



THE DRAMA OF THE SOMALIA PEOPLE FINDING THEIR THINGS IN THE
VIRTUAL CONFLICT WITHOUT EXPOSURE OF INDEPENDENCE

BAĞIMSIZLIK COŞKUSUNU YAŞAYAMADAN KENDİNİ ÇATIŞMALARIN
GİRDABINDA BULAN SOMALİ HALKININ DRAMI

Abstract

With its strategic location, historical background, cultural richness and social fabric, Somalia is a distinctive country in Africa. In the article in which we discussed the process after its independence, we tried to emphasize that Somalia achieved its independence after a difficult process. It has been a country that has attracted attention with its struggle for independence, and its epic resistance against the invasion forces, which did not allow foreign powers to race as they wished. The fact that he did not consent to the mandate administration led to big games being played on Somalia. The independence process has been pregnant with difficult and troublesome events. The loss of the Ogaden war has led to the separation of the Greater Somali geography. The lack of central authority after the Siad Barre administration led to the civil war in Somalia that has been going on for years. During the civil war, tribal conflicts accelerated, separatists gained strength, mass migrations took place, hunger and poverty reached an unbearable level, and the terrorist organization accelerated. With the establishment and strengthening of the Shabab terrorist organization, the chaos in Somalia has increased even more. The tragic situation of Somalia was tried to be resolved with the help of Turkey. In our article, in which the background of Turkey-Somali relations is evaluated, efforts for the restructuring of Somalia have been put forward.

Kadir ÖZKÖSE*

* Prof. Dr. Sivas Cumhuriyet
Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Fakültesi,
Tasavvuf Anabilim Dalı

E-posta/E-mail:
kadirozko60@hotmail.com

Orcid: 0000-0003-3977-3863

Başvuru/Submitted: 26.05.2022

Kabul/Accepted : 17.09.2022

Keywords: Somali, Ogaden War, Shabab Terrorist Organization, Civil War, Turkey-Somalia Relations.

Öz

Somali stratejik konumu, tarihi geçmişi, kültürel zenginliği ve toplumsal dokusuyla Afrika'nın özellikli bir ülkesidir. Bağımsızlığını elde ettikten sonraki süreci ele aldığımız makalede Somali'nin bağımsızlığını zorlu bir süreçten sonra elde ettiğini vurgulamaya çalıştık. İstiklal mücadelesiyle dikkatleri üzerine çeken, istila güçlerine karşı destansı bir direnişiyle yabancı güçlerin istediği gibi at koşturmasına fırsat vermeyen bir ülke olmuştur. Manda yönetimine razı olmayışı Somali üzerinde büyük oyunların oynanmasına yol açmıştır. Bağımsızlık süreci zorlu ve sıkıntılı olaylara gebe olmuştur. Ogaden savaşının kaybedilmesi Büyük Somali coğrafyasının ayrışmasına yol açmıştır. Siad Barre yönetiminden sonra merkezi otoritenin sağlanamaması Somali'de yıllardır devam eden iç savaşın yaşanmasına neden oldu. İç savaş döneminde kabile çatışmaları hızlanmış, ayrılıkçılar güç kazanmış, kitlesel göçler yaşanmış, açlık ve yoksulluk dayanılmaz boyuta ulaşmış, terör yapılanması hızlanmıştır. Şebab terör örgütünün yapılanması ve güçlenmesiyle Somali'de kaos ortamı daha fazla artmıştır. Somali'nin trajedik durumu Türkiye'nin yardım eli ile giderilmeye çalışılmıştır. Türkiye ile Somali ilişkilerinin arka planının değerlendirildiği makalemizde Somali'nin yeniden yapılanmasına yönelik çabalar ortaya konulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Somali, Ogaden Savaşı, Şebab Terör Örgütü, İç Savaş, Türkiye-Somali İlişkileri.

Introduction

The area of Somalia is 637,657 km² and its population is 10,616,380 according to 2015 data. 85% of the people are of Somali origin, the rest are Benadi, Bantu and Arab groups. The official language is Somali, with Arabic, English and Italian among the spoken languages. Almost all of the people are Muslims (Orsam, 2022:9; Özey, 2006:414; Gök, 2019:324). Somalia; It borders the Indian Ocean to the south and southeast, the Gulf of Aden and Djibouti to the north and northeast, Kenya to the south and southwest, and Ethiopia to the west. Located at a very important strategic point with its proximity to the Bab al-Mandab Strait and the Suez Canal, Somalia has a hot and dry weather in the north, which occasionally causes droughts, while relatively mild climate conditions are observed in the south with the influence of the Juba and Shabelle rivers (Mukhtar, 2003:1-2).

In Somalia, once known as the "Land of Spices", where Gauls settled in 750 and Muslims in the tenth century, Muslims established the Harir Sultanate. In the sixteenth century, the Harir Sultanate expanded its rule to include Ethiopian lands. When the Portuguese forces came to the region and supported the Ethiopian Kingdom, the Muslims of the region were cut off in 1542. A long-term struggle began between the Ottoman forces and the Portuguese occupation forces, who came to the region with the request of the Harir Sultanate for help. By the nineteenth century, Somalia was the scene of the western powers' race for dominance (Mutasim, 1962:28- 61). With the British, Italian, French and Ethiopian forces besieging the country from four sides, Somalia was divided into French Somalia, Italian Somalia and British Somalia during the colonial period (Halil, 1985:114-115).

1. Somalia's Independence

There are different tribes in Somalia such as Isak, Darod and Bantu. Despite being a country strategically located at the entrance to the Red Sea in the Gulf of Aden, inter-tribal conflicts deeply affect the stability of the country. Despite gaining its independence on July 01, 1960, political stability could not be achieved in Somalia, the civil war caused a management problem in the country, maritime piracy brought the security problem to the top, and the structuring of the al-Shabaab terrorist organization caused instability and conflict in the country (Orsam, 2022:12-13; Aydın, 2016:266).

Despite gaining independence, the colonial powers, who could not get their dirty hands off Somalia, caused new tragedies. It is as if colonialism has changed its shape and has put into effect the control mechanism, we call neo-colonialism. With the support of the Western powers, the missionary work was supported and accelerated, cooperation was made with the western collaborators, support was given to Ethiopia's ambitions on Somalia, the Somali people remained poor and the danger of hunger recurred. They tried to cause the Somali people to experience ethnic division within themselves, to trigger conflicts between tribes, and to restrict the Somali people's contact with other Muslim peoples. The attrition of Somalia by border problems, the creation of a siege circle around Somalia, the reversal of the increasing interest and interest in Islam in the country have been the moves of the western powers to strangle the Somali people in the country (Halil, 1985:112-113).

The Somali people, who gained their independence in 1960 after difficult and long-term struggles and compelling the colonial powers, found themselves in a whirlpool of conflict before they could experience the enthusiasm for independence. The troubles did not end with the achievement of independence. With the task of suppressing the violence, the Somali Revolutionary Council led by General Siad Barre took over the administration. Siad Barre's dream was to create a modern society, to build the nation-state model instead of the traditional tribal structure in Somalia, to ensure the realization of scientific socialism and to switch to the

socialist economy model. Barre, who followed a pan-Somaliist domestic policy, tried to establish a full-blown pressure management in the country in order to achieve the mentioned goals with top-down practices. In the Barre administration, which provided the central state structure, poverty, corruption and internal conflicts became unavoidable (Mukhtar, 2003:5; Artokça, 2019:217-218). Since its independence, internal conflicts have never ended in Somalia, it has been in trouble with Djibouti, Kenya, and Ethiopia, and it has had inextricable problems with border disputes for years. As in other African countries, the colonial powers, especially England, left Somalia, leaving the Ogaden region to Ethiopia in order to tie the fortunes of Somalia (Hesse, 2010:247; Daban, 2017:251-252).

2. Battle of Ogaden

During the colonial period, the territory of Somalia was divided into five separate regions. Britain was controlling the two regions in the north, Italy was controlling the south of Somalia, and France was turning Djibouti into an independent state by separating it from Somalia. During the colonial period, the western powers were giving the opportunity and support to the strengthening of Ethiopia and expanding its hinterland. Knowing Ethiopia's interest in Somalia's Ogaden region, they left Ogaden to Ethiopia when the western powers withdrew from Somalia. While the two regions under British control in the north and the region held by Italy in the south were united to form the post-independence Somalia, Djibouti, which was under the auspices of the French, became a separate state, and the Ogaden region was subject to the invasion of Ethiopia (Elmi, 2012:163).

While the Ogaden region is an inseparable part of Somalia with its history, culture, population, language and religion, it was the tragedy of the Somali people that it belonged to Ethiopia. With the discovery of oil resources in the Ogaden region in the 1970s, Somalia did not want to let go of the Ogaden case (Doornbos, 1997:490-495; Daban, 2017:251-252). The wounds inflicted by the African borders drawn at the table took the Ogaden problem to the next level. International powers implemented a policy of isolation towards Somalia. The USA, Egypt and Saudi Arabia took decisions to prevent arms shipments to Somalia. It was feared that the ideal of "Greater Somalia" would be realized with the annexation of Ogaden to the territory of Somalia. The Somali administration thought that the Soviet Union would not leave it alone in the face of the Western powers' attitudes that prevented Somalia. Somalis from Ogaden, where the majority of the population is Somali, established the Western Somali Liberation Front and started to wage a guerrilla struggle against Ethiopia. While the USA supported Haile Selassie's government in Ethiopia until 1974, the Soviet Union found the cause of Somalia justified. However, the pro-Soviet Revolutionary Council, which came to power after Selasiye's fall from power, decided to fight against the Western Somali Liberation Front and the Somali Government in Ogaden (Tandoğan, 2018:60-61).

The Ogaden problem led to two major wars between Somalia and Ethiopia. In the first war that took place in 1964, there was a war that neither side could win. The second war took place in 1977-1978. In this conflict, known as the Ogaden War, Somalia had significant initial success. As we have just mentioned, the support of the Soviet Union and Cuba to Ethiopia changed the course of the war (Spencer, 1984:141-143; Daban, 2017:260). Both Soviet troops and 11,000 Cuban soldiers were brought to help Ethiopia. The foreign powers that came, caused some incidents in the region against Somalia. With this Soviet support to Ethiopia, the Somali troops and the Somali guerrillas in Ethiopia were defeated. 1.5 million Ethiopian refugees had to migrate to Somali territory (Özey, 2016:38-39).

Siad Barre, who had a pro-Soviet stance in foreign policy, had to change this main line in his foreign policy with the Ogaden War and tried to get closer to the USA. While such a course was

experienced in foreign policy, domestic political activity increased. Groups such as the Somali Patriots Movement, the Somali National Alliance, and the United Somali Congress united in 1989 to form an anti-Barre alliance. Barre's harsh response to these groups dragged Somalia into a civil war environment. The struggle of the opposition groups took the course of military conflict, each group attempted to establish their own administration in their own regions (Lowther, 2007:102-110; Artokça, 2019:217-218).

The Soviets' withdrawal of support for Somalia and their siding with Ethiopia were met with reaction in Somalia. Somalia had to admit defeat by withdrawing from the Ogaden region. Somali relations with the Soviet Union were suspended and Somalia had to deal with internal affairs (Kıvanç, 1979:93-103; Daban, 2017:265).

The power struggle between the tribes left the Somali president Barre in a difficult position. Somalia was a country of tribes. When one of the tribes such as Dar, Darod, Isaak, Mirifle and Hawiye came to dominate the country's power, the Ethiopian government tried to provoke other tribes. This environment of conflict prevented the establishment of a government in Somalia (Elmi, 2012:34; Daban, 2017:265).

The bloody civil war environment led to Barre's resignation. On January 27, 1991, Barre left Mogadishu for Kismayo. He was then exiled to Nigeria by USC forces led by General Mohammed Farah Aidid and General Ali Mahdi (Lowther, 2007:102-110; Artokça, 2019:217-218). After 1991, a government could not be formed (Elmi, 2012:34; Daban, 2017:265). With the fall of Barre from power in 1991, Somalia's economic distress in Somalia worsened. Factors such as the inability to form a government after 1991, the inability of the army to recover, and the increasing internal turmoil have deeply affected the history of Somalia.

3. The Emerging Internal Conflict Process in Somalia

President Siad Barre, who announced that multi-party elections would be held in 1988 due to the increasing unrest in the country, was overthrown in 1991 and Ali Mahdi Muhammad took over the administration temporarily. The UN began to impose an arms embargo on the country due to the fierce fighting and starvation between the forces of General Ali Mahdi and General Aidid. With the decision of the UN Security Council, food aid began to be given from the air. It was decided to send a Peace Corps of 500 people to protect the aid workers. The operation did not hinder the course of the situation, but also caused the civil war and chaos in the country to last for many years. The northern part of the country attempted to declare independence under the name of Somaliland. After the overthrow of Mohammed Siad Barre, a central government that could control the country could not be established for many years (Gök, 2019:325).

In the internal conflicts that broke out in 1990, 300,000 people lost their lives and millions of Somalis took refuge in neighboring countries. The first UN Somalia Peacekeeping Operation (UNOSOM) was carried out in 1992. From December 1992 to May 1993, US-led UN forces conducted Operation Restore Hope (UNITAF). The invasion operation, which the Americans started with 12 thousand American marines in 1992, ended in disaster when the civilian population revolted against the invaders. After the global violence took over 85% of the country after the war, the Western world declared the African Union an ally. As African Union countries, Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Burundi and Uganda were included in the conflict in Somalia with 22 thousand soldiers under the name of the peace mission (AMISOM). Police from Ghana, Sierra Leone and Nigeria also took part in this conflict (Yılmaz, 2017:314). This struggle led to the death of thousands of people until 1993, the collapse of the Somali economy and state structure, the resurgence of the tribes, the emergence of warlords, the separation of the country into de facto administrative regions, and Somalia to be remembered for humanitarian disasters. From May 1993 to March 1995, UNOSOM-II was carried out as Operation B (Hazar, 2011:206).

In the civil war that took place after 1991, the people had a problem of access to food. Eighteen of the American soldiers sent to Somalia to solve the problem were killed in the capital Mogadishu in March 1993. This emerging development disrupted both the US's interest in the continent and its efforts to adapt the concept of the new world order to the continent. So much so that it caused America to reconsider its interest in the region. The American administration issued the Presidential decision directive in April 1994 in order to overcome the shock caused by this problem in the American public. With this directive, the conditions for the participation of American soldiers in peace operations in a foreign country were revised under the name Presidential Decision Directive-25 (PDD-25). The budget allocated to the UN for peace operations was cut, and if the United States participated in any peace operation as a majority, it was required to retain the command of the operation (Aydm, 2018:86-87).

Although UNITAF, UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II peacekeepers acted to maintain peace in the capital Mogadishu and its surroundings, it led to the loss of Somalia's territorial integrity and the emergence of regional fragmentation. In the northwest of the country, Somaliland declared its independence in 1991 and a de facto government was established. This region is relatively stable compared to other regions. The autonomous Puntland administration, located in the northeast of the country, turned into a de facto separate administration in 1999 due to the power vacuum (Arpa, 2015:195). Separatists proclaimed the Federated Riverine State in 2001. The Provisional National Assembly in 2000 and the Transitional Federal Government in 2004, which they pioneered the establishment of the United Nations, could not establish a stable and sovereign authority in the country (Mukhtar,2003:6; Artokça, 2019:218).

By siding with Riyadh in the Qatar Crisis, Somaliland gained international recognition and began to benefit financially. Dealing with the separatists in the north and overwhelmed by the violent economic depression, Somalia's troubles got worse. Similarly, the United Arab Emirates signed million-pound port agreements in Somaliland and Puntland province. Somaliland leased its military base in Berbera to Abu Dhabi for 25 years (Soliman, 2022, Pakin-Albayrakoğlu, 2017:122). The Saudis' close follow-up of the developments in Somalia, their leading economic aid activities, the arrest of two Iranian-origin figures, have initiated dangerous initiatives that will hinder the spreading tendencies of Shia in Africa and prepare the ground for possible sectarian divisions and conflicts (Ynaija, 2017; Ermağan ve Gümüş, 2017:138).

The Ethiopian and Eritrean intervention that took place in 2006, and in 2007, African Union member states deployed their peacekeeping forces called the Somali Mission in Somalia. There was a period in which approximately 16 thousand civilians were killed and 1,000,000 people had to migrate from their homes during the conflicts. An attempt was made to establish a central authority in Somalia. The Federal Government of Somalia was established on 20 August 2012 (Artokça, 2019:219). With the agreement between Ethiopia and Somalia in January 2009, the Ethiopian army began to withdraw from Somalia. Sheikh Sharif Joseph Ahmad, who became the President of Somalia in 2009, tried to end the violence in the country, to make peace initiatives with its neighbors, to rule his country with honesty and justice, and to reunite the Somalis (Özey, 2006:415-416; Özey, 2016:38-39).

In the spring of 2011, Somalia experienced the worst drought and humanitarian crisis in recent years. With the resulting famine, more than half of the Somali population became in need of emergency food aid during the summer months. This famine that Somalia was exposed to in 2011 became one of the most serious humanitarian crises the world has ever faced (UNHCR, 1994, Gök: 2019:325). The economy in Somalia is based on agriculture and animal husbandry. Frequent droughts in the country lead to famine. Moreover, the IMF intervention in the early 1980s led to an increase in the agricultural crisis in Somalia. The structural adjustment program adopted increased the dependency on grain imports. Along with the government-promoted

lowering of US grain prices, the rise in prices of agricultural inputs has destroyed small farmers. Instead of promoting the production of traditional crops such as maize and broomstick, credit institutions have encouraged the production of fruit, vegetables, oilseeds and cotton for export on the country's best irrigated lands. During this period, the most fertile agricultural lands were captured by bureaucrats, officers and merchants (Özey, 2016:40).

4. The Potentials of Somalia

Is Somalia really poor? Is poverty the fate of the people in Somalia? Studies have shown that the land in the south of Somalia, which is 10% of the total area, is fertile enough to feed twice the current population of Somalia. Having completed the preparations to re-use the structure of the region for their own purposes, the Italians once thought of developing Italy by establishing cotton plantations here. The existence of such rich and fertile lands reveals that there should be no hunger and poverty in Somalia. The unequal distribution of income in Somalia, the fact that the ruling tribe did not want to give a share of wealth to other tribes, and the governments' use of the weapons they bought from the West or the USSR against their own people led to the destruction of opportunities in Somalia. It is aimed to keep Somalia poor and impoverished, to turn it into turbid water for fishing, so that international powers can achieve their goals, market their weapons, and deploy in the region (Okur, 2009:186).

Located at an important point in the part of the African continent surrounding the Arabian Peninsula, called the Horn of Africa, Somalia is in a position dominating the waters where the Red Sea opens to the Indian Ocean. It is the country with the longest coastline on the African continent. With its strategic location, a significant part of world trade and oil reserves pass through the territorial waters of Somalia. Somalia has rich resources such as oil and natural gas in its territory as well as its territorial waters. As we have just mentioned, it is a country with fertile lands and agricultural lands on the African continent. In terms of geographical and economic opportunities, as well as social texture, Somali people are a more homogeneous society in terms of culture, language and religion compared to other African communities (Shaul, 2014:4). When the criteria of reason and logic are taken into consideration, Somalia should be the most peaceful and wealthiest country in the continent. There does not seem to be an obstacle for Somalia to become a rich and powerful state. What happened reflects the exact opposite of this situation (Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:442-443). Known as a prosperous region before the nineteenth century, Somalia is now plagued by instability, drought, hunger and epidemics.

5. Consequences of Internal Conflict in Somalia

Although important mineral deposits such as iron, uranium, gypsum and manganese have been discovered, these have not yet been put into operation in Somalia. Health conditions in the country are very bad. The only country in the world where smallpox still exists is Somalia (Özey, 2016:40). Another of the underground resources on the coast of Somalia is the richness of hydrocarbon resources. The control of these resources was in the hands of Shell and Exxon Mobil companies until 1991. The occupation of Somalia, the disintegration of Sudan, preventing Egypt from approaching the source of the Nile, keeping the Red Sea under control, turned the 1992 UN military operation into an opportunity. They considered how necessary it is to have a presence in the Horn of Africa, as well as for the strategy of penetrating Yemen and the Arabian Peninsula in order to achieve their aforementioned goals. These insidious plans that came true cost Somalia many years lost in agony (Godfrey, 2015).

Another problem facing Somalia is the issue of immigration. This phenomenon of migration has come to a position that threatens human security. As a result of the civil war and conflicts that have been going on for more than twenty years, more than one million people, approximately 14% of the Somali population, tried to live outside of Somalia (Gök, 2019:327). In particular, the

famine in Somalia in 2011 and the humanitarian crisis that emerged as a result brought the issue of human security in general, and the role of the UN back on the agenda, with the human security scorecard of Africa in particular (Gök, 2019:325).

Although migration, drought and hunger appear at the top of the problems that Somalia has faced in recent years and that threaten human security, the political and economic problems that the country faced after independence are at the forefront of the infrastructure of the problem in question or at the beginning of the factors that directly affect it. However, it is sad that international organizations have not been able to offer a comprehensive solution to the famine in Africa in general and in Somalia in particular. In order to solve the famine problem in Somalia, a political structure that could operate the order and provide social services could not be formed. International organizations and states have always been reluctant to take the necessary measures to solve the problems in order to classify the problems existing in the country within the normative framework such as human security and human development. While both the UN and international organizations and states needed to review their economic policies and take radical measures to solve the problems Somalia is facing, they tried to get over the situation with the dressing method by only engaging aid organizations (UNHDR, 2012).

The share of the Somali people, divided into Puntland and Somaliland, in the oil in the country is at the mercy of the west. Westerners who seized oil and natural gas have made comments that Somalia, whose presidents they have declared war criminals, is not ready for oil yet. In a similar way, the French carried out ethnic cleansing in Djibouti, which is considered French Somalia, and the people of Djibouti were cut into pieces by international forces. Radical organizations that the USA paved the way for and supported began to dominate in Somalia day by day (Dağlı, 2013; Yılmaz, 2017:315).

6. The Emergence of the al-Shabab Terrorist Organization in Somalia

In 2006, US President Bush incited the violent ones within the Courts Union in Somalia, causing them to revolt against the regime in 2009. A new game has been added to the games played for a quarter of a century. In 2015, the London-based Somali Oil and Gas energy company began searching for new oil and gas reserves off the coast of Somalia. The civil war in Somalia and the piracy activities on its coasts were reflected as the shield of the Western powers' energy gendarmerie, but as a security problem for the countries in the region (Godfrey, 2015; Yılmaz, 2017:314).

The origin of the organization called Harakat al Shabaab al Mujahideen, known as al-Shabab and which emerged in the 2000s, dates back to the foundation of Somalia. Before the colonial administration and the internal conflicts after independence, the social structure of Somalia had a more mystical texture. Due to the contribution provided by the Sufi spirit, the Muslims of Somalia have experienced a moderate, harmonious, common and traditional structure in the region throughout the historical process, and they did not allow the culture of violence, extremism, exclusion, and conflict in the region. The struggle for independence, aimed at separating the region called French Somalia from the homeland, was described as a radical and fundamentalist process by the French. The mujahideen who struggled against the policy of extermination aimed at eliminating the existence of Muslims in areas called British and Italian Somalia were labeled as jihadists. The just demands of the Somali people against Ethiopia's occupation of the Ogaden region by force and intrigue were described as terrorist attacks. On the other hand, the repression policy of Siad Barre, who served as Somalia's president from 1969 to 1991, led to polarization and fueled violence in the country. Changing the meaning map of the society both during the colonial period and after independence, following a top-down and domineering policy, oppression methods, exclusionary approaches, efforts to marginalize, a handful of minorities dominating the

majority, the imposition of secularization, unemployment, decrease in income level, hunger and poverty, income The injustice in the distribution of the country's resources, the reduction of trained manpower, and extreme security policies led to an increase in terror and violence in the country, the division of the society into camps, the fueling of tribal conflicts, and the increase in tribal quarrels. (Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:442-443) The western powers, who played in the region, sent Salafist and Wahhabi forces to the region in order to eliminate the sufi structure integrated with the social nature. Siad Barren's adoption of a Soviet-style state and economy structure in the first period, and after the Ogaden war, the pro-US secular and secularism practices were met with a general reaction by the Somali people. Attempts to banish Islam from the public sphere resulted in violent groups finding supporters among the Somali population (Artokça, 2019:219-220).

One of the factors that aggravated the troubles of Somalia, which was devastated by famine, drought, migration, conflict and separatist movements, is that al-Shabaab terrorizes the country. Al-Shabaab, which is accepted as a continuation of the organizations of Al-Ittihaad al-Islamiah (AIAI), which emerged against the Barre regime in the 1980s, and the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC), which emerged as a result of internal turmoil and a vacuum of authority, has become the main problem of the country. Al-Shabaab, who adopted the Salafi and Wahhabi understanding of religion, made an effort to spread the Salafi mentality in the territory of Somalia, claimed the passivity and irrelevance of the traditional Sufi life in the country, and declared that they were in an active course of struggle. The negative attitude of Ethiopia against the occupation of Somali lands, the UN's holding of military forces, and the exploitation policies of the United States and western powers has led to the interest and acceptance of the Somali people (Mwangi, 2012:514, 517; Artokça, 2019:221).

Ethiopia's intervention in 2006, the support of the USA and Eritrea to this intervention, the lack of a central authority for years, the great wounds of famine, poverty and hunger caused an increase in the reaction against international actors in Somalia. In particular, the activities of warlords and diaspora members have been the main factor in the growth of this organization. The Ethiopian intervention led to the resurgence of the nationalist spirit as well as the religious feelings, enabling al-Shabaab to take advantage of this situation. Therefore, the main factor that turned al-Shabaab into a radical movement was the invasion of Ethiopia. (Mwangi, 2012:518-519; Artokça, 2019:221) Aiming to establish an order based on the Salafist understanding in the region comprising Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti, the al-Shabaab organization attempted to establish the Somali Caliphate (Mwangi, 2012:520, 517; Artokça, 2019:221).

The upper tier of al-Shabaab initially consisted of the tripartite council. These were Axmed Cabdi Godane, codenamed as Mukhtar Abu Zubair, Fuad Mohamed Qalaf, also known as Shongole and Ibrahim Jamil al-Afghani. After Godane eliminated Shongole and Afghani in 2013 and took the organization under his own control, a new course was achieved in the organization. The members of the organization had the feature of being composed of different nationalities rather than being Somali citizens. Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, who is the general secretary of the organization and is in charge of al-Qaeda's East Africa, is from the Comoros, Abu Suleiman al-Banadiri, who is Godane's adviser, is from Yemen, and the organization's education manager, Abu Musa Mumbai, is from Pakistan, Mahmud Mucacir, who trained suicide bombers, appears to be Sudanese. In the pre-Godane period, only 42 of those on the executive council of al-Shabaab were Somalis, while 43 of them were foreign nationals (Shinn, 2011:209; Artokça, 2019:222).

The organization considers its members, who are native to Somalia, in the position of Ansar, and the non-Somali foreigners in the position of refugees (Mwangi, 2012:519). The leadership of the organization is mostly the names who trained and fought in Afghanistan and Iraq. It is stated that these people, who are stated to be affiliated with al-Qaeda, train al-Shabaab militants on bomb attacks and suicide attempts. The organization consists of young people who have not had more

educational opportunities, have low incomes, cannot find work and employment opportunities, are illiterate, are excited about religious and national issues, and are in search of an environment that will protect themselves, their families and their environment (Artokça, 2013:9).

The main financial source of the organization is the funds provided from outside of Somalia, rather than the partial aid it receives from within Somalia. Al-Shabaab, which grew stronger with the support of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries, established the courier method in order to receive the aid provided to it on time and in place (Mwangi, 2012:519; Roitsch, 2014:11). The most important financial support force provided by al-Shabab from within is the Somali diaspora. Especially in the post-September 11 period, the Somali diaspora, which started to be perceived as a threat by the USA and European states, started to direct its aid to the Islamic Courts Union organization after 2006 to al-Shabab. Although countries such as the USA, Sweden, Germany and Mexico have started various legal studies to prevent the flow of financial support and militants towards Somalia, they have not been able to put forward an effective sanction (Bartell & Gray, 2012:108; Artokça, 2019:223).

The al-Shabaab Movement, which derives from the Islamic Courts Union that Ethiopian troops disbanded in 2006, claimed to be fighting against the temporary government established in Mogadishu and the peacekeeping force in the country. The al-Shabaab Movement stands close to the Wahhabi movement of Saudi Arabian origin. The radical arm of the organization reported that it was affiliated with al-Qaeda. The al-Shabab organization, which is clearly expressed today that it is supported by the UK, has also targeted Turkey on the grounds that it is a NATO member and cooperates with western countries. Al-Shabab, which has dominated most of Somalia, has led to chaos in life in Somalia. While the people are trying to deal with the drought that has started in the country, they are also overwhelmed by the pressures of al-Shabaab. While those who could find the opportunity fled to the big cities, those who took refuge in the camps in desperation also experienced great drama. A significant amount of aid could not be delivered to Somalia because aid organizations were afraid of al-Shabab. The African Union soldiers, who are said to have been assigned to establish peace, set up a camp for themselves in the capital Mogadishu, trying to protect themselves and get their salaries. The reaction of the public against this power, which cannot have a functional structure, is another problem. Al-Shabaab, which held a part of Mogadishu until recently, seems to have withdrawn from Mogadishu, but it often takes action in the city center and sheds the blood of innocent people (Arpa, 2015:203).

Al-Shabaab, which targets foreigners and the government in Somalia, killed more than 4,000 people in its attacks in 2016 (Kazeem & Dahir, 2017). Al-Shabaab targeted the presidential palace, parliament and the constitutional court, especially in its attacks on the civilian wing of the government in Mogadishu. As part of its attacks, it targeted hotels, parks and beachfront restaurants. In February 2016, Al-Shabaab punctured the plane of the Somali president with an explosive. More than a hundred Kenyan soldiers were killed in the African Union camp in al-Adde, on the Kenyan border (Yılmaz, 2017:324).

7. Turkey's Contribution to the Reconstruction of Somalia

Relations between Turkey and Somalia are quite new. For example, the trade volume, which was 1.6 million dollars in 2004, became 3 million dollars in 2005, 4.5 million dollars in 2006 and 4.1 million dollars in 2007. Of this, 2.3 million dollars was exports and 1.8 million dollars was imports (Özey, 2006:417).

In the period we have come, Turkish foreign policy has given advanced importance to Somalia. In terms of Turkish foreign policy, Somalia has been a gateway for Turkey to the African continent. Recently, Turkey's constructive and appropriate policies towards Somalia have been closely followed by other African countries from east to west, north to south as well as regional

states, and have led to a positive approach in perceptions towards Turkey. Aiming to experience a real change in Somalia, Turkey, the western powers' colonial policies in Somalia, their efforts to standardize, use their potential for their own purposes, the ideological polarization effort of the USSR, the efforts of China to monopolize trade, the sectarian approaches of the Gulf countries and Iran developed an alternative foreign policy to Ethiopia's expansionist policy (Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:454). As can be seen in the example of Somalia, Turkey is a country that has developed a value-based and humanitarian diplomacy and has managed to become a virtuous power in Somalia. (Mahad, 2016:455, 4; Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:455). With the Somali experience, Turkey has been able to go beyond traditional diplomacy patterns. Religious discourse, religious figures and religious acts, which are considered taboo in traditional Turkish diplomacy, have been given place accordingly (Özkan, 2021:45-50). The activities carried out with the participation of Diyanet, Diyanet Foundation and other non-governmental organizations formed the cornerstones of the structuring in Somalia. Somalia's Muslim identity has provided Turkey with an important soft power advantage compared to other countries. (Donelli, 2017; Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:455-456). This successful policy has attracted the attention and support of the African peoples. The relations it developed with the Arab League Organization and Somalia, which is also a member of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, constituted a turning point for Turkey's African expansion. Turkey's successes in Somalia were not only limited to Somalia, but also indirectly affected other African countries. Somalia is a key country in terms of the success and future of the African initiative, which started with Turkey's declaration of 2005 as the "Year of Africa" (Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:454).

Turkey's opening to Somalia has been the result of long-term and serious planning. It has targets and missions determined by considering the historical, political, economic, religious and cultural conditions of Somalia. Turkey has set five basic goals for the establishment of peace and stability in Somalia. These; emergency humanitarian aid, long-term development aid, technical and personnel capacity building, granting scholarships to Somali students and strengthening the Turkish-Somali commercial partnership. The relations between Turkey and Somalia, on the one hand, ensure that humanitarian aid is carried out locally, on the other hand, it ensures the development of commercial relations, the realization of cultural cooperation, and the reconstruction of the Somali state (Özkan & Orakçı, 2013:347). While the foreign aid made by the UN is carried out by multilateral organizations, Turkey realizes its aid through bilateral and mostly civilian initiatives (Mahad, 2016:455).

The Somali policy pursued by Turkey has been aimed at ensuring peace and security in Africa and the peaceful resolution of conflicts in the African continent. Turkey, which attaches importance to the territorial integrity of Somalia, attaches importance to the establishment of state power in Somalia, and takes steps to ensure political unity, has tried to achieve these goals by holding political meetings and negotiations with different political groups. Playing a leading role in the reconstruction process of Somalia, Turkey has started its activities in mediation activities in order to ensure rapprochement between the different Somali groups that are party to the conflict (Tepeciklioğlu, 2019:39).

The Turkish foreign diplomacy, trying to fulfill its responsibilities in the reconstruction of the state order in Somalia, has started a process that will enable the state institutions to stand on their feet in Somalia, has contributed to the Somali actors to embrace the people as a whole, has prepared the state mechanism to work quickly and in place, has transformed the environment into a meeting course. Within the scope of such a process, Turkey gathered different groups under the common denominator of being Somali, carried out mediation activities between the conflict groups, made efforts to train the army and police force, supported the central state structure, made the state institutions effective on Somali lands, took the important steps to be taken as a whole. He tried to throw it in (Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:450).

Turkey's attempts in Somalia, its opening to Somalia, and the initiation of the state's rebuilding process have also led to some reactions and to taking a stance against Turkey. The intensification of the aid provided by Turkey in Mogadishu and the realization of partnerships with the Somali central government drew the reaction of regional centers such as Somaliland and Puntland. Regarding the Somalia meeting held in Turkey in 2012, Puntland President Abdirahman Mohamed Farole and Gahnudug President Mohamed Ahmad Alim made a joint statement, criticizing the meeting as being politically motivated and refused to attend the meeting. Representatives of 54 countries participated in this meeting themed "Preparing Somalia's Future: 2015 Goals" hosted by Turkey in 2012, representatives from different regions of Somalia participated, and the restructuring of the country was discussed. At this meeting, Turkey declared its support for the establishment of the Somali federal government (Özkan & Orakçı, 2013:349; Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:451). Turkey, which closely observed that the steps taken by Turkey in Somalia caused discomfort in some sections, became aware of these discontents. In order to prevent these negative approaches on display, Turkey held a meeting in Ankara in 2013. Somalia central government and Somaliland representatives attended this meeting at the presidential level. In this meeting, which was held in Ankara where the parties came together, future-oriented meetings and sessions were held. With an agreement announced to the public with the Ankara Declaration, the meeting gave its first fruit. According to the text of the declaration, after this process, it was revealed that the representatives of Somalia and Somaliland met at regular intervals, resolved the disputes through negotiations, encouraged foreign aid to Somaliland and strengthened cooperation on security issues (Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:451). By opening a consulate in Somaliland in 2014, Turkey wanted to convey to other parties that its goal is a holistic Somali policy (Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:452).

During the process, Turkey assumed the role of mediator between the conflicting parties in Somalia and held indirect talks in this context. In fact, mediation attempts were not uncommon in the Somali case. However, the failure of 12 mediation attempts between 1991 and 2009 meant that this area was not very promising. In this respect, it should be said that Turkey's experience is not the first in the field. In this context, Turkey met in Ankara in 2013 with the participation of the Somali and Somaliland parties at the presidential level and held forward-looking dialogue meetings.

Turkey's humanitarian and development aid to Somalia is carried out together with TIKA, Red Crescent and non-governmental organizations. TIKA Mogadishu Program Coordination Office was opened in 2011 and since then, various projects have been carried out to support transportation infrastructure, social, economic and administrative infrastructures. Red Crescent, on the other hand, has been providing services in an extremely wide perspective, from emergency humanitarian aid distribution to municipal services, from health projects to restoration works since 2011. Non-governmental organizations also carry out various projects from the construction of hospitals and schools to orphanages, from irrigation and clean drinking water supply to increasing agricultural capacity, and they carry out various projects to increase the local capacity in these projects and increase the effectiveness of the projects by integrating the Somalis into these projects. Non-governmental organizations that carry out their aid activities together with well-attended actors draw attention with their successful activities. Thanks to the more flexible situation of non-governmental organizations and their experience and expertise in the fields in which they operate, they ensure that existing resources are used more efficiently. These long-term and renewed aids of non-governmental organizations among the people contribute to Turkey's visibility in Somalia. Turkey's development aid has led to social support in the eyes of the Somali people. The timely completion and realization of projects such as hospitals, schools, roads and airports carried out by Turkey's state and non-governmental organizations enabled the people of Somalia to give stronger support to Turkish projects. As the President of Somalia Hassan Sheikh Mohamud stated, TIKA is one of the institutions that have the most visibility and influence. The

official opening of the 200-bed hospital, which was made by TOKİ and equipped by TİKA, during Erdoğan's visit to Mogadishu in 2015 was the clearest indicator of this situation (Mehmetçik & Belder, 2017:447-448).

Continuing its support to the Somali central government in order to ensure the integrity of the country, Turkey has made significant contributions to increasing the capacity of the Somali army and security forces. For this purpose, Turkey has been providing regular training to the Somali police since 2012. Having agreed on a three-year security plan with the Federal Government in 2013, Turkey signed a new agreement for cooperation with the Somali army in 2015. Turkey established the largest military training center abroad in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, under the name of "Turkish Task Force Training Facilities" in 2017. The facility also functions as Turkey's largest military base abroad. It is planned that 200 Turkish officers will train approximately 10 thousand Somali soldiers at the facility, which started training activities in September 2017. This rate corresponds to about a quarter of the Somali army. It is envisaged that the central government's struggle against al-Shabaab will be strengthened and more regions will be brought under its control through military training given by Turkish officials. The military base gave its first graduates in August 2018, took bilateral relations to a higher level and played an important role in the fight against the al-Shabaab terrorist organization (Tepeciklioğlu, 2019:41).

Conclusion

Having a strategic location in the east of the African continent, Somalia has an ancient history. Being at a point where sea and land trade intersect has had the migration of tribes throughout history. With its vast hinterland, Somalia has become the deep-rooted geography of Africa. The people of Somalia, who eliminated the Portuguese occupation in the fifteenth century with the support of the Ottomans, suffered greatly due to the colonial activities of the western powers in the nineteenth century. As a nation fond of independence, the people of Somalia achieved their independence in 1960 with a long-term struggle for independence.

After hard struggles on the road to independence, the people of Somalia achieved their independence, which brought great joy to the people of Somalia. Despite the Western powers, the Republic of Somalia, which gained its independence, was tried to be blocked after independence, it was prevented from standing on its own feet, and it was prevented from activating local dynamics. Colonialism changed its method, and independence given on paper paved the way for global dependence. The geography of Somalia has been turned into pieces with the borders drawn on the table. Djibouti, which is called French Somalia, was separated, the Ogaden region was left at the mercy of Ethiopia, the ambitions of the British and Italians continued in the regions called British Somalia and Italian Somalia. Moreover, Somaliland and Puntland regions still demand recognition of their autonomy. Particularly Somalia was the country that the colonial powers, acting with the slogan of divide, divide and swallow, were most divided.

At the beginning of the problems that the colonial powers left as a boil was the situation of the Ogaden region. Somalia, which gained its independence in 1960, claimed the region as their own. Ethiopia's effort to annex Ogaden accelerated. Two major wars took place between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden issue. The first war took place in 1964. But neither side got any results. The second war took place in 1977-1978. While Somalia gained the upper hand at the beginning of the war, it lost power in the following period. The Soviet Union's support for Ethiopia, not Somalia, and the Soviet and Cuban military forces fighting against the Somali forces in Ethiopia left the Somali soldiers in a difficult position. Since the beginning of the war, the support of the western powers and the USA to Ethiopia has left Somalia alone in all respects.

Siad Barre, who served as Somali president from 1969 to 1991, was discredited by the Ogaden war. Barre, who has been following a pro-Soviet policy since he came to power, started to follow a pro-US policy due to the change of attitude in the Ogaden War. Barre, who remained in power for a long time with the repression in the country, showed a reactive approach to religious values, and was the carrier of western values, had to step away from power in 1991 due to the reactions he received from different segments of the Somali people. Barre kept different tribes together with his authoritarian demeanor. With his overthrow, the government vacuum recurred in the country. Each of the tribes began to seize power, and each tribe that came to power began to take a front against other tribes. Internal conflicts became unavoidable. The United Nations intervention in Somalia led to drama rather than resolution in the country. War, conflict, ethnic strife, inter-tribal struggle, foreign intervention, income inequality, economic collapse, hunger, poverty, pirate attacks have led to unstoppable suffering in the country. It has led to the inability to establish a central government in the country since 1991.

The difficulties experienced caused the Somali people to spend decades in impossibilities. Somalia turned into a poor country from a rich country. The most important potential of Somalia was that it had a long coastline and had the opportunity to coordinate maritime trade. The extremely large, fertile and arable land in the south of Somalia was able to feed twice the population of Somalia. The existence of oil and natural gas reserves, which have not been sufficiently discovered yet, was the main reason for the games played on Somalia. The existence of underground and aboveground riches provided the potential for restructuring in Somalia.

Despite the strategic location of Somalia, its riches and the holistic texture of its people, internal conflicts caused Somalia to experience great pains. With the immigration waves, people had to leave their homes, cities and countries. The conflicts brought the security problem to the top in the country. Families were dispersed, the danger of starvation skyrocketed, poverty became a social problem. The so-called aid of foreign powers could not go beyond saving the day. The winner of the internal conflict environment was the arms dealers. Friction between tribes increased. With the processes of disintegration, disintegration and disintegration, the people of Somalia were hurt against each other. The country has been deprived of a central government for years, and the Somaliland and Puntland regions have been struggling to secede from Somalia by demanding independence. The Somali people spent years in poverty while Western companies exploited the oil and natural gas fields for the benefit of their own countries.

The most important problem that has become unavoidable since 2006 in the environment of internal conflict has been the actions of the terrorist organization al-Shabaab. Throughout history, Somalia was a nation that lived in peace, provided unity and solidarity with its Sufi based understanding of religion, and kept a distance against conflict and violent currents. The independence struggle of Somalia, which is a people fond of independence, was touted as a radical attitude by the westerners. After gaining independence, the people of Somalia rejected the western powers' approaches to reorganizing the country. The refusal of the Somali people to live under the yoke caused them to be portrayed as pro-violence by foreign powers. During the neo-colonial period, Somalia's traditional social fabric was destroyed, traditional civil organizations were neutralized, and sufi structures that integrated different ethnic textures were blocked. Space was opened for movements with Salafist and Wahhabi tendencies. Salafist organizations such as al-Qaeda were allowed to enter Somalia. Against Ethiopia's attack in 2006, the reflexes of the Somali people to defend their country were tried to be used. It was tried to give the impression of defending the land of the country with the people of Somalia. The Shabab terrorist organization has used the helplessness of the Somali people very well. It tried to attract young people with low education level, no economic power and no branch to hold on to its ranks. The attacks of the Shabab terrorist organization have put the ground of internal conflict in the country on fire. The

Shabab terrorist organization has devastated the country due to piracy activities, terrorist targets, suicide attacks, xenophobia, ethnic conflicts and regional divisions.

Turkey has come to the rescue of Somalia, which has not been able to find peace since the colonial period and has been looking for a way out for many years. Turkey, which has been present in Somalia since 2004, took care to heal the wounds and establish a central government in the country. Turkey, which succeeded in bringing the conflicting parties together in Somalia, fell into the trouble of integration, not separation in the country. He made the Somali people decide the future of Somalia. Unlike the United Nations, which tried to distribute aid through a number of organizations, Turkey tried to provide its own aid with its own non-governmental organizations. Seeing Somalia as the gateway to Africa, Turkey has done what could not be done, succeeded in what could not be achieved, and reinforced its peaceful attitude with aid activities, investments, diplomacy, trade volume, educational activities, health services, social activities, civil organizations and bureaucratic initiatives. In response to the attitudes of different states that support different groups in the country or try to establish a ground through terrorist organizations, Turkey has adopted the indivisible integrity of Somalia and considered all of the Somali people as interlocutors. Contrary to the approaches of the Western powers, which occupied Somali lands during the colonial period, transferred Somali resources to their own countries, used cheap labor and local raw materials with foreign companies, existed in the monopoly of the white minority, took advantage of the conflict environment, and fished in turbid waters, Turkey was a two-equal state and two friendly peoples managed to establish contact. It has ensured the consolidation of the state authority in Somalia, the re-establishment of the central authority, the reconciliation of the conflicting segments, the development of Somalia, and the support of the Somali people in difficult times. This peaceful policy followed by Turkey has had positive results in Somalia, both with its official and non-governmental organizations. The people of Somalia have tried to ensure that poverty is not their destiny, that it is necessary to get out of the conflict spiral and that it is indispensable to ensure the integrity of the country with the support of Turkey.

References

- Arpa, E. (2015). *Afrika Seyahatnamesi*. Ankara: Fecr Publications.
- Artokça, İ. (2013). *Eş-Şebab Terör Örgütü – Somali. Türk Asya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi*. Retrieved April 19, 2022 from https://tasam.org/Files/Icerik/File/es_sebab_teror_orgutu_somali_03acd2a2-f8af-4314-9368-d8f23fcb9acb.pdf.
- Artokça, İ. (2019). Eş-Şebab ve Boko Haram Terör Örgütlerinin Özellikleri ve Afrika Siyasetindeki Yerleri. İ. Ermağan (Ed.). *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 1* (pp. 201-236). Ankara: Nobel Publications.
- Aydın, H. (2018). Soğuk Savaşın Başlangıcından Donald Trump Dönemine Kadar ABD'nin Afrika Politikasında Temel Yaklaşımlar. A. Kavas, & M. Tandoğan (Eds.). *Uluslararası Siyasetin Odağındaki Kıta Afrika* (pp. 78-79). Istanbul: Alelmas Publications.
- Aydın, H. (2016). Eleştirel Jeopolitik Perspektifi İle Kızıldeniz. İ. Ermağan (Ed.). *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 3* (pp. 257-273). Ankara: Nobel Publications.
- Daban, C. (2017). Etiyopya-Somali İlişkileri: Ogaden Savaşı. İ. Ermağan (Ed.). *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 4* (pp. 248-270). Ankara: Nobel Publications.
- Dağlı, K. (2013). *Afrika'da Yürüyen Emperyalist Kapışma*. Retrieved April 19, 2022 from <https://marksist.net/kerem-dagli/afrikada-yuruyen-emperyalist-kapisma>.
- Doornbos, M. (1997). The Ogaden after 1991: What Are the Options? H. M. Adam, & R. Ford. (Eds.). *Mending Rips in the Sky: Options for Somali Communities in the 21st Century*. Lawrenceville: Red Sea Press.
- Elmi, A. A. (2012). *Somali Kimlik İslami Hareketler ve Barış* (Z. Baykul, Trans). Istanbul: Açılımkitap.
- Ermağan, İ. & Gümüş, B. (2017). İran'ın Afrika Politikası ve Nijerya'daki Şiilik Faaliyetleri. İ. Ermağan (Ed.). *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 4* (pp. 131-156). Ankara: Nobel Publications.
- Godfrey, A. D. (2015). *Somalia: The Next Oil Superpower?* Retrieved 19 April, 2022 from <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/somalia-the-next-oil-superpower-12041>.
- Gök, G. O. (2019). Birleşmiş Milletler Düzleminde Afrika: İnsan Güvenliği Meselesi ve Somali Örneği. İ. Ermağan (Ed.). *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 1* (pp. 313-333). Ankara: Nobel Publications.
- Halil, İ. (1985). *Afrika Dramı Sömürgecilik-Misyonerlik-Siyonizm* (M. Keskin, Trans.). İnsan Publications.
- Hazar, N. (2011). *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika ve Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri* (2nd ed.). Usak Publications.
- Hesse, B. (2010). The Myth of Somalia. *The Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 28(3), 247-259.
- Kazeem, Y., & Dahir, A.L. (2017, June 2). Al Shabaab Overtook Boko Haram as Africa's Most Deadly Terror Group in 2016. *Quartz Africa Weekly Brief*. Retrieved April 19, 2022 from <https://qz.com/africa/995127/alshabaab-overtook-boko-haram-as-the-most-deadly-terror-group-in-africa-in-2016>.
- Lowther, A. B. (2007). *Americans and Asymmetric Conflict, Lebanon, Somalia and Afghanistan*. Praeger Securit International, pp. 102-110.
- Mahad, W. (2016). *Turkey's Assistance Model in Somalia: Achieving Much with Little*. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, n. 4. Retrieved April 19, 2022 from <https://www.heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Turkeys-Assistance-Model-in-Somalia-Achieving-Much-With-Little-1.pdf>
- Mehmetçik, H., & Belder, F. (2017). Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya Açılan Kapısı: Somali. İ. Ermağan (Ed.). *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 4* (pp. 441-460). Ankara: Nobel Publications.
- Mukhtar, M. H. (2003). *Historical Dictionary of Somalia*. The Scarecrow Press.
- Mutasim, M. (1962). Mahd al Somali Batlu al Savra al Ziddu al Istimar (Mehdiyyu's-Somali Batlu's-Sevrati ziddu'l-İsti'mar).

- Mwangi, O. G. (2012). State Collapse, Al-Shabaab, Islamism and Legitimacy in Somalia. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 13 (4), 513-527.
- Okur, İ. (2009). *Afrika Zengin Ama Yoksul*. Okursoy Books
- Ortadoğu Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (ORSAM). Somali’de Bitmeyen Siyasi Kriz. Retrieved April 19, 2022 from <https://www.orsam.org.tr/tr/somali-de-bitmeyen-siyasi-kriz>
- Özey, R. (2006). *Afrika Coğrafyası* (3rd ed.), Aktif Publications.
- Özey, R. (2016). Doğu Afrika Panoraması: Siyaset-Toplum-Ekonomi. İ. Ermağan (Ed.). *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 3* (pp. 1-52). Ankara: Nobel Publications.
- Özkan, M. (2021). Turkey’s Religious and Socio-Political Depth in Africa. *Emerging Powers in Africa*, 16, 45-50.
- Özkan, M. & Orakçı, S. (2013). Viewpoint: Turkey as a ‘Political’ Actor in Africa – an Assessment of Turkish Involvement in Somalia. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 9(2), 343-352.
- Pakin-Albayrakoğlu, E. (2017). Afrika’nın Zengin ama Fakirleştiren Ortağı: Suudi Arabistan Krallığı. İ. Ermağan (Ed.). *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 4* (pp. 111-130). Ankara: Nobel Publications.
- Roitsch, Paul E. (2014). The Next Step in Somalia: Exploiting Victory, Post-Mogadishu. *African Security Review*, 23(1), 3-16.
- Shaul, S. (2014). *Somalia in Transition Since 2006*. New Brunswick.
- Shinn, D. (2011). Al Shabaab’s Foreign Threat to Somalia. *Orbis*, 55(2), 203-215.
- Soliman, A. (2022). Gulf Crisis is Leading to Difficult Choices in the Horn of Africa. Retrieved 19 April, 2022 from <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2017/06/gulf-crisis-leading-difficult-choices-horn-africa>
- Spencer, J. H. (1984). *Ethiopia at Bay: A Personal Account of the Haile Selassie Years*. Algonac MI: Reference Publications.
- Tandoğan, M. (2018). 1960 Sonrası Küba-Afrika İlişkileri. Kavas & M. Tandoğan (Ed.). *Uluslararası Siyasetin Odağındaki Kıta Afrika* (pp. 37-73). İstanbul: Alelmas Publications.
- Tepeciklioğlu, E. E. (2019). *Türk Dış Politikasında Afrika Temel Dinamikler Fırsatlar ve Engeller*. Atlas Academic Press and Distribution.
- United Nations Human Development Rights Report (UNHDR) (1994). Retrieved 19 April, 2022 from https://www.ohchr.org/en/ohchr_homepage
- United Nations Human Development Rights Report (UNHDR) (2012). Retrieved 19 April, 2022 from https://www.ohchr.org/en/ohchr_homepage
- Yılmaz, S. (2017). Afrika’da Terör: ‘Kara’ Kıtada Sessiz Paylaşım Savaşları. İ. Ermağan (Ed.). *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 4* (pp. 311-336). Ankara: Nobel Publications.
- Ynaija, F. F. (2017). Kaduna govt aided Army in Secret Burial of Slain Shiites. *Oludolapo Adelana*, 19