A HUMANITARIAN TRAGEDY OR A SAFE HAVEN FOR TERRORISTS?

Tracing the evolution of US policy discourse on Somalia between the 1990s and 2000s

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List of Abbreviations

AIAI – Al-Ittihad al-Islami

AMISOM – African Union Mission in Somalia

CJTF-HOA – Combined Joint Task Force for the Horn of Africa

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

TFG – Transitional Federal Government

UIC – Union of Islamic Courts

UN – United Nations

UNITAF – Unified Task Force

UNOSOM – United Nations Operation in Somalia

US – United States

Figure 1: Political map of Somalia (Map No. 3690 Rev. 10 UNITED NATIONS December 2011.
https://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/somalia.pdf)

Introduction

For decades, Somalia has been the world's classic example of a "failed state," continuously suffering from disorder, famine and violent conflict. Since the fall of Said Barre's regime in 1991, there has not been a stable centralized state. The absence of basic state governance created a power vacuum which has been filled by clan warlords, armed militias and others violent non-state actors.[1] Not surprisingly, Somalia has been the topic of debate among policy makers and scholars alike. Thus far, it appears that none of the countless foreign interventions over the decades have been effective.[2]

Most (in)famous has been the US-led United Nations UNOSOM intervention in the 1990s. What was meant as a humanitarian mission for the starving Somalis ended in a bloodbath as two Black Hawk helicopters were shot down and American lives were lost.[3] Traumatized by this failure, the US completely withdrew from Somalia. However, almost a decade later, the post-9/11 environment and the Global War on Terror led to renewed US attention for Somalia, its statelessness now seen as a possible "safe haven" for terrorists.[4] Both times the United States intervened, but in a different way and in a different context. In the 1990s, the US' focus was on humanitarian relief and peace, while the 2000s were dominated by fighting terrorism.

This thesis traces the evolution of US' involvement in Somalia in the early 1990s and the early 2000s. While much of the actual US policy in Somalia remains classified and thus shrouded in mystery, it is possible to study the discourse of US officials and policymakers on Somalia. That leads us to the aim of this thesis, which is to understand how the discourse of US officials on Somalia changed between 1992 and 2007, and whether these changes influenced policy choices.

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[1] Caroline Varin & Dauda Abubakar (Eds.) *Violent Non State Actors in Africa: Terrorists, Rebels and Warlords.* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 277. DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51352-z

[2] Christopher D. Zambakari & Richard Rivera, "Somalia in the Age of the War on Terror: An Analysis of Violent Events and International Intervention between 2007 and 2017," *Georgetown public policy review,* 24, no. 1 (spring 2019): 11-117. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332530502 ; Hussein Solomon, *Terrorism and Counter-Terroris*m in Africa: *Fighting Insurgency from Al Shabaab, Ansar Dine and Boko Haram* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 58-62. https://doi-org.proxy.library.uu.nl/10.1057/9781137489890_2 ; Mohamed Haji Ingiriis, "From Al-Itihaad to Al-Shabaab: how the Ethiopian intervention and the 'War on Terror' exacerbated the conflict in Somalia," *Third World Quarterly* 39, no.11 (2018): 2033-2052 DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2018.1479186 ; Ioan Lewis and James Mayall, "Somalia." In *UN interventionism, 1994-2004,* edited by Mats Berdal and Spyros Economides, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 108-138. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511491221.

[3] Debora Valentina Malito, "Building terror while fighting enemies: how the Global War on Terror deepened the crisis in Somalia," *Third World Quarterly,* 36, no. 10 (2015): 1866, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2015.1074037

[4] Malito, "Building terror," 1866 ; Ashley Elliot & Georg-Sebastian Holzer. "The invention of 'terrorism' in Somalia: paradigms and policy in US foreign relations." *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 16, no. 2 (2009): 215-244, DOI: 10.1080/10220460903268984

Methodology

By analyzing a selection of speeches and remarks by US officials in 1992-1993 and 2002-2007, I identify certain frames that established the discourse on US involvement in Somalia. Consequently, I can demonstrate how the US' perception of Somalia and their own involvement evolved over time, and how this influenced their policy in the area. I analyze US discourse on Somalia through a selection of speeches and statements by key US officials regarding Somalia in 1992-1993 and 2002-2007 (see under).

I searched for sources in the online archives of the State Department, the Defense department, the White house administrations, the National Archives of the United States, in the archives of the New York Times and the archives of the United Nations. In the end, I selected presidential national addresses, statements and press briefings of the White House administrations, statements of the US ambassador to the United Nations Security Council and statements and briefings of the Bureau of African Affairs, which is part of the State Department. These primary sources all reflect the US position on the situation in Somalia. My sources on the 1990s start in December 1992 (when the US launches Operation Restore Hope in Somalia), and end in October 1993 (when the US decides to withdraw its troops following the Black Hawk Down incident). For the 2000s, my sources start in February 2002, when the US State Department first outlines its new policy in Somalia regarding since 9/11. I have chosen to end my analysis in February 2007, when the Islamic Courts have been defeated and the African Union mission AMISOM is deployed in Somalia. The creation of AMISOM inaugurates yet another period, in which the US are less involved in Somalia, mostly supporting the state building of the TFG and peacekeeping of AMISOM.

I examine these sources through a discursive lens, looking for key terms and patterns that signify a certain understanding of Somalia. I draw upon the theory of frame analysis by Benford and Snow to identify the different frames and names used to portray the situation in Somalia and legitimize US involvement.[5] By comparing these frames and names in the 1990s and 2000s, I can discern in what ways the US discourse changed over time, and to what extent these discourse changes correlate with changes in actual US policies in Somalia. With the backdrop of the 1990s as a humanitarian era and the 2000s as the war on terror era, I selected the following key search names*: humanitarian, peace, security, terror, failed/weak state, Islam, help, stability, threat ,warlord, extremism/t, starvation/ing/e.* A comparison of the

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[5] Robert D Benford & David A. Snow, ''Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,*'' Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 611-639. https://www.jstor.org/stable/223459

frequency of use of these names in both periods is an indicator for the change in the discourse on Somalia. Comparing the use of these names at both moments signifies the differences in US discourse Somalia. For example, I would expect "humanitarian" and "peace" to appear more in the 1990s, and "terror" and "security" to appear in the 2000s.

Limitations

For reasons of time and scope, the extent of this thesis is restricted by two main factors. First, the limited amount of available primary sources. After extensive search, I was able to collect a large amount of remarks and press briefings from the 2000s from the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs. However, for the early 1990's I ended up with only a limited number of sources due to limited online availability. I have collected several speeches by President George Bush and Bill Clinton, and a few documents from the White house Clinton administration and US ambassadors to the UN.

Secondly, these primary sources do not inform me of actual US actions in Somalia. They only show what US officials share with the public. It is important to note that there could be significant difference between what is said and what is actually done. It was therefore difficult to establish cause and effect relations with the sources available to me, but I have contemplated (in the Discussion section) how the changes in discourse may have translated into a change policy.

Theoretical framework

This thesis is embedded in the discursive approach to violent conflict, using concepts such as discourse, *naming* and *framing*. According to Michael Bhatia, discourse is a tool for armed groups, who are in competition for the legitimacy of violent acts.[6] The goal is to ensure that a particular interpretation or viewpoint prevails, in order to win the "hearts, minds and support" of the population.[7] In his article, ''Fighting Words: Naming Terrorists, Bandits, Rebels and Other Violent Actors,"[8] Bhatia argues that the ability to *name* – and to have that name accepted by an audience – holds considerable power.[9] Names can be used to draw boundaries between "us" and "them," to designate a hostile "other" and legitimize any actions against them.[10] This is as much true for established governments such as the United States as it is for

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[6] Discourse as a concept of normative power is derived from Michel Foucault.
[7] Michael V Bhatia, "Fighting words: naming terrorists, bandits, rebels and other violent actors," *Third World Quarterly* 26, no.1 (2005):6. DOI: 10.1080/0143659042000322874
[8] Bhatia, "Fighting words," 7.
[9] Bhatia, "Fighting words," 9.
[10] Bhatia, "Fighting words," 7.

insurgents or rebels. The Global War on Terror is one of the dominant frameworks in which governments and other actors legitimize their actions.[11] By naming their opponents "terrorist" or "extremists," the US attempt to delegitimize their actions and portray them as evil or inhuman. Indirectly, their own actions against those opponents are deemed legitimate. Recognizing the power of names, this thesis attempts to identify different names in US discourse on Somalia and the meaning they assign.

Names can be seen as the building blocks for *frames*, linguistic forms which allow people to "render events or occurrences meaningful and thereby function to organize experience and guide action."[12] *Framing* is an active process in which a certain interpretation of reality is constructed and propagated to an audience. Benford and Snow specifically discuss collective action frames, which propagate certain beliefs that mobilize action and legitimate support for a certain actor or organization. While their article is focused on social movements, the analytical framework of framing holds true for any actor that wishes to legitimate their actions and garner support.

In order to structure my analysis of the US discourse, I draw on Benford and Snow's analytical tool of frame analysis. They identify three core framing processes: diagnostic, prognostic and motivational.[13] A diagnostic frame identifies a problematic situation that needs changing or solving. It also identifies who is responsible for the problem at hand, thus creating the "enemy" that needs to be defeated. In this case, what is wrong in Somalia, and who is responsible for this. After the problem has been diagnosed, the prognostic frame proposes a solution. Thus, what has to be done to solve the problem in Somalia. Thirdly, the motivational frame provides a rationale for undertaking collective action, including the construction of vocabularies of motive.[14] It appeals to a collective identity or agency and shows the consequences of inaction compared to the benefits of action. Here, US officials would illustrate why the US should be concerned about the situation in Somalia and why they need to intervene. In both the discourse in 1990s and 2000s, I examine in what way these three core frames are articulated, how they might differ and what this means.

Historiography & Relevance

In addition to the primary sources, this thesis draws upon the considerable body of literature on US policy in Somalia in the 1990s and 2000s in order to situate events in their historical

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[11] Bhatia, "Fighting words," 7.
[12] Benford & Snow, ''Framing processes,'' 614.
[13] Benford and Snow, ''Framing Processes, 615
[14] Benford and Snow, ''Framing Processes, 617.

context.[15] Scholars such as Harry Verhoeven and Elliot and Holzer have already demonstrated the importance of particular paradigms underlying US policy in Somalia, such as the connection between a failed state and terrorism.[16] While they focus on US policy after 9/11, this thesis contributes to their work by comparing this period to the earlier 1990s.

Moreover, the post-9/11 focus on terrorism as a security threat is part of a larger shift to the *securitarization* of aid in the international community. The term *securitarization* refers to the "speech act" of constructing a problem of such existential importance and urgency that it calls for extraordinary measures.[17] In the post-9/11 environment, Western governments have used the fear for terrorism to securitize foreign aid policy, legitimizing military interventions in "the name of the welfare of citizens" in the target countries.[18] The securitization of aid missions has had significant impact on NGOs and charities, now often suspected of terrorist affiliations. This suspicion has hampered their work, requiring them to submit to additional intelligence checks and restricting the flow of funds to avoid supporting terrorism.[19] Moreover, NGOs are integrated into the general effort to establish security in conflict areas, leading aid workers to be deployed next to military troops. This has blurred the lines between "civil" and "military," making aid workers a legitimate target for opponents.[20] Thus, this thesis functions as a case study in the overarching theme of securitization.

There is considerable debate between scholars on the effects of US policy in Somalia, some arguing that US War on Terror-informed policy only exacerbated the crisis in Somalia, leading to the rise of Islamist militant groups such as Al-Shabaab.[21] This thesis does not evaluate the effectiveness of US policy. Rather, it demonstrates the discourse behind the development of US policy, both in the 1990s and 2000s. Studying discourse and framing processes provides new insights on how the US understood the situation in Somalia, but also how they understood their own interests in Somalia, and their capability to resolve the issue at hand. The post-cold war environment in the 1990s and the post-9/11 environment in the 2000s

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[16] Harry Verhoeven, "The Self-fulfilling Prophecy of Failed States: Somalia, State Collapse and the Global War on Terror," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 3, no. 3 (2009): 405–425 http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17531050903273719 ; Elliot & Holzer, "The invention of 'terrorism'," 215-244

[17] Björn Möller, "The Horn of Africa and the US 'War on Terror' with a Special Focus on Somalia," In *Post-Conflict Peace-Building in the Horn of Africa.* A Report of the 6th Annual Conference on the Horn of Africa, (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2008), 6. https://vbn.aau.dk/en/publications/the-horn-of-africa-and-the-us-war-on-terror-with-special-focus-on

[18] Stephen Brown & Jörn Grävingholt, "Security, Development and the Securitization of Foreign Aid" In: *The Securitization of Foreign Aid. Rethinking International Development Series,* ed. Stephen Brown Jörn Grävingholt, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 2. https://doi-org.proxy.library.uu.nl/10.1007/978-1-137-56882-3_1

[19] Jude Howell, "Counterterrorism and Civil Society: Civil Society, Aid, and Security Post-9/11," *The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law,* 12, no.4 (2010). https://www.icnl.org/resources/research/ijnl/civil-society-aid-and-security-post-9-11

[20] Howell, "Counterterrorism." ; Brown & Grävingholt, "Security," 1-2.

[21] Malito, "Building terror," 1866-1886 ; Mohamed Haji Ingiriis, "From Al-Itihaad to Al-Shabaab," 2033-2052

are two radically different contexts. In order to appropriately understand US policy, one needs to consider the background against which it was created. By demonstrating how the discourse changed, this thesis sheds light on the dynamics between discourse and policy, how particular discourses informed different US foreign policies. This improved understanding of the link between framing and resulting policy is not only relevant for the case of Somalia, but can be applied to other conflict cases. That makes this thesis relevant to policymakers and NGOs alike, who are working in the current post-9/11 securitized environment.

The first chapter provides some historical background on Somalia. Chapter two encompasses the findings of my discourse analysis, the evolution of the names and frames use, and the reflections on the context that account for these changes between the 1990s and the 2000s. Chapter three then tackles correlation between the changes in discourse and changes in actual policy, finally leading to my conclusion.

Chapter 1: Some context on Somalia

In order to understand how the US came to be involved in Somalia, one must first get a general idea of Somalia's history. This chapter provides a brief overview of Somalia's recent history and how it came to be known as a classic failed state.

Positioned on the tip of the so-called Horn of Africa between the Ethiopian backland and the Arabic world, Somalia's long coastlines have long drawn the interests of foreign powers. Most of the land is subject to extreme heat and irregular rainfall, thus prone to droughts. Traditionally nomadic herdsmen, the Somali population is one of the most ethnically and culturally homogeneous on the African continent -- around 85% is ethnic Somali and Islam has long been the main religion.[22]

Over the centuries, there have been varying presences of foreign powers in Somalia. As for many other African countries in the decolonization period, Somalia became an independent republic in 1960 after a realignment of borders of the territories formerly governed by Italy, Britain and France.[23] Despite Somalia's homogeneous ethnicity, the new country was divided into a patchwork of many different patrilineal clans with different statuses. These different clan families are spread over the country and even over state lines. As loyalty to the clan pervaded Somali nationalism, this resulted in complicated political attachments. Moreover, following independence, the desire for self-determination of adjoining Somali communities led to a series of wars and conflicts with neighboring countries.[24]

On October 21 1969, a bloodless military coup d'état brough General Siyad Barre to power, who immediately suspended the constitution. His 1969-1991 rule is now often referred to as the "Barre era." At that time Somalia also became involved in Cold War power dynamics, the Soviet Union and the United States meddling around in both Ethiopia and Somalia. Initially supported by the Soviet Union, Barre later "switched" to the American side.[25] Seriously weakened by the Ogaden war in 1978, the regime became increasingly authoritarian and unpopular. Weakened state structures led the population to rely more and more on clan networks for security.[26] In the 1990s, several national and secessionist movements joined forces against Barre's regime, leading to his eventual deposition in 1991.[27]

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[22] Lewis & Mayall "Somalia," 114.
[23] Möller, "Horn of Africa," 13.
[24] Möller, "Horn of Africa," 13.
[25] Lewis & Mayall "Somalia," 111-112.
[26] Möller, "Horn of Africa," 17-18.
[27] Möller, "Horn of Africa," 19.

Although one of the opposition factions set up an interim government, a split between the various factions triggered a bitter civil war with two rival groups battling for control over the capital Mogadishu and the southern coast and hinterland, in the process destroying both the city and the grain-producing region. The destruction of agricultural land, combined with the lack of rain the previous years, led to terrible famine.[28]

The ensuing humanitarian crisis would lead to the involvement of the United States through the United Nations mission UNOSOM, which aimed to provide food relief and other aid. UNOSOM also encouraged reconciliation and the reformation of a government, but when the UN forces left Somalia in March 1995, the problems of statelessness remained unresolved.[29] Over the years, fourteen attempts at reconciliation were made, none of them successful. Whereas the radical violence of the initial civil war had disappeared, the country was carved up between different warlords, continuously caught up in inter-faction conflict. Somalia became known as the classic example of a "failed state."[30] It was not until after the events of 9/11 that this "failed state" characteristic came to be seen as problematic, a root cause for all sorts of criminality, piracy and most importantly: terrorism.[31] The next chapter discusses these US involvement at length, reviewing this historical context to appropriately analyze the changes in US discourse on Somalia.

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[28] Lewis & Mayall "Somalia,"120 ; Möller, "Horn of Africa," 19.
[29] Lewis & Mayall "Somalia," 131.
[30] Verhoeven, "Failed states," 410.

Chapter 2: Findings

This chapter discusses the findings of the discourse analysis, comparing the use of different frames and names in the 1990s and 2000s. I first present several tables that provide an overview of the changes in frames and names, whereupon I situate these changes in the historical context of US involvement in Somalia in 1992-1993 and 2002-2007. My analysis is structured by the identification of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames in both time periods. By systematically tracing these names and frames, I can account for the evolution of US discourse on Somalia.

2.1 Evolution of names and frames

	1990s (19017 words)	**2000s** (37250 words)
Humanitarian	35 times	30 times
Peace	66 times	60 times
Security	40 times	82 times
Failed/weak state	0 times	18 times
Terror	6 times	256 times
Islam	0 times	90 times
Help	31 times	44 times
Stability	2 times	58 times
Warlord	4 times	32 times
Extremism/extremist	1 times	37 times
Starv(ation/ing/e)	24 times	2 times
Threat	20 times	47 times

Table 1: prevalence of names in US discourse on Somalia compared in 1992-1993 and 2002-2007

As a first exercise, a straightforward ranking of the wordcount for each period shows the following most used names in the 1990s and 2000s.

	1990's	word count
1	Peace	66
2	Security	40
3	Humanitarian	35
4	Help	31
5	Starv(ation/ing/e)	24
6	Threat	20
7	Terror	6
8	Warlord	4
9	Stability	2
10	Extremism/extremist	1
11	Islam	0
12	Failed/weak state	0

	2000's	word count
1	Terror	256
2	Islam	90
3	Security	82
4	Peace	60
5	Stability	58
6	Threat	47
7	Help	44
8	Extremism/extremist	37
9	Warlord	32
10	Humanitarian	30
11	Failed/weak state	18
12	Starv(ation/ing/e)	2

Table 2: names ranked in prevalence

As shown above, the top 5 list of words used in the 1990s confirms the profile of a US intervention in Somalia as a humanitarian mission. In the 2000s the language confirms the profile of a US intervention as part of the war on terror.

However, I had considerably more sources on the 2000s than on the 1990s. My primary sources on the 1990s count 19017 words, and the sources on the 2000s count 37250 words. Thus, the word counts for both periods cannot be compared in such a straightforward manner. I have therefore calculated the percentage that each key name appears in the total amount of words in the 1990s and in the 2000s discourse.
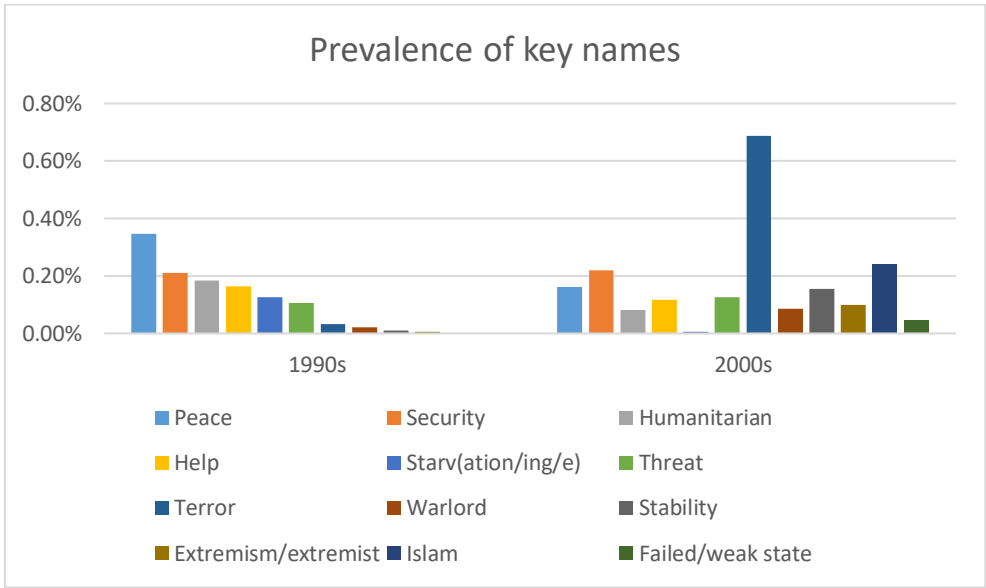

Figure 2. Prevalence of key names in percentage

Figure 2 confirms that the names "humanitarian," "peace" and "help" are more prevalent in the 1990s, whilst the name "terror" overwhelmingly dominates the 2000s discourse. Interestingly, the words "security," "help" and "threat" remain fairly the same between the 1990s and 2000s.

Looking more closely, I have also calculated the "change ratio," in order to assess the extent of the increase (or decrease) of the percentage-use for each word between the two periods. This leads to table 3.

	Period	number of words		Period	number of words		
	1990s	19,017		2000s	37,250		
	word count	% of total		word count	% of total		Change ratio
	A	B=A/19,017		C	D=C/37,250		E=D/B
Starv(ation/ing/e)	24	0.13%		2	0.01%		0.04
Humanitarian	35	0.18%		30	0.08%		0.44
Peace	66	0.35%		60	0.16%		0.46
Help	31	0.16%		44	0.12%		0.72
Security	40	0.21%		82	0.22%		1.05
Threat	20	0.11%		47	0.13%		1.20
Warlord	4	0.02%		32	0.09%		4.08
Stability	2	0.01%		58	0.16%		14.81
Extremism/extremist	1	0.01%		37	0.10%		18.89
Terror	6	0.03%		256	0.69%		21.78
Islam	0	0.00%		90	0.24%		new
Failed/weak state	0	0.00%		18	0.05%		new

Table 3. prevalence and change ratio of key names between 1990s and 2000s

Now the picture is clearer, with two visible extremes: the word "terror" has a change ratio of 21,78, meaning that (comparatively speaking) it was used nearly 22 times more frequently in the 2000s than in the 1990s. In contrast, "starvation" has a change ratio of 0.04, meaning that was used 1/0.04=25 times less frequently in the 2000s than in the 1990s. Most noteworthy, the names "Islam" and "failed/weak state" are new terms in the 2000s that were completely absent from the 1990s discourse.

When analyzing the different frames, I identified not only changes between the 1990s and 2000s, but also changes within the two periods (table 4).

	Diagnostic frames	**Prognostic frames**	**Motivational frames**
1992	Humanitarian disaster Famine and anarchy Armed gangs responsible	Humanitarian mission Provide food to starving Somalis	Moral obligation to save Somalis US as world leader
1993	Attacks on UN and US forces Warlord Aidid responsible	Undermine warlord Aidid Focus on political track Work with regional governments	Retaliation for lost US lives US as world leader
2002	Somalia as failed state Safe haven for terrorists Threat to regional security Ties between AIAI and Al Qaeda	(regional) Counterterrorism State building to prevent safe haven for terrorists	Somalia in Global War on Terror Protect American citizens from terrorist threat
2006	Somalia as failed state Safe haven for terrorists Threat to regional security UIC expansion as threat UIC harbors foreign terrorists Humanitarian issues as factors that facilitate terrorism	(regional) Counterterrorism Support TFG in state building Support dialogue TFG and UIC Humanitarian aid	Somalia in Global War on Terror Protect American citizens from terrorist threat

Table 4. Various diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames between 1992 and 2007

2.2 Framing the US involvement in Somalia in 1992-1993

Following the fall of Siyad Barre's regime in 1991, Somalia had become entrenched in a civil war and terrible famine. Although the UN had deployed peacekeeping mission UNOSOM I in April 1992, it quickly became clear that the UN lacked the resources and troops to appropriately handle Somalia without strong support from the United States. [32] It was in this context that the US eventually got involved in December 1992, UN Resolution 794 authorizing the establishment of a United Task Force (UNITAF) under US command and control, under the name "Operation Restore Hope."[33]

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[32] Lewis & Mayall, "Somalia," 122-23.
[33] Lewis & Mayall, "Somalia," 122-23.

Diagnostic frames

The problematic situation in Somalia is first and foremost framed as a humanitarian disaster. This is reflected by the frequent use of words like "humanitarian," "suffering" and "starving" throughout different sources. Both American presidents use graphic language to emphasize the suffering of the Somalis, referring to the "shocking images" of starving people and children propagated through the media.[34] The Somalis are described as "innocent victims of anarchy and famine."[35]

The cause of all this suffering is stated in abstract terms such as "anarchy." As we have seen, there is no mention in any of the 1990s sources of Somalia as a "failed state." In fact, there is hardly any mention of Somalia's state of government. This may be because the Barre regime had only just fallen, and the humanitarian crisis was the obvious priority. It is only mentioned once that "There is no government in Somalia. Law and order have broken down. Anarchy prevails."[36] Yet, no explanation is given as to how this happened, or any other context on Somalia's history. What they do mention, is that the current relief efforts are not reaching those in need due to "armed gangs roving the city" and looting aid supplies. The discourse remains vague in framing an opponent responsible for the problematic situation. The names "armed gangs" or "outlaw elements" are used, sometimes only "people" who are opposed to the UN mission in general.[37] Names like "terrorists," "radicals" or "extremists" are not (yet) used. Whilst they are framed as obstructing the US' goals, they are not framed as essentially evil or as an existential threat. Their identities, motivations and objectives remain unspecified.

However, a change in diagnostic frame takes place by June 1993, when the name "warlord" starts to appear. Indeed, "warlord" Aidid is identified as the culprit behind multiple attacks on UN peacekeepers, and framed as the opponent.[38] President Clinton even holds him responsible for the starving of many Somalis: *"He murdered 23 U.N. peacekeepers and I would remind you that before the United States and the United Nations showed up he was responsible for the deaths of countless Somalis from starvation, from disease and from*

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[34] UNSCOR, 47th Sess, 3145 Mtg, UN Doc S/PV.3145 (December 3 1992), 36-38 https://undocs.org/en/S/PV.3145
[35] Ibid.
[36] George Bush, "Address on Somalia." (speech, Washington DC, December 4, 1992), Miller Center, Accessed January 4, 2021. https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/december-4-1992-address-somalia

[38] Bill Clinton, "President Letter to Congress on Somalia," *White house*, United States. June 10 1993. Accessed January 4 2021, https://clintonwhitehouse6.archives.gov/1993/06/1993-06-10-president-letter-to-congress-on-somalia.html ; Bill Clinton, "Clinton's News Conference; Excerpts From Clinton's News Conference at the White House," (speech, Washington DC, June 17 1993), *New York Times.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/1993/06/18/us/clinton-s-conference-excerpts-clinton-s-conference-white-house.html?searchResultPosition=2

killing."[39] By that time, Operation Restore Hope had managed to reopen supply routes for aid and been transitioned into UNOSOM II. The American operation was officially done, but the US remained strongly involved through UNOSOM II.[40] While the US operation had initially calmed things down, there had been new outbreaks of fighting. When (presumably) Aidid's forces attacked and killed 20 Pakistani UN forces on 5 June 1993, this triggered a showdown between Aidid and the US Special Forces. The UN accused him and other warlords of war crimes and the US Special Forces became committed to hunting Aidid down.[41] This is reflected back in the discourse. Over the summer of 1993, warlords are increasingly framed as the threat standing in the way of Somalia's recovery.[42] As the initial humanitarian effort was successful, there is now more focus on these attacks threatening the security and progress made.[43] Things escalated on October 3 1993, when two US Black Hawk helicopters were shot down during a raid, turning it into a bloodbath on the streets of Mogadishu in which eighteen American lives were lost. The whole episode was televised on American tv-screens, showing Somalis dragging the body of a US soldier through the streets of Mogadishu.[44] The impact of this incident cannot easily be overestimated. The American public was horrified and demanded that the US troops be withdrawn. The US troops were completely withdrawn in 1994 and UNOSOM as a whole ended not much later in March 1995.[45] After the Black Hawk incident, Aidid is even directly addressed by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, holding him "personally responsible" for handing back safely the American pilot that was captured in the fight.[46]

Prognostic frames

As the main problem in Somalia is framed as a humanitarian disaster, the main objective of the US is a humanitarian mission. This point is repeated over and over again in the sources, illustrated by the prevalence of terms such as "peace" and "help." Operation Restore Hope is framed as a limited mission meant to end the famine, President Bush underlining: *"*We come to your country for one reason only, to enable the starving to be fed."[47]

 This humanitarian objective is joined by military support, in order to ensure that

[39] Clinton, "News Conference."
[40] Lewis & Mayall, "Somalia," 128-129.
[41] Lewis & Mayall, "Somalia," 129-130.
[42] Office of the Press secretary, "Statement on Somalia," *White House,* United States. September 25, 1993. https://clintonwhitehouse6.archives.gov/1993/09/1993-09-25-statement-on-somalia.html
[43] Press secretary, "Statement on Somalia."
[44] Möller, "Horn of Africa," 21.
[45]Lewis & Mayall, "Somalia," 130-131; Möller, "Horn of Africa," 21.
[46] Office of the press secretary "Press briefing on Somalia," *White House,* United States. October 7 1993. https://clintonwhitehouse6.archives.gov/1993/10/1993-10-07-briefing-on-somalia.html
[47] Bush, "Address on Somalia."

humanitarian workers are protected and that food actually reaches the people in need. The US forces are authorized to take "whatever military action is necessary to safeguard the lives of our troops and the lives of Somalia's people."[48] As visible in figure 2, the term "security" appears almost equally in the 1990s as it does in the 2000s. This may be a surprise, as the 1990s was essentially a humanitarian mission. However, the US operation was initially deployed because the aid efforts were being intercepted by "armed gangs." The humanitarian aspect is thus supported by a security goal: The US forces are there to "secure an environment that will allow food to get to the starving people of Somalia."[49] President Bush stresses the limited objective of the operation, stating that once the environment is secured and the food is moving, the US will withdraw its troops and the UN will take over.

However, as the discourse becomes more focused on "warlord" Aidid as the antagonist, so do US objectives become increasingly focused on undermining him. President Clinton even states "the purpose of the operation was to undermine the capacity of Aidid to wreak military havoc in Mogadishu," which breaks the preceding humanitarian frame.[50] The deaths of UN and especially US soldiers evoke a more aggressive discourse focused on the military component of countering Aidid and other armed forces in order to complete the humanitarian objective: "We did not go to Somalia with a military purpose. We never wanted to kill anyone. But those who attack our soldiers must know they will pay a very heavy price."[51]

Another interesting shift takes place after the Black Hawk incident, with a refocusing on the "political track." In his speech on December 4 1992, President Bush explicitly stated that the US was not getting involved in politics, only delivering food relief.[52] However, after October 3 1993, there is more emphasis on assisting Somalia in reconciliation and reforming a government.[53] Now that a deadline had been established for the withdrawal of their forces, they were intent on enabling the Somalis to rebuild their country themselves. The strategy was now formulated as finding "African solutions for African problems," by involving regional authorities such as Ethiopia.[54] This regional approach would later be continued in the 2000s.

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[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Clinton, "News Conference."
[51] Bill Clinton, "Address on Somalia," (speech, Washington DC, October 7 1993). Miller Center. Accessed January 4 2021. https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/october-7-1993-address-somalia
[52] Bush, "Address on Somalia."
[53] Clinton, "Address on Somalia." ; Press secretary, "Press briefing on Somalia."
[54] Press secretary, "Press briefing on Somalia."

Motivational frames

Several motives or themes can be identified in the discourse to explain why the US should intervene on such a grand scale in another country. One is the appeal to empathy and moral obligation for the US to act in order to "save" Somalia. President Bush conveys, "When we see Somalia's children starving, all of America hurts."[55] The impact of the media coverage of Somalia is undeniable, as the discourse continuously frames the Somalis as helpless victims in need of saving, their suffering so great that one cannot just stand by and watch. "The people of Somalia, especially the children of Somalia, need our help. We're able to ease their suffering. We must help them live. We must give them hope. America must act."[56]

Another motive is the notion of the US as world leader in post-cold war era. In 1992, cold war tensions had just ended, with America emerging victorious as the leader of the free world. Both President Bush and President Clinton appeal to the responsibility of the US as the leading force in the world, and the only one able to "solve" the problem at hand by putting such a large force and the ground.[57] "Some will ask why we must so often be the one to lead. Well, of course we cannot be the world's policeman, but we are, and we must continue to be, the world's leader. That is the job of the United States of America."[58]

After American lives were lost in Somali attacks on UN forces in June 1993, an additional motivational frame emerged: retaliation; getting back the captured American pilot and protecting the remaining American troops. Still, even after the Black Hawk incident, when President Clinton announced the planned US withdrawal from Somalia, the leadership motive continued, though in a reduced version. The president underlined that the US could not withdraw immediately, having a responsibility to uphold its global reputation to "get the job done."[59]

2.3: Framing US involvement in Somalia 2002-2007

After the attacks on the US on September 11 2001, President George Bush had proclaimed a Global War on Terror. Somalia became involved in this global war in December 2002, when a Combined Joint Task Force for the Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) was set up in Djibouti to "prevent violent extremist organisations from threatening America, ensuring the protection of

[55] Bush, "Address on Somalia."
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Bill Clinton, "Remarks on Operation Restore Hope," (speech, Washington DC May 5, 1993). Accessed January 4, 2021. https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/may-5-1993-remarks-operation-restore-hope
[59] Bill Clinton, "Address on Somalia," (speech, Washington DC, October 7 1993) Miller Center. Accessed January 4 2021. https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/october-7-1993-address-somalia

the homeland, American citizens, and American interests."[60] Anxious to root out any associated forces with the al Qaeda-network, Somalia once again came to the attention of US foreign policy. The humanitarian language of alleviating suffering and establishing peace had now made place for an all-compassing threat of terrorism. The fact that the word terror appears 256 times in the 2000s discourse clearly reflects the US' priorities at that time.

Diagnostic frames

In 2002, the humanitarian frame of the 1990s is replaced by one of terrorism as a security threat. Somalia is continuously referred to as a "safe haven for terrorists."[61] The enemy is unmistakably named as the "terrorist," "extremist," "radical," and "Islamist," said to be a threat to regional stability, and to US personnel and facilities.[62] No explanation is given as to the background of these people or their motivations. Striking also is the fact that "Islam" was not once mentioned in the 1990s, while now the Somali's religion is mentioned 90 times in unison with violence and terrorism. These are Muslim terrorists that pose a threat to America and American citizens. Somalia's classification as a "failed" or "weak state" is labelled as the root of the problem. The failure to form a central government, the competition between various warlords and the underdeveloped economy together are seen as the perfect conditions for "international terrorism" to take root.[63] Just as in the 1990s, no historical context is given as to how this could have happened. In contrast to the 1990s, however, there is less concern for the Somali population, but rather for security of the region as a whole and the US itself. In the 1990s, the Somalis were portrayed as helpless and starving, no attention was paid to their culture or religion. In the 2000s, it is precisely the reverse: barely any attention is paid to the general population's well-being, but the fact that they are Muslim is framed as a threat in itself.

The humanitarian frame does reappear in the discourse from 2004 onwards, when the US recognize the problems of poverty, famine and disorder in Somalia. Yet, these humanitarian issues are explained as factors that "create an enabling environment for terrorism." [64] They are addressed not as problematic in themselves, but only as a factor to

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[60] Malito, "Building terror," 1867.

[61] Walter H. Kansteiner, "Weak States and Terrorism in Africa: U.S. Policy Options in Somalia," Testimony Before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs; Washington, DC. February 6 2002. *US department of State Archive.* Accessed January 4 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/7872.htm

[62] Kansteiner, "Weak States and Terrorism."

[63] Kansteiner, "Weak States and Terrorism."

[64] Kansteiner, "Weak States and Terrorism." ; Jendayi E. Frazer, "Somalia: Expanding Crisis in the Horn of Africa," Remarks to the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights & International Operations and the Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation, Washington, DC. June 29, 2006. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2006/68515.htm

consider in the war on terror. The humanitarian frame thus remains secondary to the frame of terrorism as a security threat.

Interesting also, is how the 2000s discourse reflects on the situation in the 1990s: "we sent peacekeeping and rescue forces in there in late 1992 to stop the starvation, end the starvation, which we did, then it turned into a more tragic situation when we weren't able to solve the political problem."[65] The overall US intervention in the 1990s is celebrated as a success, but Somalia's failure to form a lasting government back then, is attributed to the fact that the Somalis were not "ready" or "willing" to invest in this themselves.[66]

In 2002, the US is specifically concerned that Somalia's lack of government and long coastlines provide a suitable relocation spot for Al Qaeda operatives from Afghanistan.[67] They believe that there may be ties between Al Qaeda and Somali organization Al-Ittihad al-Islami (AIAI), which is described as "dedicated to creating a radical Islamist state in Somalia."[68] Vague comparisons are made between AIAI and Al Qaeda, being "generally Islamic in their view" and Osama Bin Laden praising the Somali attack on US forces in 1993.[69] AIAI's Islamic identity is equated to that of Al Qaeda, while clan identities are considered unimportant. After 2002, the concern for AIAI disappears. In fact, Somalia lies relatively low on the US radar for a few years, until events in 2006 spark their attention.

In 2006, there is again a change in discourse with the rise of the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC). Like its predecessors, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), established in 2004, was unable to execute control over the country. The alliance between newly elected president Abdihalli Yusuf and the Ethiopian government alienated many of the dominant Hawiye clan and led to claims that the TFG was an Ethiopian proxy.[70] Nevertheless, the US was determined to support the TFG as it was the product of a long process of international negotiations.[71] Meanwhile, a new player had arisen in this power vacuum: The Union of the Islamic Courts. Local Islamic courts had sprung up all over Somalia since the late '90s to offer security and foster trade for the population where the state could not.[72] They unified in

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[65] Colin L. Powell, "Roundtable on African issues," New York City, February 6, 2004. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 4 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/former/powell/remarks/29126.htm

[66] Kansteiner, "Weak States and Terrorism."

[67] Senior Defense Official, "Terrorist threat in Horn of Africa," Department Of Defense Background Briefing. The Pentagon, Arlington, Virginia. March 8, 2002. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 4 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/s/ct/rls/rm/8801.htm

[68] Kansteiner, "Weak States and Terrorism."

[69] Ibid.

[70] Elliot & Holzer, "Invention of 'terrorism'", 219. ; Möller, "Horn of Africa, 23. ; Verhoeven, "Failed States," 416.

[71] Jendayi E. Frazer, "Briefing on Somalia Contact Group Meeting," Remarks at start of Daily Press Briefing, Washington, DC. June 16, 2006. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2006/67998.htm

[72] Elliot & Holzer, "Invention of 'terrorism'," 219. ; Verhoeven, "Failed states," 415.

2005-6 in order to end the anarchy of the warlords. Supported by the powerful Hawiye clan and Somalia's wealthiest businessmen, the UIC set out to reunite Somalia in the name of Islam, through the provision of sharia justice and social and security services.[73] With surprising speed, the UIC subsequently expanded its authority over Mogadishu, Kismayo and much of southern Somalia, bringing unprecedented levels of security; lifting roadblocks, reopening schools for girls, protecting the environment and improving public health.[74] However, the expansion of the UIC put it into conflict with the TFG, who was supported by the US and Ethiopia.

While the US discourse is supportive of the TFG, it also recognizes that it is a "weak institution."[75] Thus, they view the rise of the UIC with some apprehension. In early 2006, the US is still reserving judgement about the UIC, who at that time stressed that they were intent on preventing terrorism and working with the TFG. The US describes the UIC as a heterogeneous group with some more extremist factions.[76] Throughout the first half of 2006, it is consistently emphasized that the US are not taking a position on the UIC, only encouraging a dialogue between them and the TFG.[77] At the same time, there is a rising concern about the UIC's further expansion into Somalia, and their possible harboring of foreign terrorists.[78] Over the summer of 2006, there is again an increase in the use of terms like "safe haven for terrorists" and focus on the security situation.[79] By December 2006, the US condemns the UIC for its continued "concrete military expansion," which is ruining the chance of an inclusive dialogue.[80] After reserving judgement for months, the UIC is now clearly framed as a threat with the potential to "further destabilize the Horn of Africa."

[73] Verhoeven, Failed states," 415.
[74] Möller, "Horn of Africa," 30 ; Verhoeven, "Failed states," 415.
[75] Frazer, "Briefing on Somalia."
[76] Ibid.
[77] Frazer, "Briefing on Somalia." ; Jendayi E. Frazer, "Engaging the Horn of Africa," Press Roundtable Windsor Victoria Hotel, Entebbe, Uganda. June 20, 2006. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2006/68759.htm ; Jendayi E. Frazer, "Africa Update," Remarks at Press Conference Nairobi, Kenya. June 21, 2006. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2006/68405.htm
[78] Jendayi E. Frazer, "Somalia: Expanding Crisis in the Horn of Africa," Remarks to the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights & International Operations and the Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation, Washington, DC. June 29, 2006. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2006/68515.htm **;** Jendayi E. Frazer, "Somalia: U. S. Government Policy and Challenges," Remarks before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs; Washington, DC. July 11, 2006. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2006/68869.htm **;** Eunice Reddick, "Is Somalia Dangerous?" U.S. Policy in the Horn of Africa," ; Remarks to American Enterprise Institute (AEI); Washington, DC. October 4, 2006. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2006/73718.htm
[79] Frazer, "Somalia: U. S. Government Policy and Challenges." ; Jendayi E. Frazer, "Challenges in Somalia," Remarks to International Somalia Contact Group; Brussels, Belgium. July 17, 2006. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2006/69201.htm
[80] John R. Bolton, "USUN Stakeout, December 6 2006 (Somalia)," USUN Press Release, United Nations, NYC. December 6, 2006. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/77491.htm

Then there is a break in sources on Somalia, until January 17 2007, when we learn what happened in December 2006: "Unfortunately, extremist elements within the Council of Islamic Courts (CIC)[81] - particularly the radical *al Shabaab* organization - hijacked the Courts, driving the CIC towards an agenda of military expansion and aggression."[82] The UIC is clearly framed as the threat and the instigator of violence, emphasizing that they repeatedly attacked the TFG and Ethiopia. It is then simply mentioned that Ethiopia launched a "counter-offensive" against the UIC and that the Islamic Courts disappeared within a matter of days.[83]

Prognostic frames

To counter the problem of the failed state as a safe haven for terrorism, the discourse continuously repeats three core US objectives in Somalia: removing the terrorist threat, building a strong Somali state, and ensuring "regional security and stability."[84] In practice, this means that the US supports Somalia's neighboring countries Kenya and Ethiopia in establishing counterterrorism capabilities through military training, police training and aviation security.[85] Whereas Operation Restore Hope in the 1990s was a big, direct US intervention in Somalia, the US are now careful not get directly involved, preferring to work through Kenya and Ethiopia. As was demonstrated before, the 1990s sources after October 3 already started focusing on a more regional approach with neighboring countries.[86] From 2005 onwards, humanitarian assistance is added as a fourth US objective in Somalia, and it is occasionally mentioned how much money they are investing in it.[87] Precisely what this humanitarian assistance entails, remains unclear. Whilst humanitarian aid was an end in itself in the 1990s, here it serves mostly as a means to achieve the primary goal of removing the terrorist threat.

By 2006, the discourse becomes increasingly focused on supporting a dialogue between the UIC and the TFG and ensuring that the UIC render foreign terrorists in Somalia

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[81] By this time the Union of Islamic Courts have changed their name to Council of Islamic Courts. To avoid confusion, I continue using the abbreviation UIC throughout my thesis

[82] Jendayi E. Frazer, "Securing Somalia's Future: Options for Diplomacy, Assistance, & Security Engagement, " Keynote Address at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); Washington, DC. January 17, 2007. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 5 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/79013.htm

[83] Frazer, "Securing Somalia's Future: Options for Diplomacy, Assistance, & Security Engagement. "

[84] Kansteiner, "Weak States and Terrorism."

[85] Kansteiner, "Weak States and Terrorism." ; Karl Wycoff, "Fighting Terrorism in Africa," Testimony before the House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on Africa, Washington, DC. April 1, 2004. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 4 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/s/ct/rls/rm/2004/31077.htm ; Frazer, "Somalia: Expanding Crisis in the Horn of Africa."

[86] Press secretary, "Press briefing on Somalia."

[87] Jendayi E. Frazer, "Somalia: a viable state – what does this mean to Minnesota and the world?" Remarks to the Minnesota International Center, Minneapolis, MN. December 7, 2005. *US Department of State Archive.* Accessed January 4 2021. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2005/59836.htm ; Frazer, "Briefing on Somalia Contact Group Meeting." ; Reddick, "Is Somalia Dangerous?"

to justice. Despite what is referred to as "rapidly changing dynamics," US objectives in Somalia are said to remain the same.[88] It is only on December 6 2006 that the military expansion of the UIC is deemed such a threat that the US sees the "need for deployment of a regional force to stabilize the situation inside Somalia."[89] What exactly happens after that, remains mysterious. Even in the later sources in January 2007, the discourse is conspicuously vague on specific US policy towards Somalia. While it is not further elaborated upon, the discourse does frame the Ethiopian intervention as a legitimate "counter-offensive" to the threat that the UIC posed. Only from questions from reporters at a press conference, does it become clear that the US has apparently conducted air strikes in Somalia. Even then, Assistant Secretary of State Jendayi Frazer is reluctant in providing explanation: "I think you are referring to the two air strikes - which occurred in very a remote part of Somalia towards the border with Kenya, and was targeted [...] towards fighters. [...] And so I don't see the relevance frankly of the question in terms of the air-strikes in the past."[90] Whilst the discourse clearly framed the UIC as a threat to US interests, a prognostic frame is remarkably absent here.

Motivational frames

Whereas the main motive for the 1990s intervention was the responsibility of US as world leader, this notion had disappeared completely in the 2000s discourse. Moral obligation and responsibilities have been replaced with the "Global War on Terror" rationale, and Somalia becomes a front in this overarching war frame. As one defense official puts it: "we're interested in helping those who are interested in fighting the war on terrorism. And we'll do whatever it takes to make sure that terrorists don't kill Americans."[91]Though Al Qaeda is stated to pose a threat to Americans as well as Somalis and citizens in neighboring countries, the motive is mainly to protect Americans citizens from the "terrorist threat", whatever and wherever that may be. This frame remains consistent throughout the years, with varying specific concerns. Whilst in 2002 the concern is about AIAI's possible ties with Al Qaeda operatives from Afghanistan, in 2006 it is the UIC and their possible harboring of Al Qaeda operatives. This War on Terror frame can be recognized as part of the securitization of aid, in which the US frame the statelessness in Somalia as such an existential threat to America, that it legitimizes any kind of US involvement. Whereas in the 1990s the US portrayed themselves

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[88] Reddick, "Is Somalia Dangerous?"
[89] Bolton, "USUN Stakeout, December 6 2006 (Somalia)."
[90] Frazer, "Securing Somalia's Future: Options for Diplomacy, Assistance, & Security Engagement. "
[91] Defense Official, "Terrorist threat."

as the "savior" of Somalia, in the 2000s they are focused only on saving themselves from "terrorists who seek to harm Americans."[92] There is no attention paid to the Somali population itself, no appeal made to human empathy or moral responsibility.

Hence, there is a world of difference between the US discourse in the 1990s and in the 2000s. Whilst Somalia is first framed as a victim of humanitarian tragedy, it is later transformed into a terrorist threat. Yet, the changes within the two periods are also worth exploring. The following discussion elaborates upon these changes in framing, considering possible connections with changes in US policies in Somalia.

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[92] Frazer, "Somalia: U. S. Government Policy and Challenges."

Chapter 3: Discussion

 As demonstrated in the previous chapter, there are not only differences in framing between the 1990s and 2000s, but also within the two periods. In this brief discussion chapter, I attempt to relate the identified changes in framing to changes in US policy. These changes in framing undoubtedly led to changes in US policy, albeit demonstrating a link between these two is seriously impeded by a lack of available primary sources. Between 1992 and 2007, I identified three shifts in framing; in June 1993, February 2002 and December 2006. I discuss the events, the ensuing change in framing, and employ secondary literature to relate it to the subsequent change in policy.

While the discourse in 1992 initially frames Somalia as a humanitarian tragedy that requires a peaceful humanitarian mission, the framing changes after June 1993. This shift correlates with increasing attacks on UN and US peacekeepers in Somalia in May and June. Consequently, the US discourse became focused on Aidid as the person responsible for these attacks and how to stop him. The retaliation for lost American lives provided motive for a shift away from humanitarian to a more military focus.[93] This shift in framing is reflected in a changed policy. According to Lewis & Mayall, the US task force now dedicated itself to bringing down Aidid. In a manner more fitting to a Wild West movie, the US declared Aidid an outlaw and put a price of $20,000 on his head.[94] In fact, the operation that ended in the Black Hawk Down incident was itself a raid to capture Aidid's henchmen. The shift in framing thus corresponds with a more military policy.

A second shift in framing took place after the 9/11 attacks in 2001. While Somalia had been largely absent from US foreign policy since their withdrawal in 1994, the terrorist attacks brought the country back into the discourse. Somalia was now framed as a dangerous, unstable failed state that could function as a safe haven for terrorists linked to Al Qaeda.[95] Whilst the US official discourse on Somalia starts in February 2002, other sources show that covert counterterrorism policies had already been active in Somalia for some time, conducting surveillance and suppressing financial institutions suspected of terrorist affiliations.[96] As mentioned in the discourse, the US indeed supported counterterrorism efforts in neighboring

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[93] Clinton, "News Conference."
[94] Lewis & Mayall, "Somalia," 130.
[95] Kansteiner, "Weak States and Terrorism."
[96] International Crisis Group, "Somalia: Countering terrorism in a failed state," Africa Report N° 45, May 23 2002: 1, 8. https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/somalia-countering-terrorism-failed-state

countries, establishing an East-African Counter-Terrorism initiative in 2003.[97] However, not mentioned in the discourse were covert assault and capture raids, during which the US captured and questioned alleged Al Qaeda members. In Southern Somalia, the US collaborated with faction leaders or warlords, paying them to obtain intelligence.[98] Although the counterterrorism policies do align with the post-9/11 shift in framing, there is more to the policies than is mentioned in the discourse. Moreover, it seems that covert policies were already established before the official change in discourse, indicating that the framing-policy dynamic may work both ways.

The third shift in framing happened in December 2006, relating to the US perception of the UIC. The US had previously reserved judgement, framing them as a heterogeneous, but overall friendly organization that should be included in dialogue with the TFG. Yet, after December they are framed as the number one threat, described as extremist and dangerous. The US discourse is vague on the event that caused such a radical change in framing, claiming that radical elements "hijacked" the UIC and that they continued military aggression against the TFG and Ethiopia.[99] Whilst the US discourse omits any US opinion on the Ethiopian invasion, it becomes clear from other sources that the US sanctioned the invasion. According to International Crisis Group, the US initially contended an Ethiopian invasion, but later "shifted dramatically, giving Ethiopia a tacit green light to invade Somalia."[100] Apparently, the US also assisted Ethiopia with aerial reconnaissance and even direct military force against the UIC. Moreover, data from the Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations reveal an immense increase in foreign assistance to Ethiopia.[101] The ICG also confirms the two US military strikes in Somalia, while the Bureau of investigative journalism even identifies four air strikes in January 2007.[102] There might be more covert operations that remain unknown at the time of writing, but the sanctioned Ethiopian invasion and air strikes already demonstrate changes in US policy towards Somalia that correlate with the change in framing.

Despite these seemingly evident links between the framing and the US policy, they are based on secondary literature. More research would need to be done to establish the links

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[97] International Crisis Group, "Counterterrorism in Somalia: losing hearts and minds?" Africa Report N° 95, July 11 2005: 9. https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/counter-terrorism-somalia-losing-hearts-and-minds
[98] International Crisis Group, "Losing hearts and minds," 10 ; The Bureau of Investigative journalism, "Somalia: reported US covert actions 2001-2016," *Drone Warfare.* https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/drone-war/data/somalia-reported-us-covert-actions-2001-2017
[99] Frazer, "Securing Somalia's Future: Options for Diplomacy, Assistance, & Security Engagement, "
[100] International Crisis Group "Somalia: The tough part is ahead," Africa Briefing N°45, January 26 2007: 7. https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/somalia-tough-part-ahead
[101] Malito, "Building terror," 1875. ; Investigative journalism, "US covert actions."
[102] International Crisis Group, "The tough part is ahead," 1.

more clearly. But a word of caution is warranted, as much of US policy in Somalia is of a military nature and thus strictly classified.

Conclusion

When comparing the US discourse on Somalia in 1992-1993 to that in 2002-2007, several shifts in frames and names become clear. The humanitarian disaster in the 1990s stands in stark contrast to the terrorist haven in the 2000s. Moreover, there are significant changes in framing within the two periods. In 1992, Somalia was initially diagnosed as a humanitarian tragedy due to famine and anarchy. The US's unique capabilities as world leader and the moral obligation to "save" Somalis from suffering endowed them with a responsibility to act. The fitting prognosis was Operation Restore Hope, sending US troops in order to secure an environment in which humanitarian relief could be offered to those in need. The initial tragic conditions were improved and Operation Restore Hope was transitioned into UNOSOM II.

Yet, a shift took place in these frames as the initial progress was increasingly disrupted by attacks on peacekeeping forces in June 1993. Warlord Aidid and his armed forces were diagnosed as the threat, and accordingly the prognosis transformed to a more military operation focused on his capture. Likewise, the retaliation for the lost American lives provided additional motivation. The failure of the Black Hawk Down incident made the US painstakingly aware of their misdiagnosis, leading them once more to change paths; now pursuing a political one. A final effort was made to facilitate diplomatic settlement, now calling upon the responsibility of the Somalis themselves and other regional authorities to handle things on their own, while the US would withdraw to tend to their wounded ego and reconsider their role as world leader.

This regional approach continued in 2002, when the US again involved itself in Somalia. However, the rest of frames underwent a radical change. Somalia was no longer diagnosed as a victim but as a terrorist threat. Its failure to form a stable government is framed as the core problem. The "failed state" is framed as inextricably linked to the terrorist threat. That is why the discourse suggests a prognosis that combines counterterrorism and state building in order to ensure regional security. The indirect, regional support through Ethiopia and Kenya is a big difference with the Operation Restore Hope, but a continuation with the post-Black Hawk Down strategy. After the formation of the TFG in 2004, the US also directly supports the TFG through state building. The humanitarian frame is still present in the 2000s, but only as a secondary means to solving the terrorism threat.

The two core themes of terrorism and failed state essentially remain constant throughout the 2000s, but there are changes in focus on specific organizations considered a threat. Whilst it is AIAI in 2002, in 2006 it is the UIC. There is a change in the framing of

UIC during the course of 2006. The UIC is initially framed as a potential ally for the TFG, the US thus supporting a dialogue between the two actors. Yet, in December 2006, there is a radical shift. The UIC is labeled as extremist and violent, posing a threat not only to the TFG but to regional stability. Interestingly, the US discourse does not reveal a clear response to the change in US policy. In fact, little explanation is given regarding how the UIC so suddenly disintegrated after the Ethiopian invasion, and what role the US played in the whole affair. The fact that the extremist threat of the UIC has disappeared, is considered sufficient explanation. This lack of specifics is related to the unchanging motivational frame in the 2000s, which is simply the Global War on Terror. There is no need for further justification, as the existential threat that terrorism poses to American citizens trumps everything. This contrast in motivational frame between the 1990s and the 2000s is the result of securitization, in which the threat of terrorism legitimizes any measures considered necessary.

This thesis has demonstrated the evolution of US discourse on Somalia, indicating the stark differences in their perception of Somalia and their own role in resolving the problem at hand. It has illustrated the power of names and frames in constructing a discourse about Somalia. It is essential to recognize that the discourse constructed is not in fact reality. The US perception might differ from the situation on the ground, just as their announced public policy might differ from their covert operations. Furthermore, this thesis has taken the first step in exploring the possible relation between framing and the development and legitimation of policy. These insights concern not only Somalia, but any similar cases of foreign intervention. They are relevant for anyone involved, either as policy maker, NGO, or student of international relations

Naturally, there are significant limits to what this thesis says about actual US policy in Somalia. Although the discussion illustrated some connections between changes in framing and policies, much of the covert US operations remain classified to the time of writing. That makes this subject suitable for future research into the link between framing and policy, when this information becomes declassified. Another interesting topic is the fact the term "failed state" only appeared in US discourse the 2000s. Future research could look into the origins of the term failed state and in what context it became a dominant term in US discourse on Somalia, as well as other similar countries. After all, maybe the term "failed state" tells us more about ourselves than it does about Somalia.

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