

# The Horn Tribune

Vol IV/ Issue 1563

Sunday 01 September 2024

Safar 28/ 1446 AH

An Independent Weekly Newspaper of Dawan Media Group, Tel: 0634414181/0634424590/0634615145

## Somaliland urges IC not to heed untenable Mogadishu decrees as it warns foreign troops amassing in Somalia is recipe for chaos

The government, opposition parties and the national assemblies are all united in defense of the country



By M.A. Egge  
The government of the Republic of Somaliland has urged the International Community (IC) not to heed the untenable directives that the Mogadishu administration of Somalia is giving to them, and to multinational and local companies,

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### President receives credentials of the new Ethiopian Ambassador to the Republic of Somaliland



By M.A. Egge  
The President of the Republic of Somaliland H.E. Musa Bihi Abdi, received on Thursday the credentials of the new Ambassador of Ethiopia to the Republic of Somaliland H.E.

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### Somaliland senate call for the defense of the nation



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### Thousands of new Somaliland army graduated from the Ethiopia Defense Force



Mohamoud Walaaleye  
The Commander of the National Forces of the Republic of Somaliland Major General Nuh Ismail Taani participated in the closing ceremony of the 8<sup>th</sup> batch of the

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### Inside Somaliland: the State Eager to Become the World's Next Country



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### Somaliland Strongly Condemns Egyptian Military Presence in Somalia



The Somaliland government strongly objects to the recent deployment of Egyptian military forces in Somalia, according to statement. The Somaliland Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued the following statement:-

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### Dancing with Predators – Somalia's Proxy War Tango in the Horn of Africa



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### Let us set aside internal differences and focus our efforts on addressing the external threats, urges Abdirahman Irro



Hon. Abdirahman Abdilahi Irro has called the public to set aside our internal differences and focus our efforts on

addressing the external threats. Statement he posted on his X account read;

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### SOMTEL to inject \$25m in telecommunications, hailed highly at 6<sup>th</sup> National Telecommunications Conference



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### MP Mohamed Abib: A Controversial Figure in Somaliland Politics



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Ethiopia Breaks Own Record of Planting Tree Sapling A Day

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# Somaliland urges IC not to heed untenable Mogadishu decrees as it warns foreign troops amassing in Somalia is recipe for chaos



since they (Mogadishu administration) do not have any say over matters that concern the nation of Somaliland at all. The state is wary of the sinister and dangerous move of foreign troops, including the Egyptian military, being amassed in the region hence warned that it is only tantamount to result in a spate of chaos and recipe of wars engulfing the Horn of Africa. The statements expressed by the government follow the 131<sup>st</sup> session of the council of cabinet meeting that was chaired by the Head of State, H.E. President Musa Bihi Abdi on Thursday evening. The cabinet meeting focused mainly on security situation in the whole region, the preparations of the upcoming presidential and political party election and the ultimate defense of the nation. The meeting also affirmed the national resolve of seeing to it that the elections are held successfully as per schedule. It was resolved in the meeting that the political parties and organization should meet to review the security situation of the country and the way forward following skirmishes in the eastern parts of the country that the state has described as one aimed to undermine the election processes. The Council of Ministers listened to a detailed general briefing on both

the security of the country and that of the Horn of Africa as a whole from the Minister of Internal Affairs Hon. Mohamed Kahin Ahmed. The resolutions reached by the members of the cabinet had a seven point articles that went as follows:-  
 1. As the Council of Ministers decided in the previous 130<sup>th</sup> session on the defense of the country and the elections, the council once again declares that it is committed to the holding of the elections and also the defense of the country.  
 2. The region of Sanaag, a region that has been enjoying peace and stability for a long time, has started witnessing incidences of violence in the south of Erigavo organized by groups fronting for authorities of Mogadishu, with the aim of disrupting the smooth running of the democratic process and the upcoming elections in the Republic of Somaliland.  
 3. The government of Somaliland vows to protect the peace and security of Sanaag region with the help of its people.  
 4. The government of Somaliland calls on the communities living in Sanaag region to be wary of anyone who is an enemy undermining their unity and safety, and at the same time, step up cohesion and harmonious co-existence.  
 5. Based on the unity and solidarity of the

people of the Republic of Somaliland, the government cabinet council has decided that the national parties and organizations will meet to discuss the defense of the country and the upcoming elections convened by the Minister of Internal Affairs who is the chairman of the Kulmiye Party. 6. The Council of Ministers strongly warns against the foreign forces that are being deployed from faraway places in the Horn of Africa region, including the Egyptian forces that are being deployed to Mogadishu, who were indeed direly needed in their backyard at Gaza, to alleviate the relief needs of the refugees (in thousands) afflicted with misery, conflict and famine. This proves that the Egyptian army is going for their own (sinister) interests, and not for the interests of Somalia, hence their arrival will ignite fire and conflicts in the Horn of Africa region. 7. The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Somaliland informs the International Community that they should not pay attention to the calls and texts broadcasted by the Mogadishu administration that are out to disrupt the security and business of the Republic of Somaliland, and the issues of the Republic of Somaliland are related to its Government. The Republic of Somaliland and the administration in Mogadishu are separate entities that do not share any administration between them nor shall ever do. Finally, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Somaliland calls on all the people of Somaliland, inside and outside the country, to unite for the protection and safeguarding of their nationhood, the defense of the country against any entities who are bent on harming or undermining the unity of the nation and the development of the country at large. END.

# Thousands of new Somaliland army graduated from the Ethiopia Defense Force



National Army, who have been training in Ethiopia for the last time. Thousands of new Somaliland army graduated from the Ethiopia Defense Force training center on 30<sup>th</sup> August 2024.

This is the 8<sup>th</sup> batch trained in Ethiopia in 2023 -2024. Somaliland and Ethiopia have a defense pact and collaborate on security.

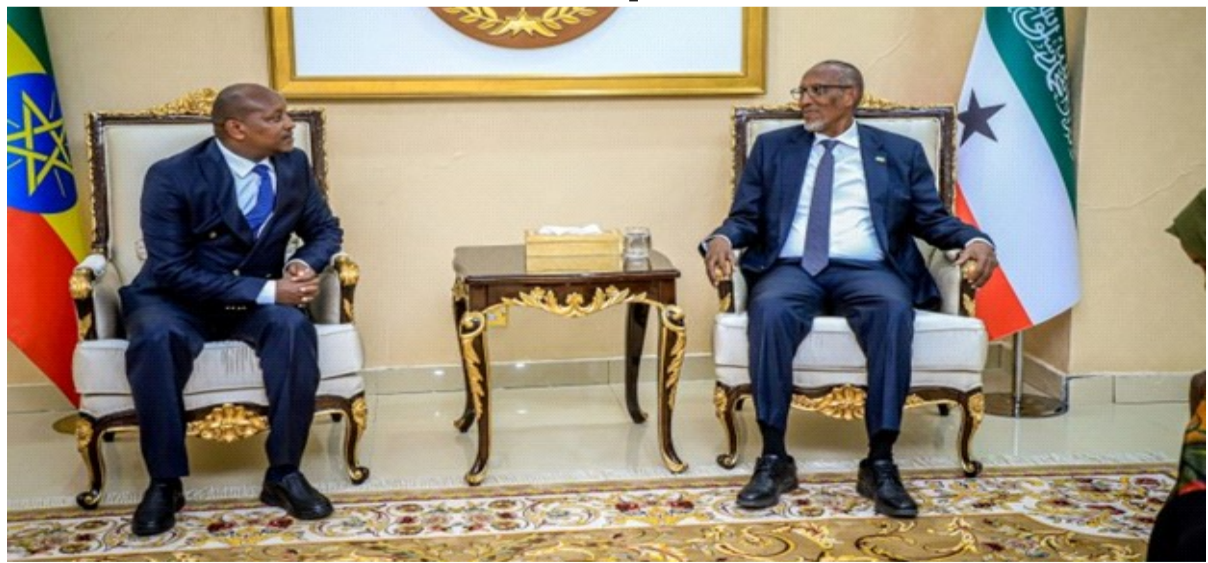
# Somaliland Strongly Condemns Egyptian Military Presence in Somalia



The Government of the Republic of Somaliland strongly objects to the recent deployment of Egyptian military forces in Somalia. Given the history of such deployments, the lack of assessment or consideration for the stability and security of Somalia and the entire Horn of Africa region is concerning. The Republic of Somaliland finds this development to be aggravating the already fragile peace that has been painstakingly established over the years, both by the people of Somaliland and countries in the region. The introduction of foreign military forces into neighboring Somalia, under any pretext, risks destabilizing the region, undermining peace efforts, and escalating tensions that could have far-reaching and catastrophic consequences. As a sovereign and democratic nation in the Horn of Africa, we take

it upon us like other neighbouring countries to categorically reject any foreign military presence in the region that could jeopardize the stability and security of our people. We call upon the international community to urgently condemn this potentially dangerous move by Egypt. It is imperative that all responsible nations act swiftly to prevent further destabilization and to promote diplomatic solutions that respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations in the Horn of Africa. The Republic of Somaliland will not stand idly by in the face of actions that threaten its hard-won peace and the stability of the region. We urge our international partners to closely monitor this alarming situation and to take immediate steps to safeguard the security and stability of Somaliland and the broader region.

# President receives credentials of the new Ethiopian Ambassador to the Republic of Somaliland



Teshome Shunde Hamito, who was recently appointed. The Ambassador conveyed warm greetings to the President of Somaliland from the Prime Minister of Ethiopia H.E. Abiy Ahmed Ali.

The Head of State welcomed the new Ambassador and wished him the best in his duties and responsibilities. They discussed security issues in the Horn of Africa region,

strengthening the relationship between the two brotherly countries and also the future cooperation between the two nations and the people.

# Somaliland senate call for the defense of the nation



By M.A. Egge

The Upper House of the Somaliland bicameral Parliament, the Senate, (GUURTI) has called on the people and the government to be ready to defend the sovereignty of the country, attributing to forays of incursions against the sovereignty of the nation by the Somalia administration.

This week's session of the Senate, which was presided over by the Speaker Hon Suleiman Mohamud Aden, spoke strongly about the acrimonious unconventional wars that Somalia is perpetrating against the country by intimidating corporate companies and ordering them not to invoke the name of Somaliland anywhere. The members of the senate who were

debating on the current agenda of the 84th session of the council, made their remarks to respond to the Somalia incursions waged on Somaliland hence held that the Somaliland-Somalia Talks should be forthwith cancelled all together. At the same time, the senate noted that all companies that heed the flimsy Somalia directives should be held accountable.

The senators also called for strengthening the unity and solidarity of the populaces and diligently forestall and hamper all ill-motives by the enemies who want to destroy the nation.

He revealed that the senate leadership is going to delve into the latest Somalia incursions and would duly report back to the house.

## Let us set aside internal differences and focus our efforts on addressing the external threats, urges Abdirahman Irro

"The sovereignty and self-determination of the Republic of Somaliland are founded on the volition of its people on 26th June 1960 can-not be changed. Political leaders, political associations, and political parties all stand for this mission to realize and accomplish the desires and aspirations of their people, and WADDANI political party is at the forefront of achieving these fundamental goals.

In addition, WADDANI is dedicated to and has a strong reputation for safeguarding the social harmony, unity and coexistence of Somaliland

people, enhancing their solidarity, as well as safeguarding the sovereignty of Somaliland, as demonstrated by our previous and current endeavours.

The WADDANI political party is renowned for its resolute position on national defense, especially during difficult times.

We do not exploit social divisions for political gains and we do not opportunistically seek political capital through division. The administration in charge of Somalia has initiated a political war against the people of Somaliland by inciting hate and aggression.

It is very clear, that the letters from Somalia and words written in documents will not stop the people of Somaliland from achieving their aspirations and determining their own future.

The people of Somaliland have sufficient resources and capabilities, both in terms of diplomacy and power to defend their existence. In the midst of Somalia's aggressive attack, there are reckless and immature politicians, who think they can gain political scores by dividing and polarizing the people of Somaliland.



Their actions involve instigating violence, which could lead to detrimental outcomes.

As a presidential candidate, I advocate for the unity and peaceful coexistence of the people of Somaliland. I aim to foster a sense of unity, promote equitable resource sharing, and cultivate a spirit of harmony among all citizens.

I am resolute in my commitment to combat the antiquated 'divide and rule' strategy that causes animosity and fragmentation. Individuals who use the 'divide and rule' tactics in politics lack a comprehensive understanding of the consequences of their actions, which create divisions and cause harm to the nation, its citizens, and the integrity of our society. The country and its people are currently suffering from the detrimental effects of divisions and polarization, and these are greatest enemies.

During trying times, my party and I put aside internal rivalries and wholeheartedly supported our nation, actively protecting our cherished

homeland.

An illustrative instance is our audacious intervention on August 25, 2023, to rescue the nation. We did not use the situation for political motives, instead we demonstrated our solidarity with the leadership and prioritized the interests of the nation.

I implore our supporters, intellectuals, and the general public to refrain from being influenced by the remarks and actions of incompetent politicians who lack foresight and are attempting to instill divisions among you. In addition, I appeal to all Somalilanders residing in the country and abroad to unite and safeguard their social cohesion.

We must stay alert and closely monitor the evolving dynamics in the Horn of Africa, as well as the escalating violence that has impacted our region.

Dear fellow citizens, let us set aside our internal differences and focus our efforts on addressing the external threats and the misguided politicians who lack maturity

## Inside Somaliland: the State Eager to Become the World's Next Country



By Liam Taylor

National day in Somaliland means joy, pomp, and machines of war. On May 18th the president and assembled dignitaries watched, from the grandstand, the annual parade in the capital, Hargeisa, as police held back jubilant crowds. Acrobats, fire-eaters, cyclists and footballers flowed past, while a bemused lion paced in its cage, the red, white, and green national flag draped over its back. Then came the coastguard and soldiers, fire engines and police cars, and finally armored trucks, each one mounted with more terrifying weapons than the last. All in all, an impressive inventory of a state.

Except that Somaliland is a state visible only from within. It has governed itself since 1991, when it separated from Somalia after a bloody civil war. If not perfectly democratic, nor uniformly secure, it has done far better by those measures than the splintered country it left. Much of the time, for many of its 6m people, it has provided a taste of "nabad iyo caano" (peace and milk in Somali). It has a government, elections, army, courts, currency and passports. But when its borders are shown on maps if at all, it's with a tentative broken line.

In London and Washington, a smattering of lawmakers advocate for Somaliland's sovereignty. But Western governments, who have poured money into the faltering project of state-building in Somalia, say they do not want to recognize Somaliland before African countries do; and African governments, many of whom face their own secessionist movements, loath to change the status quo.

**Somaliland is a state visible only from within. It has governed itself since 1991, when it separated from Somalia after a bloody civil war**

That is until now. In January the president of Somaliland, Muse Bihi Abdi, and the prime minister of Ethiopia, Abiy Ahmed, signed a memorandum of understanding, the first step towards what would be a historic deal. "Ethiopia needs sea access; Somaliland, recognition," Bihi told me when I met him at his presidential palace. "And we bargained." The president sat in a white chair beside a Somaliland

flag, his slightly stiff demeanor betraying his training as an Air Force pilot. Under the proposal, he said, Ethiopia would lease a 20km by 20km swathe of coastal land on which to build a naval base and recognize Somaliland in return. "We want to be masters of our country," he told me.

Most Somalilanders support Bihi's ambition and hope that recognition would bring investment, aid and national pride. But many worry about the details of the deal, which have not been released. Some fear that Ethiopia has not forsaken its old expansionist habits. There have been protests against the agreement in the Awdal region, where the naval base would be built. The defense minister resigned, calling Ethiopia an "enemy".

The deal is not guaranteed to happen. Turkey is mediating between Ethiopia and Somalia, which considers the plan to be a violation of its sovereignty. But Bihi, who faces a tough battle for re-election in November, seemed keen to put pen to paper. Recognition would boost his reputation, which was damaged last year when a rebel force in the eastern borderlands ousted Somaliland's army from Las Anod, the largest town in the Sool region, and declared allegiance to Somalia instead. It was a humiliating defeat for politicians in Hargeisa – and a challenge to the idea of Somaliland itself.

The flags of Somalia and Somaliland share a common symbol, the five-pointed star. It represents the five territories into which the Somali people were divided when colonial powers carved up the Horn of Africa in the late 19th century: the coastal regions of Italian Somaliland, British Somaliland, and French Somaliland (now Djibouti), British East Africa (now part of Kenya), and Ethiopia.

Somalis shared a language, a pastoral tradition and a religion – Islam – but had never been ruled by a single government. Social and political life was structured partly through genealogy: there were several major clans, which branched into sub-clans and again into smaller units, like a national

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# Dancing with Predators – Somalia’s Proxy War Tango in the Horn of Africa



In the intricate chess game of Horn of Africa geopolitics, Somalia has embraced a strategy so myopic that it threatens to reduce the entire region to ashes. At the heart of this perilous gambit lies a zero-sum mentality that has consumed Mogadishu’s political elite, driving the nation to the brink of self-immolation. The catalyst? The specter of Somaliland’s potential recognition.

The possibility of Ethiopia recognizing Somaliland in exchange for port access and a military base has triggered a paroxysm of irrational fear in Somalia. In the eyes of Mogadishu’s power brokers, Somaliland’s gain is inevitably Somalia’s loss, a simplistic calculus that fails to account for the nuances of regional cooperation and mutual benefit. This zero-sum perspective has become the lens through which Somalia views all regional developments, driving it towards increasingly desperate measures. In its frenzied attempt to thwart Somaliland’s aspirations, Somalia has cast reason to the wind, embracing alliances that promise short-term obstruction at the cost of long-term stability.

Like a wounded animal attracting predators, Somalia’s stench of desperation has drawn the attention of opportunistic powers. Egypt and Turkey have descended upon the war-torn nation, each eager to exploit Somalia’s vulnerability for their own gain. The agreement with Turkey, granting Ankara access to 30% of Somalia’s maritime resources, exemplifies this desperate ploy. This deal not only compromises Somalia’s economic future but also risks entangling it in broader geopolitical conflicts. Turkey’s interest in Somalia is purely commercial, having already secured control over Mogadishu’s airport and port, the two largest sources of income for a country heavily reliant on donor nations. The recent military pact with Ankara further cements Turkey’s grip on Somalia’s vital infrastructure, signaling a troubling trend of external dependency. The courtship of Egypt, a nation with its own axe to

grind against Ethiopia, is a prime example of this reckless strategy. By inviting Egyptian influence into the region, Somalia hopes to create a counterweight to Ethiopian-Somaliland cooperation. Yet in doing so, it has opened Pandora’s box, potentially unleashing forces far beyond its control. Egypt’s primary motive for deepening its involvement in Somalia is rooted in the contentious Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) project on the Blue Nile. Egypt, which relies on the Nile for over 90% of its water supply, views the GERD as a dire threat to its water security. By expanding its influence in Somalia, Egypt aims to pressure Ethiopia from multiple fronts, despite Ethiopia’s homecourt advantage and established security buffer zones along their border. The assumption that Egypt can project meaningful power against Ethiopia under these conditions is a strategic miscalculation on Somalia’s part. Meanwhile, Ethiopia and Somaliland forge ahead with plans for economic integration and shared development. The Port of Berbera in Somaliland, which could serve as a catalyst for regional growth, is seen by Mogadishu not as an opportunity for collaboration but as a threat to be neutralized at all costs. The Ethiopia-Somaliland Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) goes beyond mere port access. It envisions a comprehensive partnership, including economic cooperation, infrastructure development, and potentially, a path to Somaliland’s recognition. This agreement represents a fundamentally different approach to regional politics, one that prioritizes mutual benefits over zero-sum calculations.

Another regional player, Djibouti, has made its disapproval of the MoU very clear. Djibouti, long accustomed to its role as Ethiopia’s primary access to the sea, views the potential diversion of Ethiopian traffic to Somaliland’s ports as an existential threat to its economic lifeline. The loss of its presumed outsized influence over Somaliland also vanishing into thin air did not help President Guelleh’s delicate

sensibility. This opposition underscores the far-reaching implications of the Ethiopia-Somaliland agreement, which has the potential to reshape regional economic dynamics and power balances.

Somalia’s fanatical leadership, hailing these alliances as major successes and its troll factory on social media framing them as though Somalia has become a nuclear power and threatening Ethiopia and Somaliland with annihilation presumably with Egyptian and Turkish muscle, but are oblivious to the inferno they are stoking and the new alliances forming around them. Each move to undermine Somaliland’s position is viewed as a victory in a game where the only acceptable outcome is total domination. Yet with each such “victory,” Somalia edges closer to a precipice from which there may be no return.

Compounding its status as a failed state with all accounts dealing with resurgent Al-Shabaab that is capable of attacking targets in Mogadishu’s presumably secure areas, Somalia has become a vector for instability, its leaders invoking past hostilities between Somalia and Ethiopia and even threatening to partner with same terror groups and relitigate issues of mythical lost Somali lands. But the most egregious is inviting external powers that have zero interest in seeing Somalia succeed in any meaningful way.

The tragedy is compounded by the missed opportunities for genuine regional cooperation. A Somalia secure in its own sovereignty and willing to engage constructively with its neighbors could serve as a cornerstone of stability in the Horn of Africa. Instead, it has chosen a path of confrontation and self-destruction, risking not only its own future but the stability of the entire region.

As the situation intensifies, crucial questions loom: Will Somalia recognize the folly of its approach before it’s too late? Will it continue its self-destructive path, so consumed by its obsession with dragging Somaliland into the fiery gutter that it fails to see the danger to its own future? And how will the opposition from Djibouti and the deepening partnership between Ethiopia and Somaliland reshape the regional balance of power?

The answers to these questions may well determine the fate of the entire Horn of Africa for generations to come. The region stands at a crossroads, and the path chosen in the coming months could either lead to a new era of cooperation and prosperity or plunge the Horn into a maelstrom of conflict from which it may not easily emerge. As Ethiopia and Somaliland take concrete

## SOMTEL to inject \$25m in telecommunications, hailed highly at 6<sup>th</sup> National Telecommunications Conference



By M.A. Egge

Somtel has announced that it will invest \$25 million more in the development of the country’s Internet connection during the ongoing 6<sup>th</sup> National Telecommunications Conference.

The business manager of Somtel Mr. Samir Hassan Duale who spoke at the National Communication Conference said that his organization is focused on strengthening the connection of Internet services in the country.

The 6<sup>th</sup> National Communication Conference this year is focused on Internet Connectivity and aims to promote Internet of Things (IOT) and Artificial Intelligence (AI).

To confirm this, Somtel, one of the companies of Dahabshiil Group, announced the large new investment during the conference. Many officials from government departments, local and international institutions and commercial companies have hailed the move by SOMTEL.

## MP Mohamed Abib: A Controversial Figure in Somaliland Politics



Mohamed Abib, a member of parliament in Somaliland, has emerged as one of the most contentious political figures in the region. Known for his fiery rhetoric and controversial statements, Abib has become a polarizing force in Somaliland’s political landscape, with his actions now drawing legal scrutiny and raising security concerns.

Abib, who hails from the Awdal region, has gained notoriety for his persistent claims that the Somali National Movement (SNM) caused harm to Awdal during Somaliland’s struggle for independence. However, he paradoxically acknowledges that today, Awdal does not lag behind other regions in Somaliland in terms of development. This contradictory stance has raised eyebrows among political observers and citizens alike.

One of the most concerning aspects of Abib’s political behavior is his frequent use of inflammatory language, particularly when addressing high-ranking

government officials. He has repeatedly engaged in verbal attacks against the President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, often using language that many consider disrespectful and unbecoming of a parliamentarian. These actions have contributed to heightened political tensions and have sometimes overshadowed important policy discussions.

A particularly egregious example of Abib’s inflammatory behavior occurred during a live-streamed session, where he launched into an unprecedented and vitriolic tirade against the Speaker of the House of Representatives. This shocking display of disrespect, broadcast in real-time to a wide audience, not only violated parliamentary decorum but also deeply offended public sensibilities, causing immediate outrage across Somaliland since it, also, breached deeply-held cultural norms of respect for elders and authority figures. In the aftermath of this

steps towards realizing their partnership, the pressure on Somalia to reconsider its destructive course only intensifies. The coming days and weeks may prove crucial

in determining whether reason and cooperation will prevail over the politics of division and self-immolation.

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# Inside Somaliland: the State Eager to Become the World's Next Country



family tree. But in the struggle against colonial rule Somali nationalists started to dream of a unitary state, bringing together all Somalis – a greater Somalia, or Somaliweyn.

**In the struggle against colonial rule Somali nationalists started to dream of a unitary state, bringing together all Somalis – a greater Somalia, or Somaliweyn**

It was in that spirit that, after five short days of independence in 1960, the former British protectorate in the north united with the former Italian colony to the south to form Somalia. They hoped the other three points of the Somali star would one day join them, but Somaliweyn never came to be. An armed attempt to prise away the Somali parts of Ethiopia in 1977 ended in catastrophic defeat.

The new Somalia had internal problems too. Nine years after its inception, the government was overthrown by Mohamed Siad Barre, the head of the army. He spoke of building the nation, but his brutal rule divided it. He banned political parties and imprisoned opponents, such as a group of young professionals in Hargeisa who had started a self-help scheme to fund social services. The Isaaq, the largest clan in the north, were particularly targeted. By the 1980s they were in open rebellion, behind the banner of the Somali National Movement (SNM).

In 1988 the north slid into a full-blown civil war. Under the command of Barre's son-in-law, the Somali army killed tens of thousands of Isaaq people: bombed in their homes, shot in the streets, or executed and buried in mass graves. Journalists called Hargeisa the "Dresden of Africa". One pilot was so horrified by the destruction that he refused his orders and kept flying until he ran out of fuel, landing on a beach in Djibouti.

Saado Abdi Amarre was in her 20s when the war began. She cooked meals for the fighters and sometimes carried a gun herself. But her weapon of choice was poetry. In Somali culture poetry can be a language of politics: a way to warn and inspire, admonish and exhort. When I met her at an arts venue in Hargeisa recently, she recited the first poem she had ever written.

"When our land turns to dust, when our land burns with fire," she said. "Oh, my people, I feel your pain deep inside." She pointed to her heart and then to her imaginary audience, as

if she saw them still: the gaunt fighters who rebelled against a dictatorship. She recited the words like an incantation, each line falling onto a long vowel, never quite becoming song. In the final verse she addressed Barre himself: "May hurricanes and destruction touch you."

In 1991 Barre's administration fell and the SNM took control in the north. But Hargeisa lay in ruins. "Everybody was either repairing his house or another," remembered Bobe Yusuf Duale, who was one of the SNM's leaders. "The hammer and the nail was the biggest noise that you could hear."

Duale is a historian by instinct, an inveterate collector. At his home in Hargeisa he keeps an archive of oral poetry on cassette tapes, verses dense with allusion and resistance. On one wall hangs a groundsheet, which was his bed while fighting in the bush; on another, his old belt.

**Many Somalilanders juxtapose the relative stability of their self-built state with a dystopian caricature of Somalia – its roads stalked by jihadists, its seas swimming with pirates – from which anyone would want to escape**

The SNM had fought to liberate Somalia, he said, not to leave it. But by 1991 the people had suffered enough. The rebels and the northern clans met to discuss the future, as a crowd outside chanted "no more Mogadishu", referring to the capital of Somalia. They decided to dissolve the union with the south, re-establishing the independent state that had briefly existed before. Duale showed me his copy of the declaration, typewritten on a single sheet of paper.

This new, self-described state – called Somaliland – was bound together by homegrown traditions of democracy and *xeer*, the unwritten rules and obligations that kept the peace between clans. In the early years, competition for control of national assets, such as the port, sometimes spilled over into open fighting. Each time, the elders met and talked until their differences were resolved. Somalilanders would make their own nation, without outside help.

Today Hargeisa is a city of low-rise compounds and sleepy afternoons. Its bloody past is commemorated with a Soviet-made MiG-17 aircraft, responsible for the deaths of so many of its residents, which now stands on a plinth in a central square. The city is perhaps better

known these days for its international book fair, which draws thousands of people each year. The hotels and cafés downtown thrum with diaspora money. On the outskirts, shepherds steer their goats past half-built houses, funded by remittances slowly sent back from London or Toronto or Dubai. Some of the diaspora are coming home. Mohamed Isaaq, a returnee from Canada, told me he felt healthier in Hargeisa, his spirit a little freer; over there the government had "milked" you, he said, but here he was milking his camels and thriving. His friend Ali Hussein, born in Cardiff to a Somali seaman, was hoping to start a bank – no easy task in an unrecognized state (some banks have to fly cash abroad because they cannot wire it internationally). Remittances and livestock are the lifeblood of the economy, but neither can be taken for granted. Officials worry that younger generations of Somalilanders, born and raised abroad, will feel less connection to their ancestral homeland. As for livestock, just ask Halimo Fadal Jama, who was herding her sheep in the dry scrubland near the Ethiopian border when I met her. The rains are not like they used to be, she said. Many foreign investors are deterred by the legal uncertainty that comes with Somaliland's unrecognized status, but not all. I visited Berbera, a port city that was known to ancient Greek merchants for its myrrh, frankincense and cinnamon. The Somaliland government is pitching it as a trade corridor to Ethiopia, hoping to attract some of the sea traffic that currently passes through Djibouti. That ambition is backed by the United Arab Emirates, which has expanded its influence in the Red Sea region as part of its rivalry with other Arab powers. DP World, an Emirati logistics company, says it is investing "up to \$442m" on upgrading Berbera's port and creating a special economic zone, where investors can take advantage of tax exemptions. Its warehouses, situated on a deserted plain, stand in austere contrast to the city's whitewashed mosques and Ottoman colonnades.

**Somalilanders' legal claim to recognition has always rested on the idea that they are returning to old borders, not drawing new ones**

Many Somalilanders juxtapose the relative stability of their self-built state with a dystopian caricature of Somalia – its roads stalked by jihadists, its seas swimming with pirates – from which anyone would want to escape. With each retelling of Somaliland's story, the weft and warp of nationhood become a little tighter. But history has left a lot of loose ends.

## MP Mohamed Abib: A Controversial Figure in Somaliland Politics

confrontation, rather than apologizing or attempting to mend fences, Abib doubled down on his attacks. He directed a series of unapologetic, clan-laden barbs against the Speaker in what appeared to be a calculated attempt to isolate him politically. This blatant appeal to clan sentiments was widely condemned as a dangerous tactic that could potentially unravel the delicate fabric of inter-clan cooperation that underpins Somaliland's stability. The incident served as a stark reminder of the potential for divisive rhetoric to inflame tensions and undermine the nation's hard-won peace and unity.

The situation has escalated to a point where the Somaliland Attorney-General's office had requested the House of Representatives to strip Abib of his parliamentary immunity. This unprecedented move would allow Abib to face court charges ranging from treason to defamation. The House's decision on this matter is pending, adding a layer of legal drama to the political tension.

Despite the looming threat of legal action, Abib has not tempered his rhetoric. Instead, he has intensified his accusations and verbal attacks. More alarmingly, his recent statements have included elements that pose a palpable threat to the

Despite his high profile, Abib is not known for initiating or championing significant development projects or fundraising efforts for his constituents. This lack of tangible achievements stands in stark contrast to his vocal presence in the media and political circles.

Political analysts argue that while Abib has the power to influence public opinion, his approach often falls short of providing lasting and effective solutions to the real problems facing Somaliland. There is a growing call for political leaders like Abib to move beyond divisive rhetoric and instead focus on constructive dialogue and actions that can foster unity and progress across all regions of Somaliland.

In the past, many Somalilanders, including some of his constituents, afforded MP Abib the benefit of the doubt, viewing his provocative statements as passionate, if misguided, advocacy. However, as his rhetoric has escalated and the potential consequences of his actions have become more apparent, public opinion has shifted dramatically. Many of his former sympathizers have withdrawn their support, recognizing that his inflammatory discourse poses a genuine threat to Somaliland's stability and progress. This erosion of his support base underscores the growing consensus that Abib's



security of Somaliland and the broader region. This escalation has raised serious concerns among security experts and political analysts about the potential ramifications of his words on the stability of the nation.

Abib's penchant for holding frequent and fiery press conferences has become a hallmark of his political strategy. During these events, he often makes caustic remarks that grab headlines but rarely offers constructive solutions to the issues he raises. This approach has led to mixed reactions among the populace. While some, particularly in his home region of Awdal, view him as a vocal advocate for their interests, others see his rhetoric as divisive and potentially harmful to Somaliland's unity.

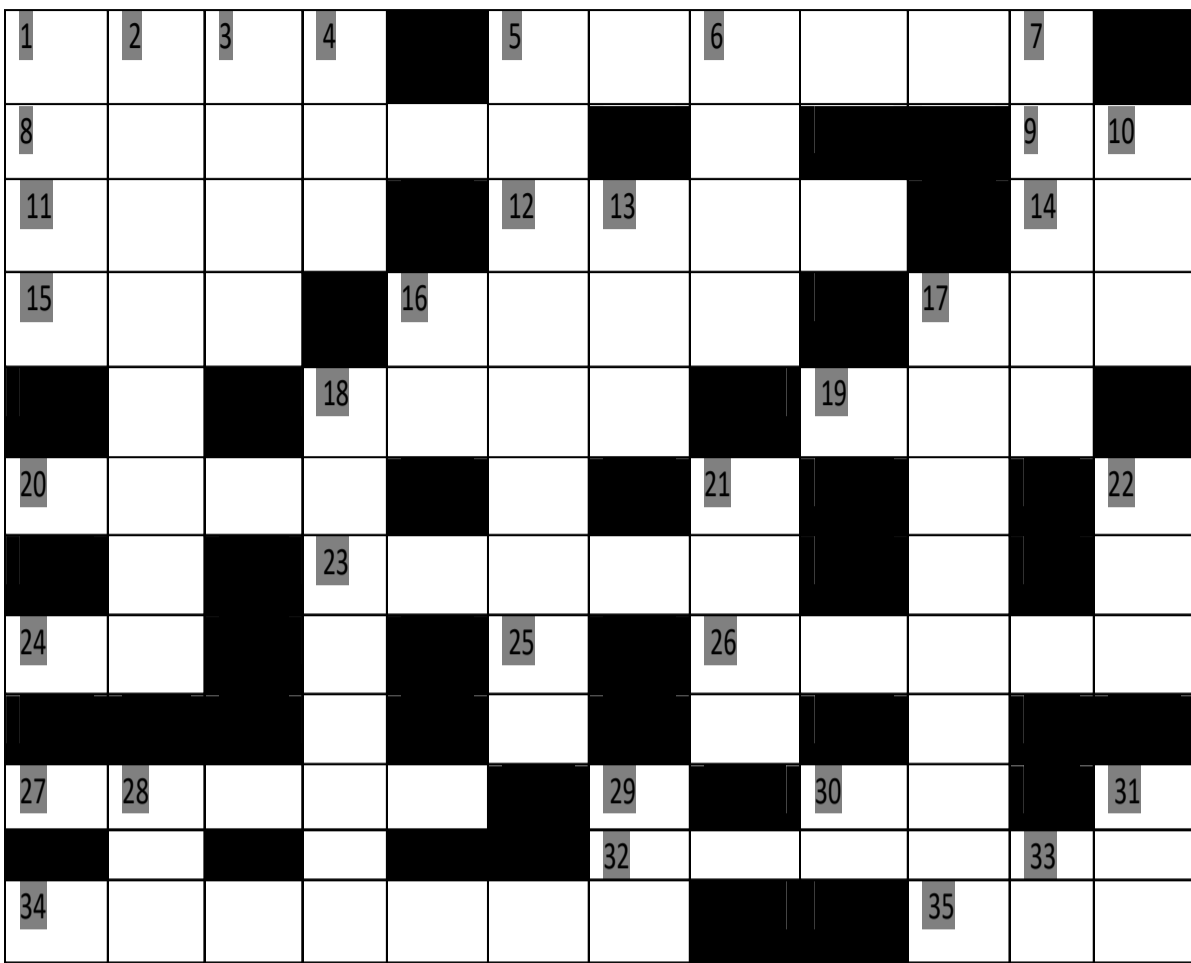
The impact of Abib's statements on Somaliland's social cohesion is a matter of growing concern. His comments often touch on sensitive tribal and regional issues, which can exacerbate existing tensions within the society. This has led to worries, especially among the diaspora community, that his rhetoric could undermine the fragile peace and unity that Somaliland has worked hard to achieve.

approach to politics is not only ineffective but potentially dangerous to the nation's interests.

MP Mohamed Abib remains a controversial figure in Somaliland politics, now facing potential legal consequences for his actions. His fiery press conferences and caustic remarks continue to spark debate and division, with the added dimension of security threats heightening the stakes. As Somaliland strives for international recognition and internal stability, the case of Abib highlights the delicate balance between free speech, responsible leadership, and national security in a young democracy. The pending decision on his parliamentary immunity and the potential court cases against him may set important precedents for political conduct in Somaliland. The challenge for Somaliland's political class, including Abib, is to channel their influence towards strengthening national unity and addressing the pressing needs of the population, rather than engaging in rhetoric that may threaten the cohesion and security of the state.

Ali M Yussuf,  
Ottawa, Canada

# THT Puzzle



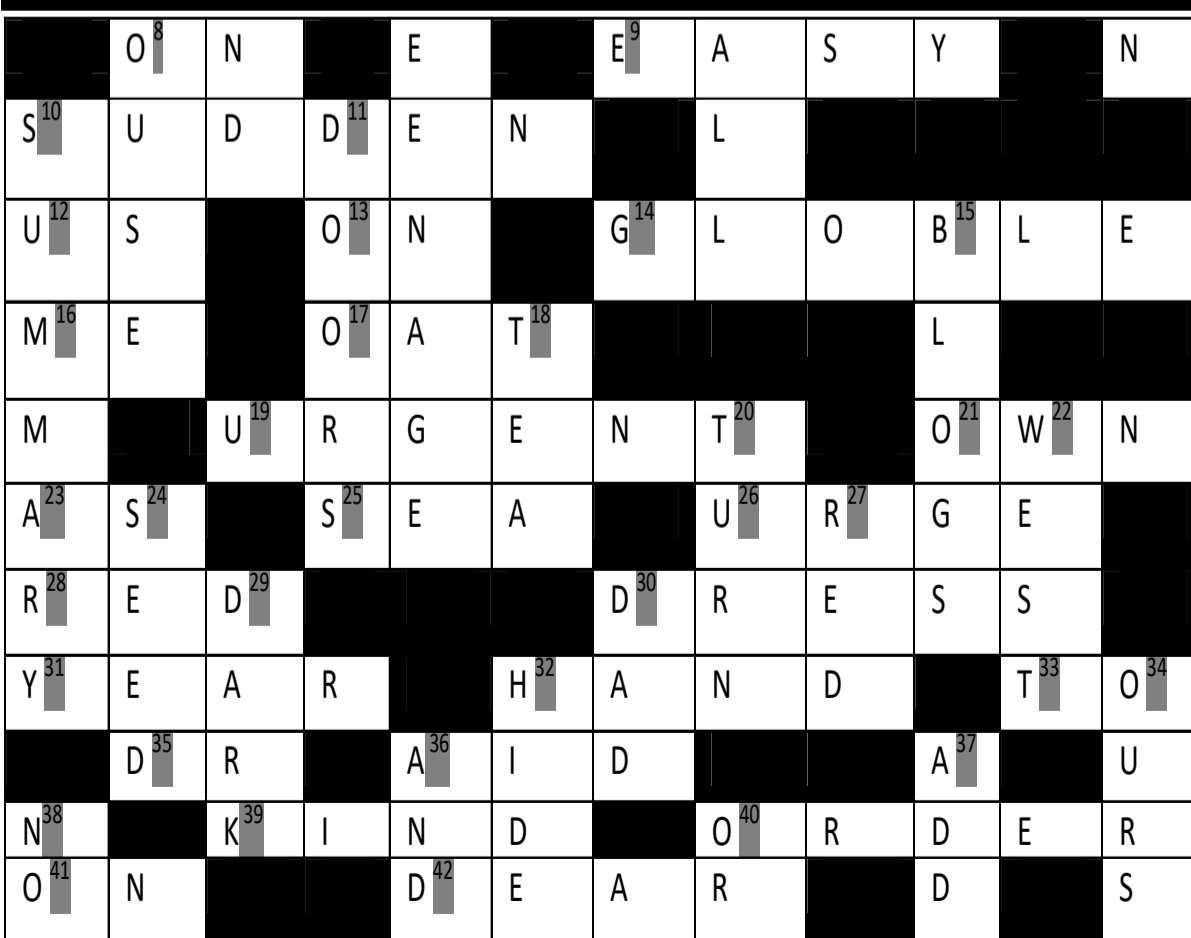
**Down**

- 1 Corner, edge
- 2 Positioned
- 3 flat-leaf use as herb
- 4 Chicken bird
- 5 Honesty
- 6 Post card
- 7 8
- 9 Also
- 13 Emirates
- 16 DOCTOR
- 17 Fantastic
- 18 Sun umbrella
- 21 Oldness
- 22 Shed tears
- 28 Plus
- 29 Attempt
- 30 Remains
- 31 Wetness

**Across**

- 1 House
- 5 Earnings
- 8 Beginning
- 9 Information technology
- 11 Bell
- 12 Turning
- 14 Travel
- 15 Netting
- 16 Deceased
- 17 whom
- 18 Desire
- 19 Fiery
- 20 Pair
- 23 Take along
- 24 ID card
- 26 Opponent
- 27 Wire
- 30 Condition
- 32 Continue
- 34 Preferably
- 35 Give permission

## Previous Answer



# Ethiopia Financial Stability Report



## FINANCIAL STABILITY REPORT

APRIL 2024  
nbe.gov.et



**Operational risk:** Lack of technical expertise in insurance is a real constraint. Most insurance companies' operations continue to be underdeveloped and not automated.

Insurance risk is the risk that inadequate or inappropriate underwriting, product design, pricing and claims settlement that expose an insurer to financial loss and a consequent inability to meet its liabilities. Ethiopia's insurance sector is known for its sti. price competition in all classes of business. Insufficient premiums could lead players in the industry into failure to meet obligations from claims.

**Concentration risk:** The government-owned insurance corporation accounts for 30 percent of the market share. In addition, the Ethiopian Reinsurance Company receives 25 percent of treaty cession and 5 percent of each policy insurer underwrite.

Moreover, 55 percent of the general class of business is motor insurance.

**Market Risk:** The investment portfolio of insurers is restricted to bank deposits and government bonds. Such provisions inhibit insurers from earning higher returns that could have encouraged further development of the sector. Insurance companies are encouraged to invest in accordance with the applicable directive, as the policy contracts issued are short-term and require insurers to hold more liquid assets.

In sum, the industry is considered resilient and stable. NBE is currently taking steps to create an independent supervisory authority that is expected to have a positive impact on the performance of the industry. Technology development and automation are necessary to tackle operational risks. The sector also needs to build its capacity to expand the pool of insurance professionals.

### 3.5 Highlights on SACCOs and Pension Funds

#### SACCOs

Ethiopia has a large network of SACCOs 26 – over 21,000 in total – which can play an important role in financial inclusion, especially in the underserved rural areas.

Nevertheless, SACCOs have limited capacity to increase their market share due to limitations in size, skills, products, and operational models to be truly competitive financial institutions. From the point of view of financial system stability, SACCOs pose

no systemic risk due to the limited size of the sector.

Pension funds Pension funds in Ethiopia are administered by two agencies. They are the Public Employees Social Security Administration Agency as



## The Ministry of Finance – Government of Somaliland

### Institutional Support for Economic Governance Project (ISEGP) REQUEST FOR EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST

(CONSULTING SERVICES)

#### Assignment Title: Assessment the Overall Operational Effectiveness of the Tax Administration System

Sector: Governance

Grant Number: 2100155043071

Project ID No.: P-SO-KF0-015

#### 1. Background

The Government of Somaliland has received financing from the African Development Bank toward the cost of the Institutional Support for Economic Governance Project (ISEGP) and intends to apply part of the agreed amount for this grant to payments under the contract for Consultancy Services for the Assessment of the overall Operational Effectiveness of the Tax Administration System.

**2. Scope of the assignment:** This consultancy service is to conduct an assessment of the overall operational effectiveness of the Tax Administration System, and deliver actionable outputs for the following areas:

- i. Conduct assessment based on Taxpayer Diagnostic Assessment Tool (TADAT) for the Revenue Departments (Inland Revenue and Customs)
- ii. Assessing the taxpayer registration base and taxpayer identification number (TIN) integrity and setup.
- iii. Assessment of the operationalization of Somaliland Revenue Authority.

The detailed information is available in the Terms of Reference (TOR) for the assignment and can be provided upon submission of the application by Email: [hassan@somalilandpfm.org](mailto:hassan@somalilandpfm.org) and [copy procurement@somalilandpfm.org](mailto:procurement@somalilandpfm.org)

**3. Duration:** The estimated timeframe for this assignment is 100 working days from the day of commencement.

**4. The Ministry of Ministry of Finance** now invites eligible consultancy firms to indicate their interest in providing these services. Interested consultancy firms must provide information indicating that they are qualified to perform the services:

1. Core business of the firm and years in business.
2. Specific experience in successfully implementing similar assignments
3. Experience of relevant services in an environment similar to that of Somalia
4. Technical and managerial organization of the firm (provide only the structure of the organization, general qualification, and number of key staff). Do not provide CVs of key staff. Key experts will not be evaluated at the shortlisting stage
5. Eligibility criteria, the establishment of the short-list, and the selection procedure shall be in accordance with the African Development Bank's "Rules and Procedures for the use of Consultants" in November 2018, which is available on the Bank's website at <http://www.afdb.org>.
6. Consultants may associate with other firms to enhance their qualifications but should indicate clearly whether the association is in the form of a joint venture and/or a sub-consultancy. In the case of a joint venture, all the partners in the joint venture shall be jointly and severally liable for the entire contract, if selected.

7. A Consulting firm will be selected in accordance with the **Quality and Cost Based Selections (QCBS) method** set out in the Procurement Regulations.

8. Interested consultants may obtain further information at the address below during office hours from 8:00 am to 4:00 pm.

**9. Deadline for submission:** Expressions of interest should be delivered in a written form and titled "Assessment the Overall Operational Effectiveness of the Tax Administration System" to the address below (in person, or by e-mail) and titled by **August 18, 2024 at 12:30 p.m. local Time.**

Ministry of Finance,  
Government of Somaliland  
PFM Building  
Contact Person: Hassan Farah  
Telephone Number: +252634475005  
Email: [hassan@somalilandpfm.org](mailto:hassan@somalilandpfm.org)  
[procurement@somalilandpfm.org](mailto:procurement@somalilandpfm.org)

# Ethiopia Financial Stability Report

per provisions of Proclamation No.1267/2022 and the Private Organization Employees Social Security Fund Administration Agency as per the provisions of Proclamation No. 1268/2022.



#### 4. FINANCIAL SYSTEM INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT AND RISKS

This chapter discusses developments and risks for the stability of Ethiopia's financial system related to the infrastructure of the financial system. The infrastructure comprises currency management, the payment and settlement system, credit market infrastructure, and financial inclusion & consumer protection.

##### 4.1 NATIONAL PAYMENT SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT

Payment systems in Ethiopia were radically modernized in 2011 as NBE launched the Ethiopian Automated Transfer System (EATS), a modern clearing and settlement system. NBE owns and manages the payment system infrastructure. It includes the Real-Time Gross Settlement system (RTGS), which provides facilities for final settlement of payments between financial institutions; <sup>27</sup> and the Automated Clearing House (ACH), which provides clearing and netting services for bulk payments.<sup>28</sup> Before 2011, all payments in the country, including bank-to-bank transfers, were made through the exchange of letters; as a result, a single interbank transfer took days to be settled.

The dependency of the financial sector on the RTGS infrastructure has increased.

Therefore, the safety and efficiency of RTGS has become critical for the stability of the financial system. The regulatory framework, which plays a very important role in this, needs to be constantly updated in line with technological and financial sector developments.

To be continue next week