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President urges the nation to elect a pragmatic leader

He should be a dependable person with unwavering ideals and resolute leadership prowess



By M.A. Egge
The President of the Republic of Somaliland H.E. Musa Bihi Abdi has called on the people of Somaliland to elect a dependable person with unwavering ideals and resolute leadership prowess as

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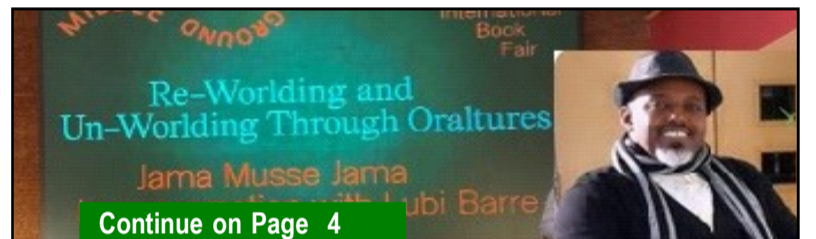
Ethiopian FM Defends Somaliland MoU at UN, Urges Somalia to Focus on Internal Issues



Ethiopian Foreign Minister Ambassador Taye Atske-Selassie has dismissed Somalia's allegations regarding Ethiopia's memorandum of understanding with Somaliland, calling them "unfounded" and

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Re-Worlding and Un-Worlding Through Oratures- HIBF-Berlin Dr. Jama- Keynote



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The Central Bank in measures to combat exchange rate inflation



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Government launches Preparation of Comprehensive Projects for Community Development



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EXPOSED: Somalia's Hidden War — Egypt's Secret Plan to Destroy Somaliland



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The Causes and Consequences of State Failure in Somalia- Amb Adam M. Jibril



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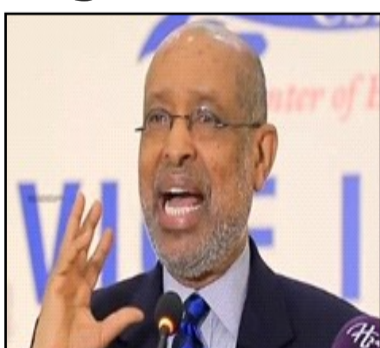
Understanding the Security and Political Landscape of Somaliland: An In-Depth Interview with Interior Minister Kahin



This in-depth interview with Interior Minister Mohamed Kahin Ahmed offers a unique perspective on the challenges and successes of Somaliland's security, political, and economic landscape.

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Prof Samatar expounds on imperativeness of government functioning on its main pillars



By M.E. Egge
The chairman of the Hilaac political organization Prof. Ahmed Ismail Samatar has elaborated on the importance of government as an institution and its imperative fundamentals in having a functioning government based on its main pillars.

The educational don expressed his sentiments as he addressed the 13th batch of 214 students of the Civil Service Institute at their graduation in the city on Monday. He noted that the students being churned out from the institution are

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Government has funded for the elections, says deputy finance minister



By M.A. Egge
The government of Somaliland has said that it has footed the electoral costs for both the upcoming presidential and political party elections through the public

funds accrued from taxations. This was announced by the Deputy Minister of Finance Hon. Suleiman Jama Diriyeh who revealed that the government has paid from the

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President urges the nation....



concerns the nationhood of the country.

The Head of State gave the advice on Monday as he addressed the 13th batch graduation ceremony of 214 students at the Civil Service Institute whereby, he urged the populaces to make sure that they made their choices well with the nation in mind when they go to the polls on the 13th of November this year.

He pointed out that the populaces should use the opportunity to express and solidify further the resolve of nationalism as per the people's aspirations and determination and commitment to the cause and existence of Somaliland as a nation.

He said, "Today, we are in the election season, which is only a few weeks away, I am asking the people of Somaliland to cast their votes in a manner that would depict the

people's resolve on our solidarity and nationhood and illustrate once more to the world of our essence as a sovereign nation", and added, "and you should elect a dependable person who has an unwavering ideals and resolute leadership prowess as concerns the nationhood of the country".

The President emphasized that the quality of the leader at the helm of the nation needed is one whose integrity is beyond reproach hence would never compromise the enshrined national aspirations.

He expressed his surprise that when he gave an interview to an international Arabic media television earlier in the week he was asked thrice whether Somalilanders were wholly united in their resolve on sovereignty.

He noted that the interviewing

journalist was intent on casting aspersions that there were Somalilanders who wanted reunification with Somalia, a fact he vehemently denied; given that the resoluteness of the people that hitherto emanated not only from their struggles alone but it is embedded in the constitution following a national referendum.

The President observed that even as he answered the reporter with acts and reminded him that he had made the fact clear, the reporter did still astutely not comprehend the fact making him wonder what was amiss.

It is under the circumstances that the President urged the populaces to wisely go to the ballots with their minds set on a choice that would be dependable as far as leadership is concerned.

He reminded the nation that as far as the recent history of the country was concerned, it was vividly very clear that the country re-asserted its independence first earned from the British Empire in 1960 by dissolving the ill-fated union with the Italian Somali state of Mogadishu.

He reiterated the fact that Somalilanders are solidly united in their resolve as per the national aspirations and are guided singly by and with the national constitution, cherishing the freedom of determination prevalent today in the country.

Prof Samatar expounds on imperativeness of government functioning on its main pillars



supposed to be armed with the skills that ought to make governance function even better.

He expounded on the basic fundamental pillars of governance and how they ought to function hence urged the graduates to put in good use the educational skills they earned at the institute for the betterment of good governance.

He emphasized that there are four important points for governance in establishing sound socio-economic and associated social infrastructural development.

He noted them as protecting the environment and health, having in place a policy and technique to build the economy in order to realize economic growth, adapt to cultural

change and the last one is how to manage the country including on how connect adapt with situations arising and address them as per political needs may demand in an amicable manner.

On the other hand, he said that President Muse Bihi Abdi is not only the president of the nation, but he is the Head of State and the symbol of the country and that all his actions reflect the nation.

In conclusion, the scholar Ahmed Ismail Samatar said that it is necessary to find a healthy mind in order to focus on the development of the nation and its economy which are basically of paramount importance.

Ethiopian FM Defends Somaliland MoU at UN, Urges Somalia to Focus on Internal Issues



accusing Somalia of attempting to "cover internal political tensions" by inciting "hostility."

Speaking at the 79th United Nations General Assembly on Friday evening, Ambassador Taye defended the agreement, explaining that it is "based on the existing political arrangement in Somalia" and aims to promote "shared growth and prosperity in the region." He also noted that "similar agreements have been concluded by other states."

"I, therefore, reject the baseless allegations levelled against my country," Ambassador Taye stated, adding, "Ethiopia's name can never be associated with any of these accusations."

Tensions between Ethiopia and Somalia have escalated following the signing on January 1 of a Memorandum of Understanding

(MoU) between Ethiopia and Somaliland, which aims to grant Ethiopia access to the sea in exchange for the recognition of Somaliland.

Complicating the situation further, Egypt recently sent its second military aid shipment to Somalia, including heavy artillery and armoured vehicles. This delivery, part of a defense pact signed between Egypt and Somalia in August 2024, has raised concerns in Ethiopia and Somaliland.

The Foreign Minister urged Somalia to focus on addressing terrorism, calling for collaboration to "eliminate terrorist groups that are causing chaos and mayhem among the people of the region."

Ambassador Taye's remark came in response to a speech by Somalia's Prime Minister Hamza Abdi Barre, who accused Ethiopia

of actions that "flagrantly violate" Somalia's territorial integrity.

"Somalia is currently facing a serious threat from Ethiopia's recent actions, which flagrantly violate our territorial integrity," Prime Minister Hamza Abdi Barre said during his address to the General Assembly.

"Ethiopia's attempt to annex part of Somalia under the guise of securing sea access is both unlawful and unnecessary," he added.

Ambassador Taye further expressed concerns over "recent manoeuvres by actors from outside the Horn of Africa," arguing that these actions undermine efforts to ensure peace and security in the region. He urged these external actors to "immediately cease their reckless actions" and called on the international community to recognize the "imminent risk" posed by such activities.

Government has funded for the elections, says deputy finance minister

proceeds o the public tax funds to foot the elections costs without any foreign help.

"The government is proud that the biggest project of the year being the twin elections to be held on November had already been catered for and paid in July by the state".

He said the 10million USD was paid from the public coffers, accrued from taxation.

The deputy minister gave the fact as he toured the Ministry of Information, Culture and National Guidance.

He called on the members of the public to continue paying their taxes duly while noting that there was no nation whatsoever that managed to achieve their goals and prosper without the contribution support of their populaces through tax payments.

The National Electoral Commission held a meeting with a delegation from the international community

The National Electoral

Commission (NEC) has held a virtual meeting with members of the International Community who partner with Somaliland in working on issues of Democracy and Elections.

The tele-conference meeting dwelt on the upcoming elections in the country which is less than a couple of months away that would see people go to polls to elect the president, his deputy and the official political parties.

The meeting was attended by officials representing the UK, USA, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Denmark, Taiwan, Belgium, and the European Union.

The members of the international community thanked the National Electoral Commission for the preparations they have put in place in readiness for the elections.

NEC specially thanked the UK, Taiwan and the EU for their financial support for the Presidential and National Party elections expected to be held on 13 November 2024.



Understanding the Security and Political Landscape of Somaliland: An In-Depth Interview with Interior Minister Kahin



By Gulaid Yusuf Imaan

In Hargeisa, the capital of Somaliland, we are with the Minister of Interior, Mohamed Kahin Ahmed. Thank you for welcoming and hosting us here at the Ministry of Interior. Let's discuss the security situation in Somaliland. How do you assess it, particularly in recent times? Al Arabiya Channel presents this interview to provide insights into Somaliland's security policies, political history, and its unique approach to governance in a region marked by instability.

This article explores the security dynamics of Somaliland through the lens of this conversation, offering an academic analysis of the historical, political, and socio-economic factors shaping the state. We delve into Somaliland's security challenges, its strategic counter-terrorism measures, its efforts to combat piracy, and its ongoing quest for international recognition. By examining these themes, we aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of how Somaliland has navigated its complex political and security environment.

British Colonial Legacy and Independence

The interview begins by addressing the historical roots of Somaliland. As Minister Kahin notes, the region was a British protectorate until June 26, 1960, when it gained independence and shortly thereafter united with the Trust Territory of Somalia (formerly Italian Somaliland) to form the Somali Republic. This unification, however, was marred by political tensions, leading to military coups and the eventual collapse of the Somali government in 1991.

Somaliland's colonial legacy played a pivotal role in shaping its political identity. The region's leaders, facing widespread political discontent in Somalia, decided to reassert their sovereignty in 1991 following a brutal civil war. Minister Kahin elaborated on the role of the Somali National Movement (SNM), which spearheaded the struggle for autonomy, highlighting the atrocities committed by the Somali government, including the infamous bombing of Hargeisa, which symbolized the cruelty of the regime in Mogadishu.

Collapse of the Somali Republic
The Somali Republic's collapse in

the late 1980s and early 1990s was a watershed moment for Somaliland. The violence and instability that ensued paved the way for Somaliland to declare its independence once again. Despite this declaration, Somaliland remains unrecognized by the international community, a fact that has profound implications for its security, economic development, and political relations. Minister Kahin provided a historical overview of the events leading to the breakaway, highlighting how this secession was seen as a necessary step to ensure the safety and prosperity of Somaliland's citizens, who had suffered immensely under the military dictatorship in Somalia.

Building Security Infrastructure in Somaliland
Establishing a Security Framework
One of the critical issues Minister Kahin addressed was the building of Somaliland's security institutions. In the aftermath of its 1991 independence declaration, Somaliland faced the daunting task of creating a functioning government, with security being a primary concern. The region lacked any form of centralized governance or military infrastructure due to the destruction of the civil war. The first Somaliland government, established at a national conference held in 1991, focused on constructing security institutions from the ground up.

The Role of the Police and Military
Somaliland's National Army and Police Force were formed as the backbone of its security strategy. Minister Kahin explained that despite the scarcity of resources and international assistance, these forces were successfully established and have played a central role in maintaining law and order within the country. The Minister stressed that security in Somaliland has been a priority for the government, with the military and police being instrumental in preventing insurgencies and maintaining peace.

Somaliland's Coast Guard has also been critical in securing the region's coastal waters, particularly in combating piracy. Minister Kahin noted the strategic importance of Somaliland's location along the Gulf of Aden, a crucial maritime

route for international trade, including oil shipments. This geographical position necessitates a robust maritime security force, which the Somaliland Coast Guard provides, despite the lack of external support.

Counter-terrorism and Anti-piracy Efforts

Success in Counter-terrorism
Terrorism is a persistent global threat, particularly in the Horn of Africa, where groups like Al-Shabaab have wreaked havoc in neighboring Somalia. Minister Kahin proudly stated that Somaliland, in contrast to Somalia, has successfully kept terrorist groups from establishing bases within its borders. This success is attributed to the proactive measures taken by Somaliland's security forces, including the formation of specialized counter-terrorism units within the police and military.

One significant recent victory was the thwarting of a terrorist plot in Somaliland just weeks before the interview. Minister Kahin explained that such operations are the result of meticulous intelligence work and well-coordinated security responses. Somaliland's relative stability, when compared to other regions in the Horn of Africa, underscores the effectiveness of its counter-terrorism strategies.

Combating Piracy

Piracy is another issue that has plagued the waters off the Horn of Africa for years. Minister Kahin emphasized Somaliland's critical role in securing its maritime boundaries against pirates, a task made even more important by the region's proximity to major shipping lanes. According to the Minister, approximately 17% of the world's oil trade passes through Somaliland's coastal waters, making its anti-piracy operations essential not only for local security but for global economic stability as well.

Somaliland's success in combating piracy is largely due to its well-trained Coast Guard, which has conducted numerous operations to deter pirate activity. Minister Kahin highlighted that, despite a lack of international recognition and limited resources, Somaliland has effectively safeguarded these vital maritime routes, which are crucial to global trade.

International Relations and the Quest for Recognition

Efforts to Gain International Recognition

Somaliland's lack of international recognition is a recurring theme throughout the interview. Minister Kahin expressed optimism that Somaliland's achievements in terms of governance, security, and democratic development will eventually lead to formal recognition by the international community. He noted that Somaliland has built

strong relationships with several African nations, as well as with the European Union and the United States.

Despite these diplomatic efforts, the international community's reluctance to recognize Somaliland stems largely from the African Union's adherence to the principle of respecting existing colonial borders. Minister Kahin articulated his frustration with this policy, pointing out that Somaliland's case is unique, given its distinct colonial history and its demonstrated ability to govern itself independently.

Economic and Security Consequences of Non-recognition
The absence of international recognition has profound implications for Somaliland's economic development. Minister Kahin explained that the region is unable to access international financial markets or secure development aid from global institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. This economic isolation has made it difficult for Somaliland to build the infrastructure necessary for long-term development, including in the critical area of security.

Nonetheless, Somaliland has managed to allocate approximately 50% of its national budget to security, a figure that underscores the government's commitment to maintaining peace and stability despite the financial constraints imposed by its unrecognized status. Minister Kahin emphasized that this dedication to security has enabled Somaliland to maintain peace and order in a volatile region, ensuring the safety of its citizens and attracting some level of foreign investment, particularly in the telecommunications and port sectors.

Somaliland's Democratic Development and Political Stability
Transition to Democracy

One of Somaliland's most notable achievements has been its transition to a democratic system of governance. Following its declaration of independence, the region held a series of elections, culminating in the ratification of a constitution in 2001. This constitution, which was approved by 97% of voters in a national referendum, enshrines the principles of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

Minister Kahin emphasized the importance of democratic governance in ensuring the long-term stability of Somaliland. He highlighted that the country has successfully held four presidential elections, all of which were conducted peacefully and resulted in the smooth transfer of power. This commitment to democracy stands in stark contrast to the situation in Somalia, where political instability

and contested elections have often led to violence.

The Role of Traditional Institutions
In addition to its modern democratic institutions, Somaliland has successfully integrated traditional governance structures into its political system. The Guurti, a council of elders, plays a key role in mediating conflicts and ensuring social cohesion. Minister Kahin described this as a hybrid system that blends democratic principles with traditional Somali values, contributing to the region's stability and resilience in the face of external pressures.

Somaliland's Participation in Regional Security

Collaboration with the Arab Coalition
Somaliland's security efforts extend beyond its borders. Minister Kahin noted that Somaliland is a member of the Arab Coalition led by Saudi Arabia, which has been involved in the conflict in Yemen. Somaliland's strategic location along the Gulf of Aden has made it a key player in regional security, particularly in monitoring the flow of refugees from Yemen and ensuring that terrorist groups do not use the conflict as a means to infiltrate the Horn of Africa. Despite its contributions to regional security, Somaliland has yet to receive significant support from the Arab states. Minister Kahin expressed hope that Somaliland's involvement in the coalition would eventually lead to greater economic and military assistance from its Arab allies, particularly in the form of investment in its security infrastructure.

Handling the Refugee Crisis

Somaliland has also played a role in managing the refugee crisis sparked by the conflict in Yemen. Minister Kahin explained that Somaliland has provided refuge to thousands of Yemeni civilians fleeing the violence. The government has offered these refugees the option to remain in Somaliland or move on to other countries, depending on their circumstances. This humanitarian effort further underscores Somaliland's commitment to regional stability and its role as a responsible actor in the Horn of Africa.

Economic Development and Its Symbiotic Relationship with Security

Challenges to Economic Growth
Somaliland's economic development has been hampered by its lack of international recognition. Minister Kahin highlighted the difficulties the region faces in securing foreign investment and accessing international aid, both of which are critical for building the infrastructure necessary for sustained economic growth.

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Re-Worlding and Un-Worlding Through Oratures- HIBF-Berlin Dr. Jama- Keynote

and the song's chorus reiterates the following lyrical and compelling lines, addressing the audience's emotions directly, rather than just their intellect:

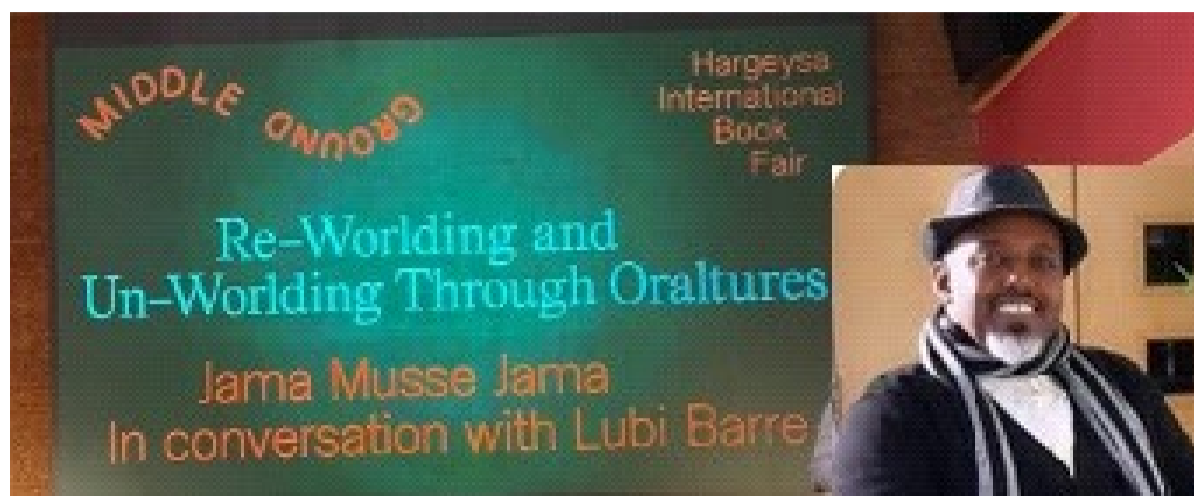
"Wallaalaha hannuusanow, waan idinla haynaa, is hurina maynee, halkan waxa aad u timaaddeen, oon hagar lahaynba, caawaad waad naga helaysaan!"

The choir, in this piece of art, spoke directly to the audience. They addressed the audience with remarkable conciliation. The actors conveyed the purpose of their mission, seeking the audience's appreciation by speaking to them directly and emotionally. And it says:

"Oh! rightly guided brothers [and sisters], we give you our support. You and we cannot do without each other, and what you have come here to find, You will get from us tonight without stint."

Composed the song - 'Wallaalaha - siblings' - in 1968 by the renowned philosopher, playwright, and multitalented artist, the late Hassan Sheekh Muumin, this song, with the musical composition by Bashir Xaddi, and with the voice of Hibo Nura, introduced the play "Shabeel-naagood" (Leopard among the women), a play and a touching story written by Hassan Sheekh Muumin and performed by Hobollada Waaberi (The then National Band).

It made a revolution in many aspects. The text describes a significant transformation in various socio-cultural areas (from



the role of women in the society and the rights of women; the modernization of se but basing the foundation of it on the indigenous knowledge; the preservation of tradition and culture, and as he repeats, modernizing it and reforming it, the role of the mother-tongue, ... you name it, and you find many pertinent issues of todays' modern world...).

It revolutionized the traditional oral poetry, transitioning it into theatrical performances. In 1974, the play was again transcribed, described, and discussed by Andrzejewski in English. He was leading non-Somali linguist who specialized in Somali literature and linguistics. Andrzejewski was a Polish scholar who later became a distinguished professor in the UK, focusing on the oral literature and languages of East Africa, mainly in the Cushitic area.

Andrzejewski's English translation of the play exposed our literature to the global

audience. This marked another pivotal moment where the spoken words, initially performed on stage, were eventually committed to the written form. This transition paved the way for our written culture, heralding yet another revolution.

The rest was just a story. The Somali language was written in 1972, and plenty of oral works passed to the written form. Poems are written and read rather not composing and reciting. The art of improvisation is being lost in our poems.

I am grateful to Hassan Sh Mumin, the poet, Bashir Haddi, the musician, and Hibo Maxamed "Hiba Nuura", the singer, for allowing me, after almost 60 years, in Berlin, to open my speech with their words, sounds, musical, melody and voices, and making it the central of my whole talk.

Hargeysa International Book Fair is inspired by those giants who, most of them today, passed away. From Mohamed Ibrahim

Warsame "Hadraawi" to Said Jama Hussein, from Hussein Aw Farah to Abidllahi Qarshi, from Hassan Sh Mumin to Bashir Xaddi, all of them not with us today, but also by the vocalists and musicians who gave shape these wonderful imaginary words and made it to a reality in our minds.

The orature shapes the fluidity of the new world culture formation, and we Somalis are not different. The *worlding*, teh word selected for the title of my keynote, means the *act or process of bringing a people, culture, nation, etc., into a global sphere of influence*. Weather what is going on is worlding or un-worlding -and I explain more of this in a minute-, a fact is that for us, Somalis, orality, orature and poetry are shaping our being and moving forward.

But before that, let me thank the Middle-Ground friends and my colleagues from Hargeysa, as well as all other guest artists attending this festival both from outside and in this beautiful Berlin. I am grateful to have been given the opportunity to co-curate this festival, work in particularly with the talented and hardworking team of producers, curatorial, staff, interns, and the management of the House (HKW is a home rather than house in the real meaning of the word, because I have seen how people are connected, love each other and support), ... and I hope, you audience who honoured us with your presence, "You will get from us tonight without stint, what you have come here to find" - to paraphrase the song.

I want to thank Henriette Gallus, the deputy director of the House, and the producers Veronika and Sophie in particular for the massive challenges they had to overcome, in order to allow my colleagues Hafsa, Muna and Tirsit, from Hargeysa to be with us today. The sad story of visa process.

Seeking lawful access to Europe and bringing the artistic richness of other cultures should be considered a part of the human

experience. It should be part of the humanity. However, the inhumane immigration policies of the countries in the Global North which prioritize the free movement of consumer goods over the free movement of people, force us to accept the humiliation and stress that my colleagues had to endure. Their "crime" was simply wanting to share the beauty of Somali art with the world. Bring Qaraami music from Somaliland to Germany. Bring books with wealth of knowledge to you. How are they any different from me? The only difference is the passport they hold. These dehumanizing and regressive policies make us accept this absurdity as the norm. And we do accept it. We even vote for the politicians who enact these policies. I was just reading about the results of the recent local elections, and the numbers are quite telling!

The experience we have observed with the visa process for my colleagues, which has become a routine and commonplace practice, is unfortunately a process of de-worlding rather than worlding. We need to firmly oppose to it.

I want to thank my colleagues Kenan and Dzekashu from the curatorial section of this festival. Together we have done an incredible job, we have meticulously selected the people and places, even when financial obstacles limited our selections, even when differences of ideals, ideologies, and attitudes make a challenge, we could come into agreement of the shaping and reshaping, and we have put together an impressive program, as you have seen circulate.

Finally, I wanna thank the director, despite he is not here today with us, Dr Bonaventure who so kind trying to come Hargeysa despite of his schedule, but could not make it. Above all, I want to thank my friend Dzekashu who few years ago visited us, attended the book fair and was the key connection who introduced me to Dr Bonaventure almost a year ago.

Let me come back to the enduring influence of orality on modern cultural production in all Somali speaking regions and beyond, and touch on few key points on the challenges and transformations that arise as societies simultaneously navigate oral and written cultures. And again, I use the same song, the same scene at the theatre, and the definition of the artist like

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Despite these challenges, Somaliland has made significant progress in sectors such as telecommunications and port development, particularly with the expansion of the Port of Berbera.

Security as a Foundation for Economic Development

The link between security and economic development is a recurring theme in the interview. Minister Kahin explained that without a secure environment, economic growth would be impossible. Somaliland's success in maintaining peace and stability has allowed it to attract some foreign investment, despite its unrecognized status. The government's commitment to funding security has created a virtuous cycle in which stability attracts investment, which in turn reinforces security.

Freedom of the Press and Civil

Liberties in Somaliland Press Freedom

Somaliland has made significant strides in promoting freedom of the press, a key indicator of democratic development. Minister Kahin proudly noted that Somaliland has one of the freest media environments in the Horn of Africa, with more than 20 television stations and numerous print publications operating within the country. Journalists are free to criticize the government and contribute to public discourse, a freedom that is not available in many neighboring countries.

Civil Rights and Public Participation Beyond press freedom, Somaliland has also made progress in promoting civil rights and encouraging public participation in governance. Minister Kahin stressed that the government is committed to ensuring that all citizens have the right to vote,

express their opinions, and participate in the political process.

This inclusive approach has helped to foster social cohesion and prevent the kind of political fragmentation that has plagued Somalia.

Conclusion

This in-depth interview with Interior Minister Mohamed Kahin Ahmed offers a unique perspective on the challenges and successes of Somaliland's security, political, and economic landscape. Despite its lack of international recognition, Somaliland has managed to build a functioning democratic state, maintain peace and stability, and play a constructive role in regional security. Minister Kahin's insights demonstrate that Somaliland's commitment to security, counter-terrorism, and democratic governance has positioned it as a beacon of hope in an otherwise turbulent region.

Re-Worlding and Un-Worlding Through Oratures- HIBF-Berlin Dr. Jama- Keynote

the one Hassan Sh Mumin gives his team, and their roles an artist: "Dadwaynahaan **hanuunninaa**, **haasaawinnaa** danta u **hagnaa**". Let us focus on the words **hanuunin**, **haasaawin**, **hagid**. We **guide** the public, **entertain** the masses, and **direct** them to the common interest.

I am linking this to Hadraawi's *Bulsho* (Society). An excerpt from Hadraawi's *Bulsho* can be listened from the audio station there. Hadraawi identifies himself as artist as the one who gives voice the voiceless, and act on behalf of them, whenever it is called for:

Bulshoy adigaa milga leh
Ninkii boojimo ku yidhi
Shalaad barataannu nidhi
Bayluulida haw furfurin
Bariidana kaama geyo

Ninkii ballankaaga qaaday
Ka baaqday xilkaad u dhiibtay
Ka baydhay ujeedadaada
Ku boobay adoo sabool ah
Ku wiirsaday baaba'aaga
Adoo bogan waayey taada
Ninkii u buseelay raaxo
Huwaday bulbushii libaaxa
Buruudkiyo shaashka qaatay
U booday cirkaa dusheenna
Bilkeeday laboontidiisa
Buurtuu koray waarin mayso
Heddiisana baajin mayso
Kub iyo bawduu ka jabi
which in translations goes as:
My people: there is such a thing
as society!

To the one who says you have
no choice,
reply, 'You have no clue!
Don't listen to his braying,
don't give him the time of day!
The one who promised you much
and ducked the responsibility
you gave him,
turned aside from your goals,
robbed you when you were poor,
belittled your beggarliness;
while you lacked even the
basics,
this one, craving all comforts,
sporting the thick skin of the lion,
wore hubris like a mane,
jumped up into the sky
boasting about his superiority -
he can't stay up the mountain
forever

nor can he delay his death-day:
his fall will break both shinbone
and thigh.
Rage at how contrary this has run;
say that it shall be recorded well.
[the translation is not mine but the
great Scottish poet and professor
Bill Herbert]

But let us go back in late sixties:
**Imagine this scene in 1968: the
theatre.**

Upon lifting the curtains, to reveal
the assembled members of the
cast with their bright costumes,
the orchestra takes charge with

a penetrating prelude towards the
end of which the female-lead-
figure of the plot, here young
Hibo Mohamed, steps forward
coming closer to the audience,
claiming "*habeen iyo dharaar!
hadalladaan dhisnaa*" - "Every
day and every night, we create
narratives. We construct words of
wisdom. We compose
discourses...". She does not say
we write! She says we craft and
tell.

In this issue-oriented effort to
engage supplementary devices
aiming to reinforce the central
plot, Xasan Sheekh Muumin
opens *Shabeelnaagood* (leopard
among the women) with a well-
designed prologue and winds it
up with a moving epilogue.

Habeen iyo dharaar
Hadalladaan dhisnaa,
Afkeenna hooyoo horuu maraan
ku hamminnaa!
Hoggaaminaa oo had iyo jeer
hagnaa

Oo waan hagaajinaa,
Ma hagraneer waan u hawgalnaa,
Murtidaan hurinnaa, Kala hufnaa
haqab tirnaa u handannaa,
Dadweynahaan hanuunninaa
haasaawinnaa danta u hagnaa.

Night and day we fashion our
words,
In depth we help our advancing
mother-tongue,

We lead it, we always guide it,
we set it right,

We never shrink, we toil for it, we
kindle the old wisdom,
We winnow it, we satisfy its
needs, we strive for it,
We guide the public rightly, we
entertain them and we lead them
by the hand to profitable things.

And here again the chore:
Walaalaha hanuunsanow,
waan idinla haynaa is hurina
maynee,

Halkan waxaad u timaaddeen
Aan hagar lahayn baad caawa
naga helaysaan!

Oh rightly guided brothers [and
sisters],
we give you our support.

You and we cannot do without
each other,
and what you have come here to
find

You will get from us tonight without
stint.

As I said previously, based on
the use of words and phrases like
'**hanuunninaa**' (we raise
awareness), '**hagnaa**' (we
guide), '**horgallaa**' (we go in the
forefront), '**hoggaaminaa**' (we
lead), and '**danta u hagnaa**' (we
lead the public by the hand to
profitable things), one can infer
that the text is conveying a sense
of guidance, leadership, and a
proactive approach to helping or
directing others. The language
suggests an active role in raising
awareness, providing direction,

and leading the way towards
beneficial outcomes.

This has been and continues to
be the role of the artist in orature
within Somali communities.

Coming back to the Hargeysa
International Book Fair and the
subsequent Hargeysa Cultural
Centre, we observe the
challenges faced by a society
undergoing transformation: from
an Oral Culture to a Written
Culture, while still shaping and
reshaping its thought-formation in
oral tradition which also serves
as the true beginning of all works
of art. We are today going back
to the second orality! how many
of you prefer to send voice over
WhatsApp rather than writing a
message?

Orature, or Oral tradition is a
fundamental component of our
thought process, and it will remain
so in the future.

Yes, today, Hargeysa has its own
Cultural Centre and this is not only
good news. It is a collective
dream of so many
Somalilanders, and their friends,
that is being finally concretised.
A new Cultural Centre is being
established in everywhere, the
Berbera Cultural Centre is being
built. A smaller pop-up of
gathering places for art and
culture, are coming here and
there....

It is the consolidation of what
seventeen years ago the
Hargeysa International Book Fair
was founded for. So, I dedicate
this keynote to artists, scholars,
researchers, students, children
and ordinary citizens, who will
make the Hargeysa Cultural
Centre their second home.

People like you, despite from
distance, who believed with us
in this dream. We do this by
remembering the wisdom of this
son of Somaliland, Hassan Sh
Mumin, who years ago
described in so eloquent
manner, what the roles of
language, art, culture and
heritage are for our society.

So, in this masterpiece of literary
work, that I selected for the
entrance, Hassan Sheikh Mumin
wrote "Dadwaynahaan
hanuunninaa" (We guide the
masses). This verse-chorus
lyrics, consisting of three
stanzas, became so popular also
because of its use for the
opening of every show
performed by the Waaberi troupe
(the major national musical
group).

The leading vocalist who sings
the song is Hibo Mahamed "Hibo
Nura", with other prominent
Waaberi members performing
the chorus. The music was
composed and arrangements

directed as I said by Bashiir Xaddi
(he is not anymore with us). The
core message of the song is that
culture constitutes the bedrock
for the social and individual
development of human beings.
The three stanzas focus
respectively on the Language,
the Heritage and the Arts. At the
end of each stanza, there is the
chorus that sharply contrasts with
the stanza both melodically and
rhythmically, and reminds the
listener how the workers in art are
never making less of what is in
their capacity, and how they are
working with dignity, vigilance
and perseverance, while still
entertaining the masses, so that
the core values of our society are
protected, reformed and
promoted, with the aim of leading
the people to the common
interest.

The first stanza focuses on the
mother tongue.

Habeen iyo dharaar,
Hadalladaan dhisnaa,
Afkeenna Hooyoo horumaraan
ku hamminnaa,
Haggaaminaa, had iyo jeer
habnaa, oo waan hagaajinaa,
Ma hagraneer waan u hawgalnaa,
Murtidaan hurinnaa, kala hufnaa,
haqab tirnaa, u hedlanaa,
Dadwaynahaan hanuunninaa,
haasaawinnaa, danta u hagnaa.

Every day and night,
We create narratives,
Our major desire being our
mother tongue developed,
We lead, feeding this
development, for its betterment,
Never making less of what is in
our capacity, we work for this,
Holding high the wisdom, filtering
to get its best part, nourishing
and ready for its growth,
We guide the public, entertain the
masses, and direct them to the
common interest.

Now it comes to the heritage:
Taariikhda hiddahaan,
Habaaska ka tirnaa,
Hannaankii aan ku soo
dhaqmaynay baan u hiilinnaa,
Lama huraan, hilinka toosan
baan, dhallinta horgalnaa,
Ma hagraneer waan u
hawgalnaa,
Murtidaan hurinnaa, kala hufnaa,
haqab tirnaa, u hedlanaa,
Dadwaynahaan hanuunninaa,
haasaawinnaa, danta u hagnaa.

The story of our heritage,
We clean it and refurbish,
In defense of our way we used
to live, and to behave,
So essential, we inspire the
youth, guide them to the right
path,

Never making less of what is in
our capacity, we work for this,
Holding high the wisdom, filtering
to get its best part, nourishing
and ready for its growth,
We guide the public, entertain the

masses, and direct them to the
common interest.

And finally, he describes the art
and performance:

Buraanbur iyo hees,
Heello iyo ciyaar,
Gabayo haybad iyo hadhaa leh
baannu hindisnaa
Hurdadaan gu'yaal ka haayirnaa,
naftayadaan hurnaa

Ma hagraneer waan u
hawgalnaa

Murtidaan hurinnaa, kala hufnaa,
haqab tirnaa, u hedlanaa

Dadwaynahaan hanuunninaa,
haasaawinnaa, danta u hagnaa.

Lyrics of every type, those by
poetesses, and songs,

Traditional play and modern
entertainment,

High quality literature, we
compose poems with everlasting
value,

Loosing nights and nights of
sleep, we offer and dedicate our
life, unselfishly,

Never making less of what is in
our capacity, we work for this,

Holding high the wisdom, filtering
to get its best part, nourishing
and ready for its growth,

We guide the public, entertain the
masses, and direct them to the
common interest.

Hassan does not lose the chance
to pick up the issues dear to him:

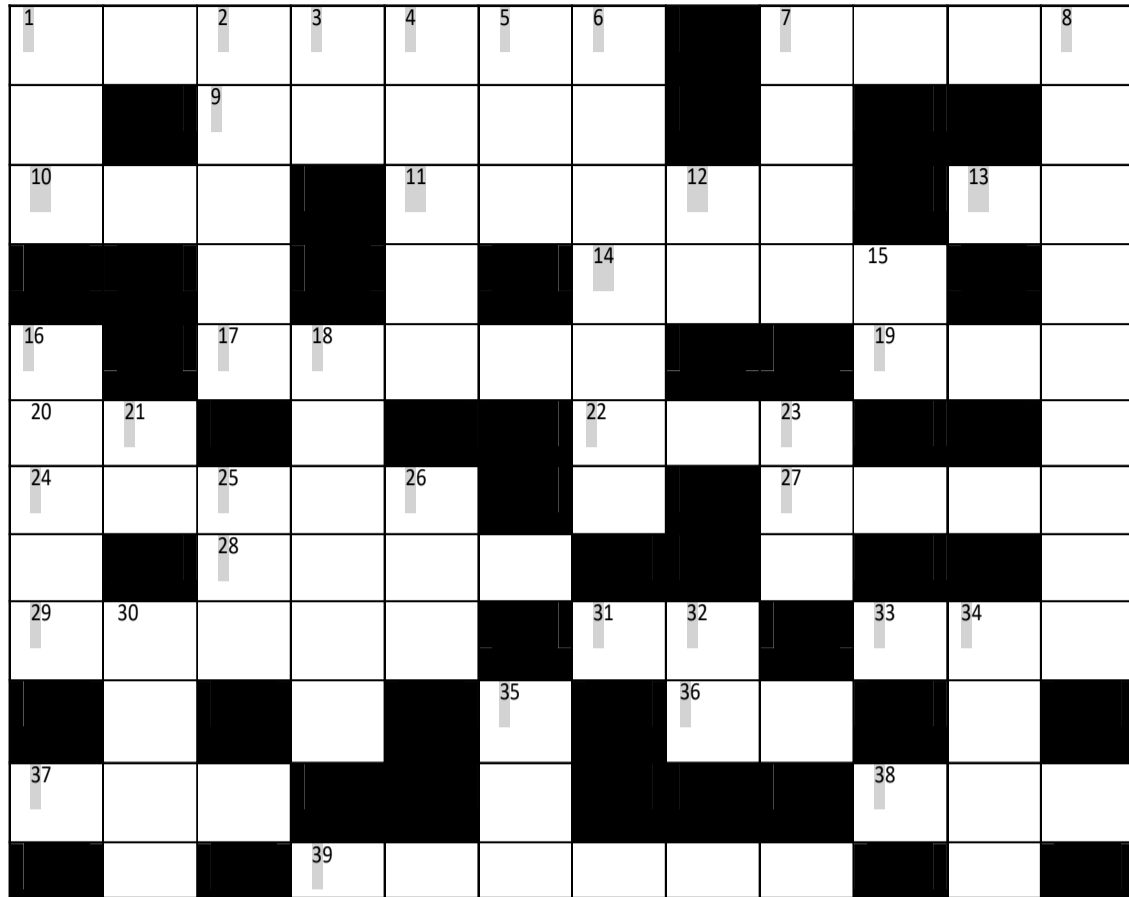
1) in the third stanza, among the
types of Somali poetry the works
in art promote and develop, he
singles out *Buraanbur*, the genre
of poetry composed by women,
thus reaffirming the role of the
woman in the society. 2) in all the
three stanzas his desire to
"reform" the culture and social
matters can be read between the
lines. He wants to underscore that
preserving the heritage, the
language and literature, is
crucially important but at the same
time he reminds us to improve,
to filter them for betterment
leaving aside the bad habits, in
other words to reform the culture
itself for the modern society.

In the Q&A perhaps we can talk
what we lost from the oral poetry
when it became written culture,
but I would stop now here, and
one more time come back to you,
to thank, with the hope ... you
audience who honoured us with
your presence, with the words
of Hassan Sh Mumin, "*You will get
from us tonight without stint, what
you have come here to find*" - to
paraphrase the song by Hiba
Mohamed, and I ask please the
DJ to allow a couple of minutes
to listen this master piece.

Keynote - Dr Jama Musse Jama,
Director, HIBF

Middle ground - Hargeysa
International Book Fair - Berlin
27th September 2024

THT Puzzle



ACROSS

- 1 Migrant
- 7 simple
- 9 regular
- 10 nothing
- 11 wipe away
- 13 Be present
- 14 mail
- 17 locations
- 19 An active insect
- 20 model of Lory
- 22 Ending
- 24 Degree
- 27 Read out
- 28 Deceased
- 29 Change
- 31 Perform
- 33 Somewhat
- 36 Negative answer
- 37 Usage
- 38 Single
- 39 Yearly

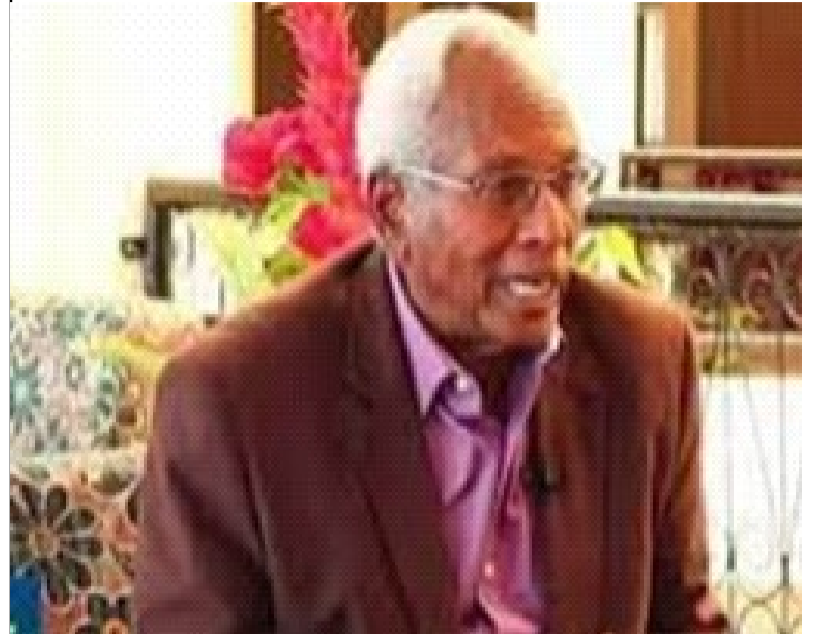
DOWN

- 1 Go fast
- 2 Finances
- 3 U'S
- 4 Visitor
- 5 Hearing
- 6 Passed
- 7 Eyeballs
- 8 Days gone by
- 12 Hence
- 15 short forms of tuberculosis
- 16 Sweeten
- 18 Actually
- 21 doctor
- 23 Make dry
- 25 Advertisements
- 26 Consume
- 30 Simple
- 32 Atop
- 34_numbers below ten
- 35 nothing

Previous Answer

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| B1 | R | E2 | A | C3 | H | | R4 | O | U5 | N | D |
| A | | N | | A | | G6 | O | | S | | |
| S7 | A | D | | L | | | W8 | H | E | A | L9 |
| E | | | C10 | L | U11 | B12 | | | D | | O |
| | U13 | | C | | P14 | E | N15 | | | | W |
| A16 | S | S17 | | S18 | P | E | E | D19 | | A20 | |
| | A21 | P | P | L | E | | W22 | R | I | N | G |
| A23 | G | E | | E24 | R | A25 | S | E | | Y | |
| S26 | E | A | | E | | S | | S | | | |
| S | | K27 | E28 | P | T29 | | I30 | S | S31 | U | E32 |
| E | | | N | | O33 | N34 | | | O | | N |
| T35 | R | A | D | E | | O36 | N | E | | I37 | D |

The Causes and Consequences of State Failure in Somalia- Amb Adam M. Jibril



The chronic political crisis in Somalia that led to the failure of the state-building project stems from historically related reasons that are predominantly internally driven. This failure began with a lack of conceptual understanding of the historical origins and significance of the state itself among the Somali political elites, resulting in a lack of awareness about how to address it. From the very beginning, the Somali political elites did not pay sufficient attention to the fact that the modern state structures left by colonial powers originally belonged to highly developed societies; thus, they were entirely alien entities imposed on Hargeisa and Mogadishu from Europe.

As soon as the colonial staff returned to Europe, the state institutions deteriorated into simple structures devoid of soul and heart. This degeneration can be likened to a Somali she-camel: "Let us milk our shecamel." Aan Maalo Hasheenna Maandeeqee. Here, the state was perceived merely as a resource to exploit, without proper management or care. The ethos of modern state management remained with those who had successfully modernized their societies—an outcome of European civilization guided by the great revolutions: the Enlightenment, Renaissance, Industrial, and Scientific & Technological Revolutions. In contrast, the Somali inhabited areas lingered outside the context of human civilization, guided instead by traditional value systems rooted in clannism and a political Islamic doctrine related to Wahhabism from the thirteenth century.

Political Ideologies Leading to State Failure in Somalia: For the past five decades, new generations have emerged with a religious worldview based on Wahhabism, advocating for a transformation of Somali society—not toward the interests of a Somali nation-state or modernization, but for a backward-looking revival of an Islamic caliphate by building an Islamic Emirate in the Horn of Africa. Both political clannism and various

Wahhabi organizations flourished under the autocratic military regime, which claimed Marxism while suppressing Islamic rituals and exploiting clannism to attain absolute control over society. When the regime eventually collapsed and the need to establish a Somali state became pressing, the entire Somali political arena was dominated by only two archaic ideologies: clannism and political Islam. This occurred due to a lack of an enlightened political elite and a modern middle class capable of promoting progressive political ideas.

As a result, the political elites—both clannish and Islamist—lacked a nationally oriented policy agenda, causing the country to become entrenched in a cycle of violence throughout South-central Somalia. This cycle has persisted from the City State of Ali Mahdi in 1991 to the current violence and the culture of corruption under Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud. Consequently, there is no space for consensus-based conflict resolution, nor is there any interest in a state-building political orientation. (In contrast, the Puntland regional state has generally maintained peace, largely because the Majeerteen clans there have a traditional system that allows for conflict resolution through clan-based consensus management, which can curb the influence of greedy politicians.)

The tragic failure of the state-building project by the Mogadishu elite has led to countless foreign powers filling the resultant vacuum of statelessness. With no serious and sincere Somali politicians to guide them, these foreign powers have been able to determine the fate of war and peace in the country. The internal sources for state-building capacities have been undermined by corrupt Somali politicians, whose policies are designed to disrupt the harmony and unity of Somali political life through clannish agendas. This has also involved the cancellation of rights related to power and resource sharing among political actors, reflecting a desperate

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The Central Bank in measures to combat exchange rate inflation



By M.A. Egge

The Central Bank of the Republic of Somaliland has organized a meeting to discuss with its stakeholders to put in check exchange rates hence deal with inflation.

The promotion of the use of the Somaliland shilling was high on the agenda.

Financial institutions and the Association of Money Changers of the country were in attendance.

The Governor of the Central Bank Dr. Ali Dahir Abdillahi called on the people to use their country's currency more to promote its

integrity.

He also told all companies that provide services to prioritize the receiving of the local currency while sustaining its use such that it may not be undermined.

He similarly reminded the use of Somaliland shillings in all purchases that are less than one hundred USD as fixated in the local electronic cash uses, a measure that had already put in check inflation remarkably.

The governor sent a strong warning to wayward money launderers whom he termed as 'fleecers' that their days are numbered and they

would be dealt with if they do not refrain from such ill-practices forthwith.

On the other hand, the Minister of Finance of Somaliland Hon. Sa'ad Ali Shire and the chairman of the Somaliland Money Changers Association, Wadajir, who also addressed the meeting, concurred in the promotion of sustainable use of the local currency in favour of the hard ones in order to put in check inflation countrywide.

They also pondered on ways and means of combating the wayward money changers who fleece the economy by undermining the pegged rates.

Government launches Preparation of Comprehensive Projects for Community Development

By M.A. Egge

The Vice President H.E. Abdirahman Abdillahi Ismail (Sailli) has inaugurated the preparation plans of projects for the development of community infrastructural services of the country in the city of Hargeisa.

The projects known as 'inclusive projects' provided by the international agency UNICEF are planned for children under the age of five in the years 2026 and 2030. While giving priority to the basic services of the community such as education, water, the environment, and maternal child care to promote

basic social services.

The opening of the conference was attended by the ministers of planning and water, and the directors general of the ministries of health and water, as well as officials from UNICEF's cooperation agencies.

The VP indicated that the government welcomes projects related to the development of projects to improve basic services. "We believe that UNICEF plays a major role in the development of basic social life services and I welcome the project which is progressive and a very positive one", he said.

The Minister of Water Resources

Mr. Saleeban Ali Koore, also indicated that the political plans of the Kulmiye Party and the Ministry of Water include the development of water services in the country.

"The reason why we put more focus on water resources in dams is because it's easily ample and readily realized than those of boreholes", he said.

The head of UNICEF, who spoke at the meeting, said that the projects that UNICEF will implement in Somaliland in the next five years, especially the basic social services, are being prepared and that it would support Somaliland in promoting project's related services, to improve the care of mothers and babies.

The Causes and Consequences of State Failure in Somalia- Amb Adam M. Jibril

internal condition unprepared to fulfill the task of building state institutions.

This internal failure was a significant setback for the components of the state-building project, creating conditions favorable for betrayal of the national cause at the expense of foreign interventions. By intentionally ignoring the political role and rights of Somali partners in the federal state, antagonizing Somaliland, and inviting various military alliances, the internal consensus has been undermined. This has placed President Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud in a quagmire full of contradictions, where his

erratic and hasty decisions have fostered a favorable environment for Somaliland's close cooperation with Ethiopia within the IGAD regional framework. Furthermore, the continuation of such counterproductive policies will likely lead Puntland and other regions, such as South-West and Jubbaland, to feel compelled to follow Somaliland's example.

Moreover, the critical dilemma President Hassan faces is his dependence on Egyptian troops to maintain his hold on power, which stands in stark contrast to the experiences of the past three decades regarding the numerous

attempts at state-building in Somalia. The international community has flocked to Mogadishu to assist in the state-building processes, involving billions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of military personnel in one of the largest and most expensive peace-imposing campaigns, which have tragically failed to achieve either peace or state-building.

Adam Muse Jibril is a veteran journalist and writer, currently the Chairman of the Board of the Somaliland Academy for Peace and Development.

EXPOSED: Somalia's Hidden War — Egypt's Secret Plan to Destroy Somaliland

The world cannot afford to ignore this ticking time bomb in the Horn of Africa

Somalia's plot to destabilize Somaliland revealed — Egypt's covert involvement fuels Al-Shabaab terrorism as the region faces an existential threat.

Somalia, propped up by its dark alliance with Egypt, is playing a deadly game—arming itself under the guise of security while setting the stage for a violent invasion of peaceful, democratic Somaliland. It's a dangerous web of deceit, terrorism, and aggression. The stakes? Nothing less than the survival of Somaliland and the stability of the entire region.

Egypt's clandestine operation to funnel weapons into Somalia is no longer a secret. Somalia's so-called government, notorious for its ties to the terrorist group Al-Shabaab, is using Egypt as its puppet master to push its destructive ambitions. Just recently, the *Al Hurreya 2*, an Egyptian-flagged ship, covertly sailed through the treacherous waters of the Red Sea, carrying a lethal cargo of advanced weapons—rocket launchers, mortars, and armoured vehicles. This shipment, destined for Somalia's capital Mogadishu, didn't happen by accident. It's part of a calculated, long-term plan designed to destabilize Somaliland and arm Al-Shabaab terrorists to the teeth.

While the world is distracted by other global crises, Somalia, backed by Egypt's military power, is preparing for a massive offensive against Somaliland. This move isn't about securing borders or fighting terrorism—it's about wiping out Somaliland's thriving, democratic society. The question is: Will the world stand by and watch?

Somalia has long been home to the bloodthirsty Al-Shabaab, a terrorist organization hell-bent on chaos and destruction. But make no mistake, this is no rogue element. Al-Shabaab thrives under the very government that pretends to oppose it. Somalia has not only tolerated but actively nurtured this group, allowing it to spread its reign of terror across the Horn of Africa.

Now, armed with advanced Egyptian weaponry, the Somali government and Al-Shabaab stand ready to turn their guns on Somaliland. This is not just about military conquest—it's about exterminating a proud, independent nation that has stood as a beacon of democracy and stability in a volatile region.

What could Egypt gain from this covert operation? The answer is power. Egypt, desperate to secure its interests along the Nile and assert dominance in the region, is playing a dangerous game with Somali lives. It has poured billions into modern weaponry, and now those weapons are flowing straight into the hands of Somalia and Al-Shabaab terrorists. Under the guise of "military cooperation," Egypt is turning Somalia into a proxy to extend its influence and distract from its own domestic troubles.

This isn't just an alliance—this is a ticking time bomb. And when it explodes, it won't just be Somaliland that suffers. The entire Horn of Africa could be set ablaze, destabilizing neighbouring countries like Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Djibouti. Regional peace is hanging by a thread.

Somaliland, a nation that has fought back for its freedom since 1991, stands at a critical crossroads. It has reclaimed its independence, built democratic institutions, and fostered a peaceful society despite the chaos that surrounds it. Yet, today, Somaliland faces its gravest threat—an invasion by Somalia, bolstered by Egyptian firepower and Al-Shabaab's terror tactics.

Somaliland is not Somalia. While Somalia has descended into lawlessness and terror, Somaliland has been a beacon of hope—a symbol of what is possible in Africa. But now, Somalia seeks to drag Somaliland into the abyss, using Egyptian weapons and Al-Shabaab's ruthless fighters to tear down the walls of democracy that Somaliland has painstakingly built. Where is the world? Where are the voices of justice and democracy that claim to stand against terrorism? Western powers have turned a blind eye, allowing Somalia and Egypt's deadly alliance to go unchecked. Reports from Western intelligence agencies indicate they know about these secret shipments and the growing ties between Al-Shabaab and Egypt. Yet, they remain silent.

Somalilanders call upon the international community to act before it's too late. The time has come for Somaliland to arm itself and defend its borders. We must stand ready to fight back against this cowardly alliance of Somalia, Egypt, and Al-Shabaab terrorists.

To the people of Somaliland: this is not a fight we sought, but it is one we will win. Our nation's survival is at stake. Somalia and Egypt may try to use their military might to intimidate us, but we have something they will never have—freedom, democracy, and the unwavering will of our people. The world cannot afford to ignore this ticking time bomb in the Horn of Africa. Somalia's alliance with Al-Shabaab and Egypt is a direct threat to global security. Somaliland, a peaceful nation, is now on the brink of war because of this dangerous collaboration. Will the international community step in and prevent a catastrophe? Or will they, once again, wait until it's too late?

The choice is clear—act now, or watch as another nation falls victim to the scourge of terrorism and foreign aggression. Somaliland will not go down without a fight. The world must decide whether it will stand with democracy and peace—or allow terror and tyranny to prevail. **This is the battle for Somaliland's survival.** The world is watching, and history will judge those who stand idly by.