



Overview of the Continuous Invasion of Djibouti Government on Awdal Region, Somalia

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The collapse of the Union (the Somali republic) in the 1990s has not only paved the way for the disintegration of the Somali society but also facilitated the emergence of merciless militia groups such as SNM in northern Somalia and opened doors for the nemeses of Somali republic. The SNM troops with the full support of Ethiopia and Djibouti have invaded the Awdal region in 1991.

These wars are still burning today, and the ethnic cleanings continues where Djibouti with, the help Hargeisa troops, now declared all hell on Awdal people, trying to displace the natives of Awdal with new settlers of Issa tribe from Ethiopia and Djibouti. Israel style! But this is nothing new, as I reported back in 2023 on the following article: The exploded warfare in Awdal, Somalia, is the never-ending crisis in Awdal region; [Crisis in Awdal: Violence, Poverty, and Border Restrictions](#), WardheerNews, 12/23/2023[1]

The identity used here is based on the way individuals describe themselves and are defined by others. Identity, as tragically has negative impacts on psychic of our society of today, is still considered an important element and remains deeply rooted in our culture. The roots of the current tribal conflicts in Awdal today, however, are not so much about differences in race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture between fighting groups. But rather identity-based conflicts also occur when groups, or more accurately countries, vying for power, succeed to control others and deny their rights; and this has been documented in Djibouti during the French colonial occupation, and the practice continues after the transfer of power to Issa tribe in Djibouti.

Some of these atrocities have been well documented in book, MA'NAXE (2). The government in Djibouti continued the oppression and the elimination of prominent Gadabursi Djiboutian citizens, born and educated in the country. People denied their citizenship, jobs and businesses, or even killed, jailed and deported from their birthplace, Djibouti, to Awdal region in Somalia or where else. These practices and illegal deportation continue even today.

The Current Rewed Invasions from Djibouti to Annex Awdal Region

As if the bloody crimes committed against Gadabursi in Djibouti were not enough, and destruction of lives to satiate their clan-driven hate towards the Gadabursi people never subsided, Djibouti openly started campaigning for the annexation of coastal areas in Awdal region back in 1970s. Case in point is the organized invasion carried out in 1991 in Awdal, where Djibouti joined SNM and Ethiopia, with their military forces, to occupy the Awdal region and annihilate the Gadabursi people, the dominant tribe in the region. Since then, Awdal remains occupied and suffers daily threats and killings of innocent civilians under this oppressive, illegal occupation of by the SNM in Hargeisa administration and the government of Djibout.

On Tyranny, Timothy Snyder reported that history does not repeat, but it does instruct. Aristotle warned that inequality brought instability, while Plato believed that demagogues exploited people to install themselves as tyrants (3). We see that today in Djibouti government. The current escalated security crisis in Awdal are efforts from Djibouti to finally succeed in her long-time clan ambitions (Issa clan) to completely annex Awdal region and claim it as part of Djibouti. This is an open invasion by tribally financed and empowered forces traveling across the Djibouti and Ethiopian borders with a mere intention of establishing terror and control the Awdal region.

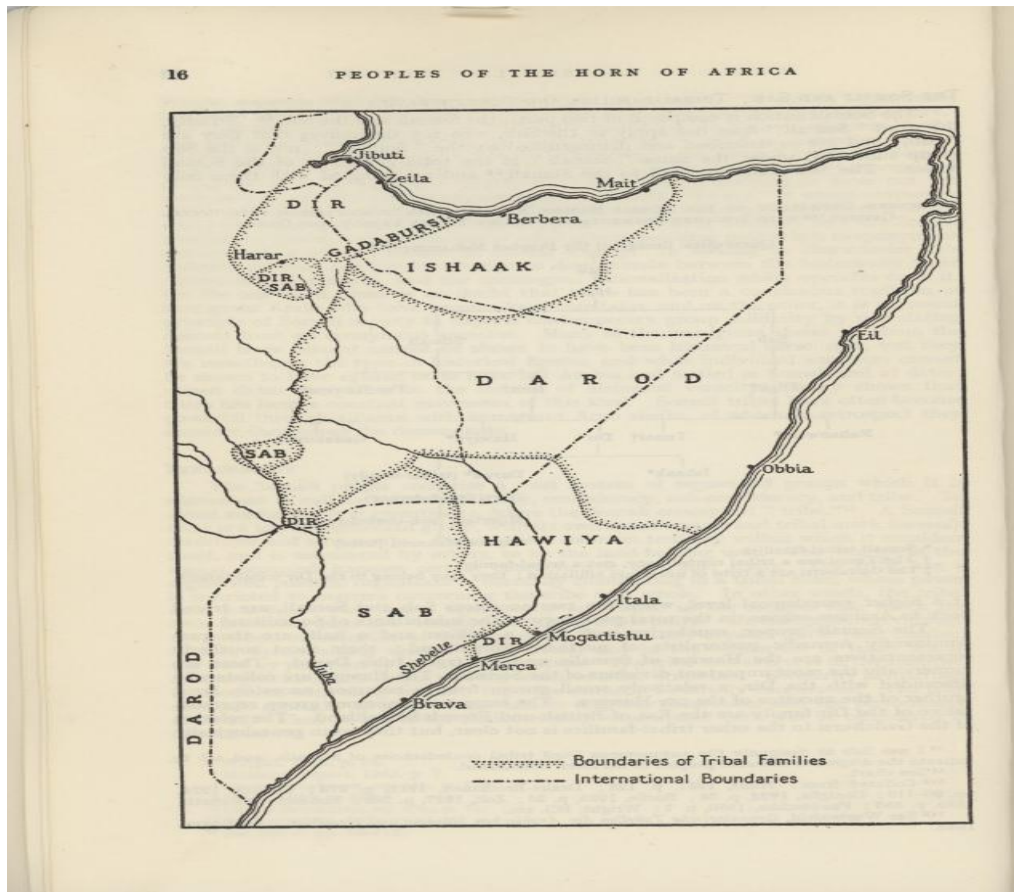
This strong authoritarian attacks on the Gadabursi in Awdal is a naked threat that carries out killings, intimidations, marginalization and physical elimination of the Gadabursi people, both in Djibouti and Awdal region, to the point of annihilation-- akin to a genocide. Evil asks little a dictator, the dominant in power, other than sit back and do nothing (4). It is however inconceivable that the only way to corner and keep an entire tribe, the Gadabursi tribe, in a fixed place in their own vast lands is by applying constant and self-provoked violence and terror against Awdal people. It won't be easy.

Society is viewed as a coordinated system of institutions going beyond individuals but always exists within a determinant physical context-bond by its boundaries and own laws. The tribal borders in Somaliland have been in place for decades now. The original colonial maps (see figure1 below) represent the map of Somalia reported by some of the first Europeans arrived in our lands, rectified, agreed on, and signed by the tribal inhabitants at the time. This goes back to early 1900s accounts of different explorers, observations, and sketches, formulated into a final map. No Issa name on this Somaliland map. If Issa was the dominant tribe in Awdal in the 1800s-1900s century, why not shown in here. Of course, there are always members of Issa tribes in Awdal, but not the majority as they are claiming now.



The Gadabursi Clan Captures Many Attackers of Issa tribe from Djibouti in the Ongoing Clashes Outside Lughaya, Awdal region, 08/25/2026. But immediately released back to their families. Goodwill-kindness.

Tribes had for decades harmonious cross marriages and lived together as families, cousin, aunts and uncles and conflicts have never been that prevalent before the 1991 war where Djibouti attached parts of Awdal and created crisis and loss of lives, destructions of properties and displacements. What is happening to these communities today is an egregious crime against humanity.



¹³ I use Sab to designate the autonomous Digil tribal confederacies of Somalia, and sab to indicate the dispersed outcaste peoples of northern Somaliland.

¹⁴ See chart.

^{14a} Collated from: Hunt, 1951, p. 125; Drake-Brockman, 1912, p. 273; Colucci, 1924, pp. 90-110; Caniglia, 1922, p. 36; Barile, 1935, p. 26; Zoli, 1927, p. 262; Robecchi-Bricchetti, 1889, p. 385; Paulitschke, 1880, p. 7; Wright, MS. etc.

^{14b} See Wustenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien*. Gottingen, 1853.

The above map of Somalia depicts combinations of different expeditions and anthropological findings carried out for decades by world travelers, showing the dispersal of Somali tribes in different regions and what tribe was dominant on what region: 1859, 1853, 1880, 1912, 1922, 1924, 1927, and probably more.

It is worth noted that this original shows that parts of where Djibouti is today, was part of the territory of Awdal before the colonizers have annexed and curved away parts of Awdal region to create Djibouti. You are the judge. These findings all agreed that the Gadabursi tribe was the dominant tribe in Awdal and they also agreed on where the original border of Awdal was.

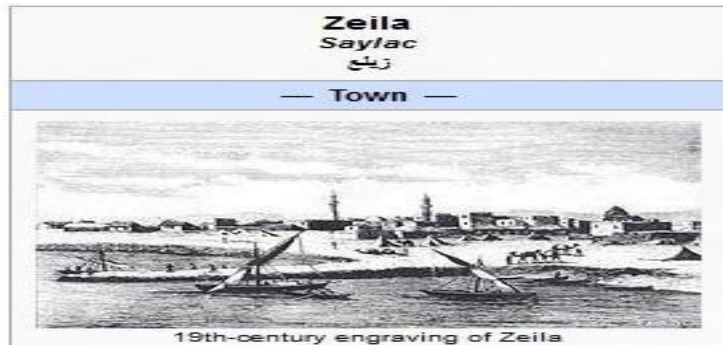


Figure-1: *The Gadabursi Treaty Concluded with the British authority, in December 11, 1884.*

The Conquest War-The Contemporary Crisis in Awdal Today.

There must be a good reason not to think that the crisis in Awdal region is not only a conflict between one or two tribes fighting over a well of water or over a grazing area during dry seasons. But rather could be stemming from more advanced powerful competitions dated back to pre-historic times, 800-1885 CE, fighting for the control of the region, particularly the Zaila Port. Hence, it follows that the pressing contemporary issues in Awdal include:

1. the strategic position of Zeila Port,
2. the Bab el-Mandeb factor,
3. the MOU signed in 2024, and the;
4. failure of the federal government of Somalia to protect the Awdal region and its environs.

Importance of Zaila Port and The Bab el-Mandeb Strait Factor.

Zaila emerged as the gateway to the Horn of Africa the seventh century CE as the Islam's earliest landing Port, a vital link during the Muslim migration to Africa. Early Islamic Presence was recorded around 613–615 CE during the First Hijra, companions of Prophet Muhammad fled persecution in Mecca and traveled across the Red Sea, with local traditions indicating they first touched the shores of Zeila before heading inland to Abyssinia (7). Even today, the city of Zeila remains home and maintains the historic Masjid al-Qiblatayn (Mosque of the Two Qiblas), which dates to the early 7th century (traditionally noted around 627 CE).

On the current geopolitics in the Horn of Africa, the Port Zeila significance and its strategic location remain even more attractive trade coastal port in the Awdal region of the Horn of Africa, situated on the Gulf of Aden near the southern approaches to the Bab el-Mandeb Strait. Its importance involves geography, regional trade logistics, and geopolitical competition. Zeila lies near the western entrance of the Gulf of Aden where it feeds into the southern Red Sea and the Bab el-Mandeb strait. Zeila's proximity to Chokepoint and its strategic importance is crucial for world trade. The southern entrance is a gateway connecting the Red Sea for ships traveling to and from the Suez Canal.

Millions of barrels of crude oil, refined products, and liquefied natural gas (LNG) flow from the Persian Gulf through the strait toward Western markets. Such importance necessitates the increased rivalry of global regional power vying for the control of Bab el-Mandeb and Port Zeila plays a major site for these transactions.

The MOU Factor.

As we all know, all powers are relational. It has been reported and documented that the government of Djibouti participated in these discussions and even hosted a meeting in Djibouti among Prime minister Abiy, Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud of FGS and the Muse Bixi prior to the MOU signed in Addis Ababa. It is apparently enough to suppose that, in many concrete ways, these men secretly wheeled the power to decide and carry out clandestine of external operations unnoticeable to the public. Few days before Bixi hastily signed this infamous MOU in Addis Ababa, all these leaders were discussing the interest of Ahmad Abiy to have access to the ocean front in Awdal, preferably Lughaya city or Zeila, both in Awdal region.



Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (left) and Somaliland President Muse Bihi Abdi exchanging the MOU after signing

This Deal was a political maneuver in which Ismail Omar Guelle, Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud and the Ethiopian Prime minister discussed it with Muse Bixi in Djibouti just days before Bixi rushed to Ethiopia and signed the Ethiopian-Somaliland MOU. The desire of the government in Djibouti, present or prior, to extend its border into the Gadabursi dominated territory in Awdal has been a long ambition everybody knew, never kept secret. Ethiopia wanted an access to Awdal coastline, Hassan Sheikh is the salesman in this clandestine discussion and Musi Bixi is desperate for recognition at any coast and Awdal is under his control. So, the deal is on the table for Hassan to sign the final agreement if all parties are satisfied. But Muse Bixi smarted them out.

On January 1, 2024, a Memorandum of understanding signed (MOU) between Ethiopian Prime minister, Abiy Ahmed and Muse Bihi, the former President of the breakaway administer in Hargeisa, northern Somalia (shown above) (5). The details of what was signed were not clear and people are still looking for answers about its legality.

What was reported entailed that Ethiopia navy forces would have access to kilometers of Awdal coastline, between Lughaya city and city of Zaila, both in Awdal. The deal grants Ethiopian navy forces access to 20 kilometres of Somaliland's coastline in the Gulf of Aden for 50 years. This deal was signed without an iota of consideration to voices of Awdal people and their leaders.

Abyi Ahmed, however, has not delivered the gravely needed recognition that Hargeisa expected. Ethiopia will reassess their options to even consider recognition. But Abyi threw out some bones for Muse Bixi, like a hungry dog to chew on: Hargeisa gets appeasement gesture from Abyi; unclear stake in Ethiopian Airlines. What percent? Not clear.

Why Muse Bixi Chose to Betray Ismail Omar Guelle?

To understand this, we should shift our attention back to an existing deal between Ismail Omar Guelle and Muse Bixi regarding the Awdal Ports. There has been an agreement in place between Ismail Omar Guelle and Muse Bixi-- that no Ports would be rebuilt or developed on the coastal cities of Awdal for 50 years. No port would be built between the Port of Djibouti and the Port of Berbara. Meaning Awdal people have been banned from having their own Ports developed in Awdal. In addition, the DP World moved out from Djibouti to Babera and now under the control of Muse Bixi. Muse Bixi decided to have it all and sign this MOU with Ethiopia, the third partner in the deal, leaving Ismail Omar Guelle out in the cold. Hassan would sign any deal anyway so long he got paid. Deal!



Nonetheless, the agreement also did not follow the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). A law that was adopted in 1982 and entered into force in 1994. Under Article 305 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the treaty is open for signature by specific categories of States and distinct international entities (6). According to the official text of the Convention, the right to sign must be granted to all States (including UN member states and other sovereign states). Even the Somali federal government was not consulted about this matter. Regardless, Ethiopia moved on and carried out its operations on the coastline of Awdal as they see it fit, and Bixi got paid and he rushed to the bank with his millions.

AS usurpation is the exercise of power, and tyranny is the exercise of power beyond right, the Awdal region is the victim in this ordeal, and remained under occupation of these powers unified their efforts and their plan to control Awdal coastlines and beyond, without involving or asking Awdal people for their position or concerns. Suffice to say that Ismail Omar Guelle has initiated yet another war now in Awdal to remain relevant in these deals and to achieve that long-dream of annexing the Port of Zeila and other parts of Awdal region. Thus, everybody wins in this deal except the people of Awdal.

Residents of the Awdal region, particularly Borama, organized large protests the January 1, 2024, memorandum of understanding (MOU) between Ethiopia and Somaliland. However, the people of Awdal have increasingly become the target for attacks and daily imprisonment.

But there are continued war of attrition from these three neighbors (Djibouti, Ethiopia and Hargeisa) that carried out against Awdal population to slowly wearing down their resources, supplies, and manpower; weakening their will power to sustain defending their lands and livelihood. Such attacks included aggressive and immediate threats and imprisonments from military forces that limited their power to organize and defend themselves.

Such coercive military oppression culminated to its climax and resulted protests and series of youth's peaceful demonstrations (some of them underage kids following the pedestrian) in Borama on December 205 over disputes surrounding a planned event for the illegal claim of "Xeeri Ciise" Awdal ownership. Sadly, the response from those trigger-happy troops from Hargeisa, as one could expect, was incomprehensible and was beyond International Human rights. They instantly started shooting the demonstrators directly on the heads with live ammunition and kinetic impact projectiles, without warning. The youth became a target practice and more than 20 died, while an estimate of more than 400 have been injured, including babies and mothers inside the hospitals. No questions asked. Case closed.

That is how things are done in Awdal under SNM administration. Evil doesn't ask the perpetrators much. It aligns with an established concept that "evil thrives because those around it choose to look the other way, kept silent".

Here is a warfare "Fatwa" threat <https://www.facebook.com/share/r/1BVMHV9t6r/> issued by the chairman (former) of the Upper House of parliament, Saleban Mohamud Adan (Saleban Gal) ordering the extermination, mass killing of the people of Awdal- the slaughter of the entire population and silencing them (Hitler's style), stoking more political violence and oppression to continue in Awdal. This is the leader of the SNM powerhouse, Saleban Mohamud Adan (Saleban Gaal), adding fuel to fire. That was not the first time he uttered threats directed to Awdal people. This man has been in that position for 22 years before he replaced himself with his own choosing- his own man, without following or even considering any legal process. That is the secessionist's jungle law in capsules. Military troops from Hargeisa march daily in large numbers in Borama city to observe any movements of ordinary people. These troops have their guns ready to shoot and kill indiscriminately, as if hunting flying birds, and enjoying creating political violence, tension.

However, notwithstanding the psychological effect such an oppression with magnitude plus economical strangulations for so long might have had on them, Awdalites, in general, were not party to this secessionist agenda and demonstrated in multiple protests to express their unwavering and strong conviction to remain under blue flag of Somalia. But, no doubt, Awdal's economy, military capability, and their progressive ambitions have remained under paralysis for 35 years under these triple-handed Monster-occupations.

Even today, as I write this report, I have been informed that several war planes (helicopters) from Djibouti are flying over some parts of Awdal and terrorizing the livelihood of nomadic people with no military capability to respond to these war plans. Even worse, the SNM administration knows about this but kept their mouth shut. The deal is under way!

The Failure of Leadership in Mogadishu.

On the State of Awdal and the challenges people are facing, the federal government (Mogadishu) should not only share the blame but must accept its failure in acknowledging Awdal is part of the Somali republic. And to some extent Awdal leadership, including the representatives in Mogadishu, should be blamed for being an accomplice of the crime committed against Awdal people. As concerned people from Awdal region, we strongly believe that the events taking place in Northern Somalia, particularly in Awdal region, demands ceaseless attention of the federal government of Somalia and that of the international community as well.

We are disappointed to find out President Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud intentionally ignored the plea from Awdal people, especially the youth from Awdal who have uttering “Aabo -father, Hassan” and desperately asking him to come to their rescue before they were executed in Borama. And, executed they were; eventually faced their execution-style death where hundreds of unarmed youths on the head indiscriminately on the streets of Borama. That is Hassan, the President of the FGS, who cowardly and callously ignored his responsibility. Instead, Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud decided to display his loyalty to Ismail Omar Guelle by handing over the affairs of Awdal to President Omar Guelle, a head of a foreign country, for cash. How much? Know one will never know. Does President Hasaan Sheikh have some vendetta against Awdal people? Why impunity, we wonder?

Some people speculated thought Hassan Sheikh really hates Awdal people. He refused to even to talk to people from Awdal about their plight but chosen to punish them with unexplainable impunity when he handed Awdal to a foreign country, Djibouti. No man should be allowed to be the judge in his own cause. It's apparent to us that Hassan cannot decide on a dispute or case in which he has a personal stake or financial interest in it, such as the case of Awdal. He sold it! If this is not a treason, we don't know what is.

On the question of sovereignty and domestic politics of the nation, both President Hassan Sheikh and President Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo fumbled their responsibilities, as entailed in the constitution of the country.

Conclusion:

As an observer of the foreign cross-border of troops from Djibouti and Ethiopia, and the proliferation of civil unrest and the daily consequential death in Awdal, it seems that domestic jurisdiction of the FGS has substantially changed, and the word “Sovereignty” and territorial integrity of the Somali republic does not include the Awdal region of Somalia any longer. One must wonder why the FGS ignored its responsibilities of responding to matters within her jurisdiction in the case of Awdal region.

Unless there is a new global order change on the UN charter that allocated Awdal to Djibouti and President Hassan has already signed (secretly) the deal. There are two other observations in the behaviors of the FGS leadership that concerned Somalis are debating.

Borders used to be sacrosanct, and secessions used to be unthinkable before the collapse of the Union. However, both the neglect of border protection and the condemnation of secessionist actions are in full fledge under this leadership. The public, also, seem to no longer have the enthusiasm to reject such matters. The death of a nationalist sentiment and the shift loyalties to clan enclaves.

But we still tend to believe (really wish) that Somalia is a democratic country. If a country run by some oligarchy and power remains (recycles) in the hands of few independent, special- interest groups, or exclusive power elite for so long, how democratic are we? No matter how hard we wished to fight the infamous label “a failed State”, the current administration is trying hard to prove that we are, in fact a failed. That is why we are under these failed, ambiguous circumstances. And this goes to the heart of the question: is Somalia safe for this President to be on the steering wheel one more year, let alone another term in office? It is conceived that President Hassan is taking antagonistic position to the people he is supposed to lead. In addition, our current State rulers are consisted of men conceived themselves as elitists who take the perspective that government decisions must serve the interests of the few and they must operate as tribe or caste rulers.

They operate as if their authority is derived from inheritance or conquest. And once in office, don’t desire to participate in reelection contest, lest they lose, and prosecutions might be taken against their oppressive exercise and abusing the law of the land. They believe the corruptive systems they created of the years will force the government to the interests of the elite group or risk the collapse of the whole system; Mafia style. Thus, we remain in a state of war, fear, suspicion and conflicts in our society in the absence of central political authority that can govern this nation.

In the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Somalia:

Article 87. The President of the Federal Republic of Somalia

1. The President of the Federal Republic of Somalia is:
 - The Head of the State of the Federal Republic of Somalia;
 - The symbol of national unity;
 - The guardian and promoter of the founding principles of the Constitution.
2. The President of the Federal Republic of Somalia shall carry out his duties in accordance with the Constitution and the other laws of the Federal Republic of Somalia.

CHAPTER 14. PEACE AND SECURITY

Article 126. Security of the Federal Republic of Somalia

2. The Federal Government shall guarantee the peace, sovereignty and national security of the Federal Republic of Somalia and the safety of its people through its security services,

Article 111E. Boundaries and Federation Commission

1. There shall be a Boundaries and Federation Commission to support the territorial e Article 7. The Territory of the Federal Republic of Somalia
1. The sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Somalia extends over all the territory of the Federal Republic of Somalia, which includes the land, territorial sea, the islands, the subsoil, the air space, and the continental shelf, and any land and waters that join the Federal Republic of Somalia in accordance with a law that shall be passed by the Federal Parliament.
2. The territory of the Federal Republic of Somalia is inviolable and indivisible.
3. Any international boundary dispute over the territory of the Federal Republic of Somalia shall be resolved in a peaceful and cooperative manner that is in accordance with the laws of the land and international law.
4. The boundaries of the Federal Republic of Somalia shall be those described in the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Somalia. Volution of Somalia into a fully-fledged federation of states.

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Awdal State Movement

awdalstatemovement.com

Refereces.

1. Crisis in Awdal: Violence, Poverty, and Border Restrictions, WardheerNews, 12/23/2023[1]
2. MA'NAXE: Taariikhdii Jabuuti oo Tafaqyatiran" waa buug taariikhi ah oo uu qoray qoraagii weynaa ee dalka Jabuuti, Cumar Kaahin Caynaashe (Omar Kahin Aïnache). Buuggan waxa la daabacay bishii Janaayo 2008 iyadoo ay soo saartay madbacadda Editions Mer Rouge ee dalka Canada.
3. Timothy Snyder, ON Tyranny: Twenty lessons from the twentieth century; Tim Duggan Books, New York.
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5. Hakeem Alade Najimdeen, The Ethiopian Somaliland Red Sea Agreement in the context of the geopolitical rivalry in the Horn of Africa, Aljazeera Center for studies, 1 April 2024.
6. UNCLOS, United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Montego Bay, 10 December 1982.
7. ISAAC SAMUEL, Journal of African cities, Sep 22, 2024.