664/>.
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