

## **Somaliland Security at the Crossroads: Pitfalls and Potentials**

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### **Abstract**

*This study examines the peace and stability of Somaliland and how a once the improving security has declined due to the contribution of various factors such as the dramatic decline of the cooperation on security and other related matters with bilateral partners not only in the region, but also beyond, and the unity of the Somaliland citizens which was the cornerstone of the state security which is fading under the leadership of Silanyo. The study also examines the challenges that face the security of Somaliland from within and its implications to the regional security and stability. The study has chosen to examine the nexus between three separate, but interrelated factors which require clear and informed thinking of the day: geopolitics and vulnerability of the region and the threat posed by the global war on 'terrorism', weak leadership style and presence of Islamist elements within the Somaliland's decision-making circles, hollowed-out institutions and high-level, pervasive corruption. The study connects the security of Somaliland with the stability for the wider region, which has great implications both on the human and state securities. The study argues that the jihadi surge in Somalia, which is the tragic, violent outcome of steadily deteriorating political dynamics since the state collapse in 1991 and conquered many parts of south-central Somalia reveal the fragility of the Horn African region. The conclusion suggests the need for re-formulating the Somaliland's state security institutions and re-engaging the skilled security personnel dismissed by Silanyo regime to foster functioning security that could cultivate stability in the long-term both in Somaliland and the Horn region.*

**Keywords:** security, survival, regime security, state security, human security, geopolitics, strategy, 'terrorism', state collapse

### ***1. Introduction***

Somaliland, a *de facto* independent state in the Horn of Africa was a British protectorate over 80 years. Shortly after gaining its independence in 1960 it merged with the Italian colony in Somalia to form the first Somalia Republic. Following the collapse of the Somali state in 1991 due to the civil war, Somaliland declared its independence from Somalia, claiming the colonial boundaries, it inherited from the British Government in 1960 (Michael, 2004; Nasir, 2013a). As a result of a continues struggle for building the state, it managed to develop an authority, forge a functioning peace with promising security, and establish robust institutions with viable and flourishing economy with limited international engagement. Thus, the condition of peace and security established by Somaliland has led it to enter into formal and informal cooperative arrangements with states and intergovernmental organizations, including: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, South Africa, Denmark, United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the United Nations (ICG, 2006). The Cooperation has covered a range of issues, including security, immigration, trade and development assistance among other fronts.

Since then, Somaliland has undergone a remarkable political transformation, while it has departed from the customary way of governance to a constitutional democratic form of government under the Constitution, which was approved by the public in a referendum conducted on 31 May 2001. From that time onwards, Somaliland has gone through different levels of presidential, parliamentary, and local elections, while the opposing contesting parties have accepted the results (Nasir, 2014). Given the emphasis on these achievements, the experience of Somaliland in state-building approaches with limited international engagement should be drawn not only to the Somalia's failed state, but also to the other distressed regions in the world.

This study, therefore, examines the major factors that challenge Somaliland's peace and security that face not only the security and stability of Somaliland, but also polarizes beyond the Horn region. The study understands the motives that made Somaliland state institutions weak and ineffective and has great implications both for the security and stability of Somaliland and the wider region.

## **2. Security: A Conceptual Framework**

The term security, has demonstrated controversies in relation to its conceptualization; but its simplest explanation should be initially characterized as the freedom from threats, anxiety, danger or political coercion (Anne & V.Spike, 1999). But, the political thinkers have described the term as one of those common sense, pre-defined terms in the international relations orthodoxy that appear to be simple until examined with a critical eye (Buzan & Hansen, 2009). Although this definition may fall under critical debate, it is worth noting that prior to the end of the Cold War, security was mainly focused on military power and the relations between/among sovereign states those predominantly spearheaded by the two Superpowers of the day, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States of America (USA).

The most important thing that deserves to emphasize is the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end up of the Cold War. Therefore, the end of the Cold War neither eliminated the international security threats nor regional vulnerabilities. Thus, the September 11, 2001 terror attacks on the United States was another insecurity catastrophe which deeply exposed the traditional differences among the mainstream theories of the international relations those mainly focuses on security and peace (Booth, 2007). For instance, the differences between the camps of traditional realism and critical theories has demonstrated an extreme debates and disagreement over the concept; therefore, the realism mainly advocated the strengthening of conventional security instruments and the borders of states, or building and establishing strong institutions responsible for governance in order to strengthen domestic control to prevent either people or governments not felt further intensified fears and threats (Chris & Kirsten, 2005). According to this argument, to ensure security at the national level, governments should be recommended to trust their ability to deter attacks or to defend against them (Christopher, 2005). In this regard, such capacity has centered on the uses of military power among nation-states.

Furthermore, it deserves mention that Governments have traditionally been solely responsible for providing their own security which commonly referred as strategic security. But, in the contemporary world politics the re-conceptualization of security has been institutionalized under the cover of collective security (Buzan & Hansen, 2009). This re-formulation rests upon an understanding that security threats are not necessarily political in nature, although the repercussions of such threats eventually may call for political solutions. But there are non-political threats against security, for instance, environmental problems have not usually been incorporated in definitions of security, yet the political repercussions from environmental degradation are increasingly being realized plus poverty, diseases, among others.

On the other hand, while the critical theory is a new and heterodox approach which emerged in the 1990s; it mainly rejects the realist or neo-realist arguments over the security (Andrew, 2007). According to the critical theorists, although those who carried out the September 11, 2001 attacks have destructed the icons<sup>i</sup> of the world's most greatest and powerful nation; America's response has created unnecessary human suffering which remains a central fact of international life<sup>ii</sup>. Therefore, critical theory argues that although it is hard to ignore the changes brought by September 11, this change does neither justify to any form of domination nor collective punishment (Burchill et al. 2005). But, domination or collective punishment should be terminated or removed; peace, freedom, justice and equality for all should be promoted and encouraged. Nevertheless, the unfinished war on 'terrorism' spearheaded by Washington and London has so far done little to satisfy the critical theorist's concerns. Indeed, it has been argued by many critical theorists that it is more likely to introduce 'de-civilizing' forces into international relations.

In light of the latter argument, societies and individuals have become the primary concern of the issue of security in post-Cold War era. In mid-1990s, 'human security'<sup>iii</sup> emerged as a hallmark of the concept of 'responsibility to protect'<sup>iv</sup>. This concept has not eliminated the role, responsibility and sovereignty of the state, but has certainly altered the power of the state (J. Maclean et al. 2006). In this sense, connecting the state security with the human security is the most important thing that is hard to ignore and deserves explanation. To put it in another way, it is important to put emphasis on the protection of an individual welfare which is more important than the state.

To be frank with the reader, the African leaders since the independence failed to meet the needs and expectations of their citizens, rather emphasized on the capacity of the state's coercive apparatus to be used to suppress dissent and discontent among the socially and economically insecure citizens (Nasir, 2014a). This has never helped Africa's state survival and its human security. But, led many African states to collapse or remain in a fragile and insecure state of affairs.

Regardless of these contending ideas over the term, security should be regarded as a matter of ensuring national pride and survival with preserving the human dignity and integrity of the citizens; while it is widely believed that human and state can neither survive nor live unless there is peace, security, justice and stability (Burke, 2007). On the other hand, it deserves mentioning the link between survival and security. However, survival is equated with existence or enduring as a physical being, while security is described as a survival-plus, thus, *plus* here is the choice that comes from (relative) freedom from existential threats and it is this freedom that gives security its instrumental value (Booth, 2007). Therefore, this evolution is linked to the increasing tendency of threats in societies that arise from internal or external factors. Nevertheless, survival, neither guarantees security, nor eliminate threats.

In this manuscript, security didn't stand regime security, it refers both to human and state in the dawn of the twenty-first century. Nevertheless, the responsibility of formulating and implementing security strategy and policy by responsible government aims to address and eliminate the causes and fears of dissatisfaction of the citizens such as economic, political or social instability. This, however, could be regarded as one of the most effective ways that brings a long-term solution for the existing problems and preserves the security of the individuals for one hand, and the protection of the state apparatuses in the long-term for the other, since the nation-state is no longer the sole unit to be protected.

Although the theories of security discussed in this manuscript have demonstrated controversies both in nature and character in contemporary international politics in a changing world. Somaliland has managed in building peace and maintaining security in a volatile and fragile region, while cooperating on security and other matters with bilateral partners not only in the region, but also the world. But, this security is not without challenges. Since 2010, the elected government led by Silanyo has not demonstrated a visible improvement in the security sector due to the involvement of many various actors; some of those actors have crucial influence on the decision-making circle which exposed an adversary impact on the regional security and stability<sup>v</sup>.

### ***3. Two Vulnerable and Volatile Regions: The Nexus Between the Horn of Africa and the Middle East***

Fundamentally, the Horn of Africa is one of the most strategic and geopolitical region for one hand, and the most vulnerable and fragile for the other (Nasir, 2013). This fragility and vulnerability are attributed its diversity in terms of ethnicity, religion and other elements plus the presence of enormous natural resources. This also has a link with its proximity to one of the most crucial and volatile regions as well, the Middle East. This region has the largest reserve oil in the globe. The two regions are interwoven with history, culture, religion, ethnicity and share many commonalities such as colonial legacy that made them still bleed. Hence, any development that takes place in the Middle Eastern area directly or indirectly affects the Horn region as well (Schwab, 1978; Alexander, 2010). It is thus clear that there is great diversity in the Horn region in terms of size, population, resources, history and politics, and each of that attributes has its own unique characteristics and challenges. In this regard, since the region is a vital factor in the flow of oil it became the center for the strategic configurations of the Superpowers and the recent America's war on '*terrorism*' which severely affected not only the Horn region, but also the entire African continent (M. Makinda, 1982; Woodward, 2006).

The U.S. offensive engagement in the Middle Eastern political dynamics has also been considered as a critical issue. The U.S. and West's interests in the wider region have generally been due to oil as well as preservation and protection of the State of Israel, which serves the America's empire in the Middle East. For that reason and for many others, America and its allies helped Arab dictators and corrupt rulers to remain in power (Shmuel, 2011; Stephen, 2011; Oded, 2012). Thus ensure their national interests and safeguard the puppets, while this has never helped the people of the region, but end up suffering and losing out hope. This kind of engagement is the major cause of the eruption of the Arab Spring which deposed long-time U.S. friends in the Middle East, for instance, the longtime ruler of Egypt, Mohammed Hosni Mubarak.

Beyond these quite distressing characteristics of the two regions, the Horn of Africa was a region of conflicts and strife in the form of inter or/and intra state conflicts for the past six decades as the Middle East. The 'War on Ideas' between the NATO and Warsaw camps and the negative involvement of the Superpowers made the region a battleground, which led the Horn citizens to remain in destitute and abject living conditions, and made many states as orphans of the Cold War, such as Somalia. For instance, Somalia and Ethiopia fought over the border in one of the interstate wars in the Horn of Africa in the 1964 and 1977–78. While on the other hand, Ethiopia and Eritrea engaged another quite similar war and clashed over the border in a war characterized as one of the bloodiest wars between the Horn states post-Cold War era which led over seventy thousands of people from the both to perish and displaced others (Jon, 2003). Due to this, the lingering conflicts, security dilemmas, the war and the fear of war among or/and within the states in the wider Greater Horn of Africa is the attribute of the Africa's arc of conflict, the Horn of Africa (Abebe & Julia, 2001). These kinds of state practices in the region have shaped the image of the Horn over the past six decades.

Despite this high degree of intervention and exploitation, the demise of the Soviet Union and the end up of the Cold War in the early 1990s has neither ended the international security dilemmas nor regional conflicts (Harry, 2001; L. Ali, 2006; Woodward, 2006). In the light of the emergence of the new world order which has changed both the character and the practice of the international law has been regarded as one of the major if not the sole source of the contemporary international conflicts in a changing world (Nasir, 2013a). The war on 'terror' has put same security concerns and threats on the Horn as those posed by the contending powers of the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War era (Robert, 2005; Princeton, 2009; Carroll, 2009). While ecological factors, environmental insecurities, massive refugees' present in the region, competition over scarce natural resources, among others, are part of the region's chronic conflict and confrontation. Thus, these vulnerabilities in terms of security, environment and others could be connected to the geopolitical importance of the Horn region and has never helped the Horn citizens.

#### ***4. Somaliland Security: Narrating a Tale of Two Decades Achievements***

An important element defining Somaliland's peace and security is the approaches adopted by Somaliland elites to seek peace and sustain security. To be honest to the point, the challenge for peace practitioners is to find ways in which communities can resolve their internal differences without physical violence (David, 2008). While the goal of peacemakers is to develop more effective ways of resolving disputes without violent conflict, to identify and transform the conditions that cause war.

It deserves to disclose that the experience and culture of the people distinct from one society to another while their approaches in seeking peace and building stability may also be varied from one culture to another (Galtung & Webel, 2007). In essence, Somaliland emerged from the ashes of decades of civil wars, conflicts and crises; and managed to establish sustainable peace and security through traditional conflict resolution mechanisms that deeply rooted in their culture and tradition which remained intact<sup>vi</sup>. This approach has not only produced sustainable peace, security and stability, but also generated robust and resilient institutions with viable and flourishing economy.

For peace and security to sustain, the successive governments of Somaliland have allocated around 50 percent of the national budget to security to empower security apparatuses and maintain orderly the rule of law. The republic, which situates one of the most volatile regions in the world has made a significant progress during the past two decades by establishing the necessary institutions of governance and building its capacity (Kenneth, 2005; Nasir, 2014). This doesn't mean that Somaliland security is not without challenges, without doubt, Somaliland security and its institutions face governance and logistical challenges; the main challenges concern about the absence of strong institutional frameworks with the presence of poor and unskilled personnel, lack of enough capacity building programs, among others. Thus, improving security in the country remains an important option for those who want to develop it.

In addition, the presence of Al-Shabab elements within the Somaliland soil is another challenge. Al-Shabab is bent on destabilizing Somalia's neighbors with the help of other terrorist networks (ICG, 2014). It is particularly determined to avenge the successive defeats it had suffered at the hands<sup>vi</sup> of the Somaliland intelligence agencies in particular during the Rayale rule. Hence, Somaliland and other nations must not rest before annihilating Al-Shabab. This goal should be achieved with the help of the Somaliland citizens, but there is a suspicion that elements of Al-Shabab are part and parcel of the Silanyo regime<sup>vii</sup>.

In contrast to the Somaliland experience, many numerous African countries remained in endless conflicts and crises; Somalia is one of those and experienced many years of political tension and civil war. The conflict in Somalia that started long before the total collapse of the Somalia state in 1991 was basically characterized as a conflict that can be expressed in three major dichotomies: conflict between Somalia's contending major clans in the south, radical Islamists and secular politicians, and Somalia's neighboring states which have their long-term interest in reshaping Somalia's structure and politics<sup>viii</sup>. Though there may be elements of each of these dichotomies in the situation, none of them offers a thorough explanation of sustaining the situation. At this point, the central problem of Somalia has relation with issues of clan identity, resource allocation, and power struggle. To end the conflict and crisis, the role of the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms of the Somali society in the south has been neglected and undermined by foreign actors those ruthlessly engaged the internal affairs of Somalia in the hope to settle Somalia's lingering conflict<sup>ix</sup>. However, as the practice has shown, the external involvement is neither proficient to reconcile Somalis nor establish institutions that are legitimate and sustainable. But, this kind of involvement has not only contributed its part in breaking Somalia's heart, but also undermining its hope to establish indigenous long-lasting peace and state institutions in the future<sup>x</sup>.

Of course, there is no exaggeration to say that Somaliland's experience to apply indigenous contemporary strategies and approaches to build peace and rebuild fragile, stigmatized and traumatized community has served as a milestone to reject any external involvement for their own destiny. Generally speaking, these decisions reached by the Somaliland intellectuals deserve appreciation as it enables them to attain peace and development in comparison to the southern Somalia<sup>xi</sup>. Hence, giving attention to the Somaliland success stories without external influence plus the absence of an official recognition from the outside world, one can never undermine the other domestic factors that challenge its social stability and could lead its institutions to fall apart, and sink it into further waves of social crises. Due to this, it is worth mentioning that Somaliland remains largely unequal citizens: socially, economically, and politically, while the gap between the rich wealthy and the poor weak have dramatically increased<sup>xii</sup>.

In the context of this study, Somaliland is experiencing political instability emanating from an ailing, weak and ineffective leadership which polarized the decision-making of the state and delegated to his trusted advisors. To summarize the argument, so far, the major source of the state insecurities can be precised into three interrelated factors. In essence, the major source is a weak leadership style from the state leader. The second point to note is that Somaliland is poor because it were excluded, deliberately or not, from the state opportunities before secession, therefore, post-independence state resources exploitation is a factor of its fragility, for example, corruption is prevalent in Somaliland since 2010. Another significant challenge encountered is the absence of robust institutional mechanisms capable to provide services to the citizens at large which remains a factor of its insecurity and demotes the exhilaration of the public<sup>xiii</sup>.

In the current state of affairs, Silanyo has betrayed the euphoria and the exhilaration of the fellow citizens as many citizens felt that their election for him as a president doesn't bring any substantial change and difference from his predecessor (Nasir, 2014b). Indeed, Silanyo publicly and critically denounced the Rayale's policies and pledged better and well-coordinated substitute ones. There is no doubt that Silanyo regime will leave an ineradicable mark on the Somaliland state and create a legacy of distrust and fear for those attempting to call their government to account<sup>xiv</sup>. Therefore, the failure of Silanyo emanates from the absence of commitment with a national plan and strategy. This kind of leadership undermines the laws of the state, demotes the sense of collective ownership and finally produces weak and fragile institutional framework which may lead the state to fall apart<sup>xv</sup>.

### ***5. The Hard Won Security: Facing Challenges from Within***

Since its declaration of independence in 1991, Somaliland has confronted with a number of cross-local challenges which equally affect the peace, security and stability of the region. These challenges include: poverty, unemployment, underemployment, and massive exodus displaced persons from the region, uneven problems in the environment, injustice, and the western-orchestrated calamity, the war on 'terrorism'.

Comparatively, as ethnic violence, inter or/and intrastate conflicts, and threats to peace, security and stability are overt in the Horn of Africa since the dawn of the second half of the twentieth century. The reality of the massive exodus displaced persons has remained complex not only in the Horn of Africa, which has the world's largest refugee camp in the world, the Dadaab camp in Kenya, but also in Africa (Norman, 2005; Errol, 2008; Fondo, 2008; John, 2008).

As a result of these conflicts and crises, one of the most prime such challenges is, Somaliland's failure to control and contain the massive floods from the neighboring countries which may overpopulate the 3.5 million people of this tiny unrecognized region in the Horn of Africa<sup>xvi</sup>. At this point, Somaliland provides a significant governance and security in the state in relation to the neighboring Somalia, but it is on the brink to slip into waves of massive displaced persons from the region those could widen the level of unemployment, social problems such as diseases, and may jeopardize its security and stability, that in return could damage the security of the neighboring countries<sup>xvii</sup>.

The war on 'terrorism' is another regional disaster exported from the west to poor Africa. There is no more difficult to say that 'terrorism' is one of the primary concerns of the contemporary world and increasingly becoming a major factor in all international relations and politics at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Although the goal of this study mainly remained not to analyze deeply about the term, its definition and even its causes have demonstrated controversial (Harry, 2001; Arshad, 2003; Webel, 2004; Dipak, 2006; Davis, 2007; Eric, 2007; Heather, 2009). Thus, without going into further details on those controversies, its impact and implications not only for human capital but also on states' security become apparent. Therefore, the America's war on 'terrorism' has directly affected the Horn of Africa because of the geopolitical and geostrategic factors, thus, its effect both in the Somaliland's domestic and the regional security is undeniable fact<sup>xviii</sup>.

Therefore, 'terrorism', clan conflict and piracy are the outcome of the Somalia's state collapse<sup>xix</sup>. In this case, the insecurity of south Somalia directly or indirectly has an effect on political, social and security aspects of the Somalia's neighbors, including Somaliland (Haldén, 2008; Alexander, 2010). The Al-Shabab is the biggest threat facing the East African region, the most vicious forces that operate in Somalia. Al-Shabab has killed thousands of Somalis and non-Somalis in the Horn of Africa (ICG, 2014). Even the African Union peacekeeping forces composed of troops from different African nations has failed to defeat<sup>xx</sup> the Al-Shabab elements; while it managed to export terror to the countries which have contributed soldiers to the peacekeeping forces. For instance, on 16 June 2014, Al-Shabab fighters killed at least 65 people in two separate attacks in two villages located near the coastal city of Mombasa.

In the current state of affairs, many agree that Somaliland is prone to any security lapses and political developments in the southern Somalia, allowing Al-Shabab to launch scores of attacks there. On 29 October 2008, Al-Shabab plotted and carried out suicide bombs, targeted to the Presidential Palace, Ethiopia's Consulate Office, and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Country Office in Hargeisa. The attack has led more than two dozens of people to perish (HRW, 2009). Consequently, while this suicide attack in 2008 was one of the bloodiest attacks ever witnessed by Somaliland; several attacks and assassinations have been attempted or carried out both prior to 2008 and afterwards<sup>xxi</sup>. This can be averted if and when the public participates in anti-terrorism efforts, including guarding their communities vigilantly. Therefore, it is incumbent on the government to do whatever is in its power to ensure that lapses which cost the people of Somaliland do not occur in Somaliland soil; those at the helm of the security apparatus need to be alert to developments which have security ramifications for Somaliland.

At regional level, the role of Somaliland in contributing the regional security and stability, which remained significant deserves appreciation and support<sup>xxii</sup>. Though Somaliland has the experience of terror acts from the vicious terror networks, unfortunately, the presence of the Islamist elements in the Silanyo regime getting support from some Arab Islamist networks in Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Qatar remains as pitfalls and critical challenge which could increase the burden on those who are fighting against these groups<sup>xxiii</sup>. For that reason, if these groups which engulfed many decision-making circles of the Silanyo regime come to power. It is clear that the neighboring countries cannot escape the violent acts emanating from Somaliland, which could hamper their interests, as the regional states share peace and security factors.

One of the quite distressing factors is the extremism and jihadist ideology which is surging over the Somali state for one hand, and the failure of Somaliland to attain an international recognition for the other. This could lead it to be a conflict-prone territory which may encounter disenchantment from the community at the grassroots level. The emergence of such situation may precipitate the persuasion of the people, particularly the youth to join the extremist networks, as they remained in a desperate situation over 23 years<sup>xxiv</sup>. As a matter of fact, this could be blamed mainly to the international community who failed to appreciate and support the successful stories of Somaliland, but in return isolated it from the outside world.

The present Somaliland regime, albeit demonstrating few developments in different fronts such as the exaggerated inauguration number of rehabilitated roads, still there are public crying regarding the unpleasant regime practices that undermine the unity of the Somaliland citizens which was the cornerstone of the state's security. The most distressing political calculations adopted by the Somaliland's ailing regime could be summarized into number of crucial points thus have had an adversary impact on the socio-economic aspects of the Somaliland citizens at large, these are: a) injustice practices in the state politics at national, regional and local levels, b) unequal distribution of wealth and state resources among the citizens<sup>xxv</sup>. As a common phenomenon in a regime ruled by close and extended families, the practices of widespread corruption, nepotism and favoritism are pervasive. Furthermore, most Silanyo colleagues in the system if not all, introduced versions of policies by installing their clan members or clan affiliates, close and extended families, and friends within the state system and empowered them to manipulate the state power and exploit the state resources<sup>xxvi</sup>, c) cracking down the political opposition figures which existed and widely practiced in Somaliland, d) arbitrary detention<sup>xxvii</sup> and abduction of the media<sup>xxviii</sup>, and injustice practices taking place across the country, to name few. These entire practices hamper the state security and most of these made many African states to collapse and others on the verge to fall apart.

### **6. Responding to the Challenges: A Strategy for Sustainable Security**

Generally, peace has different descriptions, while some see it as a state of harmony that commonly understood as the absence of war, others characterize it as the presence of justice, fairness, truth, love, equality, respect of the rule of law and diversity (Galtung & Webel, 2007). In light of those contending debates over the term, many writers distinguish between *negative peace* or in a broader sense '*structural violence or conflict*', which is simply the absence of war for one hand, and *positive peace* which is the presence of justice for the other (David, 2008).

Due to the above factors, it is understandable that peace, security and stability, neither exist nor sustain without giving attention to the social justice, such as reducing the level of unemployment, underemployment and reforming the judicial system of the country and politics of inclusion and representation<sup>xxix</sup>. For the incumbent Silanyo regime in Somaliland, their first and foremost responsibilities are to tackle the '*brain drain*' caused by the unemployment and underemployment which led thousands of the young graduates to depart the region in an attempt to seek better living condition. This '*brain drain*' could be linked with the government's failure to abide its pledges during the election campaign include: reforming the structures of the state institutions and institutionalizing meritocracy based-policy that aimed to appoint the professionals and skillful persons to the high and significant positions of the government offices, abandoning the long-practiced handpicked figures, and creation of job opportunities for the youth<sup>xxx</sup>. Unfortunately, this ailing regime has recycled the policy of its predecessor, while it re-invented nepotism and favoritism buried by his predecessors<sup>xxxi</sup>. As a result of that, the euphoria has quickly dissipated and changed into disenchantment which led the youth to leave for the country. Therefore, if these factors were not addressed and re-arranged, it could lead the society at the grassroots' those wrestling with an abject condition, absolute poverty coupled with bad governance and poor economic conditions to turn their backs to the regime which likely cause insecurities.

Not similar to the previous factors, the environment is the most essential element for the survival and well-being of the human being. There is no doubt that Somaliland faces environmental insecurities<sup>xxxii</sup> and the major source of the threats to environmental security is the ill-conceived governmental policies. In this respect, environmental preservation has been relegated in the waiting room by the successive Governments of Somaliland, development partners, and the public. These activities should be directly linked to the security that has a relation with the environmental degradation (Hartmann & Sugulle, 2009). Given the emphasis on these factors, it is necessary to overcome all these factors in order to promote and protect the environment, not only for the benefits of the man, but also for the survival of the whole creature.

When analyzed the issue further, the elected Silanyo regime in Somaliland though, has demonstrated some improvement in various fronts, the fact that the ongoing human rights abuses, the imprisonment of the media people, and the widespread of corruption in the form of nepotism, favoritism and partiality which are pervasive in the country at the moment have negative implications for the state. Thus, impoverished Somaliland citizens need an educated action accompanied by genuine compassion that aimed to empower the people at the grassroots. While it does not need replication of a clannish-oriented strategy that emerged following the creation of the Somalia state in 1960 and survives today. Nevertheless, this clan-centric approach adopted by Silanyo regime has left citizens to lose hope while either living in absolute and extreme poverty or drowning in oceans.

In conclusion, as the charity begins at home, Somaliland is expected to put in order its home. In other words, it is important to note that sketching a strategy for sustainable security in Somaliland is subject to help and support the poor, weak, and deprived Somaliland citizens and curb social inequalities which are present in the society at all levels and play a huge role in education, health care, gender, and among others. Addressing these factors need assistance and support, and finally contribute their part in alleviating poverty, thus ensure political and social stability across the nation. This could serve as a milestone to strengthen the Somaliland security at home and its role in maintaining the regional security and stability in the long-term.

### **Conclusion**

The collapse of the Somalia state institutions and the absence of functioning central authority since the early 1991 have generated massive displacements, intra-clan warfare among the Somali major clans in the south, piracy, terrorism, arms smuggling, among other vicious factors. The Somalia's unending conflict and its lingering state collapse have led the state's legal status to remain in limbo and made it known as the jargon of humanitarian work which is difficult to work in.

Not similar to the Somalia situation, Somaliland, which was a British protectorate over 80 years has declared its separate existence from the rest of Somalia, claiming the colonial boundaries it inherited from the British Government in 1960. Since its inception in 1991, it has managed to restore peace and order through indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms, while it governing security and stands out as a stable island of peace in a volatile region without international engagement. It is worth mentioning that the most important thing that is hard to ignore is that Somaliland has denied accepting any external actor that interested to involve in their momentums of peace and state-building to architect and design their own destiny thus ensure social and political stability.

Hence, this intellectual decision has served as a milestone for Somaliland's long-term security and stability, moving it forward to adopt multiparty constitutional democracy. Although there are both local and regional factors those challenge Somaliland's security and stability. The confluence of these positive developments and others has enabled Somaliland to maintain its security and contribute the regional stability simultaneously.

In conclusion, the fragility of the Somaliland security has a direct link with the institutional weaknesses presence within the state apparatuses intended to provide social services and protection for its citizens for one hand and the weak leadership style of Silanyo to the other. The future of Somaliland security remains only in the hands of its leader who failed to control his power and contain his ministers who believed to have links with radical Islamic movements both in the Horn of Africa and the neighboring Middle Eastern region. The grievances and exclusions from opportunities expressed by many citizens from Silanyo's regime who is loyal to the interest of his clan could lead to further future distrust and suspicion among the state citizens. This can be prevented only if the Silanyo take the lead in finding appropriate solutions to ensure that security and social justice prevails in Somaliland as a whole. Nevertheless, if the Silanyo fails to put in place inclusive policies and social equality, more social and political instability will follow and certainly have an adverse effect on the Somaliland citizens and beyond.

### **Notes**

<sup>i</sup> The Twin Towers, the Pentagon and the Department of State were the most sensitive places in the American soil, targeted by September 11, 2001 suicide attacks

<sup>ii</sup> The critical thinkers' arguments over the security and human rights issues. For further details go to the book: *Understanding International Relations*, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2005, pp. 207–231

<sup>iii</sup> Is described as a liberal, cosmopolitan idea that individuals, regardless of their citizenship, location, race and identity ought to be made secure from a range of fears, threats, and deprivations. For further details go to the book: *A Decade of Human Security: Global Governance and New Multilateralisms*, 2005, pp. 31

<sup>iv</sup> Is a norm or set of principles based on the idea that sovereignty is not a privilege, but a responsibility. The idea mainly focuses on preventing and halting any act that dehumanizing, stigmatizing, traumatizing or terrorizing the citizens of the world. Therefore, Governments, citizens, organizations and companies all have responsibilities to protect. For further details go to the book: *A Decade of Human Security: Global Governance and New Multilateralisms*, 2005, pp. 19

<sup>v</sup> Since its inception in 1991, this is the first time in which the regional governments sharing borders and security cooperation with Somaliland had closed their borders. This has direct link with the security loopholes and weaknesses that existed within the Silanyo regime since his election in 2010. In May, 2014, a suicide bombs were carried out for the first time in Djibouti which serves as military bases for many Western countries such as the U.S., the French, the British, the German, and the Spanish. This suicide attack has been targeted a restaurant mostly used by Western citizens. According to the intelligence



agencies engaged in the investigation, the suicide bombers started their journey from the southern Somalia while they stayed in Hargeisa, the *de facto* capital of Somaliland for a month setting up their plan of action

<sup>vi</sup> Interview with the State Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hargeisa, Somaliland

<sup>vii</sup> In a press conference held by Abdilahi Abokor, the former deputy interior minister on security sector has unveiled that members of the Somaliland Council of Ministers have links with radical networks operating not only in the Horn region, but also across the Middle Eastern region. This press conference sparked suspicion and speculation among the Somaliland citizens and those have security cooperation arrangements with Somaliland

<sup>viii</sup> This argument could be supported the involvement of the regional governments in the Somalia's crises. It is enough to observe how Ethiopia and Eritrea have used this war-wrecked nation in the Horn as a playground and proxy by using various operatives in Somalia. The incursion of Kenya in Somalia since the beginning of October, 2011 and the other regional powers, the confrontations between the Islamists for one hand and the secular leaders in Somalia for the other could be described as dichotomies of the crisis. Nevertheless, the most critical factor which the international society mostly underlines is the clan factor, which shapes Somalia's political structure. This factor has created disagreements, extreme discontent and distrust among the Somali elites

<sup>ix</sup> The involvement of foreign actors in Somalia's agony has never helped the Somali people but detailed the momentum of peace and reconciliation

<sup>x</sup> Experience gained from Somalia's successive peace conferences initiated or sponsored by not only international but also regional governments, while the outcome became uncertain in comparison to Somaliland's locally-designed institutions

<sup>xi</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>xii</sup> In the current state of affairs in Somaliland, the way of life of the citizens is changing while social equality is vanishing. There is a presence of class and encourages the emergence of more unequal society. Therefore, both horizontal and vertical inequalities linked to socio-economic and class, respectively is present in Somaliland. The latter relates the gap between the rich, wealthy and the poor, weak, income inequality, and wealth disparity. To narrow this gap, the Somaliland Government should carry forward a program with mixture of ideas both from liberal context to social democracy paradigms to curb social inequalities which are present in the society at all levels and play a huge role in education, health care, gender, and among others

<sup>xiii</sup> Observed from Silanyo's practices which became prevalent since his election in 2010. Silanyo is despotic, goodhearted and hostage to his political colleagues and loyal to his clan interest

<sup>xiv</sup> There are crying voices from the public which emphasize that public institutions' transparency and the accountability of the officials is declining due to the widespread corruption and mismanagement of the already scarce state resources using for their own ends and benefits

<sup>xv</sup> There are emerging vicious circles which create insecurities across the state. This makes the citizens think and express their grave fears and anxieties, for instance, there are organized crime groups and gangsters across Hargeisa in a district wise, who fight each other, and these groups have different names such as Arsenal, Ciyaala Ciir, among other names. Others snap the mobiles and other precious items from the aged people and women both during the day and night times

<sup>xvi</sup> On September 4, 2011; Somaliland has issued a degree that intended to deport the illegal immigrants living in Somaliland. But, this degree, neither sensibly planned nor effectively implemented as it lacks strong law enforcement machineries that would oblige those ordered to depart to obey and leave on time

<sup>xvii</sup> In Somaliland, there are thousands of illegal persons who came from various regions in Africa. Some of them are refugees while others are illegal workers in Somaliland. The main problem is that the Government of Somaliland has failed to recognize those illegal persons at the same time register and have their records

<sup>xviii</sup> If you move around the main cities and crucial places in the Greater Horn region, such as Ministries, Seaports, Airports, and other important places, you can easily observe the blockades erected in front of every important building or place and the extensive checking points intended to prevent further attacks from the terror networks

<sup>xix</sup> Somalia has been in a state of conflict and crisis, which made the nation's sovereignty under question

<sup>xx</sup> For the last few months, a measureless number of attacks were carried out by this group targeting various government places, including the presidency, the airport and the national security service headquarters, the UNDP Office which are tightly secured by the African troops

<sup>xxi</sup> There are recorded plots or assassinations carried out in Somaliland such as the killing of the Italian doctor Annalena Tonelli in Borama, the Awdal region, the British couples, Richard and Enid Eyeington those were murdered in Sheikh District in the Sahel region as they were teaching there, the Kenyan woman working with the Germanic GTZ murdered on her way to Berbera on vacation, the Swiss man who were also killed around Star Hotel in Hargeisa, plus several aborted explosions or suicide attempts which were widely connected to the *Al Qaeda's* affiliated operatives in the Horn of Africa

<sup>xxii</sup> From the interview of Girma Ababa – former governor of Jijiga during the Emperor time, Haile Selassie – this interview has been conducted by the Reporter – Amharic Edition on 16<sup>th</sup> November, 2011 (6<sup>th</sup> Hidar, 2004 E.C) If you are Amharic speaker, please go to this webpage for further details: <http://www.ethiopianreporter.com/politics/295-politics/4108-2011-11-16-06-36-29.html>

<sup>xxiii</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>xxiv</sup> During the emergence of the Union of the Islamic Courts (UIC) in mid-2006 from the South–Central Somalia, many youth of Somaliland have been influenced or persuaded to join and fight side by side with the UIC

<sup>xxv</sup> In 2011; Mr. Silanyo has attempted to lease re-operationalization of the state's only asset, a 68 million Berbera Cement Factory established by the Somalia's military government in 1970s, to a businessman from his clan. This has created a deep wedge of suspicion between the Silanyo regime and the community in the Sahil region and finally led the regime to think twice

<sup>xxvi</sup> Silanyo has appointed key government positions to his clan members as ministers and trusted advisers, awarded the multimillion projects to his clan members to benefit it. These projects include: the reconstruction of the Hargeisa Airport, which has finally collapsed due to massive allegations of grand corruption acts. The data confirm that corruption in Silanyo's regime nearly three and half years of his rule is more prevalent in regards to his predecessors with highly distorted policies

<sup>xxvii</sup> Such as the arbitrarily detention of the media, abduction of the politicians without a prior warrant from the concerned legal bodies as well as ordinary citizens who aggressively face serious challenges against both the government officials and the security forces in the Police Unit which is named after Rapid Response Unit (RRU). Under the funding of the British Government, this Unit was intended as a counterterrorism unit. Unfortunately, the Somaliland Government uses this Unit to crackdown the innocent citizens. This undermines the aim, mission and mandate of the Unit. Thus, the responsibility rests on the shoulders of those who established at the same times finances with knowing how the Somaliland Government misuses the Unit and committed grave violations of human rights

<sup>xxviii</sup> Despite the Silanyo campaign, cosmetic and cathartic expressions to do this and that if elected. The harassment against the private media and arbitrarily detention of the journalists without a prior warrant from the concerned legal bodies are still continuing, while the euphoria of the media is waning. In most recent days, the Government has ordered the close up and the arrest of journalists. For instance, Haatuf and Hubaal Newspapers, two privately-owned newspapers, has been recently arrested, fined and finally sentenced to jail

<sup>xxix</sup> The Ministry of National Planning and Development has profoundly explained the level of unemployment and underemployment which greatly affected the youth graduated from the universities in and outside Somaliland's territories. According to the Ministry, unemployment rates amount to 65.5 percent in urban areas, 40.7 percent in rural areas, and 47.4 percent for the whole country

<sup>xxx</sup> Referring back the extensive pledges of the current ruling party during the election campaign and their subsequent failure to abide their pledges after winning the election

<sup>xxxi</sup> Silanyo has introduced a new version of policies by installing his close and extended families, and friends within the state system and empowered them to manipulate the state power and exploit the already scarce resources

<sup>xxxii</sup> Environmental degradation and competition over scarce resources are the primary potential factors that lead to inter-clan conflicts. For instance, land disputes over the grazing and water points in the dry and drought season are not less significant. The recurrent droughts in the Somaliland are regarded as a major driver of the conflict and poses threat to human security which causes frequent clashes among the community

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