How do the Mighty Fall?

Elite Rivalry, Coup-proofing and Leader Survival in Somalia

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Thesis

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ABSTRACT

To what extent can interstate conflict initiation be considered a coup-proofing strategy? Further, how can coup-proofing impact civil war onset and leader survival? This thesis provides insight into elite rivalry, coup-proofing and leader survival in authoritarian regimes. I use a single case study of authoritarian leader Mohamed Siad Barre of Somalia, who ruled Somalia from 1969 to1991. With the use of existing theories on authoritarian leaders, I determine whether leaders use interstate conflict initiation as a coup-proofing strategy by examining the Ogaden War (1977-1978). I also ascertain whether coup-proofing can contribute to civil war onset and the removal of leaders from office. I propose that the Ogaden War was initiated as a coup-proofing strategy to reduce the coup risk of the Somali leader from the Somali National Army. Thus, I argue that interstate conflict initiation can be considered a form of coup-proofing. The study also suggests that protracted use of coup-proofing strategies, specifically, exclusion along ethic or tribal lines can deepen cleavages within already fractionalized societies, which in turn can lead to civil war onset.

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Map of the area inhabited by the Somali people in the Greater Horn of Africa

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CSS - Council of Secretaries of State

GSL – Greater Somalia League

MOD – Marehan, Ogaden, Dulbahante alliance

MOU – Memorandum of Understanding

NSC – National Security Courts

SNA – Somali National Army

SNM – Somali National Movement

SPM – Somali Patriotic Movement

SRC – Supreme Revolutionary Council

SSDF – Somali Salvation Democratic Front

SRSP - Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party

SYL – Somali Youth League

USC – United Somali Congress

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Politics has one rule, survive! This is especially true in the anarchic world of authoritarian politics, where leaders often resort to egregious acts to secure political survival. Authoritarian leaders do need at least one thing to survive, a loyal support base comprised of elites with whom they share power. Power sharing, however, is accompanied by elite rivalry which in turn creates commitment problems for authoritarian leaders. To remain in power, a leader must competently manage elite rivals. To do so, he often readily employs a series of strategies to consolidate power and deter attempts at his removal. These mechanisms, referred to as 'coup-proofing' strategies, include any attempt to inhibit coordination among elites, specifically those with support of armed forces, who may wish to move against a political leader.[1] Coup-proofing mechanisms may include, *inter alia*, purges, reshuffles and political patronage. However, coup-proofing strategies are not fail safe and may give rise to unforeseen negative consequences. This leads to the question, can attempts to manage elite rivalry by way of coup-proofing explain interstate conflict initiation and civil war onset? Further, to what extent can coup-proofing negatively impact a leader's political survival?

To answer these questions, I will examine authoritarian leader Mohamed Siad Barre of Somalia and with the use of existing theories on leaders and conflict initiation, I determine whether leaders use interstate conflict initiation as a coup-proofing strategy. I also ascertain whether coup-proofing can contribute to civil war onset and the removal of leaders from office. I propose that interstate conflict initiation is a coup-proofing strategy and the use of specific coup-proofing techniques can contribute to civil war onset and a leader's removal from office.

Mohamed Siad Barre entered Somali politics at the barrel of a gun on October 21, 1969. The military strongman intervened and rescued Somalia from an increasingly corrupt democratic civilian government but, in turn, he ruled over Somalia with an iron fist until his ousting in 1991. During his tenure, Siad Barre took Somalia to war with Ethiopia, stoked clan conflict and undertook a brutal campaign of selective and indiscriminate violence, the latter

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[1] Sudduth, Jun Koga. "Coup Risk, Coup-Proofing and Leader Survival." *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 54, no. 1, 2017, pp. 4.

of which included the genocide in northern Somalia in the late 1980s. Arguably, Siad Barre was the locomotive that set Somalia on the path of ongoing conflict, violence and state collapse. At the time of his departure from office and entry into exile, the Somali dictator had brought Somalia to its knees. What met Somalia after authoritarianism under Siad Barre was the secession of Somaliland[2], ongoing civil war, the rise of warlords, abortive interventions by the international community, piracy and Islamic terrorism. Over twenty-five years later, Somalia is still working to rebuild itself from the remnants of its authoritarian past.

In examining the Somali dictator's rule, several questions emerge. To what extent did the Somali leader utilise coup-proofing strategies to manage elite rivalry and personalize and consolidate power? Additionally, did the leader initiate the Ogaden war due to Somali irredentism, or was it a coup-proofing mechanism to weaken the military and secure his survival? Did coup-proofing play a role in the onset of the civil war in the late 1980s and the leader's eventual removal from office after twenty-one years in power? By answering these questions, I address the main research questions: (1) to what extent can coup-proofing explain interstate conflict initiation and civil war onset? (2) how can coup-proofing contribute to a leader's downfall? I propose that interstate conflict initiation is a coup-proofing strategy and the use of specific coup-proofing techniques in highly fractionalized societies can contribute to civil war onset and negatively impact a leader's survival.

To support my findings, I employ existing theories on authoritarian leaders, coup-proofing, interstate conflict initiation and civil war onset. A historical analysis of Somalia during the period of dictatorial rule (1969-1991) is also used to facilitate the research undertaken. I approach this thesis in five sections. First, I review the literature on key theories used throughout the thesis. Second, I offer an overview of my research design. Third, I investigate elite rivalry and coup-proofing throughout the dictatorship. Fourth, I explore the Ogaden War between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977-78 to determine whether the interstate conflict was initiated due to Somali irredentism or as a coup-proofing mechanism. Fifth, I examine the onset of civil war and the eventual ousting of the Somali leader.

From the outset, it is important to define key concepts used in the research, most notably, elite rivalry, coup proofing, Somali irredentism, civil war and selective and indiscriminate violence. Elite rivalry refers to political competition among elites within a

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[2] In 1991 following the collapse of the Siad Barre regime Somaliland, the territory formerly referred to as British Somaliland, seceded and has since been seeking recognition by the international community as an independent state.

political system. In the context of authoritarian regimes, it often manifests itself by way of coups, countercoups, purges and reshuffles. Coup proofing strategies refers to mechanisms created to hinder attempts by military personnel to organize and stage a coup against political leaders.[3] Somali irredentism refers to Somalia's long quest to reunite all ethnic Somalis in the Horn of Africa under one flag. Civil war is defined as a violent conflict between a state and one or more organized non-state groups within state territory.[4] Selective violence refers to the use of violence to target individuals based on knowledge of specific behaviours they may exhibit. Whereas indiscriminate violence refers to the use of mass violence irrespective of perceived preferences or behaviours of the target.[5]

Further, in Chapter 2, I review the literature on the main theories employed in this thesis, primarily, those gleaned from the works of Geddes, Chiozza and Goemans, Svolik, Sudduth, Powell and Roessler vis-à-vis authoritarian leaders, elite rivalry, coup-proofing, violence and interstate and intrastate conflict. In Chapter 3, I discuss my research design. Chapter 4 explores a series of elite rivalry events and coup-proofing throughout the dictatorial rule of Mohamed Siad Barre, more specifically, how the dictator personalized and consolidated power by way of coup-proofing. In Chapter 5, I discuss the Ogaden War and investigate whether the Somali dictator initiated interstate war with Ethiopia to pursue Somali irredentism or to coup-proof his regime by irrevocably debilitating the Somali military. In Chapter 6, I examine whether years of coup-proofing contributed to civil war onset, which led to the ousting of Mohamed Siad Barre.

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[3] Sudduth, Jun Koga. "Coup risk, coup-proofing and leader survival." *Journal of Peace Research* 54.1, 2017, pp. 4.

[4] Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede. "Civil War." International Encyclopedia of Political Science. Eds. Bertrand BadieDirk Berg-Schlosser and Leonardo Morlino. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2011, pp. 265. SAGE Knowledge. Web. 25 Jun. 2017.

[5] Definitions derived from the seminal work of Kalyvas, Stathis. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York, NY [Etc.], Cambridge University Press, 2006.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Classification of Authoritarian Regimes and Leaders

From the outset, it is important to clearly define and classify authoritarian regimes and leaders under study in this thesis. In her seminal work, which establishes a model on classification of authoritarian regimes, Barbara Geddes codes the regime of Somali dictator, Mohamed Siad Barre, as personalist.[6] Even though the leader was a longstanding member of the Somali military regime, Geddes categorizes the regime as personalist, given that the difference between military-led and civilian-led personalist regimes is not emphasized in her work.[7] To clarify, Geddes underscores the distinction between institutionalized military regimes and personalist regimes led by military leaders. In the former, the leader heads a military junta and consults the officers within the junta on policy decisions. In the latter, a small period of rule by junta generally precedes the leader's swift consolidation of power, which results in the exclusion of the officer corps from the policy decision-making processes.[8] In such a scenario, the leader is referred to as a military personalist leader or strongman.[9] The leader of an institutionalised military regime is constrained by the officers in the junta whereas the strongman's power is unconstrained.

Elite Rivalry, Coup-proofing and Leader Survival

Democratic and non-democratic regimes both rely on the support of specific constituents to ensure their survival in office. Leaders in democratic political systems obtain support and legitimacy from constituents, in this case the public, who confirm their approval of the leader through an observable free and fair electoral process. In the case of non-democracies, most notably those without competitive elections, leaders often rely on elite support to ensure political survival. Elite pillars of support include the military, praetorian guard, police, secret police, militias, bureaucracy and regional governments. Further, as

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[6] Geddes, Barbara. *Paradigms and sand castles: theory building and research design in comparative politics*. Ann Arbor: The U of Michigan Press, 2003. p. 53.

[7] Geddes, Barbara, Erica Frantz, and Joseph G. Wright. "Military Rule." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17.1 (2014): p. 152.

[8] Geddes, Barbara. "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2.1 (1999): pp. 124.

[9] Ibid.

Milan W. Svolik notes, authoritarian regimes face credible threat from the masses and it is for this reason that the support of elites and/or elite groups such as the military, is crucial to offset this threat and ensure a leader's survival.[10] This is what he refers to as the *problem of authoritarian control.* The problem of authoritarian control, however, gives rise to a commitment problem, in which the leader and his elites cannot credibly commit to the sharing of the agreed spoils of power without the potential emergence of conflict (i.e. elite rivalry). Svolik argues that the *problem of authoritarian power sharing*, emerges when there is no independent authoritative body within an authoritarian system that can adequately settle disagreements between the leader and elites. Authoritarian politics, to borrow from Hobbesian lexicon, is particularly anarchic, "nasty and brutish". Therefore, when conflict arises in a system with such a delicate balance of power, violence is usually the sole 'arbiter' to solve conflicts.[11] Thus, a security dilemma arises.

The constant presence of distrust and the potentiality of violence in authoritarian rule, creates further problems for both the leader and his elite support base or ruling coalition. The leader and his ruling coalition live under the persistent threat of possible removal. The leader fears that the ruling coalition may remove him from power by way of coup d'état and therefore, seeks to consolidate power to prevent such an eventuality. On the other hand, the ruling coalition is wary that the leader may seek to consolidate his position through strategic power grabs and later replace members of the coalition.[12] The behaviour of the leader and the ruling coalition determines the type of dictatorship observed, what Svolik designates *contested* and *established* dictatorships.[13] In the former, the ruling coalition holds sufficient power to threaten and thus, constrain the leader. In the latter, the leader has consolidated sufficient power and is less likely to be credibly threatened by the ruling coalition.[14] The latter is regularly observed in personalist regimes.

In his work on coup risk, coup-proofing and leader survival, Jun Koga Sudduth discusses the threats leaders face to their survival and the mechanisms adopted to decrease their overall coup-risk.[15] Sudduth puts forward the counterintuitive argument that leaders with high coup risk will adopt coup-proofing strategies to a lesser degree given that any

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[10] Svolik, Milan W. Svolik, Milan W. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics, 2012, pp. 2.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Svolik, Milan W. "Power Sharing and Leadership Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 53, no. 2, 2009, pp. 480.
[13] Ibid. pp. 478.
[14] Svolik 2012, pp.55.
[15] Sudduth, 2017, pp. 3.

attempt to grab power is likely to alert the ruling coalition, which will move to coordinate a coup d'état. In essence, a leader will reduce his coup-proofing strategies when his coup-risk rises. The mechanisms Sudduth refers to as 'coup-proofing strategies' include any method a leader adopts that decreases the military's capacity to successfully undertake a coup. Therefore, any strategy to purposefully weaken the military whether through defunding, reshuffling and/or purging of senior officers, fostering rivalry between branches, among others, is considered coup-proofing.

One should also recall that coup-proofing strategies also target other elites, such as non-military personnel within the ruling coalition, who may have access to coercive forces. Dan Slater identifies some of these strategies, namely, packing, rigging and circumventing as mechanisms of personalization.[16] In this case the emphasis is placed on a leader's effort to consolidate and personalize power to decrease his coup risk from members of the ruling coalition. Packing, the selection of loyalists appointed to fill official posts and purging of opponents, was particularly present in Siad Barre's Somalia. Similar concepts include ethnic stacking and exclusion, as highlighted by Philip Roessler in his work on and civil war onset in Africa.[17] In the case of Somalia, packing was undertaken along clan lines.

Leaders and Interstate Conflict Initiation

Traditionally, there has been substantial emphasis on comparative research on democracies and non-democracies and interstate conflict initiation. Leaders of both democratic and non-democratic states initiate interstate conflict and for innumerable reasons. In her work on authoritarian regimes and interstate conflict initiation, Jessica L. Weeks presents empirical evidence that suggests considerable variance among regime types in authoritarian systems vis-à-vis conflict initiation.[18] Further, Weeks posits that the strongman regime is the most probable regime type to initiate interstate conflict. To a certain extent, this can be explained by the unconstrained powers that personalist leaders possess and the lack of a powerful credible domestic audience to which they must answer.[19] However, Weeks falls short of providing an adequate explanation that addresses why and when leaders fight.

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[16] Slater, Dan. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2003, pp. 88.

[17] See Enloe, Cynthia. *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1980; and Roessler, Philip. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa." *World Politics*, vol. 63, no. 2, 2011, pp. 300–346.

[18] Weeks, Jessica L. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 106, no. 2, 2012, pp. 338.

[19] Ibid. pp. 330

Giacomo Chiozza and H.E. Goemans' research on leaders and international conflict fills this gap.

Chiozza and Goemans build on rational choice approaches to foreign policy, specifically, the decision-making of leaders vis-à-vis international conflict initiation. Chiozza and Goemans place the focus on the costs attached to the way leaders are removed from office and how this influences a leader's decision-making process. The scholars also build on the work of James D. Fearon on rational choice explanations of war and the bargaining model of war, which postulates that wars are by and large ex post inefficient[20]. In other words, both sides are certain to incur substantial losses. Even in victory, the victor loses.

Chiozza and Goemans, however, observe that the notion that war is ex post inefficient is only applicable when the state is the unit of analysis.[21] When the level of analysis is changed to the leader, they posit that war can, in fact, be ex post efficient.[22] The theory put forward by Chiozza and Goemans is similar to diversionary war theories, which generally postulate that leaders initiate interstate conflict when faced with removal from office due to domestic unrest. These theories suggest that there are scenarios when leaders do in fact gain, albeit privately, from conflict initiation. The difference between Chiozza and Goemans' theory on conflict initiation and traditional diversionary war theories is that their theory extends beyond a leader's potential removal from office. Their focus is not solely placed on whether the leader loses office but how he loses office. In other words, they focus instead on the end a leader is likely to meet if removed from office, whether forcible and violent or voluntary and peaceful. They propose that leaders at risk of forcible or violent removal can benefit from war.[23]

Chiozza and Goemans also suggest that leaders at risk of forcible or violent removal, such as dictators, will likely resort to interstate conflict initiation at a higher frequency than leaders in democratic systems, which ensures a leader's safe transition out of office. They suggest that leaders in non-democracies have little to lose from international conflict and the

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[20] Chiozza and Goemans define war as "ex post inefficient" with the use of an analogy, explaining that what is at stake is "a pie" and that parties in a potential conflict would gain more if they were to amicably agree to divide the pie. If they were to proceed with the war they would potentially lose given that they pie would have been destroyed along with other losses that would occur through battle.
[21] Chiozza, Giacomo, and H. E. Goemans. *Leaders and International Conflict*. Cambridge, UK [Etc.], Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 9.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid. pp. 8.

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most to gain.[24] Thus, for such leaders, interstate conflict is ex post efficient. In relation to leader survival and interstate conflict initiation, Chiozza and Goemans advance the concepts, *fighting for survival* and *gambling for survival*. In the first, benefits can be derived independent of victory. A leader may lose the war but gain immeasurable private benefits. In the second, the leader's survival is dependent on victory given that it provides him the "legitimacy and resources" required to defeat his enemies at home.[25] The work of Chiozza and Goemans raises a vital question. Can interstate conflict initiation be considered a coup-proofing strategy?

Irredentist Conflict

In international politics, irredentism refers to the redeeming of territories beyond a state's internationally recognised borders based on claims of ethnic, national or historical linkages.[26] Many cases of irredentism are often symbolised by the placement of "Greater" before the name of the claimant state, for instance Greater Somalia.[27] Scholars, such as Naomi Chazan notes that irredentism encompasses two variables: the claimant state and the groups that self-identify with the claimant state either ethnically, culturally, historically or geographically.[28] In the Somali context, irredentism represents the pursuit of reunification of all ethnic Somalis and the perceived Somali territories, under a single Somali flag.

Stephen M. Saideman juxtaposes scholarship on Somali irredentism and the causes of war and determines that Somali irredentism has been inconsistent over time. He explains Somalia's inconsistent irredentist policy by pointing to political competition within the Somali government at the time of irredentist events, such as border skirmishes or wars. Saideman notes that politicians under increased pressure due to political competition would likely initiate an aggressive foreign policy and enter into irredentist conflicts.   He acknowledges that leaders rely on the support of key constituents to sustain their legitimacy and avoid removal from office. In the context of authoritarian regimes, Saideman, highlights a widely held view among scholars, which suggests that leaders depend on the support of elite groups, such as the regular armed forces to remain in power.[29] Without that support, a

[24] Ibid. pp. 5.
[25] Ibid. pp. 196.
[26] Ambrosio, Thomas. "Irredentism." International Encyclopaedia of Political Science, 2011, pp. 1346.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Chazan, Naomi. *Irredentism and international politics*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991, pp. 3.
[29] Saideman, Stephen M. "Inconsistent irredentism? Political competition, ethnic ties, and the Foreign policies of Somalia and Serbia." *Security Studies* 7.3, 1998, pp. 61.

leader can likely find himself removed from office forcibly or violently.[30] For this reason, leaders may offer policy concessions to elites to secure their continued support.

In the case of Somali irredentism, Saideman determines that Siad Barre initiated the Ogaden war to adhere to the desires of the military, which had been predominantly Ogadeni.[31] In accordance with Saideman's argument, had the Somali leader not initiated that war his coup risk would have increased. To defend his position, Saideman posits that ethnicity alone cannot spark irredentist conflicts. He, therefore, accounts for Somalia's inconsistent irredentist foreign policies to political competition (i.e. elite rivalry).[32]

I agree with Saideman's position that elite rivalry was the likely contributed to the Somali leader's decision to initiate the Ogaden War. However, I suggest that having noted the Somali armed forces as a potential rival, Siad Barre, moved to thwart any attempt at his removal by way of military coup, by eroding the capacity of the institution. Dissimilar to Saideman, I propose that the Somali leader did not enter the Ogaden War to grant a policy concession to the military in order to sustain its support. I argue that the Somali dictator, under the guise of Somali irredentism, initiated the Ogaden conflict firstly, to occupy the Somali National Army (SNA) and secondly, to later debilitate the elite group. The outcome of which was likely to coup-proof his regime and extend his political career. The Ogaden War was likely an attempt by the Somali leader to fight for his survival.

Coup-Proofing and Civil War Onset

The study of civil war onset has received significant attention in academic scholarship. However, there has been no specific overarching consensus on what triggers civil wars, which suggests that the subject remains widely contested. Even the concept of civil war itself remains open to contestation.[33] Stathis N. Kalyvas defines civil war as "armed combat within the boundaries of a recognized sovereign entity between parties subject to a common authority at the outset of the hostilities."[34] In other words, civil war may refer to armed conflict waged within the territorial jurisdiction of a state sovereign between or among insurgents and the state authority. For the purpose of this thesis, civil war in the Somali

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[30] Ibid. pp. 52.
[31] Ibid. 75-76.
[32] Ibid. p. 57.
[33] Kalyvas, Stathis N. "Civil Wars." *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, 2009. The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics. p. 2.
[34] Kalyvas, Stathis. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York, NY [Etc.], Cambridge University Press, 2006. p. 17.

context refers specifically to armed conflict between insurgents and the state during the rule of Siad Barre.

Although theories on civil war onset are varied and in many instances, may overlap even within single case analyses, there are generally three distinct branches of study from which these theories stem, specifically, economics, international relations (IR) and comparative politics[35]. Under the umbrella of economic theory, scholars point to factors, such as natural resources, as causal mechanisms for civil war onset. Whereas IR scholars highlight ethnic or religious heterogeneity and fractionalization, and comparative studies scholars emphasize state strength or weakness.[36] Each discipline has varied and disparate quantitative and qualitative research that supports and contradicts the relevance of the most researched independent variables on the onset of civil war[37], which is suggestive of the complexity of this subject matter. The most common variables put forward for the triggering of civil conflict include low income, mountainous terrain, large population, history of conflicts, economic development, inequality, lack of democracy, limited civil rights and ethnic or religious discrimination.[38]

Theories on ethnic fractionalization and ethnic minority rule as causal variables for civil war onset, often placed in the category of greed and grievance theories, are especially applicable to the Somali context and should not be overlooked. In the ethnically homogenous state of Somalia, ethnic fractionalization can be replaced by clan fractionalization when investigating civil war onset, as clan fragmentation in Somalia closely mimics fractionalization along ethnic lines in ethnically diverse societies. There has been limited empirical evidence put forward that suggests that ethnic fractionalization causes civil war onset and some scholars have argued that there is no evidence that supports the ethnic fragmentation thesis. Thus, this subject remains highly disputed.

The same applies to the impact of ethnic minority rule and civil war onset. The results remain contested. Fearon and Laitin's qualitative research on ethnic minority rule and civil war onset reveals that there is no evidence to suggest that this variable plays a role in the onset of civil war in sub-Saharan Africa.[39] A similar study by Wimmer, Cederman and Min

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[35] Ibid. p. 3.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid. p. 4.
[38] Ibid. Also see Roessler, 2011, pp. 300.
[39] Fearon, James D., et al. "Ethnic Minority Rule and Civil War Onset." *American Political Science Review*, vol. 101, no. 1, 2007, p. 191-192.

suggests that states that are largely ethnically heterogenous are not necessarily at greater risk of civil war. However, Wimmer *et al* find that societies in which power is concentrated within a specific ethnic group(s) at the exclusion of others are more prone to civil war. Additionally, they posit that power sharing among elites in highly fractionalized states results in an increase in the risk of internal strife.[40]

Interestingly, as Jonathan Powell notes, research on civil war onset has generally been undertaken with the insurgent and/or insurgency as the unit of analysis.[41] Questions often arise regarding the motivations of insurgents in pursuing rebellions. However, both Powell and Philip Roessler have placed the level of analysis on the leader and have advanced important arguments on how leader behaviour has influenced civil war onset. Building on extant scholarship on both coup proofing and civil war onset, Powell presents the theory of risk substitution, which postulates that leaders engaged in coup proofing mechanisms are likely to decrease coup risk but simultaneously increase the probability of civil conflict onset.[42] Roessler, expanding on previous arguments on coup risk, civil war onset and ethnic fractionalization, establishes the 'strategic logic of ethnic exclusion'. This theory posits that leaders will counter the immediate threats of coup d'état at the hands of rivals from other powerful ethnic groups at the risk of increasing ethnoregional civil war onset in the distant future.

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[40] Wimmer, Andreas, et al. "Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict: A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data Set." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 74, no. 2, 2009, p 334.

[41] Powell, Jonathan M. "Trading Coups for Civil War: The strategic logic of tolerating rebellion." *African Security Review*, 2014, pp. 337.

[42] Ibid. p. 330.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Design

The research undertaken in this thesis is qualitative and was conducted with the use of theoretical analysis of extant scholarship on authoritarianism and the political survival of leaders. Specifically, the research addresses the extent to which the management of elite rivalry by way of coup-proofing can explain interstate conflict initiation, civil war onset and leader survival in authoritarian regimes. The unit of analysis is the authoritarian leader. The research was conducted with the use of a single case study of Mohammed Siad Barre, President of Somalia during the period 1969 to 1991. In addition to theoretical analysis, I employ a historical analysis of Somalia under the Somali dictator to support of my findings. This case was selected because it is under-researched and has the potential to provide important insight on the policy decision-making processes of authoritarian leaders, particularly, as it pertains to interstate conflict initiation and civil war onset.

As part of my theoretical analysis, I review the works of Barbara Geddes on the classification of authoritarian regimes and Geddes, Erica Frantz, and Joseph G. Wrighton on military rule. I also review the works of Milan W. Svolik on authoritarian politics; Jun Koga Sudduth on coup-proofing and leader survival; and Jessica L. Weeks as well as Giacomo Chiozza and H.E. Goemans on leaders and international conflict. To understand civil war onset, particularly in the African context, I review the works of Jonathan Powell and Philip G. Roessler. To address the research question, the insights advanced by the foregoing scholars are juxtaposed with a historical analysis of Somalia during the dictatorship of Mohamed Siad Barre. The historical analysis was conducted with primary and secondary sources including books, journals, declassified documents and news reports. Multiple sources were used to verify the details of key events.

In Chapter 4, I utilise data on leader classification, source of leader support, coup, coup plotter, coup success, purges and purgecount and elite purges and names of purged elites from the datasets of Geddes, Mattes and Leeds, Marshall and Marshall, and my research to compile an event rivalry appendix and a source codebook.[43] Each of the elite

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[43] The elite rivalry appendix was adopted from the course *Researching Authoritarian Regimes* at Leiden University.

rivalry events that appear in the elite rivalry appendix is analysed to construct a narrative, which outlines how the Somali dictator consolidated and personalized power. There is a conspicuous gap in the elite rivalry appendix, specifically with regards to the data for the year 1988. The data suggests that Lieutenant General Mohamed Ali Samatar was a coup plotter in 1988, however, this was not corroborated by my research. Samatar was a longstanding senior member of the regime and served as Prime Minister of Somalia in the later years of the regime, 1987 to 1990.

The research is important because it takes rational choice approach in examining the decision-making processes of an under researched authoritarian leader, Mohamed Siad Barre, particularly, with respect to his management of elite rivalry. The thesis also supports several existing theories on authoritarian leaders and international conflict and suggests that the initiation of interstate war can be considered a coup-proofing strategy. Additionally, the research presents a new rationale behind the Ogaden War that goes beyond the traditional argument of Somali irredentism. The study also strongly suggests that protracted use of coup-proofing strategies, specifically, exclusion along ethic or tribal lines can deepen cleavages within already fractionalized societies, which in turn can contribute to civil war onset.

CHAPTER FOUR

Elite Rivalry and the Personalization of Power in Siad Barre's Somalia

General Mohamed Siad Barre, entered Somali politics by bloodless coup in October 21, 1969, as the head of a junta comprised of personnel from the armed forces and the police. Within months of his induction as Somalia's third president, the military dictator set the tone of his leadership, by purging two coup co-conspirators and high-ranking officials from office. This firm management of elite rivalry within the regime consequently led to Siad Barre's personalization of power in Somali politics. In this chapter I examine how Siad Barre managed elite rivalry and personalized power. To do so, I explore significant elite rivalry events, specifically coup plots, failed coup attempts and purges as well as the use of selective violence by the Somali dictator. I utilise data on leader classification, source of leader support, coup, coup plotter, coup success, purges and purgecount, and elite purges and names of purged elites from the datasets of Geddes, Mattes and Leeds, Marshall and Marshall and my research to compile an event rivalry appendix and a source codebook[44], to accompany my research in this chapter.

I conclude that Siad Barre managed elite rivalry through coup-proofing strategies such as clan based packing and stacking, clan based exclusion, purges, reshuffles and violent repression. To support my findings, I approach this chapter in three sections. First, I briefly review Somali clan genealogy.[45] Second, I succinctly reconstruct the governance structure and security apparatus under Siad Barre. Third, I trace elite rivalry events and the coup proofing strategies of the Somali dictator.

Somali Politics and Clan Genealogy

To understand Somali politics, one must first have a clear grasp of the important role clan identity plays in Somali society. Somalia is an ethnically homogenous country[46], in which clan identity is intricately interwoven in all aspects of the political, economic and social landscape. Clan genealogy[47], particularly in the political context, refers not only to

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[44] Please see Appendix 1 for elite rivalry appendix and source codebook.
[45] Please see Appendix II for figure of Somali Clan Genealogy.
[46] Laitin, David A., and Said S. Samatar. *Somalia: nation in search of a state*. Boulder, CO: Westview press, 1987, pp. 21.
[47] Please see Appendix III for figure of the clan distribution in Somalia.

historical lineage but to "social divisions of persons into communal political groups."[48] The principal clan families include the Dir, Isaaq and Hawiye while minor clans include the Majerteen, Marehan, Ogaden and the Dulbahante (Darood sub-clans) among several others.[49]

On July 1, 1960, when Somalia obtained its independence, the state's first independent government was led by a Hawiye, President Aadan Abdullah Usmaan, who in turn appointed a Majerteen Prime Minister, Abdirashid Ali Shermaarke. Siad Barre descended from the Marehan and Ogaden clans and his brother-in-law was from the Dulbahante, which explains the prominence of the Marehan, Ogaden and Dulbahante (MOD) alliance under the Somali dictator. In the years of democratic government following independence, political power was shared among clan lines, with the major clans, such as the Hawiye, Isaaq and Darood sub-clans holding the majority of official positions. This ensured clan balance undertaken in the interest of circumventing the potential precipitation of inter-clan conflict and civil war. [50] This tradition continued in the early years of the Siad Barre regime, however, the balance became more uneven as the Somali dictator moved to consolidate power based on an alliance of his familial MOD clans.[51] In other words, the dictator began to exploit clan loyalty for his personal benefit.

Coup d'état, Governance and Security

The coup d'état that brought Siad Barre to power received popular support throughout Somalia given the distrust and disappointment, which accrued after the fraudulent March 1969 parliamentary election. Months later, on October 15, 1969, President Abdirashid Ali Shermaarke was assassinated by an officer of the Somali military.[52] There is little consensus on the motive for the assassination. Laitin and Samatar (1987) attributed the assassination of Shermaarke to an intra-clan vendetta[53], while other scholars have suggested it was carried out by the coup conspirators. Similarly, there are varying accounts of the coup. For instance,

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[48]   Brons, Maria. *Society, Security, Sovereignty and the State in Somalia: from Statelessness to Statelessness?* Utrecht, International Books, 2001. pp. 98. See also Lewis, I.M. *A Pastoral Democracy: a Study of Pastoralism and Politics among the Northern Somali of the Horn of Africa*. London [Etc.], Oxford University Press, 1961, pp. 2.
[49] Laitin and Samatar 1987, pp. 30 and 32.
[50] Ingiriis, Mohamed Haji. The suicidal state in Somalia: the rise and fall of the Siad Barre Regime 1969-1991. Lanham, MD: U Press of America, 2016, pp. 74-76. See also Ssereo, Florence. "Clanpolitics, Clan-Democracy and Conflict Regulation in Africa: The Experience of Somalia." *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, vol. 2, no. 3-4, 2003, pp. 29.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Laitin, David A., and Said S. Samatar. *Somalia: nation in search of a state*. Boulder, CO: Westview press, 1987. p. 78.
[53] Laitin and Samatar 1987, pp. 78.

some scholars have determined that the coup was planned by another senior member of the Somali military, General Salaad Gabeyre Kedie, and not Siad Barre himself.[54] Other scholars have surmised that the coup was orchestrated by Siad Barre with Soviet Union complicity given that the Soviets were desirous of gaining strategic geopolitical influence in the Horn.[55]

Upon his entry in Somali politics, Siad Barre established the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), a twenty-five-member governing junta that comprised of military and police officers.[56] The Somali leader with the support of the SRC dissolved the National Assembly, prohibited political parties, abolished the constitution and the state was renamed the Somali Democratic Republic.[57] Siad Barre, also promised democratic elections and pledged to rid Somalia of corruption, clan nepotism and prohibited the use of clan names or tribalism in public spheres.[58] Democracy never emerged under Siad Barre, however, clan nepotism became more deeply entrenched. Further, the Somali leader adopted 'scientific socialism', an ideological framework[59] that purportedly combined Marxism and Islam.

Immediately subordinate to the SCR was a Council of Secretaries of State (CSS), a fourteen-member body, which functioned as the cabinet. The cabinet was predominantly civilian save the few military personnel appointed to manage key ministerial portfolios.[60] The executive and legislative powers were held by the SRC. Under the Somali dictator, the judicial system was altered. In 1970, the National Security Court (NSC) was established. It served as the regime's brutal judicial arm and thus, it did not operate independently.[61] The SRC was dissolved on July 1, 1976 upon the creation of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP).

The state security apparatus under Siad Barre consisted primarily of the Somali National Army (SNA), the Somali Police Force (SPF), National Security Service (NSS), the Victory Pioneers (Guulwadayaal) and the Red Berets. The NSS was created by decree Law No.1 in January 1970 alongside the NSC. The Victory Pioneers, established in August 1972,

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[54] Ingiriis 2016, pp. 68. See also Metz, Helen Chapin. *Somalia: a country study*. Washington, DC: Supt. of Docs., US Gov. Print. Off., 1993, pp. 36.

[55] Payton, Gary D. "The Somali Coup of 1969: the Case for Soviet Complicity." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1980, pp. 508.

[56] Laitin and Samatar 1987, pp. 79. See also Ingiriis 2016, pp. 74.

[57] Metz 1993, pp. 37.

[58] Ssereo, Florence. "Clanpolitics, Clan-Democracy and Conflict Regulation in Africa: The Experience of Somalia." *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, vol. 2, no. 3-4, 2003, pp. 30.

[59] Laitin and Samatar 1987, pp. 82.

[60] Metz 1993, pp. 38.

[61] Ibid. See also African Watch. *Somalia: a government at war with its own people; testimonies about the killings and the conflict in the north*. New York, NY: Africa Watch Committee, 1990, pp. 22.

were comprised of approximately 10,000 paramilitaries.[62] The elite unit, the Red Berets (Duub Cas) were the personal bodyguards of Siad Barre. The state security apparatus terrorized Somali society, unleashing a campaign of selective and indiscriminate violence in Somalia, committing widespread human rights violations, which included, *inter alia,* arbitrary detentions, torture, extrajudicial killings, mass killings and genocide.[63] Above all, the state security services were used by the Somali dictator to consolidate, personalize and sustain political power. The formation of additional security forces such as the Red Berets and the Victory Pioneers operated parallel to the regular armed forces. These units are regularly observed in authoritarian regimes and act as a measure to counterbalance the regular military.[64]

Elite Rivalry and Coup-Proofing

As noted in the previous sections of this chapter, Siad Barre entered government as the head of the SRC, essentially a junta. However, the Somali leader quickly personalized power by purging the SRC and other governance bodies, beginning within the early months of his rule. Subsequently, the personalist leader further consolidated and sustained power by continued purging and the addition of clan based stacking[65] and exclusion, in which patronage was exchanged for loyalty, a trait emblematic of personalist regimes.[66] These policies extended not only to the SRC/ SRSP but also to the Somali military. The Somali dictator wielded a toolkit of repressive measures to target and subdue any perceived opposition. To adequately address the coup-proofing strategies used by the Siad Barre, I will now discuss several elite rivalry events that permitted the Somali leader to consolidate and personalize power.

In April 1970, an estimated six months after the revolution, Siad Barre purged two Vice Presidents of the SRC, General Jama Ali Korshel, (former) Head of the Police Force[67],

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[62] Metz 1993, pp. 216.

[63] Africa Watch 1990, pp. 16-17.

[64] Quinlivan, James T. "Coup-Proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East." *International Security*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1999, pp. 135.

[65] I use the term "clan based stacking" in lieu of "ethnic stacking" (Enloe 1980 and Roessler 2011), which refers to the placement of family or co-ethnics of leaders in high raking positions such as in the military. Given that Somalia is, for the most part, ethnically homogenous, the term "clan based stacking" is more appropriate to describe this phenomenon.

[66] Geddes, Barbara. "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2.1, 1999, pp. 133.

[67] Laitin and Samatar, 1987, pp. 81. See also Central Intelligence Agency. Directorate of Intelligence Weekly Summary. May 8, 1970, pp. 26 https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79-00927A007900020001-5.pdf

and General Mohammed Aynaanshe Guled. The two had been arrested under suspicion of organizing a coup plot to overthrow the Somali dictator. [68] A year later in May 1971, another senior member in the regime, coup co-conspirator and Minister of Defense, General Salaad Gabeyre Kedie, also suspected of coup plotting, was detained. [69] Korshel was later released but Guled and Kedie were executed by firing squad on July 3, 1972. [70] The purging of these three senior ranking military officers, particularly General Kedie, so early in the revolution, were important events, which allowed Siad Barre to remove persons that could have possibly successfully challenged his position or constrained his power. Kedie, recognised as one of the coup co-conspirators and Minister of Defense, likely posed a threat to Siad Barre, particularly given the influence he would have likely wielded in the armed forces. Thus, it can be argued that the motive of these purges was a ploy to quickly consolidate and personalize power. Within the first two years of office, Siad Barre transitioned from a constrained leader of an institutionalised military regime to a personalist leader or military strongman.

Prior to the mid-1970s, Siad Barre had only received marginal threats to his power. The leader had been successful at pre-empting any significant threat to his rule by removing, and in many instances executing elite rivals. The removal of senior members of the SRC, and later the SRSP, were swiftly carried out and by 1977, the leader had set his attention on removing further threats to his rule, specifically from the Somali military. The entry into the Ogaden War, I argue, was likely an attempt by the Somali dictator to forestall any threat to his rule that could potentially emanate from the Somali officer corps. In the aftermath of the Ogaden War, the military was left severely weakened, and thus, any possibility of a successful military coup that could have credibly threatened the survival of the Somali leader was annihilated. The success of this coup-proofing strategy (i.e. the Ogaden War) is observed in the failed military coup attempt in 1978.

A few weeks after the withdrawal of Somali troops from the Ogaden region, on April 9, 1978, a small group of predominantly Majerteen Officers of the Somali armed forces besieged the military compound in Mogadishu. The officers' objective was clear, to overthrow Somali dictator. The failed coup effort, described as ill-organized[71], was undertaken by Colonel Mohamed Sheik Osman 'Irro' and Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf, both of

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[68] Ingiriis, 2016, pp. 99.

[69] Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents: Vol. 2, 1970, pp. B-180.

[70] Ingiriis, 2016, pp. 101. See also Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents: Vol. 5. 1973. pp. 227.

[71] Central Intelligence Agency. Central Intelligence Agency, n.d. Web. 15 Apr. 2017. *The coup attempt in Somalia: Background*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000275820.pdf

the Majeerten clan. The group of an estimated 2000 perpetrators[72] were outstripped and rapidly defeated by Siad Barre's loyalists within the Somali military. The elite rivalry event left an estimated twenty people dead and the punishment met out to the perpetrators was a violent purging by way of death by firing squad on October 26, 1978.[73] Colonel Yusuf and others escaped and went on to establish the anti-regime rebel group, the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF). On June 9, 1982, Siad Barre purged several high-ranking members of the Central Committee of the SRSP, one of whom was the Chair of the People's Assembly, Ismaa'iil Ali Abokor.[74] Charged with treason they were detained and sentenced to death by firing squad on February 8, 1988.[75]

It is noteworthy that before the Ogaden War, the Somali leader had already began stacking senior positions within the SRC/SRSP with the objective of forming a coalition in the government comprised of the members of the MOD clans.[76] This policy of clan favouritism by way of clan based packing and stacking was present in the early years of the regime, however, it advanced rapidly after the Ogaden War and the 1978 coup attempt.[77] By the mid-1980s, political power was further consolidated in members of the dictator, with his siblings, wife, brother, daughter and in-laws holding senior cabinet positions.[78] The MOD alliance had slowly dissolved and the Marehan was left the most powerful clan in Somalia. The regime became a family affair. Further, clan patronage also extended to the military and even to lower level positions. After Siad Barre took power, the Marehan personnel in the Somali military jumped an estimated 90%.[79] There were also senior members of the regime that were from other clans. However, scholars have ascribed their presence as window dressing, strategically placed to dispel accusations of clan favouritism.[80]

In sum, Mohamed Siad Barre entered Somali politics with the promise of ridding Somalia of corruption and clan favouritism that had burgeoned under the previous democratic

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[72] Ibid.
[73] Sources: http://www.biyokulule.com/A_Quisling_Scheme.htm; https://newspaperarchive.com/benton-courier-oct-26-1978-p-6/
[74] Laitin and Samatar. p. 97. Also see Legum, Colin. "Rebels attack Somalia: Ethiopia, Cuba involved?" *The Christian Science Monitor*. The Christian Science Monitor, 15 July 1982. Web. 17 Apr. 2017. http://www.csmonitor.com/1982/0715/071543.html
[75] "8 Somalis Sentenced to Die; Charge Is Plotting Sabotage." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 08 Feb. 1988. Web. 17 Apr. 2017. http://www.nytimes.com/1988/02/09/world/8-somalis-sentenced-to-die-charge-is-plotting-sabotage.html
[76] Ingiriis 2016, pp. 174.
[77] Ibid. pp. 170.
[78] Ibid. pp. 190-191.
[79] Ibid. pp.170.
[80] Ibid. 180.

but flawed civilian government. Contrary to his promises, the dictator succeeded in exceeding the corrupt practices of the civilian administration and entrenching Somali politics further into clan patronage by way of packing and stacking senior positions with members of familial clans at the exclusion of others. He established a vicious security apparatus that targeted elites and civilians alike, which created an atmosphere of terror within the Somali state. These practices, undertaken to consolidate and personalize power, were eventually the very policies that set Somalia on a chaotic and violent path and contributed to the dictator's downfall, an argument I put forward in the subsequent two chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Ogaden War: A Dictator's Coup-proofing Strategy?

Territorial skirmishes over the Ogaden region[81] have preceded and succeeded the Somalia-Ethiopia conflict of 1977-78, commonly referred to as the Ogaden War in western media and the war of western Somalia to Somalis[82]. In the literature, the war has widely been designated an irredentist conflict, which has its origins in the Partition of Africa. However, Saideman underlines that Somali irredentism has been inconsistent throughout history and has attributed the Ogaden Conflict and Somalia's previous "irredentist" scrimmages with Ethiopia, specifically that of 1963-64, to political competition.[83] Was the Ogaden War initiated to unite Greater Somalia or did the Somali dictator initiate the irredentist conflict as a coup-proofing strategy to decrease his coup risk and secure his political survival?

Saideman argues that Siad Barre initiated the war to yield to the Ogadeni faction of the military and thus, prevent an increase in his coup risk. I agree with Saideman's view that political competition or as I would state, elite rivalry, played a significant role in the Ogaden conflict. However, noting the strength of the military, would the Somali leader have cowered to its demands and temporarily reduced his coup risk or would he have sought to weaken the institution to permanently prevent future threat of military coup? I argue that the strength of the Somali military presented a security dilemma for the Somali dictator. To resolve this issue the Somali dictator likely sought to permanently weaken the military.

In this chapter, I examine the extent to which the Ogaden conflict in 1977-78 was initiated as a coup-proofing strategy by the Somali leader to debilitate the military and secure and extend his political future. In other words, the Ogaden conflict was the dictator's attempt to fight for survival. I propose that the Somali leader entered the Ogaden War when faced with increased elite rivalry and coup risk due to rising domestic unpopularity stemming from a floundering ideology, 'scientific socialism', and flailing economy. To decrease his risk of removal from the most powerful elite group, the military, Siad Barre moved to weaken the institution permanently. To support my findings, I approach this chapter in three sections.

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[81] Please see Appendix IV for a map of the Ogaden region.
[82] Ingiriis, Mohamed Haji. The suicidal state in Somalia: the rise and fall of the Siad Barre Regime 1969-1991. Lanham, MD: U Press of America, 2016. p. 137.
[83] Saideman 1998, pp. 66.

First, I examine the historical context of Somali irredentism. Second, I overview the domestic situation in Somalia prior to the conflict (1969-1976). Third, I survey the Ogaden War and present how Siad Barre used the war as a coup-proofing strategy to secure his political survival.

Historical Context of Somali Irredentism

The Partition of Africa, or the Scramble for Africa as it is also referred, ensued in the late nineteenth century, where it saw most of East Africa delegated to the colonial powers of Great Britain and Italy. Of the countries with Somali populations located in the Greater Horn of Africa (i.e. Somalia, Kenya, Djibouti and Ethiopia), only Ethiopia preserved its independence. The French administered French Somalia (Djibouti) and Britain controlled all the remaining territory in the Horn save southern Somalia, then known as Italian Somalia. Northern Somalia was referred to as British Somaliland. The only Somali territory not administered by European colonialists, the Ogaden, formed part of Ethiopia.

The administrative lines adopted during colonialism were preserved at Somalia's independence and unification (i.e. Italian Somali and British Somaliland) on July 1, 1960. Independence was bittersweet as all the Somali territories and people were not united by the independence process. The Organization of African Unity, established in May 1963, enshrined in its Charter the respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all member states.[84] Therefore, regionally, the question of Somali irredentism had not been given a sympathetic ear in the interest of political prudence and regional stability. At the time of Somalia's independence, the newly democratic government noted that the reunification of Somalia was incomplete. This innate recognition was symbolised in its national flag[85], the five pointed "Star of Unity", illustrative of the Somali lands and peoples spread over the five colonial territories[86]. Thus was the significance of the reunification of Greater Somalia to Somalis. For this reason, it is then perfectly plausible that most scholars[87] would attribute the Ogaden War and the previous conflict with Ethiopia over the Ogaden region to Somali irredentism.

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[84] "Organization of African Unity." International Organization, vol. 17, no. 4, 1963, pp. 990.
[85] Please see Appendix V for figure of the national flag of Somalia.
[86] Laitin and Samatar, 1987, pp. 69.
[87] Chazan, Naomi. *Irredentism and international politics*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991. p. 99. See also Nkaisserry, Joseph. *The Ogaden War: An Analysis of its Causes and its Impact on Regional Peace on the Horn of Africa*. United States: Army war coll carlisle barracks pa, 1997; Ambrosio, Thomas. "Irredentism." International Encyclopaedia of Political Science. (2011): p. 1346.

The first notable post-independence conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia over Ogadeni territory occurred in late 1963 and early1964 under then democratic government, prior to the March 1964 election.[88] Saideman postulates that this initial conflict was due to political competition, heightened by the upcoming parliamentary elections. The incumbent democratic government, comprised of the Somali Youth League (SYL) were in competition with the Greater Somalia League (GSL). To win the election, the SYL sought to widen their political base by adopting pan-Somalism to gain the support of the Darod (Ogaden sub-clan) and Hawiye clans, which held vast majorities.[89] It is important to note that Somalia in 1963 had also attempted to redeem Somali (Hawiye[90]) territory in northern Kenya.[91]

The expedient use of pan-Somalism may have won the SYL the election but the Somali National Army (SNA) failed to redeem either of the Somali territories in Kenya or Ethiopia. In the former instance, Britain came to the aid of Kenya and Somali forces were defeated and in the latter, Ethiopia's superior military pushed back Somali troops.[92] Subsequently, Somalia relaxed its pan-Somalism posture and assumed a policy of détente with its neighbouring states.[93] In 1967, Somalia and Kenya signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), which facilitated a cessation of 'mutual hostilities' *vis-à-vis* the territorial dispute. A similar agreement was signed with Ethiopia in the same year. Détente continued in the remaining years of Somalia's civilian government and in the early years of the Siad Barre dictatorship.

Lead up to the Ogaden War (1969-1976)

In determining possible causal or correlated factors that would have led the Somali dictator to initiate the Ogaden conflict, it is important to examine the domestic situation in Somalia in the years immediately preceding the war. It has already been established that a policy of détente was adopted by the previous civilian government. There was no sign that the new Somali leadership planned on pursuing Somali irredentism in the early years of the regime. I propose that the decision by Siad Barre to initiate the war was motivated by elite rivalry, which had heightened due to the domestic economic challenges. A keen awareness of

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[88] Saideman 1998, pp. 71.
[89] Saideman 1998, pp. 70.
[90] The Hawiye is one of the largest clans in Somalia.
[91] Saideman 1998, pp. 71.
[92] Ibid. 71.
[93] Metz 1993, pp. 182. See also Saideman 1998, pp. 73.

the economic challenges along with the potential threat posed by Somalia's professional and powerful army, likely influenced Siad Barre's decision to initiate the conflict.

As previously discussed, Siad Barre consolidated and personalized power almost immediately after assuming office in 1969. In the early years, the dictator also became consumed with the implementation of the regime's newly minted ideology, 'scientific socialism'.[94] The détente policy also continued. However, the issue of Somali irredentism re-emerged in 1973 when Somalia tabled the re-examination of the territorial dispute at the OAU Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in February 5-9, 1973.[95] Nonetheless, the tabling of territorial disputes at international fora is not an indication of future interstate conflict initiation.

The following year, interestingly, Siad Barre seemingly began an aggressive pursuit of Somali irredentism at diplomatic fora and sought to assert himself and enhance Somalia's role internationally. In 1974, the Somali leader secured chairmanship of the OAU for 1974-1975 and called for the 'self-determination' of all Somalis in the Horn of Africa.[96] Why did the Somali leader suddenly adopt a new posture on the Ogaden issue? A part of the answer lies in Somalia's new membership in the Arab League. In 1974, Somalia joined the organization, principally, to obtain additional aid to manage the drought and famine, which had begun to deleteriously impact the Somali economy.[97]

The ideology 'scientific socialism'[98], produced marginal economic success in Somalia. However, the limited achievements attributed to the socialist ideological framework were exceedingly exaggerated by the Somali dictator.[99] The drought and famine eviscerated the limited gains made by the economy under the 'scientific socialism' framework. The Somali predominantly pastoral and fragile economy crumbled, and as foreign debt climbed sharply, the country became heavily dependent on foreign aid.[100] A recession ensued and Somalia's economic woes began to have a deleterious effect on the leaders' legitimacy and popularity at home. The pressure mounted as Siad Barre and his regime sought to adequately

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[94] Makinda, Samuel M. *Superpower diplomacy in the Horn of Africa*. London & Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987, pp. 21.
[95] Iqbal, Mehrunnisa H. "The Organisation of African Unity— 1969-73." *Pakistan Horizon*, vol. 26, no. 4, 1973, pp. 50.
[96] Makinda 1987, pp. 21.
[97] Makinda 1987, pp. 21.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Laitin, David A., and Said S. Samatar. *Somalia: nation in search of a state*. Boulder, CO: Westview press, 1987. p. 116.
[100] Ibid. 121.

supply public goods and services to its population, significantly, civil servants and military personnel. Some scholars suggest that there is correlation between flailing economies and conflict initiation and leader survival. Personalist leaders are especially vulnerable in times of economic difficulty but only if their ability to distribute rents to their loyal patrons narrows.[101]

Noting the foregoing, it is plausible to surmise that given Somalia's burgeoning economic difficulties, the Somali dictator's capacity to viably maintain the support of the officer corps would have likely become increasingly challenged. This leads to significant questions. How would a dictator ensure the continued support and loyalty of the vital elite group, the military, in times of economic crisis? If a dictator feels threatened or uncertain in his ability to secure the continued loyalty of the military, what measures would he resort to in order to prevent a military coup and his removal from office? How would a leader coup-proof his regime, if he does not have the economic means to 'spoil' the military? I argue that to permanently decrease coup risk from the military, a dictator can deliberately weaken the military by occupying the officer corps in international conflict or by weakening its professionalism through packing and stacking. The Somali leader undertook both strategies. First, he initiated the conflict to occupy the military and decrease his coup risk. Second, immediately following the war he reduced the professionalism of the military through clan based stacking and exclusion.

The Somali National Army (SNA) was one of the largest, best equipped and most professional militaries in sub-Saharan Africa.[102] The professionalism that developed within the officer corps was instilled during colonial rule of Britain and Italy. During the period of democratic governance in the 1960s, the armed forces placed considerable emphasis on managing a balanced representation along Somali clan lines.[103] Following Somalia's independence, the SNA received technical assistance and training from the Soviet Union. Support from Moscow, which expanded under Siad Barre, was formalized in the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1974.[104] At the start of conflict in 1977, the SNA had grown from 5,000 troops, the size of the army at independence, to an estimated 23,000.

[101] Geddes, Barbara. "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2.1 (1999): pp. 134.
[102] Metz 1993, pp. 196.
[103] Robinson, Colin. "Revisiting the Rise and Fall of the Somali Armed Forces, 1960-2012." *Defense &Amp; Security Analysis*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2016, pp. 238.
[104] Metz 1993, pp. 183.

Ethiopia's army in terms of manpower was double that of Somalia.[105] The SNA, however, was better equipped than the Ethiopian Armed Forces. The Soviets had provided the SNA with considerable aerial and terrestrial materiel that outmatched Ethiopia's military equipment.[106] If consideration is given to Somalia's spiralling economy and substantial military prowess, one can argue that Siad Barre could have initiated war with Ethiopia to solve a commitment problem. Thus, was the war initiated to weaken the well-equipped military? The debilitation of the SNA by initiating the conflict in the Ogaden would have decreased coup risk and the dictator's likelihood of removal by military coup in the future.

The Ogaden War: A Coup-proofing Strategy?

In analysing the Ogaden conflict, scholars have emphasized two principal foci, the first being Somali irredentism and the second, the Cold War and the role of the superpowers in the Horn of Africa. Therefore, limited attention has been placed on the leaders of Ethiopia and Somalia. Mohamed Haji Ingiriis points out that both the leaders of Somalia and Ethiopia, Siad Barre and Mengistu Haile Mariam, had been seeking to legitimize their leadership under increasing domestic unrest.[107] Mengistu had recently become the leader of Ethiopia's military junta, following the ousting of Haile Selassie in 1974 and the political turmoil within the junta, which ensued subsequently.[108] I agree that Ingiriis' argument is plausible and I advance it further by suggesting that Siad Barre initiated the conflict to coup-proof his regime by first occupying and later debilitating the strongest threat to his political survival, the military.

The Ogaden War began in June 1977. The offensive was led by the Somali military in conjunction with the Ogaden based rebel group Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), which had been battling with the Ethiopian central government for its self-determination. Somalia had made rapid progress in the war within the first two months and seemed the likely victor. [109] However, by August 1977, the Soviets abandoned Somalia. This should not have come as a surprise given that prior to the initiation of the conflict, the Soviets had warned Siad Barre not to initiate the conflict with Ethiopia. The Soviets found a new superior geostrategic patron in Ethiopia. The vital loss of support of the Soviets, immediately shifted the balance in Ethiopia's favour. The Soviets had also enlisted the support of Cuban

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[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ingiriis 2016, pp.137.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.

government, which had also come to the aid of Ethiopia. Somalia lost the war and at the command of the Somali dictator, the Somali military retreated in March 1978.[110]

Since its independence, Somalia had adopted an ambiguous foreign policy that saw the country cosy up to both the Soviets and the US. Under Siad Barre, however, 'socialist' Somalia had relied upon the Soviets for military aid. However, after being abandoned by the Soviets during the war, the Somali leader turned to the US for military aid, but the US hesitant to become embroiled in the conflict indefinitely delayed its support. Scholars have attributed the leader's poor management of the conflict to naivety. However, it is equally plausible that the dictator had been a deliberate and singular motive for initiating the conflict, which had little to do with Somali irredentism. Interviews conducted by Ingiriis with former Somali military generals pointed to suspicions that one of Siad Barre's objectives was not to redeem the Ogaden region but to "dismantle the power of the army".[111] Why then would the dictator initiate the Ogaden conflict if the loss of support by the Soviets was foreseeable and US support uncertain? It stands to reason that the Somali dictator, when faced with increased coup risk due to economic constraints, used the conflict as a coup-proofing strategy to permanently destabilize the military and ensure his survival in office.

The Beginning of the End: The Decline of the Somali Military

Chiozza and Goeman's argument on leader survival, specifically *fighting for survival*, is useful in understanding the motives behind the Somali dictator's initiation of interstate war with Ethiopia. I argue that the Somali dictator, upon the recognition of waning popularity, drought and famine coupled with the unviability of scientific socialism and increasing economic woes, likely resorted to fighting for his survival by entering the Ogaden War. Noting Somalia's mounting economic constraints, I suggest that a possible motive behind the Ogaden War lay not in Somali irredentism but in coup-proofing, a strategy employed to weaken the military and diminish the leader's risk of military coup.

The Ogaden War marked the decline of the SNA. Demoralised, Somalia's military retreated from Ethiopia with severe losses to its military equipment.[112] The combat losses extended to approximately half of the overall inventory, including army and air force

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[110] Ingiriis 2016, pp. 154.
[111] Ingiriis 2016, pp. 152.
[112] Ibid.

materiel.[113] By the early 1980s, the SNA suffered continued deficiency in equipment in all units and insufficient upkeep of machinery worsened the problem.[114] An improvement in the relationship between the US and Somalia did not solve the military's problems despite an annual military assistance package that estimated US$36 to $40 million. This was, however, insufficient and the Somali military did not see its armed forces return to its pre-war prowess.[115] The military also lost several of its accomplished officers in the Ogaden War, specifically pilots. Scarcities in fuel and ammunitions along with poorly maintained and obsolete aircraft also added to the military's problems.[116]

Most importantly, the military also became increasingly fragmented along clan lines, which affected the overall professionalism and discipline among the ranks. Clan based stacking and exclusion heightened after the war. This began with the execution ordered by Siad Barre of seven Isaaq generals accused of counterrevolutionary crimes which extended to subversion of the state.[117] Purges by way of arrests and executions were not only limited to generals but to rank and file officers of the increasingly excluded Isaaq and Hawiye clans, which populated the north and centre of Somalia.[118] Clan favouritism accelerated after the Ogaden War and the 1978 attempted coup by a group of predominantly Majerteen soldiers. Coup-proofing by way of clan based stacking and exclusion throughout the army saw junior officers promoted ahead of senior officers. This led to an eventual breakdown in the military's professional standing.

In addition, morale among the officer corps sunk.[119] The emergence of insurgent activities in the 1980s also posed a challenge to the military given the disarray and indiscipline that had taken root in the army. Although the military initially managed "successful" counterinsurgency attacks, it became increasingly difficult to fight with the limited resources of the military and an unprofessional officer corps. Thus, by the late 1980s, the Somali military had significantly declined, and by 1990, it was on the verge of collapse

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[113] "Somalia: The Status of the Armed Forces." *Central Intelligence Agency*. Memorandum dated March 4, 1982. Central Intelligence Agency, n.d. Web. 24 June 2017, pp.1.
[114] Metz 1993, pp. 186.
[115] Ibid.
[116] CIA Memorandum dated March 4, 1982, pp. 5.
[117] Rotberg, Robert I. *State failure and state weakness in a time of terror*. Cambridge, Mass: World Peace Foundation, 2003. p. 136.
[118] Central Intelligence Agency. Central Intelligence Agency, n.d. Web. 15 Apr. 2017. *The coup attempt in Somalia: Background*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000275820.pdf
[119] Ibid. pp. 4.

along with the Somali state.[120] It is plausible that the Ogaden War had been initiated as a coup-proofing strategy by the Somali leader to weaken the Somali army at a moment of increased domestic unrest. To decrease his coup risk and prevent future coup threat from the military, Siad Barre likely used the Ogaden War as a coup-proofing strategy to fight for his political survival. In the following chapter, I discuss how extended use of coup-proofing strategies by the Somali leader contributed to civil war onset.

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[120] Metz 1993, pp. 186.

CHAPTER SIX

From Consolidation to Disintegration:
The Impact of Coup-Proofing on Civil War Onset

The first rumblings that Somalia was potentially headed toward civil war began in Somalia in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The Somali dictator's policy of clan based stacking and exclusion had already permeated state institutions and the Somali military. The coup-proofing strategy that had helped the Somali dictator personalize and consolidate power, ensuring the leader's political survival, had deeply fractionalised Somali society along clan lines. The Somali leader had the loyalty of the Darod sub-clan alliance, MOD, but members of increasingly excluded clans such as the Majeerteen, Hawiye and Isaaq became aggrieved and dissatisfied with the Somali leadership. The fractionalization and burgeoning indiscipline in the military spurned grievances that led to the 1978 and 1981 coup attempts, which in turn, triggered the creation of the first insurgent groups to emerge under Siad Barre.

In this chapter, I discuss how years of power consolidation sparked the civil war that led to the ousting of Siad Barre and the collapse of the Somali state. I argue that the ongoing use of coup proofing strategies, specifically, clan based stacking and exclusion, within key institutions and pillars of elite support such as the SRC, SRSP and the military, contributed to the onset of a civil war. I first discuss the emergence of opposition movements, specifically, the transition from coups to insurgency to full scale civil war. Second, I analyse how the long-term strategy of coup proofing by way of clan based exclusion led to civil war onset.

Switching from Coup d'état to Insurgency

The anti-government sentiment throughout Somalia erupted in the later 1970s and early 1980s. The failed coup attempts in 1978 and 1981 both gave rise to the establishment of the first armed anti-regime groups, the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and the Somali National Movement (SNM), respectively. The SSDF, predominantly Majerteen, initially comprised of the officers that escaped government forces when it became evident that their coup effort in 1978 was likely to be unsuccessful. Those who fled founded the insurgent group in Ethiopia, where they sought political asylum.[121] Though principally

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[121] Brons, Maria. *Society, Security, Sovereignty and the State in Somalia: from Statelessness to Statelessness?* Utrecht, International Books, 2001. pp. 185.

Majerteen, the SSDF also comprised of Hawiye combatants, intellectuals, politicians and former military officers.[122] The group adopted Marxism as its ideology and its political agenda included the removal of the Somali leader from office, deepening relations with the Arab foreign states, peace talks with Ethiopia and non-alignment in international politics.[123] The SSDF based its headquarters in Ethiopia and received the support of Mengistu.

The SNM, established in London in April 1981[124], was primarily comprised of members of the Isaaq and Hawiye clans exiled in the United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia.[125] The group was, however, predominantly Isaaq. The formation of the opposition group, whose majority clan populated the northern Somalia in the cities of Hargeisa, Berbera and Burao, was a countermeasure to defend the Isaaq from the exclusionary policies of the regime.[126] The SNM's grievances were social, economic and political.[127] The group was especially aggrieved due to its clan's limited representation in politics and what it deemed to be neglect by the regime in developing the north. Further, the Isaaq was impacted negatively by the regime's economic policies vis-à-vis the exportation of livestock, which was the region's main source of income.[128] In other words, the SNM had long observed the Somali leader's favouritism of specific clans at the exclusion of others and had grown resentful. The increasing repressive and violent measures undertaken by the security apparatus of the regime in the wake of defeat in the Ogaden War and the continued distancing of the regime from Islam in favour of scientific socialism and secularism was also a concern for the SNM.[129] The objective of the SNM centred on overthrowing Siad Barre and establishing a decentralized government.[130] The SSDF and SNM received military aid from South Yemen, Libya and also from Ethiopia, where it relocated its headquarters.[131]The Somali dictator had characterised both groups as anti-revolutionary and unpatriotic given their ties to the Ethiopian government.

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[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Rotberg, Robert I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Cambridge, MA [Etc.], World Peace Foundation [Etc.], 2003. pp. 136-137.
[125] Spears, Ian S. *Civil War in African States: The Search for Security*. Boulder, CO [Etc.], First Forum Press, 2010. pp. 142.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Brons 2001. pp. 185.
[128] Lewis, I. M. *A modern history of Somalia: nation and state in the Horn of Africa*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1988. pp. 252.
[129] Brons 2001, pp. 185.
[130] Spears 2010, pp. 143.
[131] Brons 2001, pp. 186.

The SNM had greater success in its operations than the SSDF[132] and therefore, was a greater threat to the regime. The former launched its first assault on the regime in January 1983 by targeting a prison in Mandera, which set free several Isaaq political dissidents.[133] In December 1986, the SNM assassinated the NSS Chief of the northern region. By this time the SNM had abandoned their previous 'religious-conservative approach' and had adopted secularism.[134] The SNM and the Isaaq population at large suffered the consequences of the insurgents' operations. To quell tensions, Siad Barre sought to co-opt the members of both groups by providing offers of amnesty and rents.[135] The SSDF agreed to the conditions and many became members of Somali military.[136]

In the case of the SNM, co-option was less successful. However, the regime did succeed in stoking conflict between the Isaaq and Hawiye members of the SNM, and in 1987 the Hawiye left the movement.[137] In the following year in April 1988, Mengistu and Siad Barre signed an agreement pledging to cease support for insurgents in each other's countries.[138] Subsequently, the SNM once again relocated, this time to northern Somalia where it captured Burao and a portion of Hargeisa in May 1988. Berbera was also captured. It was in this moment that Somalia descended into a full scale civil war. The Somali leader's counterinsurgency strategy to recapture the cities involved the disproportionate and devastating use of indiscriminate violence. The strategy included the massacre of Isaaq non-combatants, the scorching of towns, killing of livestock, poisoning of water supplies and rape. Most notably, the regime undertook an aerial bombardment campaign that levelled Hargeisa and culminated in the deaths of an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 northern Somalis and the displacement of many more.[139] By 1989, the military regained control of the cities, however, the SNM still operated in the periphery.

In 1989, Somalia also saw the emergence of additional insurgency groups, first the United Somali Congress (USC) and later the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM). The USC was established by former Hawiye members of the SNM and while the SPM were formed by the increasingly aggrieved members of one of Siad Barre's clans, the Ogaden. The Hawiye,

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[132] Woodward, Peter. *The Horn of Africa Politics and International Relations*. London, I.B. Tauris, 2002, pp. 69.
[133] Spears 2010, pp. 143. Also see Lewis 1988, pp. 253.
[134] Brons 2001, pp. 202.
[135] Spears 2010, pp. 144.
[136] Brons 2001, pp. 202.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Spears 2010, pp. 144.
[139] Ibid. pp. 3.

the largest clan in Somalia, had always been perceived as a threat to Siad Barre and thus, was treated appropriately. The Ogadeni, on the other hand, withdrew its support for Siad Barre upon the signing of the agreement with Ethiopia and the purge of the Minister of Defence was also unpopular among the clan, particularly those in the Somali armed forces.[140] The SPM comprised of aggrieved former military personnel and civilian combatants, disillusioned with Siad Barre's rule.[141] The Dulbahante also deserted the Somali leader and the MOD clan alliance dissolved.

Siad Barre increasingly concentrated power in his close family, the Maheren. In October 1989, two decades after the regime took power, it became clear that Siad Barre was approaching ever closer to the final days of his tenure. The guerrilla attacks continued and the insurgency captured more and more territories throughout Somalia.[142] Up until this juncture, the rebel groups operated separately. However, in mid-1990 at the Mustahil Congress, the various opposition groups, the Isaaq SNM, Hawiye USC and the Ogadeni SPM, converged in Ethiopia and pledged to coordinate efforts to overthrow Siad Barre.[143] In December, the USC led a two-month offensive on Mogadishu and on January 26, 1991, Siad Barre was ousted from power.[144]

Coup-proofing and Civil War Onset

The onset of the civil war in Somalia in the late 1980s was a direct impact of Siad Barre's long-term exclusionary policies implemented to consolidate power in his regime. This policy of clan patronage and favouritism exacerbated the fragmentation along clan lines in a society that was already sensitive to clan politics. Increasingly, resentment became entrenched in the excluded clans and given the geographic clan distribution in Somalia, the exclusion of all clans with the exception of Siad Barre's Marehan, meant that the dictator lost a vital source of information and support from the different regions throughout the country. This self-inflicted loss of support of diverse Somali clans made the possibility of collecting crucial intelligence on specific political dissidents in specific regions difficult, and therefore, made the implementation of selective violence virtually impossible to undertake successfully. As such, the Somali dictator relied upon mass killing and genocide in an attempt to supress and/or deter insurgents.

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[140] Ibid. pp. 145.
[141] Rotberg 2003, pp. 137.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Brons 2001, pp. 209. See also Spears 2010, pp. 148.
[144] Spears 2010, pp. 148.

Further, the challenges the regime encountered staving off the guerrilla operations of the insurgency left it with few viable options. Unable to adequately stifle the guerrilla tactics of the insurgents, Siad Barre resorted to the expedience and cost effectiveness of mass killing and genocide. This counterinsurgency strategy by way of indiscriminate violence proved counterproductive given that the use of violence seemed not to have supressed the insurgent movements but to expand their base of civilian support and embolden the opposition. The emergence of the SSDF, SNM, SPM and USC may have been attributed to clan exclusion but the use of indiscriminate violence had the opposite of the regime's intended effect and gave the groups added impetus to push ahead with the shared objective of removing Siad Barre from office.

The theories put forward by Powell and Roessler on 'risk substitution' and the 'strategic logic of ethnic exclusion', respectively, are useful to understand the negative consequences associated with the coup-proofing strategies of leaders, such as Siad Barre. The Somali dictator, early in this political career, relied heavily on coup-proofing to personalize power. However, this protracted use of coup-proofing ultimately led to the onset of civil war. The clan based exclusion, which heightened after the Ogaden war, created additional problems for the Somali leader. The initiation of the Ogaden War saw to the weakening of the military vis-à-vis reduced materiel capacity and professionalism. As Pilster and Bohmelt note, heavily coup-proofed armed forces are likely to suffer increased combat losses than disciplined, professional militaries. Therefore, the ability of the SNA to adequately manage insurgents over an extended period would have been very unlikely.

Clan exclusion was an especially perilous policy when applied to the officer corps as it likely increased the risk of clan based regional insurgencies. This supports Roessler's argument that purging by ethnicity, and in this case exclusion by clan, increases the capacity for insurgents to mobilize.[145] Also noteworthy, is Powell's astute insight which suggests that exclusion by ethnic, or in this case, clan lines increases the probability of 'group level grievances' against the leader and increases a desire to rebel en masse.[146]

In sum, years of coup-proofing by way of clan based stacking and exclusion in the short term secured the Somali leader's political survival for several years. However, this practice was not sustainable. The anarchic and insecure world of authoritarian politics

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[145] Roessler, Philip G. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa." *World Politics*, vol. 63, no. 2, 2011, pp. 302.
[146] Powell, Jonathan M. "Trading Coups for Civil War." *African Security Review*, 2014, pp. 336.

persisted and the Somali leader became increasingly suspicious of his inner circle. The leader entered office with a fairly balanced government, which saw representation by most clans in the early years of his rule. However, within a few years, the clan balance became heavily uneven as the Somali dictator began to organize the government along his familial clans and sub-clans. In the mid-1980s, the MOD clan alliance began to dissolve and government posts became increasingly occupied by the leader's immediate family. In the long-term, the policy of clan based exclusion led to the onset of civil war, which saw insurgents organize by clan and spurred clan based regional conflict. Extended coup-proofing ultimately contributed to the leader's removal from office.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

This qualitative study on elite rivalry, coup-proofing and leader survival under the Somali dictator, has provided important insight on the decision-making processes of authoritarian leaders. With the use of theoretical and historical analysis, I argue that the Somali leader relied on coup-proofing strategies to consolidate, personalize and sustain power for over two decades. These techniques included purges, reshuffles, distribution of rents and the formation of parallel security forces. The coup-proofing strategies of the leader extended to most institutions including the SCR/SRSP and the military. Most notably, the Somali leader relied heavily on clan loyalties, specifically of his familial MOD clans, and excluded and neglected perceived rival clans such as the Isaaq and Hawiye. The longstanding policy of clan based stacking and exclusion fractionalized Somali society and eventually contributed to various clan based regional insurgent movements that contributed to the ousting of Siad Barre.

I also argue that the initiation of the Ogaden War at that specific juncture in Somali history had less to do with Somali irredentism and instead, was in itself a coup-proofing strategy to reduce coup risk by first occupying and then irrevocably debilitating the Somali military. Somalia may have lost the war but the conflict was ex post efficient for the Somali dictator as it permitted Siad Barre to coup-proof the military by ensuring reduced materiel capacity due to battle losses and inadequate upkeep. The purging of senior generals as well as rank and file military officers, after the war, also resulted in the breakdown of military's professionalism and discipline. A coup-proofed military resolved a crucial commitment problem for the leader. However, the coup-proofing strategies that resulted in the exclusion of rival clans and which incapacitated the Somali military eventually acted as the triggers that contributed to the onset of civil war in the late 1980s and the leader's ousting in 1991.

The entrenched fractionalization of Somali society undertaken during Siad Barre's rule ultimately led to insurgency on the part of the aggrieved and excluded clans. This policy of clan exclusion resulted in the state's loss of the monopoly violence, particularly, in the northern and central regions of the country. To regain control the Somali leader launched a counterinsurgency strategy that cheaply relied upon indiscriminate violence. Although the

armed forces briefly regained control of the insurgent territories in the north, the counterinsurgency strategy was ultimately ineffective. The use of indiscriminate violence as a counterinsurgency strategy fuelled a sense of injustice commonly associated with this type of violence,[147] and emboldened insurgents and facilitated the recruitment of new militias. Thus, while coup-proofing contributed to civil war onset, the use of indiscriminate violence by the state security apparatus also played an important role in the Siad Barre's downfall. Overall, the coup-proofing strategies of the Somali leader were initially successful as it ensured him longevity in office. In the long term, however, those policies precipitated the onset of civil war, which ultimately led to leader's ousting and the devastating collapse of the Somali central government.

Today, almost twenty-seven years after the Siad Barre's rule came to an end, Somalia continues to fight to rebuild itself. The civil war, which began under Siad Barre did not end with his ousting. The various clan based insurgent groups failed to adopt and implement a viable governance model to fill the vacuum that followed the leader's departure. Instead, the anti-government insurgency, which began in the late 1980s, morphed into interclan civil conflict. Somalia continued its descent into further insecurity and instability as warlords exploited and profited from humanitarian assistance efforts.[148] Additionally, since the mid-2000s, Somalia has also had to manage the rise of Al-Qaeda affiliate, Al-Shabaab. Thus far, the international community has supported the regional efforts of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to address the security challenges and bring stability to the country, as the Somalia seeks rebuild itself.

It is important to note, however, that there are regions within Somalia that have maintained a relatively consistent level of security and stability since the dictatorship ended. For instance, Somaliland, formerly British Somaliland, declared itself independent in 1991 and has since focussed on nation building. Although the territory is not officially recognised as an independent state by the international community, Somaliland has developed its own constitution, currency, armed forces and has held several elections. Although Somaliland has flourished, research should be undertaken to determine what impact the dictatorship has had on the region. For instance, has the territory escaped its authoritarian past or is the legacy of authoritarianism still present in its contemporary governance structure?

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[147] Kalyvas, 2006, pp. 151 and 154.
[148] Abild, Erik. "Creating Humanitarian Space: A Case Study of Somalia." *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2010, pp. 76, 79, 86.

An additional line of research can also be undertaken on the Hargeisa genocide to determine the role memory has played in the construction and development of Somaliland. Further, to what extent does the legacy of the Hargeisa genocide impact the reconciliation process between Somaliland and the internationally recognised Somali government in Mogadishu? Given that there is a dearth of research on the legacy of trauma in IR, the study of the Hargeisa genocide and other mass killing events during the dictatorship will be an interesting addition to the field.

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APPENDICES

Elite Rivalry Appendix

country	ccode	year	leader	mil	indmil	sp	per	mon	warlor	hybrid	Source of Leadership Support	cleader1	cleader2	cleader3	cleader4	cleader5	success1	success2	success3	success4	success5	coup1	coup2	coup3	coup4	purgecount	purge	event	Elite purge	Names of purged elites
Somalia	520	1969	Shermarke, Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SYL, Mil	Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre, Revolutionary Council					1					2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
Somalia	520	1970	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Mil	Gens. Korshel, Guled, Kedie and others					3					0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	General Jama Ali Qoorshel (Korshel), General Mohammed Aynaanshe Guled (Guuleed)
Somalia	520	1971	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Mil											0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	General Salaad Gabeyre Kedie (Kediye)
Somalia	520	1972	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Mil											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1973	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Mil											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1974	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Mil											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1975	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Mil											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1976	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Mil, SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1977	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1978	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP	unspecified					2					1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	Colonel Mohamed Sheik Osman 'Irro' (Mahammad Sheik Usmaan 'Cirro') and Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf among others
Somalia	520	1979	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1980	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1981	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	
Somalia	520	1982	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Ismaa'iil Ali Abokor and six other high-ranking officials from the SRSP
Somalia	520	1983	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1984	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1985	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1986	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1987	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1988	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP	LTG Mohammed Ali Samater					2					0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
Somalia	520	1989	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1990	Siad Barre	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Somalia	520	1991	Siad Barre								SRSP											0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Source and Codebook

Elite Purges and Names of Purged Elites: Mohamed Siad Barre Regime (1969-1991)

1970[149]: In April 1970, General Jama Ali Korshel (Qoorshel), (former) Head of the Police Force[150], and General Mohammed Aynaanshe Guled (Guuleed) are detained[151] under the suspicion of plotting a coup. Both held the position Vice President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council[152]. Korshel was later released but Guled was executed by firing squad on July 3, 1972.[153] Elite purge coded[154].

1971[155]: In May 1971, General Salaad Gabeyre Kedie (Kediye), Secretary of State for Defense[156], was detained under suspicion of plotting a coup to overthrow Siad Barre. Executed by firing squad alongside Guled on July 3, 1972.[157] Elite purge coded.

1978[158]: On April 9, 1978, a failed coup attempt was undertaken by factions within the military led by senior military officers Colonel Mohamed Sheik Osman 'Irro'[159] (Mahammad Sheik Usmaan 'Cirro') and Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf[160]. The coup attempt, which has been described as 'ill-organized"[161], was carried out in response to interclan conflict which burgeoned with the loss of the Ogaden War of 1977-78. Elite purge coded.

1982: The Chair of the People's Assembly, Ismaa'iil Ali Abokor and six other senior members of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) are detained for treason on June 9, 1982.[162] They were sentenced

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[149] Note**:** It is apparent that there is a gap in the data shown on elite rivalry appendix. General Kedie was detained in 1971 for coup plot and not in 1970. There is also conflicting data regarding the arrest of General Guled. Some reports have suggested that he was arrested with Kedie in 1971.

[150] Laitin, David A., and Said S. Samatar. *Somalia: nation in search of a state*. Boulder, CO: Westview press, 1987. p. 81. See also Central Intelligence Agency. Directorate of Intelligence Weekly Summary. May 8, 1970. p. 26 https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79-00927A007900020001-5.pdf

[151] Ingiriis, Mohamed Haji. *The suicidal state in Somalia: the rise and fall of the Siad Barre Regime 1969-1991*. Lanham, MD: U Press of America, 2016. p. 99.

[152] Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents: Vol. 2. 1970. p. B-179.

[153] Ingiriis. p. 32; p. 101.

[154] Nelson, Harold D, and D.C.). Foreign Area Studies American University (Washington. Somalia, a Country Study. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O., 1982. p. 50.

[155] Note: This data is coded as an elite purge and General Kedie's name is listed.

[156] Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents: Vol. 2. 1970. p. B-180.

[157] Ingiriis. p. 101. See also Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents: Vol. 5. 1973. p. 227.

[158] Note: Research unveiled the names of the coup contributors as seen above.

[159] Ingiriis. p. 159.

[160] Ingiriis, Mohamed Haji. *The suicidal state in Somalia: the rise and fall of the Siad Barre Regime 1969-1991*. Lanham, MD: U Press of America, 2016. p. 161. "UNICEF Somalia Monthly Review." N.p., n.d. Web. 15 Apr. 2017. https://www.unicef.org/somalia/SOM_UNICEFSomRvwOct04FNL.pdf
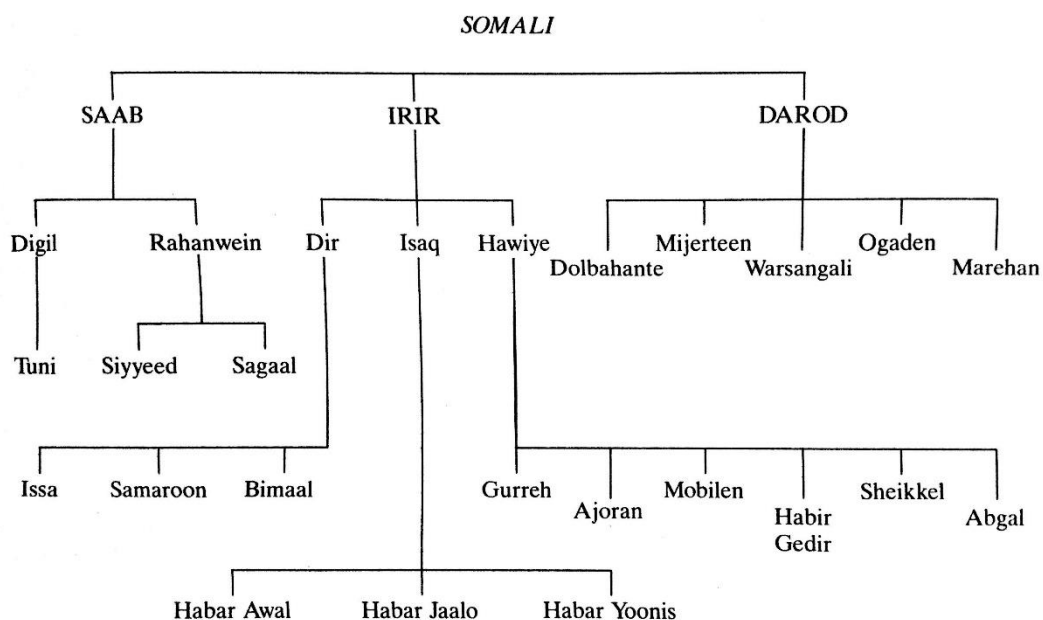
[161] Central Intelligence Agency. Central Intelligence Agency, n.d. Web. 15 Apr. 2017. *The coup attempt in Somalia: Background*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000275820.pdf

[162] Laitin and Samatar. p. 97. Also see Legum, Colin. "Rebels attack Somalia: Ethiopia, Cuba involved?" *The Christian Science Monitor*. The Christian Science Monitor, 15 July 1982. Web. 17 Apr. 2017. http://www.csmonitor.com/1982/0715/071543.html

to death by firing squad on February 8, 1988.[163] It is unsure whether the execution occurred. Elite purge coded.

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[163] "8 Somalis Sentenced to Die; Charge Is Plotting Sabotage." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 08 Feb. 1988. Web. 17 Apr. 2017. http://www.nytimes.com/1988/02/09/world/8-somalis-sentenced-to-die-charge-is-plotting-sabotage.html

Figure 1: Genealogical Chart of Somalia


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                              SOMALI

           SAAB                 IRIR                    DAROD

   Digil      Rahanwein    Dir   Isaq  Hawiye   Mijerteen      Ogaden
                                            Dolbahante   Warsangali    Marehan
   Tuni    Siyyeed   Sagaal


       Issa   Samaroon   Bimaal        Gurreh    Mobilen        Sheikkel
                                          Ajoran        Habir        Abgal
                                                        Gedir

          Habar Awal   Habar Jaalo   Habar Yoonis
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Source: Lyons, Terrence, and Ahmed I. Samatar[164]

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[164] Lyons, Terrence, and Ahmed I. Samatar. "Somalia: State Collapse, Multilateral Intervention, and Strategies for Political Reconstruction." Brookings Occasional Papers,1995.

Figure 2: Clan Distribution in Somalia
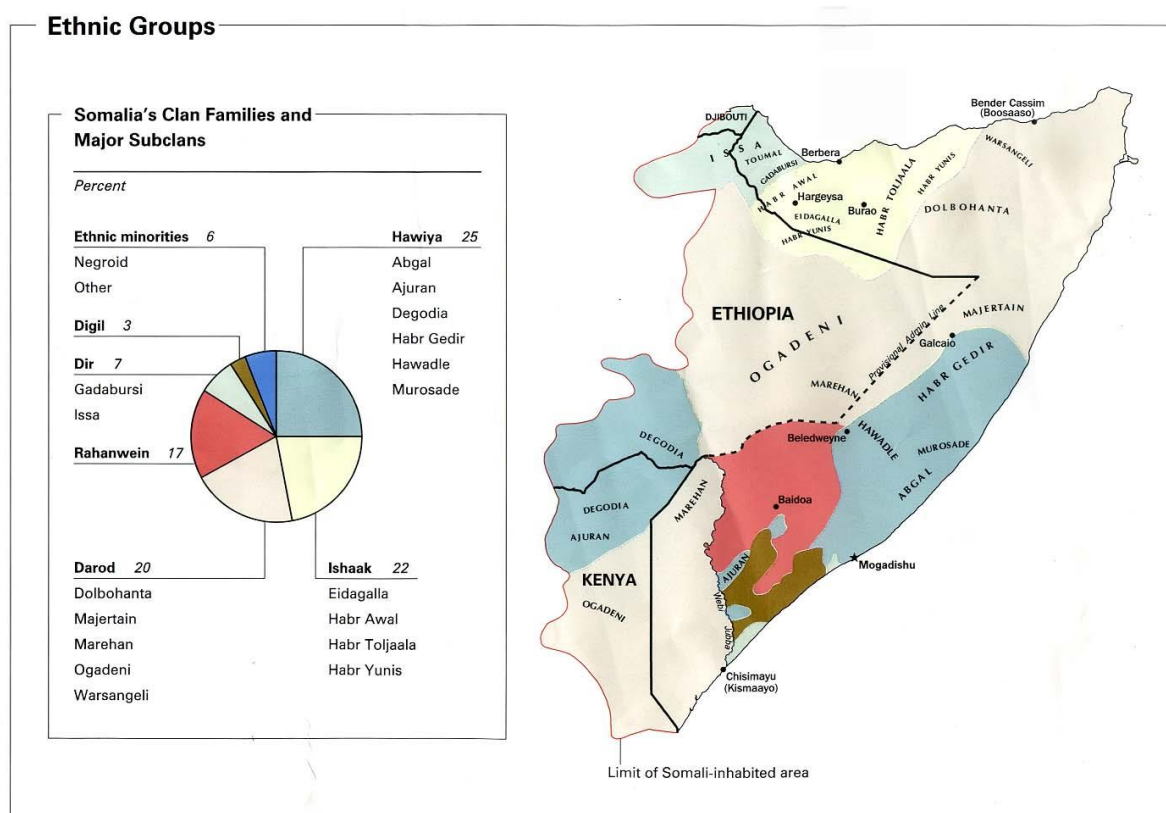
Source: University of Texas Libraries[165]

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[165] Map of clan distribution in Somalia in the year 1990. Source: The University of Texas at Austin. University of Texas Libraries.
http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/somalia_ethnic92.jpg

Map: Area inhabited by the Somali people in the Horn of Africa

Source: University of Texas Libraries[166]

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[166] This map of the Horn of Africa shows the approximate area inhabited by ethnic Somalis in 1972.
Source: The University of Texas at Austin. University of Texas Libraries
 http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/horn_of_africa_rel_1972.jpg

Figure 3: National Flag of Somalia

Source: Wikimedia.org[167]

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[167] Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a0/Flag_of_Somalia.svg