

# The Horn Tribune

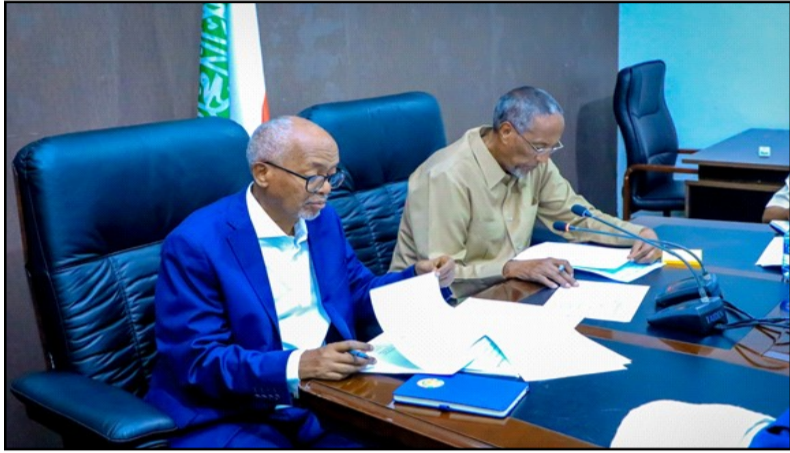
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## Cabinet Meeting Decides to Suspend 2022 Budget Development Projects



M. Egge  
The 93rd Session of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Somaliland chaired by the President H.E. Muse Bihi Abdi, and accompanied by the Vice President H.E. Abdurahman Abdillahi Ismail Sayli'i highlighted key issues focusing on various national issues. The cabinet also heard reports from the Ministries of

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## President Receives Heroic Welcome in Erigavo



The President H.E. Musa Bihi Abdi was welcomed in Erigavo town. The head of state was on an official visit to inspect different development projects initiated by the Kulmiye administration.

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## Police warn WADDANI candidate to evict armed civilians from his home or will take legal action

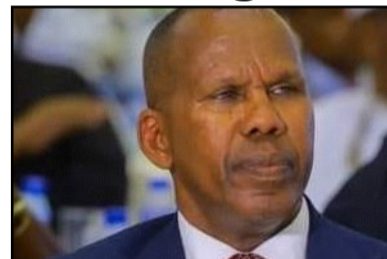
Police deny using live ammunitions, vow to investigate gunfire during Hargeisa illegal rally



Police have announced that they will hand over to the prosecution and the court

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## Businessman sponsors reception lounge at Burao Airport



Businessman Jama Adan Karaa'in has reportedly eked in a new reception lounge, addition to Burao Airport. Businessman Jama Karaa'in's new addition to the airport, which

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## National Insurance Board meets with House of Representatives

The House of Representatives Committee tasked on National Insurance Act met with the Board of Directors of the National Insurance Agency led by the Minister of Finance Dr Sa'ad Ali Shire.

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## The President and Opposition Parties: Fragile Democracy entails Conflict Resolution and Management!



By Adam Muse Jibril  
The Somaliland Political Stakeholders need to underline the delicate

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## Public Notice by Dahabshii Group Management



Dahabshii Group would like to thank our customers and assure you that all Dahabshii services including Dahabshii Bank continue operating

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## The Speakers of Senate & Parliament Addresses Erigavo public at Freedom Garden

The Speaker of Somaliland House of Elders (Guurti) Hon. Suleiman Mohamoud Adam thanked the people of Erigavo for their warm welcome and show of solidarity with the government.

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## Government in agreements with the Eastern Sanaag Community

A meeting between the government and the Wersangali clan which was held in Erigavo town has come up with a memorandum of understanding following intense discussions pertaining to the



economic development of the Somaliland populace. Traditional elders of the clan Sultan Mohamed Sultan Hassan Jibril who read the memorandum of the

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## Top government officials meet Saudi investors delegation



A delegation of Saudi investors who are currently on a working visit to the country met with government officials today. A high-level event titled "Doing Business with Saudi Investors", was

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## Cabinet Meeting Decides to Suspend 2022 Budget Development Projects

Interior, Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and Religious Affairs and Endowments. First, the National Security Council was briefed by the Minister of Interior, Hon. Mohamed Kahin Ahmed, who emphasized the security situation in the country. The Council also heard a briefing from the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Dr. Issa Keyd Mohamud, who recently traveled to the United Kingdom and France, noting that these trips were successful to the nation.



The council were updated on the unfortunate blaze of the Waheen Market by the Minister of Religion and Endowments, and Chairman of the Waheen Market Emergency and Support Committee, Sheikh Abdirizak Hussein Ali (Albani), accompanied by the Deputy Minister of Trade and Tourism, Hon. Muse Ibrahim Yusuf. He shared with the council the progress of the Waheen Market reconstruction plan and the temporary market

settlement plan for people affected by the Waheen fire, which he said would begin next week.

The Council of Ministers issued a resolution, on Thursday, June 16, 2022. were as follows;

After much discussion and deliberation, the council instructed the Ministry of Interior to revise the content of the Traditional Elders Act, based on the Ministry. as per recommendations made by the Members of the Council of Ministers

at recent meetings.

2. The Council extends to the ever-increasing cost of living and fuel, which the nation is on a par with the rest of the world, and in which each country sorting its way out. Drought is still raging in the country. The Council, therefore, decided to suspend development projects included in the 2022 Budget projections, so that emergency relief could be provided if the situation worsens.

## President Receives Heroic Welcome in Erigavo



Since coming to power, the Kulmiye-led administration has laid the foundation of various infrastructure programs for instance the Burao – Erigavo Road and Mayd jetty.

The president's delegation comprised the speaker of the House of Elders Hon. Suleiman Mohamoud Adan and the parliamentary Speaker Hon. Abdirizak Khalif Ahmed.

The presidential delegation was received at the new Erigavo Airport by top leaders of Sanaag region led

by the regional administrators and local government officials. Residents of Erigavo were very happily welcomed the president The delegation passed through the main streets of Erigavo whereby locals stood in line to welcome the president, singing songs of praise for the head of state.

President Musa Bihi Abdi inaugurated the new presidential palace in Erigavo.

He cut the ribbon ushering the opening of the new premises at the regional Presidency. According to

sources, the new development projects were funded through the government budget.

Traditional elders of Sanaag thanked the president for promoting development in the country.

The provincial commissioner of Sanaag region Mr. Ahmed Abdi Muse thanked the head of state for initiating development projects in the regional capital.

Also addressing the gathering was Erigavo mayor Ismael Haji Noor who briefed the president on the general situation of the County.

The president thanked the people of Sanaag region for supporting his administration and for the warm welcome.

The president is on a working visit to Erigavo, according to itineraries he will meet with traditional elders of the region to discuss ways to move forward.

## Government in agreements with the Eastern Sanaag Community

meeting between the government of Somaliland and the Wersangali clan. The agreement read as follows:-

The government of Somaliland and traditional elders of the Wersangali clan in the Solidarity meeting (Mideeye) that was held in the regional capital of Sanaag, Erigavo from 1st –15<sup>th</sup> June 2022 which was attended by elders, intellectuals, and leaders of the Wersangali clan. The meeting agenda discussed the political, peace and security and economic development of the Wersangali people of Somaliland. The meeting put much emphasis

plight of the Wersangali people.

4. The government of Somaliland has accepted to elevate Dahar district to province, following the ministry of internal security policies of upgrading districts. Naming new districts in Dahar.

5. The government of Somaliland and traditional elders, intellectuals and leaders of the Wersangali people will work together to expand Somaliland government departments to all the areas occupied by the Wersangali people.

6. The government of Somaliland has acknowledged the need to



on the improvement of government services such as security apparatus, justice services, and economic development, and representation of the Wersangali clan in all government departments.

The following are the agreed points between the government of Somaliland and the Wersangali people;

1. The Wersangali clan is part and parcel of Greater Somaliland and will wholeheartedly work with the government of Somaliland in the improvement of the security, social development, economic development, and defending of Somaliland independence.

2. The government of Somaliland has promised to uplift economic development and social services such as the building of Lasqorey Port, Erigavo-Badan Road, water resources, health facilities and educational institutions.

3. The government will look into the

appoint members of the Wersangali people into the judiciary.

7. The government of Somaliland has accepted the inclusion of the Wersangali tribe into the civil service.

8. The implementation of the agreement will start henceforth in earnest and will be completed within five months from the day of the signing.



life of our people and meet with traditional elders of the Wersangali people led by Sultan Saeed Abdisalam. They had been meeting for the past two weeks and the government was also invited to note the deliberations of their discussion and signing of a memorandum."

He thanked the traditional elders, intellectuals, and leaders from the Wersangali tribe for showing solidarity with the people and government of Somaliland.

The speaker also sent his message of appreciation to the two ministers in government representing the Wersangali community.

Speaker Hon. Abdirizak confirmed that the meeting between the government of Somaliland and the

Wersangali people was a success because all sections of the Wersengali community from the top leaders to its populace have decided to work with the government of Somaliland to initiate economic development programs.

He added that the government will decentralize its departments to reach far and wide in Sanaag and the newly named Dahar province.

He acknowledged that all the needs of the region could not be completed in one day hence the government will give priority to important institutions of governance. The Speaker accompanied the president to Sanaag region to implement development projects.

## The Speakers of Senate & Parliament Addresses Erigavo public at Freedom Garden

He was speaking to thousands of jubilant inhabitants of Erigavo, at the Freedom Garden.

"This is a clear indicator of your civility as a people of Sanaag. We are very happy about your warm welcome. I have a lot to talk about however the president is with us so I shall make my speech brief", Hon. Suleiman said.

He went on to reveal the agenda of the visit to Erigavo.

He said, "We have come to attend an important meeting by our brothers of the Wersangali community. They have decided to

be part and parcel of Somaliland and its development agenda. The Wersangali People would like to be included in all government departments and they also want to establish local councils and districts so that their people can be part of the successful Somaliland government."

He thanked the Wersangali clan for initiating contact with the Somaliland government and promised that the government will fulfill all of their demands.

The senate speaker accompanied the president to Sanaag regional

capital Erigavo to initiate and implement development projects and participate in a meeting with the Wersengali community.

Similarly, The Speaker of parliament Hon. Abdirizak Khalif Ahmed has thanked the people of Sanaag for the warm welcome accorded to the presidential delegation.

He said "As you are all aware the intention of the visit is to inspect different development projects initiated by the Somaliland government, gauging the quality of

## Police warn WADDANI candidate to evict armed civilians from his home or will take legal action

armed men who search people at night, at the home of candidate Abdirahman Mohamed Abdillahi Iirro.

A press statement issued by the Police Command tonight reads as follows;

According to Article 124 of the Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland and the Police Act 63/2013, the Police Force is responsible for maintaining internal security and protecting the lives and property of every citizen, including the leaders of the national parties.

The police, in the course of their legal duties, provided the National Party leaders with adequate troops to protect themselves, their homes, and their offices, as well as reinforced members of the military. Police have been aware for two weeks that Presidential candidate Abdirahman Mohamed Abdillahi (Cirro) has moved from his former home in the Pepsi neighborhood in western Hargeisa to a new home in the Hodan Hilis neighborhood in eastern Hargeisa.

Police are aware that in the last week, the candidate's residence

has been brought armed civilian to guard, who are doing the same work as police at night. They stop civilians, search cars and sometimes shoot at all dressed in military uniforms. The people of the peace-loving Republic of Somaliland are hereby informed that this is a new phenomenon, and if it continues, it will be a crime of treason, in accordance with Article 221 of the General Penal Code.

We, therefore, warn the WADDANI Party candidate and anyone involved in this matter to stay away from those who are illegally armed while holding the illegal guard. We will refer the matter to the prosecution and the competent court.

Earlier, Somaliland police have denied using live ammunition during an illegal protest in Hargeisa organized by the opposition parties on 9<sup>th</sup> June.

According to a police statement, the bodyguards of the WADDANI party leadership fired live ammunition at the Police. "The police did not use live ammunition, while the guards

of the WADDANI party Chairman & Presidential contender fired live ammunition at the Police, though not responded by the Force", the police statement said.

The report noted that protesters clashed with the security, who managed to calm down and contain the fracas and used rubber bullets. The security were also been subjected to a lot of violence, including being pelted with stones, but managed to disperse the crowd by using tear gas and rubber bullets.

The statement said that those claiming to have sustained injuries would be investigated and that qualified doctors would be used to diagnose them.

Those who are knowledgeable about these issues will conduct an immediate investigation into the allegations made by the opposition in order to establish the truth and bring them to justice.

The Police described the depiction of the wounded in social media as "unfortunate" since lawmaker Barkhad Jama Batun was purported to be one, saying it was an insult to the police force.

## National Insurance Board meets with House of Representatives

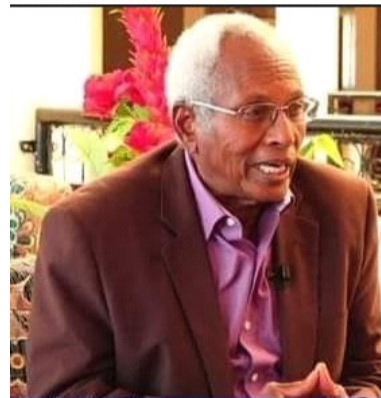


After the meeting, which lasted for several hours, the chairman of the Parliament Committee Hon. Noor Osman and the Minister of Finance Dr. Sa'ad spoke to the media.

We met with the National Board of Insurance led by its Chairman, Minister of Finance Dr. Sa'ad Ali Shire, we have had a good discussion on the role of the nation, and the national interest. The Insurance Act process is progressing well and we hope to complete it soon, said Hon. Nuur,

Chairman of the committee. Chairman of the National Insurance Board, Minister of Finance Dr. Sa'ad Ali Shire said that the House of Representatives, who are performing their duties, called a meeting to the National Insurance Board, to discuss the Insurance Act. Dr Sa'ad said they had a good with the House of Representatives committee and that they hoped the House would fulfill its responsibilities.

## The President and Opposition Parties: Fragile Democracy entails Conflict Resolution and Management!



relationship between fragile democracy and conflict, that the democratic order in a backward country like ours calls for scientific approach and devotion to dealing with these two conflicting sides of the equation. This dilemma requires constant efforts for balancing. The background for the fragility of the democratic order in Somaliland is closely related to the State Formation Process in the Somaliland soil.

The initial step towards the process of state formation in Somaliland first began with the British Colonial administration. This step was not compatible with the existed traditional Somali type of governance (Pastoral Democracy). The period from 1960 to 1969 experienced faithful attempts to cope with the Colonial originated government structures in a hostile environment of the Somali Paternalistic Society ruled by an incompetent political elite guided by clan politics. These attempts have ended up in failure as they couldn't produce a coherent paradigm for coexistence between Pastoral Democracy and the Modern Colonial State system of governance.

The state-formation process in this African Somali soil had entered into the stage of crisis in 1969, out of which Military Junta hijacked the

country's political power, as a result, all kinds of blunders occurred and developed the worst military dictatorship that finally led to a dead end. The emergence of SNM was a natural fate. Unfortunately, the other Somali resistance movement's leadership of Somalia, the 1980s to 1990s, was characterized by short-sightedness and guided by clan ideology, and thus failed to create a positive alternative to the Military Dictatorship.

On the other hand, the Somali National Movement SNM and the Somaliland people, in general, have put in place a distinct model in the approaches to peace and state-building processes. Throughout the armed resistance SNM had been practicing on two parallel types of political instruments, Modern and traditional means (the Central and executive organs) and the Military Command on one side, and on the other Council of Elders representing the Traditional System. After the defeat of the military regime and liberation of Somaliland, the SNM as a National liberation and democratic-oriented organization decided to build a new world entirely different from both pre-and-post-Siyad Bare regime. They have concluded this notion not from elaborated conceptual strategy, but through instinctive practical manner, and thus, the building of new Somaliland started with the grand Somaliland Conference in Burao Town in 1991 with deliberate action of Conflict resolution done by the the cooperation of both Traditional and Modern minded elites of Somaliland. The relevant question here is why Conflict

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## Top government officials meet Saudi investors delegation

attended by the delegation from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, led by Mr. Abdulsalam Al-Enezi, who came for investment purposes in the country, including officials from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Saudi investors. The meeting discussed the importance and benefits of investment opportunities in the country and how Saudi Arabia can cooperate with international investment.

The delegation will remain in the country in the coming days to explore investment opportunities in the country.

The meeting was also attended by senior government officials and local businessmen.

1. Minister of Investment and



Industrial Development Hon. Abdullahi Abdirahman Are

2. Minister of Communications and Technology.

3. Minister of Minerals and Energy.

4. Minister of Agricultural Development.

5. Deputy Minister of Livestock and Fisheries.

6. Chairman of the Energy

Commission.

6. Director-General of the Ministry of Investment and Industrial Development Mr. Mohamed Osman Said (M, Somali).

9. Director-General of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism.

10. Director-General of the Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries, and Fisheries.

The Saudi delegation arrived in the country on Thursday and toured Wajale, inspected the agricultural bank which they plan to invest in.

During their stay in the country, they are expected to visit the port of Berbera and other places, to see firsthand the investment opportunities in the country in terms of livestock, fisheries, and other resources.

## Businessman sponsors reception lounge at Burao Airport

includes a reception lounge and a courtyard, is said to have wholly donated.

Speaking about the new building and its plans, Burao Airport Manager Abdirizak Nur Arale said they are planning to launch similar flights to Erigavo from Burao, and praised the investment made by businessman Jama Aden Karaa'in to build a passenger terminal.

The construction of the lounge will greatly enhance the services of Burao Airport, which is expected to start functioning soon, and it is worthwhile for the citizens of the country both in the diaspora and abroad, to take part in the construction of their country.

Jama Karaa'in, who has invested



heavily in the country, has set up hotels and other businesses in

various cities that have created great jobs for many citizens in the country.

## Nabadgelyo Siciid: A leading scholar and true enlightenment thinker passed away - Said Jama Hussein (1942 - 2022)



There is no right way to grieve and each of us reacts in our own way to the loss of a friend. Today, we have lost a dear friend whose wisdom, wit and charm have deeply affected all who have had any association with his world. Said Jama Hussein died in London at the age of 80 and many people, belonging to different generations, are mourning his passing. I asked him in the last days of his life, his views on life, and he answered, "as a member of the humankind living on this earth, I have always - since my adulthood at least - maintained that the best legacy to leave behind was to take part in the process of human reproduction - giving birth to children, who hopefully might come up with brilliant ideas; but more importantly, to leave behind ideas that contribute to the progress of man on his journey on this planet." Said was one in a million.

Many people know Said Jama Hussein as a leading scholar and visionary Somali short story writer. He was beyond that. He was someone who was full of wisdom and eventful life. Even though I met him after I was a grown man, meeting him has shaped me in many ways. His independent thinking with his critical observation skills and playful but concrete advice is one of the qualities that made him stand out. His sharp observation skills and power of remembering details of events, not only those he was a participant in, but also those he is told of, are still a mystery to me. His connection with people across generations is another quality Said had. He was a great mentor to many young people, be it in life in general, or in the profession of short story writing for which he is praised as the "king of Short Story writing".

A lover of all kinds of art, one day I sent Said Jama the photo of a painting exhibited in a hotel in Addis Ababa, by an anonymous artist, and as usual he was able to find a way to use the same painting to express his feeling about the sociopolitical state of Somali society. He wrote me back "This type of miniature art belongs to the era of impressionism in painting. Such a pathetic expression on her face must have been moved by a very disturbing spectacle, like seeing (a) Dante's Inferno - a dreadful calamity or (b) the catastrophic precipice the Somalis are mindlessly heading towards." He

was an artist and art historian, who would tell you in his own words to discover the thought and emotion which the artist of the painting has portrayed.

Fluent in English, Arabic, and of course Somali, his mastery of six languages has made him have a wider world understanding and the capacity to express his thoughts beyond a language limit.

His principle of tolerance and kindness is a human characteristic he wished the Somali community developed more for peaceful coexistence. For this, he has contributed immensely by bridging the language gap through the translation works he did.

There are many incidents I could write as a tribute to him, but I remember our conversation in 2016 in London. I was intrigued to know about his childhood and perspectives and asked him "who is your childhood role model that impacted your life?". I remember the way he looked at me with a heartwarming smile and checked our surrounding if anyone was looking at us followed by saying in a very low tone "is it only us?". I was surprised and thought it was a simple question and said "yes, it is only us". Said laughed so hard and loud with my response which was

still confusing for me. Then he reached out to his bag and brought out messy papers written all over them, and he said, "I have a gift for you". It is some writing that I have been collecting and I call it "is it only us". We both laughed aloud. He then said "it is not yet a book or something you can read. But try to read and make it look like a book, print it, and let it reach people." He then added, "you have a look at it and you will find the answers to some of the questions you just asked me".

This is how the book "Ma innagii uun baa" came to be with my curiosity and interesting conversation with the great storyteller.

Someone very close to him characterized him by saying, "he is a nation on his own" which I agree 100% and will add that the nation he was is one of peaceful, tolerant land where everyone is accepted and heard. That is what he makes you feel when you are around him, and it doesn't matter who and what you are; he had space and love for everyone. This is how he impacted many lives in the past 60 years. He embodies a person of civic virtues, creative writing, eloquent storytelling, hospitable, sympathetic, and considerate and many more things beyond words. Though well-read and connected to the world of books and ideas, his love of soccer might be something a lot of people do not know. He played the game when he was young in Aden, Yemen, and his favorite number was No. 8. *Nabadgelyo macallin.*

Hargeysa, 11 June 2022

Dr. Jama Musse Jama can be reached on twitter @JamaMusse | email: [jama@redsea-online.org](mailto:jama@redsea-online.org).

## Public Notice by Dahabshiiil Group Management

as usual across all regions.

It has come to our attention that there are misleading notices and unfounded announcements carrying false information being circulated on Facebook about our companies, including Dahabshiiil Bank, Somtel and its senior management including Group CEO, Abdirashid Duale.

Dahabshiiil Group companies enjoy cordial working relationship and healthy competition with other companies and we can confirm there are no conflicts as falsely reported.

This is to inform our esteemed customers and the general public that they should ignore all these unsubstantiated claims, and cross verify any information against our official platforms. Any Dahabshiiil notice will be published on this official verified Facebook Page and



the below official platforms as well as on our websites.

Any news to the contrary should be dismissed and considered as untrue with intention to mislead and defraud our customers. We have since reported the false claims to relevant authorities for immediate action and request your support in reporting any false information not from our official pages to relevant authorities including on Facebook and other social medias platforms. For any further enquiries/clarifications, please reach us on any of our Social media pages given below or through email; [Info@dahabshiiil.com](mailto:Info@dahabshiiil.com)

## The President and Opposition Parties: Fragile Democracy entails Conflict Resolution and Management!

resolution became the point of departure to a long process to Peace, State building, and Democracy in Somaliland. Westminster Democracy was a product of four hundred years out of European historical wars for democracy and human rights which led to total defeat of Feudalism and religious Fundamentalism in Europe during which all kinds of transformation occurred, from Secularism, Social Contract, Enlightenment, and liberalism. While Somaliland Democracy is just about Peace and State Building from the ashes of what was left by the British State Formation that was deeply rained by Siyad Barre regime, the background we had

was Nomadic Pastoralism Social Reality. Therefore, Democracy in our land is a combination of two systems, Traditional-Customary law and Modern Westminster Multi-Party system, none of which can't stand on one foot alone.

Conclusion: To make Somaliland Democracy work, you need that the Government and Opposition Representatives meet and discuss the points of disagreement on elections and seek consensus agreement, without which the country will be getting itself into a historical cul-de-sac. Failing to do this, both sides will equally be responsible of the consequence of the decline of the Somaliland Democracy, and possibly worst.

## Civil Servants Can Apply for Loans from the Central Bank. Reveals CSC Chief



The Chairman of Somaliland Civil Service Commission Mr. Khalid Jama Qodah met with the parliamentary audit committee. The Civil Service chief revealed that the commission works in an impartial transparent manner.

He noted that the Civil service commission was founded in 1993 and instituted in the constitution. He had that its core responsibilities pertained to training and welfare of Civil Servants according to article 97/ 2022.

The Commissioner stated that the commission had put in place policies that will promote Civil Servants' education and training, complaint management, promoting management, and other vital systems that will improve the general well-being of civil servants.

He confirmed that civil servants have a new opportunity to apply for loans from the Central Bank of Somaliland. The commission boss stated since the inception of a new system whereby civil servants receive their paycheck at the Central Bank of Somaliland they can now apply for

personal development loans. He also revealed that the commission has stopped the employment of temporary employees, except for the ministry of health and education which is allowed to hire temporary staff because of the needs of their work. He also revealed that the commission will not accept written letters from ministries pertaining to the sacking of employees. "There are many civil servants who lost their jobs in unclear circumstances, we have reinstated most of them to their jobs, and others we have transferred to different ministries", he revealed.

The civil service chief congratulated the president H.E. Musa Bihi Abdi for initiating national youth services.

Last but not least, the chairman of the parliamentary audit committee Hon. Mustafa Khaire informed the media that he held a fact-finding meeting with the civil service commission chief. They asked an important question about the welfare of state employees.



# Jendayi Frazer on the Evolution of U.S. Policy Toward Somaliland

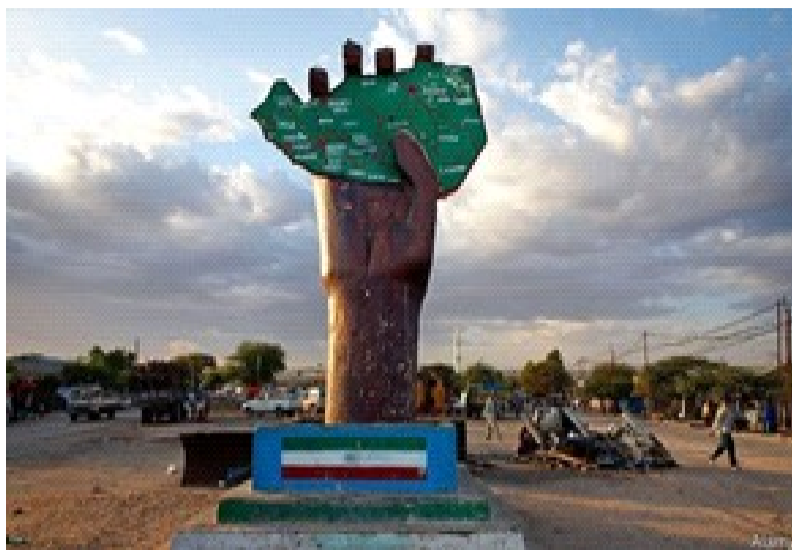
The former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Jendayi Frazer, speaks about the search for multi-lateral consensus and her country's growing relations with Somaliland. Frazer spoke with **Michelle Gavin's** Reflections – a bimonthly series of conversations that invites former senior U.S.-Africa policymakers to discuss difficult issues that they confronted in their careers with the benefit of hindsight.

**MG:** Thank you so much for agreeing to talk to me. I'm looking forward to this conversation because I know that one of the things you've reflected on a great deal is how difficult it can be to pursue a specific policy goal in the U.S. interest, while simultaneously working in a collaborative fashion with regional organizations like the African Union, or one of the subregional organizations, or even an ad hoc coalition of African leaders. You're trying to maximize the chances of success and keep everybody on the same page, which makes a lot of sense in many cases – we are usually far more effective when we are not going it alone. But that approach also leaves a lot of variables outside of your control and the control of the United States government. You have given a lot of thought to how this came up as you wrestled with questions related to U.S. policy in Somalia and Somaliland[1].

Let's start with Somaliland. Tell us a bit about U.S. policy that you inherited on Somaliland when you came into government.

**JF:** Yeah, thank you, Michelle. When the George W. Bush came into office in 2001, we basically didn't have a policy on Somaliland. We didn't develop a policy position on Somaliland during the campaign, let me put it that way. I can't speak for the Clinton administration. But I did serve on the transition team, and I don't recall memos or briefings from the Clinton administration on Somaliland or Somalia for that matter. But again, that was a difficult transition. We did try to look for documents but at that time, Somalia and Somaliland were considered the same sovereign state. We didn't really have an independent policy towards Somaliland, other than "it's part of Somalia." And our policy towards Somalia was effectively containment until we took a closer look after 9/11 2001 when we had the attacks on American soil. So, for the first nine months of the administration under President Bush, Somalia did not feature high on the priority list.

When I really started taking a look at Somaliland, with colleagues in the Bush administration, what was



apparent was that they were moving towards greater democracy and security. You had a constitutional referendum that was voted on in 2001, favoring restoring Somaliland's independence, and in 2003, you had the first elected president of Somaliland. You had these democratic elections, you had greater security. In contrast, in Somalia, you had a transitional federal government that could not get itself together as it continued to struggle with continued conflict and clan rivalry. So, the contrast between Somaliland and Somalia, and the desire for the international community, including the United States, to support Somaliland was growing. I think that's really when we paid attention to Somaliland. It was in that context of dealing with the terrorist threat in Somalia, because prior to the Islamic Courts Union taking over, there was Al Ittihad Al Islamiyah, which was designated as a foreign terrorist organization, but we didn't consider to be a global threat.

We felt that Al Qaeda in East Africa was basically underground, keeping its head down. We were keeping an eye on Somalia, and we were trying to be supportive—this is now inherited even from the Clinton administration—of the transitional national government, but we weren't looking at Somaliland as independent of Somalia. With greater governance, and the election of the president, that's when it came to our attention.

In principle, the Bush administration had a policy that was based on, from a strategic point of view, dealing with the big countries. The ones who could project power and influence in their subregion. You had South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, Ethiopia, and also the small well performing countries that were having democratic elections, their economies were doing better, they were establishing security, like, at the time, Mali, Senegal, Botswana, and Mozambique, although Mozambique is big but still. And even at that time, Rwanda and Uganda. So really, trying to support good governance and regional stability.

Effectively, if you looked at those criteria, it didn't make any sense that Somaliland would not be seen as, from my perspective, as an effective sovereign country versus Somalia, which was just a juridical sovereign country.

**MG:** Right, that makes sense, both for policy consistency, and in a context of a fairly chaotic situation in Somalia. Identifying a place with a clear source of governing legitimacy and an identifiable vision for providing services and security—that's pretty compelling.

**JF:** Exactly, absolutely. And at the same time, now I'm going to go back to Somalia, the Somalia transitional national government and federal government came out of various peace talks in various fora. You had the Djibouti talks, the Kenya talks, so there was a bit of forum shopping that was going on, in the Horn, in the sub-region. We were looking for a broader basis for action in the Horn of Africa. What I mean by that is looking to the African Union to see if it could bring some kind of unifying influence over the competition between Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia, and others on what's going to happen in Somalia.

So that was the context. I felt that we should recognize Somaliland's independence. This is a country that was once recognized as an independent, sovereign country. When it gained its independence in 1960s, it voluntarily joined the union with the Italian Somaliland.

**MG:** Right, and quickly regretted it.

**JF:** They regretted it immediately. Even the June 1961 referendum, a majority in Somaliland boycotted it because they felt that they were being dominated by the southerners even as early as that. When Siad Barre's regime fell in 1991, they reclaimed their sovereignty and their independence. So, here we have a government with grassroots support, a country developing democracy, yet we're not recognizing it. I felt that they deserved the recognition. At the same time, the African Union had sent missions to Somaliland, and was moving in that direction to recognize Somaliland as well.

South Africa, for its own reasons, had

always been a strong supporter of Somaliland, and at that time, as I recall, both Kenya and Ethiopia, were soft supporters for Somaliland's independence.

Djibouti and Uganda were strongly opposed, as I recall it. Nigeria had a view that was supportive. I felt that there was a coalition that could be led by the African Union that would support that independence, and then the United States could come on board with support, but it never happened.

**MG:** As you walk me through it, I'm reminded that it hadn't been that long ago that there had been new recognition of a state in the Horn when Eritrea's long struggle for people to recognize its independence finally came to fruition and it joined the Organization of African Unity in 1993. So, there was precedent in relatively recent history, also grounded in a place that had a different historical story than the state that had subsumed it. That's a really interesting contextual backdrop.

So, you and the team in the USG were pulsing these different African capitals and had a sense of where there was support, some full throated, some soft, and where there might be some opposition, and overall it looked like there was sufficient support for Somaliland's independence. The notion was that the U.S. and the majority of Africa would all be on the same page. What happened? What went wrong?

**JF:** Even if it wasn't the majority of Africans, it was the ones who had enough influence to pull the others along. Most of them didn't care. It was the ones who care that mattered and the ones who also had that diplomatic muscle to bring people on board.

I thought we were all set to go. Konare[2] was in the lead. Even when I was asked about it in public, I would say that we were following the AU's process closely. We were trying to influence it a little bit, but not hard influence, because we felt that it was moving in the right direction in any case.

But I think what happened, I can't say for sure, but I'm pretty sure that what happened is Qaddafi. Qaddafi did things, is the way I would put it. At that time, remember, Qaddafi is pushing for unification of all African states. It was going to be the United States of Africa with him as the president.

**MG:** Grandiose vision.

**JF:** Yes, very grandiose vision. So, that was going on at the time and I think that he got in the way and probably used his largesse, as he always did, to change the calculus of some of the players.

I think he just used carrots to persuade some governments to

lean differently. The issue never got voted on. It never got taken up, and as a result, it was not rejected. It simply went away silently.

To me, that is the trigger, that Qaddafi asserted his influence. I also think that dynamics in the region became very fluid, particularly as the U.S. government became more involved militarily. I think that scared away some of the supporters, for instance Thabo Mbeki in South Africa. He was aligned with us and then he dropped out. I think that both the dynamics on the ground as well as the influence of a leader in Libya with the diplomatic means to shift decisions and preferences, influenced it.

I always think back to that and wonder, could we have pursued a different path where the United States was more in the lead? The UK was also a soft yes. Could we have asserted more leadership? Like we did later on with the formation of AMISOM, right, we really took a big lead position. Whereas in this case, we followed the AU process. We went along with what the AU said and did, fully expecting that they were going to move towards recognition of Somaliland.

Taking a more assertive position would have been counter to our overall Africa policy, which was very much to support the regional and subregional institutions. We sent an ambassador to the AU, the first non-African country to have a dedicated ambassador to the AU. We worked with the subregional organizations, as well as the strong reforming states and the more powerful influencing states. And so, it would have run counter to that approach for to us to just try to do it on our own. I do think that especially the United States was in a unique position to have done so.

**MG:** It's intriguing to think about the potential costs and benefits of that. I suppose there's the possibility of being a decision-forcing actor, because by the United States taking action, this comfortable place of silence and ambivalence that some African states were in becomes harder to maintain because you're called on to respond. At the same time, there is always sensitivity about not appearing to be dictating terms, and not being a bully, because our relative power is substantially so much greater from the economic or military perspective than any one African state. It's interesting when you make the point about South African President Mbeki getting cold feet on this issue as the United States became more militarily involved in Somalia. Do you think that there were some states for whom U.S. support for Somaliland's

*To be continue next issue*

## Taakulaynta Suuqa WAAHEEN



Lambarada Tabarucaadka Gurmada Suuqa Waaheen Waxaa loo kala qaybiyay laba qaybood oo kala ah.

1. Wixii QAADHAAN ah ee ka imanaya Dawladaha Caalamka waxay ku soo dirayaan Akoono ay maamulaan Guddida Heer Qaran ee Suuqa Waaheen oo ah.

**BAANKA SOMALILAND ACCT**

Dollar-ka: 1830

SHILING-ka: 1831

2. Wixii Tabarucaad ah ee ka imanaya Muwaadiniinta Reer Somaliland Guddo iyo Dibadba waxay ku soo hagaajinayaan Acoonada kala ah.

**BAANKA SOMALILAND ACCT**

DOLLAR 1832

SHILING 1833

DAHABSHIIL BANK: HRGD94390

E-DAHAB: 0657704919

SALAAMA BANK: 61111044

ZAAD SERVICE: 7661111

AMAL BANK: 1014441331

PREMIER BANK: 100700082001

### WAHEEN Market Emergency Donations



Waaheen Market Emergency Donations are divided into two categories.

1. Any Contributions from International Governments shall be sent to the blow bank Account administered by the National Waheen Market Committee.

**BAANKA SOMALILAND ACCT**

Dollar-ka: 1830

SHILING-ka: 1831

2. Any donations from the citizens of Somaliland, both inside and outside the country, will be forwarded to the following accounts.

**BAANKA SOMALILAND ACCT**

DOLLAR 1832

SHILING 1833

DAHABSHIIL BANK: HRGD94390

E-DAHAB: 0657704919

SALAAMA BANK: 61111044

ZAAD SERVICE: 7661111

AMAL BANK: 1014441331

PREMIER BANK: 100700082001

## Drought impact: Acute malnutrition among children rises 40% in Somalia & Somaliland

### Families in Somalia taking extreme measures to survive

Acute malnutrition case admissions among children under five in Somalia and Somaliland rose by over 40 per cent in January-April 2022 compared to the same period of last year, according to a new report.

A worsening drought is putting some areas in central and southern Somalia at an increased risk of famine through at least September 2022 if the current Gu season crop and livestock production fails, according to the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC). The evaluation of nutritional status of people in the region is difficult due to lack of health care services and insecurity, according to Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), an international independent medical-humanitarian organisation.

Somalia and Somaliland are facing one of the worst droughts in decades, following four poor rainy seasons.

Families in Somalia are taking extreme measures to survive and in many cases they are leaving their homes, which put children on the move/ particularly at risk, according to UNICEF.

By March 9, 2022 around 670,000 people had been displaced in search of food, water and land for grazing livestock, it added.

A severe drought has affected about 90 per cent of Somalia's land and a quarter of its 16 million population, *Down To Earth* had reported earlier. The MSF team in Baidoa, the

largest city of Somalia, screened 81,706 children under the age of five in February. They found severe acute malnutrition rates of 3 per cent and global acute malnutrition rates of 17 per cent.

In Baidoa, the arrival of huge numbers of displaced families and the rising cases of cholera and malnutrition are straining the already struggling healthcare facilities in the city, according to UNICEF.

As of May 2022, an estimated 1.5 million children under five face acute malnutrition through the end of the year, including 386,400 who are likely to be severely malnourished, UNICEF data showed. This is an increase of 55,000 compared to previous estimates.

Angela Kearney, UNICEF Somalia representative, said:

It's not only about water or nutrition, but also about children losing education, falling vulnerable to child protection issues and having poor health; all impacting their future.

The current drought comes on top of decades of conflict, recurrent climate shocks, frequent disease outbreaks and increasing poverty in Somalia and Somaliland. As the drought worsens, the country is also experiencing a massive outbreak of measles.

Baidoa, a city of some 130,000 people, is currently hosting more than double its own population of displaced people, with many families living in the overcrowded settlements.

## Air pollution in fast-growing African cities presents a risk of premature death

Biomass burning dominated Africa's air-pollution cause-list for centuries; this is now changing, at least in cities

Ten more African cities have signed on to the C40 Clean Air Cities Declaration to improve air quality. C40 is an international group of mayors collaborating to make cities more environmentally sustainable.

In May 2022, Abidjan, Accra, Addis Ababa, Dakar, Ekurhuleni, Freetown, Johannesburg, Lagos, Nairobi and Tshwane joined Durban, the first African city to sign the declaration.

As part of the C40 pledge, city leaders have committed to actions to tackle air pollution and slow human-caused changes in climate. These include actions such as setting targets that follow the World Health Organisation's clean air guidelines. This is a welcome commitment, as air pollution is a leading burden on global health. More than 6.5 million people die prematurely from exposure to air pollution each year worldwide. And air quality is worsening in African cities during a period of rapid growth and development. African cities are forecast to grow by 3-31 per cent annually from now until the end of the century. This is far steeper than growth rates in Indian cities, at about 1-3 per cent per year.

A major challenge in combating air pollution in Africa's cities is the scarcity of data. Air

quality is not monitored in most cities and resources to compile inventories of the types and sizes of sources contributing to air pollution are lacking. All these efforts are costly and require sustained, long-term funding.

Publicly available data from satellite observations provide a picture of multiple air pollutants. In our recent study, we sampled these data over fast-growing cities in the tropics, including 26 in Africa. Our investigation covered a 14-year period between 2005 and 2018.

We determined that the quality of air is declining at unprecedented rates. We found that the cause is a shift from rural to urban sources and that combined worsening air quality and population growth is linked to 180,000 additional premature deaths.

Such harmful effects will persist without bold air quality policies.

Shift in pollution  
For centuries, air pollution in Africa has been dominated by open burning of biomass. This is a common practice by farmers in the dry season to clear land and to prepare for the next sowing season. The smoke produced is full of pollutants, bad for people and the environment. This is now changing, in cities at least.

# Paolo Macchiarini: Surgeon convicted for fatal Swedish transplants



A Swedish court has given a disgraced Italian surgeon a suspended sentence for causing bodily harm during an experimental stem-cell windpipe transplant. Paolo Macchiarini, once seen as a pioneering transplant surgeon, was cleared of two charges of assault. Three patients treated in Sweden died. Prosecutors had recommended Macchiarini serve five years in jail but the district court ruled that he had not intended to cause the patients harm.

He consistently denied the charges. Macchiarini was feted internationally in 2011 for carrying out the world's first synthetic organ transplant at Sweden's Karolinska University Hospital. His work using plastic tracheas with stem cells held out the prospect of patients no longer waiting for donors. He had been hired a year earlier from Italy, despite damning references from his previous employers. Andemariam Beyene, a graduate student from Eritrea who received the first transplant in 2011, died two and a half years later after a series of infections. His synthetic trachea

was found to have come loose. Shortly after the operation he told the BBC: "I was very scared, very scared about the operation. But it was live or die." Two more patients were also given transplants at the Karolinska hospital and eventually died. Christopher Lyles from the US was given a synthetic trachea transplant in 2011 and died within months. Yesim Cetir, who was in her twenties, was operated on in 2011 and died in 2017. Other patients treated abroad also died, including Russian mother Julia Tuulik. Macchiarini was eventually suspended by the acclaimed Karolinska Institute. A TV documentary later exposed alarming practices he carried out during surgery and prosecutors investigated him for criminal wrongdoing. The case finally came to Solna district court near Stockholm, where he was charged with the criminal offences of aggravated assault and causing bodily harm. However, he

was not accused of killing the patients. Chief judge Bjoern Skaensberg said the court had agreed with prosecutors that the surgery had not been consistent with "science and proven experience". However, he told public broadcaster SVT that it had concluded that "two of the interventions were justifiable, but not the third". He said the court had found that all three patients had suffered serious bodily injury. But Macchiarini was

cleared of assault, he said, because no intent to harm had been proven. Macchiarini had always denied any wrongdoing, arguing that the transplants were aimed at saving the patients' lives. However, whistleblower Dr Matthias Corbascio told SVT that the verdict was a scandal and there had never been any chance of the operations succeeding. The suspended sentence means he will be on probation for the next two years

## Covid: Dozens of Covid cases linked to Beijing bar

A total of 166 Covid infections in China have been linked to a single bar in the capital Beijing, officials say. A government spokesman described the outbreak as "ferocious". All residents living in the area where the bar is located will be tested over the next three days. The number of infections in the city is low by international standards but high for China, which is the world's only major economy still maintaining a "zero Covid" policy. The outbreak was traced to a venue called the Heaven Supermarket Bar, in the well-known entertainment area of Sanlitun in Chaoyang district.



Two buildings housing hundreds of people in Chaoyang were put under strict lockdown on Sunday after a positive case was reported, a residential committee worker told Reuters news agency. Some people in Beijing said they were sent texts telling them to report to authorities if they had recently visited Sanlitun's bars. Chinese officials have reversed the relaxation of some Covid rules in

Beijing because of the outbreak. Most children in the capital will not return to school next week as originally planned, officials said. The capital has reported 1,997 local Covid cases since 22 April. China's overall policy of "zero Covid" remains in place and people catching Covid face quarantine or hospital. Their close contacts also face the prospect of removal to quarantine and the area immediately around where they live being locked down again. The city of Shanghai, the country's economic centre and a global trade hub, recently eased Covid curbs after a two-month lockdown.

## North Korea announces outbreak of intestinal sickness

North Korea says it is dealing with an outbreak of an unidentified intestinal sickness, adding to the strain caused by the spread of Covid-19. The country's leader, Kim Jong-un, has ordered quarantine measures be implemented, the official KCNA news agency reports. It said he sent medicine to Haeju city on Wednesday to help patients suffering from the "acute enteric epidemic". Health experts suspect the illness could be typhoid or cholera. North Korea declared a

state of emergency in May after it said millions of people were experiencing "fever", believed to be untested Covid-19 cases. It has not reported the number of people affected by the latest sickness outbreak, or elaborated on what the disease is, but enteric refers to the gastrointestinal tract. "[Kim] stressed the need to contain the epidemic at the earliest date possible by taking a well-knit measure to quarantine the suspected cases to thoroughly curb its spread, confirming cases through epidemiological examination and scientific tests",

KCNA said. An official at South Korea's Unification Ministry handling inter-Korean affairs told Reuters news agency that the government suspects the outbreak to be cholera or typhoid. South Hwanghae province, where Haeju is located, is North Korea's main agricultural region, which could worsen the country's widespread food shortage. Pyongyang has been announcing the number of fever patients, but the country lacks Covid testing kits. Many also suspect the government of underreporting new cases.

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